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23 December 1985

USSR REPORT SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No 2, Apr-May-Jun 1985

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TOWARDS THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS

TOPICAL PROBLEMS OF THE CONCEPT OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

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[Article by Richard Ivanovich Kosolapov, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST. Author of the monograph "Kommunizm i Svoboda" [Communism and Freedom] (1965), "Kommunisticheskiy Trud: Priroda i Stimuly" [Communist Labor: Nature and Incentives] (1968), "Ni Teni Utopii" [Not a Trace of Utopia] (1971), "Sotsializm. K Voprosam Teorii" [Socialism. Problems of Theory] (1975, 1979) and others. Author of the article "Class and National Relations at the Developed Socialist Stage" published in our journal (No 2, 1984). Article based on a speech delivered on 10 December 1984 at the All-Union Practical Science Conference on "Perfecting Developed Socialism and Party Ideological Work in the Light of the Resolutions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] In recent years the attention of the party and the scientific public has been drawn to the Marxist-Leninist concept of developed socialism and the idea of its advancement which, as was noted at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "must become the base not only of theoretical but also of all propaganda and educational work" (7).

It is common knowledge that during the second half of the 1960s the party was faced with the need to define more precisely what part of the way to our final objective--communism--had already been covered by Soviet society, the stage reached in our socialist development and how much farther we had to go. The need for this was increased by the fact that toward the end of the 1950s we had formulated tasks related to the direct building of communism. Meanwhile, by virtue of objective circumstances, we had to resolve essentially problems of "completing the building" of developed socialism. Life itself proved that it was precisely developed socialism, with its variety of problems (and no other stage) that would occupy the historically immediate period of time in our progress. The concept of developed socialism was the theoretical reflection of this fact, a concept which continues to be enriched with new conclusions based on the party's collective thinking. This filled the gap in our knowledge on the first phase of the communist socioeconomic system and redefined the specific historical foundation of contemporary CPSU strategy and tactics.

Corresponding changes in the entire mass information and propaganda system and in the teaching and development of the social sciences were inevitable, along

with the party's concretizing of its strategic guidelines and a certain updating of the style of political thinking and political language. However, it was precisely in this area, in the period which preceded the June Plenum, that the lagging was noted. While the CPSU Central Committee was engaged in the theoretical and political reequipping and "rearming" the party, some departments and areas preferred to apply formulas which had been developed 15-20 years back. The political chattering which, combined with ex-cathedra pedantry created a favorable background for scholastic theorizing, had become somewhat widespread. A decisive turn was demanded of the ideological aktiv towards life and the new development of real socialism, based on Lenin's concept to the effect that "Marxism rests on facts and not possibilities. A Marxist must base his policy exclusively on accurate and unquestionably proven facts" (1).

It was this turn that was set at the June Plenum, which was a considerable landmark in the further assertion, to use V. I. Lenin's words, of the "revolutionary dialectics of Marxist realism..." (2).

In relying on dialectical and historical materialism, the party characterizes developed socialism above all on the basis of the status of public production as the material foundation of all other spheres of social life. It is from these positions that the socialist maturity of society depends on the level of the real socialization of labor and production. It is precisely advancing socialization that guarantees protection from the restoration of the private ownership order and is a fundamental prerequisite for the comprehensive and profound introduction of collectivistic and general communist principles. Any other view on things, whatever their stylistic aspect, is inconsistent with the Marxist concept of social progress under socialism and with contemporary scientific data.

What does this apply to?

In the international practice of building a new society, socialist changes are quite naturally related, above all, to replacing private ownership of means of production with social ownership, at one or another level of production forces. This radical revolutionary break in production and economic relations is the initial and absolutely necessary prerequisite for initiating the creation of a socialist base. It undermines the roots of exploitation of man by man and turns the proletariat and the deprived toiling strata into collective owners.

However, can the entire essence of the socialist reorganization of life be reduced to this? Naturally, it cannot. As early as the spring of 1918, in his criticism of "left wing" communists, V. I. Lenin cautioned against the threat of a tendency toward blanket nationalism and confiscation of bourgeois property. "Socialization is different from simple confiscation," he wrote, "precisely because one could confiscate merely on the basis of 'decisiveness,' without the skill properly to consider and properly distribute. Without such a skill one must not engage in socialization" (3, p 294). Economic efficiency concerning everything which becomes the collective property of the people is the most important prerequisite for real rather than formal socialization.

This is the most important but not the only condition.

Another mandatory condition is upgrading labor productivity on a national scale. This presumes the conversion of the production process into a school for collective mentality and morality, for it is achievable only by eliminating the still widespread routine labor tools for individual use of progressive machine technology, and replacing the splintered minute artisan technology of the old type with the consolidated and comprehensive technology of a contemporary scientifically organized industrial output.

It may have seem unnecessary to emphasize this problem which should be clear to all, unless there was a serious reason for this. The point is that an effort, specific and conflicting with real changes and conservative in nature, has appeared in scientific literature, somehow to limit the decisive significance of socialization in terms of the fate of the new system. It was expressed in the aspiration artificially to find some kind of "objective limits" to the process of socialist reorganization of the old way of life within the framework of the lower phase of communism and of "objective limits" to the renovation of the way of life of the people and to changes in the existing interests, customs, traditions, "sociopsychological obstacles," "psychological limits of innovations," etc. This has taken place when combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the planned socialist organization of the economy is on the agenda, when an optimal economic mechanism is being developed and when the industrialization of agriculture and agroindustrial integration inevitably bring the two forms of socialist ownership closer to each other.

A version even appeared according to which Marx and Engels insisted on the socialization of means of production not simply because collective ownership and collective production are superior values in themselves, compared with private ownership and individual industrial output, but because the latter had become, from their viewpoint, incompatible with the objective logic of technological progress. Not only does this version distort the views of Marx and Engels, who never "technologized" the reasons for the socialist revolution and did not conceive of it as unrelated to the needs, requirements and expectations of the people's masses. It casts a doubt on the unquestionable superiority of collective ownership and collective production compared with private ownership and private industrial output, although it is only thanks to the victory of the former over the latter that the elimination of capitalist slavery, the alienation of labor and man and the socialist liberation of the individual became possible.

Currently the comparative qualities of the various forms of economic activity of the population are being extensively discussed in connection with efforts to find more advanced methods for socialist economic management. Along with national enterprises and associations, the discussions naturally cover cooperative organizations and private auxiliary farms as well as private industries based on individual labor. This not only has nothing reprehensible but, conversely, offers the opportunity of identifying reserves for economic growth, which are still not properly operating for the further enhancement of the people's well-being. But could we stop there? Could we carry on, unprepared to rebuff the concept of a "mixed economy" or that of "well-being by any means"?

Our social scientists have an obligation to the party and the people. Essentially, so far the Leninist thesis of the consistently socialist type of national enterprises remains undefined (provably and accessibly!), in which "both means of production and the land on which the enterprise is built and the entire enterprise as a whole belong to the state..." (4, p 374). All of us have read this thesis dozens of times but, for some reason, have not discussed it openly. Is there fear that this may insult the kolkhozes? Could an objective specific historical evaluation of a social phenomenon be insulting? The fact that a model national enterprise is the optimal form of the prime link in the socialist production process does not exclude in the least the fact that in progressive kolkhozes the work is sometimes organized in such a way as to make them envied and emulated by many national enterprises. The historical type of enterprises is one thing; objectively, it could be superior or inferior. The nature of economic management is another. It may prove to be worse even in a more progressive type of enterprise.

A number of reasons exist for the scientific study of problems related to a consistently socialist type enterprise. To begin with, it has become necessary for us to determine the level which must be reached by the primary production cell in developed socialism, as it advances toward communism. Secondly, we must know the type of forms of economic management we adopt for basic strategic considerations and those which play a tactical support role and lose their significance in the course of the growth of socialized production. This must be discussed, for individual authors, as they lose their guidelines, occasionally begin to praise the cooperative form as opposed to the national form, persistently arguing in favor of the "advantages" of small-scale over large-scale production, ignoring the dialectical correlation between the superior and the inferior and looking at the past rather than the future.

As an editor, I have the occasion to read a number of articles in which the comprehensive development of commodity-monetary relations is proclaimed a panacea for all economic difficulties, as was the case in the past. Yet at the developed socialist stage we have already gone beyond such a one-sided approach. Today the sober conviction that cost-accounting should be related not only to value indicators, which, as a rule, are quite approximate, but also to scientifically computed labor outlay norms for the production of real social goods is becoming widespread among economists. We cannot reduce the task of the fuller utilization of the potential of the socialist economic system merely to the application under current conditions of economic levers, such as price, production cost, profit, credit and some others, although serious scientific recommendations are needed in this respect as well. The possibility of upgrading the pace of upsurge of the national economy and its effectiveness must be (and the farther along we progress the more so) related to the increasingly full manifestation, in the words of M. S. Gorbachev, of basic principles and advantages of socialism as the planned nature of our economy, priority of social objectives in economic development, and possibilities of its conscious optimizing in order to implement the profound qualitative changes in the production process in the interest of society" (8, p 14).

Problems of labor incentive require a more detailed development. The scientifically established three basic reasons for labor activities--material-

economic, ideological-moral and creative--incentive, better than the others, covers the first and sometimes adequately the second but virtually ignores the third.

Giving priority to consumer value compared to value and orientation toward production quality, which is the only feature consistent with the objectives of socialist production, becomes today a strict requirement of socialist economic laws in terms of economic practices and, above all, in planning current and foreseeable social needs.

Understandably, all of this is easy to put down on paper but extremely difficult to implement. Nevertheless, it will have to be done, for it is a question of specifically socialist means and methods of economic development, which can yield uniquely brilliant results.

We have acquired extensive literature on problems of the liberation of labor, its socialist and communist transformation, transition from lower to higher forms and conversion into a prime vital need. In the light of this, a jarring note is sounded by the recently heard sermon concerning the "intrinsic value" of any labor which contributes to the satisfaction of human needs "regardless of the national economic sector in which it takes place, socialized or non-socialized." By thus equating socialist labor with private enterprise, the readers are told that under our circumstances the latter does not conceal in the least any danger of the restoration of capitalism. Without questioning this claim (it is indeed true that we are not threatened by the restoration of capitalism) as well as the fact that petty individual production is still used to compensate for some shortcomings in our public economy, particularly in the service industry, I would like to point out that this is true only on the macro level. In terms of practical experience, here we frequently come across cases in which private enterprise quietly fastens itself to that same public economy, robbing and insulting the honest working person while daring to present itself as the benefactor of the people's masses. More than anywhere else, here we must proceed not from tolerant-abstract and by no means always accurate considerations but from the nature of the tonality of moral relations, the feelings of the people and the influence which this has on their moods.

The need to do serious work on theoretical problems of developing socialist self-management was noted at the December 1984 All-Union Practical Science Conference. This equally applies to the problem of the social structure of developed socialist society, the solution of which is closely related to the socialization of labor and production and to changes in the structure of public ownership. "Socialism," V. I. Lenin asserted, "means the destruction of classes" (5). This is precisely the way the communists understand the concept of social equality, attainable under socialism. They neither promise nor could promise anything more for the first phase of communism. Lenin frequently spoke of this with his typical firmness. "We set ourselves the goal of a quality in terms of the elimination of classes," he said at the First All-Russian Congress on Extracurricular Education. "This means the elimination of class disparities between workers and peasants. This precisely is our objective. A society in which a class disparity between workers and peasants

remains is neither communist nor socialist." "Naturally," V. I. Lenin went on to specify, "in interpreting the word socialism, to a certain extent we could describe such a society as socialist. However, this would be casuistry, a semantics controversy. Socialism is the first stage of communism and we should not argue about words" (6).

As early as 1939, in the wake of Lenin's ideas, the 18th VKP(b) Congress called for completing the building of a classless socialist society and undertaking the gradual transition from socialism to communism. However, this formula was not taken up again in the postwar period. Furthermore, at a point in time the concept of socialism as a mandatorily class society, consisting of workers and peasants, was established in literature, and the surmounting of class differences between them--without any adequate grounds and proper arguments--was transferred to the second phase of communism. It was not clear how the transition from the first to the second phase would take place if from beginning to end socialism was to be marked by a class division. We owe the creative restoration of the idea of surmounting the main and essential divisions of society into classes within the historical framework of socialism to the 26th CPSU Congress; the concept of a "classless socialist society" was reintroduced in scientific circulation recently.

A rapprochement, increased similarity and identification between the main class-forming features of the working class, which accounts for the majority of working people, and the kolkhoz peasantry can already be noted. Frequently only a theoretical study can reveal differences between them (and with the intelligentsia) in terms of their attitude toward means of production. Such differences became even less tangible following the creation of agroindustrial associations, i.e., the type of organizational-economic units which have been applied in kolkhozes and sovkhoses and state enterprises engaged in processing agricultural output. The direction along which the process is developing is indicated by the following figure: More than 87 percent of the country's active population is employed in the national economic sector. The closest possible study must be made of the experience of Leningrad Oblast, where industry and agriculture have been developing quite adequately on the basis of a single national ownership for quite some time. The growth of a class into a classless socialist society may be anticipated in the foreseeable historical future. This will mean that one of the major programmatic objectives of the communists has been attained.

It is sometimes asked why ascribe such importance to the elimination of class disparities between workers and peasants, since in daily life they have virtually disappeared? This is a legitimate question.

How to answer it?

Any given project (and even more so a great historical project, such as the elimination of classes and class disparities) must be brought to its successful completion and the party must report this to the people. This is first. Second, the creation of a classless socialist society will be the most noticeable result of the advancement of developed socialism, a result in which the economic, sociopolitical and cultural accomplishments of the party and people will be concentrated.

In discussing the question of the elimination of class disparities, some authors express their concern on the subject of the preservation of the leading role of the working class. However, there is no reason for concern in this case, although a few things must be made clear.

First of all, the classless social structure of Soviet society is shaped on the basis of the acceptance by all somewhat significant social strata the socialist interests and communist ideals of the working class and its inherent collectivistic and internationalist features as their own.

Second, the detachment of factory-plant workers, who are the nucleus of the working class, will nevertheless hold a leading position among the working people in a classless society.

Third, the inviolability of Marxist-Leninist class proletarian policy will continue to be asserted by the communist party, the role of which will be growing steadily. In terms of ideological work, this means that even in a classless social structure there will be a class upbringing of the working people. Obviously, its methods will change and the task itself will become more complex, for in this case we are dealing with a contradiction. The principle, however, will be retained.

In speaking of a classless society, we must mandatorily consider the nature of its most important structural element, for a structureless society is simply impossible. A typical consideration expressed in this connection is that such an element is that of professional groups which link people of a common status within the system of the social division of labor. Practical experience, however, confirms that in itself a professional commonality does not ensure sufficiently strong social ties which should also act as interprofessional ties. It is here that the labor collective and the other methods of social activities of the citizens help. "A socialist society can be formed," V. I. Lenin wrote in 1918, "only as a network of production and consumption communes, conscientiously taking their production and consumption into consideration, saving on labor and steadily upgrading its productivity..." (3, p 185). Such a "cellular" "communal structure of society united on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism of soviets on all levels--let us not be disturbed by the initially somewhat odd-seeming obsolete terminology--is the most likely model of a classless labor association being established already now.

At the present stage the rapprochement between the two forms of socialist ownership and the increased role of the labor collective require a new approach to the Leninist cooperative plan as well. Although some authors do not practice this, they interpret it in the style of the notorious Duhring, as a new society consisting of a number of dispersed, independent and competing economic communes. Such an approach is related to the restoration of elements of capitalist relations which, as Engels himself proved well, is totally inadmissible to us. Social development follows the exact opposite direction.

We leaf through Lenin's works on cooperatives and ask ourselves: Do they apply merely to the idea of collectivization of private farms and the creation of a kolkhoz system? Not in the least. V. I. Lenin formulates the question much more profoundly and extensively. He promotes the principle of the

comprehensive cooperativization of the population, considering it to be applicable to the national as well as the kolkhoz-group sectors of the socialist economy. In other words, he does not limit matters merely to changes in the life of the peasantry. Actually, he is concerned with the dissemination of a degree of combining private interests, verification and control by the state and the extent of its subordination to the common interest (4, p 370), to all categories of working people, to the entire society, discovered during the NEP. He favored a "system of civilized cooperated people with public ownership of means of production and the class victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie" not because he believed that the group splintering of this ownership would be good but because he saw in the cooperative a form of organization of collectivistic cooperation, the desired association of working people which precisely "is the socialist system" (4, p 373). The "system of civilized members of cooperatives" is a formula rarely encountered in scientific publications but which, properly interpreted, could be hardly avoided. It is a system consisting of conscious collectivistic citizens who have scientifically organized their work and are able to perform it with proper standards. It is a formula which should gain a richer content on the grounds of the integration between the two forms of public ownership under developed socialism, thus turning "all citizens of a given country literally into members of a single nationwide or, rather, state-wide cooperative" (3, p 161).

Let us consider the brigade contracting method. This form of collective organization of labor could be interpreted also as "civilized cooperation" in both sectors of the socialist economy aimed at achieving high end results and efficiently solving joint production problems. It awakens in the person the feeling of being the owner of the production process, the master of the country, and converts coparticipation of the working person in the common ownership of means of production from a principle and a slogan to an emotional category, a direct individual experience. Is this not the application of Lenin's theory of the cooperative at another circle in the historical spiral?

The thus-understood cooperative principle, the principle of a high standard labor association in general, is extremely important in a socialist community. Under the conditions of mass housing construction and the acquisition of individual apartments by the majority of families and, therefore, with the inevitable individualization of the way of life, the cultured association of citizens at the place of residence becomes an urgent necessity. Maintaining the state housing fund in model condition, cleanliness and order in the micro-rayons, concern for children and the aged, joint organization of meaningful recreation, mass agitation and physical culture, health recovery work, struggle against drunkenness, landscaping and collection of secondary raw materials are merely part of the specific tasks which can be successfully implemented by the collectives of residential houses and housing offices, headed by the party organizations. What matters here is not only the direct practical result but the moral and psychological climate which would prevail wherever man spends his nonworking time.

The concept of developed socialism introduced realistic corrections to our concepts of the pace and time for the solution of problems pertaining, in terms of their origin and nature, to the first phase of the communist system.

It gave a more specific content to its social space and social time. Social science faced the task of fruitfully continuing this work and reaching the stage of practical recommendations in its research. It is already clear that the question is imminent of defining the superior landmarks, the end features, the maximal requirements which must be consistent with developed full socialism. Science must provide an objectively substantiated periodization of the first phase of the new society. It must formulate in modern terms the difference between it and the second phase, guided by Lenin's concept according to which communism is the highest level of development of socialism" (5, p 380).

There is a view according to which at the present historical stage of the development of socialism it is no longer possible to formulate any kind of theory or hypothesis of its further advancement or describe the gradation of its immediate objectives merely on the basis of most general socioeconomic essential characteristics of the system. We deem it our duty to disagree with this opinion.

Naturally, new problems cannot be resolved with the old baggage acquired several decades ago, regardless of the tremendous experience acquired in building socialism in a number of countries and its systematic summation.

This is true.

What is equally true is that the socioeconomic essential characteristics of the new system, the beginning of which was laid by Marx, Engels and Lenin, retained their inexhaustible heuristic potential. They contain, as though concentrated, the entire wealth of the general, the specific and the single, and the development of this wealth, naturally in close contact with the realities of socialism, requires a great deal of work and is by no means attainable by everyone. The truth is that whenever someone encounters theoretical difficulties, he should begin to consider critically not classical methodology but his own ability to apply it effectively. Ideological continuity, creative daring and intensified research are components without which no step forward can be taken in further concretizing the concept of developed socialism.

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HOW TO INTENSIFY SCIENTIFIC LABOR

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[Article by Sergey Georgiyevich Kara-Murza, doctor of chemical sciences, senior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the History of the Natural Sciences and Technology, specialist in problems of the organization of scientific research. Author of the article "Formalized System for the Assessment of Scientific Cadres" published in our journal (No 2, 1981).

[Text] The most important state and party documents formulate the concept of the conversion of the Soviet economy to intensive development. Its contemporary aspect "is being increasingly defined by associations and enterprises equipped with progressive tools and technology, distinguished by the rational organization and high productivity of labor and a highly efficient production system.... These are the real shoots of the future, which must multiply and strengthen with the development of the scientific and technical revolution, scientific-production and agroindustrial integration and the dissemination of progressive experience in the entire national economic system" (3). The successful solution of the problems set by the CPSU Central Committee requires not individual improvements in the current parameters of scientific activities but profound qualitative changes of cognitive, organizational and sociopsychological conditions. They affect every worker in the sciences and all areas related to it.

As in material production, the principal means of intensification in science is the use of new technologies, i.e., of cognitive means (theories and experimental methods backed by necessary material facilities). In both industry and science, periods of smooth technological development alternate with spasmodic changes in generations of cognitive means. This leads to drastic increases in possibilities.

The fuller utilization of the cadre potential offers great opportunities for essential improvements in scientific efficiency, in addition to "technological" intensification. However, both a change of technology and a conversion to a qualitatively new standard of personnel motivation and incentive are profound social processes which cannot be accurately interpreted exclusively within the framework of economic and managerial concepts.¹

Therefore, what is the essence of the conversion of science to intensive development in the light of the concepts and cognitive possibilities of the

sociology of science? Obviously, we are dealing with a comprehensive interdisciplinary problem, initially formulated within the framework of economics. Naturally, the involvement of related disciplines requires, in each specific case, the study and refinement of initial concepts. Obviously, we must first of all consider the interpretation of the reasons which have made the search for new ways of scientific development necessary, popular among economists. It is usually claimed that the need for a conversion to intensive scientific development is triggered by resource limitations. Thus, V. I. Maslennikov writes that "naturally, lacking unlimited resources, to the extent to which investments are made in science, society is increasingly forced to aspire to convert it to intensive development" (4, p 44).

However, science is by no means so "voracious" as some try to present it. Even if we add VUZ teachers, the country's scientific workers account for no more than about 1 percent of the people engaged in public production. Nor is the share of material resources consumed by science high: thus, the value of the material and technical base of research and development in industry in the USSR is about 1.5 percent of the value of basic industrial capital (5). Consequently, there cannot even be a question of the "exhaustion" of resources. The reason for raising the question of changing the very type of activities in such a small component of the national economic complex in terms of outlays should be sought in the fact that the old type of its functioning no longer meets contemporary tasks and cannot be compensated with additional investments.

Let us note that the claim of limited resources as the main incentive for intensification conflicts with the equally widespread view that capital intensiveness is characteristic of science. The author we quoted writes that "whereas the development of material production along the intensive track may be accomplished in three forms: capital-intensive, capital-conserving and neutral, in the case of the development of science, where the task of labor conservation is particularly urgent and where the pace of moral obsolescence of instruments and equipment is particularly high, a capital-intensive form of development is typical" (4, p 43). V. I. Maslennikov supports this with the following claim: "Every single bit of new knowledge attained is characterized by increased complexity, labor-intensiveness and cost of the scientific process" (ibid).

The result is that the development of science from the viewpoint of material-technical and financial resources can only be extensive. This, in our opinion, is not so. The concept of the continuing increase in the cost of each new "bit" of scientific knowledge is based on cumulative models of scientific development. In reality, as the history of the natural sciences proves, the development of new theories and methods and the discovery of new facts are frequently scientific "thrusts" which lead to the spasmodic drop in the cost of these "bits" of knowledge.²

Although the new methods call for the utilization of expensive instruments, the productivity of the latter increases much faster than their cost, for which reason the specific outlays for obtaining "bits" of knowledge quickly decline (in the same way that, with the advance of computers, the cost of

computer calculations drops (7). Consequently, any increase in the macroscopic parameter (appropriations for science and the purchase of equipment) means, more than anything else, not that scientific development is capital-intensive but that the need for scientific output is growing faster. The use of the macroscopic indicator regardless of the dynamics of all essential parameters leads to groundlessly pessimistic conclusions.

If we seek the reason for a conversion to scientific intensification not in the exhaustion of resources for extensive growth but in its inner status, changes in science cannot be related to external macroscopic parameters. In any case, it would be difficult to agree with the claim that a slowing down of the growth of appropriations and the size of cadres are indicators of the conversion of science to intensive development. Thus, G. A. Lakhtin notes that "although some authors write by inertia about the accelerated and faster development of science, in terms of previous rates of growth of scientific potential, the figures most clearly indicate that the extensive path of development is something of the past" (8, p 66). "Scientific potential has switched from accelerated to slower growth" (ibid., p 67). "The conversion of science to intensive development, which was predicted more than 10 years ago, is becoming reality" (ibid., p 68).

In our view, both theses are wrong: the fact that the reduced growth of quantitative parameters of resources in itself means that science is converting to intensive development, which "becomes reality" and that this reduction means a "slowed-down" growth of scientific potential. Scientific potential is by no means a nominal sum of resources invested in science but the ability of the system to resolve scientific and technical problems. The very concept that intensification is accompanied by a reduced rather than accelerated growth of scientific potential appears illogical.

One could hardly consider groundless the thesis that until recently science developed extensively. In our view, the expansion of scientific activities, increased material outlays and the growth in the number of scientific cadres, noted until the 1970s, does not mean in the least that at that time the development of science was primarily extensive. The tempestuous expansion of quantitative parameters of scientific activities was related, above all, to the appearance of new production cells in science and the mastering of new research problems. In order to claim that at time science developed extensively, one should single out any local scientific community involved in resolving a limited problem and trace the dynamics of the abstract indicator--the specific number of personnel and the size of outlays per "unit" of research assignment. Obviously, the precise computation of this indicator is impossible, for we cannot exclude the "intensive component" and measure conventional units. However, even in individual cases the dynamics is relatively clear. This is exemplified by "crash programs" in the course of which a large number of people try to solve a problem within the shortest possible time with the help of mass injections of funds, without trying to improve the research process (i.e., on the basis of intensification of activities). Inasmuch as such programs are characterized by their "inherent low efficiency" (9) (compensated by high production efficiency in production, making use of the urgently needed results), we can claim that this typically extensive method has always been an exceptional phenomenon in science, admissible under special

circumstances only. Therefore, there are no reasons to consider that the extensive nature of science until the 1970s was typical of world science in general and was just about the only pattern followed at a specific development stage.

This, however, does not mean that at a given moment any country or group of countries cannot undertake to convert science to intensive development (i.e., more intensive compared to the pace of its development over a certain period of time). Such task is set today to science in the USSR and in a number of other socialist countries. Here the development of science has been original, quite distinct from the path followed in the development of science in the United States and other capitalist countries. The need to maintain a very intensive pace under conditions of rigid restrictions (concerning deadlines, material resources and highly skilled cadres) resulted in the fact that important support areas, such as instrument making and the production of reagents and materials, fell significantly behind in Soviet science. Technologically, the equipment of many scientific laboratories turned out to be worse than that of similar laboratories abroad. This was partially compensated by intensive factors of a higher order: increased creative activeness of the personnel and finding original solutions; extensive factors offered partial compensation as well: the increased amount of labor per unit of output, the widened network of scientific collectives engaged in resolving common problems, etc. In other words, at a certain stage a significant percentage of Soviet scientific establishments (but by no means science as a whole!) began to use more extensive methods compared to similar establishments in the United States and other developed capitalist countries.³

The situation changed drastically in the last few decades: a new type of scientific and technical problems arose, which cannot be resolved through extensive efforts. Institutions which have fallen behind in mastering intensive factors essentially drop out of the sciences and stop being productive nuclei with a scientific potential. In their case, converting to intensive development does not involve changing one acceptable type of work with another, a more effective one, but is the only possibility of returning to science. In this case, a slowdown in the growth rates of allocations and personnel size could be logically considered not as proof of the exhaustion of resources but as a natural reaction to the inefficient utilization of funds. Greater investments make sense providing that the scientific institutions can use them efficiently. Intensification of activities (in some institutions, making the work consistent with contemporary scientific criteria) is a necessary prerequisite for increased allocations. Naturally, the very implementation of this condition requires other outlays, not for expanding but changing previous activities.

In this light, one could hardly consider the similarities in the dynamics of allocations and number of scientific cadres in the United States and the USSR over the past 20 years proof that similar processes of the conversion of science from extensive to intensive development are taking place in both countries. A different interpretation may be given to changes in quantitative parameters in American science: the dynamic curves of "normal" intensive scientific development and the needs of state-monopoly U.S. capital for scientific and technical information have intersected. In other words, intensive

scientific development in the United States has reached a point at which the need for scientific output at any given stage may be met without any substantial increases in appropriations; the growth of requirements equaled the growth of capital returns in scientific activities. On the macroscopic level, these processes, which are basically different in terms of their mechanism, may be reduced to a similarity of dynamics of statistical parameters.

We used in our considerations the "intensive" concept in its dichotomous correlation with the term "extensive." Therefore, in order to refine the content of this concept, we should consider in greater detail the interrelationship between extensive and intensive processes and factors.

As a rule, in describing such relations, we limit ourselves to the recognition of the obvious fact that in reality processes of extensive and intensive development coexist and that it is only a question of the predominance of either type. This remark, however, is worthless, for singling one economic concept or another in its pure aspect is always an abstraction and hardly anyone would question the fact that extensive development in its pure shape, for example, is impossible in general.

In speaking of the interrelationship between intensive and extensive factors, we bear in mind not the coexistence of different types of development but the inseparable unity of the two processes and the inevitable presence of the extensive principle as a component of intensification. In other words, any intensive development process would turn out to be extensive if looked at from a different angle.

Let us consider Lenin's classical definition. In terms of agriculture, V. I. Lenin wrote that it develops "mainly intensively, not by increasing the amount of farmed land but by improving the quality of farming, increasing the amount of capital invested in the same amount of land" (2). Therefore, changing the type of development means changing the structure of resources used. As long as land was not scarce, one could increase grain production extensively, by plowing up new areas. Following the exhaustion of land resources, a conversion was made to intensive farming from the point of view of the utilization of the land. However, it became extensive from the point of view of other resources, such as equipment, energy, chemical fertilizers, new plant strains, cost of worker training, etc.

Consequently, in classifying development as intensive, we must stipulate the resource for which it is intensive and the extensive use of resources which make such intensification possible.

A conversion to intensive development always involves the restructuring of the system of utilized resources or, more specifically, the development of a new system. Such a system may be created by including new elements or changing quantitative ratios and establishing new relations. In some cases, officially this may even appear as though a conversion to a qualitatively different, intensive development is being accomplished thanks to the extensive growth of precisely the resource the activities of which we are trying to intensify. In other words, in order to economize on a given resource we must increase outlays of such a resource to a certain critical level at which a new much more efficient system appears.⁴

Such a qualitative leap takes place in a number of processes of an autocatalytic nature and, in general, in processes related to threshold results. This is of exceptional importance in economics as well. Let us recall Marx's fundamental stipulations on the minimally necessary amount of capital needed for creating a capitalist enterprise and the appearance of a new productive force as a result of cooperation in bringing together a sufficiently large number of workers (1). In this case, the quality changes in the economic system take place with the smooth extensive increase of a specific resource.

In practice, unfortunately, the opposite is frequently noticed: the preservation of the extensive nature of activities precisely as a result of the fact that the "critical mass" of resources at a specific project has not been reached (scattering funds among unfinished construction sites or a large number of research projects, each one of which cannot attain the minimally acceptable quality level because of undercapitalization).

Two basic types of relatively interchangeable resources may be singled out in material production: worker cadres and material and technical means (with a materialized technology in them). In this case, the nature of intensification is determined by the scarcest resource at a given point. How could we convert science to intensive development if both types of resources are "frozen"? In our view, this becomes possible because science has at its disposal a "renewable" resource with expanded reproduction, the utilization of which does not require substantial outlays: scientific knowledge.

Scientific knowledge is both the product of scientific activities and its resource. In each specific study previously acquired knowledge is used as "raw material" without the regular supply of which scientific activities are impossible. Produced basic scientific knowledge is a virtually free resource. The expenses involve only its "packaging," transportation, storage and distribution, which is incomparably cheaper than its production (however, such particular outlays must be made!).

If we accept that the intensification of scientific activities takes place essentially thanks to the drastic acceleration of the utilization of knowledge acquired in global science,⁵ the guidelines will be provided for the purposeful advancement of all scientific subsystems: not any kind of abstract improvement in organization and material and technical support but the conscious elimination of obstacles in the application of a new "technology of scientific research, and finding effective incentives for its acceleration.

If scientific knowledge is considered a resource, it would be more accurate to describe it as the cognitive means of the researcher. We thus come closer to the analogy with material production. In material production the main way to intensive development is the utilization of qualitatively new technical facilities and technologies, whereas in science it involves the use of new more powerful cognitive means and work within the framework of an efficient cognitive system. The most important elements of this system are the set of basic scientific facts in research, the consolidation of theoretical concepts and the adoption of a set of experimental methods. All of these elements are inseparably interrelated and harming any one of them almost inevitably entails

defects in others and in the entire system as a whole. The condition of cognitive means used by the research collective or by a broader range of scientists is the most important diagnostic indicator of the quality of their work (regardless of macroscopic indicators, such as appropriations, amount of equipment, etc.). This opens the possibility of assessing and making international comparisons among studies conducted in specific areas (10, 11).

What happens when a collective falls behind in assimilating a new cognitive system which has developed in its area in world science? This collective, which continues to spend funds in the previous (or even greater) amount lowers its efficiency; at a certain critical point of such lagging, its efficiency may drop to zero. The progressive collectives must assume an increasing burden to ensure an acceptable gross scientific efficiency as a whole, whereas the tailing collectives strive toward an extensive increase in funds to compensate for their inefficient technology.

The topical nature of this problem is confirmed by the fact that today we do not consider exceptional the tendency of leading scientific institutions to perform the functions of sectorial scientific research institutes or even to develop equipment and technologies already existing abroad.⁶

Already now 40 to 50 percent of the funds of the USSR Academy of Sciences are spent on development and application projects (13). Bearing in mind that the USSR Academy of Sciences accounts for no more than 4 percent of the scientific workers in the country and that it engages in research which shapes the future development of our science, we may consider that we have reached a sensible limit in shifting to the academy the functions of sectorial institutes; in some areas, possibly, this level may have already been exceeded.

The main task of intensification, therefore, is to raise the entire bulk of sectorial and VUZ collectives to the level of contemporary problems and to create conditions which will mandate their use of the cognitive possibilities of contemporary science. It is precisely a question of reorganizing their type of work. The stereotype claim that the essence of the problem is to increase the volume of material and technical resources available to such collectives has long called for a revision. According to optimistic assessments, currently the coefficient of utilization of scientific instruments in sectorial scientific research institutes does not exceed 0.2-0.3 and is even lower in the case of the latest equipment. What would happen if today, without changing the situation, we were to double the equipment of sectorial scientific research institutes? Most likely, the only result would be lowering the coefficient of equipment utilization by one-half. Falling behind the leading edge of science triggers profound sociopsychological changes in the collectives. Obviously, at first falling behind becomes a mobilizing factor for the collective; after a while, however, it begins to exert its destructive influence. Clearly, the critical point is the lowered quality of output of the collective to the minimally acceptable level. In science the limit between useful and unnecessary labor is not apparent on the surface, whereas a conversion from work aimed at a major objective to a senseless waste of efforts could be drastic. Individual workers as well as entire collectives frequently realize that they are wasting time and funds in the production of

commodities which will find no use either in science itself or in practice. This ruinously influences the sociopsychological climate: the personnel are forced to act against their conscience, to speak of "the inevitable risk and uncertainty inherent in science," the "value of negative results," etc., although a proper study would show that from the very beginning no uncertainty or risk whatsoever were found in a number of topics but that failure was the guaranteed outcome. In some cases the waste of efforts is ascribed to improperly set indicators in assessing the work of the collective, which reorients it from a socially useful to a fictitious objective.

For example, what occurs if a strain-testing station would concentrate not on obtaining accurate information on the way a given plant strain would behave under actual soil and weather conditions but on achieving high yields? The result would be a substitution of objectives and "oases" would be established at the experimental plots, where record yields would be achieved. Meanwhile, the situation in the fields of kolkhoses and sovkholes would be entirely different. Thus, currently the gap in yields in Moldavian strain-testing stations and farms is 32 quintals per hectare for barley and 447 quintals for tomatoes! Over the past 15 years this gap has substantially widened. The danger of the "oasis" method is not only that we are deprived of accurate information but also that the strain testers discard strains which do not achieve record yields but are resistant and yield good crops under real conditions (14).

In frequent cases the target is not openly changed but turns into "petty topic." We keep using this concept while virtually ignoring its nature. The point is not the size of efforts and allocations but that a number of scientific projects are intrinsically such that they cannot resolve the problem; nor are they an organic part of bigger programs which may lead to such a solution. A certain stipulation has even developed: "We are making a contribution to the solution of the problem." This is stated although quite frequently the problem is being resolved by other people who have no use for this "contribution." In frequent cases the shortage of funds provides the initial impetus for a petty topic. However, this is not the only reason! With modest outlays it would be difficult to "kill two birds with one stone" --to resolve an important problem and to do "decent" work. A number of people prefer respectability. Is the motivation of researchers not distorted when they waste all their forces and funds on making their work externally respectable for the sake of meeting the standards of foreign journals?

- It may be said that the observance of norms and standards accepted in the world scientific community is a guarantee of the quality of the work and a means to block irresponsibility and amateurism. One could hardly argue with this. Nevertheless, in my view, much is wrong here. Science has both standards which regulate the cognitive process as well as social norms. The former are international while the latter depend on the social conditions of the specific country. The difficulty is that they are interwoven and largely autonomous. Chemical reactions in the USSR obey the same laws as in the United States. However, in the organization of their work the Soviet chemists could and should observe other criteria, which are pertinent and attainable precisely under our circumstances.

Thus, for example, the criterion of "originality" has surreptitiously become rooted in public opinion and in many standardizing documents, and considered as just about the highest ideal in scientific work. Yet science is work done collectively. The moment a serious scientific and technical problem arises, an international "brigade" of scientists appears, jointly developing the new trend. In order really to participate in the solution of such a problem, our scientists must become members of the "brigade" even though they may not be its leaders. This is not a question of originality, for the latter is merely a means which enables us to carry out our own assignment more quickly and inexpensively. What price originality if it becomes self-seeking? What price working on the periphery of problems where one could engage in work on second-rate problems calmly, with no competition and with the guarantee that no one would outstrip us? Or else what price the formulation of pseudoproblems with which neither you nor your subordinates would deal?

I had the opportunity to attend a chair meeting at Moscow State University. The topic of the discussion was to convert to the development of a new very important area in which we had fallen behind. The idea running through many of the statements was the following: let us find in this area the kind of "plants" where no one would be bothering us and where we could do original work! Instead of plunging into the thick of events or thinking of the priority of the idea of providing our scientific research institutes and design bureaus with the latest knowledge on the problem and to train cadres which would master it, preference was given to petty but original topics. Furthermore, reports that an instrument or machine developed in our country "is without analogue in world practice" does not always create unmitigated joy, for in itself the lack of an analogue is by no means a self-evident quality.

Therefore, conversion to intensive scientific development requires the solution of the following dialectically related problems: (1) drastically accelerating the assimilation of the cognitive means of contemporary science by the scientific collectives; (2) reorganizing the existing scale of motivations and incentives which direct researchers to petty topics and to endless amounts of work in the old directions. Obviously, the difficulties in resolving these problems are like a vicious circle. New cognitive means are developed essentially in new scientific areas. In order to assimilate them we must have people. In turn, the unprecedentedly fast birth and development of new trends in world science in the last decade became possible above all thanks to the substantial growth of labor productivity of researchers, which allowed the release of significant cadre resources for work in the new areas.

By organizing the development of science and cadre mobility on a planned basis we have made sociological scientific work absolutely necessary. Such work is particularly topical now, during the period of rapid reorganization of the structure of science. The intuition and experience of practical managers frequently prove insufficient in the new situation. Yet, it is as though the science of sociology "has failed to notice" this new situation and the new problems. The initial concepts and hypotheses of many research projects have remained unchanged since the end of the 1960s.

What conceptual changes should be made in the sociology of science so that it may become rapidly included in the formulation of problems of the conversion

of science to intensive development? In my view, sociological research must be, conceptually, precisely within the area of the sociology of science rather than the sociology of labor activities in general. Today the program and concepts of most research projects are such that they could be equally successfully used in the study of collectives in virtually any area. The specific nature of science as a cognitive activity with its specific technology and cognitive standards has virtually disappeared. However, without a consideration of the cognitive base within the limits of which the researchers are studying their topic, the formulation of many sociological parameters becomes virtually impossible. Is it all the same for a sociologist whether the collective he is studying is publishing articles which, because of their low quality, cannot be considered any kind of scientific output at all or else works meeting high standards? Is it not important the with which institutions does this collective maintains close contacts and what are the sources of its work information?

Perhaps this is not clearly taken into consideration in research, for as a rule, a rather mixed selection of collectives is chosen as a study target, i.e., collectives about which it is well-known that they operate on a rather high scientific level. However, it is precisely this that lowers the value of the resulting conclusions. It is essentially postulated, without any particular substantiation, that both efficient and mediocre scientific collectives are essentially social organism of the same type. Therefore, the data obtained in the study of properly working organizations could be extrapolated to a broad range of establishments. This, in my view, is incorrect. In order to upgrade the practical value of study results, we must undertake the study precisely of mediocre collectives, and collectives on the verge of being "expelled" from science. We must study social and sociopsychological processes which develop in a collective which has fallen behind the leading edge of science, find the diagnostic indicators for the various stages of such lagging and the critical factors which enable us to break the vicious circles and commence "treatment." Obviously, such "treatment" would be an entire set of special measures and not at all adopting the experience of progressive organizations.

The efficiency and cost of intensification of our science largely depend on sociology. Let us hope that the efforts of researchers will be concentrated within the framework of the program-target approach and undertaken quite quickly, so that the management bodies would not have to use the trial-and-error method in decision-making.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The insufficient study of the ties between technological and sociopsychological factors is causing substantial harm to science, a harm which could drastically worsen in the course of the future automation of many operations in scientific experimentation. We have not taken into consideration the experience gained in the automation of industrial output and are entering the stage of extensive technological retooling of our laboratories without a forecast of changes in cognitive, social and organizational areas, which will result from the automation of experimentation.

2. For example, the creation and development of chromatography led to the fact that in 35 years the amount of protein needed for the study of amino acids declined by 10^{12} (6).
3. In literature the word "extensive" is frequently used as antonym of the concepts of "rational" and "efficient." In our view, under certain circumstances, the extensive development is the most efficient as well as rational. Furthermore, the socialist economic system makes it possible to make fuller use of the extensive factors compared to the capitalist. This is due to the fact that the country's scientific potential is not dismembered, as is the case in the capitalist countries, where scientific and technical information is private property. The flexibility of extensive factors enabled the creation of a powerful scientific potential in the USSR within an unprecedentedly short time.
4. This paradox is reflected in statements such as "I am not rich enough to buy cheap things."
5. In our abstract consideration we ignore the fact that any "revival" of scientific resources inefficiently used because of shortcomings in management may appear on the surface as intensification. Essentially, however, it is usually a question of shortcomings which are intolerant under extensive development as well.
6. For example, the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Molecular Biology was forced to undertake work on a method for immunoanalysis of viral diseases in the potato (12), for, clearly, the existing sectorial institutes proved unable to provide original developments or even to reproduce technology available abroad.
7. For example, as was the case in the past, there is a question of the need to improve the growth of the official positions of young workers, although it is obvious that in retaining the traditional hierarchical structure in the scientific organizations and the stabilization of the number of establishments, the old type of career cannot be obtained. The changed circumstances demand new means of determining professional standards and wage systems unrelated to the position held.

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**SOCIAL ASPECTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION FORCES IN THE USSR
AGROINDUSTRIAL COMPLEX**

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[Text] In the course of the nationwide preparations for the 27th Party Congress, an active exchange of views has developed on topical problems of social development and their solution. The period in which we currently find ourselves is a qualitatively new historical level of transition to the comprehensive solution of problems of perfecting socialism, which is at the initial stage of maturity. The new draft of the CPSU program will define the main direction of our activities for decades into the future. Already now, however, we must strictly assess our achievements and self-critically analyze the lessons of the past in order to be able to resolve more successfully the new and complex problems which the building of socialism presents to us.

The March 1965 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which formulated qualitatively new principles for crop farming and animal husbandry, based on the organic combination of the achievements of scientific and technical progress with the advantages of the socialist economic management system, was a major stage in the development of our contemporary agrarian policy. In the course of implementing its resolutions, the working people in agriculture considerably strengthened the material and technical base in farming and the economy of the countryside and society as a whole. This contributed to the upsurge of the well-being, social activeness and social unity of the Soviet people. In

analyzing at its latest congresses, plenums and worker conferences the practice and results of the implementation of these resolutions, the party systematically and comprehensively developed and intensified the theoretical and practical conclusions stemming from them. One of the results of this extensive project was the scientifically substantiated strategy of CPSU agrarian policy as a major component of the general program of perfecting Soviet society.

The May 1982 and October 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenums play a particular role in this work. Guided by Lenin's stipulations to the effect that "the true foundations of farming are the food stock" (1), the May Plenum passed the USSR Food Program, which meets most profoundly and completely the requirements of the intensification of the country's economy and the enhancement of the well-being of the Soviet people. A course was charted which ensures the shaping of the developed agroindustrial complex on the basis of the acceleration of the scientific-biotechnical revolution and the all-round perfection of production relations and the entire socialist economic management mechanism. In accordance with these stipulations, the October Plenum passed major decisions aimed at upsurge in agriculture, which is an important yet insufficiently developed social production unit, and ensuring the leading role of socioeconomic factors in its development. The essence of the long-term program for extensive land reclamation, which is today a decisive factor in ensuring the stable increase in the country's food stock, which is a manifestation of the desire to take agriculture out of the power of the elements.

The party and the people acquire greater practical experience in the course of the implementation of contemporary agrarian policy. The first 2 years of implementation of the Food Program have already yielded fruitful results. Compared with the preceding 2 years, agricultural output increased by 20 billion rubles. Average annual production increased by 7.4 million tons for milk, 1.4 million tons for meat and 4.6 billion eggs. Fruit and vegetable harvests increased significantly. Radical changes are taking place in the life of the rural population and a trend toward its stabilization and a higher birth rate has been noticed. At the same time, however, the difficulties the surmounting of which requires further improvements in agrarian policy have been manifested more clearly. "The problems raised by reality in the course of the transformation of agriculture into a highly developed economic sector will require new and most efficient solutions. It is not a question of shifting accents in our directives but of finding truly innovative and creative approaches" (3).

Traditionally, the production forces within the agroindustrial complex are considered in general sociological literature and, partially, in practical work, only in connection with the rural population. They are limited to agriculture and agriculture, in turn, is limited to the countryside. In this case, the rural population is virtually identified with the agricultural population. Both are no longer consistent with the realities which have appeared over the past 20 years.

To begin with, the production forces in agriculture do not coincide with the production forces of the countryside as a whole. In today's Soviet countryside no more than one-half of the able-bodied population is engaged in agriculture; the other half works in nonagrarian material production sectors and

in the service industry. The share of the latter is increasing and its various types of activities are expanding (Table 1). The countryside accounts for one out of six or seven light industry, power industry, heavy industry and construction enterprise and includes about 300,000 auxiliary industrial enterprises, production lines and branches of urban factories. Let us add to this the millions of commuting rural residents, who live in the countryside but work in the city.

Table 1--Breakdown of Rural Workers by Type of Work, %

<u>Area of Employment</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1982</u>
Material production	83.1	80.7	78.9	75.3
a) Agroindustrial complex	76.8	71.9	68.8	62.4
Agriculture	71.1	65.5	61.9	52.7
Industrial services to agriculture, produce processing	5.8	6.4	6.9	9.7
b) Other sectors	6.3	8.8	10.1	12.9
Nonproduction sphere	12.2	14.5	16.8	20.7
Sociocultural services	9.1	10.8	12.0	14.1
Commercial-consumer services	3.1	3.7	4.8	6.6
Credit, state insurance, management	0.7	0.9	1.3	1.2
Household work	4.0	3.9	3.0	2.8

Secondly, the agrarian sphere is not limited to the countryside but is part of the urban structure as well. It is here that a significant proportion of agricultural production forces are functioning and developing: on the one hand, this includes poultry farms, agrochemical laboratories, etc.; on the other, sovkhozes, kolkhozes and auxiliary agricultural shops located on urban territory. The scale of such production forces is expanding steadily. This is considerably assisted by the scientific-biotechnical revolution, which is creating energy- and science-intensive agrarian production facilities which require a minimal amount of land and are tied to the urban infrastructure.

Thirdly, production forces in agriculture are only part of the production forces of the agroindustrial complex, and are diminishing with every passing year. Whereas in the mid-1960s the ratio between people employed in agriculture and in the nonagricultural sectors of the agroindustrial complex was 10:5, today it is 10:11; after the total conversion to comprehensive mechanization has been achieved and labor surpluses in the southern kolkhozes have been eliminated, over the next decade the ratio may stabilize at the 10:20 level. Most of the workers in the nonagrarian sectors of the agroindustrial complex are urban residents and this situation will remain unchanged unless additional efforts are made to develop agroindustrial enterprises in the countryside.

Let us point out that in the past, the nonagrarian sectors within this complex were separated from agriculture and were used as a base for the creation of industrial giants such as the Stalingrad, Kharkov and Minsk tractor plants,

the Rostov and Tashkent combines plants and large plants engaged in the production of chemical fertilizers. However, quite frequently, as a side factor of farming and animal husbandry industrialization, a number of small auxiliary facilities, processing centers, repair workshops and other semi-artisan enterprises developed, whose progress was by no means based on the latest scientific and technological accomplishments.

All of this proves that the efforts to perfect production forces in the agroindustrial complex apply to both town and country. The elimination of the historically developed lagging of production forces in the countryside and their further development are possible only on the basis of a high-technology urban industry and material standards. Therefore, the development of the urban part of production forces in the agroindustrial complex becomes particularly relevant, the more so since agriculture, which is becoming increasingly dependent on the other sectors in the complex, is becoming an increasingly exigent partner.

The steps taken over the past 20 years to strengthen the material and technical base of agriculture brought USSR agriculture close to the stage of comprehensive industrialization, the structural components of which are mechanization, automation, specialization, concentration, chemization, land reclamation and the development of the main productive force--the agrarian worker. This possibility, however, itself appeared at a time when agroindustrial integration, which enabled us to utilize the tremendous potential of the mature socialist national economy, became the main development trend of production forces in this area.

Today perfecting production forces in agriculture greatly depends on surmounting differences between kolkhozes and sovkhoses as a base for bringing the peasantry closer to the agrarian workers. Significant progress was achieved in this direction in the postwar years (Table 2) although a certain lag remains. During the 1970s the kolkhozes caught up with the sovkhoses in terms of power-labor ratio per 100 hectares in crops, while still significantly lagging in terms of the power-labor ratio per worker. This is partially related to the structure of the crops: sovkhoses grow nearly twice the amount of grain crops and half the industrial crops compared to kolkhozes. As we know, the level of comprehensive mechanization in grain farming is substantially higher than in the cultivation of industrial crops, which are still not provided with the necessary machines and mechanisms. But there is more. In Uzbekistan, for example, there are 37 percent more cattle, 500 percent more grain and 10 percent more industrial crops, and a great deal more of vegetables and feed crops per worker compared with kolkhozes. Power facilities per 100 hectares in crops here are 23 percent less, i.e., averaging 430 horsepower compared to 538 horsepower in the kolkhozes. Clearly, the main reason for which the power-labor ratio per kolkhoz member here is 75 percent lower is the labor surplus in the kolkhozes. A similar situation may be noted in most southern oblasts, which account for the bulk of the country's kolkhozes.

The elimination of labor surpluses in the southern kolkhozes will require the better utilization of available equipment, improved labor organization and transferring some kolkhoz members to industry and consumer services. The latter is possible as a result of a more energetic development of nonagrarian

economic sectors in the countryside (including the agroindustrial complex) and stimulating the commuting of the rural population, as has already been achieved in the Baltic area, where the power-labor ratio per kolkhoz member is equal or even superior to that of sovkhos workers (all other indicators in the development of their production forces being equal) as a result of the better utilization of equipment and manpower.

Table 2--Dynamics of the Development of Production Forces
in Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes

<u>Indicator</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1982</u>
Power-labor ratio per agrarian worker, in horsepower	1.7	8.5	18.8	28.3
Kolkhozes	1.4	6.7	13.2	22.4
Sovkhozes	4.4	12.7	23.7	32.0
Ratio, %	32	45	56	70
Power capacities per 100 hectares in crops, in horsepower	36	114	217	320
Kolkhozes	30	99	194	294
Sovkhozes	40	101	191	284
Ratio, %	75	98	102	104
Basic capital per agrarian worker, thousand rubles	0.5	2.1	6.0	10.5
Kolkhozes	*	1.6	4.6	8.2
Sovkhozes	*	2.9	7.4	12.8
Ratio, %	*	55	62	64
Basic capital per 100 hectares of farmland, thousand rubles	3.0	10.1	28.8	47.5
Kolkhozes	*	11.9	37.2	61.3
Sovkhozes	*	7.1	20.6	33.8
Ratio, %	*	168	180	182

* No data

Upgrading production specialization and concentration is a major aspect in perfecting agricultural production forces. From the very beginning, the sovkhozes were created for the purpose of engaging in large-scale, primarily specialized, output. The kolkhozes inherited the multisectorial nature of the private farms, on the basis of which they were created, i.e., at first there were small farms and only subsequently were they enlarged in accordance with the requirements of scientific and technical progress. In postwar years a similarity has been achieved between the two in terms of volumes of output and number of workers. As a whole, however, the concentration of production forces in the kolkhozes (productive capital, for example) has remained lower than in the sovkhozes by a factor of 1.6. Furthermore, there are fewer differences among sovkhozes than among kolkhozes. Alongside farms with productive capital worth tens of millions of rubles, there are many kolkhozes whose assets do not exceed several hundred thousand. Furthermore, given their multisectorial structure, production concentration in the kolkhozes is relatively low. Within the sovkhos system even small farms are specialized and

distinguished by their high production concentration. They have greater opportunities for production mechanization and elimination of manual labor compared to kolkhozes on the same scale.

Naturally, the small-scale multisectorial kolkhozes fall behind the larger ones in terms of material and technical facilities and income. Their work is less mechanized and worse paid. All of this cannot fail to influence the retaining of skilled cadres. That is possibly why in the northern areas, where the share of such farms is higher than in the south, the practice of reorganizing them into sovkhoses has become widespread. Here there are no obstacles to the redistribution of income among strong enterprises operating under better conditions and their weak neighbors, whose economy must be strengthened. Practical experience has indicated, however, that this method develops a mentality of dependence; it inadequately harnesses the possibilities of agricultural collectives. Real alternatives must be sought, which would enable us to lower the costs of relatively low-scale production facilities by utilizing the possibilities offered by the kolkhoz system itself. It is a question of converting small intrakolkhoz production facilities into large-scale specialized organizations operating on an interfarm basis.

The opportunities which this method presented were quickly realized by the kolkhozes: interfarm cooperation enabled them to get rid of petty production facilities and to upgrade the level of specialization in the basic sectors of the farms. The number of interfarm enterprises more than doubled in the 1970s (from 4,580 to 9,661); kolkhozes accounted for 82 percent of the shareholders. In the current five-year plan, however, the growth of interfarm enterprises was drastically slowed down and the scale of participation of shareholding kolkhozes in them decreased. This was caused by violations of the principle of material incentive of the shareholders. As a whole, interfarm enterprises are highly profitable; their capital-labor and energy-labor ratio is higher than that of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and so are their levels of mechanization and labor productivity. The paradox, however, is that the more profitable the interfarm enterprises are the higher the losses of the individual shareholders: the funds which the shareholders contribute to the creation and development of such farms are considerable, while income distribution is purely symbolic. Having failed to receive the promised recovery of their investments, the kolkhozes began to adopt a more cautious attitude to plans for the creation of new interfarm production facilities or, wherever a situation of "voluntary-mandatory" implementation of such plans develops, try to limit their contribution to a minimum. Thus, in a number of Nonchernozem oblasts, where the importance of interfarm cooperation is particularly great, the participation of kolkhozes has diminished by one-half since the beginning of the 1970s, averaging 4,000 to 6,000 rubles. The interest shown in this case is only formal and participation has no noticeable influence on either the level of specialization or the results of kolkhoz economic management.

Obviously, we should restore the material incentive of kolkhozes in interfarm cooperation. It has also become necessary to review its trends. Currently, saturation with interfarm enterprises is quite high in most parts of the country, particularly in the north. In our view, in the immediate future it should be a question less of increasing their number than perfecting the forms

of interfarm cooperation, strengthening its material and technical base and ensuring a more efficient structure of such projects by paying greater attention to agricultural services and supplementary nonagrarian production. This will ensure manpower employment between seasons and broaden the range of jobs for women, which are obviously insufficient in the countryside. Rural girls are still going to the cities, which worsens even further the sex/age population disproportion which has developed as a result of previous migrations.

A major trend in perfecting production forces in agriculture is surmounting disparities in their development level based on type of activity, basic and auxiliary, crop growing and animal husbandry, etc. The example of the sovkhozes (Table 3) shows that although some progress has been achieved in this area in recent years a great deal more remains to be done. For example, industrial livestock raising and crop-growing methods must be introduced, which reduce manual labor. Thus, in the specialized complexes manual labor is lower by one-third compared to animal husbandry as a whole. Conversely, the share of equipment tuners and skilled repair workers has tripled. Similar changes are taking place in the structure of the personnel in industrial crop growing of corn, cotton and others. All-round industrialization eliminates sectorial differences among agrarian workers as well as disparities in the nature of personnel employed in basic and auxiliary activities. However, this process is developing more slowly than required by society. This is due to the lack of organization of jobs in agricultural production, labor surpluses in many kolkhozes and sovkhozes (particularly in the south) and lack of interest in the use of machines and mechanisms. The situation is also influenced by the economic unsuitability of replacing manual work with machines because of the high cost of equipment (particularly equipment servicing during the period of its use), as well as its unreliability. Thus, a substantial percentage of cotton-harvesting equipment has idled in Uzbekistan in recent years and cotton picking has been done manually, involving urban residents.

Table 3--Changes in the Structure of Sovkhoz Workers by Type of Work, %

Type and Realm of Activity	Year	Working:			
		With Machines and Mechanisms	Manually, With Machines and Mechanisms	Manually, Without Machines and Mechanisms	Manually, in Machine and Equipment Repairs
Basic activities	1965	20.7	2.4	76.1	0.8
	1982	31.3	4.3	59.6	4.8
Auxiliary "	1965	6.6	0.5	92.9	--
	1982	11.4	1.9	85.4	1.3
Crop growing	1965	20.2	2.6	77.2	--
	1982	28.9	1.1	68.0	2.0
Animal husbandry	1965	8.6	2.6	88.2	0.6
	1982	21.2	14.9	60.1	3.8
Transportation	1965	66.5	0.3	33.2	--
	1982	87.4	0.8	11.8	--
Repair workshops, auxiliary enterprises	1965	21.9	1.2	65.6	11.3
	1982	33.2	1.8	29.9	35.1

Reducing manual and heavy work in private auxiliary farming (LPKh) is of great importance. Here less than 10 percent of the entire amount of work is mechanized, although this sector involves the work of 13 million families of kolkhoz members, 11.8 million of sovkhoz worker families and 15 million workers and employees not working in agriculture. Great hope is placed in minor mechanization. Bearing in mind the great economic and social significance of LPKh and its widespread nature and high labor outlays, the party plans "significantly to increase the production...of minor mechanization facilities for agricultural work" (2). However, we must bear in mind that, above all, the purpose of LPKh is to supply its owners with fruits and vegetables. Hence the multisectorial nature of the private auxiliary plots, the extremely small scale of output and the economic unsuitability of mechanizing labor operations with the help of privately owned technical facilities. Those who produce for the market benefit from the results of minor mechanization. Furthermore, the auxiliary farms employ a number of rather old people who lack the skill of handling mechanisms. Naturally, minor mechanization can facilitate the work of the bulk of LPKh owners only partially. In developing mechanization, we should also think of changing the forms of LPKh farming based on the principles of cooperation.

Table 4--Interoblast Differences (in the RSFSR Nonchernozem Zone)
in Capital-Labor Ratios Per Agrarian Worker at the Beginning
of the 11th Five-Year Plan, in rubles

<u>Indicator</u>	<u>Economic Areas in the Zone</u>				<u>RSFSR Nonchernozem Zone</u>
	<u>North- western</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Volga-Vyatsk</u>	<u>Ural</u>	
Deviations from the median by region in capital-labor ratio per kolkhoz in dif- ferent oblasts	+693	+1156	+3127	+1634	+3556
Disparity	-280	-2493	-2493	-1241	-3852
Deviations from the average by region in capital-labor ratio per sovkhoz worker	973	3649	5620	2875	7408
Disparity	+1452	+720	+1280	+933	+1992
	-1881	-3877	-2478	-1321	-4202
	3333	4597	3758	2254	6194

Surmounting regional disparities in the availability of power, assets and nature and content of labor is a socially significant aspect in perfecting production forces in the agricultural area. Thus, with a power-labor ratio per kolkhoz member of 22.4 horsepower, in 1982 it was 58.6 horsepower in Estonia and only 5.5 horsepower in Georgia. In the Russian Nonchernozem, the capital-labor ratio per average annual sovkhoz worker in the basic group of oblasts was double that of the autonomous republics at the beginning of the five-year plan; it was nearly triple in the kolkhozes. For example, in the most developed oblasts, capital assets per kolkhoz member averaged 3,556 rubles more and in the least developed, 3,852 rubles less than the zonal

average. As a whole, the interoblast disparity averaged 7,408 rubles (Table 4). These differences are the reason why some oblasts fall behind others in the level of professional skills of agrarian workers. Thus, at the start of the five-year plan, interoblast fluctuations in the Russian Chernozem ranged between 22.5 and 64.8 percent, while interr rayon fluctuations were in excess of 40 percent.

Disparities in the sovkhoz system are explained by the uneven development of production forces in the old and the new farms which were set up on the basis of the economically weak kolkhozes. Selective studies indicate that the old kolkhozes outstrip the new in terms of capital-labor ratio by a factor of 1.9; they are superior in terms of labor mechanization by a factor of 2.0-2.3, the professionalism of the workers, by 1.8-2.1 and wages by 1.4-1.5. Disparities have been reduced in recent years, thanks to the free handling of sovkhoz capital investments. As a whole, the elimination of interregional and inter-farm differences depends on the pace on which the shaping of the agroindustrial complex is completed on the scale of the country or the individual republic, oblast or rayon. The RAPO [rayon agroindustrial associations] play a special role, which is to equalize the economic development of all farms in the rayon. The RAPO have been assigned to improve the distribution of capital investments and material resources, and provide long-range and current rayon planning. In particular, they must redistribute capital investments among rayon agricultural enterprises and ensure the optimal utilization of centralized funds. Our studies indicate that many RAPO have still not found a proper approach to such redistribution without harming the economic interests of the strong farms and creating a dependency in the weak farms, which frequently become accustomed to being "pulled along" by their stronger partners. The same may be said about the practice of perfecting the main productive force--the worker cadres--for whose training and skill improvement the RAPO are responsible.

It is true that the development of APK production forces is not limited to the agrarian sectors. Today the majority of its working people are employed outside crop growing and animal husbandry. Thus, 25 percent of the rural workers are employed in the nonproduction sphere, ensuring the expanded social reproduction of the rural population, including the agrarian. In most parts of the country the share of nonagrarian workers in the overall contingent of rural working people exceeds the share of animal husbandrymen and crop growers combined. Their share will continue to increase in connection with the optimized development of the APK, which requires paying great attention to the areas of servicing agrarian production, processing, storing and delivering commodities and serving the social infrastructure. As a result of the implementation of the USSR Food Program, over the next 10 years the average annual number of agricultural workers will be reduced to 35 percent; the personnel employed in the nonagrarian material production sectors will increase to the 35 percent level and the personnel in social services, to 30 percent. Obviously, the number of urban APK workers will remain stable.

Nonagrarian APK workers are the most variegated contingent of working people in terms of the development of production forces. The professionally least trained workers are in the service industry. They are employed in small

collectives numbering between 3 and 10 members, performing undermechanized work and are insufficiently skilled. The collectives do not always influence them beneficially. In this case specialization and concentration, based on interfarm cooperation and the development of the service industry, are effective. A positive experience in this area has been acquired in the RSFSR, the Baltic area and the Ukraine.

This equally applies to the personnel in the processing, food and auxiliary industries. Many of the enterprises here are old and their material and technical support is weaker compared to the steadily updated agricultural base. A broad program for the radical reorganization and technical retooling of such enterprises and their closer involvement within the system of APK economic relations was earmarked at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Interfarm cooperation is assigned a major role in the reorganization of auxiliary production facilities and industries. It will enable us to employ agrarian workers in the production of consumer goods between agricultural seasons.

The study indicates that today the weakest link in APK production forces is not the kolkhozes or the sovkhozes but the nonagrarian sectors within the complex. The systematic implementation of CPSU agrarian policy calls for optimizing the development of all of its links, including the nonproduction area in the countryside, which ensures the reproduction of the main production force--the rural working people. Today this problem has become particularly grave. Clearly, the slogan of the 1930s "Cadres Decide Everything!" has gained a new content and has become once again topical.

The scientific-biotechnical revolution means progressive technology and highly productive strains of food crops and livestock breeds and powerful machines and mechanisms. However, the introduction of new developments is still slow and occasionally capacities are used inefficiently. The reasons for this are numerous. One of them is the lagging in the level of development of the abilities of workers in the agroindustrial complex behind the requirements of the contemporary production process, in crop growing and animal husbandry in particular.

It would seem that there are no reasons for concern: over the past 20 years mechanizer training has doubled; the training of secondary skilled specialists has increased by a factor of 2.3 and of highly skilled specialists, by a factor of 2.4. Every year VUZs and technicums graduate some 300,000 agricultural specialists, while the SPTU [agricultural vocational training schools] and mechanization courses train slightly under 1.5 million tractor, combine and truck drivers and other skilled personnel. For quite some time virtually all rural young people begin their life with a minimum of a general secondary education. In recent years alone, the share of the rural population with secondary and higher training has increased by a factor of 2.1 and that of kolkhoz members, 2.2. Real prerequisites have been created for the professional training of rural workers in accordance with the requirements of the scientific-biotechnical revolution.

The concern is manifested when said figures are compared with others and considered through the lens of the training of agricultural cadres. In 20 years some 23 million mechanizers have been trained in the countryside and 7 million kolkhoz members have acquired new skills. Within that time the agricultural VUZs and technicums graduated nearly 4 million agronomists, zootechnicians, veterinarians and engineers; a considerable number of other specialists have been trained for work in the agroindustrial complex at nonagrarian schools. Had they gone to work as assigned, i.e., in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, there would be one specialist per approximately five workers engaged primarily in physical work, and in terms of their number, crop growing and animal husbandry would match the leading economic sectors. In reality, the situation is by no means so favorable. Whereas the tractor and combine fleet has increased by a factor of 1.6, the number of tractor and combine drivers in the country has increased by a factor of 1.3 only. As a result, cadre availability has declined from 139 to 114 mechanizers per 100 tractors. The decline is even greater in the sovkhozes and kolkhozes of the RSFSR, in the labor-scarce Non-chernozem in particular. Selective studies done by us in the mid-1960s and in 1984 indicate that whereas previously there were two mechanizers per machine, today there are more tractors and combines than there are mechanizers. The availability of specialists at kolkhozes and sovkhozes leaves something better to be desired. If we classify as practical workers specialists in nonagrarian areas, on a national average they would account for more than one-third of all engineering and technical workers in agriculture and more than 50 percent of middle-level management.

The reason is obvious: the poor consolidation of cadres and their migration from country to town. It is true that in recent years favorable changes in rural migration have been noted: the counter migration of urban residents has increased. However, it is too early to relax. The inflow of cadres needed in the agricultural areas is too small. It is elderly and old urban residents, former peasants, who now go to the countryside, as a result of improved living conditions there. As a rule, these are skillful people and will unquestionably be useful in the countryside. However, this new influx cannot compensate for the outflow of young and best-educated cadres. Selective surveys have confirmed that more than one-half of male graduates and two-thirds of female secondary school graduates intend to move to the city. Less than one-third of the boys and one-eighth of the girls who intend to continue with their studies intend to pursue them in agriculture. In other words, only 10 percent of all graduates who intend to move have chosen an agricultural skill. Bearing in mind that after graduating from the SPTU, the VUZ or the technicum many of them will remain in the city, and that an even larger number will move away from their assigned job and will go to the city as well after their mandatory work term has elapsed, another two-thirds of rural school graduates become irretrievably lost to the countryside. Although the situation is better than it was 10 years ago, this change for the better fails to meet current APK requirements.

Migrations are affected by the poor labor training of young people. On the eve of the school reform, no more than 11 percent of RSFSR rural school students were being given labor training. To this day, most senior class students are either unfamiliar with the nature of the real production process

or else undergo their labor training in classrooms, laboratories and workshops. Many schools are in no hurry to establish business relations with agricultural enterprises, neighboring SPTU or experimental farms; in turn, the latter are in no hurry to beat a path to the school. Occasionally, extremes of a different order occur in which, ignoring the purposes of the reform, and with a view to filling the cracks which open as a result of the poor organization of agricultural work, school students are used as free manpower.

More than anything else, the outflow of specialists, mechanizers and other skilled cadres in the agroindustrial complex is influenced by the adverse working and living conditions of the rural population. In turn, this involves secondary school graduates in the migration process, following the example of the older members of their villages. Furthermore, this also affects the level of development of the capabilities of the population remaining in the countryside.

Work shortfalls begin in high school. In terms of material facilities, many rural schools are as good as those in the cities but the teachers are less well-qualified. The reason is the high turnover of young teachers. Here cadre turnover is several times higher than in the towns. The teachers acquire practical experience and then move to the towns, replaced by inexperienced graduates.

As far as skill upgrading is concerned, within the system of the agroindustrial complex it is distinguished by its obvious anachronism. Let us take the kolkhozes as an example. Over the past 10 years alone, according to official data, as many as 27 million people have upgraded their skills here, i.e., double the number of kolkhoz members. Nevertheless, most peasants remain underskilled or unskilled. Sociological studies indicate that a relatively small number of people are learning new skills or upgrading them. Therefore, of between one-fifth and one-sixth of those surveyed, only one-fifth to one-sixth of the most skilled kolkhoz members had mastered three to seven or more skills. They were essentially attending skill upgrading courses. Yet, under the conditions of agricultural intensification the majority of agrarian workers should have two to three skills.

The cadre retraining and skill upgrading system must be radically revised in accordance with contemporary agroindustrial production requirements. To this day, school curriculae are poorly coordinated. The planned conversion to higher levels of skill within one's specialty is not ensured. Not everything is satisfactory in skill acquisition. In most agricultural specialties there are only three or even fewer grades which, once attained, entitle the worker to consider himself as having reached the height of professional mastery. The system of skill ratings should be changed. The number of ratings should be increased and related more closely to the labor incentive system. Furthermore, a number of operations in crop growing and animal husbandry remain unrated and are classified as "various." This is explained by the direct borrowing of the criteria used for rating in industry and the loss of quality specifics in farm work (such as, for example, the need for familiarity with the animate world). The proper approach to this matter would reveal that agriculture has a significantly smaller share of unskilled labor than is believed. Yet this is very important from the sociopsychological and economic viewpoints.

An important change has been noticed in recent years in retaining in agriculture the young people remaining in the countryside. Previously, the majority of them, who had remained in the countryside, moved to the city 2-3 years later. Today young men and women remain in the countryside consciously, having selected farm work as a career. Many of them enter correspondence or evening agricultural schools, thus developing into the backbone of the young generation of farming specialists. The most important thing now is to consolidate this success, to broaden the contingent of such young people and take more fully into consideration their needs and demands. All of this requires a comprehensive approach to the countryside and improvements in the social and production areas.

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EXPERIENCE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

FAMILY CONSOLIDATION AS TREND IN PARTY COMMITTEE ACTIVITIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 85
(signed to press 29 Apr 85) pp 50-55

[Article by Yevgeniy Aleksandrov Asoskov, first secretary of the Sevastopolskiy CPSU Raykom, Moscow City]

[Text] The comprehensive consolidation of the family, further improvements in the conditions of its life and upgrading its role in the implementation of our supreme objective, which is the comprehensive development of the individual, are major aspects of CPSU social policy. The party proceeds from the fact that the tasks of democratic and socioeconomic policy are organically inter-related and that the "measure of comprehensive development of everyone is determined by the measure of the comprehensive development of all which, in turn, depends on the level reached in the socioeconomic maturity of society and its material and cultural possibilities" (1), and that "for a number of years we have consistently implemented measures to improve the working and living conditions of mothers and increasing benefits to large families. The accelerated construction of nurseries and kindergartens and increasing the production and upgrading the quality of goods for children are among our primary concerns" (2).

The task of strengthening the family has become particularly topical over the past 15 years. This is related, on the one hand, to the increased requirements concerning the raising of the new generations and, on the other, the increased complexity of this process under the influence of consequences of the scientific and technical revolution, such as urbanization, mass population migrations, aggravation of ecological problems, a lowered natural population growth, in the European part of the USSR in particular, and a number of other negative phenomena.

The most urgent are the problems of strengthening the family and increasing the birth rate in the big and biggest cities. The divorce rate in Moscow is 50 percent higher than the national average while the birth rate is half the average. According to sociodemographic studies, more than 40 percent of working women in the capital tend to have no more than one child. This significantly hinders the natural growth of the population, for such a growth is possible only when most families have no less than three children. In order to improve the demographic situation in the capital, as early as the 1970s

the CPSU gorkom earmarked a number of steps to strengthen the family and to ease the situation of working women, those with several children in particular. Greater attention was paid to young families. In 1979, in accordance with the resolution of the party organization, the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee set up a Family and Marriage Department. Today rayons and enterprises are dealing with such problems more purposefully.

Let us note that by virtue of the different sociodemographic conditions which have developed in the various parts of the city, the implementation of city-wide measures in Moscow is rather difficult, particularly if based on a long-term program. Therefore, although planning and coordinating the work on strengthening the family should take place on a city-wide scale, the rayon plays a leading role in the implementation of objectives. It is precisely its specific features which determine the specific tasks in this work and the means for their implementation.

Sevastopolskiy Rayon is characterized by a complex demographic situation. In particular, we note a stable drop in marriage indicators. To a certain extent this is explained by the aging of the population, for elderly people account for a significant percentage of the rayon's residents. However, as the specialists have noted, the development of this trend also contributes to the increased number of individuals of marrying age, who are either unwilling to marry or have difficulties in creating a family. Therefore, in order to reinforce labor resources, we must draw manpower "from the outside," for which reason the share of non-Muscovite workers who live in hostels in the rayon is quite high, accounting for approximately 30 percent among Komsomol members. They decide to set up families and to have children only after resolving other problems related to changes in their place of residence. Furthermore, the reduced marriage rate is accompanied by an increased absolute and relative number of divorces. Young marriages are particularly unstable. Sixty-eight out of 100 divorces are in families less than 5 years old. This proves, on the one hand, the insufficient effectiveness of the existing system for preparing young people for marriage and their moral upbringing as a whole and, on the other, the existence of major economic and moral difficulties encountered by the families in the period of their establishment. Another reason for concern is the fact that 56 percent of divorcing couples have minor children. We must also think of further measures for the economic and moral encouragement of motherhood and upgrading its social prestige, for the majority of mothers in the rayon have been limiting themselves to having a single child. However, there are many childless families as well.

The Sevastopolskiy Rayon Party Committee and the rayon's state and public organizations are making extensive studies of this situation and are trying to do everything possible to eliminate circumstances which adversely affect the development of sociodemographic processes and to change the situation for the better. In this case we rely on sociological studies, which we consider one of the efficient means of acquiring scientific support for our efforts. The results of the studies enable us to broaden the range of activities of all administrative units and to direct economic-organizational and ideological work on the practical solution of problems which determine the strengthening of the family and its social activeness most of all. Since studies are not

conducted occasionally but systematically, in accordance with the long-range plan of the voluntary sociological department of the CPSU raykom, we have the possibility of amending our practical administrative activities at their intermediary stages. Here we also rely on the help of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research.

Currently we have a special commission headed by the CPSU raykom secretary, on the initiative of which problems of strengthening the family are discussed with increasing frequency at party committee sessions and party and trade union meetings and are included in the plans for the social development and the collective contracts of labor collectives of enterprises, construction projects, establishments and schools.

The raykom structures its work on strengthening the family in two directions. The first involves optimizing the demographic situation. In practical terms, this means the solution of a broad range of problems, from improving the working and living conditions of the people to the reorganization of their value orientations and concepts. One of the most important tasks we have set ourselves is to promote the understanding that a strong and united family is the foundation of social well-being and personal happiness. The second trend in raykom activities is aimed at perfecting the family way of life.

High efficiency and durable results are obtained in educational work only if such work "covers all aspects of human activities, such as way of life, recreation and family relations" (4). Guided by the instruction of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and taking the specific nature of our rayon into consideration, we pay particular attention to improving women's working, living and recreation conditions, for it is precisely they who account for the overwhelming majority of working people in the rayon, due to the lack of large industry and the predominance of light industry enterprises and a large number of offices. More than 20 scientific research and design institutes and design bureaus, 40 schools, 240 stores and public catering enterprises and several ministries are located in the rayon. Here industry is represented by relatively small enterprises, such as the Emitron plant, Machine Plant No 2, the Clothing Production Association's "Moskva" and "Cheremushki," and the dry cleaning and dye factories of the Chayka Association. Briefly stated, women account for more than two-thirds of the working people in the rayon and 75 percent of Komsomol members of marital age.

It is self-evident that today small enterprises have fewer opportunities to improve working conditions compared to industrial giants. They also have fewer possibilities of developing the social infrastructure, cultural and consumer establishments and housing construction. All of this, naturally, hinders the harmonious combination of professional with family obligations of working women. A job study conducted in 1983 by the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI [Institute of Sociological Research] sector of family social problems indicated the systematic increase in the demands of working women concerning their working and living conditions, as a result of which they frequently become dissatisfied with many aspects of daily life. Thus, a number of claims were formulated concerning the organization of trade and the procedure for granting leave. The organization of the recreation of the rayon's population, family recreation in particular, triggered major complaints.

Women do not demand the impossible but proceed from what is already available at other enterprises. For example, many of them expressed the wish that the variety of services provided directly at the place of work be increased. The rayon party committee demands of the primary party organizations to maintain steady control over the implementation of such wishes and of the rayon consumer service organizations the efficient satisfaction of the demands of the working people.

A great deal is being done in the rayon to improve the working, living and recreation conditions of the people. Special commissions have been set up for such purposes at large enterprises, institutes and other establishments. They make regular studies and surveys under the guidance of the party organizations.

For the past few years a social experiment has been under way in the rayon, conducted jointly with the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI, the essence of which is to create conditions for the optimal combination of professional and family roles of working women. Some of the measures carried out in the course of the experiment have included the technical retooling of enterprises, the installation of new labor-saving equipment and technologies, the reconstruction of working premises, the lowering of manual and unskilled labor, increasing the availability of children's preschool institutions, places in Pioneer camps and extended day groups, expanding medical, consumer and trade services directly at the enterprises, and aid to families with three or more children and to the newlywed. By showing the concern of the socialist society for the well-being and social prosperity of the people and broadening and intensifying opportunities for the implementation of their plans for life, including in the family sphere, such measures create in the individual working people the aspiration to work even more productively and contribute to the further enhancement of the sociopolitical activeness and conscientiousness of the working people.

However, it would be erroneous to claim that increased socioeconomic aid to the families automatically results in the desired changes in family relations and in sociodemographic reproduction. Not all families are alike. That which some consider real aid is considered an allowance by others. Some use their leisure time to meet the needs of the family and for spiritual self-advancement, while others spend it partying and drinking. Social concerns for the preservation of a disintegrating family causes some to rethink their behavior; others, conversely, consider this concern a reason for making greater social demands. All of this demands of us a full consideration of the individual characteristics of the way of life of one family or another.

In our efforts to bring family values closer to those of the socialist society, we must take into consideration that the so-called troubled families create a special problem. As was pointed out at the conference we held jointly with the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI on "Social Consequences and Measures for the Prevention of Divorce," objectively "they are unable to perform the basic functions with which the concept of family is associated (support and mutual aid, care for children, joint activities), either because of alcoholism or as a consequence of other forms of social degradation of the spouses" (5).

It is the increase of alcoholism at home that concerns us most. As the struggle against drunkenness at work and in public places increases, ever more frequently alcoholism moves in the direction of the hearth which makes it not less, but even more dangerous. Drunkenness has a particularly destructive influence on family relations and the children's health: alcohol abuse was the reason cited for 54 percent of all recorded divorces in the rayon. A significantly greater number of mentally abnormal children are born to such families. Fifty-three percent of the adolescents kept under preventive supervision by the rayon drug abuse outpatient clinic are members of troubled alcohol-abusing families.

Sociological studies have established that the family plays a decisive role in shaping alcoholic as well as nonalcoholic traditions. The study of a group of alcoholics indicated that in 52 out of 100 cases the reason for the drunkenness of patients in a drug treatment outpatient clinic was the abuse of alcohol by one or both parents and conflicts in relations within the family; 10 percent of the cases were caused by the women's tolerance of their husbands' drunkenness or vice versa. Fourteen percent of the women who were treated in outpatient hospitals started systematically to consume alcoholic beverages under the influence of and together with their husbands. It was precisely the spreading of drunkenness among women that led to the establishment of so-called family forms of alcoholism, which entail particularly severe medical and social consequences.

The rayon party committee tries to encourage the primary party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and state bodies to react to changing situations flexibly. Currently, without forgetting the struggle against drunkenness at work and in public places, we are intensifying such work at home. Naturally, particularly strict demands are made on party members. The raykom party committee systematically analyzes the nature of the individual cases and draws attention to primary organizations in which various violations are systematically related to drunkenness. In turn, the raykom bureau takes strictly to task party committee secretaries and managers of collectives in which a great many abuses are caused by drunkenness. In this case, we demand that the enterprise not fire the worker the moment an unseemly act is reported but do everything possible to straighten out the person by combining persuasion with high exigency and exerting administrative-legal influence.

The drug abuse service does a great deal of preventive work. It successfully identifies individuals with high risk of becoming alcoholics and those who have already become alcoholics, including people in the early stages of the disease. Outpatient drug treatment aid at industrial enterprises has become widespread in the rayon. This ensures the timely assignment of alcoholic patients for labor and social rehabilitation. This method proved to be effective not only from the medical and social but from the economic viewpoint as well. Thus, individuals who have been treated for alcoholism in Drug Addiction Hospital No 17 accounted for standard net output worth in excess of 6 million rubles in a single year.

The socioeconomic indicator of the participation of the active population in productive work is our criterion in determining the effectiveness of help in

drug addiction cases. The drug addiction outpatient clinics at industrial enterprises frequently accept patients who have held no jobs for long periods of time and have lost their labor skills. As a rule, in the course of a 4-month-long treatment, all of them acquire a skill and the ability to adapt to the production rhythm and the requirements of the labor collective. The people are returned to normal life and their families and regain their ability to perform their parental duties.

However, treatment in a drug addiction hospital and labor therapy for alcoholic are the extreme forms of struggle for the preservation of the family and the people's health. We consider as our task the creation of conditions under which, in general, alcoholism would become impossible and would be drastically condemned by public opinion. The effective ideological support of the socio-economic measures taken in the rayon, aimed at strengthening the family, and helping mothers and the newlywed remains our vital task. We consider the dissemination of high behavioral standards in the family and outside and active struggle against antisocial phenomena in this area, as well as the moral support of the family a structural part of the work of the rayon party committee in the communist upbringing of the citizens. This work is oriented toward the idea that "Muscovites must set a high example not only in resolving economic and social problems but in human relations as well" (3).

The special 10-day sessions held under the slogan of "High Family Relations Standards in Sevastopolskiy Rayon" have become an effective form of struggle for the strong moral health of the family. Usually, such 10-day periods extensively cover production collectives and the rayon residents and include a great variety of steps. Topic evenings and exhibits, parent days, solemn marriage and baby-naming ceremonies, open-door days in preschool institutions, meetings with writers, special classes at the university for family-life standards, motion picture festivals, sports competitions, evenings for newlyweds and celebrations of "gold" and "silver" anniversaries are held. Cycles of lectures on problems of the marriage and the family and consultations with lawyers, physicians, psychologists and sex pathologists are organized at enterprises and offices. The preparations themselves for such 10-day periods trigger a great deal of interest among the population.

As we pointed out, the activities of the rayon committee in resolving socio-demographic problems must be focused on the young family and preparing the young people for marriage and for the fulfillment of marital obligations. That is why we set great hope on the work of the Komsomol organizations. However, the Komsomol committee frequently lacks the necessary information on problems of the newlywed, which makes many of the measures nonspecific. We hope that the elimination of this shortcoming will be helped by closer cooperation with sociologists and by surveys of young spouses. The first study of this kind was carried out last year. Its results helped us to assess the state of marital-family relations more knowledgeably, to identify negative trends and to earmark more specific measures for their elimination. It has already become clear that one of the important trends in the prevention of divorces among young people should be the organization of the leisure time and the development of family forms of recreation. The data of many sociological studies prove that marital couples who spend their leisure time and paid leave

together are more stable and more efficient in the implementation of their functions, compared to those who prefer to preserve their independence within the marriage.

The educational potential of labor collectives remains insufficiently used in resolving family problems. Paying attention to the people and to their daily concerns, and developing a favorable moral climate in the collective are major factors in the area of family prosperity. The task of the party raykom in this connection is to study and extensively disseminate the experience of the best enterprises and establishments.

Let us emphasize one essential aspect. In speaking of the need to energize the role of labor collectives in developing a high standard of family relations, we do not favor any kind of uncerecermonious interference in the private lives of the people. The discussion of such problems is possible only under extreme circumstances, when it is a question of, let us say, the future of the children. Taking into consideration the high level of self-awareness of the Soviet people, we must emphasize not the public moral discussion of a person, although occasionally this may prove to be necessary, but the encouragement of highly moral behavioral models and the creation of conditions under which the emulation of such models will become an inner motivation in the individual.

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DISCUSSIONS

SUMMING UP COMPETITION RESULTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 85
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[Article by Nadezhda Vasilevna Vinogradova, candidate of economic sciences, docent, and Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Shatskov, senior instructor. The authors are associates at the Chair of Political Economy, Kolomna Pedagogical Institute. This is their first publication in our journal]

[Text] Following is a continuation of the discussion on the role of commodity-monetary mechanisms in socialist production management. The articles with which the discussion was started were published in No 3, 1982 and No 3, 1983. The discussion was continued in issues 1, 2 and 4 for 1984 and No 1 for 1985.

Weakening the relation between socialist competition and the functioning of the economic mechanism adversely affects the efficiency of both. This circumstance was accurately noted by V. M. Yakushev. The problem discussed in his articles (6, 8) is quite important from the theoretical and practical viewpoints. The large-scale experiment currently taking place in a number of economic sectors and the extensive dissemination of collective labor organization methods prove that we cannot restructure and improve the economic mechanism exclusively on the basis of economic factors. Maximal use must be made of social reserves, including the socialist competition, which is one of the most effective among them. V. M. Yakushev presents his own method for combining the economic mechanism with the competition (8).

Essentially, the method is the following: the reward must be distributed among the participants in the competition on the basis of the results of the rivalry and in proportion to the achieved results. This will encourage the people to work intensively and make economical use of resources. V. M. Yakushev's opponents do not object either to the idea or the method for labor incentive. O. I. Novikov alone doubts that the method would function in the required direction. Actually, his counterarguments are rather speculative (5). However, what changes will the economic mechanism provoke at the "upper levels," above all in the area of planning? V. M. Yakushev mentions virtually nothing on the subject and we are forced to consider said consequences of the new development primarily on the basis of the stipulations with the help of which the scientist substantiates his idea and it is precisely they which create a doubt.

Criticism has concentrated essentially on the following among V. M. Yakushev's claims: commodity-monetary relations are artificially implanted in the Soviet economy and do not ensure the expected efficiency; many elements in the economic mechanism, considered as commodity-value features in practice, are actually of a different nature (6, pp 53-54, 57, 59). This view included in V. M. Yakushev's arguments appears unconvincing. Furthermore, the author bypasses important processes related to the utilization of value levers, as indicated by K. A. Ulybin (7) with perfect justification. Indeed, these are serious faults although, in our view, they do not account for the other shortcomings of said idea. The main shortcoming is that the suggested organization of the competition, as interpreted by V. M. Yakushev, should become just about the linchpin in the efforts to perfect the economic mechanism (6, p 57), i.e., to resolve problems which exceed the range of "competence" of the competition.

V. M. Yakushev sets as his purpose the formulation of a system for "organizing distribution according to labor on the basis of the competition" (ibid., pp 59, 61) and a new "method of distribution according to labor" (ibid., p 60). In his first articles, in criticizing the two basic forms of wages, based on norms and "cost accounting" (8), the author limited his own task to the elimination of the shortcomings in the enumerated methods. In his latest article, V. M. Yakushev directly counters the approach he formulated with what he considers the basic concept of the socialist economy: planned commodity production and "market control" of the national economy (6, p 57). In other words, the method of distribution according to labor is put on the same level as political economy theories. However, the reader may object, is it that the author is arguing only on the subject of concepts relative to distribution relations? Alas, we do not find such indications in the text. Furthermore, in breaking down said concepts, the scientist speaks of prices, labor outlays, commodity scarcity, cost, economic management practices, but not about the subject. As a result, the only guarantee for the efficient solution of problems now found in the economic mechanism, according to V. M. Yakushev, is the distribution of material rewards on the basis of competition results.

Unquestionably, today problems of stimulating and, above all, interesting workers and collectives in achieving results which would be maximally consistent with social requirements is one of the essential problems in perfecting the economic mechanism. Naturally, however, the problem cannot be reduced merely to distribution according to labor. It is no less important to develop in the individual high labor standards, moral qualities and civic responsibility. Without these, any method, however efficient it may be, could hardly lead to the desired changes in production. This makes even less theoretically justified the author's attempt to present his method as a means which could eliminate the main shortcomings in the contemporary economic mechanism. Let us consider the most immediate reason. Distribution, as one of the most important aspects of production relations, includes, in addition to wages for labor, the distribution among enterprises (and within them) of labor means and tools, raw materials, funds, etc. We do not believe that V. M. Yakushev failed to realize this circumstances (incidentally, the author's analysis of current problems in the economy and approaches to their solution leave no doubt as to his great competence). Nevertheless, he limits himself merely to

a most general instruction: the planning authorities should provide the collective (based on planned assignments) with the resources necessary for its work (ibid., p 60). As to how and on the basis of what principles this problem, which is one of the key topical problems in planning, can be resolved, one can only guess.

V. M. Yakushev directly derives the advantages of his method and the guarantee that its practical application will be successful from the allegedly noncommodity nature of socialist production and the need to eliminate existing elements of the commodity mechanism. So far, the problem of the role of the law of value in the socialist economy has not been given a uniform interpretation in specialized publications. Actually, nor could it be resolved with a single article which, furthermore, is substantiated, in Engels' words, with a "pair of trick phrases" (1). However, since this scientist provides a theoretical substantiation to his own views, let us express a number of remarks on this subject.

In analyzing the statements of the Marxist-Leninist classics, V. M. Yakushev reaches the conclusion that they considered commodity-monetary relations a phenomenon consistent with the nature of the capitalist production method. This is one of his main arguments in support of his viewpoint (6, pp 54-55, 58; 8, pp 74-75). In this connection, let us turn to "Das Kapital." Indeed, Marx proved that the commodity form of the labor product appeared long before capitalism. "However, in no other system of production relations did this form become a general prerequisite for (and an equally universal consequence of) all other forms of production, exchange and consumption--a 'cell' of the entity" (9). To what does Marx relate such an unexpected metamorphosis? In themselves, the laws of commodity turnover do not include conditions of the increased value of capital. The latter is possible only if within the area of circulation, i.e., on the market, there is "the type of commodity the consumer value of which would possess the original characteristic of being a source of value" (2). As we know, manpower is such a commodity. It is precisely this feature that explains the fact that although a commodity is a "cell" in the capitalist production method, commodity relations do not determine the nature of the latter. In bourgeois society, "taken in its totality," Marx emphasized, "the consideration of commodities in terms of prices, their circulation, and so on, act as a superficial process whereas entirely different processes take place beneath its surface..." (2, p 194). He further wrote that commodity exchange is "merely the superficial stratum of the type of production which rests on the appropriation of someone else's labor without exchange yet with the appearance of an exchange" (ibid., p 501).

In itself, the rejection of the need for commodity-monetary relations under socialism merely on the basis that such relations existed under capitalism, appears to us methodically incorrect. Since said relations do not determine in the least the nature of the bourgeois economy, V. M. Yakushev's claim becomes twice as unconvincing. Finally, we have the statements by the classics of Marxism-Leninism on the important role of commodity-value levers in the socialist economy. Let us recall in this connection V. I. Lenin's familiar words: Socialism must be built "...not directly on enthusiasm but with the help of the enthusiasm generated by the Great Revolution, on the basis of individual interest and economic accountability..." (4).

Incidentally, V. M. Yakushev himself does not deny the possibility of the effective application of said relations in some economic areas (6, p 58). As a whole, he interprets the correlation between commodity-monetary relations and his own method quite contradictorily. In criticizing contemporary economic practices and finding in them real shortcomings related to the imperfection of value levers, the author claims that the organization of "distribution according to labor on the basis of the competition would require no essential changes in the economic mechanism" (ibid., p 59; see also p 60). At the same time, he acknowledges that commodity methods have sunk deep roots into economic practice: today "value indicators are the base in assessing production efficiency" (ibid., p 56). Even if said relations are considered to be artificially implanted, the "elimination of elements alien to the noncommodity nature of socialism" (ibid., p 60), i.e., the restructuring of planning and management on the basis of the suggested principles is not so simple as the author seems to think.

Generally speaking, is the play worth the candle? What is V. M. Yakushev offering us? A system of incentives based on the results of the socialist competition, in the course of which enterprise activities should be guided by a single regulator--planning. This would interest the collective (and its members) to work with maximal returns; it will develop initiative "from below" and ensure the maximal utilization of reserves, reduce production costs, ensure the effective self-regulating of the economic mechanism and, above all, the organic combination of the interests of the collective with those of society.

We do not share the author's optimism, above all because the interrelationship between the competition principle and planning remains unclear. The use of commodity-value levers in the latter is excluded. Obviously, it will be based on the other economic laws. What will their unifying principle be? To determine the results of the competition in advance is senseless. Furthermore, the unpredictability of results is the cornerstone of the method under consideration ("Those who would like to obtain more should outstrip their rivals," and "The assessment of enterprise work is shifted from plan fulfillment to the competition victory factor" (ibid., pp 59-60)). The inevitable conclusion is that the competition principle must become the pivot in planning. However, to what extent is this realistic? The management bodies should determine the wage fund, variety of output and volume of material resources not merely on the basis of competition results but, above all, of social interests and needs. In other words, quite frequently the enterprises will have to be issued assignments on the production of additional goods and the use of new equipment and technology, or else the collectives themselves would assume such initiatives. In any case, however, this presumes a temporary increase in outlays, drop in production, etc. Consequently, this diminishes the chance of winning the competition. Therefore, substantial corrections must be made to the method for evaluating the work suggested by V. M. Yakushev.

In the method of economic activities supported by V. M. Yakushev the accent shifts to work assessment. "If the plan is not intensive the collective will seem to be lagging compared with other collectives and its reward will be smaller" (ibid., p 60). Naturally, it is unquestionably necessary to determine who is who and to reward everyone according to its merits. This should

encourage good work. However, the purpose of planning and management is not merely to "heat up" the aspiration of collectives to win in the competition but to ensure the efficient implementation of common interests by optimally combining the interests of individual collectives. Here it is both the extent of participation of each enterprise in results as well as the extent to which such results are consistent with social requirements that are important. To direct the collective to such requirements is not easy and, sometimes, it is simply impossible with nothing but material rewards.

Actually, is the suggested incentive method all that efficient? From the viewpoint of the collective, the importance of its allocated waste fund (as well as the fund for sociocultural construction but this, however, is another topic) is above all to draw to the enterprise the necessary number of workers for the implementation of the plan (with the lowest possible outlays). The size of the wage is another problem. Naturally, if the enterprise is among the leaders the fund will be increased and the solution of the problem facilitated. Incidentally, one could lure away cadres from the "lagging" neighbor to whom no bonuses are due. High earnings, however, are merely one of the components of success. Also needed are equipment, raw materials, materials, transportation, etc., the obtaining of which depends on the work of related enterprises, the economic situation and the existence of resources or, briefly, a number of circumstances not particularly related to the willingness of the collective to work well.

Nor should we overestimate the role of the suggested principle in the area of intracollective competition. Sociological studies have determined that depending on specific conditions, the material reward for work productivity is affected by a number of intermediary social factors, starting with the content of the job and satisfaction with it and ending with interpersonal relations (see, for example, (10)). In a word, without ensuring the optimal condition of the basic elements in a production situation, the possibility of earning well may not necessarily become an incentive for intensive work.

Let us reemphasize that the suggested method for distribution according to labor is of some interest. However, it can work only if a comparability among results achieved by the participants in the competition can be ensured. Here again, in our view, the author rejects value indicators too hastily. Indeed, excessive concentration on such indicators occasionally leads to a number of negative economic and social consequences which, incidentally, have been accurately noted by V. M. Yakushev. He is also right in saying that with optimal planning the task is not to overfulfill the plan by all possible means. But how can we determine the winner if the competing collectives have fulfilled their contractual obligations precisely on time and 100 percent?

Clearly, there is only one solution. We must compare the outlays of labor collectives and production quality. The latter as must be based on production costs. It is only a scrupulous study of the useful results obtained in the use (consumption) of items and the total outlays which would enable us objectively to rate the collectives and individual workers engaged in the production of either the same or different items in terms of purpose and consumer qualities. This, incidentally, would enable every participant to become more

aware of his shortcomings and errors. This is the key to assessing the efficiency of labor activeness and the intensiveness of plans. However, since under contemporary production conditions a comparison among enterprise activities in terms of hours of working time cannot provide an adequate idea of the latter, the only method left is to determine the socially necessary labor outlays. This entails the use of the indicators of production cost, value, price, profit, profitability, etc.

The main motive force of the competition should be not the aspiration to outstrip one's rival but to attain the type of organizational and technical results achieved by the leading collectives. It is their indicators that must be taken as the base of the competition. This and this alone can ensure an upsurge in output and a lowering of socially necessary outlays. Our country has gained extensive experience in the organization of such work. Suffice it to recall the widespread nature of individual thrift accounts, the movement for a revision of output norms, etc. Today such initiatives must not only be supported but backed by planning and organizational measures within the framework of the socialist competition.

In this connection, equalizing economic management conditions is of great importance. The main way to resolve this problem is to ensure a sharp upsurge in the technical standards of all economic sectors. No substantial results can be achieved here without the extensive utilization of economic levers, the possibilities of the financial and crediting systems and the perfecting of price setting. The task is to make prices consistent with the standards of socially necessary outlays and to lower their amount per unit of useful effect as well as to take more accurately and efficiently into consideration structural changes in the national economy and costs related to the installation of new equipment and use of new technology, the mastering of new types of output and outlays of raw material, fuel-energy and other resources. All of these steps should not only increase the objective assessment of competition results but, above all, direct the competition to increasing work efficiency, improving production quality and reaching the type of socioeconomic results consistent with the basic needs of the developed socialist society.

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ARTIFICIAL INTRODUCTION OR SKILLFUL USE OF COMMODITY-MONETARY RELATIONS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 85
(signed to press 29 Apr 85) pp 72-77

[Article by Nikita Vasilevich Vaynonen, propaganda department editor of the journal ZHURNALIST. This is his first article in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA]

[Text] The above title is precisely the way to formulate the question after reading the article by K. A. Ulybin, "Commodity-Monetary Relations: Artificial Elimination or Skillful Utilization?" (2). In arguing with V. M. Yakushev, who is the author of a number of articles published in this journal, K. A. Ulybin presents the view held by his opponent as follows: "...In recent years, the main efforts in the area of perfecting economic management have been directed toward the "coordination of two regulators--planning and the law of value." All of these efforts, however, have failed.... The reason for all of this appears to be that under socialism there neither are nor could there be any commodity-monetary relations. If this is so, how could we expect the efficient application of something which simply does not exist?" (2, p 45).

Naturally, reducing one's opponent's point of view to the level of absurdity is striking, but is it effective?

In his articles, V. M. Yakushev brings to light one of the most painful contradictions in our economy--the contradiction between the plan and the ruble, i.e., between the national and the individual (departmental, personal) economic interest. Naturally, the scientist could neither invent nor "dramatize" this contradiction, because it exists objectively and because the role of the subjective factor (social management) is precisely to optimize its effect or, at worst, to prevent the potential of contradictions, always present within it as a possibility, to reach a stupid, a distorted manifestation. Quite clearly, it is precisely this kind of negative potential that converted from possibility to reality of late (after 1965), due above all to the inept and uncontrollable application of the law of value.

V. M. Yakushev does not call in the least for the "artificial elimination" of value indicators. He merely mentions the need to reduce to naught their role as a regulator of economic relations while preserving their suitable and entirely necessary accountability and control function. K. A. Ulybin has ignored this central problem of the discussion.

In speaking of value indicators, K. A. Ulybin writes that it is hardly proper to "exaggerate and dramatize their role" (2, p 46) and that planning and value levers cannot be considered equal sides of the economic mechanism. Yet it is precisely this which, allegedly, V. M. Yakushev does, by identifying them as two production regulators (ibid.). Does K. A. Ulybin not know that it is not V. M. Yakushev who "does this," and that "this" (i.e., raising value indicators to the rank of production regulators, frequently acting in conflict with planning) has long been done by those who interpret economic outlays as production results! Yes, K. A. Ulybin is right to say that we should not exaggerate the significance of value indicators, to pit them against the plan, etc. However, against whom is he arguing in this case? Who is he blaming? V. M. Yakushev proceeds from reality. He seeks a means of surmounting obvious absurdities, many of which are still encountered in economic life. He argues against erroneous or unnecessarily conceited concepts. Naturally, the consequences of their application have not been exclusively negative. However, the absurdities as well are obvious. It would be naive to explain them only by saying that someone is working poorly. One should seek the roots, which is what V. M. Yakushev does. His opponent, conversely, tends to smooth over the gravity of the problem in all possible ways and to turn a wish into reality. In his view, "the science of economics has long provided exhaustive answers" (ibid.). Had such been the case, however, we would have long had a smooth economic mechanism. "Value indicators," K. A. Ulybin writes, "...are elements of the plan, its components, rather than some kind of special regulator" (2, p 47). If only this were true! Is it not value indicators which encourage economic managers to try to lower their plans, maintain reserves and artificially increase plan outlays? K. A. Ulybin's assertion is merely a wish, a generality. It is no accident that he is forced to accompany his theoretical abstracts with stipulations in the sense that the manner in which we make them (value indicators) work in practice is different (2, p 49). Theory, therefore, is one thing and practice, something else. Herein, therefore, lies the wisdom....

The following conclusions drawn by K. A. Ulybin are noteworthy: "It is precisely this path that is currently followed in our economic practice" (2, p 53). Or else "the contemporary practice of socialist production provides no reasons whatsoever for a negative assessment of the current condition of commodity-monetary relations" (2, p 49). This implies one of two things: either K. A. Ulybin tries to be somewhat cunning or else he considers practice to be something secondary, existing merely to illustrate theoretical concepts, for which reason one could see in it only that which one likes and which fits as a "supporting example." Incidentally, it is interesting that K. A. Ulybin fails to cite a single real, live and active example borrowed from practical experience. All of his "examples" are abstract speculative elaborations which crumble into dust when exposed to reality. Suffice it to compare his example of the shoe factory with the facts cited by I. D. Lisiyenko, in the article next to his. The latter clearly proves that the lowering of outlays (outlays for the maintenance of agricultural equipment) hinders the "strategy of planned commodity production" (3, p 56). I. D. Lisiyenko even uses a more energetic word: not "hinders" but "opposes." What comes from K. A. Ulybin's speculative example? The setting of prices, based on real outlays, including inefficient ones caused by slovenliness, means a "simplistic understanding" of

the effect of the law of value, whereas price setting based on "outlays in an optimal plan" means a "scientific, a truly socialist" understanding (2, p 49). To quote his words, how simple all this is! But why is it that economic managers are so stubbornly unwilling to act "scientifically?" Throughout his entire article K. A. Ulybin does not ask even once why is it that practice is following good scientific recommendations with such difficulty? Is it not because price setting on the basis of "outlays" in time, at the time this method was applied, was merely an arbitrary action which, little by little, created objective conditions which made increasing outlays profitable and brought to life specific economic interests acting in contradiction with the social ones? Yet, where economic interest exists a social environment representing, shaping and defending such an interest appears.

Instead of determining the real contradictions existing between the "planned nature of the socialist economy and value economic management tools" (2, p 47), K. A. Ulybin ascribes to V. M. Yakushev some kind of "groundless hints" at their "genetic incompatibility." Nothing of the sort exists in Yakushev's article. He describes the practically existing rather than the fabricated incompatibility between plant management methods and elements of a market economy and the artificial use of value levers which, in his view, is not inherent in socialism. This incompatibility is a fact which could be acknowledged or rejected. However, K. A. Ulybin does neither. He simply switches concepts. In considering changes in the nature of commodity-monetary relations under socialism, V. M. Yakushev believes such changes to be so essential that commodity and money are no longer such (although some of their features are retained). It is not these changed commodity-monetary relations which, strictly speaking, can no longer be described in such terms, that are incompatible with planning but classical, market elements which were artificially revived after 1965. Such is V. M. Yakushev's viewpoint. What does K. A. Ulybin do? Without stipulating the specific nature of the commodity-monetary relations discussed by V. M. Yakushev, in opposing cost accounting extremes, he seems to be trying to persuade the reader as follows: see what a groundless opponent I have: he starts by denying commodity-monetary relations under socialism and then ascribes to "stubborn economic managers" the desire to use "something which simply does not exist."

In citing an opponent one must not distort the meaning of his statement and quote him out of context. V. M. Yakushev writes: in the interest of society and the consumer, the state "quite consciously" supports a "deviation of market prices from value," for this "expresses a sort of law" (4, p 55) and is a specific and individual manifestation of the basic economic law of socialism. He opposes scientific concepts and recommendations according to which the socialist production system is commodity-oriented and, on this basis, suggests that retail prices be made consistent with value. If we see in socialism a variety of commodity output, the gap between retail prices and value "appears as a manifestation of subjectivism," V. M. Yakushev writes. Is it not clear that he considers the deviation of prices from value a manifestation of a law and that the "manifestation of subjectivism" appears only if we accept a concept with which he firmly disagrees? But what does K. A. Ulybin do? In taking out of context the quotation on subjectivism, he annihilates his opponent with the conclusion that, V. M. Yakushev's view notwithstanding (?!), the deviation of prices from value is no subjectivism whatsoever but objective reality, an economic standard." How to describe such a method?

Let us recall that there neither is nor could there be direct proportionality between socially necessary production outlays per unit of output and its consumer value. The usefulness of the product does not depend on production outlays (i.e., on value). In setting prices on the basis of consumer qualities (usefulness), we must surmount the effect of the law of value, according to which prices (according to Marx) turn around socially necessary outlays, i.e., around value and not in the least around the consumer value of the commodity. Social need influences production not directly but through value indicators, through the market situation, and the nature of these intermediaries is such that they frequently distort the objective needs of society. In order directly to take this needs into consideration in the prices, in V. M. Yakushev's view the latter should express not the size of the value but of the consumer value. Essentially suggesting the very same (if a given commodity is twice the quality of another its price should be double as well), unlike V. M. Yakushev, K. A. Ulybin is not concerned with the fact that the corresponding efforts of the state encounter the counteraction of some twisted elements of commodity relations which makes it necessary to base price setting primarily on producer costs.

K. A. Ulybin writes that under socialism trade in its value form is necessary between enterprises whereas "relations between society and production collectives and between the latter and the individual workers rest on a different foundation" (2, p 51). We shall not undertake to discuss the accuracy of such formulations. Let us merely point out that said difference indeed exists. Here as well, V. M. Yakushev tries to identify the nature of economic contradictions and the means of surmounting them. Although acknowledging said differences, K. A. Ulybin claims that his opponent "complicates the situation excessively." In his view, it is "erroneous to make a basic distinction between monetary funds serving commodity turnover among enterprises and the wage fund" (2, p 53). In saying this, he has clearly memorized what he wrote on the preceding page: economic relations among enterprises are one thing; here an exchange is necessary in value form; whereas relations between the latter and the individual workers "already rest on a different foundation" (2, p 51). But how could this be: the economic foundations of relations are different yet a basic distinction made between the monetary funds which service them is erroneous? (Incidentally, the fact that moneys from intraproduction and retail trade are lumped together leads to annual losses of billions of rubles.)

We believe that V. M. Yakushev is entirely correct by reminding us that the existence of "different pockets" in the state--for servicing workers and enterprises--makes profound economic sense. Labor can be paid only out of money earned from marketing goods and services to the population, for this is a guarantee that the amounts will be refunded (as payments for newly produced commodities and services) which means that the state will once again pay for the labor. If commodities and services (with unchanged production outlays) increase and their quality is improved, payment for them could be increased as well. But what would happen if, on top of this, workers are paid moneys from the other pocket where funds servicing accounts among enterprises and between them and the state are kept? Naturally, such funds as well could stimulate the growth of social labor productivity. However, a significant share of

their growth (obtained in manufacturing means of production) will not provide society, at least not immediately, with new consumer goods. The consumer would have more money than available consumer goods and services. It is precisely this that accounts if not for the only but for at least one of the major reasons for the imbalance between solvent demand and offer. (The scarcity of good and the surplus of poor commodities is not in itself the reason for this imbalance. It is a manifestation and a consequence, rather than a cause. The concepts themselves of "necessary," "good" or "unnecessary" and "poor" commodity substantially depend on whether or not the population has a shortage or a surplus of funds compared with the volume of commodities: any object becomes desirable if no money is available to purchase it, whereas discrimination increases with income.) It is no accident that the imbalance between supply and demand became substantial precisely after a correlation was established between incentive funds and profits and between profits and the volume of commodity output in rubles ("net output" is distinguished from "gross output" in this case only by the fact that "gross output" makes it advantageous to increase outlays of outside labor whereas "net output" involves an increase of one's own labor outlays; both indicators are important and necessary but not as incentives or criteria of production activities but as means of accountability and control over the measure of labor).

K. A. Ulybin is well aware of the inconsistency of a situation in which one could earn more rubles without fully satisfying the needs of society for commodities. However, the solution is not entirely clear to him. He is puzzled: "...Unless we link directly wages to the volume of output, how can we stimulate the activities of collectives and individual workers?"... Nevertheless, K. A. Ulybin ignores the system of distribution based on competition, suggested by V. M. Yakushev. Essentially, it is the following: with a specific wage fund (set on a national scale on the basis of the real volume of paid consumer goods) the earnings of those who work well are increased not by increasing the general fund but by lowering the earnings of those who work poorly.

We know how drastically negative public opinion is today against all violations of the principle of payments according to labor, which lets people lead a soft life without any particular effort. Today a poor worker should be prepared to have not a better life or even not the type of life he led before but, precisely, to lead a worse life (1). This is entirely just. However, our progress in that direction is sluggish. One of the reasons is the lack of a satisfactory mechanism which would enable us fully to implement universally approved and accepted principles.

We believe that it is precisely distribution based on competition that could become such a mechanism. The wages paid a worker or collective are not only part of the value they have produced (the more and better they produce the more they earn). They are also the share which goes to the worker and the collective in the distribution of the joint product. Consequently, this share should depend not on one but on two variables: one's own labor and the labor of one's neighbor, i.e., not simply on whether or not more or less goods of better or worse quality were produced, but also on the share of the overall product produced--greater or lesser, better or worse compared with others. For example, is the labor participation coefficient, used in cost accounting

brigades, anything other than the use of that same competitive principle of distribution created by the masses, developed on a scientific basis through scientific experimentation (let us recall "Pulsar" (5)). The labor participation coefficient eliminates any interest in lowering and retaining norms within a brigade, although the brigade as a whole remains interested in a lower assignment. We may assume that if relations not only among individual workers but also among labor collectives (brigades, sectors, enterprises) are based on the principle of distribution according to labor participation, the result would be as positive as the one we now have within the individual brigade, but only on a much broader scale. The standardized value indicators would play the role of criteria in comparing competition results.

The mistrustful attitude toward V. M. Yakushev's suggestions may be explained to a certain extent by the skepticism of many workers concerning competition possibilities. Formalism in the organization of the competition is still present, thereby encouraging such moods. But then, why throw out the baby with the bathwater?

If we consider the competition not as some kind of separate prop of the economic mechanism but an organic component of it, performing the role of the main engine of economic life, competition would become a very serious matter. The economy is powered by economic interest. If the results of the competition substantially affect the vital interests of the workers (which is precisely the principle on which distribution based on competition results is based), it would become a powerful booster of economic activities, i.e., it would play the motivating role assigned to cost-accounting relations. As such, however, the latter trigger, in addition to positive results, and apparently cannot fail to trigger a mass of negative results, the neutralizing of which largely reduces the power of cost accounting to naught. Competition is free of such negative consequences. Why not try to broaden its application by assigning it an incentive role while cost accounting assumes the role of an objective tallyman of labor outlays and results, a controller of the measure of labor. In this case, naturally, there would be no "negation" or "artificial elimination" of cost accounting whatsoever, nor could there be one. It would merely be reduced to its functional limits objectively created for its purpose by national ownership. Without taking the "second variable" into consideration in distribution (i.e., without making wages based on a comparison of results of the same type of labor based on competition) we would deprive ourselves of a good possibility of distributing goods in a way consistent with every one's interests and sense of justice.

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NEW APPROACH TO ORGANIZING THE COMPETITION

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[Article by Vladimir Mikhaylovich Pashchenko, party bureau secretary, Novyy Byt Kolkhoz, Tyukhtinskiy Rayon, Krasnoyarsk Kray]

[Text] I am party organization secretary in a small kolkhoz. I live in the taiga, 120 kilometers away from the rayon center. Inasmuch as I can, I follow new developments as reported in sociopolitical publications. I have also read works on the socialist competition and had gained the impression that in this matter everything was clear and nothing new could be invented. All of a sudden, V. M. Yakushev's article "Distribution According to Labor: Interconnection Between the Economic Mechanism and the Competition" (3) came out. I became very interested in the idea it expressed. I began to follow the discussion. I perceived the subsequent article by the same author, "Democratic Centralism in National Economic Management" (4) not simply as a theoretical description of economic problems but as a profound philosophical study of the ways of building socialism. K. A. Ulybin's subsequent criticism of the ideas expressed in the article (5) seemed to me unjustifiably sharp, tendentious and capable of suppressing a fruitful idea, for which reason I decided to write to the editors.

I believe that the idea of linking distribution according to labor to successes achieved by workers and collectives in competition with each other is very important and promising. It requires the fastest possible interpretation, testing and application. Socialist competition, the importance of which is extensively discussed and written about, would in such a case truly become the principal method of national economic management, blending administrative with economic methods.

I would like to express my considerations concerning the competition model suggested by V. M. Yakushev. He illustrates it by taking as an example 10 machine-tool workers working within a single brigade. The brigade has a monthly wage fund of 2,000 rubles allocated in advance. One-half of this fund is divided evenly among all brigade members, whereas the other half is distributed according to competition results, with the help of the labor participation coefficient. If the brigade achieves a rating place in the competition against other brigades, it is given a bonus (500 rubles), equally distributed among all brigade members. What makes this model attractive? First of all, it includes a fruitful contradiction: the aspiration of the

individual worker to produce more parts than other workers. This may seem to divide the collective. Secondly, there is the aspiration of the entire brigade to earn the bonus for the sector, shop or enterprise. This unites the collective. A unity of opposites appears which, as we know, is an internal source of self-development. In my view, by extending this principle to relations not only among brigades but among sectors, shops and enterprises, we would create that same "locomotive engine" of progress, which will easily pull ahead our huge national economy, for it would be powered by the "nuclear energy" of the general interest.

It is important, however, for this locomotive engine not to run into the dead end of equalization. This requires a reliable dispatcher service. This could be accomplished through the use of the following distribution mechanism: if we consider the example which was cited, the 1,000 rubles distributed among the machine-tool workers should also be divided into four parts (such as $300 + 300 + 300 + 100$), and these funds should be distributed on the basis of specific criteria, such as skill, training, etc. For example, the first 300 rubles should be divided in accordance with the skill rate of the machine-tool workers; the second 300 should be distributed on the basis of educational standards and the third on the basis of job seniority. The last 100 rubles should be divided evenly among those who have had no labor or technological discipline violations. In such cases, a machine-tool worker may be given 150 rubles out of this 1,000, while another may not get more than 50. In order to earn more from the second thousand, the latter would actively join in the competition and thus counteract equalization in the computation of the labor coefficient participation. Naturally, this is an arbitrary example, for both qualifications and the amounts distributed may be different. That is not the point. The point is to create incentives not only for the growth of labor productivity but also for increasing skills and education, reducing turnover and strengthening the discipline (2).

My last comment concerns the function of money in our society. Sometimes, our political economy publications discuss the new meaning of money under socialism. However, no one describes the specific nature of this new meaning. According to textbooks, money has five functions under both capitalism and socialism. They are virtually identical. Where, therefore, is this new meaning? In my view, V. M. Yakushev's article is a successful attempt to bring this new meaning to light. He does not deny the role of money in the least, as would follow from K. A. Ulybin's criticism, but proves that it has changed its nature, turning from a commodity to labor, i.e., into those same worker vouchers described by Marx. This conclusion is based on the actual state of affairs in our economy and seems accurate to me. Indeed, assuming that we are not misled by the appearance of the phenomenon but try to determine its essence, we would inevitably reach the conclusion that the money earned by the working people in our country is nothing but a certificate for obtaining social benefits and, in Marx's words, "has as little in common with 'cash' as, let us say, a theater ticket" (1).

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APPLIED RESEARCH ON YOUTH PROBLEMS

SOCIAL APPEAL AS A FORM OF LABOR RESOURCE REDISTRIBUTION

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(signed to press 29 Apr 85) pp 79-88

[Article by Dmitriy Isaakovich Zyuzin, candidate of economic sciences, senior scientific associate, USSR State Committee for Labor Scientific Research Labor Institute. Author of the monographs "Kachestvo Podgotovki Spetsialistov kak Sotsialnaya Problema" [The Quality of Specialists' Training as a Social Problem] (1978). Author of the following articles published in our journal: "Secondary School Students' Orientation Toward Various Forms of Secondary Education" (No 1, 1977); "Influence of Labor Dynamics on Labor Resource Mobility" (No 3, 1981); and "Reasons for the Low Mobility of the Native Population in Central Asian Republics" (No 1, 1983)]

[Text] One of the main trends in the implementation of the party's economic policy, as noted in the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On Further Strengthening Labor Discipline and Reducing Cadre Turnover in the National Economy," is "eliminating working time losses in production, rational utilization of labor resources and establishment of stable collectives" (1). Upgrading the systematic nature of the territorial distribution and redistribution of manpower could play an important role in resolving this problem. What makes this problem even more relevant is that most of the 13 million people (2) who change their place of residence every year and move around the country's territory do that mainly spontaneously and inexpediently from the viewpoint of the interests and needs of society, the national economy and the individual. According to rough estimates, direct economic losses alone from this fact amount to no less than 3 billion rubles annually. The number of inefficient migration flows has not declined in time but has even increased somewhat. Not the least reason for this is the fact that the percentage of people who move on an organized basis is declining.

The social costs of this are high as well: the spontaneous moving of large masses of people throughout the country has a disorganizing influence on many aspects of social life. Nevertheless, the negative aspects of this phenomenon have been by no means fully realized. Restricting the migration flow in accordance with the needs for the normal development of the production process should be, from our viewpoint, the long-range objective in controlling migration at the present stage of building socialism.

The practical implementation of this task is hindered by the concept which developed in the 1960s and 1970s, according to which migration is an uncontrollable process or, at best, a process which can be influenced indirectly: "Migration is a phenomenon concerning which only indirect or "remote" control can be used by creating specific conditions for this process to follow a trend desirable to society with the necessary intensiveness" (3). Unfortunately, the authors of such assertions show little concern for their theoretical substantiation, and even less for the possibility of the practical implementation of the recommendations they contain. The planned redistribution of manpower within a short time and on the necessary scale, taking into consideration the fast-changing economic and demographic situation in the country, is factually impossible, for we are dealing with a reorganization of conditions and way of life of the population which took decades and even centuries to develop.

Indirect control, based on regional differentiations in the level of satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people, is not entirely consistent with the task of ensuring, on a planned basis, through socioeconomic processes, movements of large human masses. Primarily inherent in a planned socialist economy are direct methods for controlling the economy in general and the territorial dynamics of labor resources in particular.

The characteristic of direct control is that the state assumes the obligation to guarantee jobs to the people released from the various employment areas, organizing and financing their resettlement and providing the necessary housing and cultural-living conditions at the new place.

Sometimes the direct migration control method is improperly identified exclusively with the administrative-legal element (4). Actually, it includes two groups of means of influencing the controlled target: organizational and administrative-legal, the correlation between which is determined by specific socioeconomic conditions.

The entirely legitimate intensification of the organizing role of the state in all fields of activity takes place in the developed socialist society. The organizational activities of state and public control bodies do not conflict in the least with the interests of the working people but are based on the comprehensive study and satisfaction of their needs, taking mandatorily social interests into consideration.

Several forms of direct regulation of the territorial redistribution of manpower have developed presently: (1) organized manpower recruitment and agricultural resettlement; (2) social appeal; (3) transfer of workers and their recruitment by enterprises and schools and distribution of specialists and skilled workers after graduation. Of these, only the last has an element of administrative influence, quite mild at that. The others are based on the principles of voluntary participation and material and moral incentive.

It is only the organized recruitment of manpower, agricultural migration and the social appeal that can be described as consistently systematic. Their role in perfecting the territorial redistribution of manpower is increasing

steadily. This is confirmed, in particular, by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers September 1984 decree on measures to improve further the organized recruitment of workers and the social appeal to young people, which particularly emphasizes the need to increase the role of organized methods of territorial redistribution of manpower and earmarks specific measures for their further improvement.

We shall consider the characteristics and trends of migration in terms of the social appeal on the basis of the study of data provided by governmental statistics and sociological research.

Let us point out, above all, that planning the amount of resettlement is based not only on the economic need for ensuring manpower for the most important national economic construction projects but also the possibility of the Komsomol organizations to implement another important function of the social appeal: developing in young people a spirit of collectivism and communist attitude toward labor. Although the total number of resettled young people is relatively small, it has been growing steadily, showing a 20 percent increase over the past 5 years. Approximately 120,000 young men and women are reassigned annually, which is the equivalent of 1 percent of the total number of migrating people and 20 percent of the resettlement organized on a planned basis.

The geographic layout of the social appeal has characteristic features. In 1983 the Russian Federation and the Ukraine accounted for 52.1 percent of the young people directed toward the shock construction projects; the Central Asian republics accounted for 7.2 percent; Belorussia and the Baltic republics for 3.9 percent; and the Transcaucasian republics, for about 4 percent. The reason for the conflicting nature of this migration picture is that young people answering the social appeal come precisely from republics (RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia) where migration intensiveness is already quite high and where its increase could yield nothing but negative results. Meanwhile, the share of the Transcaucasian republics, Azerbaijan in particular, is relatively low and that of the Central Asian republics is entirely insignificant, although it is here that upgrading the mobility of the native population and its relocation from rural to urban settlements is particularly urgent. In our view, the efficiency of the social appeal depends on the extent to which manpower redistribution will take place from areas of labor surplus to labor shortages.

The study of statistical data characterizing the development of the redistribution of labor resources through the social appeal reveals the following basic trends. First, the importance of intrarayon moving is increased and the role of interrasyon resettlement is narrowed, including that of the interrepublic social appeal, which directs people from all republics to the most important national economic construction projects in the RSFSR. Whereas 68 percent of those who responded to the appeal went to the RSFSR in 1975, the figures declined to 51.3 percent in 1980 and 42.4 percent in 1983. Secondly, the geography of resettlement is limited: young people answering the interrepublic social appeal went to virtually all parts of the Russian Federation in 1975.

Today they are going essentially to the West Siberian and East Siberian economic rayons. Thirdly, substantial changes are taking place in the rayon migration structure. In 1975 the UkSSR accounted for 35.9 percent of the entire volume of interrepublic resettlement of youth; Belorussia accounted for 12.5 percent and the other republics for 51.6 percent. Eight years later, this ratio was, respectively, 22.3, 11.3 and 66.4 percent. The share of the Uzbek SSR increased significantly from 6.9 to 22.3 percent. Within that period the number of volunteers more than doubled. The number of people who answered the social appeal increased in the other Central Asian republics as well. In other words, recruitment for the RSFSR increased in labor surplus republics and declined in republics with labor shortages. From the viewpoint of restoring the balance between the needs of society for manpower and its availability in the various parts of the country, the stabilization of the number of volunteers answering the interrepublic social appeal in Azerbaijan, its considerable decline (by more than one-half) in Moldavia and, finally, its total drop in Kazakhstan (in the southern areas of which manpower surpluses exist) cannot be considered justified.

Despite positive changes, the redistribution role of the social appeal remains insufficient: for the time being, the share of labor surplus areas accounts for no more than 43.8 percent of the interrepublic manpower recruitment, whereas their share in the natural increase of labor resources is nearly twice as high. Nevertheless, let us reemphasize that the national economic significance of the social appeal is greater than unorganized migration. Unlike indirect control, direct control takes into consideration not only individual objectives but also social needs, and influences not only the trend of redistribution but also the development of potential mobility. The decision to leave, based on the advice of the Komsomol organizations, was made by 32.5 percent of the volunteers surveyed; 21 percent were unable to define precisely the nature of the factors which influenced them and 46.5 percent made this decision independently, using the social appeal as a means of changing their place of residence.

The Komsomol organizations played a most significant role in shaping the potential mobility of young people in the Baltic republics and Azerbaijan. Respectively, 39.1 and 35.8 percent of the volunteers made the decision to migrate under their influence. The central Asian republics are in the last place with 29.6 percent.

What are the specific work methods used by the Komsomol bodies in implementing state planned assignments? The study indicated that the most frequently used were individual and group talks with young people at enterprises with a relative manpower surplus. Incidentally, this helps to achieve planned departures; 23.5 percent of those surveyed indicated that they were summoned to individual talks and 14.7 percent referred to group forms (Komsomol meetings). Announcements and articles in the local Komsomol press have a major influence (20.1 percent), followed by the radio and television (10.3 percent) and posters and leaflets calling for joining shock Komsomol construction projects and talks by representatives of construction organizations (5.4 percent).

The Komsomol organizations use a wide set of means for agitation and propaganda, relying on the traditions and national features of their republics. Most effective in areas with relatively low population mobility are individual talks and Komsomol meetings. According to the respondents, they accounted for 50.1 percent in Azerbaijan, 34.3 percent in Central Asia and 51.3 percent in Krasnodar Kray. In areas with relatively high mobility, publications in the local youth newspaper frequently prove to be sufficient. It is precisely this source that informed 47.2 percent of the respondents in the Baltic republics and 37.6 percent in the Ukraine that a shock Komsomol detachment was being organized.

If we try to determine the overall result of the efficiency of these methods of work with young people, two indicators eloquently stand out: 45.6 percent of the respondents made their final decision on the advice of Komsomol activists and 31.8 percent under the influence of the mass information media.

The influence of fiction is no less significant (26.2 percent). The heroic characters of Komsomol members of the 1930s are still shaping ideological and moral values and attitudes toward labor. Thus, for example, those who went to Komsomolsk-na-Amure and West Siberia referred to this factor much more frequently than those who were directed toward the European part of the USSR. No less important to young men and women is the opinion of friends and acquaintances (25.2 percent), parents and other relatives (20.5 percent) and all their comrades (20.2 percent). Significant differences exist among these factors on the territorial level: family and friendly relations and the advice of elders are more tangible in Central Asia and Azerbaijan than elsewhere.

However great the impact of information, and moral-psychological and other circumstances may be, the direct reasons for changing the place of residence are job-related socioeconomic factors. The study indicated that dissatisfaction with earnings was the most influential factor in making the decision to leave based on a Komsomol assignment (45.8 percent), followed by poor housing conditions (39.1 percent). Other significant reasons were lack of opportunities for professional-skill growth (28.6 percent), suitable job (29.8 percent), conflicts in the family (24.7 percent) or with immediate superiors (18.9 percent) and poor relations within the collective (13.8 percent).²

The importance of said factors substantially agrees with migration categories and regional features in forming a detachment. Thus, among the potentially mobile youth (whose decision to leave developed independently of the activities of Komsomol bodies), the significance of all the enumerated factors was greater than among stable youth, whose decision was influenced by agitation and propaganda.

Let us note among the regional characteristics which influenced the decision to go to a Komsomol shock construction project the regional labor surplus. Thus, in the highest labor surplus areas of Azerbaijan and Central Asia the lack of suitable work accounted, as a migration factor, for 43.0 and 35.4 percent respectively, or almost 50 percent higher than the choice average, and double and triple compared to labor-short areas such as the Baltic republics, the European part of the RSFSR and the Ukraine. Hence our conclusion of the

erroneousness of the view according to which under contemporary conditions job demand plays no essential role as a migration stimulant.

The popular view notwithstanding, direct methods for controlling migration do not conflict with the population's interest in the least but instead rely on them. Within the structure of motivations for deciding to leave on the basis of a social appeal let us single out, first of all, the specific reasons exclusively inherent to this form of dynamics of labor resources and, secondly, reasons typical of migrations in general. The former are based on the youth features of the social appeal and are inherent in the needs of this socio-demographic group. Primary here are reasons related to the development of the individual: to form and temper their character and to "find themselves." It was precisely this reason, considered as most important, that was cited by 44.4 percent of the respondents.³ This was followed by the following reasons: fulfillment of civic duty, 44.1 percent; acquiring a skill and upgrading one's qualifications, 38.4 percent; and widening the circle of contacts and gaining new friends, 38.4 percent. The list of specific reasons would remain incomplete failing to add the "romantic" reasons: seeing new places, inhaling the "breath of the taiga," 32.7 percent; building "one's own city," 35.1 percent; and "being like the builders of the first five-year plans, 35.3 percent. Let us note that all of these are closely interrelated.

Far less important are reasons characteristic of migrations as a whole as a socioeconomic process. We single out in this group "the aspiration to have an apartment at the new place" (29.1 percent), "to earn the required amount of money" (20.0 percent), and "to find a spouse," 11.1 percent. Here as well we find a close intragroup correlation of reasons and a weak link with the first group.

The desire to acquire the possibility of enrolling in a VUZ stands out separately. Its advantage rests in the specific feature of the social appeal. Its role, however, remains small so far (17.4 percent of the respondents). Characteristically, the link between this reason and the first and second group of reasons is equally weak. Pierson's average correlation coefficient remains the same in both cases--0.3.

Therefore, the stimulating function of the social appeal is related mainly to the specific nature of youth problems: development of character, shaping civic maturity, involvement with youth labor collectives and the desire to avoid unnecessary supervision by one's elders.

The study of the regional features of motivations revealed a certain similarity between the latter among people from Azerbaijan, Central Asia and the Baltic republics, on the one hand, and the European part of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine, on the other. The differences between the two groups are quite substantial. They are expressed, for example, in the fact that the significance of the reasons in the first group is superior compared to the second. Particularly substantial, however, are national regional differences in reasons characterizing the desire of the young people to shape and temper their character. In this case, the disparity between the maximal and minimal values reaches 20 or more percentage points. The Azerbaijanis, for example,

have singled out this reason as the most important in 53 percent of the cases, compared to 33 percent for young people from Krasnodar Kray. In the case of "gaining new friends," the disparity reaches 25 percentage points; "work in a purely youth collective" and "avoiding the supervision of elders" shows an 18 percent disparity. A specific reason cited by young people from Central Asia and Azerbaijan is the desire to marry and have a family. This reason was considered most important by, respectively, 34.6 and 23.3 percent of the volunteers we surveyed. This is higher by a factor of 4-5 compared to young people in other parts of the country. The members of these republics are also distinguished by a stronger desire for socioprofessional advancement, mastering a skill and acquiring facilities for enrolling in a VUZ.

Practical experience indicates that the effectiveness with which migration is controlled depends on the extent to which the new settlers become acclimatized. Unlike indirect control, direct control guarantees to every new settler fully acceptable working and living conditions. The organized migrants are sufficiently well informed of what to expect in the resettlement area. According to the study, 55 percent of the respondents are more or less well familiar with the nature of their future job; 66.2 percent are familiar with the requirements this will involve; 65.7 percent have a realistic assessment of their ability to perform their job; 51.4 percent are aware of the amount of their future wage; 39.8 percent are familiar with the opportunity for professional and job growth; 58.9 percent are aware of the housing conditions; 57.4 percent are familiar with sociocultural and living conditions; 62.8 percent are aware of the nature of the climate and 68.2 percent are conscious of the social significance of their future job.

Since our study was made at the time the youth detachments were being sent off, all we were able to determine was the potential acclimatization, i.e., the future plans of the respondents. As we know, the social appeal is an open-end form of redistribution of labor resources: no time limits are stipulated. The survey indicated that most of the respondents were oriented toward spending a long period of time in their place of resettlement. Only 10.6 percent intended to work 1 year and then go back; 12.1 percent intended to work 2-3 years; 9.1 percent, to the end of the construction project; 31.0 percent were willing to resettle permanently and 37.2 percent had not made any decision at that point. Therefore, we can divide the young people into three groups based on the type of orientation regarding the length of their stay in their assigned places: temporary,⁴ limited to a specific period of time, permanent, and indefinite.

The type of orientation substantially depends on the category of the migrants. The strongest orientation toward permanent resettlement is characteristic of the mobile youth group, i.e., the group of those who have decided to go regardless of the social appeal. In this category 26.9 percent are oriented toward temporary and 37.6 percent toward permanent resettlement (35.5 percent were undetermined). This breakdown is different in the stable category: 36.4, 23.2 and 40.4 percent. It seems to us that, all other conditions being equal, it is above all the mobile youth that must be selected in order to upgrade the effectiveness of the social appeal.

A durable view prevails to the effect that natives of the southern part of the country can stand the cold climate poorly, as a result of which they do not settle in Siberia or the Extreme North. Naturally, it would be insensible to deny the difficulty of acclimatization. Nevertheless, is this factor so important in terms of successful acclimatization? Young people from Azerbaijan, who have gone to work in Krasnoyarsk Krai showed the following orientation: no more than 1 year, 13.0 percent; 2-3 years, 17.9 percent; to the completion of the construction project, 26.3 percent; permanent residents, 27.0 percent; undetermined orientation, 15.8 percent. At the same time, Uzbeks, who have gone to work in an area the climatic conditions of which are even more favorable, have shown the following orientation: 21.5, 16.3, 4.0, 33.4 and 24.8 percent respectively.

The orientation of the young people from the Baltic area, who had gone to Komsomolsk-na-Amure, was similar, with the only difference that in this case the share of undetermined answers was high--45.0 percent. The highest percentage of people oriented toward permanent resettlement was among the volunteers from Rostov-na-Donu, who had come to work at Atomash, 59.6 percent, and from the Ukraine, who had gone to West Siberia, 36.5 percent. A relatively slow orientation toward permanent residency was found among young people from the Nonchernozem areas of the RSFSR, also assigned to West Siberia (29.7 percent). Yet the Ukrainian climate is more different than that of West Siberia compared with the Nonchernozem areas.

Therefore, the orientation toward permanent residency has little to do with the climatic conditions of the places where the volunteers come from and where they settle.

The aspiration for permanent resettlement we determined was not unconditional. Virtually all volunteers expressed some requirements. The most important among them was to have an interesting and meaningful job (51.7 percent), adequate living conditions (38.8 percent), good living premises (36.5 percent) and, finally, decent wages (32.5 percent). Speaking of regional differences, the Uzbek people ascribe great importance to good earnings, the possibility of professional growth and parental agreement, while young people from the RSFSR and the Baltic area emphasize housing conditions.

Both published works and practical experience in migration control quite frequently ascribe a main role to the living standard (as a factor of acclimatization of the resettlers), wages above all. In this connection, we especially included a question of the desired earnings as a condition for permanent resettlement. The following data were obtained: (1) 7 percent would not settle permanently regardless of salary; (2) 10.3 percent would settle permanently for a salary of up to 200 rubles per month; (3) 33.7 percent for 201-300 rubles; (4) 19.9 percent for 301-400 rubles; (5) 13.9 percent for 401-500 rubles; and (5) 15.2 percent for more than 500 rubles. Under these conditions the average wage--320 rubles--taking into consideration the coefficient and northern supplements--cannot be considered excessive.

Dependence of Factors in Retaining Volunteers
and the Type of Residency Orientation

Type of Residency Orientation	% of Those Who Considered This Condition as Very Important						
	Inter- esting Work	Good Earnings	Living Condi- tions	Premises	Procure- ments	Climate	Profes- sional Growth
1 year or less	43.8	39.3	33.6	23.6	25.5	18.6	30.1
2-3 years	37.8	34.5	32.6	27.4	23.8	26.8	25.5
To the end of the construc- tion project	31.0	37.8	31.3	28.6	26.6	28.7	30.2
Permanently	59.6	29.1	41.5	50.2	31.2	35.6	28.2
For an undefined period	55.6	29.8	42.2	31.3	29.6	29.7	23.3

The highest requirements concerning wages were formulated by the Ukrainian youth: 63.7 percent of the respondents would like to earn in excess of 400 rubles monthly. The percentage for those coming from the Nonchernozem oblasts of the RSFSR was 48.1. The least demanding in this respect were the Azerbaijani youth (15.7 percent). The demands of the Central Asian young people assigned to Rostselmash were somewhat higher--21.9 percent, whereas volunteers from Krasnodar Kray who went to work at Atommash would like to earn in excess of 400 rubles in only 8.5 percent of the cases.

Do high wages truly contribute to retaining the population? The question could be formulated otherwise as well: Do those who intend to settle permanently in a new place demand a higher wage? Our study showed the following: the highest wage requirements were among young people oriented toward a temporary stay (see table) and the lowest among those who intended to settle for a long time or permanently. The latter, however, had significantly higher requirements concerning the nature of the job and housing and living conditions. Our data confirmed once again the familiar truth that the successful settling in newly developed areas is impossible without creating here normal housing and living conditions. It would be expedient for some of the funds currently used in paying higher wages to be spent on improving housing and living conditions for the settlers.

The fact that it is precisely thanks to controlled methods of redistribution of manpower that the high quality growth of labor resources in the areas of resettlement is exceptionally important.

It turns out that the administrative authorities which use indirect control methods are poorly acquainted with the sociodemographic and family structure of the population. Thus, for example, the Neryungri planners assumed that initially the place would be settled by essentially unmarried childless men. Instead, it turned out that 80 percent of the population had families. The sex and age structure, number of children and other sociodemographic indicators in Neryungri were hardly different from older developed areas starting with the very first years. It was difficult even to make an approximate assessment of the material, moral and other costs of such migration control methods.

With direct control, the managing organizations, in this case the Komsomol, could deliberately establish sex-age and other ratios for the settlers and thus contribute to the more proportional shaping of the population's structure. These possibilities, however, are limited. Like organized recruitment, the social appeal is an intermediary form, the activities of which are substantially affected by the requirements of the customer, i.e., the construction organization. The latter not only sets the quantitative parameters of the social appeal, but its structure as well, essentially requesting single men in the most active age group and with certain skills, in order to save on resources and manpower at residential facilities (housing, kindergartens, nurseries). The fact that such savings adversely affect the settling of the new residents is sometimes forgotten.

The most important quality characteristic of the social appeal is the skill of the volunteers. The study indicated that most young people selected for shock Komsomol construction projects already have a skill. Thus, the Detachment imeni XXVI Sezda KPSS consisted of 6.2 percent students, 26.8 percent under-skilled workers (first and second grade), 43.2 percent with average skills (third and fourth grade), 8.1 percent highly skilled workers and 13.2 percent employees and engineering and technical personnel. Within this contingent, 9 percent were agricultural mechanizers and 3.5 percent were kolkhoz members without vocational training.

The educational level, which is one of the characteristics of the cultural and technical standards of the young construction workers, is of major importance in the selection of volunteers. The nucleus of the social appeal consists of young people with secondary and secondary specialized training (72.1 percent of the respondents). Twenty-five percent of them have no secondary education training.

One of the most essential problems facing the social appeal today is the redistribution of manpower from the republics of Central Asia and Azerbaijan, particularly people coming from rural labor surplus areas. The solution of this problem, however, is complicated by the fact that, as a rule, the majority of young men and women of the native nationalities are unskilled. Furthermore, the development of the national economy of these republics as well requires skilled labor. This makes entirely understandable the position held by the local authorities which, although not hindering, do not assist in fulfilling the plan for the recruitment of young people, particularly for construction projects outside the republic. Thus, in the areas of Central Asia, between 1976 and 1980 the plan for intrarepublic youth recruitment was fulfilled 125 percent while the interrepublic recruitment plan by 84 percent only. This situation can be radically changed only by concentrating the attention of the Komsomol organizations on selecting here underskilled young people without professional training. These categories account for approximately one-third of the detachment. At the same time, the social appeal has led to the redistribution of a significant number of mechanizers, as follows: Central Asian detachment, 13.1 percent; Azerbaijani, 8.0 percent. These figures are substantially higher compared to other areas.

One of the features of the social appeal is the fact that, as a rule, the selection includes workers with construction skills, who are usually in short supply in any city or part of the country. The All-Union Shock Komsomol Detachment imeni 26 Sezda KPSS included a total of 30.9 percent construction specialists (armature workers, concrete mixers, carpenters, etc.); 36.9 percent had related skills, equally necessary in construction (bulldozer operators, drivers, assemblymen, welders, etc.). The rest of the workers had no such skills.

Naturally, the hiring of insufficiently trained workers creates the urgent problem of upgrading their professional skills. Efforts have been made to organize the training of young people by the Komsomol itself. However, we believe this to be ineffective. Enterprises must be energized decisively. From our viewpoint, no single construction project should be declared a shock Komsomol project if it does not have an organized system for training and upgrading the skills of working youth. The project should begin precisely with the creation of training combines. A Komsomol shock construction project must be a school for professional work aimed at attaining the highest possible skill and standards.

The development of new territories has reached a turning point. The "tent romanticism" and difficulties caused by the poor development of production forces are things of the past. All necessary possibilities exist for the development of the entire set of sociocultural and consumer institutions in remote areas, from the very first steps taken in their development. The shortcomings which exist here are related not to the lack of resources, as was the case in the past, but the departmental lack of coordination among enterprises. One of the most important tasks in the planned control of migration processes, including the social appeal, is to eliminate anything which hinders the harmonious coordination of the interests of society, the national economy and the individual.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The survey of volunteers with the shock Komsomol Detachment imeni XXVI Sezda KPSS was the main method used in gathering sociological data. The survey was conducted by us jointly with the Komsomol Central Committee in 1981, at the time the detachment was formed. We questioned approximately 20 percent of the personnel--a total of 1,599 people. The quota method was used in the selection. After determining the sum total, we developed a zoned random selection. We surveyed 572 people in the European part of the RSFSR, 163 in the Ukraine, 183 in the Baltic area, 392 in Central Asia, and 282 in the Transcaucasus. Part of the study was published (5)--author.
2. Respondents were given several choices.
3. The importance of the reasons was gauged on the basis of a 3-point intensiveness scale: (1) unimportant; (2) quite important; (3) very important.
4. The content of this term does not coincide with the one used in census practices.

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GENERATIONAL CONTINUITY IN THE REALM OF PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

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[Article by Sergey Alekseyevych Makeyev, candidate of philosophical sciences, junior scientific associate, Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, author of the monograph "Kvalifikatsiya i Trudovyye Oriyentatsii Rabotnikov" [Worker Skills and Labor Orientation] (1982, coauthored). This is his first publication in our journal]

[Text] For a long time sociologists have fruitfully studied the laws governing the choice of profession by young people beginning their labor career. Some problems, however, remain understudied. One of them is the influence of the family on youth vocational-skill self-determination.

We know that the basic features of the personality develop in the family, which influences the person's emotional, intellectual and will power features. It is also in the family that the social characteristics are shaped: orientation toward one type of work or another, social activeness, consumer behavior, ways of spending the leisure time, etc. The family largely determines the essential features of the individual's life. Its microclimate, which develops under the influence of the parents' profession, education and culture, is a prerequisite for the development of capabilities orienting toward one type of job or another. In this sense, we can say that the family has the function of reproducing the professional-skill structure of employment and is also a social source of reproduction of labor resources (1).

In the study of Kiev's active population, conducted by sociologists from the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy in 1979 (headed by V. F. Chernovolenko, covering 3,500 people), the jobs of the respondents and their parents were classified into six types by level of skill: unskilled, skilled and highly skilled physical labor, and into three similar gradations of mental labor. In accordance with this classification, a socially homogeneous family is one in which the spouses hold similar positions in the labor employment structure (such as both of them engaged in skilled physical labor). In the case of different professional-skill jobs, the family is considered socially heterogeneous (one of the spouses performs skilled physical labor and the other skilled mental labor). Formally possible combinations yield 21 varieties of families, six homogeneous and 15 heterogeneous.

There is a hypothesis according to which the way in which heterogeneous and homogeneous families participate in preparing the growing generation for work varies. Indeed, in a heterogeneous family the individual is influenced by the professional and skill status of both parents. Therefore, the information transmitted to the growing generation on the vocational and social stance is here much more varied than in a homogeneous family. It is sensible to presume that the professional plans and intentions and the actual labor career of offspring of heterogeneous families will be different. However, it would be desirable to formulate such assumptions on the basis of reliable empirical data. Unfortunately, no such data exist in contemporary sociological publications. We find statements concerning the percentage of heterogeneous families in the total number of families (2), and claims that as social differences are eliminated and possibilities of unmatched marriages increase so does the number of heterogeneous families (3); efforts are made to determine the role of heterogeneous families in surmounting social disparities (4). A considerable array of empirical data has been acquired by Estonian sociologists who have studied the careers of offspring of different families (5). Nevertheless, to this day we still have little knowledge of differences in the nature of the influence exerted by socially homogeneous or heterogeneous families on the reproduction of the professional-skill job structure. Most frequently, intuitive assumptions rather than reliable information are found in discussions on the influence of the type of family on the labor self-determination of young people.

In terms of the empirical data gathered in the course of our study, the question was formulated as follows: are there differences between homogeneous and heterogeneous families in terms of their "contribution" to the reproduction of a specific type of job and to the overall employment structure. Empirical observations lead to the assumption that such differences do exist. Their quantitative assessment allows us to apply statistical criteria (such as χ^2). If no significant disparities are found in the breakdown of offspring of different families (based on the six types of labor employment we indicated), we may conclude that the compared families are homogeneous and may be combined within a single type.

The answers of 1,299 offspring of urban families were analyzed. Each one of the 21 varieties of families averaged 60 people (which is entirely adequate for rough statistical assessment of breakdown frequency). However, the actual fluctuations in the number of offspring of different families proved to be quite significant. Thus, the offspring of families in which the parents were engaged in unskilled physical labor totaled 221, whereas those of families of workers engaged in highly skilled physical work totaled 19. This required a proper interpretation of statistical evaluations.

The procedure for family classification consisted of the following operations: initially we determined the "closeness" among family varieties ("closeness of breakdown frequency by type of employment). The "distance" was based on the formula

$$d_{xy} = \sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^n (x_i - y_i)^2}$$

in which d_{xy} is the distance between variables x and y, and i and n are the numbers of variables. The values of the criteria ranged from 0.3 to 150.8 (see table). At the same time, we established the number of families the "distance" among which was minimal on the basis of the adopted criterion. Unquestionably, they gravitated toward a single center. Thus, homogeneous families of workers performing skilled physical labor and homogeneous families of workers engaged in unskilled mental work showed no noticeable specific features whatsoever of employment reproduction. The offspring of such families could be classified by type of employment in approximately the same way as the offspring of families with a corresponding highly skilled physical and skilled mental job.

The placement of offspring of families in which one of the parents is engaged in underskilled physical work is characterized by some specific features: the breakdown of the offspring of corresponding heterogeneous families (columns 1-6 in the table) substantially varies from one column to the next, as well as the breakdown of homogeneous families of workers engaged in unskilled physical labor. Relatively close in terms of the nature of reproduction of the job structure of the next generation were families in which one of the spouses performs unskilled mental work or skilled physical work (columns 4 and 2), as well as highly skilled or mental labor (columns 3 and 6).

Table--Matrix of "Distances" Among Different Families Types (N=1299)

Variation in Families by Type of Parental Labor		Family Variety					
Father	Mother	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
1. Unskilled physical	Unskilled physical	0					
2. "	Skilled physical	16.9	0				
3. "	Highly " "	17.0	16.1	0			
4. "	Unskilled mental	12.1	2.1	10.3	0		
5. "	Skilled mental	22.3	15.7	10.3	7.0	0	
6. "	Highly " "	15.4	13.7	4.1	9.4	10.5	0
7. Skilled physical	Skilled physical						
8. "	Highly " "	15.7	13.1	6.0	8.6	6.6	7.4
9. "	Unskilled mental	9.9	14.0	7.5	9.6	11.2	2.8
10. "	Skilled mental	18.3	11.9	8.2	6.3	2.0	9.7
11. "	Highly " "	17.7	5.6	5.8	2.4	5.5	6.9
12. Highly skilled physical	Highly skilled physical	50.7	23.4	16.6	15.7	18.3	9.2
13. "	Unskilled mental	8.2	8.0	4.9	4.8	3.6	3.6
14. "	Skilled mental	11.5	12.4	3.1	7.7	6.1	5.4
15. "	Highly " "	12.7	4.7	3.9	2.0	3.6	4.3
16. Unskilled mental	Unskilled mental	37.4	16.3	7.3	12.1	16.0	5.3
17. "	Skilled mental	32.2	10.9	7.5	6.6	10.1	8.2
18. "	Highly " "	37.8	18.4	5.4	10.1	9.9	4.1
19. Skilled mental	Skilled mental	55.2	23.1	9.4	13.9	17.4	9.1
20. "	Highly " "	50.1	21.7	5.6	15.5	19.5	9.6
21. Highly skilled mental	Highly " "	112.6	54.3	23.7	37.0	40.1	11.0
		150.8	75.7	34.9	47.9	45.1	19.2

(Matrix continued)

	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1.															
2.															
3.															
4.															
5.															
6.															
7.	0														
8.	5.9	0													
9.	1.9	9.3	0												
10.	4.9	9.2	3.6	0											
11.	23.3	16.7	21.0	11.4	0										
12.	1.5	1.6	2.2	3.7	11.8	0									
13.	0.5	4.9	2.6	4.3	19.8	1.5	0								
14.	3.5	5.9	2.8	0.3	8.1	2.3	2.9	0							
15.	16.6	12.1	16.4	7.3	4.6	9.2	13.0	5.1	0						
16.	10.2	13.1	8.8	1.7	8.0	6.4	8.3	1.1	3.5	0					
17.	11.7	10.5	10.6	4.4	5.7	4.6	8.3	1.7	3.5	2.9	0				
18.	20.1	19.3	18.0	5.5	7.2	10.3	14.8	3.0	1.8	1.7	2.0	0			
19.	14.7	17.9	15.6	6.0	13.9	9.8	10.6	4.7	3.0	3.0	5.0	3.7	0		
20.	40.0	24.5	39.9	20.8	7.1	13.8	30.8	11.8	1.8	11.3	9.0	9.5	13.1	0	
21.	59.8	41.4	53.1	28.2	4.4	23.0	46.7	14.6	1.4	15.6	11.5	11.0	23.6	5.3	0

Differences among breakdowns based on the employment of offspring of families of workers engaged in physical and mental work were manifested quite clearly. In particular, homogeneous and heterogeneous families (both spouses engaged in physical work) were "closer" to each other in terms of the nature of employment reproduction compared to families of workers engaged in mental work. The same pattern was found the professional-skill self-determination of offspring of homogeneous and heterogeneous families of workers engaged in mental labor: the choice of their position in the employment structure is similar; however, it is distinguished from the choices made by offspring of families of workers engaged in physical labor.

Something else is curious as well. Marriages between people engaged in skilled or highly skilled physical labor and those engaged in unskilled mental labor (according to our data 90 percent of the latter are women) should formally be considered heterogeneous. Actually, however, such families try to reproduce the labor employment like those of homogeneous families of workers engaged in highly skilled physical labor. Formally heterogeneous are also marriages between people engaged in skilled and highly skilled mental labor, on the one hand, and those engaged in physical labor on the same skill level, on the other. In real terms, such families participate in reproducing employment in approximately the same way as homogeneous families of workers engaged in superior and average skilled mental work. Everything seems to indicate

that we should consider as normal a situation in which heterogeneous families try to reproduce employment in the next generation in a way similar to homogeneous families. In terms of empirical dependency the latter claim could be formulated as follows: no statistically significant differences in breakdown by type of employment of offspring of said homogeneous and heterogeneous families should exist.

The compared varieties were combined into groups. The criterion χ^2 was used to determine whether differences in the breakdown of offspring of said groups were statistically significant in terms of employment (in the case of significant differences no subsequent combination took place). The following six groups were established: (1) homogeneous families of workers engaged in unskilled physical labor; (2) heterogeneous families in which one of the spouses is engaged in underskilled physical labor and the other in either skilled physical or underskilled mental work; (3) heterogeneous families in which one of the spouses is engaged in underskilled physical and the other in highly skilled or highly skilled mental labor; (4) homogeneous families in which one of the spouses performs highly skilled mental work requiring higher education. Regardless of the occupation of the other spouse, children of such families engage in professional self-determination in a way similar to children of heterogeneous families in which both parents have higher education and work in their field. The fifth group included homogeneous families of workers performing underskilled mental work and families in which both spouses (or one of them) were engaged in skilled mental work. If the second spouse was engaged in work other than highly skilled mental, the offspring of such families were classified by type of employment similar to offspring of homogeneous families with spouses with secondary specialized training, performing corresponding skilled work; that is why this group could be considered homogeneous. Finally, the sixth group consisted of families in which one of the spouses was engaged in highly skilled physical work. If the second spouse was not engaged in mental work requiring higher or secondary level skills, such a family reproduces employment as a homogeneous family of workers performing highly skilled physical work; this group can be legitimately considered homogeneous.

Differences in the breakdown of the neighboring family groups--first and second as well as third and fourth--were statistically significant, with probabilities used in sociological research. The value of the criterion χ^2 was, respectively, 84.3 and 137.1.

Naturally, the classification we suggest is not the only possible one. Our task was not to develop a universal typology. The assumption that heterogeneous families participate differently in employment reproduction in the next generation compared to homogeneous ones was subject to investigation. The data we collected, although not fully confirming said assumption, were a base for the formulation of more accurate hypotheses concerning the professional-skill continuity of generations. At least this could lead to refining the existence in a heterogeneous families of two factors of equal importance in influencing the growing generation--the professional skill status of the father and the mother. In fact, we note the dominating influence of the higher professional-skill status of one of the parents. As a result, the work self-determination of the children of heterogeneous families is as

though the level of skill of the parents is identical and that the work they perform requires equal skills.

This circumstance leads the researchers to an understanding of the specifics of family influence on the labor self-determination of young people. However, this too must be studied. It is unclear by virtue of what reasons officially heterogeneous families influence their children in the same way as homogeneous families. Let us note two essential features. First, the dominating influence of the higher professional-skill status confirms the fact that the work of one of the spouses is considered particularly significant and that his prestige in the eyes of the other family members is higher than that of the other spouse. This determines the microclimate of the family, which, in turn, determines the direction taken in the professional plans of boys and girls. Secondly, in an officially heterogeneous family a specific situation develops concerning the selection. The subject of the selection is the child and the object is the employment of the parents, unequal from the socioeconomic viewpoint. In our society, as we know, we support the prestige of work which is varied and saturated with elements of creativity. This contributes to the fact that most frequently the young people choose more complex work. This opens broad opportunities for the application of capabilities and, naturally, is more attractive to the young generation.

The discovered empirical dependence proves that it would be expedient to distinguish between the formal classification of families, exclusively based on theoretically established group-forming features (in our case professional, skill and education characteristics of the respondents and their parents) and the real (empirical) typology of families, based on the study of the actual labor choices of young people. The use of the real typology enables us to present in a maximally compact manner, adequate for subsequent interpretation, the entire volume of data gathered on professional-skill continuity in homogeneous and heterogeneous families. Such typology not only adequately reflects the laws of reproduction of the professional-skill structural employment of the next generation but also enables us to consider the family as a single entity. Said distinction directs researchers toward the formulation of strictly tested methods for family social classification.

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INFLUENCE OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING ON YOUTH SOCIAL MOBILITY

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[Article by Igor Pisarevich Gurshumov, senior scientific associate, Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences Council for the Study of Production Forces. Author of the article "Reasons for Potential Cadre Turnover (Based on a Survey of Young People in the Tajik SSR)" in our journal (No 1, 1984) and Roman Lvovich Kogay, junior scientific associate, Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences Council for the Study of Production Forces. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] The condition and utilization of labor resources in Central Asia is a problem of great importance not only to the republics in this area but to other parts of the country as well. Despite a labor surplus in the area and the low mobility of the native population, the area nevertheless has a great shortage of skilled cadres (6). This need is largely satisfied by recruiting personnel from parts of the country which are already suffering from manpower shortages. The local PTU [vocational-technical school] network, that of Tajikistan in particular, is insufficiently developed and the level of student training is not always consistent with modern production requirements. The share of members of the basic nationalities (Tajiks and Uzbeks) among the students is small. Thus, in 1982 21.9 percent of the graduates of full-time general educational schools in the republic enrolled in PTU; 26.4 percent enrolled in VUZs and technicums and 51.7 percent went directly into production work or else worked the family or private auxiliary plots (computed by (1)). Let us add that the vocational training system trains workers in 150 professions, whereas the Tajik national economy needs more than 500 skills.

How to ensure the training of skilled cadres and the redistribution of labor resources in accordance with the national interests? The decision was made in the republic to organize the training of young people (rural above all) outside Tajikistan. Between 1981 and 1983 some 6,000 10th-graders were assigned to PTU in the RSFSR, the Ukraine and other parts of the country. Another more than 2,500 eighth-graders enrolled in those schools on their own (2). Most of the young people return home after completing PTU training. However, approximately 32 percent remained at work at the base enterprises (according to Tajik SSR Gosplan data). In this manner, the republic's national economy acquired extremely needed specialists and labor-deficient areas gained additional manpower. This valuable initiative and the social aspects of cadre training were the topic of a sociological study. Let us consider the results.

Parents play a great role in the choice of a career by the respondents. Thirteen percent of them approved their children's decision; 25 percent suggested to their children to think seriously before leaving. The rest were categorically opposed. At PTU graduation time, the majority of those who wanted to remain at work at the base enterprises turned once again to the adults for advice. The parents of about one-half of the respondents demanded that they return; the intention of 30 percent of the respondents was approved and 20 percent were advised to weigh everything and make their own decision. As we can see, the attitude toward the choice of their children had "warmed up." The explanation is, above all, that many of the parents had visited the PTU, talked with its administrators and production training foremen and seen that living and training conditions were good and that constant attention was paid to the students.

Here is another characteristic fact. About 5 percent of the Tajik adolescents had married during their training. The help of state bodies and the public had played a major role in the establishment and strengthening of the young families. On the initiative of Komsomol committees, the marriage ceremony was such as to combine contemporary rituals with elements of Tajik and Russian traditions. The newlyweds were given rooms in family hostels and their names were put down on a waiting list for housing accommodations. Family life was organized, as a result of which relations with the parents were gradually restored or improved.

The decision of young people to attend PTU is frequently condemned by relatives not because of traditional views alone (although this circumstance is unquestionable. According to the study, parents in remote rural areas, where usually all children live with their parents regardless of their age, are more conservative). What is of essential significance in this case is the material situation and, above all, the temporary loss of an able-bodied family member; 65.4 percent of the respondents, whose parents categorically asked of them to reconsider, were members of families with six or more children; 54.7 percent belonged to families averaging a monthly income of less than 50 rubles per person. We believe that the rural soviets and rayon Komsomol committees should, on the one hand, conduct "vocational guidance" work among parents and, on the other, increase their aid to such families for the time when they lose a worker. This will enable us to increase the percentage of young people who go away to study and subsequently return to the republic. The positive attitude of the parents will unquestionably facilitate the children's decision as well. The following facts are noteworthy: 61.4 percent of the respondents consider that they acted properly by enrolling in a PTU; 12.7 percent regret that they failed to follow the advice of their parents; 25.9 percent refused to answer, which obviously means lack of firm opinion; some 70 percent were entirely satisfied with the decision to remain at work at the base enterprise; only 6 percent were dissatisfied with their decision; 24 percent of the respondents were considering going back home.

Let us recall that it is a question of respondents who had already worked at enterprises in Yaroslavl and Gorkiy oblasts for about a year. Most of the respondents had decided to take this step despite the view of their parents. Unquestionably, the moral and psychological support of the latter would have helped to bring the young workers back to the republic. Such cadres, i.e.,

skilled specialists who have already undergone their primary professional adaptation, become accustomed to labor traditions and learned their first lessons in a respectful and conscientious attitude toward labor are particularly needed in Tajikistan.

How to stimulate the return of the young people? We believe that the most realistic method today would be to grant PTU graduates equal status as individuals who come to the republic on the basis of organized recruitment or intrasectorial transfers. They should be granted corresponding material benefits as well.

Ensuring the availability of skilled cadres in the republic is only one side of the experience. The other side is to train workers for enterprises in labor-short areas. In the latter case, the most important problem is the motivations and factors which determined their decision to remain at work in the base plants after PTU graduation. According to research data, the reasons were broken down as follows (the respondents were offered multiple choices): meaningful and interesting work, 20.4 percent; possibility of further fast professional growth, 19.3 percent; favorable working conditions and meaningful work, 19.1 percent; social significance of the decision, 18.5 percent; desire to enter a VUZ or technicum, 15.7 percent; desire to master the acquired skill as best as possible, 13.3 percent; high earnings, 8.9 percent; planning to set up a family, 4.5 percent. A similar picture was obtained from a survey of students who intended to remain in the area after PTU graduation. Therefore, an orientation toward "meaningful aspects of the work, its saturation with creative elements and possibility of self-expression and application of one's talents and knowledge" plays a leading role in the motivation (3). This requires a refinement. The importance to the respondents of the sociovocational self-determination does not mean in the least that the young people consider material rewards a secondary factor. The fact that it was among the lowest in the scale of values is largely explained by the following: after PTU graduation, the respondents were guaranteed substantially high earnings. Thus, the average wage of the respondents was 172 rubles in Gorkiy and 139 rubles in Yaroslavl Oblast.

In the view of the respondents, said factors could be higher had vocational orientation work been better. For the time being, it is reduced to basic agitation. In setting up groups, representatives of the PTU direct the young people not toward the choice of a specific profession but proceed on the principle that "all work is good--choose any one." Today, however, such a slogan is ineffective. The words are accurate from the viewpoint of society at large. "When it comes to 'taste,' i.e., the choice of a profession for oneself, by no means do all professions turn out to be good" (4). The difficulties are increased by yet another circumstance--the needs and specific nature of the economy in the various parts of Tajikistan are virtually ignored. Specific republic rayons are assigned to vocational schools in different RSFSR oblasts. In the case of the Yaroslavl PTU, for example, the students come from Leninabad Oblast. They learn skills related to light industry. Leninabad needs, above all, machine-building workers, who are trained primarily in Gorkiy. Yet the representatives of the PTU located in that area set up groups in rayons where machine-building production is not a leading sector. The result? Boys are sent to study skills preferred by girls and vice versa.

This lowers the interest in training and satisfaction with the acquired skill. Matters frequently come to transferring to other PTU. Incidentally, the correlation coefficient between satisfaction with skill and decision to remain at work at the base enterprise is high: 0.681.

To a certain extent, shortcomings in vocational guidance are compensated by the extensive opportunities which the young people have to continue with their education. An indicative example is that of a PTU in Gorkiy Oblast. During the training period a number of students attended optional or preparatory courses in VUZs and technicums. After their graduation from the PTU, virtually all students who remained at work at the base enterprise enrolled in the evening department of the industrial technicum. According to the study, some 20 percent of the respondents enrolled in VUZs and technicums (evening essentially).

The sociopsychological climate plays an important role in keeping the students in the PTU and, subsequently, in the production collective. The respondents rated quite highly the nature of the vertical contacts developed in the PTU: "Administration-production training foremen-student" (Table 1). This is explained above all by the attention which the personnel paid to the young people coming from the republic. Relations with comrades were rated much lower. This was due, above all, to the heterogeneous age structure of their closest environment. Thus, for example, alongside yesterday's secondary school students, individuals aged 20 to 25 (35.8 percent) as well as young people aged 26 to 27 (7.6 percent) were assigned to the Gorkiy Oblast PTU. Differences in practical experience, aspirations, inclinations, etc., created difficulties in contacts among the respondents and, occasionally, grounds for conflict. In brief, more homogenous groups from the age viewpoint should be set up in the republic.

As to the local youth, contacts with them were made difficult by the linguistic barrier. Initially, the respondents' knowledge of the Russian language was clearly inadequate. The situation substantially improved in the course of the training. Consequently, the rating they assigned to relations in the labor collectives where the respondents were assigned after graduation was higher (Table 2). At the same time, the microethnic environment was of great importance to the respondents. About 70 percent of them suggested that not one but 2-3 people be assigned to work in the same brigades. Unquestionably, this would contribute to the fastest possible adaptation of PTU graduates to labor collectives. Finally, Table 2 shows that the most satisfactory relations were found by the respondents to be with comrades working in the same brigade on the basis of the same order (51 percent). We know from practical experience that brigade members are unwilling to accept in their collective novices from the PTU. We believe that student practical training in a brigade would facilitate their acceptance by the collective.

The majority of specialists involved in cadre training in Gorkiy and Yaroslavl oblasts (vocational and technical training workers, production training foremen, Komsomol activists) consider the experiment described here entirely justified. At the same time, however, the expert survey indicated a number of major difficulties in this area: poor knowledge of Russian by the young

people, low level of general educational training, inadaptability to natural and climatic conditions and to an urban way of life, poor ability to communicate and many others.

What steps should be taken to improve the efficiency of such cadre training methods: above all, in our view the groups should consist of young people oriented toward moving from country to town or else leaving the republic. This is because frequently a reason for migration is the desire to acquire a skill. It would be expedient to assign for training members of other nationalities in addition to people belonging to the main ethnic group (Russians, Tatars, etc.) living in towns or urban type settlements. This would help Tajiks and Uzbeks to establish intranational contacts and to adapt to urban living. In order for the trainees not to feel themselves "alienated" from their home, the Tajik Komsomol organizations must periodically send to the PTU agitation collectives and lecturers; they must supply the students with periodicals published in the republic and items of national musical and artistic culture. Preliminary estimates indicate that such outlays would be entirely justified.

Table 1--Respondents' Rating of Relations With Members
of the PTU Collective, % of Answers

<u>Subjects of Inter-relationships</u>	<u>Very Good</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>	<u>Average 5-Point Scale Rating</u>
Administration	26.6	62.4	4.8	6.2	4.1
Production training foremen	39.7	51.2	3.8	5.3	4.2
Fellow students	29.4	46.4	16.1	8.1	3.5
Fellow hostel residents	28.9	45.2	13.5	12.4	3.5

Table 2--Respondents' Assessment of Relations With Members
of the Labor Collective, % of Answers

<u>Subjects of Inter-relationships</u>	<u>Fully Satisfied</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u>	<u>No Answer</u>	<u>Average 5-Point Scale Rating</u>
Shop administration (chief, deputy chief)	90.6	3.4	6.0	4.8
Immediate superior (chief of shift, foreman, brigade leader)	87.9	5.1	7.0	4.6
Brigade fellow workers	91.0	2.1	6.9	4.9
Brigade fellow workers paid on the basis of a single order	92.0	1.9	6.1	4.9

Such measures are included in the comprehensive cadre training program for the national economy of the Tajik SSR (5). Furthermore, acquired experience enables us to express several other considerations. Today young people

assigned to training outside the republic acquire essentially the same skills in which cadres in local PTU are trained. This is hardly justified, even though the level of training in the center may be higher. In our view, the main attention should be paid to skills which, for the time being, are not included in Tajik PTU training programs, especially for cadres in the non-production sphere. The low level of development of the latter is largely explained by the scarcity of skilled specialists.

As to the scale of the training, basically it could reach 20,000 to 25,000 people between 1986 and 1990. According to projections, it is precisely the same percentage of young people who will remain "undistributed" every year, after school graduates have entered VUZs and technicums in Tajikistan and other republics, have enrolled in local PTU or have been drafted in the Soviet army. The figure of 8,000 to 10,000 seems more realistic. As to the ratio between those who remain and who return after PTU training, the figure could be established only after greater experience has been acquired and in accordance with the need for manpower in the areas where the PTU are located. For the time being, in our view, we should base our estimates on a ratio of 1.5:1 or, at most, 2:1. We should also see to it that after a while some of the young people who have remained at work in the base enterprises and have mastered progressive technology and labor standards return to the republic. In principle, the effectiveness of this cadre training method is unquestionable.

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FOOTNOTE

1. The 1983 study covered 1982 PTU graduates who had remained at work at base enterprises in Gorkiy (116) and Yaroslavl (100) oblasts and secondary school students of the class of 1982, covering 66.7 percent of the total. Most of the respondents were 19 to 21-year old; 90 percent were Tajiks and Uzbeks.

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'LIST OF OCCUPATIONS': NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 85
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[Article by Vladimir Olegovich Rukavishnikov, candidate of philosophical sciences, department head at the All-Union Scientific Vocational and Technical Training Institute (Leningrad). Author of the books "Gruppirovka, Korrelyatsiya, Raspoznavaniye Obrazov" [Classification, Correlation and Recognition of Models] (1977) and "Naseleniye Goroda" [Urban Population] (1980). Author of the following articles published in our journal: "Social Strata in the Class Structure of Socialist Society" (No 2, 1977, coauthored), "Leisure Time of Urban Adolescents" (No 3, 1980) and "The Adolescent at School and at Home" (No 2, 1981, coauthored)]

[Text]. The reform of the general and vocational education system will cover two five-year periods. As of now, however, as the initial steps for its implementation are being taken, a clear idea must be developed of the changes which, although related to it, will greatly exceed its framework.

Every year our country trains about 9 million skilled workers in approximately 7,000 skills. It is not only a question of training young people who cross for the first time the threshold of the PTU [vocational-technical school] but also of retraining cadres, essentially on the job and in evening (shift) vocational-technical schools. In the future, before getting a job, all young people will have the opportunity to master a skill. Therefore, the implementation of the basic stipulations of the reform will mark the beginning of a conversion to training the majority of the workers on a full-time basis. It is hardly necessary to point out yet once again the importance of this step. The state has assumed a number of concerns. This includes the training of engineering-pedagogical cadres, the development of a training-material base and the selection of a proper strategy in training large youth groups.

One of the primary tasks related to the implementation of the school reform is drawing up a new list of professions in which skilled workers will be trained. Since secondary PTU are the most widespread form of vocational training, we shall discuss in greater detail the substantiation of the new list of professions precisely in terms of this category schools. Said list, as we know, is a state law which contains a nomenclature of professions, indicating the duration of the training, the grading of graduates and age and sex restrictions. It will be the base for the subsequent elaboration of training-method documents and the organization of the training process. The current list on the

basis of which skilled worker cadres are being trained in all types of schools within the system of the USSR State Vocational Education, was approved in 1978. It includes about 1,500 skills--20 percent of the total number included in the "uniform tariff-qualification manual" (2). Currently nearly two-thirds of the overall number of skilled workers in the country are practicing these skills. In addition to the mass skills, the 1978 list includes professions demanding particularly high qualifications, such as that of tuner, assembly worker or controller of complex modern equipment. The latter circumstance enhanced PTU reputation and the enrollment of young people in such schools increased noticeably. The 1978 list had a positive impact as well on the content of the PTU training. However, this document suffers from a number of shortcomings. For example, in the majority of cases it calls for the same amount of training time for a single skill or a group of skills. The list has no flexibility which would make possible quickly to take into consideration the demands of base enterprises concerning the variety and skills of workers. Thus, according to data provided by the USSR State Vocational Education Planning-Economic Administration, training between 1977 and 1979 was provided in practical terms for only 1,080 out of 1,453 professions enumerated in the list. Nor did the list take fully into consideration the sectorial and territorial interests of enterprises and organizations without base schools of their own, yet urgently needing cadres. Without entering into a detailed discussion of such special problems, let us point out that the centralized planning of worker training in all 7,000 professions is doomed to failure in advance. The local vocational-technical education authorities should be granted greater freedom in determining the nomenclature and setting up skill groups taking into consideration the needs of the economy of the specific area. This would enable us to eliminate periodical outbreaks of cadre shortages and the shortage of workers in so-called intersectorial specialties.

As we know, the USSR State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education was assigned the task of ensuring a uniform state policy in training skilled worker cadres (3). Specifically, this means that the new lists of professions covering the various forms of training must be drawn up on the basis of common methodical principles. Let us, therefore, briefly describe the suggested procedure for the formulation of a consolidated "list of professions of skilled workers."

In our view, the list of professions should be drawn up in two stages. First, sectorial ministries and departments must draft suggestions concerning the number of workers and the skills in which they must be trained, the production requirements which must be met in terms of the level of skills acquired by graduates, the length of training, the specific skills which should be combined into groups, etc. They must also take into consideration trends in sectorial developments, such as technical retooling, intrasectorial and intersectorial redistribution of cadres, the increased number of highly skilled and skilled workers, the appearance of new and disappearance of traditional professions, anticipated changes in value orientations, and the requirements of the people concerning the nature, content and conditions of their work.

In the second stage, the structural subdivisions of the USSR State Vocational Educational System must closely study the suggestions of ministries and

departments and draft combined lists by sector. They must determine the extent to which the training of workers in one skill or another with available training-material facilities of vocational-technical schools, technicums, secondary schools and on the job (taking into consideration the specific nature of the various parts of the country) is expedient. At the same time, training time and level of skill to be attained by graduates must be established.

Before discussing the question of the logic governing the selection of a skill to be included in the list, let us recall that in accordance with the basic trends of the school reform 9th grade graduates will be trained in secondary PTU for 3 years, as a rule, while 11th grade graduates will have about 1 year training. Secondary PTU will specialize in training worker cadres for specific economic sectors and will be set up on the basis of production associations and enterprises, construction sites and organizations and, in rural areas, rayon agroindustrial associations (3, 4).

The logic governing the choice of profession should be the following: from the analysis of the content of the work to a determination of the amount of necessary knowledge, habits and skills and the length of vocational training. Indications for specialization in training skilled cadres and the duration of the training are the limiting principles in the choice of a profession in the list applicable to secondary vocational schools. If we base ourselves on the skill rate as a starting point in determining the level of skill of PTU graduates and the duration of their training (based on the age and starting general education of the student) we should exclude from the list skills which do not require any lengthy training time, such as professions requiring unskilled work. In the opposite case, the situation which developed in the practical application of the current list may be repeated, in which in order to reach a third grade rating, people had to train no more than 6 months on the job, 1 year in a standard and 3 years in a secondary vocational-technical school. Another stupidity is encountered as well: occasionally the same length of training is set in mastering a narrow skill and an entire set of professions which include such a skill. In a word, a profession which does not require a lengthy training could be included in the list only as part of a group of several others. The total rejection of such professions from the list, professions which are frequently of a widespread nature, would be unrealistic at the present time. Nevertheless, we should not ignore the fact that the training of low-skill workers in PTU in specific sectorial narrowly specialized professions is both economically and socially ineffective.

The classification of professions within a single group could be based on functional-technological or organization-technological principles. In the first case, a group is set up, consisting of several skills to be practiced by a single person, similar in terms of content and labor tools and objects. Actually, here we are dealing with a broad skill or its prototype. Thus, a worker trained in a group of construction skills--house painter, plasterer, decorator, tile setter--is a finishing worker with broad specialization. In the second case, a classification within a group is based on the nature of the organization of the job (motion picture mechanic-motor vehicle driver, shepherd-tractor driver, etc.). A rating based on a group-forming skill, awarded at the end of the training, should, as a rule, be higher than the level of skill assigned for the other professions within the group.

In order to make the list more flexible, "additional" or "spare" professions should be included, which could be added to the basic skill, i.e., in order to replace those deleted from the group with no change in overall training time and the level of skill set for the basic profession. The schools themselves are not allowed to include in the groups of professions additional ones, not included in the list. Such additional skills are listed by the respective sectorial department of the USSR State Vocational Education, in accordance with the temporary limitations governing the professional, general technical and general educational training of the students and the requirements of labor safety laws.

Particularly noteworthy in our view in the documents which regulate the application of the list, is the fact that in the case of a total absence of conditions for training in any one of the professional groups, the local vocational-technical education authority may allow the school to delete such a profession from the group and to replace it or not with another profession from the additional list.

Skills requiring short specialized training (no more than 6 months) should be selected for on-the-job training. It would be expedient to shorten training time in the case of people who have already acquired their basic skill in a secondary general education school.

In selecting professions to be taught in secondary schools, it is necessary to take into consideration regional needs for worker cadres and the overall number of training lessons. It is quite clear that school graduates should be assigned an initial worker grade as a rule no higher than three.

Interpretations of previous lists particularly stipulated that professional training time may be shortened for secondary school graduates who had successfully completed a labor-training course in an interscholastic training-production combine, by decision of the enterprise's qualification commission. This was a recognition that "school" qualifications do not match production requirements. The reform of public education is called upon to change this situation.

Here is another characteristic feature. According to the current regulations, the training period for people without general secondary education may be increased by no more than 1 month. Essentially this means that secondary education is not considered professionally necessary. We can easily assume that in the next few years narrowly interpreted professional (not production and even less so socioproduction) requirements regarding the minimally necessary level of general education will remain essentially the same.

These circumstances are of great importance in ensuring the optimal solution of the problem of the correlation among the various labor-training forms. The level of skills of those who have trained on the job or at short-term courses cannot be high. One cannot master two or more skills within a short time. However, the national economy needs workers of varying skill levels. All of this must be reflected in the respective lists for the various training methods.

Under contemporary conditions, the ratio between the levels of production and socially necessary worker training should be considered, in our view, in terms of a new approach, as a coordination between the nature of professional training and the requirements of the production process and society. It would be expedient, therefore, to review the content invested in the concept of "production-necessary level of education" itself. The need for a specific level of general education training on the basis of which a profession or skill could be mastered in accordance with the requirements and needs of the specific production area, i.e., a narrowly conceived professionally necessary general educational standard, was discussed in a number of works written in the 1970s (5-7). In our view, the concept of "production-necessary educational standard" is much broader and reflects requirements relative to the production-necessary professional and, therefore, general educational training of the worker with a certain skill. It is particularly important to emphasize here the dynamic nature of the contemporary production process, for it is precisely the underestimating of this circumstance that triggered not so long ago views on the "surplus" level of general educational training of Soviet workers (5, 6). The constant changes which are taking place in the content and conditions of the work and the installation of new equipment and use of new technology presume a high level of readiness for a change in jobs on the part of the modern worker. Therefore, making the production-necessary training level higher than the professionally necessary one is one of the social requirements facing worker cadres. This is achieved to the greatest extent by the secondary vocational and technical schools which offer parallel training in several related skills as well as training in general skills.

V. I. Lenin considered the high education and cultural standard of the population an important factor in the growth of labor productivity (1) which, as we know, is a prerequisite for the establishment of the new socioeconomic system. It is precisely from this point of view that we must rate measures aimed at upgrading the quality of training of worker cadres and the technical standards of working people employed in material production.

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FOOTNOTE

1. A special method document entitled "Requirements for the Formulation of a Consolidated List of Professions of Skilled Workers, for the Various Training Methods," was drafted by the All-Union Scientific-Research Vocational-Technical Education Institute, under the scientific supervision of the author of this article. It was approved and ratified at the joint session of the USSR State Professional Training Scientific Council of the Economics and Education Sections.

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WESTERN SIBERIA'S RECREATION POTENTIAL

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[Article by Nelli Ivanovna Bolotnikova, candidate of historical sciences, senior scientific associate, Center for Scientific Organization of Labor, RSFSR Ministry of Consumer Services. This is her first article in our journal]

[Text] The development of fuel and raw material resources in Western Siberia involves the recruitment and retaining of skilled cadres in the area. A great deal has been done to this effect in recent years. However, the involvement of the area's natural resources in economic circulation is broadening and, consequently, there is increased need for manpower. The question of retaining cadres will remain extremely topical in Western Siberia for a long time to come.

The most effective way of retaining new settlers is providing the working person with a rich and maximally convenient social infrastructure. Yet the building of schools and preschool institutions, service industry and cultural-recreation establishments remains a bottleneck. However, the problem of organizing the material and technical support for the population's recreation has assumed particular gravity.

Many Siberians spend their leave in southern resorts. The load of the transportation system increases and money is taken away from the family budget. Furthermore, the drastic change in climatic zones does not always have a positive effect on the health. Would it be impossible to create a proper regional base for recreation, which would include resorts, large recreation areas, natural parks and preserves? Western Siberia has tremendous opportunities to this effect. Its recreational potential is unique. However, it has virtually no modern "leisure-time industry."

In all projects the first step is important. Such a step was recently taken: the USSR Gosstroy issued a number of organizations specific design and research assignments and set planned deadlines. Sociology as well cannot remain at the sidelines in resolving an important state problem. For this reason, the Central Scientific Research Institute of Experimental Designing of Resort-Tourist Buildings and Complexes (Moscow) surveyed 2,500 West Siberians. The survey covered all natural-climatic zones and typical industrial and rural rayons.

The study of the reasons for the choice of recreation sites, the length of stay, the calendar periods and forms and the basic flows of the people seeking recreation made it possible to establish that 53 percent of urban and 65 percent of rural residents spend their leisure time here, within the confines of Western Siberia. A clear picture was developed of the intrarayon recreational pendular population migration.

Thus, the people of Novosibirsk readily spend their summers in the mountains of the Altay and in Kemerovo and other oblasts; the residents of Barnaul and Novokuznetsk try to spend their leisure time at the Novosibirsk water reservoir. Some people (about 5 percent of the respondents) intend to spend their leave in oblasts neighboring Western Siberia.

Nevertheless, a significant percentage of urban residents continue to go south, to the traditional cure sites. The study of medical statistics, particularly of areas dealing with disease nosology, revealed the urgent need for treatment of respiratory diseases among workers in the industrial centers of Western Siberia. In this sense, the resorts on the Crimea and the subtropical climate along the Black Sea are irreplaceable. It was no accident that 23 percent of the respondents went for treatment in sanatoriums or prophylactic establishments or else rested in boarding houses.

At the same time, however, a preference for organized rather than unplanned recreation was manifested quite clearly. Siberians are very fond of tourism, spending their leave at recreation bases of their own enterprise, and of family recreation forms. Naturally, demand for family rest establishments and boarding houses is increasing steadily and the tendency "to stay home" is diminishing. For example, only 3 percent of the respondents wanted to spend their summer in their dacha or garden plot. A group of similar size is that of the "unsociables," i.e., the lovers of outdoor recreation and nature and of independent hiking (5 percent of respondents).

With a view to analyzing more extensively the recreation trends among the population in Western Siberia, we established not only actual data (places where the people spend their summer holiday) but projections as well. The overwhelming majority of the respondents stably gravitate toward family and organized recreation activities. However, this demand will remain unsatisfied in the immediate future. The existing network of family boarding houses, sanatoriums, and similar establishments can accommodate no more than 20 percent of applicants.

A similar situation prevails in the organization of children's recreation in summer. For example, only 3 percent of the surveyed parents believe that their children could get a good rest in town. Yet, in fact 20 to 25 percent of the children spend their summers in the towns. There is a shortage of places in Pioneer camps. It was established that by increasing the capacity of family boarding houses and Pioneer and sports camps, the number of people wishing to spend the summer with relatives in the countryside would be reduced by one-half.

Therefore, our study revealed a significant gap between the population's demand for recreation establishments and available facilities. Furthermore,

the dominant role of the natural-climatic factor in the preferences expressed by Western Siberians concerning recreation sites was clarified. In this connection, the way of life of the different population categories is of major importance.

The most important conclusion from the viewpoint of social planning, however, is that unlike what was previously believed, recreation in the southern parts of the country is not the only or the most popular form. The survey made clear the attractiveness to the population of areas with a different climate within Western Siberia itself. The building of projects within the social infrastructure would make it possible to organize proper recreation locally. According to preliminary projections, the number of people resting in resorts-recreation areas would soon reach 1.5-1.8 million in Novosibirsk Oblast and 0.3-0.5 million in Altay Kray. By the year 2000, the recreational network in Western Siberia could account for 6.7 percent of that for the entire union (as compared to 4.1 percent currently).

The social study we mentioned briefly is just about the first among studies on problems of organizing the recreation of the population in general and that of Siberians in particular. The study made most obvious the fact that a number of unresolved methodological and methodical problems remain in the sociological study of recreation. This is not astounding, for recreational behavior is rarely considered by Soviet sociologists. This topic awaits theoretical as well as applied research.

FOOTNOTE

1. The selection was based on data from state statistics and population censuses; its basic parameters were consistent with the overall situation within the range of admissible errors. Since the share of the urban population in the area is growing, the quota of industrial agglomerations was increased. The professional composition in the selection was as follows: workers, 36 percent; engineering and technical personnel and employees, 56 percent; intelligentsia employed in the nonproduction sphere and retirees, 8 percent. Broken down by sex and age, the survey covered 42 percent women and 58 percent men. Three-quarters of the respondents were family people.

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ENROLLMENT IN PEDAGOGICAL VUZES

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[Article by Viktoriya Fedorovna Pugach, candidate of economic sciences, junior scientific associate, USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education Scientific Research Institute of Higher School Problems. This is her first article in our journal]

[Text] Pedagogical training is one of the most widespread in Soviet higher schools. It is true that over the past 20 years the number of students in educational VUZs has diminished somewhat, from 20.6 percent of the total number of students in 1965 to 17.7 percent in 1982 (2). We also know that the attractiveness of the teaching profession has diminished among individuals oriented toward acquiring a higher education. Meanwhile, there is a shortage of cadres in many schools, rural schools in particular. Yet one of the main tasks of the school reform is "to enhance the social prestige of the teacher and production training foreman and their theoretical and practical training, and to meet the three requirements of the public education system for education cadres" (1). The topic to be discussed here is the trends prevailing in shaping the contingent of education VUZs.

The overall lowering of competitions for VUZ enrollment in recent years has affected education institutes as well. In 1966, when there was a double graduation of 10th- and 11th-grade full-time secondary school students, 3.8 people competed for one VUZ place. Subsequently, the value of this indicator dropped steadily, and by the start of the 1980s it had reached 1.8. In 1966 80.9 percent of graduates of full-time pedagogical VUZ departments consisted of yesterday's secondary school students. The very next year their share dropped to 56.1 percent. It is true that subsequently it rose steadily, reaching 70.2 percent in 1980. During that entire period the share of secondary school graduates among institute students was somewhat lower. Nevertheless, said indicator seemed to have followed the indicator of the share of people who had taken entrance examinations: 80.6 percent in 1960, 53.9 percent in 1967, and 66.6 percent in 1980. In other words, in recent decades graduates of full-time secondary schools accounted for the bulk of graduates and first-year students.

We used two indicators to determine the extent to which graduates of full-time secondary schools enroll in education VUZs. The first was the ratio between

the number of 10th-grade graduates and the total number of individuals who completed the 10th grade the same year. The second was the ratio between recent secondary school students who had enrolled in education VUZs and all secondary school graduates. The data of Table 1 show the dynamics of these indicators.

Table 1--Dynamics of Enrollment of Full-Time Secondary School Graduates in Education VUZs in the RSFSR the Same Year

(1) Год	(2) Количество родившихся 17 лет назад, тыс. человек	Количество лиц, окон- чивших дневные сред- (3) ние школы		(6) Среди них			
		тыс. человек (4)	% к родив- шимся 17 лет назад (5)	(7) абитуриенты педвузов	%	(8) поступившие в педвузы	%
1965	*	452	*	75 827	16,8	30 009	6,6
1966	*	1262	*	144 298	11,4	38 083	3,0
1967	2746,0	825	30,0	94 598	11,5	24 845	3,0
1968	2824,9	922	32,6	82 267	8,9	25 964	2,8
1969	2818,6	951	33,7	81 752	8,6	27 996	2,9
1970	2717,2	995	36,6	79 941	8,0	27 567	2,8
1971	2948,8	1050	35,6	82 745	7,9	27 371	2,6
1972	2866,0	1108	38,7	83 844	7,6	28 207	2,5
1973	2769,4	1137	41,0	89 278	7,8	28 301	2,5
1974	2831,6	1220	43,1	80 785	6,6	28 656	2,3
1975	2819,2	1307	46,4	77 239	5,9	28 825	2,2
1976	2796,2	1402	50,1	78 913	5,6	30 122	2,2
1977	2782,4	1435	51,6	76 735	5,3	31 900	2,2
1978	2662,1	1427	53,6	75 704	5,3	33 208	2,3
1979	2482,5	1316	53,0	69 116	5,2	33 981	2,6
1980	2331,5	1246	53,4	65 512	5,2	35 030	2,8

Источник: [3], использованы также данные Министерства просвещения РСФСР.
* нет данных.

Source: (3), and data from the RSFSR Ministry of Education.

* No data

Key:

1. Year
2. Number of people born 17 years ago, in thousands
3. Number of individuals who are graduates of full-time secondary schools
4. Thousand people
5. Percent of people born 17 years earlier
6. Of these:
7. Education VUZ graduates
8. Enrolled in education VUZs

Between 1967 and 1971 the percentage of people born 17 years earlier (let us conventionally describe them as 17-year-old) remained quite stable, with a certain growth trend. After 1971, the size of said group steadily declined. The number of people graduating from full-time secondary schools rapidly increased until 1977, after which it began to decline. The development of a lag between the peak values of these processes is explained, above all, by the conversion to universal secondary education: the number of people completing full-time secondary schools increased at a faster pace. However, the

overall number of 10-grade seniors declined. Nevertheless, the percentage of the latter in the newly enrolled students was quite stable: the indicator reached its maximal value of 6.6 percent in 1965, after which, for the next 15 years, it fluctuated within the narrow range of 2.2-3.0 percent. As a result, an increasing number of graduates in this group enrolled as students, i.e., joined the contingent of education VUZs.

Let us now consider the social characteristics of education VUZ reinforcements. In 1965 workers accounted for 40.7 percent; the following year their share dropped to its minimal level (36.6 percent), after which the indicator steadily increased, reaching 50.6 percent in 1980. In the case of employees, the indicators were as follows: 40.9 percent in 1965, 48.6 percent in 1966 and 38.9 percent in 1980. Respective figures for kolkhoz members were 18.4, 14.8 and 10.5 percent. Briefly stated, the number of workers is increasing while that of employees is declining. The share of kolkhoz members may be considered stable, with a certain descending trend. However, the share of said groups among the newly enrolled students does not coincide with the percentage of such groups in the entire population.

In order to determine the extent to which the social structure of education VUZ students is consistent with the population structure, a special indicator was used. It is the result of dividing the role of first-year students coming from a specific group by the percentage of the latter within the social structure. In the case of coincidence of the percentage of students and that of the group within the population, the value was rated as 1. With a lower percentage of first-year students the index was set at less than 1, and vice versa. The results may be seen in Table 2.

Table 2--Indicators of Representation of Social Groups
Among Education VUZ Students

<u>Group</u>	<u>Total</u>	1970		<u>Total</u>	1979	
		<u>Cities</u>	<u>Villages</u>		<u>Cities</u>	<u>Villages</u>
Workers	0.71	0.67	0.80	0.85	0.88	0.88
Employees	1.84	1.72	2.80	1.40	1.29	2.05
Kolkhoz members	0.83	0.53	0.69	1.12	0.27	0.83
Total	--	0.85	1.25	--	0.72	1.61

--Computed according to (4) and data from the RSFSR Ministry of Education.

The data lead to the following conclusion: the social composition of RSFSR education VUZ students is close to the social structure of the population. This is a general trend within which, however, important characteristics may be found. In 1970 differences among social groups were stronger than between town and country. In 1979 the former substantially declined whereas the latter increased: the share of rural youth in education VUZs became even higher. It is true that this took place above all at the expense of employees. In 1970 members of said group accounted for more than one-third of all students from the countryside. Yet the share of this category in the rural population was 12.2 percent. By 1979 the percentage of first-year students

from kolkhoz and worker families had increased significantly. However, offspring of families of rural employees predominated: there were twice as many of them among the students compared to among the rural population.

To sum it up: starting with the mid-1960s, the number of seniors and first-year students in education VUZs, who came from full-time secondary schools, has been declining gradually. Obviously, the same trend will be maintained in the future. This is due, above all, to the fact that the percentage in the population of people in the 17-year old age group has been declining with every passing year. Already now, however, competitive examinations in pedagogy institutes have reached a level at which any further reduction would be extremely undesirable. At the same time, the social structure of freshmen has begun to reflect more accurately our social structure. Therefore, the social base of higher pedagogical education has broadened although declining quantitatively. All such circumstances must be taken into consideration in the implementation of the school reform.

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WHAT FUTURE BRIDES THINK OF DIVORCE

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[Article by Natalya Grigorevna Aristova, senior laboratory worker, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. This is her first article in our journal]

[Text] The sociological study of the problems of the contemporary family is traditionally related to the study of the characteristics of the behavior and views of members of existing or broken-up families--husbands and wives and divorced spouses and, less frequently, brides and grooms. It is obvious, however, that even before young men and women have reached the age of matrimony and have married, they have developed views on the family and concepts relative to its creation and preservation. In this case the parental family plays a great role, for it determines, supports and sanctions values and standards of the individual in the course of his establishment. This includes the area of marital family relations. A comparison among views concerning family standards in related generations could be used as an empirical indicator of changes in the latter.

The objective of our study¹ was to determine the views of unmarried girls concerning divorce: its admissibility, reasons and motivations. At the same time, we studied the influence of the structure of parental families. The choice of the topic and object of research was not accidental. As confirmed by statistical data, we note at the present time not only an increase in the number of divorces but a steady increase in the share of young broken-up families as well as marriages dissolved on the initiative of the women (1, 2). The choice of girls specifically was also based on the fact that, according to specialists, to a greater extent than men women determine and control the changing model of the family--its size, structure, etc. (3, pp 67-68).

In order to determine the manner in which the mass nature of divorces and the ease with which the procedure of dissolving a marriage are reflected in the views of young people on the family, the respondents were asked the following: "How difficult would it be for you to make the decision to divorce for a reason you consider important?" This formulation of the question made it possible, as we shall prove later, to compare ratings of the subjective readiness for divorce among the respondents, motivated by different reasons. The answers were rated on a 5-point scale (from 1--quite easily to 5--extremely hard").

It seemed to the majority of respondents (56.7 percent) that making the decision to divorce would be difficult; in a hypothetical situation, 11.7 percent of the respondents showed a low rating of a first marriage and readiness to divorce; 31.6 percent had no definite answer (a 3-point rating).

Family circumstances or, rather, the respective experience of the parents, had a substantial influence on the respondents' answers. Taken into consideration in this case was not only the current situation, i.e., whether their mother and father were divorced or not, but also whether or not either parent had already been divorced once. On the basis of this feature several variants are possible: the parents of the girl live together and this is a first marriage for both; the parents are divorced; one of the parents (or both) have had another family in the past, i.e., had been divorced. The data led to the conclusion that the respondents of the first group showed a greater readiness to divorce. This connection is statistically accurate.

In the course of the survey we also determined the attitude toward divorce depending on the stage reached in the family's life cycle. Interesting, in this case, are the following data: 10.2 percent of the respondents believe that divorce is admissible at any stage in family development; 0.5 percent supported the exact opposite view, rejecting the right to divorce whatever the case; the majority (70.3 percent) believe that the most admissible is a divorce in a young childless family. Characteristically, girls from one-parent families ascribe great importance to the existence of children in the families. According to them, this should be the main guideline in deciding on a divorce. Important here is not only the very fact of the existence of children but the consideration of their interests. "Would it be better for the child if his parents are divorced; that should be the main consideration." This was the typical view of girls whose parents were in that situation.

As we know, divorce motivations and reasons are interrelated but not identical (4). We tried to determine in the course of the interview the reasons which would motivate respondents to seek a divorce as well as those which could lead to such a decision. The former was based on answers to the question "What would make you divorce?" (Table 1).

The main reasons cited (let us point out that differences in the answers of girls from one- and two-parent families was statistically insignificant) have been noted by many specialists who have studied materials of divorce cases, particularly those initiated by the woman (5). Although sociological literature still lacks sufficiently reliable data on the basis of which one could speak of a coincidence or differences in concepts concerning the reasons for divorce given by young people and the actual situation among young families on the verge of a breakup, the similarity between the information we obtained and the results of other studies lead to the assumption that a new group standard attitude toward this social phenomenon has currently developed.

In the mass consciousness divorce is becoming a highly probable link in the family life cycle, and a commonplace if not a normal event. Judging by the answers of our contingent of respondents, the situation which precedes a divorce would not be unexpected and no opposition would be encountered, which

facilitates decision-making. In other words, a certain behavioral stereotype develops, equally characteristic of the social role of young divorcing women and unmarried girls. Naturally, these are preliminary data which require a thorough investigation.

Table 1--Breakdown of Answers to the Question
"What Would Make You Divorce?"

<u>Reason</u>	<u>%*</u>
Husband's drunkenness	48.0
Unfaithfulness, marital infidelity	30.5
Lack of mutual understanding and character incompatibility	27.1
Bad attitude toward wife and children	19.8

* Respondents could check several answers.

What would be the reasons for which the girls we asked would seek a divorce?
What would the motivations for a divorce be?

The study of the results reveals a statistically reliable connection between readiness for divorce in a hypothetical situation and the motivations or, rather, the area covered by such motivation (Table 2).

Table 2--Connection Between Readiness for Divorce and Motivation
(Hypothetical Situation), %

<u>Motivation</u>	Difficulty in Making the Decision To Divorce (in rating points)		
	<u>5+4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1+2</u>
Family values (happiness of the child, another happy marriage, etc.)	52.9	33.3	13.8
Extrafamily values (a free life, independence, etc.)	17.6	64.8	17.6

In the case of respondents whose reasons are based on the realm of marital-family relations, a divorce does not mean in the least a rejection of marriage. Incidentally, these respondents were in the majority, for 102 of the 136 girls who answered this question believed in the value of a family. The main motivation for the second and substantially smaller group (34 people) was to lead a free and independent life. It may be assumed that they had still not developed an attitude toward family values. It is no accident that 64.7 percent of the members of this group were not able to provide a clear answer to the question of the difficulty of making a decision to seek a divorce (they accounted for 31.6 percent of the entire group).

As to marital-family values, the most important, regardless of the type of family in which the girls had grown up, partial or complete, was love for children (respectively 4.7 and 4.8 points in a 5-point scale). The lowest

value was given to marital duty (from 3.4-3.6 points) and sexual harmony (3.9). The value of the other "components" was quite high: shared views, 4.5 and 4.6; material well-being, 4.2 and 4.0; acceptance and encouragement of reciprocal features of the personality, 4.4 and 4.6; habit and mutual concerns, 4.3 and 4.4; and equitable distribution of household obligations, 4.5 and 4.6 points, respectively. Interestingly enough, such data almost entirely coincide with data of the study made by S. I. Golod (3, p 42). His survey dealt with women who had been married from 1 to 15 years.

We already noted that the results we obtained are preliminary and must be thoroughly checked. Obviously, it would be premature to draw final conclusions concerning the views of young people on marriage and divorce. However, another circumstance which became apparent in the course of the study demands, in our view, an explanation. We are referring to the greater readiness for divorce on the part of girls from families in which no such experience exists. This would seem to conflict with data of specialists according to which families in which the parents of either of the spouses had had a divorce are less stable, particularly at the initial stages in their functioning (6). We find no contradiction in this case. We know from specialized publications that the breakdown of young family couples is frequently the result of role conflicts. Girls raised in incomplete families or families with divorce experience master family roles less well and frequently consider the breakup of a marriage a means of resolving the role conflict (in the example of their parents). If requirements concerning the partner in the marriage are somewhat higher, this would create an additional risk factor and, as practical experience proves, would result more frequently in a divorce in this marriage.

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FOOTNOTE

1. The study was made with the participation of the author in 1984. The respondents included students attending two Moscow vocational-technical schools, divided into six groups (future typists, shorthand secretaries and seamstresses, a total of 185 people).

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PROBLEM OF PRESERVING A CONFLICT MARRIAGE: HOW TO RESOLVE IT?

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 85
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[Article by Sofya Iosifovna Kulayeva, department head, Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee ZAGS [Civil Registry Office], honored RSFSR worker in culture. This is her first article in our journal]

[Text] Under socialism the family is free of contradictions caused by the domination of private ownership. However, this does not mean in the least that it is free of conflict. Unfortunately, divorce has become the most popular means of resolving marital conflicts. In Moscow, the number of divorces in terms of the number of registered marriages rose from 44 to 49 percent between 1973 and 1983. As many as 70 percent of the divorces are caused by drunkenness, scandals, and lack of mutual understanding, although officially 47.7 percent of divorce petitions cite character incompatibility; married couples under 30 account for 38 percent of all divorces. More than one-third of the divorced couples lived together less than 5 years.

Most divorcees have a single child; some have two or more children. As a result of the dissolution of the marriage, every year thousands of children remain with one of the parents. Since, as a rule, they remain with the mother, the children do not receive full family upbringing, which affects the development of the personality of the child and, subsequently, his own family life. The atmosphere in the broken-up family traumatizes the psyche of the children and adolescents and contributes to the growth of delinquencies.

Alcoholism can be considered one of the gravest reasons for the breakup of the family. Every year the people's courts in Moscow deprive more than 1,000 parents of parental rights; more than 100 marriages are considered annulled having been entered into for self-seeking purposes, such as obtaining a Moscow residency permit or housing.

Most divorces affect 5-9-year old marriages. Our observations have indicated that in a number of cases a divorce not only worsens material well-being but also leads to loneliness, violations of accepted behavioral norms (alcoholism, drug addiction), a lowered self-esteem, a manifestation of the feeling of being unneeded, and reduced activeness and ability to work.

Only some 40 percent of divorcees remarry.

In our view, the instability of modern marriages is largely due to the fact that true respect for the institution of the family is not developed in children and youngsters. Furthermore, the common affliction of all young people is their ignorance of marital problems and their common error is that in setting up a family they rely on the strength of their feelings only.

The personnel of the Moscow ZAGS consider not only the firm celebration of marriages but also constant efforts to strengthen the family as their task. They have voluntarily assumed additional functions: together with the social organizations and the personnel of culture departments of executive committees of rayons, soviets, culture palaces and houses of enterprises and organizations, and the city and rayon organizations of the Znaniye Society, 127 universities, lecture groups and clubs for newlyweds have been created and have been functional in all city rayons for the past few years.

Writers, jurists, physicians and educators participate in their work.

On the initiative of Marriage Palace No 3 and with the support of the Lyublinskiy Party Raykom and executive committee of the rayon soviet of people's deputies and the Komsomol raykom, a "young family" club was opened at the Palace of Culture of the Automotive Vehicles Plant imeni Leninskiy Komsomol. Each of its evening programs includes speeches by scientists, physicians, masters of the arts and participants in amateur artistic activities. Cookery specialists and restaurant personnel teach how to set a table, prepare tasty meals, and welcome guests; applied artists teach how to make an apartment beautiful and comfortable; couturiers show new dress designs. The club organizes debates. Such events encourage social intercourse with people, offer the possibility of discussing family problems and to learn how to draw up a budget and manage the house, to be patient with one another and to make concessions and ignore petty matters.

Interesting measures aimed at strengthening family relations were taken in Perovskiy Rayon as well, under the slogan of "A Strong Family Means a Strong State." Births and marriages were solemnly recorded in the big hall of the Prozhektor Palace of Culture by ZAGS personnel and "silver" anniversaries were celebrated. At such times the rayon population visits the palace as for a major holiday, such as participating in family ceremonies, sharing with the people their happiness and giving a social significance to family events. A "Soviet Family Week" was held in many collectives, schools and children's institutions, sports stadiums, clubs, movie theaters and libraries. Lectures were read and various youth evenings and topic consultations were held. The single purpose of all such measures is to enhance the prestige of the family and to contribute to strengthening family relations and the dissemination of new Soviet rituals. This initiative was supported and 17 urban rayons held such "weeks" and "10-day periods."

Lectures, talks and consultations on problems of marital hygiene, sponsored by medical personnel at all marriage palaces and ZAGS departments, are extensively popular among the newlywed. We conduct such work together with health care departments and hygiene education houses. The newlyweds are greatly helped by interrayon consultations on "Family and Marriage," conducted in eight to 12

functional offices. In 1983 alone they were visited by more than 40,000 people. Such consultation offices employed skilled specialists who not only helped with advice but, if necessary provided treatment. Moscow also has a psychological consultation center for family problems. Sociopsychological aid offices have been opened in the polyclinics of five city rayons.

Equally useful are the family-legal commissions at the ZAGS departments of executive committees of rayon soviets. They consist of the head of the ZAGS department, a psychiatrist and a lawyer and, in many rayons, the head of the social department on family and marriage problems. With the help of these commissions, every year 12 to 14 percent of all couples who have filed for divorce are reconciled; in some rayons, such as Leningradskiy, where such a commission was set up earlier than elsewhere, the figure is significantly higher. The importance of the work done by the family-legal commissions in preserving and strengthening family relations is unquestionable. More such commissions should be set up, staffed by experienced and skilled specialists.

We believe that the judicial bodies as well, where as many as 70 percent of divorce cases are tried, should study more extensively the nature of the problem and, using all possible means, struggle for the preservation of the marriage and against allowing children to be orphaned and raised in incomplete families.

The measures taken in the city have contributed to a certain extent to the stabilization of families: compared with 1980, the number of births has increased by 11 percent, and there has been no increase in the divorce rate over the past 3 years. Nevertheless, problems related to strengthening the family and lowering the number of divorces in Moscow remain topical.

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PHYSICIANS' PROFESSIONAL PRESTIGE

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[Article by Igor Ivanovich Kosarev, candidate of medical sciences, docent, Chair of Medical Psychology and Education, First Moscow Medical Institute imeni I. M. Sechenov. Author of a number of works, including "Formirovaniye Vracha" [The Training of the Physician] (1975); "Put v Meditsinu" [The Path to Medicine] (1983); "O Vybere Professii" [On Choosing a Profession] (1983); "O Podvichnichestve Medikov" [On the Devotion of Medical Personnel] (1983); "Gumanizm i Antigumanizm v Meditsine" [Humanism and Antihumanism in Medicine] (1984), and others. This is his first article in our journal; and Anatoliy Vasilevich Sakhno, candidate of philosophical sciences, senior scientific associate, USSR Ministry of Health Central Institute for the Advancement of Physicians. Author of the following publications: "Filosofskiye Problemy Teorii Adaptatsii" [Philosophical Problems of the Theory of Adaptation] (1975; "Filosofskiye i Sotsialno-Gigiyenicheskiye Aspekty Okhrany Okruzhayushchey Sredy" [Philosophical and Sociohygienic Aspects of Environmental Protection] (1976); "Logika i Dialektika Klinicheskogo Myshleniya" [Logic and Dialectics of Clinical Thinking] (1982) and others. Author of the following articles published in our journal: "Sociology of Medicine: Target, Subject, Development Prospects" (No 3, 1982, coauthored) and "Health Protection of the Population: Strategy and Tactics of Business" (No 1, 1984, coauthored)]

[Text] The choice of a profession is justifiably considered a key problem in the process of the individual's specialization. K. Marx emphasized that the possibility of selecting a profession "...is the tremendous advantage of man over the other beings in the world. However, this choice is the type of act which could destroy a person's entire life, disrupt all of his plans and make him unhappy. The serious consideration of such a choice is, consequently, the prime duty of the young who are beginning their career and are unwilling to leave their most important matters to chance" (1).

The state pays exceptional attention to improving vocational guidance and selecting secondary school graduates for enrollment in medical schools. Although a great deal has been accomplished, not all problems related to medical training have been resolved. According to the USSR Central Statistical Administration, in 1975 993,800 people enrolled in VUZs; in 1980 817,300 of those were presented with their specialist diplomas. Therefore, for a variety of reasons 173,300 people, i.e., 8.2 percent of those who enrolled

initially, did not graduate. A similar situation prevails in the secondary specialized education system (2). A total of 8,000 students dropped out of the medical VUZs in the country (including pharmacology) (2.5 percent of the total number); 49.6 percent were expelled for poor grades and 17.8 percent left on their own free will. The dropout rate in RSFSR medical VUZs was 1.8 percent in the 1980/81 school year, 2 percent in the 1981/82 school year and 2.1 percent in the 1982/83 school year. One-half of them dropped out voluntarily, while 20 percent were expelled for poor grades.

At the start of the 1970s we conducted a sociological study on "Motivations for Youth Enrollment in a Medical Institute." A total of 400 second-fourth-year students at the Moscow Medical Stomatological Institute were surveyed. The overwhelming majority (80 percent) justified their choice of the medical profession by citing their desire to serve the people and to become involved in the struggle for human life and health; they noted the promising nature of their profession under the conditions of scientific and technical progress. It is worth noting that in approximately 45 percent of the cases the choice of the profession was based on family traditions; in 25 percent of the cases the choice had been spontaneous. The fact that secondary school graduates did not have to take an examination in mathematics played a certain role. These results agree with data obtained by other authors (3).

According to the researchers, the realization of a vocation develops later, during the training at the institute. Thus, the number of medical students dissatisfied with their future specialty was 6.6 percent in the second year, 13.2 percent in the third and 18 percent in the fourth (4). Asked "If you were to choose a profession all over again would you have repeated your present choice?" A total of 12.6 percent of the Gorkiy Medical Institute students answered in the negative (5). In 1980 T. L. Bukharina conducted a sociological study with first-year students at the Orenburg Medical Institute; 8.3 percent of the respondents were not confident of having made a proper choice; 51.9 percent indicated that they had been insufficiently well-informed concerning their future specialty; 40.6 percent noted the lack of pre-VUZ training in medical institutions; 24.8 percent mentioned insufficient preparations for attending a medical VUZ, and 14.8 percent spoke of the lack of opportunity to enroll in a different VUZ (6). All of this proves the existence of shortcomings in the vocational guidance of students in the senior grades of secondary schools (7).

Further improvement must be made in efforts related to the professional self-determination of young people wishing to study medicine. To begin with, this is related to the increased social value of health; secondly, to the fact that the wrong choice of the medical profession could cause a great deal of harm. Finally, the fact that medical training is one of the lengthiest and most expensive in the world.

Two interpretations of "professional prestige" exist. According to the first, the prestige of a profession (the medical profession in our case) is an integral evaluation which "synthesizes all the values which public opinion ascribes to a given type of professional activity (i.e., meaningfulness and creative nature of the work, social significance, possibility of professional and skilled growth, extent and means of material and moral rewards, etc.)" (8).

According to the latter, the "prestige of a profession is merely a particular way of moral reward (incentive) in the guise of social recognition, reputation and attention, which the performance of specific professional obligations enjoys in society" (ibid.). I. M. Popova and V. B. Moin justifiably point out that the "prestige scale is much more related to the indicators of the subjective attitude toward labor than the objective indicators of its content" (9). This conclusion is of basic significance.

The attractiveness of the medical profession is determined, above all, by the possibility of learning about the physical organization and the inner world of man, which open up to the student with the mastery of medical-biological, medical-technical and medical-social sciences. Furthermore, the attractiveness of the medical profession is greatly influenced by rhythmical (or unrhythmical) work, the difficulty of the work and satisfaction with earnings.

More or less prestigious and attractive specializations may be singled out within the medical profession. Thus, for example, the specialty of the healing physician (surgeon, therapeutician, oculist, pediatrician) is rated higher than that of the stomatologist. Even less prestigious is the specialty of the hygienist. The least prestigious is that of the pharmacist (see table).

Table--Competition for Enrollment at the First Moscow Medical Institute imeni I. M. Sechenov (Number of Applications per Opening)

Department	Year					1983	
	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	Muscovites	Non-Muscovites
Daytime treatment	3.45	3.36	3.96	3.75	2.94	2.34	4.65
Daytime hygiene	3.43	2.61	3.45	3.45	2.84	1.83	6.83
Daytime pharmacy	1.95	1.74	1.91	2.35	2.81	1.31	2.90
Evening pharmacy	1.77	2.10	2.83	1.60	1.80	2.33	2.33

The passing grade for secondary school graduates enrolled at the First Moscow Medical Institute (1983) ranged from 20.0 for the daytime treatment department to 19.0 for the school of pharmacy, which proves that the treating physician enjoyed greater prestige (the passing grade included the average grade on the secondary school diploma and the grades obtained in the four entrance examinations).

Naturally, this is merely an indirect confirmation of the attractiveness of one profession or another to young people. Between 1970 and 1983 competition per opening in a medical institute dropped from 4.70 to 2.59. The reasons were several: 1) the introduction of internship, which raised the training period in medical VUZs to 7 years; 2) a decline in the absolute number of secondary school graduates as a result of the decline in the birth rate for this age group; 3) the development of the vocational education system.

The problem of vocational guidance and choice of a profession was aggravated even further by the lowered competition for enrollment in a medical VUZ. The need is currently stressed to intensify work on vocational guidance and

attracting the best-trained young people to the VUZs, above all from the areas of the Nonchernozem, the Urals, Siberia and the Far East. The medical-prophylactic institutions in these areas need highly skilled medical cadres drawn from the native population. The solution of this problem will significantly lower the turnover of highly skilled medical cadres, stabilize the stratum of the local intelligentsia and enhance the quality of skilled medical aid.

Citing sociological studies, O. P. Shchepin, G. I. Tsaregorodtsev and V. G. Yerokhin write that progress in medical science and practice, on the one hand, and the level of training of specialist physicians, on the other, have developed a certain contradiction, aggravated by the increased requirements of the population for highly humane and qualitative medical services. Our country has more than 1 million physicians. However, about one-third of them do not meet contemporary professional, sociopsychological and moral requirements (10). Further improvements are needed in the systems for vocational guidance, selection, training and retraining of medical cadres.

Of late the viewpoint raised by physician P. Ye. Beylin, who considers that "a simple and reliable method for the professional selection for enrollment in medical institutes and schools exists: let the young people work as hospital orderlies or nurses for 1 year. Let them be on duty entire nights by the bedside of gravely ill patients" (11). A closer consideration of this suggestion, however, proves it to be unpromising from the viewpoint of professional choice. The majority of medical students have night duty in hospitals, for this is stipulated in the curriculae. However, few of them turn out to be disappointed in their selected profession and ask to resign.

Some vocational guidance specialists suggest that the percentage of enrollment of children of medical personnel be increased, even if their rating grade is lower, for they allegedly have a predisposition for medicine because of family tradition. We consider this suggestion naive, for by no means does the family atmosphere always develop a vocation and the necessary personal qualities.

Everyone agrees that the young person who has decided on a medical career should have a proper vocation. For the time being, however, there is no constructive, efficient and practical program which would characterize said phenomenon and the means and methods of determining a vocation for medicine.

In order to surmount difficulties in vocational guidance and the selection of young people for the study of medicine, we suggest the following: 1) to strengthen the system of vocational guidance with the help of specialists who have mastered the skills of drafting professional charts and resolving problems of the professional choice of the future physicians; 2) to energize the formulation of a system of medical-physiological and psychophysiological requirements and sociopsychological tests; 3) to involve secondary school students in the senior grades, who would like to dedicate themselves to medicine, to work in hospitals where they would care for the patients and, at the same time, would determine in practice the accuracy of their choice; 4) a return to the selection of "candidates" for medical institutes and granting

administrations greater rights in expelling medical students who are morally and psychologically unsuitable.

From the viewpoint of the interests of the public, the system of medical training of the population must be improved as well, by adding to it, in addition to the traditional forms (clubs of physicians and biologists, small academies at individual universities in the country, etc.), a few new ones: 1) sponsorship by practical health care authorities of general education schools (within the "medical school-school" and "VUZ-school" systems; 2) combining the work of said clubs and their analogues with student medical detachments (the latter should function on a year-round basis) and student construction detachments (during summer vacation); 3) streamlining the work of general education schools with rayon organizations handling vocational guidance and professional choices; 4) publication of special works for young people, extensively covering advanced experience of higher and secondary medical schools in vocational guidance and choice of profession.

Naturally, these recommendations do not cover all the necessary steps; their application, however, could help us to avoid a significant number of errors in training specialist physicians and move us substantially ahead in the implementation of one of the main tasks of social society: improving the population's health.

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SOCIOLOGICAL SERVICE

FACING PRODUCTION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 85
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[Article by Sergey Nikolayevich Zhelezko, candidate of economic sciences and senior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. Specializing in labor sociology. Author of the monograph "Sotsialno-Demograficheskiye Problemy v Zone BAMA" [Sociodemographic Problems in the BAM Zone] (1980). Author of the following articles published in our journal: "Structure of Driver Cadres in Moscow's Passenger Transportation Service" (No 1, 1981, coauthored); "Experience in Developing System of Indicators for Sectorial Social Development" (No 3, 1982, coauthored); "Dynamics of Social Development Indicators" (No 3, 1984) and others; and Vyacheslav Vyacheslavovich Shcherbina, head of sector, Main Moscow Automotive Transportation Administration Scientific Production Association Scientific Research Institute. Specializing in social problems of management. Author of the article "Experience in Assessing Practical and Personality Qualities of Secondary Level Managers Based on the Standard Criterion" published in our journal (No 1, 1984, coauthored).

[Text] The party's strategic task of converting the economy to primarily intensive development (1) formulates new requirements concerning sociological work in the labor collectives of enterprises, organizations, sectors and departments. With what baggage did industrial sociology reach this landmark?

The 1960s and 1970s were a noteworthy period for industrial sociology due, above all, to two circumstances: first, the number of sociological services and sociologists employed at enterprises, organizations and sectorial sciences increased at a growing pace. Today they account for the largest detachment of sociologists in the country. Secondly, a search was under way for the specific tasks and place within the enterprises management structure. What problems were the sociologists to resolve and what would be their means of work and their method? Let us admit that to this day no exhaustive answer has been given to many problems of social planning and management. The situation is complicated by the fact that many service personnel lack adequate professional training. The overwhelming majority have no specialized basic training but are graduate philosophers, historians, educators, economists, jurists engineers, etc. This circumstance, added to the level of general and professional standards, most directly influences the choice of areas and methods of activity. On the one hand, the broad range of views and approaches is a positive

fact, for it leads to the accumulation of heterogeneous experience. On the other, we cannot fail to be concerned by the fact that the search for optimal and most efficient forms of sociological work is dragging out and that such methods are being mastered sluggishly in the national economy. In a word, the efficiency of many services remains low and, occasionally, their activities are unrelated to the current development tasks of labor collectives. The gravity of this situation is realized by the sociologists themselves. Of late, this topic has become the subject of lively debates in periodicals and at seminars and conferences (2; 4-10). Thus, a series of articles on this topic was published in the journal EKO, while SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA dedicated a special section to the problem.

This article is an attempt to identify the general trends in the development of industrial sociological services and, on this basis, to define possible ways of intensification of activities of practical sociologists.

Today the majority of specialists believe that the object of a plant's sociological service is consultations and research (3), a view prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s, is inconsistent with the contemporary level of sociology and practical requirements. The belief that plant sociology (on its scientific and organizational levels) should be applied is becoming increasingly firm.¹ In effect, the emphasis in its work is shifting from research to the solution of practical problems and applied activities. It is here, however, that the unity of views comes to an end. A great variety of viewpoints are expressed as to the targets, object and realm of work of the sociologist and his position among the other enterprise specialists.

The quite popular view is that the main task of the service is to perform auxiliary functions in social management (4-8). Since the social development plan is one of his basic tools, the sociologist should head the formulation and implementation of corresponding measures. The most consistent supporters of this viewpoint believe that in the realm of social management the service must perform headquarter functions for the enterprise's director (5). Another view is that, as a whole, the tasks of the sociologist coincide with those of personnel work (9, 10). He must substantiate and apply specific programs within the framework of "selected" topics. The sociological service itself is considered an ordinary functional subdivision. The most radical supporters of this approach are convinced that, in general, there is in no need for the establishment of a new service at the enterprise and that the sociologists should be transferred to the existing departments, the personnel department above all (10).

Regardless of differences in views on objectives and tasks, the supporters of both trends have largely resolved the main problem: ensuring the "practical usefulness" of the enterprise sociological service (5, p 128; 8, p 127). Practical experience indicates, however, that this is frequently attained at the expense of the loss of the specific features of sociological work. Said circumstance is manifested, above all, paradoxical though it might seem, in the excessive preference for complexity in research and the formulation of social programs. Such an inclination is easily explainable. The insufficient

clarity of the specific subject of activities must be "concentrated" by involving the solution of problems which should be resolved by other subdivisions. Although superficially the situation seems quite adequate, essentially it conceals the danger of the loss of professionalism by the sociologist. This possibility triggers the justifiable concern of a number of specialists. Nevertheless, works continue to be published suggesting that the sociologist deal with problems which are primarily within the range of competence of other services. For example, the idea has been expressed that the sociologist must focus his attention on the social consequences of technical, economic and similar measures (11). Actually, this too is bread for the sociologist. However, it would hardly be correct to reduce his work to support decisions which must be made, above all, by engineers, economists, etc.

In our view, this situation is due to at least two reasons. First, the distinction between "social" and "sociological" has been insufficiently consistent. In an extreme case, when the terms are equated, all factors affecting the labor collective are included in the realm of activities of the sociologist. Secondly, so far no accurate answer has been found to the question of the role of the sociological service in terms of attaining the goals of the socialist enterprise. According to some authors, today this is one of the key problems in industrial sociology.

Many specialists proceed in their work from the viewpoint that the nonproduction sphere is the subject of activities of the enterprise's sociological service. It is true that such a view has been expressed above all by members of other subunits. However, it was not originated without the "help" of the sociologists themselves. The latter--the supporters of said view--claim that the objective is to ensure the solution of production problems; in fact, however, they engage in work the purpose of which is to improve the social comfort of the individual worker or the collective (4; 5). Furthermore, they ignore the economic consequences and expediency of some social programs. Such new developments are frequently based on various stereotypes of questionable value to the specialist: whatever the circumstances, improving the stability of the labor collective, reducing the number of conflicts and upgrading the cultural and creative activeness of the workers are all good. Yet a level of cadre turnover of under 5 percent is as much a matter of concern to the serious manager as if it reaches the 20 percent.

In the final account, addressing oneself to the nonproduction function legitimately leads to the conclusion that the sociological service is the only one to represent in the collective "the interests of the individual and society at large." The supporters of this approach deem it their main task to manage the way of life of the individual at the enterprise, to study and improve ideological work and means of spending the leisure time here and to resolve problems of daily life. It is noteworthy that the supporters of this view frequently seek customers for such assignments outside their organization. Also controversial are suggestions of applying a number of indicators on the development of the nonproduction area in the structural subdivisions of the enterprise, as part of the plan (8). Under certain conditions, programs for upgrading the social comfort of the workers in the collective could increase production efficiency. It is precisely for such purposes that they must be developed without, however, ever becoming self-seeking.

In our view, plant sociology should be considered, first of all, an applied trend with sociology; second, as one of the functional services of the enterprise. It has its own area and means of activities aimed at the efficient implementation of the enterprise's basic functions, the production function above all. In our view, the approach stems from the tasks facing the national economy at the present stage and is consistent with the experience acquired by plant sociologists and the current level of development of sociological theory.

The production organization of the socialist enterprise is the object of plant sociology. The latter is a social institution created by society to perform specific assignments within the framework of the social division of labor, operating and developing under specific historical conditions and in accordance with specific laws (12, pp 119-124; 13, p 15; 14). Hence the sociologist must focus his main efforts on ensuring the efficient implementation by the enterprise of its target (production) function. This is the prime target of social management and all collected management subsystems--technical, economic and specifically social (12, pp 119-120). Each one of them is assigned to one or several services which ensure the implementation of the basic functions assigned by society to the enterprise. Each subdivision has its specific means, methods and objects of activity determined by practical experience and science. The plant sociologist cannot deal with the sum total of elements of the production organization which have been assigned specific functions in terms of the social object (the collective). That is why the above-mentioned viewpoint, according to which the sociologist must deal with the entire set of social management problems seem unsubstantiated to us. The social development plan is not exclusively an instrument in sociological activities, for it includes measures formulated by other services as well.

The social organization of the enterprise (as an element of the production organization) is the specific area of work of the plant sociologist. By this we mean both the formal and informal structures of the labor collective. They include, on the one hand, relations among systems of official and functional roles and, on the other, interpersonality relations. The two subsystems organically interact (13, pp 86-92). The sociologist influences the enterprise's implementation of its target function by promoting changes in the social organization.

The following respective basic trends of sociological work in the implementation of the production function can be singled out: first, perfecting relations in the formal structure of the enterprise: organizational planning or reconstruction. Under the conditions of production intensification, increased enterprise autonomy and modernization of the economic mechanism, such activities assume particular importance, for it would be difficult to expect any substantial increase in production efficiency without reorganization. So far, this trend is poorly followed in the practical work of sociological services. The most familiar in this area are suggestions on the development of the brigade method.

The second is optimizing the interaction between the formal and informal organizations: choice, placement, utilization and adaptation of cadres. Industrial sociologists pay great attention to such problems. In particular,

work on the certification of engineering-technical and management cadres, vocational guidance, etc., have become quite popular.

The third area is that of perfecting relations in the informal organization of the enterprise, the search for internal reserves in increasing the labor activeness of the personnel and the development of the collective's self-organization with a view to implementing basic production assignments. Such problems as well are traditional of sociological services. For example, measures to upgrade unity of the collective, labor motivations, etc., yield substantial practical results.

In addition to its target function, the social organization of the enterprise (as part of its production organization) has a number of other social functions. Thus, according to N. I. Lapin's classification, two other functions exist as well: the sociointegrative--aimed at maintaining the integrity of the collective; and the administrative-educational, the purpose of which is to ensure the worker's observance of social and enterprise standards (12, pp 142-143). The sociologists must and indeed do actively participate in resolving problems arising in this area. However, an important stipulation must be introduced at this point. Currently their main efforts are concentrated precisely on the implementation of the sociointegrative function. In any case, this is the target of most programs aimed at increasing the satisfaction of the worker, improvements in the sociopolitical climate, adaptation of the individual to the features of the collective and measures related to social therapy and the recovery of the worker's physical and spiritual strength. Within the framework of the administrative-educational function, essentially the activities of sociological services are focused on strengthening labor and production discipline. For the time being, the best results have been achieved in the formulation of a variety of recommendations based on research.

Naturally, work in said areas must be continued. In our view, however, it should not be considered as the main trend in the activities of the plant's sociologist. Such programs must be subordinated to tasks which arise in connection with the implementation of the enterprise's basic (production) function.

The sociologist's efficient implementation of assignments would be inconceivable without firm scientific and methodical support. A theory which would identify the laws and mechanisms of the functioning and development of the social organization at the enterprise should provide the basic guideline for activities. The formulation of such a concept is the prerogative of academic sociology. In terms of the latter, plant sociology performs an applied, an "engineering" function. The knowledge thus obtained should be used here only to the extent to which it is required by the solution of practical problems. In turn, the sociologist's activities are, in terms of overall science, a "barometer" which indicates real problems needing theoretical interpretation. Therefore, whereas one of the basic means of the former is research, those of the latter are social diagnosis (practical assessment of the situation) and social technology (measures which would raise the object to the proper standards). With every passing year such activities are assuming an increasingly stronger position in the arsenal of plant services. Incidentally, practical

experience indicates that the tendency of industrial sociologists to limit themselves to research in the course of resolving specific problems leads to trite results and recommendations, obstructs the dissemination of experience and hinders the professionalization of sociologists, who are thus reduced to the status of a "free-lance" specialist-consultant.

Unfortunately, for the time being plant sociology remains poorly equipped with said methods. The following question arises: Who should develop them? This task exceeds the possibilities of the enterprise sociologist. Nor should it be part of his duties. By virtue of the nature of their activities, academic institutions cannot assume the solution of this problem (nor, in our view, should they do so). Currently this problem is frequently dealt with by head sociological subdivisions of sectors or large associations, quite successfully at that. Let us cite as an example work used by sociologists at KamAZ, the Perm Telephone Plant, the Main Moscow Automotive Transportation Administration and many others. Briefly stated, wherever the formulation of standard sociological technologies for the solution of practical problems has been assigned to sectorial services, the level of methodical support given plant specialists has been quite high. We believe that in the future as well the head departmental institutions should continue with this work. This requires the organization of sociological subunits under sectorial scientific research and design institutes. By concentrating the attention of each of the sectors on a specific area of methodical activities, within a short time the country's plant sociologists could be given reliable and efficient methods for social diagnosis and technology.

In conclusion, let us consider the question of the place of the sociological subdivision in the enterprise's structure. As we pointed out, it would be expedient to grant it the status of an autonomous function or service. Naturally, the specific conditions of the organization must be taken into consideration. The task of the sociological service is to resolve administrative problems within its range of competence. Generally speaking, in our view the formulation of solutions consists of the following: a) determining the optimal (standard) condition of the social object or of its parts, i.e., the condition under which the enterprise will be able to perform its basic functions efficiently; b) assess the real situation and correlate it with the standard; c) formulate management targets; d) formulate measures which will enable the object to reach the stipulated (standard) condition with the least possible outlays.

The multiple-level nature of socialist production management also presumes the creation of a multiple-step sociological service. Whatever the level, however, the objective remains one and the same: the formulation of substantiated management decisions aimed at perfecting the "subordinate" social organization. As a single functional service, the sectorial sociological subunit performs the following tasks: providing methodical support, organization and coordination of sociological work at enterprises and formulating management measures in the realm of sectorial social development. In our view, the former should be carried out by sociologists at the head institute (or similar organization). Having defined and studied the problems topical of this sector, they formulate and test standard methods for their solution. The other assignments are carried out by the structural subdivisions within the sectorial management apparatus.

Naturally, whatever the level, the activities of the sociologist are closely related to the social development plan. The extent of participation of the service (along with the other subdivisions) in its formulation and implementation is defined by the range of tasks we outlined on securing the implementation of the target functions of the production organization. However, frequently sociologists are asked to deal with most problems related to the implementation of the plan and, also frequently, they oppose such efforts most strenuously. We believe that, on the basis of developed traditions, the service could assume (based on the specific situation) a number of methodical and organizational functions related to the formulation of the plan. The implementation of the latter, within the framework of a strictly defined range of competence, is the direct obligation of the sociologist.

Furthermore, some authors suggest that areas such as management information support, cadre training, training managers and dissemination of sociological knowledge be considered autonomous areas (5). This, in our view, is inexpedient. Such activities are not specifically sociological. To one extent or another they are the work of any one of the functional departments of the enterprise (naturally, each within its own area) and could be only auxiliary in terms of said areas of work of the sociologist.

The initial results of the large-scale economic experiment under way in the national economy indicate that the search for possibilities of upgrading production efficiency has become noticeably energized. This applies to the reorganization of the enterprise's structure, cadre deployment, upgrading their professional training, labor incentives and many other social factors. It is important for the sociologists not only promptly to respond to the social order but also to be professionally and methodically prepared to carry it out.

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FOOTNOTE

1. Various terms are used to indicate the subject area of sociological activities at the enterprise (the organization): "industrial sociology," "labor sociology," "organizational sociology," "industrial sociology," "plant sociology, etc. We have used the latter, for it encompasses the activities of the largest detachment of practical sociologists.

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CATERING TO THE COLLECTIVE'S OPINION

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[Article by Boris Nikolayevich Kolodizh, chief of the sociological laboratory at the Yaroslavl Electrical Machine Building Plant. Author of the following articles published in our journal: "The Enterprise's Reputation in the Public Opinion of the Town's Population (No 3, 1978) and "Influence of Production Rhythm on Labor Discipline" (No 2, 1984)]

[Text] Plant sociological services are gathering strength with every passing year. Their activities are becoming more comprehensive and effective and their reputation is growing. However, the entire arsenal of methods used in sociological work has still not been suitably mastered. For example, it is only at now that the study of public opinion is beginning to be recognized in this area and, that good news is beginning to be received in this connection (2). We believe that surveys conducted at the Yaroslavl Electrical Machine Building Plant is of some interest in this connection.

In our plant the public opinion survey service operates under the party committee. Its organization was preceded by a thorough discussion of the matter by the party committee. Taking its recommendations and the wishes of the trade union committee into consideration, the director issued an order which marked the start of the organizational shaping of the new service. The document stipulated that it is being created "with a view to acquiring reliable and full information on the views and feelings of the enterprise's workers, the systematic consideration and study of public opinion on topical problems of the collective's economic and social development and the further democratization of the production management process." Managers of production and functional subdivisions were instructed to provide all the necessary assistance in making sociological surveys and analyzing necessary documentations.

The practical management of the service is provided by a coordination-methodical council headed by the party committee deputy secretary. The group includes representatives of the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, people's control, permanent production conference, plant's newspaper, cadre department and many other subdivisions. The council's working arm is the sociological laboratory. The service's long-term, topic and organizational plans have been formulated.

The work of the first subsystem of the public opinion service developed most actively. It is code-named "Indicator" and its purpose is the current sampling of enterprise social problems. Preparations are currently under way to introduce the "Signal" subsystem. Its task will be to provide fast information to the management bodies regarding requests and suggestions of the working people. Essentially, this means that any member of the collective, who would like to express remarks relative to the state of affairs at the enterprise could voice his opinion via two channels: he can ring up the service using the internal telephone or express his views in writing and drop his letter in the special mail boxes placed in the premises. This not only saves time but actively influences the collective's psychological climate.

Naturally, problems which require getting personally in touch with a specialist frequently arise in an enterprise. This is made possible with the help of a system of consultation on personal problems, known as "Contact."

The service has been in operation for only about a year but has already proved its right to life. The study of public opinion has not only become a firm base for improving ideological activities but has made the work of sociologists more balanced and effective. To begin with, they work above all on problems which the collective considers relevant. Secondly, the service's activities themselves are under the control of and rely on public opinion. This is greatly helped by the fact that our conclusions and recommendations are published in the plant's house organ.

The initial testing stone of the service was a study of the organization of public catering at the enterprise. Naturally, the fact that major shortcomings existed in this matter was an open secret. However, the study indicated that this was one of the most severe problems which affected many aspects of the collective's life, from the health and mood of the people to production processes. The results of the study and the council's recommendations were published in an article which noted the following: "The question of the development of the plant's food shop was considered, and the opinion of the public was established and considered. Now it is a question of taking practical steps by the managers responsible for enterprise consumer services. Such steps must be active and effective, for they are now placed under the control of the collective's public opinion."

The answer was not long in coming: within an extremely short time the central plant cafeteria was reconstructed. The next project is providing nutritional facilities to some worker categories performing hard and unattractive work. A new modern cafeteria will be built in the future.

Currently, the service is studying the practical and personal qualities of managers. The method developed by the sociologists is aimed at improving cadre certification, eliminating elements of formalism and upgrading the substantiation and objectiveness of ratings. This will be attained above all by taking extensively into consideration the view of the collective. The service's staff has drafted a document listing 20 personality features which characterize modern-style management. Six individuals must rate each parameter: superiors "from above," colleagues "laterally" and subordinates "from below." Self-rating is expected as well. The resulting reference, therefore,

expresses the conclusion of "professional" experts, on the one hand, and the collective's public opinion, on the other. This gives the party committee and the management a comprehensive view of the manager, which substantially upgrades the efficiency of enterprise cadre policy. Another important advantage of this method is that it actively stimulates the individual to restructure his style of behavior, not only because the manager becomes more fully aware of his possibilities and the extent to which they are consistent with the requirements of the socioproduction situation. The results of the survey allow the person somehow to look at himself from the outside. The opinion of the collective encourages the manager to review his management style and method faster than would administrative or organizational measures.

The manager plays an important role in ideological education work. This topic as well was studied by the sociologists. We concentrated on the shop chief, who is the key link in the enterprise management system and who, consequently, has extensive opportunities to educate the members of the collective.

Initial results confirm that shop managers are excessively involved in current organizational and production matters. Usually, educational work is accidental and primarily based on arising problems. Here is how one of the surveyed workers described the situation: "The shop chief educates and instructs us frequently, and always about matters of production and discipline, or discipline and production. However, we are not engaged exclusively in fulfilling the plan. We have our own problems, concerns and difficulties. Events at the shop, the plant and the entire world are by no means a matter of indifference to us." In a word, in intercourse with subordinates, the personality of the latter is given second priority. This adversely affects both ideological education and management. The reason for this situation lies not only in the excessive load carried by the shop chiefs. They most frequently engage in ideological work from a feeling of duty ("needed for the sake of the enterprise"), and their lack of energetic work is explained by the lack of educational abilities. Naturally, by no means does every one possess a full set of such qualities. However, one can and must develop an interest in educating and the need to be an educator. The plant's sociologists are currently working on the practical solution of this problem.

The coordinating-methodical council recently approved a program for conducting a public opinion survey on the large-scale economic experiment in which the plant is participating. Its objective is to determine the extent of worker information concerning the basic tasks and principles of the experiment and to determine the way the people assess its future development and the efficiency of the various mass propaganda media in covering this topic. Further studies will involve some problems of topical interest to the collective, such as labor discipline, efficiency of moral and material incentive, organization of the socialist competition, involving the working people in production management, their attitude toward the enterprise, the effectiveness of worker and party meetings and upgrading the vanguard role of party members in the life of the collective.

Naturally, the public opinion service cannot take the place of the entire work relative to sociological support of the collective's activities. Nevertheless, practical experience proves that such a service has an important

intrinsic value and makes the efficient solution of many problems of socioeconomic development and educational activities possible. The systematic study of the opinion of the members of the collective instills in the individuals faith that their views are considered. Immediate reaction to results of surveys encourages active efforts. The competence of public opinion increases as well. Finally, people new to the enterprise become faster aware of the values, standards and traditions of the collective in an atmosphere of continuing consideration and publicity of public opinion.

Therefore, the public opinion service helps to exercise the legal right according to which "The views and suggestions of labor collectives are taken into consideration by the state authorities and managements in making decisions relative to the activities of the respective enterprises, establishments and organizations" (1). Furthermore, by turning to public opinion the sociologists create the very prerequisites for developing an interested attitude toward one's job. This, in turn, is a prerequisite for successful organization of studies and the application of practical recommendations.

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VUZ INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

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[Article by Pavel Grigorevich Klivets, candidate of economic sciences, docent at Dnepropetrovsk State University. Specialist in problems of labor economics and organization. Author of the article "Conditions for the Application of Brigade Working Method" published in our journal (No 3, 1983)]

[Text] Currently there are three basic groups of sociologists: specialists in academic and sectorial institutes, VUZ associates and members of enterprise sociological services. Their duties are insufficiently clearly demarcated and their studies are frequently duplicated. After more than 15 years of teaching and participating in sociological studies, I would like to express a number of considerations on the tasks of VUZ sociologists.

Methodological and methodical problems of socioeconomic development, social planning and management are the main areas of work of sociological institutes and other establishments. The personnel of sociological and psychological services have traditionally concentrated on the study of various professional groups, labor collectives and relations developing among people in the course of the labor process. As to VUZ sociologists, the range of problems with which they deal are difficult to outline. Furthermore, their activities are regulated by no one. The topics of their studies are based above all on the nature of their economic contracts (the only way to obtain material support). Methods and computer programs must be created virtually from scratch every time. Furthermore, on the instructions of the local party and state organs, the chairs conduct a variety of unpaid studies. The number of study targets and types and methods of current analysis are increasing steadily. Meanwhile, there is virtually no coordination in their work. Finally, the higher school social scientists participate in the propaganda and popularization of the social policies of the party and the state and in upgrading the training of sociology cadres.

We see, therefore, that inherent in the work of VUZ sociologists is the great variety of assignments, petty topics and dispersal of efforts. A situation such as this cannot be considered normal, and it was precisely this which actually made me take pen in hand. VUZ sociology must be reoriented. Its

efforts must be concentrated on training and upgrading the skills of plant or, more of sociologists working in the national economy, in establishments and organizations. In a word, such work must be done by trained people. What makes this even more important is the fact that there is a great scarcity of professional sociologists in the country. Their training was recently undertaken at Moscow and Leningrad state universities. Fifty students each enrolled in their full-time and evening courses. Consequently, 5 years from now approximately 100 young sociologists will be awarded the degree "Sociologist. Teacher of Applied Sociology." Let us now consider the following situation: According to N. I. Dryakhlov, currently more than 15,000 sociologists are at work in the country (1). If the figure is accurate, the full staffing of already available positions with diplomaed specialists becomes a matter of the distant future.

Naturally, the staff of the other VUZs are not idling. Several training institutes in the country are already offering cycles of lectures on the fundamentals of sociology. Starting with 1985, students majoring in labor economics will take a course on "Labor Sociology and Methods of Sociological Research." This will be a 40-hour course with 20 hours of practical training followed by a test. Unquestionably, this step will play a positive role in the spreading of sociological knowledge.

For the past several years a 36-hour special course on "Labor Sociology" has been offered at Dnepropetrovsk University. Some of the training has been through seminars and active teaching methods. The students study the methods of group dynamics, role assignment, modelling specific situations, use of interview recording devices, coding and manual and computer-processing data. In their practical training the students participate in sociological research, perform work on contract and draft scientific reports. This provides a teaching and methodical base for training sociologists if a VUZ has no chair of applied sociological research or respective specialization courses. The experience acquired by the students enables them gradually to broaden the range of disciplines studied and to take an additional one or two special courses in addition of the main one. It is expected that in the near future the total amount of auditing time will reach about 120 hours, plus two practical training courses and a graduation paper. All of this should lead to acquiring a minimum amount of knowledge and skills needed by a professional sociologist. Naturally, this step cannot radically resolve the problem of training such specialists so much needed by the country. Nevertheless, economists who have taken such a course are preferable to practical sociologists.

I believe that the lack of profound specialized knowledge is one of the reasons for the narrow range of topics studied by plant sociological services. More than one-half of the respondents work mainly on cadre turnover and youth adaptation. Years on end the plans cover the same type of problems: labor organization of engineering and technical personnel, style of management and the latter's influence on relations within the collective. However, some services do try to introduce fresh topics, such as features leading to the appearance of worker dynasties and living conditions of worker families.

Naturally, in order to provide efficient help to plant sociology, the VUZ specialists themselves must have solid training. However, in some cases the

situation which has developed here could be described in Bernard Shaw's statement that "those who can, do; those who can't, teach." Trained sociologists are rarely found among the personnel of training institutes. A teacher could draw theoretical knowledge from books, but acquiring practical applied knowledge is much more difficult. Studies are conducted essentially by the staffs of social science chairs. The mathematical training of most of them leaves something better to be desired. The extensive arrays of data contained in thousands of studies are analyzed very superficially. Usually, tables are simple breakdowns based on one or two features. Complex multifactorial classifications are not used. Setting aside the quality and practical significance of such studies, let us ask ourselves another question: in such cases what could teachers teach their students?

In order successfully to resolve the problem of improving sociological training, VUZ sociologists must steadily upgrade their skills. For the time being, they can do this essentially on their own. The academic scientific centers could be of great help in this case by increasing the training of higher school teachers by offering post-graduate courses at the Institute of Sociological Research, the Institute of Social and Economic Problems and other USSR Academy of Sciences institutes. Furthermore, here is another suggestion: could SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA introduce a section which would print materials in aid to sociology teachers? The latter need as much help as do plant sociologists. Such a rubric should be aimed not only at higher school staffs but also at sociology teachers at Marxism-Leninism universities.

To sum it up, let me reemphasize that in the majority of cases VUZ teachers could assume the obligation of offering consultations to industrial psychologists and sociologists, coordinating their research and, most importantly, training sociological cadres.

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METHODS AND TECHNIQUES IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

TECHNIQUE OF SCALE TRANSFORMATION

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[Article by Anatoliy Nikolayevich Prilukov, junior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Far Eastern Scientific Center, Institute of Economic Research (Khabarovsk). This is his first publication in our journal]

[Text] The experience of solving problems which arise in the first stage of sociological research led to singling out a special scientific trend, which was named the psychological theory of measurement. This theory's task is the search for formal methods for suitably representing the "non-numerical" characteristics of social behavior numerically. However, it would be incorrect to lump everything here together in precisely the first stages of empirical research, since in both the process of studying information and in the conclusion-forming stage information is reorganized, sometimes repeatedly, according to the system best suited to the specific objectives -- to scales. It would probably be no exaggeration to say that scale transformations themselves imbue practically all stages of work with empirical data and that the final results of all research significantly depend on their implementation.

This article is an effort to give a more expanded characteristic of the types of scale transformations used in sociology. Here, a scale is understood, in the traditional meaning, as a clearly established, simple system for streamlining information. Lately another interpretation of this term has also gained extensive recognition as a "three-member train," which relates the initial empirical system by ratios to the resulting numerical system and the rule for converting from the first system to the second (2-7). Wherever this may lead to misinterpretation we will use the term "numerical system of ratios" (ChSO)¹, borrowed from the theory of measurement. By scale transformations we will, therefore, understand it to mean the reorganization of empirical information, with which the conversion from one scale to another is related.

As to the above-mentioned theory two fundamental observations are necessary. The first applies to its subject. It is traditionally accepted to consider the properties of the objects subject to direct measurement (2, 6, 7). All other characteristics of the studied phenomena are defined as derivatives, i.e. computed according to the results of primary measurements. In sociology such narrowing of the subject of primary measurements is considered

incorrect, since here both the object's properties and the relationships between them or the nature and intensity of the processes can be measured. Let us explain this. If, for example, the group standards or concepts are properties of social objects, then value judgements, which are identified at the individual or group levels, are already relationships, whereas occupations involving various types of activity are processes. In all three cases mentioned both the direct and the indirect (derivative) methods of measurement can be used.

The second observation concerns the theoretical system which is used as a model of the measurement process. In sociological and sometimes even in psychological studies information streamlined according to a specific ChSO is often shaped not in one, but in several stages related by numerical transformations. In each of the intermediate stages the corresponding numerical system not only assumes a specific nature, but from stage to stage all new sets of assumptions and limitations become involved in the study, thanks to which the use of one of another mathematical system becomes possible.²

The models (frequently, and in our view, somewhat inappropriately, called scales) of Terstone, Laekert and Guttman (5, 6, 8, 9) can serve as typical examples of this. The "three-member train" previously referred to as a model of the scale transformation therefore proves to be an overly simplified idealization of real situations.

The need for expanding and elaborating the analysis system, related to scale transformations, is also dictated by the fact that obtaining numerical characteristics is not very often—at least in sociology—the final goal of research. In a more typical situation, where the numerical parameters found undergo a series of further transformations in the course of which the system of parameters is simplified, their clarity and "readability" are improved, after which meaningful conclusions may be formulated.

The overall sequence of scale transformations in the study of sociological data can be represented as the diagram (Fig. 1).

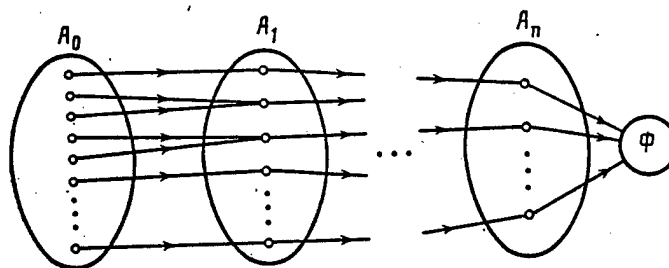


Fig. 1

In this diagram A_0 consists, in "meaningful" terms, of a model of the studied characteristics $A_1 \dots A_n$ — the sequence is a ChSO which corresponds to a series of scale transformations, ϕ , which is some whole function, to the achievement of which the study was directed.

Let us mention a few characteristic features related to the above-mentioned diagram. In the first place, the characteristic under study, designated as A_0 , is not the object, on the whole, but only a slice of reality or, as stated above, its partial model, selected on the basis of the research goals. In the second place, in the context of this study model A_0 should resemble, in some sense, other partial models—from $A_0 \dots A_n$ inclusively. In this connection the degree of similarity, naturally, may vary. In the third place, the so-called data capacity of models $A_0 \dots A_n$ may vary, but during conversion from A_{i-1} to A_i it cannot increase; the latter is not related to the clarity of information contained in the models: as a rule, it is increased.

The requirements which the whole function ϕ must meet are usually manifested by the fact that an effort is made to choose the simplest and most appropriate type of ChSO for direct analysis as A_n . If the task is the evaluation of a certain situation, A_n could consist of, for example, values interpreted as "good", "satisfactory," etc.; in the development of information for obtaining a solution in A_n , as much gradation is introduced in A_n as is needed for choosing among the suggested solution variants.

Since the studied phenomenon (a property, relationship, process) always has more than one feature, one may need more than one sequence of scale transformations to satisfy one whole function ϕ . In the analysis results one may work from not one, but several whole functions, so that the sequence of scale transformation in the final stages of analysis may branch out. Finally, in a number of cases there is a choice between several different transformations, which lead to the same objective. In the diagram (fig. 1) this could be shown as a certain number of parallel branches which are distributed in sections from A_0 to ϕ .

Thus, a more precise representation of the sequence of scale transformations achieved in the course of a specific study could be obtained on the basis of a formal system, represented as a directional graph of family of graphs, which have a complex of meaningful models of the phenomenon (A_0) as "origins" and the set of whole functions (ϕ) as "output."

Transformation, the goal of which is the conversion from one ChSO to another, is one of the most massive operations applicable in sociology. In connection with the continuous enrichment of analytical methods, the arsenal of scale transformation methods also grows. As in any developing field, the task of classification here could hardly be considered easy. Nevertheless, let us try to designate possible ways to resolve it.

The phenomena considered in the studies above all differ in parameters such as the number of variables analyzed. Either one or several values simultaneously participate in transformations, which corresponds to one-dimensional or multi-dimensional variants of scale transformations. Those cases in which, in

accordance with the applied operations, a lowering of the dimension of the initial indicated spaces occurs, should be singled-out among the multidimensional transformations as a separate variety. The variant is extreme in this respect, when the one-dimensional ChSO, formed at the end of the procedure, corresponds to the multidimensional initial ChSO.

The next important classification criterion is the correlation between scale levels which form during the input and output of the procedure under consideration. A nominal, range, interval, proportional or absolute ChSO A_{i-1} can be placed in correlation to the ChSO A_i , not necessarily on the same level. For the set of problems considered by the theory of measurement, a tendency towards an increase in the level of scales applied in a series of consecutive transformations is typical. This fully meets the objective of sociological or psychological measurement -- constructing a numerical model, with maximum completeness and precision, which reproduces the studied phenomenon. Conversely, the conversion to the analytical research stage is accompanied by considerable compression of the studied information and by a corresponding reduction in the level of the applied scales.

The nature of the applied numerical systems is yet another classification criterion. ChSO's used in sociological practice are structured on the basis of limited numerical ranges; the latter may be either continuous or discrete. One feature of the bulk of sociological data is its discrete nature. However, when using statistical processing methods the distinction between discrete and continuous data is lost. Such a feature of bulk data is also reflected in the theory of measurements where, in particular, the possibility of converting from discrete ChSO's to continuous and vice versa is based (6).

The nature of data, which can be represented as given or as stochastic, determines the differentiation of the methods considered into two different groups -- algebraic and probabilistic. Although all social phenomena are characterized by a dialectical combination of the orderly and the random, such polarization is justified methodically by the fact that in many cases this allows considerable simplification of analysis problems while preserving acceptable precision of results.

In the one-dimensional variant the conversion from ChSO A_{i-1} to A_i can be expressed using the functional relationship

$$x_i = f_i(x_{i-1}), \quad (1)$$

where x_{i-1} , x_i are continuous or discrete numerical quantities, f_i is the function applied at the i -th step of transformation. In the case of discrete x_{i-1} , x_i along with the functional dependence (1) one may use the expression

$$(x_{i-1}) \rightarrow (x_i). \quad (2)$$

Here (x_{i-1}) and (x_i) are quantities of discrete numbers, on the basis of which A_{i-1} , A_i are respectively formed. For multidimensional scale transformations we will use a similar formal structure with a natural correction for the dimensionality of the ChSO's A_{i-1} and A_i .

Various methods for expressing the dependencies (1) and (2) exist. The function f_i can be given analytically (as a mathematical expression), graphically, or as a table; in the latter case x_{i-1} , x_i are either discrete or are continuous values given at selected points. The table method is the most prevalent for expressing representation (2), although in a number of cases the analytical and graphical methods can be used with the latter.

The type of functional dependence (1) or representation (2) either is given beforehand, or is determined during the transformation itself. In addition to this there are the so-called iterative methods which occupy an intermediate position, a feature of which lies in the sequential specification of the sought-after type of dependence in a reiterative, cyclical repetition of the transformation procedure. The a priori expression of the dependencies follows diverse criteria and rules. They can be grouped conditionally, for example, as: a) meaningful considerations which arise from the nature of the studied phenomenon; b) standard and goal-oriented concepts characteristic of this stage of analysis; c) procedural features related to the methods used.

As an illustration, we will use the type of certain numerical dependencies most widely used in scale transformations (Fig. 2).

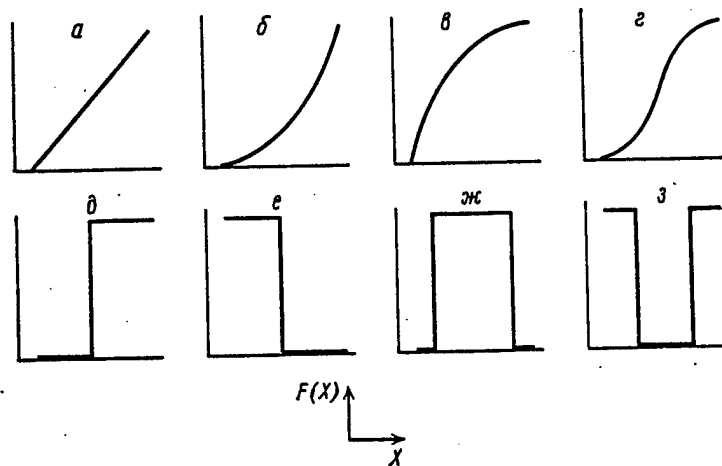


Fig. 2. Graphic depiction of typical dependencies in the process of scale transformations: a—linear; b, c, d—monotonic curvilinear; e, f, g, h—step (detector)

The variable values which form the initial ChSO A_{i-1} are distributed (according to a certain scale) along the abscissae in the graphs. The corresponding variable values from the ChSO A_i are also distributed, in the chosen scale, along the ordinates. The external type of graphs remains practically the same as in the discrete nature of the quantities involved in the ChSO's A_{i-1} and A_i . However, in this case the specific values are given only by individual points on the coordinate axes and on the curve itself.

The dependence depicted in fig. 2 corresponds to a linear transformation which is described by the expression

$$x_i = ax_{i-1} + b, \quad (3)$$

where a is not equal to zero and b represents certain real numbers. In a specific case b can be equal to zero, and (3) becomes a simple change of scale or a similarity transformation. When $a=1$ (3) corresponds to a shift transformation. Typical examples of curvilinear dependency are given in fig. 2 (b, c, d). They can be represented analytically by many different functions. For example, the curves b and c are approximated using indicator and degree functions with different levels of complexity. For approximating the curve e it is often convenient to use a logical dependence, etc.

At first glance the type of curves represented in graphs e - h can be shown to be unusual. Nevertheless, step, or detector (11) functions of such a type are widely used in the beginning stages of analysis in the structuring of dichotomous indicators and, in the final stages, during the computation of quantiles and distribution percentage points, of quantile differentiation coefficients, and weighted ordinal statistics (12).

The concept of scale transformations above all fulfills the function of regulating and theoretical generalization in relationship to the broad nomenclature of methods used in gathering, processing and analyzing sociological data. We will attempt to show its usefulness in a procedural relationship as well, with a specific example.

To begin with, let us agree that a variation series, formed by a certain discretely changing value x , is analyzed. We will designate this series as $(v_i^{(j)})$, where $v_i^{(j)}$ is a whole number which indicates the frequency of occurrence of the given value $x_i^{(j)}$ in the selection, distributed in increasing order; in this connection j changes from 1 to k . Let us agree, furthermore, that in the program, with the help of which the analysis is conducted, the "arithmetic weighting" operation (3, 4) of the type

$$\hat{x}_i = \frac{\sum_i w_i^{(j)} x_i^{(j)} v_i^{(j)}}{\sum_i w_i^{(j)} v_i^{(j)}}. \quad (4)$$

is carried out. Here $x_i^{(j)}$ is the j^{th} value of the indicator after the execution of the i^{th} operation of a scale transformation; $w_i^{(j)}$ are the weighted coefficients which in this case can assume only two fixed values ($w_i^{(j)} \equiv (0;1)$); $\hat{x}_i$ is the result of the operation.

Expression (4), as can be easily confirmed, is directly suitable for the computation of weighted ordinal statistics. Furthermore, we note that when all $w_i^{(j)}$ are equal to unity and $i=1$ (i.e. when all $x_i^{(j)}$ are equal to their original values) $\hat{x}_i$ is the ordinary average arithmetic quantity from the

initial values of the indicator; where $\bar{x}_i$ is also an arithmetic average, but was obtained by calculating scale transformations. We shall show how the latter can be used, for example, in the calculation of quantiles, percentage points and other relationships.

Let us assume, for the purpose of definition, that the indicator under consideration is represented in a selection, for example, by only three discrete values and that it is necessary to determine the "specific weight" of the first of them. If the computation is performed using expression (4), then the solution to the problem is obtained by itself when we assign a set of scale coefficients $(x_i^{(j)}) = (100; 0; 0)$. The total "specific weight" of the first two values is equally automatically obtained when we assign the set $(x_i^{(j)}) = (100; 100; 0)$. The ChSO's for calculating the total "specific weight" of any chosen indicator values, for determining the shares with an increasing or decreasing cumulative result, are similarly obtained. The necessary quantiles and percentage points can be directly determined using the latter. If the constant "100" in the numerical systems which are used is replaced by "1000", then the same calculated values turn out to be expressed per thousand, and in general the choice of a required unit of measurement occurs through the selection of the corresponding constant for the ChSO's used. The inclusion of empty elements $x_i^{(j)} = \emptyset$ (in expression (4) the latter correspond to $w_i^{(j)} = 0$) within the ChSO structure increases the set of executed procedures, since in this connection the possibility appears of excluding any pre-assigned values $x_i^{(j)}$ from consideration. In particular, this provides for the possibility of automatic censoring of selections.³

Composing the ChSO A_i from the constant "0", "100" (or "1000", etc.) and from the empty elements $\emptyset$, it is possible, using scale transformations and procedure (4), to obtain, in one or another initial data set, different calculated quantities, expressed in percentages (per thousand, etc.). In cyclically structured programs automatic sorting of the assigned ChSO's is easily organized. Therefore, in principle all necessary results can be obtained with one initiation of the program. Furthermore, there are no basic obstacles to the fact that the one-dimensional vector quantity $(v_i^{(j)})$ which has been considered so far was substituted for the multi-dimensional value, and the vector operations (2) and (4) were substituted for equivalent matrices. Thus, a sufficiently effective technology for multilateral, multidimensional information analysis can be created.⁴

Yet another illustration of the usefulness of the scale transformation concept can be its utilization within the framework of the theory of measurements in the search for psychometric patterns. In the psychological theory of measurements we usually describe as psychometric the type of stable dependencies, reproduceable through various tests, which are at the base of reactions to stimuli (6, 7, 13, 14). The nonlinear nature of these dependencies has been proven by physiologists and psychologists with diverse factual material. However, the specific type of nonlinearity remains a topic of research and discussions. As though competing, hypotheses are advanced on the logarithmic, step and indicator nature of psychometric dependences, or else other, more complex variants are proposed (6, 13).

We know that at the level of social groups the pattern most frequently appears as statistical, formed by an association of many forces or wills, which "blend into something average, into a single, general resultant force" (1). It would seem that this opens a path to the solution of the problem and that it consists of the standard application of familiar methods of mathematical statistics. Unfortunately, the situation is considerably complicated by the fact that, not only does the general structure of the mechanism which provides for the formation of the resultant force remain unclear, but in many cases the individual psychological mechanisms are also unclear. Without similar preliminary representations the application of statistical methods becomes ineffective or simply leads research up a blind alley. In addition to everything else, we must take into consideration the fact that sociologists must be satisfied with a considerably narrower set of "allowed" methods in comparison to the variety which experimental psychologists have at their disposal.

It is not surprising therefore that an enormous mass of sociological information, obtained using carefully developed and verified evaluation-type questions, is used so far either at the particular groupings level or at best, at the level of range scales. Occasional attempts to digitize range indicators and to structure objectivized scales (14, 15, 16) leads, as a rule, to situationally dependent results (4).

Let us briefly discuss two among the most familiar methods used to solve this problem: the method of sequential intervals and that of linear logarithmic analysis. The proximity of the law of distribution of two interrelated, studied indicators to the standard (most often to the normal) type acts as the evaluation criterion in the first of these. If such an assumption turns out to be correct, then the necessary transformation coefficients are found by simple, rigidly determined algebraical calculation (3). Consequently, the basic difficulty here is finding those pairs of indicators which sufficiently satisfy the given criterion. However, it is precisely this difficulty which turns out, in practice, to be unsolvable in the majority of cases, since the evaluation criterion and the indicator selection criterion form a closed "vicious circle."

A similar difficulty arises in the use of linear logarithmic analysis (11). The situation here is not helped by the fact that several indicators can be involved in analysis simultaneously, since their mutual independence, reestablished using scale coefficients, is as subject to the influence of the case as in the preceding method.

Thus, when indicators are randomly selected, the results also turn out to be random. However, in certain situations, when there are many initial indicators, it is possible to assume the existence of a sufficiently pronounced central trend. The dispersion of individual results may then be equalized by introducing procedures which ensure the sorting of variants and their averaging. A convenient object for testing this idea is the data from large population surveys, which include blocks of comparable questions. True, in conformity with the problem under consideration, concretely defined situations are needed, i.e.: the studied psychological mechanism, if it exists and is

the same for the majority of the selected respondents, should be manifested at the level of selected statistical parameters, such as selected averages, etc.; this mechanism is one and the same for everyone or at least for the majority of the block question surveys (interviews); information concentrated in the block of questions, given a sufficiently large number of the latter, could be approximated by the definition of a statistical ensemble (12), with which the correctness of the application of statistical methods is ensured.

Based on these hypothetical prerequisites it is possible to suggest various trends for both the substantiation of the existence of psychometric laws, and for the clarification of their specific type. It is possible, for example, as is done in the method of sequential intervals, to reestablish the parameters of selected distributions — asymmetry, excess, and others. Apparently, the methods of sequential intervals and linear logarithmic analysis may themselves be modified in case they are applied in relation to the block questions (indicators), by the introduction of indicator sorting and sequential averaging of results.

Unfortunately, probability methods are most often built on the assumption of the existence of linear dependence between analyzed indicators, whereas in practice such an assumption is rather rarely substantiated.⁵ Therefore, the search for methods and algorithms which resist variations in the form of dependences becomes topical. The most radical solution to the situation will be, evidently, a complete rejection of the requirements of linearity, by the transition to non-parametric evaluation of dependences. However, such a path may lead to a considerable loss of accuracy of the results obtained. Intermediate variants, in which the linearity requirement is substituted for by its relaxed equivalents—by monotonicity or smoothness criteria—could turn out to be useful.

The last of the given criteria was applied in practice to the search for psychometric patterns in available empirical material.⁶ Analyzed empirical lines of regression were structured for such two-dimensional combinations of indicators, when one of them expressed one or another value judgement of the respondents, and the other can be interpreted as a linearly varying quantity. Scale transformations are carried out in accordance with expression (1), in this connection the dependences, covering the entire range of curve types given in figure 2 (a - d), were tested as a quality of the function f_1 . In particular, it was established that the best results, in terms of the chosen high-rated criterion, are obtained on the basis of these scale transformations, the function f_1 of which is a concave curve (fig. 2, b) with a fixed degree of curvature. For finding this degree a long series of tests was conducted, in the course of which the curvature of dependence f varied in a wide range, and its law was given using the indicator function

(5)

The coefficients alpha and gamma here are used for "linking" the scale to the given section of the numerical axis (these are the so-called standardizing and correction coefficients), and beta is the basic varied parameter which defines the curvature of the line.

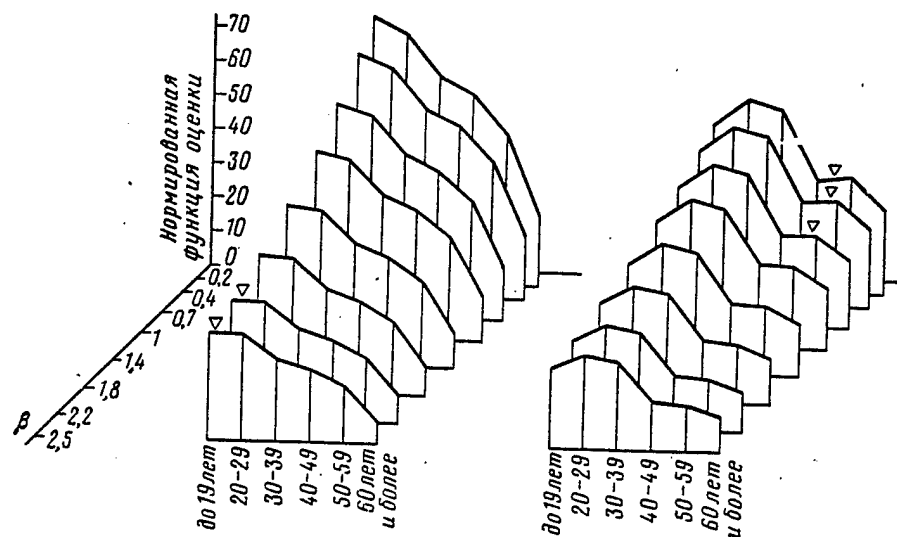


Fig. 3 Dependence of a standardized function of respondent's evaluations of factors in urban life from the grade indicator [15] for two evaluated factors (N = 1569): a -- possibility of choice of sufficiently complex and interesting work; b -- possibility of sending a child to kindergarten.

The summed-up results of the calculation experiment are listed in fig. 4. Here several families of ranges are presented which reflect the behavior of the sum indicator P_i , which fixes smoothness disturbances depending on the changing parameter β . The minima of the curves which are obtained after smoothing out the ranges listed in the figure, lie in the range from $\beta = 1.5$ to $\beta = 2.1$. The midpoint of the range ($\beta = 1.8$) was chosen as the most probable evaluation parameter of the sought-for psychometric law in its approximation of function (5). Visually, the smoothest and most significant lines of regression, designed for different combinations of initial indicators, correspond to this value of β .

One should take the following circumstances into account: the minima points of the ranges (of the curves) P_i within the limits of the allowable capability of the method fall, on the average, into one and the same value $\beta \approx 1.8$, which is practically independent of the wordings of answers in the close-end questions and independent of the number of alternatives in the initial range scales. The dilution of extreme regions which is observed in the curves and the substantial displacement of the minima points is closely related to the statistical heterogeneity of choices in relation to the indicator combinations under consideration; the significant influence of other characteristics of the selective aggregates, such as the sex of the respondents, their social position, etc., is not disclosed in the available materials. Finally, the pattern, manifested within the limits of the method used, apparently is also sufficiently stable in relation to the changing conditions under which the survey was conducted, as confirmed by the selective comparison of results corresponding to two independent initial arrays.

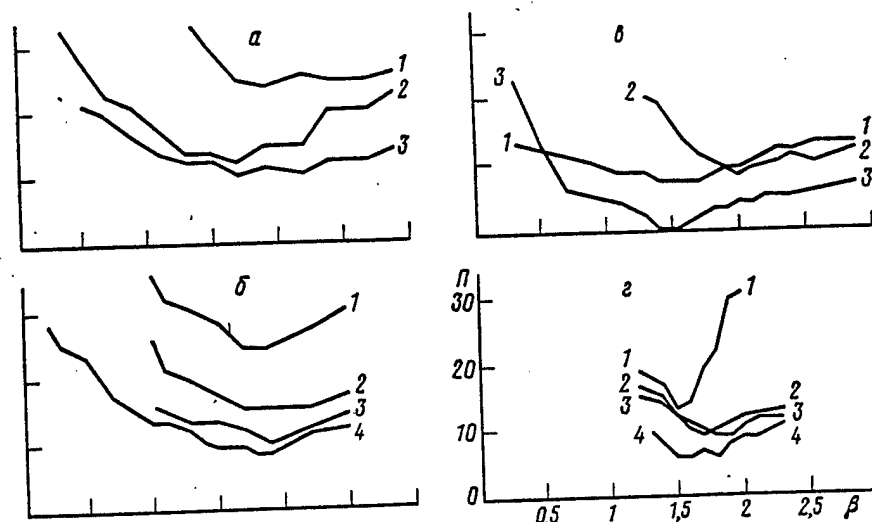


Fig. 4 Influence of the grade indicator beta on the smoothness of empirical regression lines, expressed in the sum indicators P_i ($N = 1569$): a -- respondents' evaluation of factors and conditions of urban life (a 45 question block) dependent on the length of residence in a settlement: 1 -- all respondents, 2 -- men, 3 -- women; b -- frequency of different occupations by type of activity (22 questions) dependent on the respondent's skill level: 1 -- male workers, 2 -- employees, 3 -- female employees, 4 -- workers; c -- assessment of job requirements (11 questions) dependent on the respondent's skill level: 1 -- male workers, 2 -- female workers, 3 -- male employees; d -- evaluation of factors and conditions of urban life (45 questions) dependent on the respondent's skill level: 1 -- male workers, 2 -- male employees, 3 -- female workers, 4 -- female employees

In conclusion, let us list the values of scale coefficients which correspond to the value found for beta, calculated for several widely used range evaluation scales. It is suggested that the initial scales are asymmetrical and the intensiveness of the indicator grows along with the range (see table).

Let us note the preliminary nature of these results, due to the limited volumes of initial information, rigidity and simplification of the method used. Evidently, along with the further refinement of scale coefficients, a purposeful verification of the hypothesis of the stability of psychometric patterns in relationship to sociodemographic and other indicators, which characterize the selection, is needed. Consequently, one may speak of the need for reinforcement of the structure of the methods used, a possibility we already discussed, of the expansion of the empirical base for analysis.

Coefficients of transformation of range evaluation scales into metric, normed for section 0; 100

Initial Range Scale	Range				
	1	2	3	4	5
Five point	0	8.3	28.7	59.6	100
Four point	0	13.8	48.2	100	
Three point	0	28.7	100		

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FOOTNOTES

1. In our presentation the terms "scale" and "ChSO" are equivalent.
2. In this connection, subdividing the scaling operations into empirical and analytical, depending on the stage in which they are carried out, is suggested (10).
3. With all the apparent diversity of the described operations, they are all implemented by one and the same procedure, which corresponds to expression (4). The "tuning" of this procedure in carrying out the necessary operation is accomplished by a universal method--by the choice of corresponding scale coefficients $x_i^{(j)}$.
4. In such a case the operations under consideration are used, for example, in programs which were developed by the author for ES series computers, which are intended for conducting multidimensional statistical analysis of sociological and other information.
5. According to our available data, the similar nature of dependences, even for statistically homogeneous choices, is an exclusive phenomenon. Other authors as well have pointed out this feature of sociological data (11, 15, 16).
6. The search for a functional expression of the smoothness criterion is presently an independent research problem. For this reason, as well as in connection with the fact that the analysis of results (empirical lines of regression constructed by computer) was conducted visually, a simplified evaluation variant was used which could be formulated as "local monotonicity criterion." Only those smoothness disturbances of regression lines are fixed (Fig. 3) which are related to the "transition through zero" and to the divergence of part of the line in a direction opposite to the integral slope of the curve in its given region. In order to improve the resolving capabilities (accuracy) of the method, the degree of manifested smoothness disturbances has registered as well: the maxima of the manifested divergences were rated "4"; those following them were rated "3", etc; the rating "0" was given where the curve in the given sector is turned "into the same channel," as its neighboring sectors. A generalized indicator of smoothness disturbances (P) was obtained by summing up the ratings jointly with the analyzed curves.

7. Expression (5) allows one to model both concave (when β is greater than 1), and convex (when β is less than 1) curves; where $\beta=1$ expression (5) is written as a linear dependence. In the experiment β is changed by several (small) steps from 0.2 to 2.9 (Fig. 3, 4).
8. In both cases the respondents were residents of Khabarovsk. A study with $N=1569$ was conducted in 1981 at the respondents' place of residents. The selection was random. A 1983 survey with $N=213$ was carried out at two city enterprises based on quota selection. In the surveys, which differed in terms of form, investigations which differed in structure and content were used.

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SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

STUDY OF CZECHOSLOVAK PUBLIC OPINION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 85
(signed to press 29 Apr 85) pp 157-161

[Article by Dr of Sciences Prof Karel Rychtarik, director of the Institute for the Study of Public Opinion, CZSSR Federal Statistical Administration, editor in chief of SOCIOLOGICKY CASOPIS, journal of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. This is his first publication in our journal]

[Text] Paying constant attention to the needs and interests of the people and relying on their knowledge and experience are among the fundamental principles governing the activities of the CP of Czechoslovakia and the country's state bodies. As G. Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, emphasized, "The creation of a broad platform for the exchange of opinions and the development of constructive criticism are important in the development of socialist democracy and the working people's activeness and initiative. We must see to it that criticized shortcomings are eliminated and that the public is informed of this fact" (1). In this case direct contacts with the working people, the views they express at meetings, the letters received every day by party and state establishments, editorial boards, the television and the radio, the questions, suggestions and remarks transmitted through the lecturers, etc., are of prime importance.

Such comprehensive information is irreplaceable in party work as well. Today, however, when the scale of socialist changes has broadened, social relations have become more complex and the intensiveness of socioeconomic processes has increased, such information no longer suffices if we are to have efficient management. The enhanced level of organizational and managerial activities also presumes the systematic scientific study of public opinion, which enables us efficiently to formulate and resolve topical social problems and indirectly to determine the state of the various social processes.

Such activities are headed and coordinated by the Institute for the Study of Public Opinion of the CzSSR Federal Statistical Administration. The CPCZ Central Committee pays great attention to the planning and organization of such studies and to strengthening their scientific and methodical base. It

formulates suggestions on research projects and passes on their 3-year plan. The institute provides the theoretical and methodological formulation and specification of the individual topics in cooperation with the leading specialists in various organizations. Party workers and representatives of state institutions and trade union and youth organizations directly participate in the studies.

What are the specific tasks of the public opinion study system? Above all, the timely determination of the problems encountered by the population in its daily life. Usually, public opinion expresses assessments and views on the most essential problems predominating in the various social groups and strata. The purpose of the studies is ensuring the maximal utilization of public opinion in the formulation of managerial decisions, strengthening socialist legality and moral norms, etc. The people retain in their consciousness concepts and vestiges which hinder the implementation of party policy. Their elimination and the purposeful shaping of a positive public opinion is another basic task of our scientific projects.

The respective studies of public opinion should ensure the following: first, provide information on the views and frame of mind of the different population groups and their attitude toward the various measures taken by the party and the state, or aspects of social life; second, the selection of methods of ideological and educational activities and forecasting their results; and third, identify arising contradictions and their reasons. The latter pertains not only to the political and spiritual areas but also to economic development. Practical experience proves that such studies can be very effective. Thus, the implementation of the institute's programs on the views of the citizens on the economic integration among socialist countries and the population's views on means of upgrading work efficiency and quality and perfecting organization and management yielded rich and comprehensive information. Based on the collective experience of the masses, the party and state bodies earmarked specific measures for the intensification of the Czechoslovak economy. Public opinion studies are helping to improve intraparty work and to strengthen ties between the communist party and the masses. The information obtained from the studies helps us, on the one hand, to concentrate our attention on the most crucial problems affecting the people and to make substantiated decisions on various management levels, aimed specifically at individual population groups and, on the other, to improve the efficiency of the feedback from the population and, therefore, the efficiency of our policy.

Finally, the study of public opinion is one of the means of broadening and strengthening socialist democracy. The study and consideration of the people's assessments and critical remarks not only encourage the development of an active life stance and shape the feeling of being the master of the country but are also an important channel in the participation of the working people in management.

Let us now consider the main trends in the study of public opinion, and let us begin with the theoretical aspects of the problem, above all those which directly determine the nature of specific studies and the significance of their results. According to the approach adopted in our publications, public opinion is a set of opinions and views based on the practical experience of

the people and the spontaneous reflection of the latter in the human mind. "Public opinion is an aggregate of the individual opinions of the members of a specific group of people. It is a question not of a simple sum but of an aggregate in its dialectical and systemic understanding. In the same way that the status of a system is not entirely defined by the condition of its individual elements, public opinion does not arise as a result of the simple summing up or determination of an average value of the individual opinions of the entire membership of the group. Public opinion arises in the course of clashes among the individual views of the members of the group, in the complex structure of interrelationships" (2).

In the course of the studies it is important to bear in mind that public opinion, like life itself, is never determined once and for all. It always changes and reshapes itself. Its functioning is the result of the complex interaction among internal sources of self-dynamics and external factors. Such dynamics is characterized, in our view, by three aspects: 1. Mobility and flexibility, which are properties of public opinion to react to external stimuli and to change as they do; 2. Stability and resistance, which reflect a relative permanency and recurrence of such stimuli; 3. Flexibility and stability, which cancel each other in the course of long-range public opinion development trends. It is precisely in such trends that the sociopolitical orientation of the people is manifested most clearly (3).

The specific social groups and classes are always the bearers of public opinion, and a target-oriented public opinion is always an important policy feature. Naturally, it would be erroneous to present matters as though a given type of view is typical of a specific group only. The views held by the various population strata on many problems, the global problems of mankind above all (war and peace, environmental protection, etc.), are virtually identical. Homogeneity and unity are also characteristic of views on the most important problems of our social development. Nonetheless, substantial disparities exist in the views and moods of the people. Studies have indicated that this is the result of the different degrees of information and different possibilities of satisfying direct needs and interests, the influence of immediate social surroundings, etc.

Intensiveness is another feature closely related to homogeneity and differentiation. It expresses, above all, the qualitative aspect of expressed opinions and established views. The surveys lead to the conclusion that the great interest shown by the people in the successful building of socialism is a distinguishing feature of public opinion. This is understandable, for socialism presumes the concern of the individual for the public good. For example, studies on "Women's Participation in Social Life" and "Place and Significance of the Woman in the Family" have indicated that all population groups ascribe great importance to these questions. The expediency of introducing a second and third shift at some enterprises was another question which triggered a broad response among the working people.

The most important feature of public opinion is its competence, i.e., its ability realistically to reflect and accurately to assess phenomena and processes in social life. This matter is of tremendous practical and political importance to the Marxists. For that reason it must not be approached from an

abstract-theoretical view only or considered separately from the objective living conditions of the people. The competence of public opinion within each group depends on the specific sociohistorical situation which, in the final account, is the one which determines its objective and subjective aspects. The purposeful shaping of public opinion should precisely contribute to having the views and evaluations of the working people reflect accurately and precisely the true situation, thus becoming a reliable management support. This calls for a comprehensive approach to the study of public opinion through the combined efforts of representatives of various disciplines.

Such are, briefly, some of the basic theoretical-methodological approaches to the phenomenon of public opinion. Let us now consider the topics and organization of research. Research follows three lines: 1. World Outlook of the Czechoslovak Population. This is one of our leading topics. Studies were recently made on the following subjects: proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism; population's attitude toward religion; youth and its world outlook; and citizens' views on the problem of war and peace. 2. Economic Development. This includes problems, such as material incentive and development of labor discipline, economic integration among socialist countries, etc. 3. Special Studies of Topical Problems of Social Life and the Study of Public Opinion of Various Groups of People. Some of the topics studied were the following: influence of radio and television transmissions from neighboring capitalist countries on the Czechoslovak population; citizens' opinion on the place of women in society, in the family and at work; attitude toward problems of health care and others.

As we mentioned, the Institute for the Study of Public Opinion is the main research center. Its main work sectors are located in Prague and Bratislava. The institute is serviced by the computer center of the Czechoslovak Federal Statistical Administration. Standardized interviews are the main survey method. Success in the use of this complex system greatly depends on the skillful work of the interviewer.

For more than 10 years Czechoslovakia has had a set of interviewers (commissioners), presently numbering 950 people.¹ They are distributed around the country according to the structure of the adult population and in proportion to the territory and the size of settlements. The age of 54.4 percent of the interviewers is under 45. About 75 percent of them have at least secondary school training and approximately one-third are women. So far, more than one-half of them have conducted more than 35 interviews each. By virtue of a variety of reasons the interviewers' group is gradually renovated (by an average of 10 percent annually). For that reason the institute is always concerned with the selection and scientific methodical training of new cadres.

The choice of candidates is based above all on sociopolitical criteria. Furthermore, we take into consideration the extent to which the psychological and moral qualities of the individual are consistent with the survey tasks. The most important requirements which an interviewer must meet are the following: he must have an active attitude toward social life, a behavior consistent with the standards of socialist morality and ability to work with people.

Constant contacts between members of the institute and the interviewers' apparatus and systematic and purposeful scientific work with them are important factors in maintaining the efficiency of the network. During the initial stage of the work, institute associates determine the interviewer's knowledge of basic work principles. The interviewer practices under the guidance of specialists. He is given written instructions for each survey, stipulating the tasks and work procedure, respondent quotas for different sociodemographic groups, etc.

Constant attention is being paid to upgrading the interviewers' skills. Meetings with them are organized in different parts of the country, at which Institute personnel acquaints them with the institute's activities, scientific research, topics and objects of forthcoming studies. Basic methods for the selection of respondents and conducting surveys are refined. Interviewers discuss their experience and seek advice. The institute also publishes a bulletin in which scientists answer interviewers' questions and suggestions and analyze the weak and strong aspects of their work.

A standard survey of the Czechoslovak population over 15 years of age is conducted by some 300 people. Each one of them conducts between six and eight interviews, which take about 10 days. This is followed by an examination of the interviewer's work which is rated on the basis of meeting deadlines, choice of respondents, accuracy of recorded answers, etc. Payment per survey, based on difficulty and quality, is 20-25 Czechoslovak korunas.

Practical experience indicates that the study of public opinion with the help of a network of permanent interviewers is quite difficult and labor intensive. On the other hand, it is one of the most reliable methods. The institute is steadily searching for methods to rationalize and perfect the work of said network. Thus, a system for automated processing by interviewers was recently introduced. This enabled us substantially to reduce the time for and optimize the choice of respondents. This also enables the institute's personnel to spend today more time on preparations and keeping personally in touch with the interviewers.

Unquestionably, the existence of such a network of qualified interviewers is a mandatory prerequisite for conducting efficient surveys and obtaining high-quality reliable data. A number of experiments have confirmed the great possibilities of such a specialists' machinery. For example, during one of the investigations, it took the interviewers a few hours to choose their respondents, make the survey and telephone the results to the institute. The participants displayed great political maturity and professionalism. This type of organization enables us to submit the summed up results to the client 6 to 8 days after receiving the assignment.

Work on strengthening the organizational and scientific and methodical foundations of interviewer activities is continuing. On a parallel basis we are also solving a number of other problems related to improving public opinion studies. The further development of theory is one of its main areas. Czechoslovak philosophers and sociologists pay close attention to problems related to social consciousness, public opinion and self-awareness. Such studies are of major theoretical and practical value. It is a question, above

all, of perfecting the mechanisms which ensure the implementation of CPCZ policy and party, state and economic body resolutions and upgrading propaganda and agitation efficiency. Such developemnts play an important role in the struggle against bourgeois ideology. The tasks involved in that struggle frequently lead to criticism of bourgeois concepts or to substantiated counterarguments. The efficiency of rebuffing our ideological opponents greatly depends on knowledge of the targets of ideological influence and the concepts, values and moods of the people at whom bourgeois propaganda is directed. Finally, another topical task is the creation of a modern computerized data bank. This will enable us to conduct our research more qualitatively and purposefully and to supply the necessary information to party and state agencies more efficiently.

The solution of these problems and the further development of public opinion studies will enhance the scientific level of planned socioeconomic measures, relate them more closely to the demands and interests of the working people and improve the management of social processes.

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3. SOC. CASOPIS, No 1, 1984, pp 23-33.

FOOTNOTE

1. The term "interviewer", used in the same sence as in Soviet sociological publications, does not reflect the nature of the work and the status of the personnel who conduct surveys in Czechoslovakia entirely adequately. Here the members of this system are referred to as "commissars" and perform a broader range of duties than would interviewers. Suitable explanations of this fact are provided in the subsequent text--editor.

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SOCIAL ACTIVENESS AS A SOCIOLOGICAL CATEGORY

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[Article by Mikhail Mirchev, senior scientific associate, Dimitrov Communist Youth Union Central Committee Institute of Youth Problems. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] The increased interest shown in problems of social activeness is the result of quality changes in all realms of human activities. These changes affect the work, way of life and recreation of every person, creating new incentives for the increasingly interested participation of working people in labor intensification and improvements in the quality of life.

Bearing in mind the social variety of microstructures, it would be erroneous to consider such changes as a consequence of centralized control. The latter should be combined with the extensive autonomous activities and initiatives of labor collectives and all members of socialist society. It is precisely the activeness, consciousness and creative spirit of man himself that are necessary prerequisites for the implementation of the party's tasks. "The enhancement of the role of the primary units and individuals in social life," Comrade T. Zhivkov pointed out, "is the essence of the process of advance of our political system and its meaning" (3, pp 33, 60).

Individual initiative and the specific suggestions formulated on the greater utilization of social reserves help us to formulate and resolve problems which have been ignored by one institution or another. A certain risk is always inherent that the latter may fail to react on time to any arising social need or imminent problem. In such cases, social activeness "from below" is a powerful and universal means of compensating for some limitations of centralized control, however efficient the latter may be.

Social activeness is inherent above all in those who have a rich and comprehensive general culture and high professional skill, and who purposefully strive toward the creative manifestation of their abilities. It is closely related to the respective expectations of the people that their suggestions and personal initiative will be taken most fully into consideration in resolving production and social problems.

The BCP program stipulates that the participation of the working people in the administration of the state, in economic and cultural construction and in improving the work of the state apparatus is "the main trend in the development of the state" (2, pp 79, 37-38). Today social activeness has been elevated to the rank of "criterion of the effectiveness of ideological work" (2, p 94). The 12th BCP Congress defines the political and labor activeness of the working people as "the supreme criterion with which we determine successes and assess the level of development of the political system" (2, p 73).

The actual manifestations of social activeness are quite varied. They include inventions and rationalizations, practical advice, moral support, criticism of errors and constructive suggestions on the way to eliminate them. The identification of grave social problems and the ability to concentrate efforts on the main features help us to improve the existing level of efficiency and quality of labor and to perfect methods of collective and individual activities. The wealth of forms of display of social activeness is "reduced" to the unity of their content. The formulation of a conceptual approach to the definition of this concept becomes particularly important in this connection.

Social Activeness as a Specific Type of Activity. Scientific publications frequently identify social activeness with activeness as such. Empirical studies based on detailed interpretation reduce the real problem to the involvement of the individual in some work or other. In this case the concretizing is achieved by using indicators, such as what is the occupation of or where does the respondent work? Is he a member of a sociopolitical organization? Does he have managerial functions and if so of what nature?, etc.

The sphere of activities of the subject is a necessary indicator of the degree of his social activeness. However, this indicator is insufficient, for in themselves activities may be characterized by quantitative criteria only. If we were to ignore the qualitative features of each type of activity, their combination and, consequently, the types of personalities, would be ignored. Thus, a worker who may only nominally be a member of a social organization be equated with the activists. Such an equalizing approach unquestionably distorts the empirical picture of social activeness.

Another inaccuracy in the interpretation of this concept is its identification with institutionalized sociopolitical activeness. The following empirical indicators are used in this case: is the individual a member of the communist party or the Komsomol? Is he a member of state or social management bodies? Does he officially criticize omissions and shortcomings? Does he submit suggestions to a leading body?

In this case, matters are limited merely to one of the possible forms of social activeness. The reasons which "generate" it in the consciousness, above all, are enclosed in brackets. The search for sources of activeness is aimed mainly at the conscientiousness. Actual social relations, the individual's life stance and its practical manifestations and specific prerequisites for various actions remain outside the field of vision.

Some authors relate social activeness exclusively to individual contribution to social progress. They identify it with the social significance of

activities characterizing communist convictions, a responsible attitude toward the work, concern for the interests of society, etc. Obviously, motivations for active behavior and its objective results become mixed up. The supporters of this type of approach are trapped in general considerations and fail to analyze the real prerequisites and motivations for social activeness and its practical implementation and specific results.

Unfortunately, this is not free from some ideological distortions: the public's attention is distracted from some problems, as a result of which others are given a one-sided erroneous assessment. How to qualify, for example, the activeness of a careerist who "promotes" the resolution of a problem needed by society but is guided in this case by strictly self-seeking personal interests? Or else the activeness of a group which tries to preserve activities obsolete from the viewpoint of social progress but advantageous to itself? Such cases cannot be defited as "nonsocial" or "semisocial." Yet, these examples, which are borrowed from real life and created by real relations within the socialist society, are manifestations of a complex, internally conflicting and heterogeneous process of social development. Therefore, social activeness may entail partial or entirely negative results and may have a motivation unacceptable to our way of life.

On this basis we believe that the sociological concept of social activeness as a special type of activeness¹ must be derived from the "intersection" of the two initial postulates.

The first is the purposeful violation of the limits of a given socially accepted standard-measure in the performance of one or several types of activities and in exchanging them among social subjects. This is exemplified in the intensification of labor, application of new labor means and methods, assumption of higher obligations, consistent defense of public interests at the risk of loss of personal well-being, etc.

The second indicator is the change in the existing standard-measure for the sake of establishing a new and better social structure, mechanism and technology of social life, such as in the production, distribution and exchange of material and spiritual goods, coordination and regulation of human activities and changes in thinking and behavioral models. Let us cite as an example forms of participation in social management, regulating social relations and educational methods, etc.

It is important to emphasize that whatever form social activeness may assume, in practice it objectively includes both indicators. It is only in combination that they determine the differentia specifica of the social personality. Social activeness cannot be featured only through changes in the standard-measure or increased intensiveness or expanded area of activities. This would ignore the fact that social activeness is, in the final account, an activity aimed at changing social structures and mechanisms and is intrinsically included in the process of the functioning and development of society as an integral system. Nor is the second indicator--individual efforts aimed at changing social structures, mechanisms and subject, etc.--sufficient. In such cases a confusion among types of behavior of different quality is possible. For example, occasionally social activeness is equated with the work of the

manager (who performs executive functions) and who strictly follows the instructions of his superior, even if they violate basic common sense. Also socially active is considered a manager who, taking the situation in his unit into consideration, displays personal initiative, takes a risk or creates a conflict in supporting his own views and principles. A strict study of the behavior of the first-type manager would classify him as being socially passive. In the second case we are specifically dealing with social activeness. In order to distinguish between the two types we must separate the official obligations of the manager from actions which exceed this framework. That is what makes inappropriate the use of the concept of "social status of the manager" as an adequate indicator of high level of social activeness. The concept is equally inaccurate should a differentiated and strict analysis, which would not distort the real empirical picture, become necessary.

The following question is important in formulating the sociological concept of social activeness: What is the social need for and the individual interest in a socially active behavior?

The social activeness of the people is the consequence and the personified form of realization of an objectively existing "stress" in a given area of social activeness. The purpose of social activeness is to surmount it. This enables social needs to assume a suitable form of expression. The motivation of a socially active subject lies in his personal interest. Changes achieved as a result of active efforts meet imminent social requirements and contribute to the identification of progressive trends within society. Social activeness may be manifested also as the preservation of the status quo, i.e., it may hold progress back to a certain extent and for a while. In other words, social contradictions are the objective source of social activeness, accomplished through the realization and resolution of important social problems formulated by the party and the government. Social activeness is also a specific means of implementing purposeful changes in the social organism. This is its role from the viewpoint of the functioning of society as a system.

The category "interest"²—"individual interest" is of great importance in the study of the nature and manifestations of social activeness. This concept identifies the determination of the level and trend of social activeness through the social status of the individual. How to explain the fact that in some cases the individual assumes an active stance and favors what is new and progressive while in others his attitude is passive, favoring what is obsolete and conservative? If the "interest" category is omitted, social activeness will be reduced merely to the person's consciousness and his objective determinants will not be included in the analysis. In this case, the respondents are simplistically classified into conscious and unconscious or, respectively, socially active and socially passive. This conflicts with the familiar fact that depending on the circumstances, the socialistically mature and conscious individual may be active or passive and, conversely, that the insufficiently conscious one may be not simply active but may also be in favor of social progress and social innovativeness.

Social activeness means the intersection and clash of social interests in the guise of human activities. It expresses the interested aspiration of a social community for the restructuring of social relations and mechanisms and norms

of activities and, in the final account, the redistribution of material and spiritual values in its favor or in favor of society (when their interests coincide). All individuals belong to a specific social community, group or collective. It is precisely interest which "links together all members of a civilian society" (1, p 134). Individual needs and interests can be satisfied through the satisfaction of the interests of the community (5, pp 46, 108-110, 129-131). Therefore, the individual is objectively interested in contributing personally to meeting the interests of society and to the creation of conditions and prerequisites for comprehensive development. This precisely is what forms the basic sociological feature of social activeness as a type of activeness. The individual displays social activeness by acting for the realization not of his personal interests but the interests of a specific social community within which he is objectively integrated and with which he subjectively identifies himself.

Therefore, in its daily manifestations social activeness is based on a specific correlation between the interests of the individual and those of other people, social groups, communities and institutions, on the one hand, and society at large, on the other. In general, social activeness stems from the correlation among individual interests or, rather, from differences (within the limits of unity and a single direction) among social, collective and individual interests.

Our approach does not ignore in the least the role of consciousness as a factor of social activeness, which is manifested through the acute clash between views and opinions, a moral and psychological struggle and a complex ideological-moral motivation process. Our purpose was to study the objective determinants of consciousness and its corresponding behavior. That is why the study leads us to the interests of the individual and their interaction among different social subjects as being something objective. To use a metaphor, the individual's consciousness plays the role of "navigator," whose function is to identify accurately and promptly the nature of the interests and needs of the individual together with the objectively determining circumstances.

Method of Analysis of Social Activeness. Like all other phenomena, social activeness is internally contradictory, a feature which can be reshaped in respective indicators. This theory is strictly systemic to the extent to which it uncovers the essential contradictions which determine the features of social activeness as a type of activeness and acts as the "mainspring" of its own existence. To the best of our knowledge, published works have only mentioned the connection between social activeness and social contradictions, without making a serious study of its own contradictions. We believe that such a project would enrich sociological theory, based on the already described contradictions within the nature of social activeness itself as well as the mechanism of its practical manifestations. Let us indicate some of them.

Contradictions Related to the Subject of Activities. First of all, from the point of view of the results of the actions of the subject, social activeness always has multiple components. Man can achieve desired results only with the support of his colleagues and managers and if the initiative is approved by the group and the collective, adopting it as its own objective and social duty. Furthermore, the initiative and concrete suggestions must be approved

by the respective bodies which will convert it into a social task. Conversely, as social subjects, the collective, group or institute implement their social activeness through their leaders, managers and ordinary members. The activeness of the collective subjects is possible only if personified. What matters to us is that substantial differences appear as well within the framework of the unity of interests of individuals and collectives. It is on this basis that in a number of cases a noncoincidence of views and assessments and a disparity between the obligations of the person and his lack of daring or skill in defending his position appear frequently. In such cases unity of action degenerates into conflict.

The identification of the nature of such conflicts is important. Are they the result of a disparity between the interests of the individual and the collective, mental inertia or the fear of management to assume additional risk? Determining the nature of the conflict provides a key to the accurate interpretation of the objective need for initiative and its implementation. This could apply to the sociopsychological climate. Important, in this connection, are characteristics of the latter, such as expressing critical remarks in circumstances of a sluggish and apathetic atmosphere or in an atmosphere of open and principle-minded businesslike relations in the collective, dominated by a spirit of reciprocal understanding and friendly target orientation. Equally important is the display of tolerance or hostility on the part of managers concerning critical remarks and innovative thoughts. Briefly, the behavior of the individual can be assessed more accurately and in greater detail if information on the components of the overall subject is available: does a problem situation exist, such as to aggravate relations; who is interested in a given change and who is not; who hinders or helps the implementation of changes; is the specific individual assuming a risk, etc.?

Secondly, social activeness in its mature form means creativity (at this point we consider it on the individual-subjective level). In such a case, the individual shows the aspiration to act with maximal independence, to implement his ideas and to display his full abilities and skills. In order for social activeness to be efficient, it must be oriented toward the interests of the collective, the group or the community. It must meet specific conditions and restrictions. That is why the socially active person combines his creative possibilities with a certain amount of self-imposed restrictions which sometimes reach the level of self-denial. This invariably creates inner tension and complicates the process of assessment and self-assessment of activities.

Contradictions Related to Means of Activities. As was pointed out, the individual can achieve significant results only if his initiative or suggestion is supported by the management and converted into a social task. In this manner, the efforts of one person become the obligation of many, and the advanced thoughts and behavior of one, the standard of the majority. Such is the mechanism of implementation of social activeness as a triggering mechanism for activeness. In other words, as aptly formulated by T. S. Lapina, the social activeness of the individual "expands" to the scale of the entire society and "manifests its role against the background of the activities of the collective, the community" (6, p 15). The reason for the contradiction here is that with the current mechanisms for the assertion of what is new and

progressive, the socially active individual clashes with counterforces which, in pursuit of their group interests or because of ignorance, oppose positive initiatives. That is why conscious social activeness means the ability of the individual to surmount counteraction.

The dependence of the socially active individual on the administrative bodies leads to the need to take into consideration specific institutionalized conditions: do we find here as a necessary prerequisite both readiness and ability to consider the views and suggestions of others and to lend comprehensive support to the initiative of the collective or of individuals; and, as a corresponding reaction, do the latter pay attention to efficient suggestions, do they stimulate activeness or do they suppress personal opinions and elements of activeness? It is thus that not simply the social context of social activeness but specific managerial levers are empirically identified and could be used to publicize the views and suggestions of the working people and broaden the area of their influence.

Contradictions Related to Results of Activities. In the course of social activeness we note, as a rule, only a partial consistency and, sometimes, even an inconsistency between the motivations, intentions and expectations of the subject and the objective results to which they lead. The socially active person clashes with his own concepts and aspirations as well as with objective conditions which lead to undesirable or unexpected results. This is due to the dichotomous situation of the individual, who must establish a balance between what he gives and sacrifices and what he gains as a result of his active efforts, and between the attained objective and the unexpected consequences.

In empirical studies we must distinguish, conventionally speaking, among three strata of individual social activeness: first, subjective intentions, expectations and objectives; second, a practical form of socially active behavior--view, criticism, submission of suggestions, manifestation of initiative or support of a specific view in a conflict; third, its practical consequences, and the degree to which they are consistent with the individual's expectations and objectives. The indicators used in this case are quite specific. They must be interpreted only to the extent to which they are applicable to the type of information they deal with.

All necessary prerequisites exist for the development of the scientific theory of social activeness as a specific activity. A number of deep-seated laws have been identified, which reveal the nature of a phenomenon, combining its conflicting aspects and facets. The main task of a scientific study, it seems to us, is the organic combination of the philosophical, ethical and ideological features of social activeness.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Naturally, this is a question of activity as a scientific abstraction, for the actual behavioral act is the simultaneous manifestation of several types of activities, their combination. The search for "pure" social activity may lead to a misunderstanding, for in such a case it acts as labor, cognitive or other type of activity. Social activeness, in such a case, is not an activity but an aspect, a characteristic, a feature of other basic types of activities. Such a conclusion is erroneous, for it is based on confusing the nature of activities with the social form of the subject's manifestation of activeness. In this case the fact is ignored that essentially social activeness has its specific object and social function, which makes it precisely a specific type of activeness.
2. We invest the following meaning in the term "interest:" The specific content of the interest is the change and development of society as the social environment of the individual. The objective is the fuller satisfaction of the specific requirements of the person. Interest is objective, for the development of the individual is based on real conditions. At the same time, it "eliminates" the firm formulation of conditions by the individual after his requirements have been met. The object of interpretation on the part of the individual is of interest, although this does not mean that it is converted into something subjective. The individual's behavior may clash with his real interests. It does not follow from this, however, that the interests themselves have changed. The ties and conversions from interest to its proper understanding and through this to real behavior are exceptionally complex and internally contradictory. They could be a topic of a special study. For details see (4, pp 93-97).

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CRITICISM OF CONTEMPORARY BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY

BETWEEN ETHICS AND ECOLOGY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 85
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[Analytical survey by USSR AN ISI [Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research] associates Yu. N. Davydov, M. S. Kovaleva, N. T. Kremlev, S. M. Mitina, A. F. Filippov and V. N. Fomina]

[Text] With this article the editors are continuing the publication of surveys on topics discussed at the 11th Congress of the International Sociological Association. Unlike the preceding article (No 4, 1984, pp 120-129), in which the latest trends in theoretical sociology in the capitalist West were described in their most general features, the present survey provides a more specific study of some trends in bourgeois sociology.

The successes of the scientific and technical revolution, which stimulated the development of capitalist production, created in their time among some Western sociologists the illusion that "external" nature had become totally dominated by science and technology and that the further mastery of it will no longer create any serious problems. Such a liberal-utopian prospect also included the possibility of "technologizing" the social environment and the sociocultural nature of man himself. The initial disappointments came to the liberal sociologists precisely in the course of their aspiration to "harmonize" activities in capitalist society through social technology. The social conflicts of the 1960's, which developed in the West under the conditions of a considerable increase in the production of material goods led to the collapse of liberal-positivistic illusions in the socioeconomic and political-ideological areas. The economic, energy, ecological and other crises, which hit bourgeois society in the 1970's completed the job. Many of those who previously relied on the omnipotence of technology are now studying the risk of its application. It is no accident that Kant's philosophy and ethnics are beginning to be applied with increasing frequency as a "profound system" of theoretical-sociological view pertaining, here and there, to the problems of the "human factor" and the "moral reserves" of society.

In this case, contemporary Western sociologists do not foresee a return to the "real Kant" even in the particulars. What "interests them is not what Kant

himself had in mind but what he should have had in mind if his theory could carry the weight," as R. Munch, one of the most active supporters of this trend, writes (2, p 415).

Kant's philosophy is being used by contemporary sociologists in primarily two aspects: when it is a question of the correlation between sociological theory and social reality and in connection with the need to combine within a single theory a description of society, which has its own nature, and the individual person, whose role cannot be reduced to the level of a mere puppet controlled by social forces. The second aspect is particularly closely linked to Kant's ethics the concepts of which the Western scientists are trying to "make operational" in sociological theories.

As we know, Kant (above all through neo-Kantianism) indeed had a decisive influence on shaping the methodological concepts of the classics of bourgeois sociology such as Zimmel, Weber, Durkheim and Parsons. "The very idea of scientific sociology...is possible only as a form of neo-Kantianism," writes British researcher G. Rose in her characterization of these scientists as neo-Kantian (3, pp 1-2).

British theoretician H. Bershady was among the first to prove this as it applies to Parsons. "In the logic of their procedure, i.e., the method they use to substantiate their claims," he writes, "Kant and Parsons are remarkably similar. Both are engaged in formulating the categories needed for knowledge. Furthermore, both claim that outside a specific set of categories--a system of action for Parsons in his first work and the spatial-temporal system for Kant--no knowledge of social action or physical processes would be possible" (4, p 71). Furthermore, Bershady points out that in his book "Theory of Social Action," Parsons speaks of the official similarity between his research procedure and that of Zimmel. Zimmel, however, as we know, did not conceal his aspiration to substantiate his sociology with the help of Kantianism (in truth, a substantiation spiced with a "philosophy of life").

Munch's works harmonize with Bershady's views. Of late he has published a number of articles in which, among others, he makes a stab at the "Kantian interpretation" of Parson. This was the basis of the book "The Theory of Action" (5) which triggered lively discussions in the FRG (2, 6, 7). Unlike Bershady, who compared Parsons' theoretical elaborations with Kantian a priorism, Munch is convinced that "Parsons' general theory of action, like the social system theory, precisely parallels Kant's critique of the mind" (5, p 24). Munch not only transfers Kantian terminology to Parsons' concept but also, conversely, applies some of Parsons' terms to Kant's theory. Instead of speaking of the "transcendental" approach to the social, Munch speaks of Kant's "analytical realism" (Parsons' term); instead of distinguishing between "nature" and "freedom," Munch writes of their "interpenetration." This is the case not only of an obviously strained interpretation of Kant but also of the fact that he provides this interpretation from the viewpoint of the "methodological rearmament" to which bourgeois sociologists are aspiring today. By referring to the "interpenetration" of "nature" and "freedom," Munch can "resolve" the antinomy of naturalistic sociology and ethics, which Western sociologists are experiencing quite painfully precisely today. It is true

that this solution remains purely verbal for the time being: where quite recently we found the word "or" ("nature" or "freedom") we now have "and." However, this antinomy is felt so painfully by the sociologists that some of them are even prepared to be satisfied with such a solution, if only they could avoid dissolving sociology and ethics in a positivistic-naturalistic spirit.

Unlike Munch, who has clearly facilitated his task by "reducing" the contradiction between "nature" (and objectivity) and "freedom" (and subjectivity). In a speculative-dialectic way, J. Habermas, the left-liberal neo-Marxist approaches this question much more cautiously. His sociophilosophical elaboration does not eliminate the Kantian pitting of the moral against the natural world, which does not coincide with a distinction between the social and the nonsocial, but is presented as a differentiating aspect of social actions. Such has been Habermas' distinction between "labor" and "interaction"; essentially, they coincide with pitting the "instrumental" against the "communicative" action and the "system" against the "living world" as he has done in the work "Theory of Communicative Action" (8).

In all cases, it is an effort to separate the area in which actions are based on the "target-means" system and cannot be subject to ethical evaluation, from the sphere of strictly human intercourse in which "the other" means precisely another person and in which the assessment of his actions is inconceivable if it is unrelated to morality. However, such a communication (naturally, as long as it is not "distorted," which, precisely, is the object of Habermas' constant theoretical concern) coincides with the purely selfless communicativeness and, to the extent to which it is considered social as such, it actually turns out to be a characteristic (sociological) "ontologization" of Kant's "categorical imperative," which is presented here as a fundamental principle in substantiating social contacts among people. Although in a more circuitous way, this leads to the same result which Munch would like to achieve: asserting the profound interpenetration between "ethics" and the world. It is true that this takes place by radically separating the social world from the natural world and, correspondingly, with a certain "spiritualization" of the social factor itself.

Since such an identification of the ethical with the social, although quite facilitated, conceals new contradictions, Habermas is criticized both by Kant's orthodox supporters and more "modernistically" oriented theoreticians. The former include the young Austrian scientist L. Nagl, who tries to restore Kantian transcendental philosophy in its completeness, and who believes that without it one cannot speak either of the autonomy of the subject or of a satisfactory social science. He dedicates a significant portion of his study "Society and Autonomy" (9) to proving that Habermas was unable to avoid the errors of all previously social philosophers (starting with Hegel) and that he has actually lost in the course of his elaborations the very autonomy of the subject he postulates. If the autonomy of the subject is lost, the philosopher asks, what type of moral responsibility and, in general, ethical evaluation of actions are there? The other author--Munch--criticizes Habermas in the work we mentioned for his "neo-Kantianism," which prevented him from understanding Kant's "analytical realism."

These discussions clearly reveal the desire to understand the role which Kant played in the history of Western sociology in a different and comprehensive manner, and the desire to use not only his gnosiology but his ethics in the methodological rearmament of contemporary science. An equally interesting fact is that the profound contradiction between the ethically oriented Kantian philosophy and the contemporary aspirations of Western sociology is becoming increasingly apparent in the disputes among bourgeois theoreticians. Was this not why Habermas, who began with an attempt at the sociological assimilation of Kantian transcendentalism, is now avoiding any direct appeal to Kant? Is this not why Munch, who appeals for a return to Kant, actually reduces Kantianism to a totally abstract system of "interpenetration" of the mind and the senses, "nature" and "freedom," and ethics and morality, a system which could include anything you like?

Against this background, the article by British sociologist M. Barker "Kant as a Problem for Weber" (10) no longer appears all that accidental. Here the internal contradictoriness in Weberian sociology is derived from the thesis of the internal incompatibility between his typology of action based, according to the author of the article, on Kant's classification of moral imperatives, and the typology of rule, formulated through a purely sociological method. Nor is it accidental that Nagl considers his book merely an introduction to a lengthy theoretical undertaking distinct from traditional sociology.

In a word, the turn to the ethically oriented Kantian philosophy, on which the theoreticians who are seeking a solution to the current crisis in Western sociology are trying to rely, has still not made the elimination of its fundamental contradictions possible. Rather the opposite: in the light of Kantian doctrine, the profound conceptual origins of the sociological crisis are appearing with increasing clarity.

The antinomies, which became so clearly apparent on the level of general sociological theory, define the general system of differentiation among trends in contemporary bourgeois sociological thinking and, something of equal importance, the system of their internal polarization in the solution of more specific theoretical problems.

This applies most directly to technocratic ideology which, in its classical aspect, is on the opposite pole of ethical thinking. Its theoretical and methodological difficulties are related precisely to the aspiration of the technocrats if not to adopt at least to take into consideration the ethical viewpoint in their latest concepts.

In the final account, the total domination of pure rationality in technocratic thinking, which ignores the "human factor" and the individual person, with his moral and social ideals, triggered a wave of criticism, reflected in a variety of theoretical concepts. In the 1950s the attention of the critics of technicism was concentrated primarily on the condition of hired labor under the circumstances of the extensive use of production automation. In the 1960s it was concentrated on the negative consequences which technical progress had for man and the essential impossibility of resolving social problems, such as

inequality, through consumer abundance. Today "technical progress is more criticized than it has ever been in the past 100 years," and its evaluation is becoming increasingly negative (11, p 131; 19).

The reason lies in the global nature of concern created by the consequences of technical progress. The level of information among the broad public circles concerning technological risk has increased significantly and a great variety of scientific disciplines are continuing to generate a number of universally accessible arguments which are nurturing the growing concern of mankind relative to scientific and technical progress.

Under these circumstances, within the framework of the remaining dichotomy of optimistic and pessimistic interpretation of technical progress, an internal differentiation within each of these trends has become apparent. On the one hand, at the beginning of the 1980's several new optimistic futurological concepts appeared (12-15), according to which the "third wave" of the technical revolution or the "telematic revolution" would make possible a transition from the industrial society (with its purely quantitative aspirations and consequent shortcomings) to a "scientific society," the main feature of which will be quantitative abundance. The reaching of this target is related to replacing machine production with electronic teletechnology of a new generation and the computerization of the private life of every member of society.

On the other hand, during that period there was a flood of scientific publications on problems of technological risk. The theoretical representatives of this branch of technological ideology support the neoconservative criticism of "technological utopia" and do not share the exalted optimism of the classical technocrats. Compared with the technological world, they emphasize, the social world is distinguished by a complexity which depreciates the claims of global design and lets only individual processes and phenomena to be subjects of specific study and control. Here as well, however, the technocrats remain loyal to the principles of their ancestors. In other words, they are trying to resolve moral problems by purely technical means, such as measuring, computing, etc. Forced to pay attention to the ethical and ecological aspects of scientific and technical progress, technocratic ideology remains unchanged in terms of the essence of the solutions it offers.

The high assessment of the role played by sociology in resolving the difficult and comprehensive interdisciplinary problem of the interrelationship among science, technology, politics and society is a new feature in the sociological interpretation of equipment and technology. A view is developing among sociologists of the commonality of the future development of sociology and technology (16, p X; 17, pp 403-412; 18, p 220) and of the need to compensate for the "near-sightedness" of specialized technical training by teaching special courses on social problems.

From the sociological viewpoint, the problem of technological risk is resolved on several levels. On the societal level it is resolved by creating special governmental services which would prevent risk in the introduction of new technologies and the formation of a new stratum of technocratic elite: "risk experts," who would influence the decision-making process. It is precisely

these new specialists who are cast today by the sociologists in the main socially useful role in society; it is thus that the myth of the "expert-ocracy" is being revived on a new level.

On the cognitive level, the problem of risk becomes a new research topic: measuring and assessing a possible and admissible risk which arises with the introduction of new technologies (19-21) and a risk related to natural disasters (22). Sociologists have gathered specific data showing significant disparities in the views of specialists and nonspecialists and members of the natural-technical and sociohumanitarian sciences on this subject (23, p 289; 24, p 251).

The representatives of the exact sciences believe that the solution of the problem lies in the objective determination of admissible risk. To this effect, corresponding methods and models have been developed. In the opinion of the sociologists, however, numerical expressions of risk admissibility are insufficient in ensuring social safety. "There always is a number of contexts which complicate and radically change an assessment..." (24, p 253). Even assuming that the size of the risk has been determined and does not exceed the admissible threshold, the final evaluation is affected by the complexity of the specific situation, the social interests of different groups, political motivations, and the individual characteristics of the people who make decisions on the social admissibility of new technology.

On the research level, the risk problem turns out to be related to conflict relations between the academic world, in which the scientific foundation of future technologies is being developed along with state institutions in charge of control. Scientists, particularly those engaged in basic research, are trying to defend the age-old traditions of academic freedom and the independence of scientific research and scientific information from incompetent and politically prejudiced interference by "control experts."

The attention of the sociologists is also turned to the general ideological aspect of the problem: the partiality of experts to specific group interests, in the opinion of the sociologists, makes their objectivity doubtful and raises the question of the participation of the broad masses in resolving problems of universal significance related to technological risk (25).

Therefore, the current feature of technocratic ideology is its split, its division. Technocrats no longer agree on the social transforming mission of technical progress; the withdrawal of many technocrats-sociologists from theoretical work to empirical research related to technological development is clearly visible.

As a whole, a withdrawal from what is known as the "mythologizing of technical progress" (26, p 168), when it was considered a separate trend, independent of social forms, in favor of the "demythologizing" study of processes under way is typical of the contemporary sociological interpretation of technical progress. In the second case, the intermediary enterprise (26, p 170), which is considered a complex system of socialist relations (in particular relations between domination and subordination) is considered a "strategic level of

technical progress." It is within the framework of this system, in the course of the struggle among opposite forces, that decisions originate, affecting the various trends of development of technology and various technical innovations.

A characteristic sociological decoding takes place of what was previously interpreted as the inner logic of technical development. As a result of this approach, interpreted by the sociologists themselves as a struggle against technological "alienation"--the separation of equipment from man serving specific social interests (the interests of those who make socially significant decisions concerning the "need for this technology itself") something like the "dematerialization of technology" takes place. Today any more or less significant turn in technical progress is conceived by no means as the only or the optimally possible one but as a result of one choice among many and, perhaps, much better than the one chosen, a possibility, for either purely technical or purely utilitarian considerations are applied.

Such an approach to the study and evaluation of technical progress opens new purely sociological possibilities of its theoretical analysis, related to a number of specific difficulties, particularly that of distinguishing between the technical and the social. The danger that the first aspect of human life will be dissolved into the second is always present, without a positive solution of this problem.

Such is the present view of the "humanizing" trend of the sociological interpretation of technical development which, gathering strength, presses both the supporters of the "mythologizing" approach to technology and the technocratic trend, for characteristic of each one of these variants, in the final account, is the separation of technology from man, whatever the reasoning. Since with such an approach the question arises of who, what social class, stratum or group is responsible for a specific trend in scientific and technical development, here as well sociological and ethical problems come together.

This is a question of the responsibility of a given class (or stratum) for the course and consequences of social development during a specific historical period. However, now this takes place within a broader context and in the concept of the "new class" in contemporary capitalist society.

The role of the scientific and technical intelligentsia in preparing and making what has long been known as the scientific and technical revolution is not only unquestionable but quite impressive, to such an extent that, as this revolution intensifies, again and again Western sociologists were faced with the same old question: Should the scientific and technical intelligentsia be classified as a separate "new class," which is pushing the "old classes" into the background?

This problem was complicated by the clearly leading role which not the scientific and technical but, so to say, the humanitarian intelligentsia in the West played in the course of the tempestuous sociopolitical events of the second half of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s,¹ an intelligentsia which trained cadres for mass communications systems (which, incidentally, showed a tremendous development once again under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution). It was precisely this that poured oil on the fire of

the sociological discussion on the "new class" which, strange though it might seem, not only did not abate as said events became past history, but, conversely, became intensified and energized.

The very idea of the appearance of a new class in bourgeois society is an old topic of discussion. The concepts of "new working class," "new middle class" and "new ruling class" exist in Western sociology. In this case, it is a question of a specific social group, which includes educated and professionally trained specialists, who are not the owners of the means of production. Knowledge alone is the source of income of this group. A noteworthy reorientation in its evaluation has taken place in recent years. Whereas previously, in the postwar decades, the place of the intelligentsia in society was rated optimistically, of late a trend toward adopting an equivocal (if not pessimistic!) attitude toward its role and future has been noted. A decisive role in this reassessment is played by new conservative sociologists, in any case by those with a "stabilizing" orientation, such as D. Bell, N. Podhoretz, I. Christol, M. Novak, and others.

Whereas under the conditions of the "scientistic phase in the development of postwar bourgeois sociology (end of the 1940s to the second half of the 1950s) the main hopes rested on the scientific and technical intelligentsia, and whereas later (end of the 1950s to the beginning of the 1970s) such hopes rested essentially on the humanitarian intelligentsia, in the 1970s, along with the penetration of neoconservative thinking in sociology, not only the positive role of the humanitarian intelligentsia but also the optimistic view on the intelligentsia in general is being questioned. The evolution in the general assessment of the intelligentsia and its individual strata has deep roots. The 1980s have been a period of unstable economic situations, a considerable aggravation of social conflicts and the general situation of the working people in the West. The period of relying on the capabilities of science and technology and on a knowledgeable professional elite ended. The humanitarian intelligentsia is also mistrusted because of its inclination to engage in anarchy and nihilism.

With the predominance of such views, demands of a political-ideological and moral-value nature were added to the concept of the "new class." Quite indicative in this respect are the views of Bell, who switched from liberal to neoconservative positions. He relates the general shift to the right, which took place by the turn of the 1980s, to the collapse of the claims of the scientific and technical intelligentsia to playing a leading role and the schematism and inadequacy of its concepts on the social management process. "To a certain extent, the defeat of liberalism is a defeat of knowledge," he wrote (27, p 203).

In his work "The Coming of Post-Industrial Society" (28), Bell considered the appearance of the "new class"--the scientific and technical intelligentsia--the logical consequence of the conversion of capitalist society from an industrial level of development to a qualitatively new, postindustrial one. However, whereas in that book Bell tended to cast in the central role in society the specialist, the professional and the scientist, prophesizing the assumption of power by this social group, in the 1980s his position has changed substantially. Today he no longer considers the scientific and

technical intelligentsia a class and, in contrast to his previous views, denies the possibility of it becoming one such in the future.

From Bell's point of view, in order for a social group to become a class it must have certain specific features. To begin with, it must have a specific institutional foundation which, precisely, is the base in class differentiation and manifestation of power. Secondly, it must have certain structural features which ensure a common awareness, ideological concepts, values and behavioral standards on the part of its members. According to Bell, although sharing a common consciousness, the contemporary intelligentsia has no real institutional power base. In this case, Bell claims, it is a question merely of a purely "mental" position which is insufficient from the viewpoint of turning its supporters into a social class (29, p 161).

Like all neoconservatives, today's Bell considers the intelligentsia as the bearer of a culture hostile to values traditional to capitalism, ethical values above all. In this aspect, Bell conceives of the social function of the intelligentsia in society as being essentially negative and disintegrating for which reason, naturally, its growth cannot be considered an encouraging sign (31).

Another American sociologist, A. Gouldner, also considers the intelligentsia a class hostile to capitalism. Unlike the neoconservatives, Gouldner believes that this "hostility" is positive: he ascribes to the intellectuals a revolutionary-transforming power, claiming that today it is precisely they who are the "hegemon of the contemporary political revolution," having replaced in this area the working class which has become totally integrated with the private enterprise system (30).

As a whole, the neoconservative concept of the intelligentsia is conceived as twofold, internally contradictory and as confirming the inability of neoconservative sociologists to achieve the integration between two strata of the intelligentsia: the "stabilization"-oriented scientific and technical intelligentsia, on the one hand, and the humanitarian intelligentsia, filled with an "awareness of the crisis," and inclined toward a "hostile culture," on the other. The conservative theoretician who looks at the scientific and technical intelligentsia tends to react to it rather positively, predicting that it will have "major troubles and a long way to go." The moment he looks at the humanitarian intelligentsia, he shows a tendency to provide an overall negative assessment of this stratum and hastens to equip himself with arguments which would reject its classification as a "new class." As to how to combine the revolutionizing function of the intelligentsia in the area of scientific and technical progress with its sociocultural and political-ideological role is a question which all the latest sociological theories on the intelligentsia fail to answer. In the face of this insoluble antinomy, the conclusion is entirely justified that the contemporary sociological theory of the intelligentsia (the neoconservative intelligentsia in particular) is experiencing a crisis as deep as the one which, according to neo-Weberian K. Seyfarth "is currently experienced by the intellectual strata themselves" (32, pp 189, 223). Depending on the way the social future of the intelligentsia is defined and the intellectual stratum which is singled out as the main subject of the analysis, the different trends in Western sociology, ranging from left-radical to right-radical, undertake their "self-identification."

Whereas we still find certain hesitations among the neoconservatives in assessing the contemporary social role of the intelligentsia, despite an overall negative "resulting force" in all such deviations, the "new right"² no longer finds here any intellectual reflexes whatsoever: its assessment of both the role and the future of the contemporary Western intelligentsia is both simple and categorically negative (A. Benoist, the ideologue of the French "new right" openly speaks of "anti-intellectualism" (33)).

It is precisely the image of the Western intelligentsia, as an autonomous sociopolitical force, which pits its own specific interests against those of the organic and harmoniously balanced society, that triggers the most violent rejection of the "new right." They pit against the intelligentsia as a "new class" (albeit in the distant future) their idea of the "organic structure" of a society with a most rigid hierarchy ("To each his own")³ and its new elite--the "aristocracy of the spirit"--and the creation of the "new ethics" which, naturally, has nothing in common with the "destructive and "sterile" egalitarianism of the contemporary intelligentsia, for, according to the "new rules," this egalitarianism is directed against the sociocultural integrity of the nation and the national ideal, and can only lead the classes into a fatal struggle and, therefore, to the fall of "European prestige."

It is within this openly retrospective orientation of ideals that we find the common feature which connects the social utopias of the "new right," which are quite different from each other in all else. "If one can speak in general of some kind of novelty of views (rather than merely phraseology) of the "new right," I. V. Sluchevskaya writes, "it is unquestionably related to the attempt to link the old class and ethnocentric idea...with a more contemporary meritocratic concept" (34, p 199). Here we come across the latest attempt to blend the archaic with the modern, something which is in general characteristic of bourgeois decadence.... This synthesis is taking place on a purely theoretical basis for the time being, aside from sociology, in elaborations of a socio-utopian nature.⁴ However, as we have already seen, the structural material used also includes fashionable sociological ideas (such as meritocracy), included in the alien context of an essential "antisociology."

Actually, the idea of meritocracy is not the only point which links the "new right" with neoconservative sociologists. The former speak a great deal about the ethical aspects of social relations and the social order in general, and on this question have gone far beyond the neoconservatives, making the social function of the "new elite" they are "planning" dependent on its ability to assume the obligation to set "aristocratic values" (35, p 131). The condition which grants the new "aristocracy of the spirit" the right to social existence is its ability to act as the bearer of superior ethical principles which ensure the organic integrity of society. In assessing the present and designing the future spiritual elite, the decisive factor becomes not knowledge which, allegedly, is always technical and formal, but the ethos which gives technology its target, form and content. In this connection, the idea of the "aristocracy of the spirit," with its function of asserting an ethos which binds together different individuals within a social entity, the only justification of the existence for a "new elite" is the challenge of neoconservative sociology, which also claims to have a say in ethical problems. Neoconservative sociology confronts a dilemma: either to integrate within itself ethical

problems, by developing an adequate conceptual apparatus, or to follow the "new right" and abandon its scientific-theoretical aspirations.

However, the "new right" cannot boast of an integrity of "ethical position" on the basis of which they would like to build their concept of the "elite" as an alternative to the theory of the "egalitarian intelligentsia." In their struggle against the "spirit of egalitarianism," with logical inevitability, in the footsteps of Nietzsche, their teacher, they should oppose the ethical foundations of Western culture which are related to the "Judeo-Christian" tradition they bitterly hate. Like Nietzsche, they are repelled not by the religious but, precisely, the moral nature of this tradition. This applies to the idea of the moral equality of people equally able to engage in a moral self-assessment and equally responsible for their actions. It is precisely this idea which, in the view of the "new right" is the foundation of egalitarianism which has brought Western civilization to the brink of "suicide" (33, p 59).

But what would be left of morality if we remove from it the requirement of considering "the other person" the same as us, the ability to take his place? Yet all such moral imperatives are nothing other than the translation of the "principle of equality" into the language of ethics. In other words, he who advances far ahead in his "total war" against any kind of egalitarianism risks becoming an example of barbaric caricature of morality: If I take my neighbor's cow it would be moral; if he takes my cow, it would be immoral. All the ethical elaborations of the "new right," who are unable to offer any kind of alternative to the principle of the universal significance and equal value of moral requirements other than the "principle of subordination" ("What is permitted to Jupiter is not permitted to the bull") have not advanced much beyond this simplistic scheme.

Is this not why the "new right," who speak and write such a great deal about the "immorality" of contemporary "bourgeois-mercantile society" and the "ethical responsibility" of the future elite, show no desire whatsoever to develop their own ethical problems and replace ethics with politics? It is no accident whatsoever that they accomplish this substitution with the help of silent identification between the concepts of moral consciousness, which has always had its specific individual bearer, and the pagan concept of ethos, which presumes a collective subject--a nation, stratum or group. In this case one could speak of ethics without speaking of a choice between good and evil, the responsibility for this choice and the individual.

However, does collective moral responsibility not develop into some kind of collective irresponsibility in the case that everything turns out to be pre-ordained by the collective will of the superpersonality within which the "new right" would like to dissolve the individual, so that all that is left to him is strictly to obey orders issued on behalf of this anonymous subject?

Whereas neoconservative sociology stopped at the problem of connecting the functional assessment of the intelligentsia with the assessment of its ethical concepts, the "new right" ideology offers its own solution of the question as the practical elimination of the moral concept of ethics, reduced to the theory of a variety of strata-caste "ethoses," which inevitably impose upon the individuals the "collective will."

The connection between technological and ethical problems, revealed within all basic contemporary trends in Western sociology, is particularly clearly apparent in contemporary "alternate" movements. For example, the "ecologists" consider the present "industrial" society as being in a state of universal socioeconomic crisis existing in economic activities, exhausting natural resources and increasing the prices of labor objects and means of production. Their solution is the creation of a new society whose main area of activities will be not industrial production but concern for the persons, for each living specific individual (36).

The supporters of the regressive trend, which grew out of the concept of the "postindustrial society," believe that the transition to the new social system could be accomplished gradually, by "humanizing" bourgeois society. They do not reject scientific and technical progress but call for restricting the role of the marketplace; they demand the decentralization of industry and the restoration of the old "pre-industrial" forms of the way of life.

Unlike them, the supporters of utopian "ecosocialistic" trend, influenced by various forms of "neo-Marxism," believe that the crisis should be resolved with the creation of a "socialist postindustrial society," based on new, humane values. The purpose of centralized industrial production would be to satisfy nothing but the most necessary material needs; the remaining, qualitatively enhanced material and, above all, spiritual needs, should be satisfied primarily within communities, with the help of small enterprises and within a highly developed network of consumer services. The administration of the new society should be founded on a "basic democracy"⁵ and periodically replaced centralized governments, while daily life would be regulated within the territory itself administered by the communes (36).

The environmental protection movement--the "Greens"--who have no less than 5 million members in the FRG, provided a powerful impetus to the development and dissemination of ecologism in sociology toward the end of the 1970s (37, p 3). The successes of the "Greens" in the elections held in the second half of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, and the appearance of a party of environmental defenders in a number of countries in the capitalist West demonstrated the real power of this movement and drew to it the close attention of the public.

Some Western sociologists saw in the "alternate movements" (within which most authors justifiably include the ecological movement) one of the symptoms of the crisis of the "industrial society," and a "turning stage" in its socioeconomic development, i.e., a transition to a "new," "nonindustrial civilization" and a new way of life (38, p 38; 8, p 576). The Western sociologist consider the "alternate" theories a new ideology based on different cultural values, although noting that, essentially, these are nothing but the old populist utopian ideas mixed with anarcho-syndicalism and "neo-Marxism" (39, p 576; 40, pp 7-9 and 171-195).

In economic policy, the supporters of the new movement call for a radical change in technology, including ending the growth of industrial output and breaking up enterprises; socially, they give priority to the problem of "humanizing"; in foreign policy priority is given to the struggle for peace. Western sociologists consider such a program a shift of the center of human

activities from production to improvements in the natural and social environment. This confirms the existence of a radical change in the essence and nature of a policy which should be pursued with the help of "anti-elitist" means, on the foundations of "basic democracy" (41; 42, p 295).

According to many sociologists, the new democratic movements, the "Greens" above all, are the bearers of the "silent revolution," for which reason, once again, the question of the "new class" arises, i.e., of the real power which will decide the fate of the "industrial" society in favor of the "postindustrial" one. At this point, the scientists disagree. A. Gorz, the noted French ecologist, believes that the lower white-collar strata (the intelligentsia) allied with the working class will become the creator of the new society (36, p 162). West German neo-Marxist Habermas believes that the new policy "finds firm support in the new middle class and the young generation, as well as in groups with high-quality education" (8, p 577). Sociologist O. Ullrich (also from the FRG) considers that the real political power which could bring about the triumph of the new society rests in the combined efforts of "alternate," "Green" and feminist movements (43, p 155). Therefore, differences notwithstanding, the "new class" is being sought in the "middle classes."

Finally, it is the view of Western sociologists that the "alternate" and "Green" movements are creating the individual units of the new society. They include among them the "alternate" economic sector, which is considered "liberated space," and an "island of socialism" within the "industrial society," created on the basis of "free associations of producers," in which mutual understanding, mutual aid, a creative atmosphere, etc., prevail (37, p 99; 38, pp 581-582; 13, p 8). The "Greens" rejection of the party apparatus and their principle of "rotation," i.e., of periodical changes in leadership and representation in the Bundestag and the rejection of the mandatory nature of resolutions passed at congresses and conferences by "Green" deputies, are considered by these sociologists as features of a "basic democracy," which will take place in the "new post-industrial socialist society" (37, pp 19, 121, 155; 40, pp 8, 178).

We can easily see that the same old problems which Western sociology has failed to resolve are being discussed within the framework of the "alternate" movement. Characteristic of the programmatic stipulations of the "ecologists," for example, who set the tone in such movements, is not only a simple rapprochement but, frequently, the total identification of ecological problems with ethical ones and ethical-ecological with sociological ones.

However, although this leads to the creation of a common ideological atmosphere, which contributes to the further rehabilitation in sociological eyes of specific ethical relations among people as well as their purely natural determination (the latter greatly helps in surmounting the "spiritualization" of man, which was particularly characteristic of the now clearly unfashionable phenomenological trend in sociology), the undivided nature of this ethical-ecological-sociological complex creates theoretical difficulties. Above all, it creates the appearance of being a simple and easy problem, encouraging the supporters of simple and easy solutions to engage in direct extremist actions. If we take into consideration a number of points of contact (based on the

principle that extremes meet) between, shall we say, the "Greens" and the "new right," both "left" and "right" trends may be simultaneously noted in such extremist actions.

Therefore, the consideration of problems in the area where the three rivaling latest trends of bourgeois consciousness intersect (neoconservatism, "new right" and "alternate" movements), proves that the problems of ethics, moral value of technical progress and moral assessment of the social function of the intelligentsia turn out to be tied in a single "Gordian knot." However, as we pointed out in this survey, bourgeois sociology considers the various aspects of this common link as contradictions of antinomial and insoluble nature, the study of which, for the time being, does not promise Western sociologists a solution to the theoretical crisis but, conversely, merely reveals its actual depth. This is no accident, for the "general crisis of capitalism means not only the aggravation of its economic, social and political contradictions but is also a spiritual, ideological and moral crisis" (1).

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FOOTNOTES

1. Occasionally, although not quite accurately, they are known as the movement of the "new left," the "counterculture movement," etc.
2. The movement of the "new right" was energized in the second half of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s in a number of European countries, such as France, the FRG, Italy and Spain and in the United States.
3. Actually, there are differences here as well: unlike the European, the American "new right" is more inclined to speak of "destatization" and "deinstitutionalization" of social life.
4. The outline of such a utopia may be seen most clearly in (12).
5. I.e., the type of democracy in which social policy is defined not by the leading bodies but by the will of the "base" (the rank-and-file participants in the movement), expressed at congresses, conferences and in primary organizations.

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SCIENTIFIC LIFE

AGAINST THE FALSIFICATION OF LENINIST NATIONALITY POLICY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 85
(signed to press 29 Apr 85) pp 179-181

[Report by T. A. Alekseyeva]

[Text] An all-union theoretical science conference on "Lenin's Theory of Surmounting the Socioeconomic and Cultural Backwardness of the Former National Outlying Areas of the USSR and the Critique of its Falsifiers," sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on Problems of Foreign Ideological Trends, the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences and the Znaniye All-Union Society, was held in Alma-Ata. The participants--specialists in the area of national relations and criticism of bourgeois ideology--noted that the topic of the conference is of important theoretical and practical significance. In contemporary anticommunist strategy, nationalistic propaganda is being assigned an ever increasing role. On the one hand, our ideological opponents are trying to turn it into one of the principal means of weakening the moral and political unity of Soviet society and the world socialist system. On the other, they consider it an instrument for developing in the population of Western countries an "intuitive nationalism" with which to oppose the growing influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

The participants in the conference focused their attention on problems of the ideological struggle and criticism of the latest bourgeois religious and nationalistic concepts used in subversive propaganda. The problems which were discussed at the meeting are of major importance in sociology as well. The influence of imperialist propaganda must not be ignored in studying the way of life of various population groups. At the same time, the effectiveness of counterpropaganda greatly depends on information about the specific target of ideological influence and its nature, and the values, views, shortcomings and contradictions toward which bourgeois concepts are oriented. Sociology plays a prime role in obtaining such information.

The ideologues of nationalism are trying to update their theoretical baggage, Dr of Juridical Science V. V. Pustogarov (USSR AN [Academy of Sciences] Institute of the State and Law) emphasized. Today the West is promoting a so-called contemporary nationalism. This concept presumes the unification of the nations of Western Europe within a single nation. This would take place on an anticommunist, anti-Soviet basis, under the slogan of "National Solidarity

Instead of Class Struggle." Similar ideas are being formulated by supporters of the "new Americanism." They consider as enemies of "American patriotism" and as "antinationalists" not only the communists but also all democrats, civil rights fighters and participants of antiracist and antiwar movements.

Speculation on national aspects of social development is the basis of the views which such people are trying to impose on the Soviet people. To drive a wedge between nations and ethnic groups inhabiting our country has been the long-time objective of imperialism, which is adopting ever more numerous and refined methods. Their main features include, first, the combination of nationalism with religion; second, the aspiration to pit national awareness against socialist ideology; and third, to apply within the framework of this general concept a differentiated approach to the different population categories. In frequent cases, Western propaganda uses conflicting theses and concepts even within the same group, ranging from national-communist to openly anticommunist. The hope is that perhaps something will work.

The participants in the conference described in detail the way in which said features are refracted in specific concepts. Of late, Dr of Philosophical Sciences V. G. Smolyanskiy (USSR AN Scientific Council on Problems of Foreign Ideological Trends) emphasized, so-called collective nationalism is being extensively promoted along with appeals to the feelings of a given nation. Its essence is to pit several ethnic groups sharing a number of common elements in their traditions, culture, religious past, etc., against other nations, the Russian people above all. Traditional historical religious faith is used most frequently as a "unifying" principle. By manipulating historical facts, our ideological foes are persistently spreading fabrications about an alleged "coercive Russification" of the peoples of the USSR and the destruction of local traditions and culture. At the same time, active efforts are being made to revive Great Russian chauvinism as well. It is claimed that the other union republics are developing at the expense and detriment of the Russian people, that their historical self-awareness and historical memory are failing, etc. Subversive centers (such as Radio Liberty) are intensively trying to prove that the Russian nation is being "eroded," and that this can be countered only by "healthy nationalism."

Our ideological opponents pay close "attention" to the republics of Central Asia and to Kazakhstan. The explanation for this is, above all, that it is precisely the formerly backward colonial outlying areas of tsarist Russia that are today an example of the successful implementation of the theory of non-capitalist development and the advantages of socialism as the highest degree of civilization today, emphasized Kazakh SSR AN Academician Z. A. Akhmetov. The anticommunists are worried by these accomplishments also because they inspire the peoples in the liberated countries to take the path of socialism. That is why imperialist propaganda is doing everything possible to depreciate the experience of building socialism in the republics of the Soviet East. Unable to deny their obvious successes, the bourgeois ideologues are trying to impose their own version of the elimination of the technical and economic backwardness of the area, claiming that such a headlong economic upsurge is above all the result of the worldwide process of modernization.

A number of papers presented at the conference exposed anticommunist speculation on the subject of the so-called Islamic factor. As Candidate of Philosophical Sciences O. S. Redzhepova (Turkmen SSR AN Department of Philosophy and Law) noted, the authors of numerous articles recently published in Sovietological and popular Western publications have openly expressed the hope that the Iranian revolution would stimulate religious-nationalistic and separatist feelings in the Soviet Central Asian republics. In the view of the bourgeois specialists, the "Islamic virus" would trigger fast and radical changes in Soviet Central Asia. Such predictions proved to be groundless, for they were based on the patently false and slanderous claim that the Central Asian peoples are "indifferent to Soviet-Russian values, way of life and ideology" and "continue to identify themselves with the Islamic way of life." Absolutely groundlessly, the Sovietologists assume the entire population of Central Asia, including nonbelievers, to be Muslim.

In exposing the slanderous nature of the myth of "Islamic renaissance" in Central Asia, the speakers also emphasized that many problems exist in these republics on which bourgeois propaganda tries to speculate. They are due, above all, to the fact that the socialist restructuring did not take place at the same pace in the various areas of social life. A certain contradiction developed between the headlong changes which took place in the socioeconomic and political areas and elements of socialist awareness which are linked with the national mentality, mass customs and family relations, for many still extant traditions go as far back as the patriarchal-feudal system. What role do they play in modern life, which of their features and aspects are contributing to the progress of socialist culture, how effective is atheistic propaganda and the legislation on religious cults, etc.? The scientists, including sociologists, must provide answers to such questions. The effective rebuff of the anti-Soviet tactic of the "Islamic infiltration" of nationalism greatly depends on the extent of our knowledge of such problems.

In their effort to present their wishes as reality, the bourgeois ideologues are trying to convince world public opinion of the "indestructibility of religion" in the USSR and to create the notion of the existence of "religious ferments" in our country, almost on the level of a "religious opposition." Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. A. Gaydis (Latvian SSR AN Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law) described the features of the ideological expansion promoted by Western centers in the Soviet Baltic republics. Currently, the speaker emphasized, bourgeois-clerical circles have mounted an extensive propaganda campaign aimed at increasing the influence of the church on social and individual life and trigger the internal erosion of socialism. The idea is being disseminated that nationalism is a characteristic feature of Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, and should become the base of a new "Baltic" nation leaning toward the West and totally different from the other nations in the Soviet Union. Allegedly, this would be based on local statehood traditions, affiliation with "Western" (Hanseatic, "Skandinavian-Baltic," etc.) culture, a higher living and general cultural standards compared with the RSFSR, in the opinion of the bourgeois specialists, etc. Naturally, no social base exists in the Soviet Baltic area for bourgeois nationalism, any more than it exists in the other union republics. Western propaganda is trying to use for its own purposes occasional vestiges of the past in the minds of some Soviet people.

The participants in the conference, who thoroughly exposed the groundlessness of anticommunist hopes of encouraging nationalism in the USSR, also emphasized that the subversive possibilities of bourgeois propaganda should not be underestimated. It is not only based on a thoroughly developed technology for manipulating the minds, and on vestiges of the past, but is also trying to speculate on the real difficulties accompanying our development. Psychological warfare specialists are overemphasizing in all possible ways nonantagonistic contradictions correlated with international and national interests, pitting local features against all-union trends and processes, cultivating narrow egotistical pragmatic views concealed behind patriotic ideas. Practical experience indicates that negative phenomena, such as drunkenness, black marketeering, theft of socialist property, bribery, favoritism, bureaucratism and others, also become fertile grounds for nationalistic propaganda. The bourgeois ideologues make active use of shortcomings in ideological education work. It is no secret that in frequent cases such work is out of touch with real problems and that Western propaganda tries to fill the created "vacuum."

In this connection, recommendations were formulated at the conference relative to criticism of bourgeois ideology and the perfecting of counterpropaganda. The relevant trends of scientific research were defined. They include the nature and content of relations among national, international and nationwide interests; class-forming factors in the development of individual nations and the Soviet people as a whole; changes in the national mentality under the conditions of the internationalization of the way of life, etc. The sociological study of the organizational methods of combining national with international interests (particularly on the level of towns, villages and labor collectives) and factors which lead to the formation of an environment receptive to religious-nationalistic propaganda. The reports submitted by the participants in the conference will be published in a separate collection.

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YOUTH IN THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY: SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH GUIDELINES

Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 85
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[Report by A. I. Kravchenko]

[Text] It would be unnecessary to discuss the tremendous and ever increasing role which the profound study of youth social problems plays in the theory and practice of building socialism. Scientists are interested in the problems of the classification of young people as a social group and its place and role in the socioclass structure, involvement in the system of distribution and reproduction relations, the characteristics of the process of socialization of the young generation, changes in value orientations, needs and interests, socio-professional adaptation in production, family-marital relations, ideological and moral conceptual training, etc.

According to data supplied by Dr of Philosophical Sciences I. M. Ilinskiy, currently some 10,000 researchers are working on 360 youth topics. However, the lengthy enumeration of problems and the growth of scientific output by themselves prove little. We are concerned with the one-sidedness of scientific research which is aimed at secondary problems, already quite well studied, and the fear of undertaking the study of sharp topical problems. Thus, 60 percent of the total number of scientific youth studies are dissertations about university students. The rural contingent, problems of deviant behavior and the ideological influence of Western propaganda and culture on young people are frequently ignored. Also noteworthy is the fact that most studies are of a predominantly historical nature. There is an extreme shortage of specific-sociological and fundamental philosophical works. The low quality of empirical data leads to poor theoretical summations, frequently not exceeding the level of simple statements.

The need for a realistic understanding of achievements and a comprehensive assessment of existing difficulties and, finally, a collective search for means to surmount them were the distinguishing features of the atmosphere which prevailed at the joint session held by the scientific councils of the USSR AN [Academy of Sciences] Institute of Sociological Research, USSR AN Institute of the State and Law, USSR AN Institute of Psychology, USSR AN Institute of Philosophy and the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Party School Scientific Research Center, which was held on 14 January 1985. In his opening speech, Dr of Philosophical Sciences V. N. Ivanov, director of the USSR AN Institute of Sociological Research, earmarked the main tasks of social science studies of youth at the present stage.

In sociological theory, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. I. Chuprov noted in his speech, youth has been considered a subject of social production and a relatively independent sociodemographic population group. As such, it is characterized, first of all, by the socioeconomic maturity of socialist relations achieved at a given historical point and, secondly, as a sum total of personality and sociopsychological characteristics and distinguishing features. The process through which young people become part of the existing social structure is complex and contradictory. Under the influence of demographic factors, the growth in the number of young people (15 to 29) is slowing down. This means that their share in the population structure will be substantially reduced and age-group ratios will change. Under the conditions of full employment, young people have become the only source of increase of manpower. Consequently, the time is already ripe for ensuring their more efficient utilization in public production. Thus, for instance, they are still unevenly represented in the sectorial structure (the share of young people is higher in advanced and lower in technically backward sectors).

The appearance of new professions and the advancement of the socialist relations system are substantially changing the social aspect of youth. Each subsequent generation is socially more homogenous than the preceding one. This process indicates a trend toward a socially homogenous society. The changing activities of young people are consistent with the law of work changes. The need to change professions five or six times in the course of a labor career is objective. The broadening of the effect of the law of work changes should not be discouraging to sociologists, for this enables the young to grow professionally and to shape their careers gradually.

Sociological studies indicate that the young generations of workers are indeed becoming more homogenous in terms of their socioeconomic features. As the educational and skill levels of the different youth groups become equalized, the social sources for the replenishment of the working class draw closer to each other (1). In the 1970s, along with the influx of workers and peasants into the ranks of the intelligentsia we note a reinforcement of the working class with members of the intelligentsia, who frequently combine holding a job with VUZ training (2). In other words, the social development of the young people reproduces the social structure of socialist society. Nevertheless, in addition to positive trends (such as the highest educational level and technical potential of modern youth, the highest in the country's history) also inherent in this development were a few negative aspects, such as the disparity created by the fact that secondary school graduates were oriented primarily toward VUZ or technicum enrollment--a tendency which had developed in the course of decades--and the needs of society, which demands reinforcements of young people from all social groups, the working class and kolkhoz peasantry above all (3, p 21). At the same time, substantial regional disparities remain in the levels of education, which is significantly higher among the urban compared to the rural youth. Equally noticeable are sex and age gaps: the educational level of girls is somewhat higher than that of boys and similar disparities among individual republics are also substantial.

Unresolved problems remain in the vocational training of young people as well. Thus, as many as 25 percent of young men and women who go to work every year "are not given thorough professional training at school. Not the least reason

for this is the inefficiency of vocational guidance in the senior grades of secondary schools. Six months before graduation, 50 percent of the seniors plan to enroll in a VUZ, whereas in fact roughly only one-sixth manage to do so." "The 'flunked' find jobs in enterprises, lacking both the necessary professional training and proper psychological disposition" (3, p 25). This explains the greater cadre turnover, increased violations of labor discipline, cases of youth indifference toward the job and social infantilism. The aim of the current general education and vocational school reform is to eliminate such adverse trends and reduce the historically originated lagging in the development of the vocational and technical education system.

According to V. I. Chuprov, modern youth has features which distinguish it from previous generations. Thus, there have been some changes in value orientations, motivations and attitudes toward labor. The concept that work is a means of self-realization dominates, and a practical and constructive approach to job self-assessment is taking shape. Labor conditions and meaning are considered primary among the reasons for holding a job. Furthermore, the role of recreation and non-job-related interests is increasing substantially.

Repeated studies indicate that substantial shifts in the attitude toward labor against the background of the way of life are taking place among young workers. First of all, a more balanced interest is displayed toward the content of the work and material rewards. Secondly, rationality is becoming the dominating style in the attitude toward labor. Finally, sociological data prove the existence of a growing preference for family-oriented and recreational interests, with a diminishing professional and social activeness (4). Lesser interest is shown in carrying out social assignments, which frequently become a means of meeting prestige or pragmatic objectives.

Historical specifics largely explain the contradictoriness of the situation within which our young people are shaping and growing. Although socioeconomic and political integrity and a profound continuity of labor traditions within the Soviet people are objectively inherent in socialist society, the fact remains that today's youth is entering life under new social conditions. The features governing the social establishment of the young people and the logic of thoughts and actions characteristic of them cannot be understood without going beyond the framework of the value criteria and norms of the senior generation. As justly noted by K. U. Chernenko, today we can justifiably speak of a first generation of Soviet people beginning their careers under the conditions of developed socialism. Understandably, our approach in assessing and interpreting youth problems and conflicts should be different.

However, is science ready to provide an exhaustive answer to the real problems related to youth's social development? Philosophers, sociologists, jurists and psychologists have gained some theoretical and practical experience. In particular, Dr of Philosophical Sciences F. R. Filippov noted, the Department of Social Structure of Soviet society of the USSR AN Institute of Sociological Research, which includes a newly-created sector on social problems and the communist education of youth, has studied in recent years problems of the social and professional orientation of secondary-school students and the social characteristics of university students in some parts of the

country. A comparative study of university students in several members of the socialist community, based on a uniform program, was conducted. Empirical data at our disposal allow us to speak of the existence of increasingly pressing contradictions in the social development of Soviet youth.

This applies, above all, to the contradiction in the labor area. The influx of millions of young men and women, secondary-school graduates (the conversion to secondary education was, as we know, completed by the mid-1970s), and the intensified professional training of new generations of the working class and kolkhoz peasantry is increasingly conflicting with ordinary obsolete types of jobs, equipment and technology. The acceleration of scientific and technical progress should have a positive effect on the formation and development of better work qualities in young people and the fuller utilization of their growing intellectual potential. The 1979 population census indicated that the average length of training of young people exceeded 10 years. Unquestionably, this figure is even higher today.

We currently find ourselves in an essentially new situation in which young people will not simply attend general education schools but study in PTU [vocational-technical schools]. As we know, however, the solution of some problems creates others. Naturally, we can ensure the mass and, subsequently, universal vocational training of new youth generations. However, assigning youth groups with same education level to various socially unequal types of work is no simple matter. It is at this point that objective grounds are established for the outbreak of subjective conflicts: some young people try to find jobs in sectors requiring lesser physical stress and personal responsibility and a more relaxed discipline. Some prestige and socially "lighter" jobs are outside material production, in trade, for instance. Job attractiveness factors were noted by sociologists only after differences among types of professional work turned into a real problem for young people.

Therefore, it is a question of a gap between the general education and vocational training of the youth. If the pace of technical retooling remains unchanged, the problem of unused professional knowledge and skills will become aggravated. The social and economic effectiveness of vocational training will decline. According to F. R. Filippov, the enhanced cultural and educational standards of young people should be considered a structural component of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the question of improving the balance between the two processes should be raised.

Dr of Philosophical Sciences V. A. Mansurov and Dr of Juridical Sciences N. Ya. Sokolov spoke on social adaptation and the legal aspects of education. The efficiency of the youth legal training system as taught in secondary schools, PTU and VUZs in recent times is not entirely consistent with the cost of its organization and implementation. The teaching and dissemination of legal knowledge and of the individual's legal standards must be closely related to youth vocational guidance and socialization.

These considerations must be kept in mind in the study of the sociopolitical activeness of the young and in developing in them the feelings of being the masters of the production process and of citizenship. The methods of direct and authoritarian guidance of young people, sometimes encountered at work, in

school and in scientific institutions today is very ineffective. The active life stance of young people can be formed only in the course of independent and sufficiently responsible activities. Sociologists must make a comprehensive study of problems of shaping the moral and psychological qualities in youth, a process which must be closely related to their professional training. The shaping of a durable interest in one's profession means a reorientation in the attitude toward labor, discipline and collective life at work. No individual can become comprehensively developed without true professionalism.

Dr of Philosophical Sciences V. G. Alekseyeva shared her views on the shaping of the individual as being a complex and many-faceted process in which social institutions (family, school, labor collectives and social organizations) are assigned the main role. On the one hand, the effectiveness of their activities is determined by the psychological features of the individual and the timeliness of their manifestation and, on the other, the quality and coordination of total educational work and the extent to which it is consistent with the features of the object and with educational conditions.

Additional funds and time are not always necessary in achieving a successful education. Frequently, all that is necessary is to learn how to make better use of available resources. Marxist theory proceeds from the concept of the industrial and social need for education in the development of production forces and shaping the new type worker. This means that the requirement of labor efficiency and quality can and must be extended to one of its most difficult forms: educational activities.

According to the author's hypothesis on the periodization of human life (5), youth in the strict meaning of the term (roughly 22-34 years) is the first stage of adulthood, during which the sociocivic responsibility of the person assumes its final form. This is preceded by a period of intensive age changes, the broadening and intensification of social contacts between the individual and the external environment and the shaping of the personality, after which youth comes to an end.

The scientific and technical revolution, i.e., the increase in information and emotional-cognitive loads, accelerated urbanization and increased population mobility, has a very contradictory and double-edged influence on educational work with young people. All of these problems await their thorough study. In order to accomplish a real reorientation in the social consciousness toward the topical tasks of building socialism, pedagogical practice needs a close alliance with science, while science must achieve a profound understanding of contemporary socioeconomic and ideological problems.

One of them is the political training of the young generation and ensuring the continuity of revolutionary traditions. Let us frankly admit that a tendency to separate political education from the other aspects of the individual's development still remains in educational theory and practice. Here, the logic is approximately as follows: A person may violate moral norms and lack aesthetic standards but is suitably educated politically. In this case the orientation is not to the real but rather the verbal behavior of the person. In other words, such assessments reveal the inertia of survey methods. A

Leninist formulation of the question today means resolving the problem far more deeply than ordinary summation or theorizing alienated from practice would permit. Educational work with young people must be based on shaping a communist morality, without which political behavior easily becomes intrigue.

The search of ways to optimize the moral and, therefore the political education of youth presumes the study of the social values which must become internalized by the individual and introduced in the awareness of the young generation and, in turn, realized in its behavioral roles, conceptual and ideological-moral relations and way of life. Here we must take into consideration that youth poorly accepts didacticism but tends, much more than adults, to regulate its own behavior and to subordinate it to voluntarily adopted models and the acceptance of the categorical nature of social prescriptions. According to V. G. Alekseyeva, adolescent and youth "disorderliness" is by no means a privilege of age, but rather the opposite. It is the result of a certain lack of orientation of those who, by the nature of their mentality, show a predisposition for strictly standardized actions. That is why, in criticizing Kant's famous categorical imperative, we must not reject the very principle of the imperative of moral values, remembering that the possible alternative to it may be a moral relativism, i.e., the erosion of the lines separating the permissible from the impermissible and social from antisocial activeness.

Some of the speakers, Drs of Philosophical Sciences Ye. V. Shorokhov and I. M. Ilinskiy in particular, stressed the need to coordinate the efforts of the different sciences in the comprehensive study of youth problems.

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URALS SOCIOLOGICAL READINGS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 85
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[Report by F. S. Fayzullin]

[Text] The Fifth Sociological Readings took place in Ufa from 5 to 7 December. In addition to Ural scientists they were attended by sociologists from Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Alma-Ata, Tallin and other cities.

Why is this name given to meetings of Ural sociologists? Why readings rather than symposia or conferences? The point is that they are a kind of report submitted by sociologists to the working people of the entire area, with the active participation of plant sociologists, propagandists, lecturers and party and economic workers. Sociologists, including their guests, read lectures in establishments, schools and enterprises, visit other cities in the oblast, rural rayons and military units, and speak on the radio and television. Unquestionably, all of this contributes to the dissemination of sociological knowledge among the population and enhances the reputation of Soviet sociology. The program of such readings includes conferences with readers of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. Collections of theses and reports are prepared for each reading and publication priority is given to beginning and plant sociologists. So far, the total volume of such publications has totalled 108 printer's sheets.

The main attention of the participants in the readings was focused on the laws governing the development of social relations, the socioclass and sociodemographic structure of mature socialism, the elimination of major disparities between town and country, topical problems of labor, standards and ideological work, and perfecting the systems of comprehensive planning and management of social processes.

Dr of Philosophical Sciences Prof N. A. Aitov (Ufa) spoke on settlement problems. Studies have indicated, he pointed out, that at the present time belonging to a specific territorial community is more important to people in their practical daily life than affiliation with a specific socioclass group.

Collectivism, as the most important typical feature of socialist and communist relations, was analyzed in a joint paper submitted by Dr of Philosophical Sciences Prof Z. I. Faynburg and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Ye. S. Shaydarova (Perm). The speakers emphasized that collectivism should not

be considered on the sociopsychological level alone, for it is a sociological category above all. Sociology should identify the basic features of collectivism and define the parameters enabling us to determine its development.

The questions of establishing social homogeneity, eliminating disparities among social groups and classes in developed socialist society and strengthening the unity of the Soviet people as a new historical community of people was the topic of Dr of Philosophical Sciences Prof F. R. Filippov (Moscow). With the help of extensive factual data he proved that in the last decade our country took a major step toward a classless social structure. Within that time a considerable rapprochement took place between the two forms of socialist ownership and the process of elimination of disparities between town and country and between physical and intellectual workers became energized. To an increasing extent the job of the contemporary worker is acquiring an intellectual content. The role of the working class is increasing with the growth of its ideological and political maturity, education and professional skill. Profound changes have also taken place in the structure and aspect of the kol-khoz peasantry: the number of people engaged in skilled and mechanized labor has increased. Progressive changes are noted in the development of intellectual workers. New social groups are being formed, which proves the increased complexity of the social structure in developed socialist society. The speaker emphasized that most topical today are studies of the inner structure of classes and social groups and finding additional possibilities of accelerating the progress of society toward complete social homogeneity.

In analyzing the problems of the brigade method of labor organization, Dr of Economic Sciences Prof V. N. Belkin (Chelyabinsk) particularly noted the increased role of the brigade leader in production. Specific sociological studies have made it possible to formulate the ideal features of a brigade leader from the workers' viewpoint. The overwhelming number of workers demand of the manager on this level high moral qualities above all, giving second priority to organizational and practical capabilities. This must be taken into consideration in daily work.

Dr of Philosophical Sciences Prof V. G. Nesterov (Sverdlovsk), who spoke on the development of mass socialist competition, emphasized that the social tasks of the competition must not be reduced merely to improving the material well-being of the working people. A competition insufficiently aimed at the development of the social qualities of the individual inevitably shifts the emphasis from the development of capabilities to the development of needs and could give the competition a consumerist slant.

Dr of Philosophical Sciences Prof F. B. Sadykov (Ufa) analyzed in his report the historical advantages and contemporary problems of the socialist way of life. In comparing the living standards of the working people under the two world systems, he noted, researchers frequently make a mistake by trying to gauge it only on the basis of wages, regardless of differences in the price ratios of food, mass consumer goods, cost of communal services and degree of resolution of basic social problems.

Dr of Philosophical Sciences Prof L. N. Kogan (Sverdlovsk) concentrated on sociological problems of the development of the individual. The problem of

the development of the new communist personality was formulated in connection with the study of the objective and subjective conditions and prerequisites of this development.

Dr of Philosophical Sciences Prof G. P. Orlov (Sverdlovsk) discussed methodological problems of counterpropaganda. He noted that counterpropaganda is a particular area of ideological activities with its specific subject, methods and objectives and professional workers. Efficient counterpropaganda must have as its direct result a corresponding public mood, an optimistic view on the implementation of "current" tasks and a feeling of intolerance and class hatred of imperialism.

In recent years the problems and prospects of interdisciplinary social policy studies have drawn the close attention of Soviet social scientists. According to Dr of Philosophical Sciences Prof O. N. Zhemanov (Sverdlovsk), this is explained with the fact that interdisciplinary research contributes to bringing social sciences closer to practical work. Philosophers, sociologists, party historians, economists and specialists in the theory of scientific communism enrich the methods used in social policy and develop common structures of social science knowledge and principles of thinking.

In the course of the proceedings of the section on problems of social planning and social management, an extensive discussion took place on improving the method and methodology of comprehensive planning, interconnection between territorial and sectorial planning methods, quality of social planning of new production collectives and cities, managing the development of individual spheres of life and social subsystems. The present insufficient coordination between territorial and sectorial types of management results in high economic and social costs.

The participants in the discussions in the other section concentrated on the study of relations in the labor sphere. Extensive use was made of data from specific sociological studies. The speakers noted that the existence of a substantial amount of hard physical manual labor is not only a reason for economic difficulties (low quality of output and labor productivity) but also a factor in the reproduction of social inequality, which contributes to the preservation of negative phenomena (low discipline, antisocial behavior, drunkenness). The elimination of heavy physical labor, the speakers emphasized, means, above all, the elimination of activities not contributing to the social development of the individual.

The participants in the discussions held by the third section dealt with problems of the socioclass structure, new phenomena occurring within the working class, the intelligentsia and the kolkhoz peasantry, and laws governing the development of social homogeneity. Particular attention was paid to the basic trends in the development of town and country and the elimination of major disparities between them.

Discussions at the section on youth problems dealt with topical problems of upgrading the efficiency of worker cadre training, perfecting the communist upbringing of young people, shaping and developing professional interests in the young, and managing the process of adaptation to labor. Sociological

studies made at Ural industrial enterprises have established a rather alarming situation: a trend of psychological and emotional "apathy" has become widespread in the orientation toward labor among part of the working youth. In other words, they value most the type of work which allows them to "abstract themselves, and think of nothing" and to select "peaceful" professions which demand no particular intellectual or emotional stress.

The discussion on problems of ideological work and culture was lively. The participants formulated a number of recommendations on improving the planning of a system of ideological education work and analyzed the various aspects of socialist culture.

The Fifth Urals Readings indicated that in recent years sociology in the area has shown substantial progress: the methodical and methodological standards of research have risen, the links between theory and practice have strengthened and the amount of research based on uniform methods has increased. This is also confirmed by the materials of the reading, published in two collections totalling about 40 printer's sheets.

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SOCIOCULTURAL UNITY OF SOVIET NATIONS

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[Report by L. G. Gaft and A. V. Kirkh]

[Text] In opening the seminar on "Nation and Culture" in Tallin, V. A. Maamyagi, member of the Estonian SSR AN [Academy of Sciences] and chairman of the republic's Znaniye Society, emphasized that the meeting was based on the results of the all-union and international study on "Family and Culture" (1977-1984), which dealt with national relations in the epoch of developed socialism. A. I. Aben, head of the CP of Estonia Central Committee Department of Science and Educational Institutions, drew attention to the ideological aspect of the national problem in the struggle against bourgeois ideology. She pointed out that taking the scientific recommendations and forecasts of scientists in practical work into consideration makes it possible to increase the common internationalist features in the multinational culture of the Soviet people.

The drawing together of Soviet nations calls for paying special attention to the study of the mechanisms of such a rapprochement, Dr of Philosophical Sciences Yu. V. Arutyunyan said in his report. He discussed the class and socioprofessional structure of nations, the ratio between the urban and rural population and differences in social mentality and value systems. One should be particularly careful when dealing with cultural and daily life differences among peoples, the speaker stressed. Ethnic features continue to affect many social phenomena, such as the intensiveness and trends of migrations, social mobility and the psychology of interpersonality contacts.

Dr of Philosophical Sciences L. M. Drobizheva spoke on the shaping of national self-awareness and discussed its components in detail: national identification, autostereotypes, the historical past of the nation and attitude toward national values. The studies revealed the disappearance of specific elements in the components of national self-awareness, for which reason there is nothing strange in the fact that in surveys respondents find it easier to name the features common to the Soviet people. However, the objective basis of national self-awareness does not vanish. It simply changes with the increased education of the people, the broadened scope of their activities and the increase in contacts among nationalities. The data also indicate, however, that the rapprochement among nations in terms of social structure, education,

labor features and intensiveness of cultural consumption takes place essentially under urban conditions. Drobizheva also noted that national values are a stable foundation for shaping a national awareness and that under the favorable social and political conditions prevailing in our country, a growing national self-awareness does not hinder the development of friendly relations among nations.

Candidate of Historical Sciences K. S. Khalik discussed in her report some problems of the internationalization of national life. National development is characterized by two trends, she pointed out. The first leads to strengthening intranational relations, i.e., to a relative alienation, whereas the second leads to the broadening of relations among nations, to internationalization. Rapid internationalization is related to cultural differentiation among nations, for the interest shown by some groups of the intelligentsia in equalizing their status with that of more developed cultures occasionally leads to an alienation from one's own national base. In frequent cases internationalization not prepared by the natural course of development stimulates the revival of old and obsolete cultural elements which begin to perform "self-defense" functions. Therefore, the speaker concluded, the study of the internationalization of interpersonality interactions must take into consideration the features of historically developed ethnic and social interests of groups in touch with one-another.

Problems of the influence of the social system on the development of national culture and the way of life in the epoch of the scientific and technical revolution were discussed in the joint paper presented by Yu. Yu. Kakhk, member of the Estonian SSR AN, and Candidate of Juridical Sciences E. E. Rannik. The authors made an interesting comparative analysis of data on the attitude of the population of France and Estonia toward "elitist" and "popular" culture. In Estonia, most respondents showed an interest in all types of popular culture, whereas in France this interest is based on social differences among groups. In the socialist society, the authors conclude, which is free from the influence of commercialism and the laws of the market place on the development of culture, the opportunities for exposing the broad population masses to the true values of culture are incomparably greater.

Candidate of Economic Sciences A. Kh. Narusk spoke on the method and methodology of comparative studies and on the level of data summation and their enhanced level of information.

The family is the only institution which ensures the individuality of human cultural development. This topic was discussed by Candidate of Historical Sciences I. A. Grishayev, who illustrated his address with interesting data on specific studies conducted in Uzbekistan and Estonia. Ye. V. Rikhter spoke on child bilingualism in biethnic families in Tallin. She analyzed the factors affecting the choice of nationality by adolescents coming from nationally mixed families. It turned out that the school they attend had the strongest influence on their choice.

The process of internationalization of life and the influence of other cultures does not lead to the elimination of national features. This was the topic discussed by Candidate of Historical Sciences L. A. Tultseva. The pace

and dynamics of the process of the enrichment of national cultures are different in the urban and rural population and among different nations and socio-ethnic groups, she emphasized. They depend on the historical past, the uneven nature of cultural and daily life changes and the sociodemographic features of the various population groups. Preserving the elements on the old form but with a new content could be considered one of the ways of change of traditional ceremonies in contemporary society. New ceremonies which assert the principles of the Soviet way of life should take the features of the national mentality into consideration.

In summing up the results of the conference, V. A. Maamyagi noted that thanks to the joint efforts of Soviet scientists an increasingly fewer number of undersolved problems and blank spots on the map remain in the area of national interrelationships.

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SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULATION PROBLEMS

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[Report by L. L. Rybakovskiy]

[Text] An international conference on population problems was held in Mexico City in August 1984. A similar conference had taken place in Bucharest in 1974. Although both had been convened under UN auspices, the earlier had taken place on the initiative of the capitalist countries, whereas the latter had been requested by the developing countries, concerned by the difficulties experienced in their socioeconomic development.

A "Universal Plan for Action in the Area of Population" had been adopted at the Bucharest conference. The assessment of the results of its implementation in the past decade and the formulation of recommendations on its further implementation were the main objectives of the Mexico conference.

The proceedings of the conference had a clearly expressed anti-imperialist and anticolonial nature. This was reflected, above all, in the speeches of the representatives of the developing countries, supported by the socialist countries' delegations. A number of speakers noted that the successful implementation of the plan is hindered by the worsening of the international situation and that the reason for some undesirable trends in demographic development was imperialist interference in the domestic affairs of developing countries and the steady political and economic pressure applied on them.

Population problems directly affect the political and socioeconomic interests of countries and peoples. Thus, there has been increasing unemployment, economic stagnation and increased poverty in the capitalist countries. In the United States alone, according to official statistics, in 1984 there were 8.5 million unemployed and 35 million poor. In all developing countries, above all in Africa, food production is falling behind the population's growth rates. Inequality between developed capitalist and developing countries has increased.

Many of the speeches, the concluding report and the recommendations issued at the conference not only offered an assessment on the changes which had taken place in global demographic dynamics but also earmarked the range of problems awaiting mankind in the future. Over the past decade the planet's population increased by nearly 800 million, totalling 4.8 billion in 1984, while its

growth rate declined from 2.03 to 1.67 percent. Nevertheless, it even increased in absolute terms. According to UN data, in the last 5 years of the 20th century the annual population growth will average 89-90 million people, compared to 75-77 million in the 1970s. By the year 2000 the earth's population will total 6.1 billion. According to the same estimates, it will continue to grow until the year 2010, when it will reach 10 billion. This process will be taking place essentially in the developing countries, which presently account for almost 90 percent of the entire population on earth.

As was the case in the last decade, the process of urbanization will remain intensive in the years to come. The percentage of urban residents increased from 38 percent in 1974 to 41 percent in 1984. It is estimated that it will reach 50 percent by the end of the century. The number of cities with a population in excess of 4 million increased from 28 to 41; in the developing countries it increased from 15 to 27 and it is only in the latter that this virtually entire increase has taken place. By the year 2000 there will be 66 such cities, 18 of which in the developing countries, with a population in excess of 10 million. The social consequences of this process are given a very pessimistic assessment by specialists, for already now the large cities are suffering from high unemployment and are short of water, food, services, etc. The influx of rural residents in the towns, particularly in the developing countries on the African continent, is largely determined by natural disasters, drought, increased hunger and poor development of agriculture.

The measures stipulated in the plan did not result in the elimination of major disparities in birthrate levels and, particularly, in the mortality rate of the population of developed and developing countries. According to UN data, currently the overall birthrate coefficient is 6.4 for Africa, 4.7 for Asia, 4.1 for Latin America, 2.3 for Eastern Asia and 1.9 for North America and Europe. It is estimated that by the turn of the century these disparities will be reduced as a result of the reduced birth rate in the developing countries. In turn, the birth rate in many developed countries has become so low that it no longer ensures even simple population reproduction. It is expected that by the year 2000 the overall world birthrate coefficient will drop from 3.6 to 3.0. At this level, the birthrate among the earth's population will increase quite rapidly, particularly if we consider that the number of women in the fertile age group will reach 1.7 billion by the end of the century, compared to 873 million in the mid-1980s.

Thanks to the successful treatment of infectious and parasitical diseases, since the Bucharest conference the life span of the world's population was prolonged to 59 years. However, the indicators earmarked in the Universal Plan were not attained. Furthermore, substantial differences remained in the life span in developed and developing countries. It is 73 years in the former and approximately 56.6 in the latter; in more than 40 African countries it does not exceed the age of 50.

Significant differences remain in infant mortality. In the developed countries infant mortality averages 17 children under one year of age per 1,000, compared to 91 in the developing countries, where one out of 10 children dies before the age of one. In some countries infant mortality has reached 130 per thousand. This is the result of poor nutrition, no access to medical help,

urban crowding and poor housing conditions. It was no accident that the representative of the WHO pointed out that today 1 billion people live in a state of poverty and hunger.

Conversely, a low birth rate and, in a number of cases, a negative natural growth are characteristic of the developed countries (according to some demographers the reason is that the young generations are rejecting traditional family values). An intensive population aging process is taking place as a result of the declined birthrate and its low level. Let us note that the problem of aging, typical of the developed countries, is gradually spreading to some developing countries as well. In 1950 there were 214 million people aged 65 or older; their number will reach 1 billion by the year 2000, more than half of them living in the developing countries. This process is particularly intensive among women, not only because they live longer but also because they begin to age much sooner than men, i.e. by the time are 60-65. This is due to improper nutrition, lack of skilled medical aid and work detrimental to their health. In the developing countries women's health is also worsened by frequent births.

The main structural feature of the population in developing countries is the high percentage of children, related to the high birth rate. Thus, in Afghanistan 46 percent of the population is under 15 year of age; the figure for Venezuela is 40 percent, etc.

The problem of female labor remains grave. The delegates to the conference pointed out that between 1974 and 1984 progress in the situation of women was insignificant both in terms of employment and social development as well as in reproduction behavior. Inequality in male-female wages remains, and more women than men are illiterate, unemployed and deprived of any means of existence. Two-thirds of the estimated 700 million illiterate people in the world are women.

At the present time 500 million women are either ignorant of or do not use contraceptive methods and, consequently to not practice family planning. UN studies made shortly before the conference indicated that more than 50 percent of the women who were unwilling to have more children had failed to use contraceptive devices; more than 25 percent of the women who had had children during that period had not wanted them but had been unable to terminate their pregnancies artificially.

In general, the problem of abortions is quite crucial in many both developing and developed countries. In some countries abortions are forbidden. This measure was supported at the conference by the delegates from Chile, Paraguay and the United States. Representatives of other countries, where abortions are banned did not touch on this topic, aware of the fact that no convincing arguments in support of this position existed.

A number of conference papers emphasized that in the developing countries 10 to 30 percent of all cases of death of women in their reproductive years are caused by complications during pregnancy and birth, compared to 2 percent in European countries. Assistance in family planning, i.e., deciding how many children to have and when presumes access to contraceptives. At the same time,

in order to avoid illegal abortions and safeguard the health of mothers and children and to reduce mortality, women should have the right to terminate pregnancy with medical help.

Despite progress achieved in the production and use of contraceptives, the problem of developing new methods for increasing the safety and efficiency in regulating the birthrate remains topical. The use of efficient contraceptives relieves women from undesirable pregnancies and forced abortions, thus considerably improving the health of mothers and children.

It is above all women and children who suffer from uncontrolled births. Mortality and morbidity among them are the result of numerous and frequent pregnancies of women, primarily at an early age. It is believed that the highest pregnancy risk is among women under 18 and over 35, if a woman has already given birth to four children and if the latest pregnancy took place less than 2 years previously. Children born under such circumstances suffer from bad health and a slower development.

The delegates paid great attention to problems of women. Raising the level of women's education would have a positive influence on their well-being, health, participation in all types of activities and, naturally, family planning. The delegates emphasized that educating a man means having an educated individual but that educating a woman means having an educated nation. The Soviet delegate said that one of the first decrees promulgated by the Soviet state was the abolition of all forms of sexual inequality, elimination of job discrimination and of juridical dependence in marriage and the family. The Soviet constitution grants Soviet women equal opportunities in education, professional training, jobs, wages and sociopolitical and cultural activities.

The delegates recognized the necessity of involving women in social life more fully, on an equal footing with men, and eliminating all forms of discrimination against them. It was pointed out that upgrading the social status of women and the levels of their employment and education is necessary both for general humanitarian reasons and as a means of lowering the birthrate.

The population problem is organically related to socioeconomic development and cannot be considered without taking into account socioeconomic and political factors. Population policy is an inseparable part of the long-term program of a country's socioeconomic development. In itself population growth cannot be considered positive or negative. Everything depends on the correlation between demographic dynamics and socioeconomic trends. A number of specialists focused on the interconnection between population and economic system, a concept which was successfully and substantiatedly defended by demographers from the socialist countries in Bucharest in 1974.

The conference's recommendations included principles on which the "Universal Plan for Action in the Area of Population" is based. They include the sovereign right of each country to pursue the type of demographic policy it deems expedient and consistent with its domestic needs. It was emphasized that all married couples and individuals have the inalienable right to decide on the number and time of birth of their children and to have access to information and means for making such decisions. The view was expressed of

the need to consider population problems from the viewpoint of the future, i.e., the next 80 to 100 years. The reason is that the efficient implementation of population policy requires considerably more time compared to other programs. It was further emphasized that the countries must relate national to world politics and to the Universal Plan. This is required in order to observe both national and international interests. The implementation of an effective demographic policy must proceed from the possibility of applying the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution in the practice of regulating demographic processes and to take into consideration the changes in the realm of the standards maintained in relations among sexes in the individual countries.

In addition to debates on demographic problems, a sharp political discussion developed at the conference on guidelines of socioeconomic development as a whole. The view held by the Western countries was based on the fact that the birthrate in many of them had declined so greatly that the size of their populations was stable or even declining. Meanwhile, despite a decline in the birthrate, the population's growth rates in the developing countries remains high. With such demographic trends social problems cannot be resolved. This applies, in particular, to enhancing living standards, the delegates from the developed capitalist countries claimed. According to them, poverty will increase in the future and the developing countries will be unable to provide minimum living conditions for their increasing populations. Hence their call to stabilize the earth's population in order that a balance between population and resources may be achieved toward the end of the next century.

Naturally, a balance must be drawn between human resources and population size. However, it must be such as to prevent some countries from plundering others with the help of high interest rates and various discriminatory measures. Naturally, the representatives of many developing countries sharply condemned the Western countries for their predatory trade and economic policies.

During the conference, the representatives of the capitalist countries tried to exert pressure on the developing countries by promising them increased aid if they met certain conditions. The statement by the American delegate was particularly cynical. Reminding the others that the U. S. contribution to the International Population Fund was 44 percent of the total, he demanded of the countries receiving aid guarantees that such funds will be used as the United States deems appropriate. In particular, the United States refused aid to countries whose demographic policy is aimed at increasing their birthrate. The American delegate also said that such payments will not go to nongovernmental organizations which encourage abortions.

The U. S. position was rebuffed sharply. Each country has the right to use the funds it receives according to its interests, specifics and cultural traditions, noted the PRC delegate. One cannot agree with the imposition of foreign models in family planning or use financial aid as a means of pressure. In the opinion of the Chinese representative, women have the right to abortion, for contraceptives remain insufficiently effective. The Sri Lanka delegate expressed himself in the same spirit. He emphasized that the Western countries tend to ignore the cultural and specific characteristics of the developing countries in providing assistance.

The U. S. delegate tried to impose on the conference a discussion on the question of the advantages of a marketplace economy as a model for the developing countries and to defame the merits of a planned economic management system. He claimed that the private sector and free competition are prerequisites for success in the economic development of Third World countries. He tried to have this idea included in the recommendations. However, the U. S. view was sharply condemned by many delegates. Thus, the Yugoslav representative noted that the socialist way of development had justified its existence and merely required more experience. The Soviet representative noted in his address that the example of South Korea, which the U. S. delegate cited as a model of development of private initiative, was groundless, for that country has the highest foreign debt in the world and actually survives on the injection of U. S. funds. As a result, the American delegate cast the only vote in favor the U. S. amendment to recommendations relative to private initiative.

As was pointed out, the participants in the conference focused their attention on the developing countries. In the course of the implementation of the Universal Plan, their birth, morbidity and infant mortality rates declined, the life span of their populations and degree of literacy increased, and health care and nutritional possibilities improved. The reason for these successes is that many of the independent countries are pursuing an independent policy and are distancing themselves economically and socially from neocolonialism. Budget funds for resolving population problems increased significantly between 1974 and 1984: for each dollar received from the UN fund the developing countries are contributing \$4.00 of their own. Still, many Third World countries continue to experience great difficulties in their demographic development, caused by their socioeconomic backwardness. This applies above all to the African countries, which have the highest population, particularly infant, mortality rate in the world. In the last 10 years their consumption level has remained virtually static. Starting with the mid-1970s the food crisis in the continent has worsened even further because of the drought which hit many areas. The difficulties experienced by the countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America in their socioeconomic and demographic development are worsened by the imperialist policies of the Western countries. The delegates noted the domination of the international monopolies and the plunder of national resources.

The delegates from the developing countries pointed out that the present world economic crisis hinders their efforts to resolve their population problems. The essence of their demographic policy is the waging of a continuing struggle for the satisfaction of even the most basic material needs of their populations. They must struggle not only against adverse natural conditions but also against trade barriers and indebtedness to international banks, currently exceeding \$800 billion. Increased migrations and numbers of refugees are related to difficulties in socioeconomic development and differentiations in population living standards, and to political conflicts provoked by imperialist circles. The number of migrants coming from the developing countries, who are hired to perform the lowest paying jobs in the Western countries and who are totally rightless, is increasing, while the "brain drain" and the decline in the number of skilled workers are continuing.

The Soviet delegates noted in their addresses that many of the unresolved problems of the developing countries in the areas of jobs, education and medical services are the result of the neocolonialist policy of the former mother-countries. Imperialism is still trying to prevent the strengthening of the political independence and the reaching of economic autonomy of the countries freed from the yoke of colonialism. By the fault of imperialist circles huge sums of money are being wasted in the arms race in which the developing countries as well find themselves involved. The appeal to end the arms race and use some of the funds for the solution of the sociodemographic problems of the liberated countries was supported by the majority of the delegates.

On the insistence of the USSR and the other socialist countries, a separate section on "Peace, Security and Population" was included in the Universal Plan. It stipulates that tireless work to safeguard peace, security and disarmament, and increasing the cooperation among countries are the most important current tasks of the international community, for without this the objectives of a humane demographic policy and socioeconomic development are unattainable. The U. S. delegation was the only one to vote against the incorporation of this section.

Major amendments were made in the recommendations on the further implementation of the Universal Plan. On the insistence of a number of delegations the mandatory aspect of recommendations in the population area was deleted and quantitative indicators governing the objectives of demographic policy were dropped. The use of such indicators would have meant that international aid granted to the developing countries would have depended on attaining them, a fact which the capitalist countries could have used as a pressure point.

In addition to the appeal for effective actions to lower morbidity and mortality, strengthen the role of the family in the area of population reproduction and grant parents the right to determine for themselves the number of children and the time span between them, and to improve the distribution, migration and structure of the population, great attention was paid to improving population records and censuses further and conducting studies to determine the interconnection between demographic changes and socioeconomic developments.

The participants in the conference opposed the reduction of a variety of demographic problems to a narrow range of problems on the increased size of the world population and on measures to reduce it. They asserted that it is above all socioeconomic change that is foundation for a real solution of the population problem. The recommendations assumed great political and social importance thanks to the concept of the need to eliminate inequality in international economic relations, to energize the struggle against poverty and to ensure the right to work more fully.

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NEW DEMOGRAPHIC JOURNAL

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 85
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[Report by M. Minkov]

[Text] Today's demographic situation in Bulgaria is determined by trends such as a drop in the birthrate, reduced old-age mortality and slower change of generations. The large patriarchal family which, not so long ago, was typical of Bulgaria, has been replaced today by the nuclear family. In recent years, the concept of the two-children family has become dominant. This cannot satisfy social requirements for the reproduction of manpower resources and conceals the threat of depopulation. All of this combined creates particular interest in demographic studies. From descriptive, demography is turning into a constructive science. The results of the study of the mechanism of influence of demographic factors on various social processes and the penetration into the essence of reproduction and migration behavior enable us substantially to refine the nature of contemporary social policy.

A Demographic Coordinating Council was recently established by decision of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Presidium. This body has numerous functions, the most important among which is the publication (starting with 1983) of the theoretical science journal NASELENIE. The main purpose of this new quarterly is to discuss topical sociodemographic problems, to interpret studies conducted in this area and to acquaint with them not only the specialists but the broad public and any one involved in national economic planning and management.

The journal's materials cover the following research areas:

1. Demographic processes related to the population's biological balance: birthrate, mortality and natural growth; economic and historical demography; migration processes; reproduction behavior of individuals and families; problems of the theory, methodology and methods of empirical population studies.
2. Problems of the establishment, development and functioning of the modern family and changes in its structure; social policy in the area of family-marital relations; way of life of the Bulgarian family during the stage of building the mature socialist society; criticism of bourgeois sociological theories of the family and the status of women in the family and society.
3. Social hygiene problems--medical aspects of natural population dynamics, health care and family planning.
4. Territorial mobility of the population--

natural and mechanical; age and sex population structure on the regional level; geographic characteristics of the establishment, utilization and forecasting of manpower resources; geographic aspects of urbanization and Bulgarian demographic policy. 5. Formation and distribution of manpower by sector, profession and territorial unit; planning and forecasting manpower and cadre professional training; problems related to changes in the content and conditions of labor under the influence of scientific and technical progress. Materials on demographic studies abroad will also be published.

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BOOK REVIEW

THREE BOOKS ON IDEOLOGY

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[Review by A. A. Fedoseyev of the following books: (1) "Sotsialisticheskaya Ideologiya" [Socialist Ideology] by N. B. Bikkenin. Second expanded edition, Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 414 pp; (2) "Ideologiya i Zhizn" [Ideology and Life] by Zh. T. Toshchenko. Sovetskaya Rossiya, Moscow, 1983, 192 pp; (3) "Ideologiya v Sovremennom Mire" [Ideology in the Contemporary World] by Ye. M. Babosov. Nauka i Tekhnika, Moscow, 1984, 176 pp]

[Text] Achieving qualitative changes in all areas of the mature socialist society is inconceivable without intensifying the role of socialist ideology. The party ascribes prime importance to this question and directs social scientists to the profound creative interpretation of the laws and mechanisms of the development of ideological processes and the formulation of recommendations which would enhance ideological and educational activities to the level of the tasks of advancing mature socialism. The monographs under review are on the cutting edge of scientific research.

The similarity of these works rests above all on the desire comprehensively to identify the objective laws on which socialist ideology in Soviet society is based and develops, its socioclass nature, essence and purpose. Furthermore, the works provide a thorough and substantiated criticism of bourgeois ideology and convincingly indicate the advantages and universal significance of socialist ideas and values and their creative potential. Finally, another distinguishing feature of the monographs is the practical pointedness of theoretical research. The authors discuss in detail the means and methods of organic interaction among ideological, organizational and economic work and the means of resolving the strategic problems facing the Soviet people: the planned advancement of developed socialism.

At the same time, each one of the monographs has its specific approach and range of tasks in resolving said problems. The book by N. B. Bikkenin (first published in 1978) deals with general theoretical and methodological problems. The author's purpose is to characterize "ideology as a sphere of thoughts, actions and education" (p 9). In this connection he also describes the progressive role of socialist ideology, its practical functions and links with economics, politics and culture.

On the methodological level, the book is of interest above all for its consistent and, in our view apt use of the systemic-target approach to the problem. As an area of thought, the author emphasizes, ideology is an activity for the development, dissemination and assertion of ideas of a specific class. Ideology is its theoretical consciousness, "a system of sociopolitical, legal, philosophical, aesthetic and ethical views which sum up its strategic tasks, objectives and ideals which are the programmatic thinking of that class" (p 74). Under the conditions of a socialist society the theoretical-cognitive function of ideology is creatively to develop and apply Marxist-Leninist theory and be a source for the development of a scientific outlook in every person. Bikkenin substantiates his conclusion comprehensively: it is possible to give the individual an integral system of philosophical, economic, political, professional and other views only by combining the efforts of party organizations, scientific, educational and cultural institutions and social organizations, using a great variety of propaganda channels, ranging from political and economic training to mass information media.

Some of the strong aspects of the monograph are featuring ideology as a sphere of action, the study of its active and practical role in the historical process and the clarification of conditions under which ideas convert into a material force. One of the main tasks of socialist ideology is the theoretical substantiation of revolutionary actions, giving them a broad scope, asserting in the proletariat and the people faith in their own strength and organizing and uniting the working people (p 95). Briefly, it is necessary to combine scientific knowledge with the sociopolitical experience of the masses. It is precisely in the crucible of revolutionary change that progressive ideas are strengthened in the consciousness of the people, political perception develops and an active life stance is shaped. In discussing the contemporary stage of development of our society, the author convincingly proves that the power of socialist ideology consists, above all, in the fact that in developing and implementing the concept of developed socialism, the CPSU is always oriented toward and relies on the experience of the masses.

Finally, as a realm of education, ideology represents the comprehensive activities of the party, the state, the public organizations, the labor collectives and man himself in shaping the socialist qualities of the individual. In order for ideological consciousness to fulfill its transforming and reorganizing role, education must comprehensively take into consideration the features of the specific historical stage of social development and be guided by the long-range objectives of building communism. This conclusion is extensively argued in the book.

The readers will be unquestionably interested in the detailed study of basic differences between socialist and bourgeois ideology. The author draws two essentially important conclusions in this respect. First, the difference between them determines the diametrical difference of their objectives, tasks and propaganda methods (p 164). Whereas under socialism ideological work is aimed at bringing the truth to the people, bourgeois propaganda is characterized by the propaganda of lies. Correspondingly, Marxist propaganda uses the type of means and methods the purpose of which is to upgrade the consciousness and develop the initiative of the masses; bourgeois propaganda uses methods to manipulate the human mind (p 168). Secondly, either ideology has its specific

methods for the study and assimilation of its content. The systematically scientific nature of socialist ideas requires their rationally interpreted assimilation, in the course of which the theory itself is presented not as "ready-made" knowledge but as a creatively developing theory (p 292). The contradictory content of bourgeois ideology is imposed upon individuals in the form of distorted hoaxes and various types of myths and stereotypes (p 359).

Although the constructive nature of these concepts deserves a high rating, an essential remark is called for. Unfortunately, the author has paid clearly insufficient attention to counterpropaganda, which is an inseparable and important element in our entire ideological work.

Zh. T. Toshchenko has adopted an interesting and promising approach to the problem. This is a first attempt in scientific literature at considering ideological activities under the conditions of mature socialism from the viewpoint of the establishment, development and functioning of ideological forms of spiritual standards (political, economic, moral, etc.), each one of which is a unity of knowledge, convictions and practical human activities. Such a point of view enables us, first of all, to determine more fully the very content of ideological activities, clearly to distinguish their basic components and conscious and spontaneous aspects, and to distinguish between the concepts of "ideological work" and "ideological activities." Secondly, it enables us to determine more profoundly the wealth and strength of socialist culture and to indicate, on the one hand, the way and with the help of which ones of its mechanisms the spiritual wealth of mankind is accumulated and, on the other, the nature of the unity and individual features of the spiritual and practical assimilation by man of the various spheres of social life. Finally, said approach may be used as a reliable theoretical foundation in the search of specific means for observing the stipulations of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: shift the center of ideological and political education work in the labor collectives to the primary party organizations.

From the methodological viewpoint, this approach is interesting also because it presumes an analysis of ideological activities in two interrelated aspects: from the positions of the socialist society and the person himself. Indeed, its main objective is to develop in the Soviet people a scientific outlook, socialist ideals, infinite loyalty to the party's cause and intolerance of bourgeois ideology. These tasks are implemented above all in the course of extensive and comprehensive ideological education work by party, state, economic and public organizations. At the same time, to a great extent success in this matter depends on the person himself, on the level of his knowledge and upbringing and his interest in participating in socialist transformations. The author considers as his main task to present the functioning of the various forms of spiritual culture as the organic interaction and blending of the purposeful ideological influence and the internal restructuring of the individual and the development of his self-awareness in the course of man's realization of his place in the world around him (p 12). The author convincingly proves that ideological activities must mandatorily rely both on education and self-education. It is only as a result of the interaction of these aspects that convictions consistent with the socialist ideal are shaped along with the readiness of the individual to act in accordance with assimilated knowledge and standards (p 13).

The study made by the author of the role, nature and principles of counterpropaganda, its basic trends under contemporary conditions and the place of the latter in ideological and political education work (pp 143-156) is of great practical importance. Such problems are discussed within the broad context of the management of ideological activities. Particularly interesting in this connection is the study of the experience and principle in planning ideological work. The organic connection between its means and methods and the tasks facing labor collectives is one of the main guarantees of success and highly efficient ideological education (p 169). The extensive use of data from sociological studies provided by the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and other scientific institutions in the country gives the author's arguments and conclusions particular substance. The one view to which we object is the following: "Economic relations are the synthesis of material and spiritual ideological relations" (p 43). Although this concept is explained in the book, in our view it includes the possibility of identifying the ideological aspect of economic relations with the nature of such relations themselves. The latter, as we know, develop regardless of social awareness and, in the final account, determine it.

The book by Ye. M. Babosov offers a different angle in the study of ideological work. The author has made an interesting effort to provide a systemic analysis of ideology. This approach requires the identification of the structural components of the entity under study, to define its basic functions, to determine the interconnection between the subject and object of ideological activities and to indicate the features of ideology as a process for shaping specific social relations (pp 97-98). In a word, it would be expedient to consider the functioning of ideology from three points of view: as an activity, a process and a totality of relations. The author pays particular attention to the activity aspect. It is precisely this approach which is today one of the methodologically most promising. As a specific type of output and reproduction of spiritual culture and as a relatively autonomous component, ideological activity includes educational technology. It consists of specific means (political education, lecture propaganda, etc.), methods (use of periodicals, radio and television broadcasts, discussions and lectures) and ways of ideological activities (suggestions, persuasions, appeals to feelings, etc.). The choice of the latter is determined not only by the objectives of the specific act of education but also the general sociopolitical trend of one ideological system or another (p 120). We believe that said concepts are of great practical significance in the organization of propaganda and agitation and the struggle against bourgeois ideology.

The ideological process itself has a complex structure. It includes three necessary aspects: first, reflection and theoretical interpretation of reality, which results in new ideas, theories and concepts (ideological-theoretical activities); second, propaganda and mass agitation work (influence on the minds and feelings of the people); third, assimilation by the individual of specific values, views and knowledge (p 121). In characterizing the system of ideological relations, in our view the author rightly singles out the following: 1. Relations developing in the course of the process of the development and dissemination of ideology; 2. Relations between the subject of propaganda and agitation activities and the masses to

whom the ideological influence is extended; 3. Political, legal, aesthetic, moral and other relations among people; 4. Political moral and other stipulations and views of the individual, the social group and the class on phenomena and processes in surrounding reality (pp 122-123). The most important feature of ideological relations under mature socialist conditions is that they are increasingly influencing base production relations.

The theoretical concepts formulated by the author, which are an unquestionable merit of the book, are interpreted on the basis of the practical experience of the Belorussian party organization in shaping the communist outlook of the working people and sociological research data (p 132-147). In analyzing the problems which appear in this area, Babosov pays great attention to the connection between ideological activities and the solution of economic and organizational problems. Although the author has not been equally successful in all areas (for example, the role of specific methods of ideology, political, above all, has not been sufficiently described), unquestionably the work is a good study of topical ideological problems in terms of concept and execution.

To sum it up, let us emphasize that the three monographs are a substantial contribution to the development of theoretical problems of socialist ideology and will unquestionably assist the further advancement of ideological and political education activities.

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WAY OF LIFE UNDER SOCIALIST CONDITIONS

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[Review by A. S. Akhiyezer of the book "Obraz Zhizni v Usloviyakh Sotsializma (Teoretiko-Metodologicheskoye Issledovaniye)" [Way of Life Under Socialist Conditions (Theoretical-Methodological Study)]. Nauka, Moscow, 1984, 264 pp]

[Text] The authors of this monograph proceed from the theoretical stipulation that living conditions become a component of the way of life after they have become "materialized" through the activities of the subject. Said problem is concretized in the book through a distinction between objective and subjective conditions. The transformation of external conditions into the subjective content of the activities of the individual, concepts, value orientations, assessments, standards, etc., indicates their qualitative reorganization.

Socioecological studies are of major importance in understanding the interaction between the subject and the conditions governing the way of life. In particular, they indicate that said interaction is not reduced to the passive adaptation of the subject. The authors justifiably claim that the transition from the preservation (stabilization) of the environment to the requirement of changing it and the formulation of new principles of the interrelationship between man and nature is typical of the contemporary stage (p 98). On the basis of the experience acquired in the area of social ecology, the authors note that the attitude of the subject of the way of life toward the conditions governing his existence is of an industrial nature. They develop the thesis of the way of life as a permanently functioning "laboratory" for man's reproduction of his nature in the course of the labor process, social activeness, way of life and recreation. This reproduction is considered a reproduction of conditions "which, in the application of the way of life turn from a 'multiplicity' into an integrity" (p 204). In other words, the way of life includes the reproduction not only of the subject itself but also of the object, the conditions and the environment. In an ecological approach the environment is considered the result of human reproduction activities and a factor in the reproduction of the individual and the specific forms of the way of life. The study of this problem is an important theoretical accomplishment.

No less essential is the development of a situational approach to the study of the way of life. The problem (situational) and reproduction approaches share a common feature: both of them are based on the concept of the reflective nature of the way of life, i.e., on the capacity of man for self-change and

self-development. The way of life becomes not something given, not merely an object but also something which steadily appears in human activities, as their result. This type of approach substantially intensifies the methodological analysis of the way of life.

The authors emphasize that changes in society always take place in combination with social relations and cultural phenomena. This allows them to establish an analytical connection between the way of life and sociocultural dynamics. For the first time in Soviet literature this connection is traced quite profoundly. "...It is a question of finding answers relative to the types of sources of existence and changes in cultural processes and the way in which the regulatory mechanisms of such processes--sociocultural norms, values and models of activities, behavior and communications--appear, change and become part of the past" (p 121). The authors identify the sociopsychological and cultural mechanisms with the help of which the individuals regulate their behavior and resolve vital problems on the basis of existing circumstances, values, ideals, etc. The methodological significance of said approach is that prime significance is ascribed not only to the conditions governing activities but also to the ability of the individual to master and resolve his problems.

The monograph suggests the use of a very interesting analytical unit: the concept of the vital situation, which establishes the conditions and processes of activities, their interpenetration and interchange (pp 245-246). On the methodological level this concept is valuable because its content is "interdisciplinary:" it represents the unity of sociological, sociopsychological and cultural-sociological analysis and reflects the personality aspect of the way of life and man's practical ability to resolve arising problems. The monograph ascribes the greatest possible significance to individual efforts in the appearance and resolution of problem situations. The point of view according to which stress arises as a result of a certain disparity between the intensiveness of individual aspirations and the degree of accessibility of corresponding resources and between reality and the ideal standardized concepts of the manner in which one should live is noteworthy (pp 176, 246). The authors believe that sociocultural dynamics cannot be studied without a comparison between current and standardized processes (p 52). The comparison itself, they emphasize, is a necessary element of a problem situation for both the subject of the way of life and the researcher.

However, the monograph does not express with sufficient clarity the thought that the reproductive and problem (situational) approaches are essentially in a state of analytical interrelationship. Each production act can be considered the result of the outcome of a specific problem situation. This can be clearly seen in the example of the intercourse function in the dynamics of the way of life: changes in the structure of human intercourse and relations in the course of interaction are consistent with the respective stage of development. At the same time, in resolving problem situations, the people may not only retain but also change the system of existing relations. Hence the possibility of identifying factors and mechanisms which influence changes in the way of life and its dynamic reproduction. Unfortunately, this theoretical model has not been profoundly interpreted.

The study of the way of life is not something external to the study of social reproduction. It is one of its aspects, the level and specifics of which are as yet to be studied. At the same time, the result of the study of the way of life is a methodological prerequisite for the study of the individual and his ability critically to interpret a situation and to change in harmony with the environment. The syncretism of these two approaches becomes apparent in the study of the way of life in the course of the transition from the separate to the common and from the common to the separate. Unfortunately, the authors have failed to submit convincing proof of the inner unity between the problem and reproduction approaches and have paid little attention to difference between the social and the cultural factors of the way of life. These shortcomings prove the existence of some methodological problems which must be resolved in subsequent studies of the way of life.

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THEORY OF CULTURE AND MODERN SCIENCE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 85
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[Review by L. S. Perepelkin and O. I. Shkaratan of the book "Teoriya Kultury i Sovremennaya Nauka" [Theory of Culture and Modern Science]. Logical and methodological analysis. By E. S. Markaryan. Mysl, Moscow, 1983, 284 pp]

[Text] Debate on the specific area of sociology and its correlation with the other social sciences has noticeably revived of late. E. S. Markaryan has made a contribution to the discussion with his suggestion that the science of culture--culturology--be treated as a separate branch of science.

In order to understand the nature of the suggestion made by the author of this monograph we must turn to the concepts of activities and culture, on which he has worked for quite some time. Markaryan studies human society within the broad context of other self-organizing and self-developing systems. He notes that in terms of a number of invariant features human society can be classified as a biological system. In his view, the self-organization of all living systems is based on the principle of the anticipatory reflection of the result of future activities. That is why biological as well as social systems can adapt themselves to the predictable circumstances of their existence. He extends the concept of "activities" to all activities of biological and social systems as their invariant characteristic--the information-guided activities of anything animate, appearing on the basis of the adaptive-selective attitude toward the environment, the purpose of which is to ensure self-preservation through the satisfaction of the needs of living systems (pp 95-97). However, it would be difficult to accuse the author of failure to understand the qualitative differences between the laws of biological and social development. He looks at the general in order to find the specific. Markaryan emphasizes that social laws supplement the laws of self-organization. In his view, as a specific suprabiological means of human activities, culture explains the features of adaptability of social systems.

Markaryan, who wishes to indicate the place of culture in the social system, suggests a multidimensional model of society. He singles out three dimensions: subjects of activities, spheres of activities and means (or more broadly, methods) of activities. This model enables him to bring to light the sphere of the specific interests of sociology and the science of culture.

From his viewpoint, sociology should concentrate on the subjects of human activities: society as a whole, social groups and individuals. The science of culture is understood as a means of human activities (pp 25-26). Social phenomena, which are a means of activities (culture) and belong to the area of the study of the science of culture from the projection of one type of research, may, from another, conversely, be conceived as relations among subjects of activities and be of interest to sociology (pp 107-108). In the final account, the study of means of activities and relations caused by activities could constitute a single process of knowledge.

The author singles out the following subsystems in culture: natural-ecological, socioecological and socioregulatory (pp 59-79). The first is a means for the adaptation of society to the biophysical environment through corresponding transformations. It is based on the culture of material production. The second applies to the culture of social ties and interactions. The third regulates the activities of social individuals, i.e., contributes to the satisfaction of their needs and to the support of the social system as a whole. The natural-ecological subsystem is determining in the development of the general type of culture, for it expresses the culture of material production and the exchange of matter between the natural environment and society (pp 65-66). In our view, the socioregulatory sphere of culture, which is a specific channel for interaction between the social and the cultural, deserves particular attention. It is thanks to it that human activities are motivated and reproduced, and needs and values are formed. The mechanism for the implementation of such functions is the "institutionalization (the establishment of a social order within the framework of any kind of social association) of relations and behavior of individuals in all possible areas" and cultural tradition (pp 68-69).

The author gives an original interpretation to cultural tradition. As the generic concept of "group stereotyped anticipatory reflection" (p 156), cultural tradition is "group experience expressed in socially organized stereotypes, accumulated and reproduced in various human collectives through space-time transmission" (p 154). It acts as a mechanism for adaptation to foreseeable conditions of activities. Society adapts to unforeseeable conditions by updating the mechanism of creative innovations which eliminate old and develop new stereotyped forms, i.e., which contribute to the development of the overall sociocultural system. The projection of culturology includes in its range of vision traditions, which are distinct from the ordinary understanding of them as a mechanism for the transmission of cultural achievements.

The concepts developed by a number of sciences find a new interpretation in the light of the study made by E. S. Markaryan. Thus, his analysis of the concept of "method of activity" (pp 114-131) is the basis in explaining the phenomenon of "way of life" (pp 218-225). The latter is considered as a separate, a specific manifestation of culture, as a means of satisfying the needs of the individual shaped in a specific social environment (the consumption and production sphere). The thought is interesting although arguable.

The cognitive possibilities of the theory of culture, suggested by the author, are confirmed with the ethnocultural conducted in Armenia under his direction.

Here Markaryan's ideas were embodied in empirically and theoretically substantiated types of national cultural phenomena (housing, settlement, food systems). Let us note among the results of the study the development of ideas on general and local historical types of cultures and cultural traditions. The author suggests that the dialectics of the culture type and variant (a type is the sum total of variants; a variant may be a type and vice-versa, depending on the degree of generalization) be considered as a correlation between general and local types of culture, in accordance with the "principle of relativity of the types noted, depending on the required scope of the study and the components of cognitive tasks" (p 227). For example, whereas culture is shaped by the general, the local are national, regional and other similar types of culture. The use of the concepts of cultural aromorphoses and ideoadaptations (the former describe the progressive development of culture and the latter the adaptation to the environment without a progressive change) in the empirical study of national culture is of interest. It was established that in the past, when no conditions for the successful socioeconomic development of the Armenian people existed, a variety of forms of national culture were created essentially through ideoadaptation; under the Soviet system the role of progressive changes increased sharply. These observations prove the close ties between the social system and the dynamics of the cultural development of society. In our view, they should be developed further, particularly in order to formulate scientific criteria of aromorphic cultural changes.

The fruitful influence of the basic principles of historical materialism on the study of the science of culture is described in the work through the concept of the correlation between basic and superstructural phenomena in culture and the theory of formative types of culture. The author believes that the system for mastering and transforming the natural environment, i.e., the material and technical system, is determining in the field of culture. He formulates the means of regulating such activities (superstructural components, such as the mechanisms of motivation, stimulation, forecasting and control). This classification is important in understanding the functioning and development of culture.

The breakdown of culture into general and local types and its structural division (i.e., the determination of stages of cultural development based on fundamental changes in means of material production) is of considerable interest in the study of the sociocultural process. It is important in the study of the common cultural unity and local cultural variety of mankind and can be a basis for the formulation of methods for the classification of cultural phenomena.

It would be expedient to discuss the author's idea of the integration of sciences and the creation of a common scientific language (pp 249-260). In our view, this process has its limits. Each individual science has developed and is continuing to develop its specific views on the subjects of its study. This makes it necessary to avoid extremes in the aspiration to achieve the integration among sciences and their conceptual apparatus. The essential task in contemporary knowledge is not the creation of a common scientific knowledge, as Markaryan suggests, but the formulation of the necessary principles for recoding and translating information from the language of one

science into the apparatus of another. Let us take ethnography as an example, which has experienced at different times the influence of biology, linguistics, sociology, psychology and other sciences. This contributed not to the unification of the ethnographic scientific apparatus but to its enrichment and the appearance of new concepts means and methods. Nor was the specifically ethnographic vision of the world lost (1,2).

The work under review is not free from shortcomings. Thus, although the author has formulated many valuable considerations on the development of culture, they are extremely uncoordinated. Many ideas on the practical and managerial function of the theory of culture are pretentious (pp 212-225). The excessively complex style will diminish the number of readers of this overall necessary and interesting book. Furthermore, the work is written in the form of an essay, which has adversely affected the consistency of the presentation.

To sum it up, let us note that Markaryan's theory of culture expresses a particular viewpoint, that of the science of culture. Its fundamental nature and systematic presentation, as well as scientific novelty, will unquestionably be found interesting by Soviet social scientists.

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FAMILY STABILITY: SOCIOLOGICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS

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[Review by N. V. Malyarova of the book "Stabilnost Semi: Sotsiologicheskiye i Demograficheskiye Aspekty" [Family Stability: Sociological and Demographic Aspects]. Nauka, Leningrad, 1984, 135 pp]

[Text] Problems related to the development of the contemporary family have invariably drawn the attention of Soviet sociologists and have been the topic of hundreds of articles, reports and monographs. The book under review is small in size but we are confident that it will not become lost among other publications. The novel way of formulation of a number of problems, their serious treatment and the valuable empirical data contained in the book will trigger the interest of sociologists, demographers and anyone concerned with the fate of the institution of the family.

The author has set as his objective "to trace historical trends in changes in the family and to determine the specific laws governing its present form, as well as to clarify the sociopsychological aspects of human reproduction and the possible dependence of procreation on family stability" (pp 8-9). In accordance with this purpose, the entire monograph is imbued with the idea of the development of the family within a broad historical context.

According to the author, the most radical indicator of the evolution in the institution of the family has been the "historically changing emphasis placed on one of the basic intrafamily relations...the movement from kinship (father-son, blood relationship, etc.) to relationship by marriage (husband-wife)" (p 14). Let us immediately point out that defining the specific laws of the contemporary family model, based on marital relations, is the leitmotif of the monograph.

Unlike categories, such as "family" and "marriage," the "matrimony" category is analyzed in the book in detail. The need for such an analysis developed a long time ago, largely due to the objective changes experienced by the institution of the family in the course of its evolution, as well as the tasks of the development of the science of the family. The noninstitutionalized nature of relations, equality and symmetry of moral obligations and privileges

granted both spouses confirm, in the author's opinion, the historically recent origin of matrimony, which is defined as the personality interaction between husband and wife, regulated by moral principles and supported by its immanent values" (p 36). Whereas previously, due to the socioeconomic inequality among the sexes, matrimony as such was extremely rare, it is a real phenomenon today. This is confirmed by the study of reasons for getting married, changes in premarital rituals during the courting period, and the specific nature of matrimonial relations in the contemporary urban family.

According to the author, matrimony is the essential nucleus of the contemporary family, the stability of which depends above all on the reciprocal satisfaction of the spouses. The author conducted several empirical studies of family stability factors in order to confirm and concretize this dependence, in the course of which he studied the interaction and interdependence of the main matrimonial components, such as "adaptation," "intimacy" and "autonomy," which act both as the main familial values and as a mechanism governing the functioning and development of a modern marriage.

In discussing adaptation, the author considers "a series of closely inter-related adaptation relations, each one of which influences the stability of the matrimony to some (but always significant) extent" (p 69). He justifiably notes (numerous examples may be cited) that specialists have a tendency to ascribe excessive importance to any one relation in this series, most frequently the one consistent with their area of specialization. Thus, let us say, psychologists tend to exaggerate the role of the psychological aspect of interaction within the family, sexologists emphasize the influence of the sexual factor, etc. According to the author, adaptation is integrative and affects the spiritual, psychological, sexual, informational, relational, cultural and daily life areas. A profound study of empirical data leads most clearly to the conclusion that no single adaptation feature, taken separately, allows us to judge the stress in marital relations or disturbances in the functioning of the family. The main adaptation axis of a marriage is the search for common marital values and needs, i.e., spiritual unity (pp 71-72).

Intimacy is the second aspect of matrimonial interaction. It has been insufficiently studied in sociology, which makes the more valuable the singling out of this concept by the author, who relates it to a "deeper horizon of marital stability" (p 76). Intimacy, as an attribute of matrimony, is the consequence of a historically originated "intimization" of the individual and the increased complexity of his inner world. In a contemporary marriage, in which two developed internally rich personalities interact, simple adaptation is insufficient. It presumes a qualitatively different closeness. It is precisely such closeness that is characterized with the help of the "matrimonial intimacy" concept, which indicates a harmony, a unity between two personalities. In the course of his empirical study the author develops an indicator with the help of which he measures the level of intimacy and which reflects features of matrimonial interaction, such as sympathy, disposition, gratitude and erotic attachment.

Two personalities come together in a marriage without, however, disappearing or losing their individuality. "Unity of marital partners also implies their independence, i.e., their autonomy" (p 85). Autonomy is the third essential

aspect of matrimony, in contrast to but also combined with intimacy. Empirical data indicate that autonomy does not oppose intimacy. Conversely, these two characteristics positively interrelate. The dialectics of correlation between intimacy and autonomy plays an important role in the author's concept of the development of matrimonial relations.

In turn, the study of the laws and motive forces of this development is extremely important, both in order to understand the objective prerequisites of a stable marriage and to clarify the methods of psychological correlation work with the family. The identification of the considered value mechanisms enables us to gain a better understanding of the reasons for the destabilizing of family relations and violations of family functions. We can clearly see the complex path which must be walked by the spouses in the course of their life together and realize more clearly why not all of them succeed in avoiding errors and losses along the way. The author proves that marital satisfaction is closely related to the interaction and interdependence of adaptability, intimacy and autonomy of marital relations.

The author provides an interesting study of the concept of "model of a successful marriage," with the help of which it is possible not only to trace the dynamics of a subjective perception by the spouses of their family situation but to register a number of objective processes. "The model of the marriage is transformed by practical experience," the author concludes (p 50), i.e., it experiences changes, goes through several stages, depends on the length of the marriage and does not coincide in men and women. The latter is presented particularly clearly and convincingly. The author extensively analyzes the degree of satisfaction with family and marital relations in connection with the concept of a stable marriage. Subjective satisfaction with a marriage greatly depends on the "awareness, desire and potential opportunity to combine one's own value orientations and aspirations with those of one's partner" (p 50). This interpretation sounds quite convincing. In such a treatment satisfaction with the marriage appears not as a purely individual but an integrative category in which the specifics of sex, stage of life of the marital couple and the developed style of relations are taken into consideration.

Let us note that the model of a stable marriage and satisfaction with it are considered not as valuable in themselves but in connection with proving the special role which matrimony plays in the functioning of the modern family.

In considering the characteristics of the development of the family as a small social group, the author formulates the idea of the stages of matrimony and changes in the nature of marital relations in the course of family life. On the basis of empirical data, S. I. Golod reaches the conclusion that the satisfaction of the spouses with the marriage is largely determined by the existence of the corresponding value of the matrimony attained at the specific stage of the functioning of the family. For example, during the first year of life together, usually close emotional contacts, a feeling of mutual understanding, plays a particularly important role. Subsequently, the lack of independence begins to appear. These observations are quite interesting and we wish for the author to follow in the future the connection between the stages of development of matrimony and the life cycle of the family as a whole. For the time being, the manner in which these levels of the family system interrelate and determine each other remain unclear.

The book studies extensively the connection between historically alternating forms of families and the procreation behavior of the spouses and their attitude toward having children. In noting that contemporary procreational behavior presumes the existence of conscious intrafamily control, the author singles out two aspects of such control: negative and positive. The negative is manifested in the refusal to give birth, while the positive is shown in the conscious decision to have children and the choice of the proper time to this effect. In the author's opinion, currently it is only the first of these aspects which has become developed, although "the refusal...to have a child, in order to satisfy more important or imaginary personal needs willy-nilly draws the person into some kind of magic circle" (p 112) and, in any case, does not solve the problems which arise in connection with competing needs. The development of the positive side of control leads to the fact that "the need for children is raised to the noncompetitive level in the best time interval for the qualitative reproduction of descendants" (p 112).

Unfortunately, the author does not formulate his attitude toward the future development of the second aspect of intrafamily childbirth control quite clearly. Nevertheless, the general pattern of his views enables us to relate these prospects with the prospects of the development of the family itself. Since positive procreation decisions "are the result of the preference of the wife (or of both spouses) for demographic values over other sociocultural values" (p 109), within the framework of the concept developed by the author the question naturally arises of the manner in which the family affects the "parents-children" relationship and perhaps the spouses' awareness of the value of children among the other values. In answering this question, the author designs a "historically changeable order" of family relations: patriarchal, child-centered and intimate-autonomous (p 118). In his view, the child-centered family is small, unlike the patriarchal family with many children. As to the matrimonial-type family, matters here are more complex. In such families "relations between parents and children have begun to rely on the same basic principles as relations between husband and wife" (p 120) and becoming increasingly intimate-autonomous. These transformed "vertical" relations are as important to the very essence of the matrimonial family as the new "horizontal" relations between spouses (p 122). Obviously, what the author means is that unlike the small child-oriented family, the matrimonial and marital family could have few or an average number of children, although this thought is not expressed sufficiently clearly anywhere in the book. In discussing the role of the family in the socialization of children, however, the author most clearly notes that "in this respect the matrimonial type family is outside the competition" (p 120).

The lack of clarity of the conclusion we mentioned is the result of a general shortcoming of the work: The author is not always able to find a form consistent with the content of his book. Many important thoughts are expressed in the manner of a tongue-twister and a distinction between theoretical and empirical data is not always made. Some expressions are simply inept (for which not only the author but also the editor should be blamed. The author "learns to live with his errors and no longer notices them, while the editor should look at them with a fresh perspective). The only reason for the use of concepts such as "adaptation syndrome" (p 69 and others) and "humanoid values" (p 78) is that the dictionary was not consulted as to the meaning of words such as "syndrome" and "humanoid."

Despite such shortcomings, this work makes for interesting reading. Its principal merit is a persistent aspiration to avoid ready-made answers prompted by "common sense" (such "prompting" is particularly tempting in discussing the family), and to study the profound mechanisms of intrafamily interaction. This book belongs to the type of scientific works which do not leave the reader indifferent. It abounds in interesting ideas and raises a number of new questions which await their answers. The author has made a substantial contribution to the development of a sociological theory of the family by adding one more link to the structure of categories and concepts related to the nature and laws related to the functioning of matrimony, which is the nucleus of the contemporary family.

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URBAN ECOLOGY. FOREIGN INTERDISCIPLINARY CONCEPTS

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[Review by O. Ye. Trushchenko of the book "Ekologiya Goroda. Zarubezhnyye Mezhdistsiplinarnyye Kontseptsii" [Urban Ecology. Foreign Interdisciplinary Concepts] by O. N. Yanitskiy. Nauka, Moscow, 1984, 240 pp]

[Text] The problem of "the city--living environment" has assumed a global proportion literally before our eyes. Meanwhile, science is only feeling its way to its practical resolution. That is why any new book on this topic draws particular attention. The monograph by O. N. Yanitskiy, a leading specialist in urbanization, is interesting precisely by virtue of three circumstances. First, it provides an analysis of the latest foreign concepts of urban ecology. Second, it is an attempt to concretize the Marxist-Leninist methodology in the study of socioecological urban settlement systems. Third, it sums up international statistical and special research data, including studies based on the "Man and Biosphere" international program.

The change of paradigms is the most important feature in contemporary foreign studies of socioecological urban problems. The concepts of the 1920s-1930s viewed urban systems separately from the other social subsystems and as centers of civilization existing, allegedly, in an infinite environment--a store of urban growth resources. Today, under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution, the interference of man in natural processes has increased sharply. It was the symptoms of the ecological crisis that forced the Western scientists to study the city and nature as a single ecosystem. The specialists are increasingly adopting the view of the global nature of the changes which have taken place and their inseparable connection with demographic processes. Not the least role in this reorientation of views was played by the circumstance that said changes affected the "socioeconomic condition of the capitalist system as a whole" (p 64).

The shift in theoretical concepts is one of the attempts to find a solution to the crisis in which bourgeois social science finds itself. The author identifies the essential difficulties which arise along this way. A reorientation from a positivistic to a historical approach took place in Western socioecological thinking in the 1970s. A new view on the role of science developed as

well. Urbanization was no longer considered as a sort of uncontrollable "natural process." It was precisely the awareness of the interconnection among nature, man and the city that enables us to plan and regulate the activities of the ecosystem. As Yanitskiy indicates, however, said position is not being systematically applied, for which reason the interpretation of urbanization abounds in contradictions. The methodological sources of the latter are the absolutizing of the importance of production forces and the underestimating of the influence of production relations. The study provided in the book convincingly proves that even taken by themselves, unless organically coordinated with the initial theoretical principles, the long-range concepts cannot serve as an adequate methodological research tool.

For the first time in our literature this work provides a detailed analysis of environmental sociology. This discipline, which appeared relatively recently, is developing at the junction of studies dealing with the "social influence" on the environment and the consequences of the shortage of energy and other resources. Based on the study of foreign works on environmental sociology, the author reaches the conclusion that so far the latter lack their own clear paradigm. Nevertheless, the subject of this discipline can be defined. It is "the sum total of social processes and changes related to changes in the material prerequisites of social life and the material environment of the human habitat created by social impact on the natural environment, the biosphere" (p 149). In our view, this definition is somewhat abstract. However, it is fully acceptable as a working hypothesis.

In considering the development of said trend, Yanitskiy concludes that in terms of its status environmental sociology gravitates toward disciplines such as political economy and history. The author considers an argument in support of this conclusion the realization by foreign scientists that ecological problems are global" (p 131). This thesis triggers a number of objections. First, the consideration of a problem as global does not in itself prove the need for the development of an essentially new apparatus for the systematic-theoretical reflection of the phenomena. Second, sociological concepts similar to the one under consideration have the status of separate disciplines. Unquestionably, the idea of classifying environmental sociology as a separate theory is timely and deserves support. However, the internal criteria and principles governing its establishment must be refined. The main difficulty here, noted by the author, incidentally, is the interdisciplinary nature of socioecological problems.

One of the essential merits of the book is the profound analysis of the features of interdisciplinary studies and the summation of their experience. The author develops the idea that interdisciplinary interaction should be based on the problem-oriented approach, which not only ensures the maximal targeting of the research project on the solution of practical problems but also enables us to focus the theoretical views of the various disciplines on a single point and clearly to delineate their area of interaction. Yanitskiy, who rates highly the heuristic possibilities of this approach in the study of socioecological problems, exposes the inevitable limitations in its utilization under the conditions of a bourgeois society: in frequent cases the results of scientific studies turn into a scientific "framing" of decisions made by politicians.

The author's study of foreign research on socioecological problems is not self-seeking. In summing up acquired experience from the positions of Marxist-Leninist methodology, Yanitskiy considers the topic and substantiates the multitiered integrative approach to the ecology of the capitalist city. This approach presumes the study of ecosystems in their spatial-temporal, socio-functional and historical aspects (p 211). It is true that the reason for which the second aspect of the study, initially described as sociofunctional, is subsequently identified with the "socioeconomic," is not entirely clear. He points out that not one of the enumerated levels of study is possible without a socioeconomic analysis. Despite such terminological inaccuracies, however, the suggested approach seems to us promising. It directs us not only toward the study of the results of the influence of social factors on urban ecology but also concentrates the scientific analysis on the feedback, on the influence of changes in the habitat on the way of life, a question of particular practical importance especially today.

The work includes frequent conflicting statements, chronological inaccuracies and unjustified repetitions of the same judgments. The monograph editors have not done an adequate job. As a whole, Yanitskiy's book is a substantial contribution to interpreting the results of the latest studies of socioecological processes and to the development of the methodological foundations of Marxist urban social ecology and the principles of interdisciplinary research.

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ATTENTION: CONFLICT! I

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[Review by Ye. S. Druzhinin of the book "Vnimanie: Konflikt!" [Attention: Conflict!] by F. M. Borodkin and N. M. Koryak. Nauka, Novosibirsk, 1983, 142 pp. The book under review has triggered inadequate and, sometimes, even conflicting assessments on the part of the scientific public, for which reason the editors decided to publish, as an exception, two reviews representing different viewpoints on the work of the Novosibirsk scientists]

[Text] In recent years, the problem of conflicts, including those which break out in labor collectives, has been attracting the increasing attention of sociologists and social psychologists. The increased complexity of relations between the individual and his physical and social environment, characteristic of the scientific and technical revolution, and the increased role of the subjective factor in the life of our society put on the agenda the study of conflict situations, with a view to formulating recommendations aimed at eliminating and controlling the various types of clashes among fellow workers, managers and subordinates and finding the optimal behavioral strategy under the conditions of a conflict.

This is what makes the publication of this book, in which "an attempt is made to 'translate' concepts on the theory of conflict into a language understood not only by the specialist but by any reader on the application of theoretical knowledge in the study of specific conflict situations and the search of means to resolve them" (p 7), so timely. Published as part of a popular science series, this book offers a detailed study of specific situations described to the authors in talks with managers of various collectives.

What is important to the reader is whether or not the examples cited are typical as well as the level of conflicts discussed in the book. The authors are equally interested in conflict situations among the personnel of a meteorological laboratory (situation No 11), in a planning and distribution shop bureau consisting of five people (No 14), between the factory management and a worker (No 19), etc. Clearly, they should have distinguished between conflicts which break out in labor collectives and clashes which take place in small groups.

Unquestionably, the authors intensify our concepts of the sociopsychological theory of conflict thanks to the introduction of a number of key concepts, such as conflicting situation, adversaries, rank of adversary, subject and object of the conflict and incident. The most important among them is the "conflict-free situation" in which there is both a conflict and participants, "but when no conflict has exists as yet, there have been no open clashes, so to say, realized by the participants as being a conflict" (p 11). Obviously, it is a question of a situation in which the participants in the forthcoming clash have been identified, a clash the purpose of which is to resolve an existing contradiction of which they are as yet unaware. In such a case the qualitative distinction between conflict situation and clash disappears.

The authors raise in an interesting way the question of gauging the forces of the adversaries through the "relative complexity of their structures" (p 13), i.e., through their ranks. However, the attempt to classify them by rank appears artificial and therefore unconvincing. In particular, it is difficult to agree with the claim that an adversary of zero rank becomes an individual who "at the same time that he is arguing against himself is also making his decision" (p 13).

The same type of unclarity is characteristic of the definition of the concept of "conflict:" "a conflict situation plus an incident" (p 16), and the attempt at identifying the subject of the conflict through the inner psychological reason found within the adversaries and, on this basis, to single out the emotional conflicts (p 28). The authors justifiably point out the important distinction of business conflicts which makes them the opposite of emotional conflicts: "Any business conflict or string of business conflicts with permanent adversaries tends to develop into an emotional conflict" (p 29).

After describing the structure of the conflict, the authors concentrate on conflicts within organizations, which they describe as a sum of three different projections or systems--organizational-technological, economic and microsocal. The individual "acts in all three simultaneously, servicing the first two, creating the third, animating the first two and living in the third" (p 36). We believe the singling out of such projections or systems within organizations incorrect for no grounds for such classification have been identified.

In discussing elements, links among elements and system resources, the authors write that formally, from the viewpoint of the analyzed features, the organizational-technological and economic systems are "largely similar to each other" (p 37). We consider this assumption groundless. Individual conflict sources could include, first of all, the imbalance of jobs in a given organization and, secondly, the existing type of relations among jobs--technological, information and hierarchical. According to the authors, it is difficult to reach a situation in which there is a perfect job balance, for the functions and means required in many jobs are frequently set quite approximately. In other words, the asynchronous nature of their functioning and noncoincidence of work targets may be sources of conflict situations, created by the interaction between organizational-technological and economic systems.

The authors do not offer a precise definition of the "organization" concept. Furthermore, they do not describe its socioeconomic nature and its functions in a socialist society. All of this significantly lowers the scientific value of the work. In our opinion, they should have analyzed first conflicting situations on the microsocial level and described their features, for social (microsocial) relations imbue all areas of activities of small groups and are their determining aspect.

The authors contradict themselves by claiming that the "technology" of economic work is much less specific than that of basic production which, allegedly, leads to inevitable conflicts within the system (pp 43-44). They obviously ignore the fact that economic relations which characterize enterprise activities and "economic work" on the level of small groups are not one and the same but economic relations operating on different levels.

The other two chapters, in which the authors discuss the microsocial system, its elements (contact groups as a special form of cooperation in human activities, the purposes of which do not always coincide with the tasks of the organizational-technological system) and conflicts triggered by the behavior of people with a specific mentality, are presented more consistently.

The parts discussing the views of informal groups, defined as "the sum total of functions, stably performed by the same participants" (p 84) and the position held by the leader of the group are of considerable interest. Citing specific examples, the authors describe the interrelationship between leader and administrator which, in a number of cases, could lead to the outbreak of conflicting situations, and recommend to the administrator to win over the leader in order to rely on his real power and make him his ally. The part dealing with the microsocial system would have been more complete had attention been paid to the study of conflict situations which arise in formal structures.

The work also analyzes features such as demonstrativeness and rigidity and describes the superpunctilious and the conflict-free personality types. The authors proceed from a classification of people into two varieties: situational and permanent-conflict (p 101). For the first variety conflict is the consequence of a specific situation; for the second, a character feature. The authors consider managers whose moral and psychological characteristics have left them unprepared for the implementation of their official duties a separate type of conflict personality. In their view, "in no case should a manager be a conflict personality, for in that case his own...problems and conflicts become the problems and conflicts of the entire organization" (p 118).

In concluding their discussion on conflict, the authors draw attention to its functions within the organization and to defining the effectiveness of this social phenomenon. Unfortunately, the question of the effectiveness of the conflict is formulated in the book in most general terms and is essentially reduced to its positive significance: "It would be accurate to consider any conflict constructive in terms of its effectiveness regarding a specific adversary" (p 134). As to defining the functions of a conflict in the organization, the authors single out two of the most general ones: the diagnostic

and the drastic reorganization of conditions (p 129). Clearly, the conflict by no means always performs positive functions. It is destructive if it disturbs the implementation of group assignments, lowers the the productivity of group work and threatens the existence of the group as an integral unit. In this case, the authors limit themselves to a few remarks, such as "conflicts involve a variety of severe losses" (p 129) and "conflict interactions and results are frequently related to material losses as well" (p 130). However, they fail to explain the core of the matter.

In conclusion, let us point out the following: The book under review proves the need for and importance of the further study of conflicts in labor collectives. The shortcomings noted here are the result of the underdeveloped nature of the sociopsychological theory of conflicts.

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ATTENTION: CONFLICT! II

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[Review by I. Ye. Zadorozhnyuk of the book "Vnimaniye: Konflikt! [Attention: Conflict!] by F. M. Borodkin and N. M. Koryak. Nauka, Novosibirsk, 1983, 142 pages]

[Text] Novels are written and plays staged on the theme of production conflicts. They are discussed at scientific conferences and programmed in managerial training. A conflict is of interest also in terms of its direct manifestations, considering existing production structures and interpersonality relations, conditions for its appearance and means of resolution.

The book by Novosibirsk sociologists F. M. Borodkin and N. M. Koryak, which is a study of production conflicts, is not a dry academic-type study. It is topical and active. Any one of the conflicts they describe can be "recognized" and encourage the reader to think and look for means to resolve it.

What is a conflict? The authors do not claim to give a comprehensive definition of this concept which they structure from related definitions: a base for conflict or a conflict situation (p 11), the conflict adversary and his rank (p 13) and an incident (p 16). Each of the definitions is explained in detail with specific data, which makes it easier to understand.

However, conflicts vary. Frequent consequences of a conflict are disturbances in the rhythm of the production process, worsening of intragroup relations and lowered labor productivity. As a whole, such a conflict is destructive. However, a clash of opinions and views could also be greatly useful and contribute to perfecting production structures and improving the moral and psychological climate in labor collectives and organizations on all levels. Such conflicts are constructive. Finally, there also are neutral conflicts which, however, are not a matter of indifference to those involved.

These conflicts break out within the framework of different systems, the main among which, the authors believe, are organizational-technological, economic and sociopsychological, which are closely interrelated. The classification of the functional features of conflicts according to these systems motivates the

reader to choose what is better: a risk of disturbing interpersonality relations and reorganizing the management structure with a view to imposing labor discipline or, on the basis of the existing structure, promote discipline slowly but accurately (situation No 3).

The book is of equal interest to sociologists and social psychologists, management workers and economists. Let us consider, for example, the situations described in the chapter "The Individual in Conflict." In one of them (No 16), a VUZ chair instructor makes good use of his rights as a young specialist in order to avoid assuming the duties of chair associate. Such behavior, which inevitably results in a conflict, is not approved by the head of the chair but has been of interest to the collective from the very start. In few but clear lines the authors describe the participants in the conflict which ended with a "demonstrative-type" declaration of dismissal. In interpreting the situation, the authors write that "conflicts become a natural environment for the existence of a few such individuals, providing them with a permanent reason for enjoying their suffering and endurance" (p 105).

Equally interesting is the study of the rigid type personality unable to adapt to the new circumstances, groundlessly insisting on his prepotatives (No 17); the uncontrollable and superprecise individuals (the former display an exaggerated opinion of themselves, unsupported by production indicators, thus lowering the level of unity of the group in resolving common problems; the latter show increased exigency toward those around them and try to impose their own work style upon them without any particular success) (No 18); a manager who has been unable to resolve a conflict with his former fellow workers in the interest of the work and has not accurately gauged his forces in confronting a higher-ranking adversary (No 19).

The following question arises: Are the authors not excessively strict by suggesting that a conflict situation can be resolved with a dismissal? We believe not, for it is a question of an exigent attitude toward people who are not employed where they should for a number of reasons, such as wrong choice of profession, character features, excessive aspirations, etc.

The most interesting is the chapter on the functions of the conflict. Whatever the nature of the organization, it affects numerous areas (systems) of activities, the organizational-technological, economic and sociopsychological above all. Furthermore, it can perform a diagnostic function by indicating the imperfection of the organizational and technological process or stress in interpersonality relations. Noteworthy is the authors' conclusion that organization-technological, economic and sociopsychological dimensions as well perform conflict functions.

The reorganization of production activities with a view to upgrading their productivity cannot take place without conflict, the authors justifiably claim. Although such reorganization may trigger negative emotions in some cases and the conflict itself is frequently characterized by extreme stress in relations among adversaries and does not always result in an immediate increase in economic efficiency, the resolution of a conflict situation always benefits the production process. In some cases, the effort artificially to hinder the development of a conflict leads to destructive consequences both to the organization and the individuals.

We can say, as an overall assessment of the book, that the authors have carried out their main assignment: to help managers on different levels "to advance, even if only by a few steps, in 'mastering' conflicts in an organization and turning them into a controllable process" (p 9). At the same time, even a basic familiarity with the theory of conflict, as developed by Soviet scientists, as well as the views of bourgeois sociologists on the problem, would be of unquestionable usefulness to the readers. Thus, the "sociology of conflict" which is a separate branch of sociology in the West (1), derives conflicts in the consumption sphere from aesthetic preferences, and from sex and age structures in the production sphere. British sociologist S. Hampshire considers conflicts a phenomenon of a moral order (2). A critical analysis of basic concepts relative to the "sociology of conflict" or even its general assessment would, unquestionably enrich this work.

The authors set no claim to providing a comprehensive analysis of conflict. This, however, does not free them from the need to provide a stricter interpretation of the "conflict" concept. They write that "conflict is one of the means of management" (p 7). It would be more accurate to say that forecasting a conflict, controlling its development and participating in its efficient resolution is a "means of management," the more so since it is precisely the accuracy of this view that is being argued throughout the book. In conclusion, the authors describe a conflict as an "extreme, a radical surgical method" to which "one should resort in the absence of other, 'peaceful' solutions" (p 136). Therefore, once again conflict is considered a means. This is insufficient in terms of attaining a comprehensive understanding of its nature, even though the authors have focused their attention on the "strictly applied, the managerial aspect of the problem" (p 8). Had conflict been merely a means rather than the clash of sides, forces, views or opinions, the most far-sighted managers would have no conflicts whatsoever. However, it is precisely they who know better than others that conflicts are unavoidable. The fact that forecasting, diagnosing and controlling conflicts at their early development stage and the following of an "objective logic of conflict" (however paradoxical this may appear) are prerequisites for successful control of even extremely aggravated situations is precisely what the authors intimately discuss with the readers.

A final note: this work by the Novosibirsk scientists shows a clearly expressed emphasis on practical requirements, persuasive presentation and constructive conclusions and recommendations. It may be considered a good example of popularization of sociological and sociopsychological knowledge.

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WORKING YOUTH: EDUCATION, PROFESSION, MOBILITY

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[Review by V. G. Alekseyeva of the book "Trudyashchayasya Molodezh: Obrazovaniye, Professiya, Mobilnost" [Working Youth: Education, Profession, Mobility]. V. N. Shubkin responsible editor. Nauka, Moscow, 1984, 215 pp]

[Text] The book under review completes an extensive international sociological research project on "Youth Careers in a Socialist Society," which was conducted within the framework of the Problem Commission on Multilateral Cooperation Among Academies of Sciences of Socialist Countries on the topic of "The Working Class in the World Revolutionary Process."

The conference of vice-presidents of the academies of sciences of the socialist countries awarded the authors of the series of monographs which summed up the results of the study (1-4) the international prize for outstanding joint works in the field of Marxist-Leninist social studies. This is a fully deserved award, for it is essentially a question of a first big multilateral study of the youth problem in the socialist community. The following participated in the study: the Institute of Contemporary Social Theories of the BAN [Bulgarian Academy of Sciences] Presidium and the Scientific Research Youth Institute of the DKSM [Dimitrov Communist Youth Union]; the Institute of Social Sciences of the MSZMP Central Committee; the GDR Central Institute for Youth Studies; the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Sociology; the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers Movement and the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Sociology.

One of the most important socioeconomic problems of socialist society was worked on in the course of the study: improving the system of training the young working class reinforcements. That is why the working youth--young men and women employed in industry, construction, transportation and consumer services--was the target of the study which covered the value orientations, professional inclinations and personal plans the respondents as well as their actual behavior and social, professional and territorial mobility and way of life. The implementation of such a plan is a rather difficult scientific and methodical problem the solution of which was accomplished through the efficient coordination of research stages and procedures: unity of research targets in all participating countries (workers between the ages of 16 and 30); standardized method (mass sociological studies of the young people in

all the countries, based on a standard investigation); quantification of research results based on a single code for all participants; a single system for statistical and mathematical processing; setting up a joint information bank, division of labor and specialization by the participants in the project in specific problems in the analysis of results.

All of this ensured sufficient reliability of empirical data and the high theoretical standard of their interpretation. Thus, the authors were able to make a thorough study of the general and specific awareness and behavior of the different youth groups in the socialist countries during the period of completion of their education and beginning of labor activities and to prove the close connection between socioeconomic development in these countries and the level of readiness of the young people for work and their integration within labor collectives. Both processes are related to surmounting contradictions between the objective requirements of society for cadres and the professional plans of the young people, oriented primarily toward so-called prestige professions, rated regardless of personal abilities. Let us admit that such an orientation is largely the work of publications on such topics, which have practically legitimized the concepts of "creative" and "noncreative" professions, although we know that creativity is a function of ability, i.e., of the ability of a person to work rather than of the profession itself.

The work cites data proving that a high degree of orientation toward education is noted among the various groups of working youth in all the countries. Respondents who expressed the desire to pursue their education accounted for 47.4 percent of the total in Hungary, 49.4 in Czechoslovakia, 50.5 in Poland, 51.6 in Bulgaria and 66.2 in the USSR. This was based on the high similarity of real conditions and opportunities offered by the socialist system for the growth of culture and the development of the individual and the fact that young people rate mental professions higher than physical, although the attitude toward the latter varies from country to country (in Hungary, for example, young people rate service industry professions somewhat higher than in the other socialist countries).

The study proves that the 1980s are characterized by a higher degree of dependence of socioeconomic progress in the socialist society on the solution of a number of practical problems related, one way or another, to youth problems, compared with the past. This was what determined the aspiration of the authors to combine in the book theoretical with empirical approaches to the study of this problem, on the one hand, and theoretical with practical approaches, on the other. In particular, noting the declining growth of labor resources in a number of countries and the existence of major territorial differences in manpower availability, they suggest that great attention be paid to the formulation of systems of differentiated youth labor balances based on profession and skill, and upgrading the popularity of most service industry and agricultural spheres, the prestige of which remains quite low.

They also substantiate recommendations on the planned reduction of the need for "nonprestigious" professions on the basis of mechanization and automation, and perfecting the work of general education schools (particularly in rural areas) and the VUZ selection system.

The most important problem for the present and the immediate future is ensuring the reproduction of the population. The monograph studies contradictions between the three basic types of youth activities: training (preparations for future work), employment in the national economy and population reproduction. On the one hand, under the conditions of a reduction in labor resources, society is interested in the fullest possible utilization of young people in the national economy; on the other, the scientific and technical revolution requires extensive and labor-intensive general and professional training. Finally, it is necessary to organize simple population reproduction. Today the training and labor functions in a number of countries are suppressing the demographic function. This requires the adoption of more efficient measures on a national scale to stimulate the reproductive activities of young families and to upgrade the social prestige of parenthood.

In as much as the professional and job self-determination of young people is closely related to family planning, surmounting contradictions between the professional and maternal role of women and freeing the young people from a number of obsolete or simply false stereotypes related to their attitude toward a profession and their plans for life as a whole, "the study of contemporary youth problems requires a comprehensive, systematic and interdisciplinary approach" (p 201), while their practical solution requires "the implementation of a set of interrelated measures" (ibid.). This very meaningful conclusion reemphasizes the theoretical and practical value of this joint work by scientists from the socialist countries. The comprehensive approach to the study and solution of youth problems requires the interpretation and mastery by each single country of the international socialist experience acquired in this area, reflected in the monograph.

In conclusion, we would like to express some wishes to the authors. The first thing, which strikes us, is a certain heterogeneity among the separate chapters, caused by the correlation between theoretical and empirical analysis. Some paragraphs in Chapter 3, for instance, provide mainly a good description of empirical facts. In Chapter 2 the authors bypass a problem "suggested" by empirical data, such as the influence of the scientific and technical revolution on the structure of the needs of society for cadres by profession. A number of tables fail to provide data by individual country. Readers in the profession would have been grateful to the authors and the publishers for the publication of the entire methodical set of instruments used in the study (surveys-interviews, a uniform international code and system of statistical interpretations). This substantially impoverishes the methodical significance of the book and the empirical data it contains, for their origin and, therefore, their accuracy, cannot be checked. Finally, it is regrettable that governmental statistical data are only nominally cited in the work and that authors and editors did not deem it necessary to include them together with the empirical information obtained in the course of the study.

Our demands concerning the authors may appear excessive, for collective works of sociology have their specific features. A less experienced author would find it difficult to "join" the group, for the study of empirical data would reveal perfectly his weak and strong sides. Understanding the specifics of a monograph on sociology enables us to give a high rating to the work of both

authors and editors, who have done a great deal to reduce the number of such shortcomings and for the book to be perceived as an integral work in terms of logic and style of presentation.

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SOCIAL PROCESSES IN YOUTH LABOR TRAINING

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[Review by V. I. Shuvanov of the book "Sotsialnyye Problemy Podgotovki Molodezhi k Trudu" [Social Processes in Youth Labor Training] by V. V. Novikov and E. N. Fetisov. Mysl, Moscow, 1984, 215 pp]

[Text] In recent years the training of young people for labor has been studied in its various aspects by economists, sociologists, psychologists and educators. This recently published monograph plays a noteworthy role in such research. The work is based on the results of a sociological study conducted by the authors from 1966 to 1982 at Moscow machine building enterprises and a number of other plants in other national economic sectors. The study involved young workers (under 30), newly hired or having been employed at the enterprises for no more than 3 years, students and graduates of vocational training schools and senior grade students at general education schools. More than 20,000 respondents were surveyed with the help of all basic data gathering methods: study of statistical data, mass form surveys, interviews, talks, observations and experimentation.

The authors begin their study with the presentation of the theoretical-methodological problem of training young people for work. They comprehensively analyze the process of organization and development of the Soviet system of vocational and technical training and the basic trends in the training of worker cadres in the country, and determine the most progressive training ways and methods. The social production process, the authors conclude, is organically related to the further development of the working class, the leading of role of which will be increasing in the political, economic and ideological life of society (p 40). In noting the significant increase in the general education and professional-qualification level of the workers under developed socialist conditions and scientific and technical progress, the authors nevertheless consider that "obviously, in the foreseeable future a certain gap will remain...between the real and required levels of skill necessary for performing a number of types of work" (p 42). This gap may develop into a contradiction, they write, unless purposeful efforts are made in training young people for labor and failure to reduce the volume of heavy manual work.

The authors proceed to describe the interaction of elements in the "man-profession-work-production-society" socioeconomic system. Unfortunately, however, they offer a meaningful analysis only to concepts, such as "youth,"

"profession" and "vocational guidance," although as they themselves justifiably note, so far no uniform opinion concerning their definition exists in sociological publications. In noting that the process of training young people for labor is lengthy and does not end when the young person has chosen his profession and found a job, the authors divide the vocational guidance process into seven stages: professional education, professional self-determination, professional consultation, job, professional selection, professional adaptation and perfecting professional skill (pp 77-78). It seems to us that it would have been expedient to substantiate their viewpoint in greater detail.

The monograph provides a thorough study of the condition of vocational guidance and discusses problems of the joint work of family and school in preparing young people for work. The authors consider that the time is ripe for the formulation of a national system of vocational guidance and suggest basic principles for its organization on five different levels: state, regional (sectorial), production, school and personal.

The most efficient management method of social processes, including youth labor training, is the formulation of social development plans. The authors describe the ZIL experience in the social development of young people, encompassing the adaptation and professional qualification advancement of young people and supply rich factual data.

The book will be of great interest and practical value to sociologists, plant sociologists in particular, cadre service personnel, educators, psychologists and public organization activists, as well as anyone involved in vocational guidance and training the various youth categories for work.

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SOCIOLOGISTS' BOOKSHELF

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