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USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

No 5, SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1986

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USSR REPORT

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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No 5, September-October 1986

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FOREIGN COMMENTARY ON CONGRESS DOCUMENTS, PARTY PROGRAM CITED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNY MIR in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 86 pp 3-14

[Editorial: "Tremendous International Repercussions"]

[Excerpts] There is a profound normality in the fact that the most important events in the life of the Soviet Union and the CPSU are of big international significance, attracting the close attention of both allies in the struggle against world reaction and ideological-political adversaries.

Pointing out that there has been no slackening of interest abroad in the ideas of the 27th congress, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, emphasized in the report at the party Central Committee June (1986) Plenum: "The congress' decisions have become an effective stimulus in the struggle for peace and social progress. The approval and support on the part of our friends convince us of the soundness of the chosen course and are a reminder of our high responsibility for its consistent, purposeful implementation.

"Realistic people in the nonsocialist part of the world have been able to see once again that our large-scale plans of socioeconomic development are inseparably connected with a foreign policy which is geared to peaceful building and all-around international cooperation."*

It is very important that in the atmosphere of intensive quest by various social forces for answers to the urgent questions which life is now, at the end of the 20th century, posing in many countries no program of any political party has attracted such close attention. These tremendous international repercussions have been brought about primarily by the tremendous international influence of the Lenin Party and its policy. As William Kashtan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, observed, "the qualitatively new situation in the world is that, however opposed to this imperialism may be, it has now to reckon with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states." And this is connected, William Kashtan made clear, both with

* "Material of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. 16 June 1986," Moscow, 1986, p 6.

the domestic and the foreign policy of socialism: "The bold and decisive steps being taken by the Soviet Union to accelerate socioeconomic development are in sharp contrast with capitalism's incapacity for solving the fundamental problems of the people," and on the international scene the USSR has presented an integral program of "struggle whose purpose is forcing U.S. imperialism to consent to the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000." According to UNSERE ZEIT, organ of the German Communist Party, the CPSU's program documents "are of truly universal significance" and imbued with a spirit of "historical optimism".

Were we to attempt to convey in abridged form the main point made in the commentaries of many foreign politicians and commentators in connection with the CPSU's program documents, the following assessments are the most prevalent among them: "confidence in the future," "realism," "creative, peaceable tasks," "serious attention to global problems" and so forth.

The majority of authoritative organs of the world press reflects perfectly distinctly the understanding by our ideological adversaries even of the main strategic goal set the Soviet people by the party: the achievement of a qualitatively new state of our society by means of accelerated socioeconomic development. Even the most guarded semi-official commentators in the West see in the program adopted by the congress a prospect of big changes in the Soviet Union's economy. Not confining themselves to the statement of such, Western authors are examining the broad spectrum of social, political and moral-psychological aspects of the strategy of acceleration: "In the current political climate in the USSR," THE WASHINGTON POST acknowledges, "the word 'restructuring' has acquired broad social significance." British newspapers such as THE TIMES, THE GUARDIAN and THE FINANCIAL TIMES, some French publications and the West German papers SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG and PARLAMENT write about the changes in the Soviet economy and the broad scale of social policy and the "truly multidimensional approach" and scale of the planned changes. Something else has to be emphasized also: the far-reaching nature of the plans substantiated in the CPSU's program documents is attracting attention primarily by its realistic nature and orientation toward specific concerns. The congress left no doubt that the transformations which it had mapped out were not simply a slogan but the policy which the party is pursuing and will continue to pursue firmly and unswervingly.

And it is not fortuitous, of course, that it is precisely in the debate concerning the feasibility of the goals set by the congress that the sharpest divide between the opposite class positions and evaluations connected therewith has shown through. It will hardly be a surprise to anyone that the rightwing bourgeois press frequently contradicts itself on this point. On the one hand it ascertains the far-reaching and creative nature of the Soviet plans and, on the other, is completely unwilling to recognize the substantiated nature of the plans mapped out by the Communist Party. A fervent desire simply to put things in a bad light and, on the other hand, a stubborn reluctance to see the colossal creative potential and merits of the new system show through in these cases more often than not. This reluctance is altogether characteristic of vulgar, shallow anticommunism, despite the

bankruptcy of the myths on which it has relied for many years. Among these were and are, specifically, the fraudulent propositions concerning the "nondynamic," "stagnant" nature of socialism, the legends concerning the imaginary lack of support for CPSU policy on the part of the broad people's masses and so forth. There is one further explanation for the striking contradictoriness of the bourgeois judgments--together with the undoubted recognition of the impressive impact of the Soviet plans they contain assurances as to their utopian, fanciful nature. The interests of the bourgeoisie as a class incorporating various factions both within its own country and in the system of interimperialist relations are intrinsically contradictory. This contradictoriness is brought about, inter alia, by the international nature of the confrontation of the two social systems. Monopoly capital cannot fail to reckon with the singularities of "worldwide economic relations," to which Lenin pointed as the objective basis of a policy of peaceful coexistence; it can no longer by its "imperial" will cross out socialism from the system of the world economy or the entire system of international social relations, as, equally, it cannot permit itself to become isolated from world socialism. However, the conclusions, political conclusions primarily, being drawn from this vary considerably.

The JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, the influential organ of big business, termed the Soviet economic program "the greatest threat to America," whereas many people in the United States see it as a "golden opportunity for American business." It should be emphasized that this contradictory position is typical not only of American but also West European and Japanese capitalist circles. Nonetheless, the main thing is that the forces of extreme reaction understand the significance of the Soviet plans and their influence on the international liberation movement and for this reason are endeavoring to do everything possible to attempt if only to some extent to impede the realization of what was planned at the congress. A class-based hostile reaction is also being expressed in the ideological-political methods employed for the purpose of distorting or discrediting CPSU documents and instilling the idea that a realistic program for the communists is (as the West German DIE ZEIT would have people believe) altogether "impossible". Of course, these altogether banal assertions adduce as arguments just as banal reasoning (the need for a "revival of the methods of capitalism" for success in the socialist countries' economy and so forth).

But these utopias are just as old as anti-Sovietism itself. "Throughout the period which has elapsed since the 1917 Bolshevik October Revolution," the British sociologist R. Miliband, who is associated with the Labor Party, writes, "anticommunism has been the predominant theme in the political confrontation which has developed between conservative and leftwing forces in general. The intensity and forms of anticommunist propaganda have varied in different countries in different specific-historical periods, but the palm has undoubtedly been borne by the United States here."

Recently respectable bourgeois press organs have been publishing material increasingly often, by virtue of various circumstances, analyzing Soviet communists' plans. They display a sufficiently clear understanding that the

decisions of the 27th congress are geared to the future and do not set impracticable goals and that they attest the CPSU's ability to comprehensively evaluate the experience which has been gained and learn effective lessons from it. A fundamental problem attracting attention in this connection is the correlation of continuity and innovation in the CPSU's policy. This problem has been substantiated in depth and revealed distinctly in documents of our party, in the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee April and October (1985) plenums and in the material of the 27th congress, particularly in the Central Committee Political Report to the congress and the new version of the CPSU Program. The procedural approach practiced in the new version of the party program and other material of the congress fully corresponds to the dialectical demands concerning the attitude toward revolutionary theory, which Lenin considered obligatory for communists.*

This approach, which combines consistency in theory and its creative development in accordance with historical experience, is perceived with profound understanding and shared by the international communist movement and our Marxist-Leninist sympathizers abroad. In this connection UNSERE ZEIT, the paper of West Germany's communists, wrote that people familiar with the new version of the CPSU Program "are concluding that the CPSU invariably adheres to the great goal--building in the USSR a classless communist society in which the complete social equality of all people will be achieved. On the basis of experience which has already been gained and the new achievements of scientific thought the new version of the program sets out more precisely and specifically... the paths and tasks for the achievement of this goal.... Generally, it is understandable why the phrase-mongers of the crisis-ridden capitalist social system with its millions of unemployed, its growing impoverishment of many people and its tremendous profits from arms on the one hand and the constant cutbacks in spending on social needs on the other would like to cast doubt on the prospects of socialism's development."

Anti-Marxists on the one hand censure the program for the fact that it continues to "exalt the October Revolution and Lenin" (the Italian IL POPOLO) and for its fidelity to communist ideals interpreted as a "strictly orthodox position" (the Paris LE MONDE); on the other, they contrive to see it as an imaginary "fundamental departure from traditional goals" and a mythical rejection of "ideological consistency" (the American NEW YORK TIMES and INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE). Some of them assiduously embarked on finding a fundamental "discrepancy" between the third CPSU Program (1961) and its new version, completely unjustifiably ascribing to the latter some "abandonment of the communist perspective" and even attempting, no more, no less, to see in it the possibility of "writing off communism and replacing it with Western yardsticks." Neither the continuity of the traditions and experience of the revolutionary workers movement nor innovative conclusions and assessments are to the liking of anticommunists because, evidently, they refute the postulates of anti-Marxism concerning the "blind alleys" of revolutionary theory,

* See, for example, V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 4, pp 183-184.

the "ossification" of the socialist society and the "ideological crisis" of the communist movement.

As a counterweight to the futile lamentations and groundless illusions of reactionary, anticommunist circles, the worker, progressive press of the whole world evaluated at their worth the profoundly innovative, creative nature of the documents of the 27th congress, which left no doubt that the Lenin Party would proceed by the path of renewal and bold quest (L'HUMANITE, DAILY WORLD, MORNING STAR) and that it had mapped out large-scale, radical transformations and not simply partial improvements (L'UNITA). "The universal significance of the forum of Soviet communists for the entire international communist and workers movement," the Polish TRYBUNA LUDU writes, "consists precisely of the innovative spirit of the congress."

It is notable that in discussion of the Central Committee Political Report to the 27th congress, the new version of the program and other documents of our party, the diverse facets of their content and, what is most important, the organic interconnection, characteristic of them, of economics and policy, domestic and international factors, class and general principles and current and long-term tasks were in the field of vision of the world community.

So socialism has once again "showed itself to the whole world as a tremendous and most energetic force of world progress"--this conclusion heard in the foreign worker press is shared by broad circles of the progressive international community. The rightwing Western press is directing its efforts against this conclusion. It is attempting to train its sights on all the most important solutions of domestic and international problems, on which progressive social-scientific thought is working enterprisingly and constructively, proposed by the 27th congress. More or less objective acknowledgments may sometimes be found in the statements of bourgeois figures. But they do not alter the general political "preset" nature and focus of the statements of anticommunist ideologists. How may the ideological arsenal with which the bourgeoisie is today struggling against the ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress be evaluated as a whole?

Mention has to be made yet again primarily of the customary and even hackneyed set of methods and cliches used by the troubadors of anti-Sovietism to discredit the socialist system: attempts to debunk the congress' program by the fact that it contains "a well-known combination of measures," which, it is said, will not produce a result; separation of the economy from social issues; a constricted interpretation, reduced to the level of personal material consumption, of our social policy; and, finally, and this is of most importance, apparently--an affected disappointment and doubts and a gloomy skepticism as regards the possibilities of the economy operating efficiently per the noncapitalist model.

However importunately all these methods are modified and reiterated in respect of the strategy of acceleration, their essence remains invariable: socialism is reproached and censured for the fact that it is not capitalism, however adroitly this idea is presented. Thus although it agrees that the

CPSU Program contains "radical reforms," the NEW YORK DAILY NEWS claims that they are "far from adequate for the acutely needed rebuilding of the economy" for the Soviet "economy is controlled by the state." And the West German FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG is disappointed that "there has been no turn-about," which it would welcome, inasmuch as no one at the congress said "a word about profits and the market."

The same tenet--nonacceptance of the socialist system--is expressed (particularly in the British bourgeois press) in the attempts to reduce matters to purely technological, "technocratic" problems. They are viewed by the press of the monopolies as being outside of man and outside of the social sphere in general since it is precisely therein that the fundamental differences and advantages of socialism, to which precisely today's capitalist practice of "social dismantling" (and in its neoconservative version particularly) constitutes a resounding contrast, appear particularly manifestly.

The ideological inadequacy of such methods of "criticism" of socialism are in need of no special comment, even in cases where Western propaganda places the emphases somewhat differently. Thus in connection with the 27th congress our ideological opponents were faced with the need to depart if only in a certain respect from the stereotyped charges against socialist society of a "lack of democratism". Wittingly or unwittingly, this subject occupied a significant place in the comments on the congress, which by its very spirit literally forced socialist democracy to be discussed differently. Back on the threshold of the congress the Japanese paper ASAHI named as the characteristic feature of its documents "the close connection of the democratization of political life in the USSR with the development of the organs of self-government and people's control based on extensive publicity and a candid recognition of setbacks and shortcomings."

However, the bourgeois press did not content itself with such, albeit limited, acknowledgments. LE MONDE spearheads its criticism at the fact that "the basic (political) concept of society has not changed. The party remains the leading force," and "the political system is based, as before, on the fundamental principle of democratic centralism." Wrongly interpreting this very principle, the West German weekly DER SPIEGEL high-handedly declares "mutually exclusive" the strengthening of centralized leadership and increased independence for the enterprises. And the rightwing-conservative DIE WELT goes even further, expressing perplexity at how, it says, it is possible to combine an extension of the socialist self-government of the people with a strengthening of labor discipline. In the interpretation of bourgeois ideologists crudely falsifying the facts it is a question of some system... of "subordination and compulsion" (!). They are unable to correctly evaluate such concepts and phenomena for socialism as the growth of the conscious discipline of labor, development of the creative energy and initiative of the masses and their increased social and labor assertiveness.

Anticommunists cannot counterpose anything positive to the new colossal growth of the intellectual and moral prestige which the Lenin Party won for itself by its 27th congress and its decision and results. Our party thereby

confirmed once again, according to the French communists, that it is "not only the political leader but also moral vanguard of society." The attempts with narrow-minded people in view to "capitalize" on negative facts extracted from Soviet communists' critical speeches are becoming increasingly pointless against this background and, in any event, losing their propaganda effectiveness. The congress forced many people on all continents to take stock of and to treat with respect and seriousness each word spoken and recorded in its documents or, employing the formula of the congress, "cultivate a new type of thinking". This appeal, which expresses an urgent and vital requirement, may and should be addressed in full not only to Soviet people but the peoples of the world also. Learning to think in the new way is essential for us in order to realize the majestic plan of advancement toward communism, and at the same time, for all mankind in order to learn to live in the modern world.

It was such an analysis which formed the basis of the CPSU's firm belief in the vital necessity not only for a rebuilding of international relations and the organization thereof on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence but also of the need for the creation of an all-embracing system of international security. In documents of the congress, in material of the CPSU Central Committee June (1986) Plenum, in a whole number of official papers of the Soviet Government and in numerous speeches of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, this belief is expressed with such incontrovertible logic, fervor and responsibility for mankind that it has in itself become a tremendous contribution to the strengthening of the ideological potential of peace and struck a devastating blow at its opponents. It is particularly important to take this fact into consideration, bearing in mind the achievement of military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States and its consequences for ensuring peace in the world. All the more striking is the discrepancy in the nuclear age between the growing need for new, more realistic political thinking and the decrepit ideological dogmas inherent in primitive anticommunism. For many years the pivotal postulates of the latter were calculations that it would be possible to liquidate socialism or "roll" it back, that is, "abrogate" the laws of history and turn it back. Relapses into such "imperial" thinking are making themselves known today also in Washington, which is professing "neoglobal" goals, concepts of "social revanche" and so forth.

This has been revealed most graphically--in commentaries of the bourgeois press and in sharply critical evaluations of the sections of our party documents which contain an analysis of modern capitalism. Despite all the difference of the methods employed in this connection, their common purpose is perfectly obvious: it is to cast doubt on the peace policy proclaimed by the CPSU and Soviet people's sincerity and belief in the attainability of its goals and at the same time to create an ideological justification for the militarist policy being stubbornly pursued by imperialism. The leading organs of the Western press are raising with manifestly fraudulent puzzlement the question of the possibilities of peaceful cooperation and a strengthening of international security if, they say, the CPSU, according to the FRANK-FURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, views the main Western power with invariable propagandist intolerance as "the citadel of international reaction and the

main source of the danger of war...." Such a statement is typical not only in terms of purpose but also in terms of the nature of the propaganda method employed: an attempt to find logical incompatibility in the CPSU's program propositions. This method has been employed extensively, specifically, when juxtaposing individual wording of the 1961 CPSU Program and its new version, and ascribed to the "logical contradictions" category, furthermore, is that which constitutes the generally recognized merit of the documents of the 27th congress--their viability and realistic nature and absence of any illusions and oversimplifications in the characterization of capitalism. It was not fortuitous that it has been precisely these sections of the program which have been evaluated by many foreign communists, for example, as a "document which is most progressive and in keeping with the spirit of the times and containing an analysis of today's world and the tasks of communists in the business of its transformation." The propaganda game involving the search for logical "discrepancies" has essentially revealed the impotence of bourgeois ideologists and their incapacity for counterposing anything at all to the scientific Marxist-Leninist investigation of capitalism built primarily and mainly on an ascertainment of its actual contradictions. Yet it is this investigation which constitutes the core of a scientific analysis of state-monopoly capitalism. It provides simultaneously a theoretical and practical key to an understanding on the one hand of the possibilities which capitalism still preserves and, on the other, the limitations, fundamental weaknesses and flaws of the exploiter system.

Proceeding from the proposition concerning the exacerbation of the basic intrinsic conflict of capitalism (between the gigantically increased productive forces and the exploiter production relations), which has led to its profound structural crisis, the CPSU's program documents clearly reveal the central points of the antagonisms rending the capitalist system. How do the defenders of the bourgeoisie approach these bitter truths? Attempting to reject and repudiate them, they consider the picture painted in the CPSU documents "too gloomy," and the criticism on the part of the communists, "unduly harsh". Of course, the anti-Marxists would not be themselves were they not to resort to the most shameless twisting and shuffling of facts and quotations....

It is also significant that even in the publications which pretend to "respectability" the bourgeois press has essentially abandoned a serious, thorough discussion of the characterization of the general crisis of capitalism contained in the CPSU's party documents. What is more, it has attempted to portray matters such that the criticism of capitalism therein is conducted too cursorily, not in the main areas and in respect of some particularities and trifling matters even. The conservative West German paper RHEINISCHE MERKUR (CHRIST UND WELT), for example, writes about mass unemployment, exploitation and the growth of the national debt as such "trifles". "However, the gloomy landscape of capitalism," the newspaper indulges in irony, "can hardly be made out with just one flash of 'lightning'". Therefore the CPSU points in addition to terror, political repression, chauvinism and neofascism." The paper mentions one further "particularity" not forgotten by the CPSU in the characterization of present-day capitalism--the role of

bourgeois propaganda and the entire system of the mass media perverting the mass consciousness in the spirit of the interests of the ruling class.

Among the allegedly inessential features of imperialism, judging by the ironic tone of the SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, also pertains the structure of present-day interimperialist contradictions. Such a list could easily be continued, thereby representing by no means testimony to "pettiness" but precisely confirmation that a fundamental characterization of modern capitalism is made in the program documents of the CPSU, proceeding from genuine vital reality, with the theoretical collation of specific features and a precise determination of the political meaning and possible consequences of this antagonism or the other and the problems they engender. In no question is the sluggishness of bourgeois thinking and the stubborn reluctance to see and recognize the realities of our era reflected more strongly, perhaps, than in the evaluation of present-day capitalism. This also applies in full to the characterization of the dynamics of the social and political forces which are opposed to imperialism. It is not surprising that fear of their growing might is pushing the heralds of selfish bourgeois interest into every falsification.

Closing their eyes to the fundamental basis of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of capitalism--the ascertainment and evaluation of its contradictions--they are trying in every way possible to find such contradictions in the camp which is the opposite of imperialism, in the relations between the forces constituting this camp and in their interrelations--primarily in the international communist movement and then between different detachments and currents in the working class and workers movement and in the ranks of the fighters for national liberation. This is logical: the monopoly bourgeoisie has always attached and continues to attach tremendous significance to subversive, splittist actions in the camp of the anti-imperialist forces. It is for this reason that the ideas of proletarian, socialist internationalism are among the main targets at which they are training their fire of criticism of the CPSU's party documents. Inveighing against them, the bourgeois press is seeking in vain to distort the internationalist essence of the international policy of the Lenin Party, attempting to portray it as an expression of the "egotistic" interests of the Soviet Union and even... a claim to "hegemonism". It may be noted only with satisfaction that such critics are having willy-nilly to oppose not only the propositions clearly and unambiguously set forth in the documents known to the whole world but also the fundamental unanimity with which the communists and broader progressive forces evaluated these propositions of the 27th CPSU Congress and our party program as an effective basis of anti-imperialist cooperation on a world scale.

The outstanding theoretical and political contribution which the 27th congress made is that by its entire activity the CPSU provides an instructive example of combination of the struggle for the fundamental interests of the working class and general interests. The Soviet leadership has put forward, as the Indian newspaper THE PATRIOT observes, "a series of initiatives aimed at removal of the threat of nuclear catastrophe.... M.S. Gorbachev has proposed to Western leaders as an alternative a world free of nuclear arms

and ensuring equal security for all countries--large and small." With every justification this policy is meeting with the approval and support of the working people and their organizations on all continents. "We will do everything possible," UNSERE ZEIT, the newspaper of West Germany's communists, emphasizes, commenting on the important peace-loving foreign policy initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, "to ensure that the peace proposals become the property of our people's worker and antiwar movement and that increasingly more people understand, finally, that the 'threat from the East' does not exist, that the socialist countries are pursuing a prudent policy and aspire to political dialogue and that they are dependable partners and associates in the struggle for peace and disarmament and for a world without nuclear weapons and without wars and violence."

The ideas which the Lenin Party has presented and addressed to the world are ineluctably penetrating the masses, taking possession of them and inspiring them to struggle. Communists are distinctly aware not only of the historic scale of this process but also of the difficulties and strain of the struggle, which are entirely comparable with this scale. The period which has elapsed since the congress has revealed as fully as can be the class polarity of the confrontation surrounding the ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress: imperialism has been able to counterpose to the concentration and upsurge of the creative efforts serving peace and progress nothing other than a ferocious outburst of aggressiveness and obscurantism challenging human wisdom and morality. Such a "response" is yet further and at the same time most obvious evidence of the spiritual impotence of our adversary.

The Soviet Union's extension of the moratorium on all nuclear explosions to January 1987 has created an international "background" particularly conducive to the solution of a whole set of most complex political problems of the present day. It is clear confirmation of the peaceable essence of socialism and its historical responsibility for life on our planet.

Evaluating the significance of the results of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent initiatives of the Soviet leadership, communists from the fraternal parties are distinguishing particularly the role which they are performing in the struggle against the myths of anti-Sovietism. Recalling what a heavy, fearsome price mankind has paid for the "biggest absurdity of the 20th century"--anticommunism--they are expressing the firm belief that it is the Lenin Party which is by the specific clarity of its set goals helping the peoples of the world to struggle more assertively against the forces of aggression, militarism and anticommunism. A process, of tremendous significance, of assimilation of the ideological potential which is essential for mankind for the solution in its vital interests of key problems of our pivotal times is taking place in the discussions and disputes and the ideological-political struggle which have developed in the world.

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CPSU DECISIONS ON DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL POLICY REVIEWED

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[Article by Ye.M. Chekharin: "The CPSU's Social Policy at the Current Stage"]

[Text] The CPSU closely connects an acceleration of the country's socio-economic development with a stimulation of the human factor--the decisive factor of all changes. To activate it and "emancipate" the creative potential of the individual a big role is performed by social policy, the content and directions of which at the current stage were precisely determined by the 27th CPSU Congress. "The social sphere," the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th congress emphasized, "encompasses the interests of classes and social groups and nations and nationalities, relations of society and the individual and the conditions of work, health and everyday life. It is in this sphere that the results of economic activity affecting the vital interests of the working people are realized and the highest goals of socialism are embodied. It is here that the humanist nature of the socialist system and its qualitative distinction from capitalism are revealed most extensively and graphically."¹

Only socialism creates the necessary conditions for the conscious use of the objective laws of history, and it is only under socialism that there is a constant growth of the possibilities of the scientific management of social processes. Proceeding from this, the party is pursuing a policy of an improvement in all spheres of society, which was strikingly reflected in the material of the 27th CPSU Congress. While evaluating what had been achieved at its worth the congress drew conclusions from the lessons of the past and revealed the causes of displeasing trends in the economy and socio-spiritual sphere. The so-called "residual" principle of the allocation of resources for socio-cultural purposes, which reduced attention to the social aspect of production and people's social life and leisure time and led to breaches of the principles of social justice, was sharply criticized at the congress.

With regard for the demands of the times the new version of the CPSU Program advanced as the main tasks of social policy at the stage of the perfection of socialism and gradual transition to communism the following:

an unswerving improvement in Soviet people's living and work conditions;

the increasingly full realization in all spheres of social relations of the principle of social justice;

rapprochement of the classes and social groups and strata; the surmounting of the essential differences between mental and physical labor and city and countryside; and

improvement of national relations and a strengthening of the fraternal friendship of the country's nations and nationalities.²

The dialectical unity of economic and social policy is a fundamental principle of the CPSU's activity. The party regards social policy as a powerful means of an acceleration of the country's economic development and the upsurge of the labor and social-political assertiveness of the masses and as an important factor of the political stability of society, the molding of the new man and the establishment of the socialist lifestyle. The CPSU proceeds in its theoretical and practical activity from the fact that the impact of social policy on the growth of the economy and its increased efficiency and all spheres of social life will intensify. This is a logical process of the continued perfection of the socialist society. For this reason the party considers unflagging concern for the solution of social questions of labor, everyday life and culture and the satisfaction of people's interests and needs a law of the activity of all state and economic authorities and social organizations.

The orientation of the 27th congress toward development of the creativity of the masses is having a profound impact on society. "It is attended most closely," the CPSU Central Committee June (1986) Plenum observed, "by the struggle for social justice, the development of democracy, complete openness and the purging from life of all manifestations of a petty bourgeois mentality."³ This is influencing increasingly noticeably a growth of labor and political assertiveness and a further strengthening of discipline and order in the country.

The practice of social policy and man's education cannot be separated from other aspects of the life of society. They are organically interwoven in its uniform fabric and develop in a complex with all other social relations and processes. However, the theoretical disarticulation of problems of the development of the personality in their dependency on social policy makes it possible to reveal in greater depth the essence of these processes, see their dialectics and knowledgeably elaborate and implement party policy with reference both to the development of society as a whole and individual spheres thereof.

The implementation of a formulated social policy and the development of the personality are two interconnected processes. It is well known that K. Marx spoke of man both as a "generic being," that is, as a sum total of characteristics inherent in all mankind, and as a specific individual, in which these

characteristics are refracted through the prism of his class origins, nationality, sex, age and group and individual particularities. It is in this second meaning that we use the concept "individual". In this concept attention is concentrated on man's social aspects shaped in particular forms of social activity and relationships. Thus the individual of the socialist type possesses a multitude of specific qualities: collectivism, developed self-awareness, responsibility, high civic conscience, disinterestedness, a sense of his own worth, an aspiration to show himself to the fullest possible advantage in professional and nonprofessional types of social activity, an orientation in his thinking and behavior toward communist ideals and standards of morality, an inclination toward the highest spiritual values as the source of self-development and so forth. These and other attributes of man, like man himself, are not simply "the product of circumstances and education" but the result of implementation of a particular social policy and the activity of society and social groups and the result of the interaction and communication between people. The said socio-psychological personality traits record the socially significant experience assimilated and passed on by people via the generations.

K. Marx wrote about the production of consciousness and requirements. In just the same way we also speak about "production" of the personality, which is created by social relationships, into which man enters thanks to his activity. Society and social policy bring about the conditions and nature of the activeness of individuals and determine the motives and purposes of human activity and its means and methods. Man becomes a personality only as the subject of social relations. In other words, the personality is not only engendered by the activity of man himself, socially conditioned, but it changes also thanks to this activity.

Failing the timely solution of urgent problems, success in communist education and the shaping of the harmoniously developed personality are impossible. All areas of the party's social policy serve as the natural basis of its educational work. Successes in the ideological-educational sphere are inseparably connected with the Soviet people's living and work conditions and the implementation in practice of the principles of social justice inherent in socialism. They are connected in the same way also with the objective process of the rapprochement of the classes, social groups and strata, the formation of a classless structure of society and the perfection of national relations.

The latest step forward in an upturn in Soviet people's well-being was taken and the people's cultural living standard rose in the course of fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. At the same time a number of complex problems has to be solved. An important task of the party's social policy is the elimination of the socioeconomic heterogeneousness of labor. For this it is essential to overcome the relatively pronounced differences in the conditions, nature and content of labor both between classes and social groups of Soviet society and within them and equalize the work and social conditions of the population of different regions of the country.

Marxism proceeds from the fact that the leading attribute determining the "social quality" of the personality is its material-production activity. "As the vital activity of individuals is, such are they themselves. What they represent coincides, consequently, with their production--coincides both with what they produce and how they produce."⁴ The changes occurring in the material production sphere determine the fundamental parameters of social development and mediate the entire diversity of forms of human existence. For this reason the objective prerequisites of the all-around development of the personality are to be found primarily in the sphere of material-production activity.

Our party has always paid paramount attention to this sphere as a source of the social possibilities of society. A generalized idea of the country's current economic potential and its growth in the past several decades is provided, for example, by statistical data for 1940-1984. In this time the fixed production capital of the national economy grew by a factor of 20.6. The number of workers and employees increased by a factor of 3.4. All this secured a growth of the national income by a factor of 16.3,⁵ and of the national wealth (that is, the sum total of all material assets produced by society in the given period), by a factor of approximately 8.

The production potential created in the country and the requirements of the country's continued advance have predetermined at the current stage the need for a fundamentally new, comprehensive approach to the accomplishment of the tasks of communist building. These tasks are named specifically in the Guidelines of the USSR's Economic and Social Development in 1986-1990 and the Period Ending the Year 2000. The possibility of their accomplishment is based on the utmost intensification and increased efficiency of the economy on the basis of S&T progress.

It is contemplated accomplishing a truly revolutionary renewal of production in the coming years. There is a change in investment policy for this purpose--resources are being concentrated, in particular, in such priority areas as microelectronics, computers, instrument making, the comprehensive mechanization and automation of production and so forth. It is a question here not of individual machines but of a system thereof and, where necessary, of automatically adjusting flexible manufacturing systems and robotized complexes and, in the future, of people-free technology and 24-hour equipment operation. The application of fundamentally new technology, processes and materials will lead in the coming 15 years to an upsurge in labor productivity by a factor of 2.3-2.5--this being the decisive condition of an acceleration of development and an almost twofold increase by the year 2000, as outlined by the new version of the CPSU Program, in the country's economic potential.

As a result of the growth of the economy there will be a continuous increase in the proportion of resources for consumption and the social sphere. The population's real income from 1945 through 1985 increased sixfold, and that of kolkhoz members, by a factor of 7.9. Whereas in 1970 only 18 percent of the population of the country had an income of over R100 per month per family

member, the percentage in 1984 was more than 60.⁶ In this same period the social consumption funds grew from R4.6 billion to R140 billion or from R24 to R510 per capita. While not charitable funds, these resources play an important part in ensuring for members of the socialist society equal access to education and culture and equalized conditions for the raising of children and alleviation of the life of those who for various reasons are in need of one-time or constant assistance. Many material and cultural requirements of workers and members of their families--free tuition and improvement, free medical assistance, benefits, pensions, student grants, free and concessionary passes to sanatoria and recreation centers, the upkeep of children's preschool establishments and so forth--are satisfied thanks to the social consumption funds. At the same time the social consumption funds are a means of the encouragement and stimulation of skilled, conscientious labor. The new version of the CPSU Program points out that the accelerated growth and improved distribution of the social consumption funds will continue. The amount thereof will increase 20-23 percent in the 12th Five-Year Plan.

The social purpose of the intensification of the economy is to ensure that an increasingly large proportion of the growing national income be channeled into personal consumption. The almost twofold increase in 15 years in the national income will ensure a doubling of the volume of resources channeled into satisfaction of people's requirements, which will mean an increase by a factor of 1.6-1.8 in real income per capita.

A matter of special political significance and a most important part of the social program will be the solution by the year 2000 of the housing problem, when practically every family will have a separate apartment or individual home. This prospect will be secured by the large scale of housing construction thanks to government resources, the more extensive development of cooperative and individual construction and also the modernization, renovation and increased preservation of housing and increased control over its allocation. Questions of housing must, as the 27th CPSU Congress observed, be tackled on a broad democratic basis and be under constant public supervision. In the decree "Guidelines of an Acceleration of the Solution of the Housing Problem in the Country" of 17 April 1986 the CPSU Central Committee demanded strict observance of the principle of social justice in the allocation of housing, the establishment of an order of priority in the granting of apartments, enlistment of the public in supervision, extensive publicity and an emphatic end to all violations and abuse and in this most important social question.

Higher demands will be made of the architecture, aesthetic layout and civic improvement of urban and rural communities, which must represent complexes of the rational combination of industrial zones, residential precincts, systems of social, cultural and teaching-educational establishments, trading and consumer service enterprises, sports installations and public transport ensuring the best conditions for people's work, social life and recreation.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state consider as a matter of paramount importance the strengthening of Soviet people's health and an increase in their active longevity. The party is setting the task of the universal and complete satisfaction of the requirements of the inhabitants of city and countryside pertaining to all types of highly qualified medical service and a cardinal increase in its quality. It is planned for this purpose to introduce the general medical examination of the population, persistently develop the network of establishments for protection of the health of mother and child, clinics, hospitals and sanatoria, furnish them with modern medical apparatus and equipment and strive for their complete provision with medical, therapeutic and sanitary-hygiene resources. Physical culture and sport and a healthy lifestyle contribute to a considerable extent to a strengthening of the population's health and the harmonious development of the personality. Much depends here on public initiative, the independent activity of the population and the practical solution of questions of the socio-cultural sphere by the soviets and union and Komsomol organizations. Initiative in the well-considered use of the palaces, clubs, stadiums and parks and more active building at the place of residence of the simplest sports grounds and complexes is required.

Recent years have been marked by perceptible improvements in such an important sphere of the party's social policy as the elimination of the socio-economic heterogeneousness of labor. The work conditions of 20 million persons have been improved. The use of new equipment and technology made it possible in the 11th Five-Year Plan to release almost 2.5 million persons for more meaningful and interesting work. However, how much remains to be done in this field is attested if only by the fact that approximately 50 million persons are currently employed in manual work in our country: approximately one-third of the workers in industry, more than one-half in construction and three-fourths in agriculture. Need it be said that this fact does not contribute to the optimum development of the worker's personality? Such types of labor, even given their relatively high remuneration, are becoming increasingly unattractive, particularly for the youth, with every passing year. This is why the party is proposing by the year 2000 even a considerable (up to 15-20 percent) reduction in the proportion of manual labor in the production sphere.

The Guidelines of the USSR's Economic and Social Development in the 12th Five-Year Plan and the Period Ending the Year 2000 set the task of a further upsurge of the well-being of all classes, strata and social groups of the population and profound changes in the sphere of labor and people's living conditions. It is contemplated to increase the social orientation of the development of the economy and its focus on the creation of the best conditions for the harmonious development of the personality and consolidation of the socialist lifestyle. It is planned to foster more actively in each person a sense of personal responsibility to society for the results of work, creating a highly developed service industry and sharply reducing on this basis labor expenditure on running the home, which will release for each person more time for leisure.

It was observed long since that on a society-wide scale there is a direct dependence between the meaningfulness of free time and the level of the organization of labor in social production. The more favorable the conditions for the rational expenditure of work time and the higher the organization of labor and production and labor discipline, the more exactly a person treats his time in the nonproduction sphere also and the higher the spiritual requirements which are shaped in him. In other words, there is increased significance in the two basic functions of free time--restoration of a person's powers absorbed by the sphere of labor and other obligatory occupations and his spiritual and physical development. Referring primarily to the second function, K. Marx wrote that time "remains free... for leisure, as a result of which scope for free activity and development is afforded. Time means scope for the development of capabilities...."¹⁰ Consequently, the utmost saving of time is an essential prerequisite for the all-around development of the personality. "As for the individual," K. Marx observed, "so for society the comprehensiveness of its development, its consumption and its activity depend on the saving of time. All economies ultimately amount to economies of time."¹¹ This fact is one further argument in favor of the need for the continued perfection of the nature and conditions of work in the national economy.

In other words, the transition of the economy to a fundamentally different course of development will afford opportunities for realization of the social policy outlined by the CPSU for the purpose of a qualitative improvement in people's life and appreciable progress toward the achievement, as V.I. Lenin pointed out, "of the complete well-being and free all-around development of all members of society."¹²

The Communist Party carefully takes into consideration in its policy the community of interests of all classes, social groups and strata and their specific features and ensures the firm unity of the socialist society. The place of vanguard in Soviet society belongs to the working class. Thanks to its position in the system of socialist production, political experience, high consciousness and organization and labor and political assertiveness, the working class rallies our society together and plays the leading part in perfecting socialism and communist building. Currently workers constitute the biggest social group (see Table 1).

Table 1. Proportion of Working Class in Composition of the Population of the Union Republics per Census Data (%)

	<u>1939</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>
RSFSR	35	55	61	63
Ukrainian SSR	33	42	50	55
Belorussian SSR	22	36	52	56
Uzbek SSR	19	41	46	53
Kazakh SSR	34	60	68	68
Georgian SSR	19	33	47	56
Azerbaijan SSR	25	36	52	60

	<u>1939</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>
Lithuanian SSR	-	41	54	57
Moldavian SSR	-	22	36	53
Latvian SSR	-	53	57	59
Kirghiz SSR	21	41	52	58
Tajik SSR	13	31	40	53
Armenian SSR	18	41	58	64
Turkmen SSR	25	38	40	44
Estonian SSR	-	57	60	61

Source: E.V. Klopov, "Working Class of the USSR," Moscow, 1985, p 103.

It should be noted that the highest rate of growth of the numbers of the working class is characteristic of the sectors of social production which exert a decisive influence on the shaping of its structure and the acceleration of technical progress. The modern Soviet worker is an educated, technically competent and politically mature person. The tasks pertaining to the perfection of the socialist society which are to be tackled by the Soviet people may be set for the sole reason that at the present stage the political experience of the working class and its high consciousness and organization are manifesting themselves with new force. "The growth of the general educational, cultural and professional level and labor and social-political assertiveness of the working class," the new version of the CPSU Program says, "is enhancing its vanguard role in the perfecting of socialism and communist building."¹³

We have in recent years witnessed profound changes in the development of the productive forces of society in line with the application in production of so-called "information technology". The cardinal acceleration of S&T progress outlined in the Guidelines of the USSR's Economic and Social Development in 1986-1990 and the Period Ending the Year 2000 and the bringing of the economy to the forward boundaries of science, engineering and technology presuppose the extensive application in the national economy of fundamentally new technology. This includes electron-beam, plasma, pulse, biological, radiation, membrane and chemical technology permitting a manifold increase in labor productivity, a rise in the efficiency of the use of resources and a reduction in the energy and materials consumption of production. It is planned to switch to industrial, intensive techniques in plant growing and animal husbandry and making extensive use of methods of biotechnology and genetic engineering. Together with the development of flexible manufacturing systems this will raise the level of the socialization of labor to such an extent and impart to labor itself such a degree of universality that there will be a qualitative change in the demands made of the very personality of the worker. K. Marx's forecast: "...As soon as any special development ends, a need for universality and an aspiration to the all-around development of the individual begin to make themselves felt"¹⁴ is actually starting to be realized.

Modern production is increasingly uniting in a single, inseparable process scientific development, production, shipment, marketing and the control of all these processes. This demands of each worker employed in this flexible and intricate complex a conscious, creative attitude toward his labor, broad all-state thinking and high civic responsibility. The initiatives of many representatives of the working class are well known to us today, and we know of the bold undertakings and experiments of whole outfits, which have initiated the intensification and modernization of production on the basis of the achievements of S&T progress and the application of efficient forms of management and the organization and stimulation of labor.

V.I. Lenin highlighted repeatedly a particularly valuable quality of the working class--its inherent "idealism," by which he meant its capacity for not confining itself to its own narrow-class interests but disinterestedly and selflessly struggling for the liberation of all of society and all mankind. Only the working class, V.I. Lenin pointed out "can help the working masses unite, rally together and ultimately defend and ultimately consolidate the communist society and ultimately complete its construction."¹⁵

The strengthening of the social uniformity of the socialist society is organically connected with the development of the kolkhoz peasantry--the other main class of Soviet society. In the course of the consistent implementation of the CPSU's agrarian policy agricultural labor becomes a variety of industrial labor and essential social and cultural-everyday differences between city and countryside are erased. The lifestyle and nature of the labor of the peasantry are becoming increasingly similar to the lifestyle and nature of the labor of the working class.

There is a natural growth in the activity of the broadest masses of workers and peasants of the proportion of mental labor in the process of the plan-oriented and all-around improvement of the Soviet society's continued advance toward communism. Currently one out of every four workers in the Soviet Union (over 42 million persons) is employed predominantly in mental work.¹⁶ There is simultaneously an increase in the numbers of the intelligentsia and in its creative contribution to material production and other spheres of social life. In our day the intelligentsia performs an increasingly big role not only in science, education, health care and culture but also in material production for its labor is connected with the theoretical comprehension and practical solution of problems of control of the production process and the entire socioeconomic life of society.

However, upon an analysis of the dynamics of the social structure of the socialist society it is important to call attention not only to quantitative but also qualitative changes. Thus there is a constant growth in the composition of the intelligentsia in the proportion of persons with their origins in the working class and and kolkhoz peasantry. This is a regularity of a socialist society which has surmounted class antagonisms and has opened the way for a person's easy relocation from one social group to another.

At the same time S&T progress is leading to the more in-depth specialization of intellectual labor, bringing about an essential revolution in its degree of provision with equipment and contributing to its mechanization and automation. The content of the labor of many detachments of the intelligentsia is changing, and many of its forms are becoming a most important component of industrial production, which is engendering the extensive cooperation of the labor of workers, engineers and research assistants. As a result physical labor is becoming an inalienable part of the activity of a considerable proportion of the intelligentsia. Simultaneously we are observing the intensive intellectualization of the labor of workers and peasants, as a consequence of which whole strata of workers drawing close to the intelligentsia both in terms of the level of their education and culture and of the nature of the labor are taking shape within these classes. These processes are predetermined by, inter alia, the considerable rise in the level of education of the country's population employed in the national economy (see tables 2 and 3).

Table 2. Level of Education of the Population Employed in the National Economy, by Social Group

	<u>1939</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1984</u>
The following have higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) education per 1,000 persons:					
workers	87	401	590	760	825
employees	546	911	956	982	987
kolkhoz members	18	226	393	593	695

Table 3. Level of Education of Workers of Physical and Intellectual Labor

	<u>1939</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1984</u>
The following have higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) education per 1,000 persons:					
those employed predominantly in physical labor	45	325	543	732	815
those employed predominantly in intellectual labor	515	896	953	981	986

Source: "USSR National Economy in 1984," p 32.

There are today no particular differences in labor between a worker employed in the setup of transfer machinery and an engineer working as a computer repairman. In addition, certain detachments of the intelligentsia connected with the servicing of intricate equipment are constantly drawing closer in

the social plane to the highly skilled workers employed in the sectors determining S&T progress. In other words, under current conditions the boundaries between the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia are becoming increasingly mobile for the differences between them in lifestyle, level of education, vocational training and methods of the organization of labor are being erased. Mental labor in material production is to an increasingly great extent becoming an inalienable component of day-to-day labor in the city and countryside. This is contributing to the gradual erasure of the essential differences between physical and mental labor and the rapprochement of all social groups. The growth of social uniformity is a normality equally manifested in the life of all Soviet peoples, although, depending on the national-economic specialization and socioeconomic singularities of the republics, the relative strength of individual classes and social groups therein could differ.

Constant concern for a strengthening of the alliance of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia constitutes, as the 27th CPSU Congress observed, the cornerstone of CPSU policy. It is here that the possibilities of a concentration of forces for the accelerated accomplishment of economic and social tasks exist. At the same time the party emphasizes that the unity of the socialist society by no means signifies a leveling of social life for socialism develops the entire diversity of people's interests, requirements and capabilities and actively supports the independent activity of the social organizations expressing this diversity. In addition, socialism needs this diversity, seeing it as an essential condition of a further upsurge of people's creative assertiveness and initiative and the competition of minds and gifts, without which the socialist lifestyle, progress and the growth of the assertiveness of the personality are inconceivable.

The development of the socialist classes and their systematic rapprochement with the intelligentsia is exerting an appreciable influence on all other components of the social structure, particularly such specific groups as the urban and rural and male and female population, the youth and senior citizens, mutual relations in the labor collectives and in the home and, finally, on informal contacts. Such trends as, for example, the increasingly great involvement of the working people in the management of production, the increased social assertiveness of women, the youth and senior citizens and the growing significance of the labor collectives not only in production but also political and ideological life are a consequence of this influence.

A number of party and state documents has been adopted recently on questions of a further improvement of the economic mechanism promoting in every way possible the conversion of workers into true masters of production. Such problems as a broadening of the rights of enterprises, their economic independence, the increased material responsibility and interest of the labor collectives in the end results of work and the search for ways to speed up S&T progress and the all-around intensification of production and improvement of the forms of socialist ownership for the purpose of the increasingly organic combination of the interests of the working man and the interests of social production and the strengthening in him of the feeling of collective

proprietor of all social property, given the leading role of public interest, are moving to the forefront in the perfection of the economic mechanism and social relations of socialism.

The new condition of society will not, however, come about of its own accord. The way thereto lies via strenuous and increasingly efficient labor, the quality of which is the higher, the higher its creative potential. Considering this, the new version of the CPSU Program points in the category of fundamental questions of social policy to the need for an increase in the creative content and collectivist nature of labor, an increase in the culture thereof and the encouragement of highly skilled, highly productive work for the good of society. Such an approach is in inseparable unity with the human factor for man is the main productive force.

The history of the Soviet state testifies that in the process of the development and improvement of socialist production relations man's labor is increasingly suffused with creative content and relations of collectivism, socialist cooperation and comradely mutual assistance arise and strengthen between people. Increasingly new capabilities of the individual are revealed and developed, higher material and spiritual requirements appear in him, the range of interests, social and personal, expands and the socialist lifestyle is asserted.

The party attaches particular significance to a strengthening of the collectivist nature of labor, which consolidates these principles in the shaping of the personality. Whereas private ownership splits people into hostile classes and social groups, public ownership unites them. Socialist production is collective in nature, but the degree of maturity of the collectivist nature of labor is determined by the course of the country's socioeconomic development. The application of a form of the organization of labor in which collectivist features are manifested more distinctly would contribute to a considerable extent to the accomplishment of the tasks set Soviet society in the economic sphere by the new version of the CPSU Program. Thus financially autonomous brigades working on a common contract and oriented toward the end results of production are being created in the sectors. In the next few years even this form of the organization of labor is to be the main one at enterprises and in organizations. The brigade form of the organization and remuneration of labor will thereby be an important factor of its increased collectivist nature corresponding to the interests of an acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

These same goals are served by the socialist competition of individual workmen and whole outfits between themselves for the better and higher-quality fulfillment of quotas and plans. The fact that 112.7 million persons, which constitutes more than 90 percent of the average annual numbers of workers and employees, are participating therein indicates its nationwide nature. It has become a most important sphere of the development of the working people's creativity aimed at the accomplishment of the tasks confronting them and a principal method of the self-assertion and social recognition of the personality.

In its appeal concerning the development of nationwide socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of the quotas of the 12th Five-Year Plan adopted by the July Plenum the CPSU Central Committee calls on each Soviet worker to join the ranks of the participants in competition and be an active fighter of the labor front of the 5-year plan.

It is essential here to put the emphasis on an increase in production efficiency, the introduction of new equipment, an improvement in product quality, the achievement of real economies in labor, raw material and intermediate products and the unconditional fulfillment of contract commitments and plans for the construction of housing and other socio-cultural facilities, that is, the emphasis is put on the social aspects of socialist competition and its increased role in an acceleration of socioeconomic development.

At the current stage of the development of Soviet society a most important regularity is the growth of the social role of culture. It was not fortuitous that the question of the state of the physical plant of culture was discussed at one of the first CPSU Central Committee Politburo sessions following the 27th party congress. Specific measures pertaining to its reinforcement and further development were determined. Some 511 rayon culture centers, twice as many as were commissioned in the preceding 5-year plan, 5,660 culture clubs and centers in rural localities, 250 movie theaters, 250 culture clubs and centers thanks to the resources of industrial enterprises and many other facilities of the socio-cultural sphere are to be built in the 12th Five-Year Plan in accordance with the guidelines of economic and social development. A big, unparalleled program of cultural building with specific timeframes and underpinned by capital investments is planned.

Culture in the broad sense and culture of the personality serve as a powerful factor of the development of both society as a whole and the main element of the productive forces--man. Questions of an improvement in social relations and the shaping of the personality and the level of man's education and general culture, vocational skills and civic activeness are closely linked with the solution of economic, social and political problems and the continued progress of the socialist society. However, the further introduction of the working people to cultural values cannot be confined to the extensive development of this process. Increasingly great significance is attached not only to the scale of man's contacts with the world of spiritual culture but also their efficiency, and a most important singularity of the socialist lifestyle is expressed here. And the more it is perfected, the more strongly and comprehensively this deep-lying trait of socialist character-building will grow as a requirement and vital necessity.

The dynamic nature of the socioeconomic, S&T and cultural-ideological processes occurring at the current stage is now also posing with particular seriousness the problem of the culture of production and management, which, in turn, is inseparably connected with other components of socialist culture: the ideological-political and moral maturity of the personnel and their general outlook, sense of responsibility and discipline.

The extent of the working people's participation in the running of society and the shaping and improvement of social policy is most directly connected with the level of their political culture, which incorporates a whole set of human liberties and attributes and constitutes the essence of the Soviet character and the basis of the socialist type of personality. It is manifested in man's capacity and ability to determine the social consequences of his actions and recognize his responsibility for them. In this connection V.I. Lenin observed that "the purpose of political culture... is to raise true communists capable of conquering lies and prejudice and helping the working masses conquer the old order," "what is needed is a culture which teaches struggle against red tape and bribes."¹⁸ A person may only be considered a personality when he possesses a developed political culture and when he recognizes the fundamental social problems of his era and creatively participates in their solution. Of considerable importance here also is the question of how extensive and diverse are the spheres of activity in which people may display their assertiveness and initiative and develop their creative capabilities and also how democratic are the institutions guaranteeing and ensuring the improvement of each person, his free will and participation in the control of social affairs.

Having discovered social regularities, Marxism was able to portray the development of society as a natural-historical process. At the same time, however, the laws of society's development represent laws solely of people's activity and not something external in relation to this activity. People themselves create their own history, granted the material and spiritual prerequisites inherited from preceding generations and granted certain circumstances. Relying on the objectively existing social regularities which have been discovered and studied, under the conditions of the socialist workforce the human individual finds in reality itself sources and powers for its transformation. In other words, he operates actively.

Each paragraph of the new version of the party program is ultimately geared to stimulation of the human factor. The CPSU puts the question thus: only via a well-conceived economic strategy, strong social policy and purposeful ideological-educational work taken in their unity is it possible to stimulate the human factor, without which the accomplishment of all the advanced tasks is impossible. In turn, stimulating the human factor means affording scope for the main driving force of the formation and consolidation of the new social system to commission the vital creativity of the masses, evoke the working people's interest in and conscious attitude toward the tasks confronting society, persuade people of the importance of the energetic realization of the scheduled socioeconomic transformations and strive for a point where they have become the intrinsic, vital concern of the human personality itself.

Man, the individual, as K. Marx put it, represents the sum total of all social relations. For this reason each new stage in the improvement of the entire system of social relations is also a change in relations between society and the individual and, consequently, means the ongoing development of social justice within the framework of these relations.

Justice and injustice.... How different in content these concepts may be depending on the era, society and the class membership of those who characterize and interpret them. What the exploiter classes found just is seen by the working people as the opposite of justice. As the proletariat becomes a class "for itself," its understanding of social justice as a class interested in the removal of any exploitation and the liberation of all of society therefrom acquires features of general significance. The idea of social justice which is organically a part of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the world embodies a most important general ideal. Under the conditions of the socialist society the abstract dream of social justice has become an actual category of the socialist lifestyle. The basic economic law of socialist production based on public ownership of the means of production requires the most complete well-being and "comprehensive development of all members of society"¹⁹ by way of the continuous growth and perfection of the means of production.

The idea of social justice must imbue all aspects of socialist social relations. It consists of real and effective power of the people, the equality of all citizens before the law, the actual equality of nations, respect for the individual and the creation of the conditions for his all-around development and perfection. It means wide-ranging social guarantees: the constitutional right to labor and provision with work, recreation and accessibility of education and culture, the right to health care, medical services and material support in old age and in the event of disability and concern for mother and child. The profound democratism and assurance of implementation of the principle of social justice inherent in the socialist state are enshrined in the USSR Constitution, which not only proclaims that all power belongs to the people but also guarantees the consistent implementation of all citizens' rights and liberties.

However, the achievement of complete social justice in society is not a one-time act. It is rooted in a system of transformation of an economic, political and social nature. Social justice itself becomes increasingly specific, mature and full in line with the deepening of the social transformations in all spheres of the life of the new society and in the process of improvement of social relations. The regularity formulated by V.I. Lenin of the elevation of man's requirements as the socialist society develops and is improved means that an elevation of the need for and understanding of justice itself--both in what determines the individual's expectations of society and in what society expects of the individual--proceeds in parallel also.

The principal of social justice in its dual correlation: society--individual and individual--society permeates the entire political line geared to an improvement in socialism and gradual transition to communism outlined by the new version of the CPSU Program and mapped out in the plans of the USSR's economic and social development in 1986-1990 and the period ending the year 2000. Strict implementation of the principle of social justice, the 27th CPSU Congress observed, is an important condition of the unity of the people, the political stability of society and the dynamism of development.²⁰ Such an understanding of social justice puts it at the epicenter of the party's

social policy. At the same time the qualitatively new condition of the socialist society, which is to be achieved on a path of acceleration of socio-economic development, will also demand qualitatively higher criteria of the evaluation of Soviet people's social living conditions, thereby extending our notions of social justice.

The socialist society has tremendous material and spiritual potential for satisfaction of man's diverse requirements and for the integral, harmonious development of the personality. It will continue to increase it unswervingly. However, it is important that each person know how to avail himself of these benefits intelligently, without detriment to society here. And this ultimately depends on what the value orientations and tendencies of the personality and what its requirements are. For this reason the Communist Party sees the active, purposeful molding of personal interests as a principal task of educational work and social policy as a whole.

A feeling of social justice is characteristic of the absolute majority of Soviet people. They logically connect their ideas concerning it primarily with consistent implementation of the fundamental principle of socialism: "From each according to his capabilities, to each according to his labor". The basis of material prosperity was, is and will be, the selfless, conscientious labor of the working class, peasantry and people's intelligentsia. The reliable functioning of the second part of this principle, "to each according to his labor," requires the fulfillment of a number of obligatory conditions on the part of the state and society. These are primarily, as the congress emphasized, perfection of the forms of moral encouragement and a decisive improvement in material stimulation. The congress said with all certainty that when the labor of good and negligent workers is remunerated equally, this is a flagrant violation of social justice.

An important function of the state is combating unearned income obtained by way of illegal activity, embezzlement, bribe-taking, profiteering and the unauthorized use for mercenary ends of means of transport, machinery and mechanisms belonging to the state. But in putting a stop to unearned income we must not permit aspersions to be cast on those who are obtaining extra earnings by honest labor. Such types of labor must be fully in keeping with the principles of socialist management and based on cooperative or contract principles.

A further extension of the principle of social justice was reflected in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "Measures To Intensify the Struggle Against Unearned Income". The party emphatically opposed such ugly phenomena incompatible with the socialist lifestyle as embezzlement, profiteering and bribe-taking. The eradication of unearned income, which is alien to the nature of socialism, is regarded as an important political, socioeconomic and educational task. The party demands that this work be performed actively and uncompromisingly, with an effort to ensure that Soviet laws and the demands of socialist justice be unswervingly observed in all sectors of the economy and in all spheres of activity and that all channels and loopholes for illegal enrichment at the expense of the state and the citizens be securely closed off.

The rights and freedoms of citizens of the socialist society are inseparable from the precise fulfillment by each of his civic duties. Adroitly performed work and labor discipline serve as the truest criterion of a person's conscientious attitude toward his civic obligations. Each politically competent person is aware that any violation of labor discipline ends in a lowering of results in all spheres of human activity--a reduction in labor productivity and the quality of the manufactured product, which is ultimately detrimental to society. In recent years the Communist Party and the Soviet state have been adopting decisive measures to strengthen labor and state discipline and combat all manifestations of ostentation and irresponsibility, which are contrary to the socialist standards of life. It is a question of commissioning unutilized potential and creating everywhere an atmosphere of high exactingness, organization and a conscious and creative attitude toward the common cause.

Under current conditions there is a sharp enhancement of the role of social responsibility. As a consequence of the appearance of such global problems as the preservation of peace in the world, the solution of ecological problems and the conquest and use in man's interests of outer space there has also been an increase in the scale of each person's responsibility to society and of society to the individual.

A most important condition of society's continued existence is harmony between nature and man. Finding the principal characteristics of this harmony is a most complex task for science and a most difficult concern for sociopolitical practice. Particularly under the conditions of the actual existence in the world of two opposite social systems.

"The particular attitude toward nature," K. Marx wrote, "is conditioned by the form of society."²¹ As history testifies, it is "socialism with its planned organization of production and humanist world outlook which is capable of bringing harmony to the mutual relations between society and nature."²² The documents adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress are further convincing evidence of this. The Guidelines of the USSR's Economic and Social Development in 1986-1990 and the Period Ending the Year 2000 contain a special section outlining the areas and measures pertaining to environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources.

In accordance with the scheduled plans, the realization of harmonious relations between society and nature will proceed along the path of the extensive application of low-waste and waste-free engineering processes and the development of combined facilities providing for the full and comprehensive use of natural resources precluding a harmful impact on the environment.

The Soviet state has pursued since the time of its emergence and particularly intensively in recent years an ecological policy whose essence is expressed in the USSR Constitution (Basic Law): "In the interests of present and future generations the necessary measures are adopted in the USSR for the protection and scientifically substantiated, rational use of the land and its interior, water resources and flora and fauna, for the preservation of clean

air and water, the reproduction of water resources and an improvement in man's environment." Protection of the natural environment is also a constitutional duty of each person: "USSR citizens are obliged to preserve nature and protect its resources."

An integral part of communist education in our society is ecological education. A system of the ecological training of people of all ages and specialties operates and is being developed in the country. Problems of nature conservation are a subject of constant attention in the work of the mass media. The contribution of art and literature to the cause of ecological education is considerable.

Nature conservation societies, whose special purpose is the spread of nature-conservation knowledge and the enlistment of broad strata of the population in work to protect nature and reproduce its wealth, have been organized everywhere in our country.

The 27th CPSU Congress adopted a realistic, comprehensively considered social program. The basis thereof is the organic combination of the greatness of goals and realism of possibilities and the party's plans and the hopes and aspirations of each person. A decisive turnabout in an acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development will depend primarily on the speed and quality of the solution of many problems of the present and future.

Life, as they say, does not stand still. The times dictate the need for the further development of the entire social sphere to be looked at anew and for its growing significance to be appreciated in full measure. The rate of the acceleration of our movement along the path of the perfection of socialism and communist creation will depend primarily on the real man and the developed personality with an ardent interest in activity for the common and his own good realizing his creative potential in various spheres of society.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Material of the 27th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1986, p 44.
2. See "Material of the 27th CPSU Congress," p 151.
3. "Material of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. 16 June 1986," Moscow, 1986, p 7.
4. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 3, p 19.
5. See "USSR National Economy in 1983. Statistical Yearbook," Moscow, 1984, pp 47, 387; "USSR National Economy in 1984," Moscow, 1985, pp 59, 408.
6. "USSR National Economy in 1984," p 426.
7. Ibid., p 427.

8. See "Material of the 27th CPSU Congress," p 46.
9. PRAVDA, 24 April 1986.
10. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 26, pt III, p 264.
11. Ibid., vol 46, pt I, p 117.
12. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 6, p 232.
13. "Material of the 27th CPSU Congress," p 155.
14. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 4, p 160.
15. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 41, p 310.
16. "USSR National Economy in 1984," p 7.
17. See "Material of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. 16 June 1986".
18. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 41, p 404; vol 44, p 172.
19. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 6, p 232.
20. "Material of the 27th CPSU Congress," p 44.
21. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Feuerbach. Contrast of Materialist and Atheist Views," Moscow, 1966, p 40.
22. "Material of the 27th CPSU Congress," p 50.

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SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL BASES OF WESTERN MASS MOVEMENTS EXAMINED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNYI MIR in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 86 pp 62-73

[Article by G.I. Vaynshteyn: "Socio-Psychological Sources of Mass Democratic Movements"]

[Excerpts] In the profound changes being experienced by capitalism today an important place is occupied by shifts in the social consciousness and behavior of the masses. A stimulation of the political protests of the working people is taking place. Their social base is expanding. The struggle against the policy of the ruling monopoly circles is being joined by representatives of the most diverse strata of bourgeois society. The said trends are being broadly expressed in the growth of mass democratic movements, which have today become an extraordinarily appreciable factor of the sociopolitical life of present-day capitalism. As the new version of the CPSU Program adopted by our party's 27th congress observes, these movements "are objectively directed against the policy of imperialism's reactionary circles and are joining the common stream of the struggle for peace and social progress."

The upsurge of mass democratic movements is leading to an expansion of the revolutionary process. They unite in their ranks people of varying political persuasions and social position and represent a complex, contradictory phenomenon, without an in-depth analysis of which the solution of the extraordinarily important and urgent problem of the formation and strengthening of a broad alliance of antimonopoly, anti-imperialist forces is impossible.

This article attempts to characterize the socio-psychological prerequisites of an upsurge of the social assertiveness of broad strata of capitalist society and their incorporation in mass democratic movements; the question of the place of workers in the social base of the new protest movements is broached.

The broad dimensions acquired recently by mass movements of a general democratic nature has been brought about by a whole set of factors. Economic crises accompanied by a deterioration in the conditions of the working people's existence and the expansion of the scale of unemployment are being interwoven with the ecological and energy crises. Problems of education, health care, morality, ethics and family relations are intensifying and crime

is growing. The growing threat of nuclear catastrophe is giving rise to increasingly profound unease in people's consciousness. With the deepening of the crisis processes in capitalism's social life the endeavor of the ruling class to achieve the stabilization of its domination by an offensive against the rights of the working people and limitation of their democratic freedoms is being revealed increasingly distinctly. Reactionary trends are also being manifested in the sphere of the foreign policy of a number of capitalist countries in connection with conservative forces' orientation toward a spiraling of the arms race, the militarization of the economy and the spurring of international tension.

All this is lending new impetus to the sentiments of social discontent and protest, which are being realized to a considerable extent in the channel of the mass democratic movements operating under the slogans of the struggle for peace, removal of the danger of nuclear war, preservation of the environment, an extension of civil rights and liberties and a change of lifestyle. At the same time, however, in order to understand in full the nature and focus of the new social movements and their dimensions and rapid rate of development and in order to evaluate the prospects of their impact on the alignment of political forces in the capitalist world it is essential to regard them not only from the viewpoint of the crisis processes which are occurring in the socioeconomic and political life of present-day capitalism but also from the viewpoint of the shifts in its spiritual life and in the sphere of the social consciousness.

The molding in the consciousness of the masses of new requirements, values and life ideals has throughout recent decades counteracted the ruling class' endeavor to ensure the working people's integration in the existing system. As the social consciousness has evolved, there has been a broadening of the motives and social base of social discontent, the suffusion of social protest with new content and the incorporation therein of new demands challenging the existing structures of power. Testimony to the political significance of the said changes in the working people's social consciousness is the fact that the mass movements reflecting the new motives of social protest began to play an active part in the sociopolitical life of the West on the eve and at the outset of the 1970's, that is, in a period which was relatively "favorable" in the economic plane and in an atmosphere of economic growth and a certain rise in the working people's material living standard. It was in this period that a variety of social movements (youth, peace, ecological and feminist, civil rights movements and others) emerged or were reorganized and considerably revitalized, becoming a powerful, independent factor of the capitalist countries' political development.

Speaking of the close interconnection of the phenomenon of the new social movements and the problems of social consciousness, it is necessary, of course, to take into consideration its extraordinary multilevel nature. At the same time there are in the complex mosaic of the socio-psychological changes occurring in capitalist society certain common trends which are a kind of denominator of many phenomena which are unique in terms of their socio-class and national-historical conditionality and highly contradictory

in terms of their expression. It is a question of a disenchantment penetrating the consciousness of the most varied social strata with the customary standards and values of the bourgeois lifestyle reducing the meaning of man's existence predominantly to satisfaction of the elementary requirements of material prosperity, the growth in the masses of a feeling of human dignity and their intensifying aspiration to an increase in their influence on the course of social development and corresponding indignation at the role of passive "object" of social control and political manipulation which has been assigned them.

The times when the ideas of the bulk of working people concerning a decent life were connected mainly with factors of a material order have receded into the past. The essence of the impact on the mentality and consciousness of the masses of the conditions of their existence in the modern capitalist society is that these conditions are giving rise, in political economy language, to the expanded reproduction of the motives of protest. With the certain rise in the working people's material living standard and the growth of their educational and cultural level there has been a sharp increase in the masses' attention to the qualitative and meaningful aspects of life and problems of their social (in the broad sense of the word) position in modern society.

These trends were most actively and distinctly expressed for the first time at the end of the 1960's in connection with the movement of the rebellious left-radical student youth, which was one of the first prophets of the present mass movements. In Western sociology the mood of protest against the values of the "consumer society" expressed by the youth movements on the eve and at the outset of the 1970's was perceived as a distinctive singularity of a very narrow sociopolitical climate not understood and supported in broad strata of the population. And, truly, the student youth's radical protest against the existing society, orientation toward "frontal" confrontation with the prevailing system of values and use of extremist forms of expression of its views appeared to be a phenomenon isolated from the tenets predominant in the mass consciousness. However, the outward distinguishing signs of the sentiments and sociopolitical behavior of the rebellious youth concealed something deeper characteristic of considerably broader strata of the population, that is, increased discord with bourgeois society, dissatisfaction with the purposes of its development, an aspiration to the democratization of social and private life and its suffusion with broader content and the increased significance of humanist ideals and values.

For a number of reasons, specifically, the higher level of education and particular sensitivity of the moral-aesthetic and humanist aspects of life, the youth, perceiving the new requirements most keenly, responded with its characteristic lack of compromise and emotion to the changes which had matured in the socio-psychological climate of bourgeois society. And it is highly significant that with the decline of the left-radical youth movement which occurred in the 1970's the new values which it had expressed in at times paradoxical form did not disappear as a factor of the mass consciousness. Undoubtedly, a number of the elements of the social and political

counterculture which had emerged in the 1960's in the youth environment (total rejection of generally accepted social standards, cult of permissiveness bordering on moral dissoluteness) not only did not become established in the social consciousness of the West but lost their attraction even for the younger generation. Nonetheless, the significance of many of the humanist values and anticonsumer life orientations and social ideals expressed consistently and extraordinarily actively for the first time in the course of the protests of the "New Left" grew appreciably in subsequent years, and they became an important motive of the world perception and behavior of the broadest masses.

Of course, the prevalence in the consciousness of different strata of capitalist society of humanist values and sentiments of dissatisfaction with the aspirituality and "materialism" of day-to-day existence is far from identical. For a number of objective reasons the representatives of the more educated and well-to-do social groups are introduced to these values more actively than the categories of working people who are less "fortunate" in the socioeconomic respect. The thirst for a different lifestyle is most characteristic of the new middle strata, particularly the arts and S&T intelligentsia, and also of young working people employed in the progressive sectors of production. In these strata such sentiments acquired the most distinct verbal expression, which is connected with the higher level of their education and the corresponding increase in the proportion of intellectual, cultural and professional requirements. Also important is the relatively greater freedom of the representatives of these groups of working people from the oppression of material concerns.

However, the prevalence of new, "nonmaterial" requirements and the mood of social protest brought about by their unrealized state is by no means confined to the new middle strata. These values and orientations are being introduced to an increasingly great extent to the consciousness of the workers. The particular expansion and growth of such requirements of the proletariat reflect both intrinsic changes in its mentality and a certain "assimilation" by the proletarian masses and "absorption" by the proletarian mentality of the anticonsumer values of "self-realization" and a meaningful life developing in the broad social environment. Specifically, in connection with the expansion of the positions of the intelligentsia in the social structure of capitalism there has been an appreciable growth of its influence, particularly of its leading representatives, on the spiritual atmosphere of contemporary capitalist society. This influence is conditioned to a considerable extent by the introduction of new, nonmaterial, humanist values to the consciousness of the working class.

Of course, the singularities of the socioeconomic position of a large part of the proletarian masses are such that an aspiration to satisfaction of material needs performs and will continue to perform an extraordinarily appreciable role in its consciousness and social behavior. This fact does not, nonetheless, provide grounds for a conclusion concerning the existence of some insurmountable barrier which allegedly today divides the social orientations of the workers and nonproletarian contingent of wage workers and

predetermines, as it were, the concentration of the first mainly on struggle for material interests, and of the latter, on demonstrations in defense of general democratic ideals within the framework of the new social movements.

Substantiating their viewpoint concerning the nature of the social base of the mass democratic movements and the extraneousness of the goals of these movements to the interests of the workers, bourgeois social scientists are operating extensively with the concept of the development of the mass consciousness which has become firmly established today in Western sociology and which views the process of transformation of the population's requirements predominantly within the rigid framework of the substitution for the "material" (essentially socioeconomic) values of the masses of values of a "post-material," "anticonsumer" order, a particular feature of which is the emphasis on questions of the "quality of life" and the requirements of self-realization, democratic participation and environmental protection. They identify the sphere of the spread of "anticonsumer" values here with the new middle strata, representatives of the more educated and well-to-do part of the younger generation of working people and the students, whereas the aspiration to satisfaction of material requirements is declared a distinguishing feature of the consciousness and behavior of the proletarian masses, in confirmation of which specific-sociological data are adduced which truly attest certain differences in the adherences of different categories of the population to the two types of value orientations.

At the same time a close familiarization with these data shows that the "gap" between the value orientations of the proletarian and nonproletarian part of the working people, which is perfectly understandable in the light of their far from uniform socioeconomic position, is by no means such that they could be counterposed to one another. The distribution of the two "polar" types of value orientations in the proletarian and nonproletarian environments, granted certain differences, is nonetheless entirely comparable. At the start of the 1970's an adherence in the West European Common Market countries to purely "material" values was expressed by 39 percent of workers of physical labor and 32 percent of representatives of the middle strata, and the proportion of supporters of exclusively "nonconsumer" values was in these categories at the level of 9.2 and 14.7 percent respectively. The situation at the end of the 1970's was similar also. "Material" orientations were shared in this period by 37.2 percent of workers of physical labor in the Common Market countries and 30.2 percent of office workers and specialists. "Post-material" values were shared by 8.7 and 15 percent⁸ respectively of representatives of these categories of working people. That is, it should be a question not so much of a contrasting of the values of workers and the middle strata as of the fact that similar processes developing, however, at a somewhat different pace are occurring in their consciousness.

And this similarity can be traced particularly distinctly if one looks at the changes in the consciousness of different social strata not from the angle of the contrasting of the two different types of value orientations but from the viewpoint of the broadening of the content of their value tendencies. The real, most popular trends of the development of the social consciousness are

characterized, we believe, not by some orientations superseding others but rather by the complication of their structure. The value systems of the population of the developed capitalist countries are evolving in several directions. On the one hand, their polarization is occurring. Two more or less stable categories of persons, one of which is distinguished by continued adherence to purely material values, while the other gives preference to purely noneconomic, "anticonsumer" values, are taking shape. At the same time, however, the adherents to the two opposite value orientations together constitute the lesser part of the population of capitalist countries. A category of persons with a complex, intrinsically heterogeneous structure of value tendencies oriented toward satisfaction of both material and non-material requirements has taken shape as the most prevalent part of the working people encompassing the bulk thereof. And the prevalence of such a system of values in the proletarian and nonproletarian strata is practically identical.

The formation of such a mass category of working people with a "mixed" system of values, reflecting the specifics of an objective reality of present-day capitalism, is leading to a considerable broadening of the horizons of a person's private life, his increased attention to problems of a humanist, spiritual and democratic nature and questions of the lifestyle and social and political development of society. This process is making for the movement of the interests of the representatives of individual social communities beyond the framework of their narrowly specific problems, creating the essential prerequisites for a broadening of the social base of the mass democratic movements.

The specifics of the quest under way within the framework of the new mass movements are highly dissimilar. The alternative models which they are putting forward as a counterweight to the existing rules of life born of the profound contradictions of the spiritual atmosphere of present-day capitalism themselves bear a considerable imprint of these contradictions. They are frequently characterized by illusory endeavors to find "real life" outside of the system of social production and modern forms of labor assertiveness, a demonstrative rejection of all social institutions of the present society and a defense of freedom of the individual and the self-sufficiency of his inner life. However, the growing popularity of these movements and the broadening of the scale of the support for them indicate that bourgeois society confronts in the shape thereof a complex phenomenon. It is by no means reducible to the extravagant and transitory enthusiasms of narrow groups of the intelligentsia and the students but reflects deep-lying processes of a restructuring of the social world outlook. The content of the social ideas being advanced by the new social movements has, granted all their eclecticism, contradictoriness and frequently utopianism and world-outlook immaturity, a common source--the crisis being experienced at the present time by the mentality of consumerism and technocratic rationalism being intensively introduced to the consciousness of the masses by the entire spiritual atmosphere of postwar capitalism.

The social consciousness in the capitalist countries is increasingly often reflecting disenchantment with the quantitative criteria of social progress, which until recently appeared to the masses as the sole intelligent and irreproachable criteria. The negative social consequences of society's simple orientation toward economic growth and an immoderate faith in the possibilities of science and technology are becoming obvious to increasingly broad strata of the working people. An awareness of the close interconnection between the domination of consumer and technocratic tendencies and the intensification of crisis trends in social life is leading to the quantitative criteria of progress coming to be counterposed increasingly distinctly to qualitative criteria based on a consideration of humanist, ecological and democratic values. These shifts in the mass consciousness of modern bourgeois society are imparting a powerful impetus to the movements of a new lifestyle and environmental protection and expanding the bases of mutual understanding between the activists of these movements and broad strata of the working people. Thus in the course of polling in the West European Common Market countries in 1982 some 64 percent¹³ of those polled stated their approval of the goals of the ecology movement. Another poll conducted at this same time in the Common Market countries showed that on average 35 percent of the population of these countries, practically regardless of ideological-political sympathies, named protection of the environment among the "great goals" for the sake of the achievement of which they were prepared to become active even to the detriment of some of their interests.¹⁴

Back at the end of the 1960's the well-known British scholar E. Mishan warned of the possibility of the "ever expanding jungle of problems ensuing directly from material prosperity" becoming "a new source of social conflict and social discontent" in capitalist society.¹⁵ The subsequent 15 years have confirmed the soundness of this forecast.

The conflict surrounding problems of lifestyle and the goals of social development is becoming a factor which is influencing to an increasingly great extent the political behavior of the masses in capitalist countries. This is brought about on the one hand by dissatisfaction with the policy of ruling circles which are incapable or unwilling to take the new social requirements into consideration and, on the other, the increased political exactingness of the masses and their readiness for direct intervention in the process of the adoption of decisions concerning questions of day-to-day life and determining prospects for the future. The deepening understanding of the role of general political problems by the working people is leading not only to the incorporation of many of them in the sphere of people's day-to-day interests but also to an increase in the mass consciousness in the proportion of democratic trends, orientations toward freedom of social behavior and the need to be "heard". As Western experts rightly state, "considerably greater public participation in economic and political decision-making has become an important goal of the masses.... The citizens are less inclined to be a passive subject of policy and are more inclined to seek their participation in decisions influencing their lives."¹⁶ An aspiration to a broadening of the possibilities of democratic participation and a desire for real influence on the course of social development constitute an important singularity of

the socio-psychological appearance of present-day working people. In the course of a poll of several tens of thousands of workers and employees of FIAT enterprises in 11 Italian provinces in 1980 some 42 percent of those polled subscribed to the opinion that "democracy is man's freedom to express his ideas," and 20 percent of those polled supported the proposition that "democracy is the citizens' participation in decision-making".¹⁷

The sharp increase in the danger of nuclear war which occurred at the start of the 1980's has been an extraordinarily powerful stimulus to the increased requirement in the masses for direct intervention in the political sphere. The exacerbation of international tension caused in the broadest strata of the population profound concern for the fate of the world and entailed the unprecedentedly strong and large-scale involvement of the masses in "big politics". An understanding of the disastrous nature of the policy of confrontation in the nuclear age and the perception of the deadly threat looming over the lives of hundreds of millions of people in the world and over the very destiny of the present civilization are engendering particularly strongly the masses' endeavor by their active intervention to counteract the reactionary, militarist policy in the solution of contentious international problems.

Recognition that the question of war and peace is the cardinal issue for mankind's existence and that the possibility of the solution of many basic social problems depends on the preservation of peace is making for the unprecedented stimulation of protest movements. The masses' need to gain control over their destiny and achieve a real impact on the future of social development is being realized at the level of antiwar protests on the broadest scale. The intensification of antiwar demonstrations reflects the growth in the working people's consciousness of a sense of their responsibility for the fate of the world and their increased capacity for realistic thinking. The longing for direct expression on international issues characteristic today of millions of people testifies to their increasingly consistent liberation from notions that the solution of problems of social development, foreign policy problems included, is reserved merely for professionals.

At the same time, on the other hand, the confrontation of the democratic aspirations of the masses with the realities of capitalist practices and "democracy-denying imperialism"¹⁸ is leading to a deepening of the mood of alienation from existing society and a "crisis of trust" in its institutions. A perception is emerging in the consciousness of broad strata of the population of a profound discrepancy between their notions of "ideal democracy" and the real state of the social-political system of present-day capitalism. Thus in the United States from 45 to 49 percent of Americans declared in 1982 that administration officials, congressmen and senators act more in selfish interests than in the public interest.¹⁹ In the West European Common Market countries there was an average growth of 45 to 52 percent in the period 1973 through 1982 in the proportion of persons with negative evaluations of the existing possibilities of influencing political development.²⁰

Dissatisfaction with the existing opportunities for political self-expression, a perception of estrangement from the decision-making process and a feeling that the interests and opinions of the man in the street are being ignored are becoming a steady feature of the broad masses' perception of the social-political institutions of capitalism. Regular polls in the West European Common Market countries conducted virtually throughout the past 15 years testify that on average the proportion of West Europeans dissatisfied with the "functioning of democracy" in their countries has constantly been at the 42-45-percent level.²¹

The consequences of the trends in question are dissimilar. In part of the masses dissatisfaction with the functioning of the traditional social-political institutions of bourgeois society and the perception of their impotence and incapacity for influencing the course of events and compelling their voice to be heard are in general engendering pessimism in respect of participation in social life. Disenchantment with the customary methods of influence on the political sphere is sometimes leading to a decline in the assertiveness of the masses and stimulating their aspiration to "transfer" interest from the sphere of social life to the realm of day-to-day, selfish group concerns, which is expressed in a growth of apathy in representatives of various social strata, an increased fatalistic vision of the surrounding world and a desire to distance themselves from the world of politics.

At the same time, however, the trends of disenchantment with "traditional politics" and the traditional forms of "participation" are giving rise in a considerable proportion of the masses not to a lowering of assertiveness but a change in the forms of its manifestation and increasing the readiness for nontraditional behavior going beyond the framework of the customary methods of political participation. Not only anger at state-monopoly oppression, centralization and suppression of the individual and not only lack of confidence in the efficiency of the functioning of the existing forms of parliamentary democracy but also an aspiration to "direct" expression independent of traditional party formations and so-called "local democracy" are becoming a characteristic feature of the new mood. Such orientations are typical to the greatest extent of representatives of the younger generation of working people, who feel less allegiance to the traditional institutions and forms of expression of their views. In the milieu of the young age groups of the population discontent with the system of bourgeois parliamentarianism, which is discrediting itself, and lack of confidence in politicians' capacity for solving the problems troubling society are engendering particularly extensively a need for new forms of democratic participation and independent political actions free of control "from above".

Such shifts in the behavior of the masses are being brought about by the profound changes which have occurred in the life of contemporary bourgeois society and in the mass consciousness, which have abruptly diminished the persistence of political behavior. Despite the growing negative influence of bourgeois channels of social influence (including the press, radio and television), there has been an increase in the masses' knowledgeability and their capacity for independent, critical judgments on a broad range of problems.

Broad social circles' countering of the ruling class' attempts to manipulate the content of their political sentiments and their social behavior has intensified. The strengthening of elements of world-outlook autonomy characteristic of the evolution of the modern mass consciousness, the growth of the cognitive capabilities of the individual, the crisis of authoritarian values and the principles of obedience and subordination to behavior standards imposed from outside--all these factors are creating the socio-psychological basis of the masses' departure from traditional forms of political behavior and quest for new forms of self-expression.

The development of these trends is being conditioned not least by such general shifts in the social consciousness of a democratic nature as the growth of the feeling of man's intrinsic dignity and increased respect for his individual opinion, the ever increasing dislike of outside regulations and an aspiration to independence of various forms of social control. The said shifts have changed the spiritual atmosphere of society to a considerable extent, having reduced the influence of traditional institutions and subjected to reevaluation mindless obedience and subordination to authorities, notions of the irreproachability of former stereotypes of thinking and behavior and sentiments of "reverence" in respect of "competent" politicians. The increased nonacceptance in the consciousness of the masses of outside compulsion and the aspiration to independence of social behavior are engendering a readiness under certain circumstances to participate in such actions of political protest as boycotts, wildcat strikes, squatting, the blockade of highways and, recently, military facilities and so forth.

There has also been an appreciable change in the nature of the relations between the traditional party and the masses. With the increased educational level of the latter and the corresponding growth of their knowledgeability there has been a decline in the proportion of the electorate in need of instructions from the party for determination of its position at elections and for an assessment of many questions of social life, which, naturally, is confronting the parties with more complex tasks in their interactions with the electorate. Establishing on the basis of specific polls a considerable expansion of the above-mentioned category of voters, Western experts consider it the principal base of various nonparty movements and civic initiative groups and also new parties of the Greens type emerging on the basis thereof.²²

Importance for channeling the assertiveness of the masses into "nontraditional politics" is also attached to the specification of their social requirements and thinking. Not only the motives of the voting of much of the electorate at elections are changing here²³ but various social-political movements vigorously putting forward individual, highly specific demands are emerging. Such movements, which are frequently of a temporary nature and lack precise formal organization, realize the broad masses' aspiration to direct participation in managing the affairs of society.

The orientation of the mass democratic movements toward new forms of political participation and the aspiration to exert an independent, direct influence on policy are intensifying not only in connection with the inaction and loss of stability of the traditional party-political structures and institutions and their incapacity for opportunely reflecting the masses' changing requirements but also in connection with the indignation of broad strata of the public at a number of directions of their governments' domestic and, particularly, foreign policy. A perception of the growing threat to peace on the part of imperialism and a desire to avert nuclear catastrophe are prompting vast masses of people to assertive and largely unorthodox actions.

The extraordinary diversity of the ideas and aims of struggle being advanced by the new social movements, and of the specific forms of action, is connected with the heterogeneousness of their social composition and the motley nature of the world-outlook orientations of the masses. These movements are experiencing the influence of the ideological views of the "New Left" and bourgeois reformism and the ideology of existentialism and ecosocialism, feminism and pacifism. The humanist and religious ideals of believers and the traditional tenets of bourgeois individualism, anticommunism and communal ethics and an orientation toward nonviolent actions and anarchic rebellion are oddly interwoven in them. However, despite all the world-outlook and political contradictoriness and heterogeneousness of the mass democratic movements, an important stimulus to their development and, frequently, cohesion is the profound discontent of the representatives of various social strata with the existing practices and an aspiration to the direct expression of their opinions.

In line with the galvanization of the new social movements they themselves are having an increasingly perceptible, progressive impact on the consciousness of the masses, contributing to a strengthening therein of democratic, humanist trends. The increased influence of the democratic movements on the social climate in the capitalist countries is brought about by the significance of the problems they are raising and goals they are proclaiming. At the same time these movements are providing many spontaneous, emotional motivations of the social mentality with an ideological structure and thereby stimulating the consolidation and further development in the consciousness of the masses of the changes occurring therein. The activity of various nonparty, democratic movements is leaving its original imprint on the moral, spiritual atmosphere of modern capitalist society, shaking the customary stereotypes of behavior and thinking. As one study rightly emphasizes, "the depth of the impact of the democratic movements on the mass consciousness is a reason for their 'permanence' and practically constant presence on the contemporary political scene of the developed capitalist countries. The temporary decline in some is being accompanied by the stimulation and upsurge of others, and the 'energy' of the mass movements is not disappearing but being transformed and modified."²⁴

Referring to the development of the consciousness of the proletariat, V.I. Lenin once observed that "only struggle educates the exploited class, only struggle reveals to it a measure of its powers, broadens its outlook, raises

its capabilities, clears its mind and forges its will."²⁷ Today this idea of Lenin's is also highly pertinent in respect of the representatives of the nonproletarian strata participating actively in the progressive social movements of our day. Protests in the ranks of the new social movements countering the reactionary, militarist and antidemocratic directions in the policy of present-day capitalism serve at the same time as the most essential positive aspect of the personal vital experience of the masses which shapes their social position and deepens their understanding of social contradictions and relations in the modern capitalist world.

FOOTNOTES

1. Highly symptomatic in this respect are the results of an extensive poll of American workers showing that at the start of the 1980's only 20 percent of them ranked economic stability as most important in the system of their requirements, whereas 22 percent declared that satisfaction of the need for "self-respect" was of the greatest significance for them, and 24 percent gave as the main values "self-realization" and improvement of the personality--"Social Values and Social Change. Adaptation to Life in America," New York, 1983, p 120.
7. Calculated from R. Inglehart, "The Silent Revolution. Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics," Princeton, 1977, p 74.
8. Calculated from R. Inglehart, "Post-Materialism in an Environment of Insecurity," AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW, December 1981, p 893.
9. According to the data of a poll conducted in 1982 in six West European countries (Italy, the FRG, Great Britain, France, Belgium and Holland), persons sharing the opposite value orientations constitute in toto 46 percent of the population, whereas an adherence to the "mixed" value system is expressed by 49 percent of those polled (see FUTURIBLES, April 1984, p 64).
13. See "The Young Europeans," Brussels, Commission of the European Communities, December 1982, p 107.
14. See EUROBAROMETER No 17, June 1982, p 38.
15. E.J. Mishan, "Growth: The Price We Pay," London, 1969, p XV.
16. "Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies: Realignment or Dealignment?" Eds. R.J. Dalton et al. Princeton, 1984, p 4.
17. See POLITICA ED ECONOMIA No 5, 1985, p 40.
18. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 30, p 71.
19. See PUBLIC OPINION, Aug/Sep 1982, p 25.

20. See EUROBAROMETER No 17, June 1982, p 25.
21. See EUROBAROMETER No 23, June 1985, p 7.
22. See, for example, R.J. Dalton, "Cognitive Mobilization and Partisan Dealignment in Advanced Industrial Democracies," JOURNAL OF POLITICS, February 1984.
23. At the end of the 1970's, according to certain estimates, one-fourth of the American electorate expressed an intention to vote against the ruling party or a specific politician not in connection with the content of their program taken as a whole but only as a consequence of disagreement with their standpoint on a number of individual issues--NEWSWEEK, 6 November 1978, p 54.
24. "Present-Day Capitalism: Political Relations and Institutions of Power," Moscow, 1984, p 117.
27. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 30, p 314.

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RESTRUCTURING MANAGEMENT OF ECONOMY: PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS

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[Article by Professor Bentsion Zakharovich Milner, doctor of economic sciences and deputy director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Systems Research of the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Restructuring Management of the Economy: Problems and Prospects"]

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress put forward the task of restructuring the socialist economic mechanism and of creating an integral, efficient, and flexible system of managing the economy. In this regard, M.S. Gorbachev stressed in the Political Report to the congress: "Economic management, and this is obvious, needs constant refinement. But the situation now is such that one cannot limit oneself to partial improvements--what is needed is radical reform." (footnote 1) ("Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1986, p 33)

The basic directions of restructuring the economic mechanism envisage, on the one hand, strengthening, refining, and enhancing the effectiveness of the centralized planning management of the economy and, on the other hand, expanding the limits of the autonomy of associations and enterprises, enhancing their responsibility for end results, and overcoming the practice of interference by the center in the operational activity of lower economic components. In other words, a dual task is being resolved at the contemporary phase: The efficiency of the planning and organizing principle in determining the paths of national economic development is being enhanced, and the utmost scope is opening up for initiative by labor collectives. A course is being taken toward shifting to economic methods of management at all levels of the national economy, toward providing management with a contemporary organizational structure based on the trends of production concentration, specialization, and collaboration, and toward ensuring the optimal combination of sectorial and territorial management of the economy. The party attaches particular importance to accomplishing a comprehensive democratization of management, to enhancing the role of labor collectives in it, and to intensifying control from below and accountability and openness (glasnost) in the work of economic organs.

The aforesaid directions of restructuring the economic mechanism, taken together, reflect the influence of an entire group of objective factors that characterize the current stage of development of the socialist economy. This includes changes in productive forces, in the equipment and technology of production, in its concentration and specialization, and in the social development of society.

First of all, it is necessary to point out the enormous scale of the national economy and the acceleration of its growth rate. By 1986 the national wealth of the USSR exceeded R3.5 trillion. The range of industrial and agricultural output reached 24 items. But this is still not the limit. The plan of the economic and social development of the USSR for the 12th 5-Year Plan envisages a one-third increase in the utilized national income as compared with the 11th 5-Year Plan, and an increase in industrial output by a factor of 1.5. By the year 2000 the volume of national income and resources aimed at enhancing the people's welfare must double.

We are witnesses to a never before seen acceleration in the growth of capital investments in the national economy. Suffice it to say that it is planned to invest more resources in the national economy before the year 2000 than in all the years of Soviet power. The scale of the development of the economy under the conditions of scientific-technological progress engenders complicated economic intersectorial and intrasectorial ties that require an efficient coordination of actions and a harmonization of interests of an enormous number of sectors, enterprises, and industries. The increase in cooperative ties intensifies the interdependence of all components of the national economy, which, in turn, requires enhancement of the level of the flexibility and efficiency of the management mechanism.

Among the factors directly affecting changes in the management of the economy is the shift currently under way from extensive methods of developing production (the involvement of additional capital investments and labor resources) to intensive methods (acceleration of scientific-technological progress, the growth of labor productivity, improvement of work quality, and others). Precisely herein lies the most important distinctive feature of the 12th 5-Year Plan, when further economic growth will take place during a deceleration or without any increase in the consumption of primary resources--fuel, raw materials, traditional structural materials, and manpower--in material production. The exhaustion of extensive factors and the exacerbation of the problem of the use of nature and of environmental protection has put forward the task of a thrifty use of all forms of material resources, which in turn requires serious strengthening of the economic responsibility and interest of labor collectives and the creation of an effective cost-conscious mechanism.

The changes in the organization and methods of management are also designed to influence new forms of developing the country's productive forces, which are represented by statewide and regional programs, special-purpose scientific-technological programs, intersectorial production and scientific-technological complexes, and territorial production complexes, which require specific approaches to the formation of management systems. Of no small

importance are the serious qualitative advances associated with the process of obtaining, processing, and analyzing the data necessary for management.

Restructuring the management of the national economy is largely associated with changes in the social sphere, with invigorating the "human factor," and its growing role in enhancing the efficiency of the socialist economy. In contemporary conditions the demands on the quality of manpower--its skills and technological and labor discipline--and on the mobility and adaptiveness of labor resources are fundamentally changing. An economic and creative attitude toward the cause and toward the resources used by workers is becoming a necessary condition for efficient economic management. Without this, the problems of enhancing the quality of output and the reliability of increasingly complicated technological systems are practically unsolvable.

At the same time there is also an increase in workers' demands on the substance and conditions of labor. Qualitative advances in the level of the education and culture of working people become, on the one hand, a factor of technological progress, but, on the other hand, they pose the serious problem of a structural correspondence between people's intellectual potential and claims and the level of production and its manpower requirements. The substance of labor, its creative nature, and the opportunity to display man's abilities in the labor process are occupying an increasingly important place among the motives for active labor activity.

The essence of the matter is that the solution of pressing problems of the Soviet economy and a real and accelerated intensification of production necessitate increased labor and economic vigor by working people, the development of socialist enterprise, and a substantial enhancement of the level of knowledge and competence of economic leaders. Each worker needs to be given economic and organizational conditions that will combine increased exactingness with an interest in the end results of common work. The CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th party congress points out: "Restructuring the economic mechanism in the conditions of our country, with its enormous and complicated economy, requires time and energetic effort. There may be difficulties and we do not have a guarantee against miscalculations, but nonetheless the main thing now is to move purposefully and steadily in the chosen direction." (Footnote 2) ("Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress," p 34) The key direction of restructuring the management system, in our opinion, is expanding the rights of enterprises and associations and strengthening their economic interest in and responsibility for achieving high end results. For this purpose it is necessary to resolve, in practice, a large range of interrelated issues concerning the very organization of enterprises, the planning and financing of their activity, the creation of efficient systems of material interest and of interrelationships between suppliers and consumers, and the expansion of the involvement of working people in management.

First of all, it is necessary to complete the process of the organizational development of large associations and enterprises and to combine science and production in practice. In resolving this task it is important to take not

one, but many paths, establishing production, science-and-production, production-and-trade, and agroindustrial associations, engineering and technological centers, intersectorial scientific-technological complexes, and firms for introducing innovations (vnedrencheskiye firmy), and so on.

The comprehensive strengthening and development of the basic component of social production--enterprises and associations--relies on the processes of the concentration of production, which are objectively accompanied by processes of the integration of management and the increasing comprehensiveness of management, which in turn is designed to ensure organizational conditions for the greater autonomy of economic organizations and for an efficient combination of centralization and decentralization in management. It is no accident that among all the organizational forms of collectivization, V.I. Lenin devoted particular attention to trusts--large production combines. He particularly stressed their role in accelerating technological development and in reducing production costs. "Communism," V.I. Lenin wrote, "requires and presupposes the utmost centralization of large-scale production throughout the country. (Footnote 3) (V.I. Lenin: "Complete Collected Works," Vol 36, p 392).

The formation of large production and science-and-production associations began as early as 1973. In 1985, 4068 production and 227 science-and-production associations were operating in industry. They included 18,500 out of 45,500 industrial enterprises. Production associations' proportion of the volume of sold output amounted to 49.5 percent in 1985 with 51.3 percent of the work force.

Very large production complexes consisting of dozens of plants, factories, and organizations with a work force amounting to tens of thousands of people have been created in a number of sectors of industry (motor vehicle, gas, oil, coal, and some others). The time has come for these large-scale production and economic systems to be endowed with broad rights and responsibility in terms of direct management of production, including the study of the requirement and demand for products, the shaping of plans and production programs, the distribution of stocks of material-technical resources, management of scientific-technological progress, and the management of financial-economic activity. Much has already been done in this area, but major work still lies ahead.

The basic trend of the internal organizational development of various kinds of associations is that the integrational processes taking place in them make it possible to combine various spheres of activity and production into unified production and economic complexes on the basis of their common technological and territorial character and to achieve a concentration and centralization of the scientific-technological base and a closer technological and organizational combination of science, production, and the sale of output.

In this it is also important to rely on highly specialized medium-sized and small enterprises with various types of production--from mass to individual--that manufacture diverse intersectorial output. The simple organizational

structure of these enterprises makes it possible to react more rapidly and flexibly to changes in the requirements for the means of production and for consumer goods.

In recent decades the problem of small enterprises working directly and immediately for the needs of the population and providing for the activity of large enterprises has not been solved in our economy. For a long time they remained apart from technological progress, the necessary capital investments were not allocated for their development, and they were poorly supplied with cadres. It is necessary to raise this problem to the statewide level and to organizationally strengthen the activity of small enterprises by involving them, where expedient, in large production complexes, in associations of small enterprises, or in the development of cooperative forms of activity.

Unfortunately, the use of the territorial principle in the formation of sectorial production associations (primarily in the machine-building and mining industries, construction, and the timber and pulp and paper industries) and intersectorial ones is still inadequate. Moreover, a sectorial affiliation, as it was frequently stressed in party documents, must not be an obstacle to forming unified complexes, because it is precisely the unity of their scientific-technical and technological base and the centralization of auxiliary and services production that are the main sources of high economic efficiency. Enterprises and associations of all sectors must have the right to create joint enterprises, organizations, and associations on a contractual basis, which engage, in a centralized fashion, in certain production and economic activity in the interests of the cooperating parties and which ensure a more efficient use of resources.

The essence of the changes taking place in the expansion of the economic autonomy and the rights of enterprises and associations is that within the framework of centrally set indicators, limits, and economic norms, an enterprise must operate on the basis of economic accountability, self-recoupment, and self-financing. The basic course now being taken is that the centralized planning management of enterprises and associations will be carried out via:

- The establishment of a production mix (shaped, in particular, by centralized capital investments for new construction and the expansion of production);
- Directed plan targets conveyed in the shape of state orders for the manufacture of the most important types of output, the commissioning of production capacities, and the assimilation of new equipment and technology;
- Systems of economic norms (prices, normative payments for production resources, for the establishment of the labor remuneration fund, for the distribution of profit, and others).

The results of experiments already conducted very definitely indicate that the economic norms and plan targets set for an enterprise must be stable. They can only be changed in exceptional cases after preliminary discussion

with the enterprise and under the condition that there is compensation to the enterprise for income not obtained as a result of changes in the plan by the higher organ. Of fundamental importance now is the fact that economic responsibility of higher management organs for the consequences of their decisions is being introduced.

It seems that the drafting and approval of the plan must be carried out autonomously by an enterprise with the involvement of the labor collective and by proceeding on the basis of a restricted range of centralized targets (orders) on the manufacture of the most important types of output, of indicators, of limits, and of economic norms, as well as concluded economic contracts. It is very important, in our opinion, that the centrally established list of targets, indicators, norms, and limits not be subject to additional expansion by management organs. In the interests of accelerating scientific-technological progress it is expedient for enterprises to autonomously plan and carry out the whole complex of work of creating and assimilating new equipment and technology, where necessary recruiting, under contractual conditions, scientific-research, planning and design, and technological organizations, engineering centers, temporary collectives, as well as highly skilled specialists. Of course, one should first ensure the fulfillment of targets set by state scientific-technological programs. It is necessary to create all the necessary organizational and economic conditions for systematic job certification and for an assessment of technological processes and the state of equipment, tools, and attachments so as to take prompt measures to ensure their compliance with contemporary requirements.

Much that is new is also being introduced in the methods of the sale of output, which must be carried out by an enterprise primarily on the basis of economic contracts concluded with other enterprises and organizations. In so doing the role of consumers, who have the final say in selecting the ways of obtaining output and determining the periods of its delivery, is enhanced.

Of decisive significance in the new economic mechanism is a serious expansion of the economic accountability bases of the activity of enterprises and associations, their shift to self-recoupment and self-financing, and enhancement of their economic responsibility for the timely and total fulfillment of all their commitments. In this regard one should note the high assessment given by the June (1986) CPSU Central Committee Plenum to the initiative of the "AvtoVAZ" production association and the Sumy M.V. Frunze science-and-production machine-building association which, on the basis of mobilizing internal sources for refining the organization and methods of management, set a goal of reaching the foremost frontiers of technological progress and raising the quality of manufactured output, and at the same time ensuring high economic indicators. The experience of these associations merits broad dissemination. From 1987 more than 200 large industrial enterprises, including the enterprises of an entire sector--chemical and petroleum machine-building--will also shift to the principles of self-financing and self-recoupment. Hundreds and thousands of enterprises and associations of other sectors will undoubtedly follow them.

In conditions of self-financing and self-recoupment, an enterprise must in the first place fulfill commitments to the state in the shape of payment for used resources, a profit withholding tax, and payments and deductions according to established and stable long-term norms and rates stipulated by the legislature.

Profit and other funds remaining after the fulfillment of these commitments by the enterprise, payments of bank interest, and normative deductions to centralized funds are completely at the disposal of the enterprise. They are channeled into the economic incentive fund and other enterprise funds and are used for the self-financing of the enterprise's production and social development for the material encouragement of workers, and for the creation of a financial reserve. In accordance with the special function of economic incentive funds, the enterprise autonomously determines the specific directions of the expenditure of earned monies, including the entire complex of work to create, start up, and incorporate new equipment, retooling and modernization, the establishment of a norm of internal working capital, and the construction and economic upkeep of apartment houses and other sociocultural and consumer facilities.

In essential cases an enterprise is given centralized resources to carry out large-scale measures for modernization and expansion, to carry out state and sectorwide scientific-technological programs, and to compensate for increased outlays during production in accordance with plan targets (orders) over a set period.

Within the framework of the general labor remuneration fund (including all forms of wages and bonus payments), which is shaped depending on the end results of activity, an enterprise must organize labor remuneration for workers based on the results and quality of their work and consistently transfer its subdivisions to contracts, remuneration according to end results, and other collective forms of labor organization and remuneration. Within the limits of its existing fund, an enterprise autonomously determines labor remuneration and material incentives for workers, the size of bonuses, and additions and supplements to wage rates and salaries. It is very important that the entire economy of the labor remuneration fund remain at the disposal of the enterprise and is used or kept in reserve at its discretion.

Of particular importance, in our opinion, is a real enhancement of the enterprise's responsibility to its labor collective for creating favorable conditions for creative labor and everyday life, sport, and recreation, for developing sociopolitical vigor, and for enhancing the general education and cultural level of each member of the labor collective. It is obliged to systematically improve the conditions of labor, ensuring its protection and safety, and to organize an informational and cultural service for the members of the labor collective, and to assist in creating conditions for substantive labor. Internal resources are the basic source of financing expenditures for maintaining social and cultural and consumer facilities and the municipal services of an enterprise, as well as the construction of these facilities

and of housing. These resources must be utilized autonomously by enterprises.

Examining the whole system of factors making an impact on the effectiveness of refining the management of social production, one should clearly visualize that at all stages of the management process the person and his relations within a collective play a decisive role. Hence stems the objective necessity to enhance the role and initiative of labor collectives in management and planning and to educate workers in the spirit of a conscientious and creative attitude toward labor and of increased social and production vigor.

Developing the ideas and main precepts of the 27th party congress, M.S. Gorbachev said in the report at the June (1986) CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "The congress precept of developing the creativity of the masses as the basis of acceleration is making a profound impact on society. It is associated in the closest way with the struggle for social justice, for the development of democracy, for total openness, and for purging from life all manifestations of a petty bourgeois psychology. The interest of Soviet people in politics and economics, culture and morality, and all public life is growing. This has a perceptible influence on labor and political vigor and on strengthening discipline and order in the country." (Footnote 4) ("Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. 16 June 1986," Moscow, 1986, p 7).

On the one hand, the labor process occupies the central place in the fulfillment of material production functions, which makes people the basic object of management, on the other--all real processes of production and management are subjectively mediated through the activities of leaders and engineering and technical workers, who prepare and make decisions. K. Marx pointed out this specific character of a person's actions: "...All motive forces that give rise to his actions must inevitably pass through his mind and must become an inducement for his will..." (Footnote 5) (K, Marx and F. Engels: "Works," Vol 21, p 310). In contemporary conditions, in full accordance with the course of the 27th party congress, it is necessary to develop in every possible way and everywhere self-management at enterprises. In practice this means that management must be carried out on the basis of the combination of one-man management and the broad involvement of the labor collective in discussing and making decisions on issues of the future development of enterprises, the social development of the collective, improvement of the conditions and protection of labor, and the economic activity of enterprises and the management of them.

The general meeting of a labor collective (its representatives), whose decision is of a final or a recommendatory nature, should be regarded as the basic form of applying in practice the powers of an enterprise's labor collective in socialist self-management. The establishment of regulations, the conclusion of collective contracts, and the utilization of the resources of the material incentive, social development, and other funds can be among the issues under consideration by the general meeting of a labor collective. In the period between meetings of the labor collective, their functions are

fulfilled by the council of the labor collective, which discusses and decides all issues excluding those within the exclusive jurisdiction of the general meeting. Issues of production and economic activity and the social development of the collective must be discussed and decided with the direct involvement of the trade union organization or its elected organs.

The further development of self-management presupposes that the labor collective be involved in the final decision of issues such as determining the direction of the expenditure of economic incentive funds; the distribution of resources for labor remuneration and incentives between the enterprise's structural subdivisions depending on the work results they have achieved; the establishment of forms of moral and material incentives for outstanding production workers; approval of the results of the appraisal of cadres in basic and intermediate components, as well as proposals of the administration on the selection and promotion of cadres for leadership work; and bringing workers that have caused losses to the enterprise to disciplinary and material account. It is also necessary to enhance its role in reviewing plans of the enterprise's economic and social development and in assessing the skill and professional qualities of the leading workers of an enterprise.

The dissemination of collective forms of labor organization and remuneration, the further development of collectivism and the production autonomy of the masses, and the strengthening of discipline and organization have been very important and growing trends in recent years. The brigade form of self-management, which is a particular system of the formation of a brigade that can only be carried out according to democratic principles, has proved its great efficiency in industry, in construction, in agriculture, in transportation, and in other spheres of the economy. The brigade collective itself actively participates in its staffing. Article 18 of the USSR Law on Labor Collectives prescribes that the collective of a production brigade "directly or through the brigade council takes part in deciding issues of brigade staffing." In practice this means that the taking on of new members or apprentices for a brigade, as well as the dismissal or transfer of individual workers, must not be carried out without an appropriate decision by the collective or council of the brigade.

The existence of a brigade plan is one of the most important prerequisites for fulfilling the managerial functions of the brigade. Without this plan, the brigade collective is deprived of the opportunity to take part in progress planning, to correctly distribute work with regard to the abilities and capabilities of each of its members, and to ensure smooth work and the optimal utilization of people and equipment. Raising a brigade's work efficiency to a qualitatively higher level largely depends on the restructuring of the entire economic mechanism and on a change in the status of its basic component--the enterprise or association. It will then become possible to run affairs on progressive principles: Orientation toward long-term goals and plans, the presence of stable economic norms, a reduction in the number of directive indicators, a priority impact by economic measures among which the most important place belongs to economic accountability and material interest and responsibility.

Brigade economic accountability must be based on the operational-economic autonomy of a brigade, a comparative evaluation of expenditures and the obtained effect, and the determination of remuneration based on the end results of work. A brigade is considered economically accountable when, together with production volume plans, targets are set, according to labor-intensiveness (labor productivity), for one or a number of types of material resources and for observing the norms of their input or saving.

The Law on Labor Collectives has provided an expanded range of rights for the brigade. The resolution of a number of production tasks has been transferred to its exclusive jurisdiction. The distribution of tasks, the selection of the modes and methods of work, and the distribution of common earnings--all these are issues that the brigade resolves at its discretion. The brigade gives recommendations on enhancing the wage category of its members and provides winners of the intrabrigade socialist competition with incentives.

Work according to a single job schedule or an autonomous system of remuneration according to the end result with a pro rata participation of all members of a collective in it is an important condition for ensuring the economically accountable activity of the brigade. The labor of 82 percent of brigade workers is currently paid for according to a single job schedule, and the labor of 66 percent of them--according to the end result. It is precisely the system of pro rata participation in end results that is the main feature of the new-type brigade.

I would like to stress that the collective contract is a higher level of the collective form of work, and envisages: An end result that is precisely fixed in terms of quantitative and qualitative indicators; the allocation of material resources for the volume of work; the assignment of technological equipment, tools, and other producer goods for the collective; a guaranteed amount of labor remuneration for the result obtained; and finally, mutual material responsibility of a contract collective and administration for fulfilling the conditions of the contract, determined either by the contract or by a plant economic management system.

For violating the conditions of the contract the administration must bear economically accountable responsibility either at the expense of general plan expenditures or by using the expenditures of another economically accountable subdivision, through the fault of which the contract was not fulfilled. Subsequently, part of the bonus and the reward for the annual result must be withheld from specific culprits, and incentive supplements and so on must be withdrawn. The collective economic accountability contract, which encompasses pieceworkers, workers on a time rate, and engineering and technical workers and employees, is a very important means of transferring to economically accountable relations not only brigades but more complicated organizational structures: sections, shops, and so on.

One of the most important issues of a brigade's activity is ensuring an objective record of each worker's contribution to the overall results of work. The development of the brigade has engendered a new method of distributing

wages--in accordance with the coefficient of labor input, which is of fundamental importance to refining the organization of labor remuneration and incentives. The use of the coefficient of labor input envisages an active role of the worker in the sphere of distribution and requires involving him in the function of wages management. The brigade or the council of a contract collective (shop, enterprise) is provided with the right of disposal, which means substantial progress toward developing self-management.

The consistent development of self-management enhances the socioeconomic role of labor collectives. In turn, the process of democratization promotes the refinement of the organization of production and labor, the efficient fulfillment of national economic plans, and the enhancement of work quality. This fully confirms the words of V.I. Lenin, who pointed out that the development of democracy will "make its impact on the economy and encourage its transformation.... Such is the dialectics of living history." (Footnote 6) (V.I. Lenin: "Complete Collected Works," Vol 33, p 79).

Social equality, being an important advantage of the Soviet system, puts quite a few complicated tasks before the leaders of labor collectives, because under contemporary conditions the authority of a leader can no longer rely on advantages gained by formal education or by official status. Along with the general influence of social factors on increasing the role of leaders and the demands on them, there is the direct impact of the objective trends of an increase in the magnitude and complexity of social production, of the high pace and nature of scientific-technological development, and of the integration of specialized forms of activity, sectors, and industries. Hence stem the upcoming tasks of cultivating and enhancing the skills of managerial cadres, developing their creative initiative and professionalism, intensifying their responsibility for obtaining projected specific results and for work quality. The combination of science and the art of management, the dialectical unity of subjective and objective management, and the utmost use in practice of the Leninist style of leadership--these are the most important directions of enhancing the level of managerial activity.

It should be stressed that the resolution of many of the issues of improving the organization of the basic component of industrial production--enterprises and associations--is very tightly intertwined with the definite influence that they have on the entire system of sectorial management and the nature of the interaction and interdependence of its elements. The formation of various kinds of associations has put forward the problem of the relationship between centralization and decentralization in sectorial management and the rational distribution of functions between ministries, associations and autonomous enterprises. The organizational restructuring of the work of enterprises and associations and the expansion of their economic autonomy and responsibility raise anew the issue of the place, functions, and composition of sectorial ministries and the methods of their work. Ministries are freed from the enormous, inefficient work of distributing resources between enterprises, of withdrawing them from enterprises that are operating well in favor of laggards, and of invalid interference in their current activity.

To a greater extent than ever before, they now have the opportunity to focus on solving key technical and economic problems of the development of sectors and on fulfilling the functions primarily of a strategic nature. This concerns, in particular, long-term and 5-year planning, as well as forecasting, the drawing up of technical policy, the distribution and most efficient management of capital investments, and the siting, specialization, and cooperation of production in the sector.

The shift under new conditions of management to the use of single economic norms that define the interrelationship between a sector's enterprises and the state budget requires increased attention to lagging enterprises. It seems that it would be expedient to place the responsibility for drawing up and carrying out special measures to enhance the technical level, specialization, and the improvement of the organization of production and, on this basis, for reducing prime costs at these enterprises to the level of foremost ones. In the interests of the cause it is important to develop a system of measures to intensify the economic interest and responsibility of the apparatus of ministries for the work results of the sector as a whole.

Along with this one cannot fail to see that in all the work to improve the management of the national economy, overcoming departmental and localist trends, eliminating the overloading of managerial organs by a large number of subordinate components, and removing shortcomings in distributing powers and responsibilities between various levels of management have an important place. Superfluous components in the structure of management engender parallelism and duplication of work.

At present the basic directions have been determined for refining the management structures of individual sectors of industry depending on the nature of the manufactured products and on ties with consumers. In sectors where stable technological processes prevail and there is major serial manufacture of the same kind of output, the leading trend is the development and simplification of the centralized structure. The power industry and electrification, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the coal, petroleum refining, and petrochemical industries, and geology are among these sectors. In places where one can see a diversity of technologies and the utmost connection between the production of the end product and the consumer (in sectors producing consumer goods), the trend toward enhancing the role of local components of the management structure is increasingly perceptible. Insufficient consideration of this condition, as practice shows, frequently leads to a substantial reduction in production efficiency.

The centralization of many managerial functions within specialized subdivisions of ministries and the shift of ministries to the direct management of production and science-and-production associations require new solutions to improve the organizational structure of the central apparatus. In its work, this apparatus must rely not so much on administrative levers of pressure as on economic norms, standards, and documents that regulate methods and organization.

The comprehensive consideration of all aspects of management is one of the manifestations of a systematic approach. No measure in the sphere of management can be viewed in isolation from the other. This problem arose with particular acuteness with regard to the large-scale economic experiment under way in the national economy. At first it seemed that it would be enough to alter the economic conditions of the activity of enterprises and associations so as to obtain an impact in expanding the volume and quality of results. However, the experiment revealed that economic conditions require adequate organizational forms. New economic conditions cannot be incorporated into old forms of organization. At present this problem, which requires a genuinely systematic solution, has become a key one in the entire work of refining the economic mechanism.

In contemporary conditions it must be a question of the simultaneous and interconnected development of the economic mechanism proper and of its organizational-managerial support. And this means that the expansion of the economic rights of enterprises and associations must be accompanied by: A. A precise demarcation and distribution of functions, rights, and responsibilities at all levels of economic operations; B. The introduction of rational procedures, stages, and rules for drafting, setting, and controlling plan targets; C. The creation of mechanisms and legal guarantees in implementing the rights provided for enterprises and associations; D. The establishment of an efficient system of relations both along the vertical line (sector) and the horizontal line of management (local organs, banks, Gosstrib, and others). These are precisely the organizational prerequisites for efficient management.

Meanwhile, one of the main lessons of the large-scale economic experiment that was held in 1984-86 was that the measures aimed at intensifying the interest of enterprises in enhancing production efficiency were carried out while simultaneously maintaining regulation of all aspects of activity by a system of directive and directed targets. New conditions were incorporated in the existing organization of management without changing and adapting to the experiment the distribution of functions, rights, and responsibilities.

All this was also aggravated by the fact that even sectorial management schemes in operation, regardless of the experiment, were notable for a duplication of tasks and functions, for their being contradictory, for excessive centralization, and for complicated decisionmaking procedures. The statutes on the socialist production enterprise (1965), on the ministry (1967), on the all-union industrial association (1973), on the production association (1974), and on the science-and-production association must be made to conform with each other and any duplication, contradiction, and imprecise directives must be eliminated.

The new practical steps in the cause of further developing the organization of management, as studies show, must be aimed at ensuring, in the shortest time:

- A real enhancement of the role of production associations (enterprises) in the entire system of management of social production and an intensification of their responsibility for achieving national economic end results;
- Completion of the process of establishing economically efficient large production associations, including their creation on an intersectorial basis, regardless of departmental affiliation;
- Strengthening and the further development of highly specialized autonomous enterprises, including medium and small-sized ones, capable of flexibly reacting to changing demand and of efficiently using labor and material resources;
- The elimination of duplication and parallelism in the work of the apparatus of different levels and the shift to primarily a two and three-tier management structure while preserving the intermediate tier--all-union industrial associations--only if it is economically and organizationally justified.

The comprehensive tasks of a "coupling" nature--interdepartmental, intersectorial, and interterritorial ones--are particularly complicated. Needed here are new qualitative forms making it possible to overcome the narrow framework of departmentalism. In our opinion, of fundamental importance in this sphere are issues of organizing the management of groups of similar sectors, which require particular coordination. The use of the principle of systematization must ensure all the necessary responsibilities and powers in managing these complexes to solve arising problems not from the viewpoint of departmental but of national economic interests; coordination of plans for the development of sectors included in the complexes; and the current coordination of their interaction.

Established in 1985 were the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building and the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, which became the central organs in managing groups of the appropriate interrelated sectors. A USSR Council of Ministers organ on the country's fuel-and-energy complex was created in 1986. Organizational solutions in managing construction, transportation, and a number of other complexes have come to a head. Unified organs of the management of complexes operate taking into account the sectors that belong to them as well as the national economic tasks that they are resolving. Their main purpose is developing industries within a complex and turning them into a highly developed base capable of fully satisfying the needs of the national economy in the appropriate types of output. They must also ensure the coordinated development of sectors and the comprehensive solution of intersectorial problems, the implementation of a single scientific-technological and investment policy and production and scientific-technological cooperation between sectors of complexes, and their transformation into a single, integral system.

The most important task of the stated organs is enhancing the quality of goods and satisfying the needs of the national economy for the output of sectors belonging to complexes. They are designed to ensure a high technical level of produced goods, the incorporation of the achievements of science and technology, new materials, and technologies into production, and the dissemination of advanced experience.

The following must be broadly disseminated in major intersectorial complexes:

--Intersectorial and multifunctional production and science-and-production associations and engineering and technological centers with the inclusion in them of enterprises and organizations that are subordinate to various departments;

--Production and enterprises and associations that organize comprehensive services for the organizations of various departments--the manufacture of output for intersectorial applications, the repair of technological equipment, the manufacture of tools, attachments, and accessories, the performance of accounting and clerical work, and so on;

--The concentration of the production of homogeneous output at enterprises and associations of specialized ministries by including in them the appropriate production organizations and the capacities of other departments.

A result of the application of the principle of systematization must be the development of rational organizational mechanisms and procedures for the management of comprehensive national economic programs--socioeconomic, production, and scientific-technological.

The most important programs of the 12th 5-Year Plan have a whole series of distinctive features requiring precisely a systematic approach to management. These programs are multipurpose, are aimed at the simultaneous resolution of a broad range of tasks, are designed for long periods, and are associated with large capital investments. Their structure includes a number of interconnected but at the same time relatively autonomous programs. In other words, these programs are intersectorial and interdepartmental.

The diverse tasks of scientific-technological progress, whose management should be viewed as a complex of interconnected technical, socioeconomic, and organizational aspects of the development of productive forces and the refinement of production relations, are also an obvious sphere for applying a systematic approach. In the resolution of major scientific-technological tasks, as a rule, complicated and manifold intersectorial ties develop. This, in turn, presupposes the expansion of the practice of creating temporary organs of special-purpose management of scientific-technological programs in parent ministries (departments), in science-and-production and production associations, in scientific research institutes, and in design organizations. The main function of the special-purpose organizational components is to be responsible, from start to finish, for the fulfillment of a certain task and to overcome departmental and territorial narrow-mindedness in the use of resources.

A statewide task of fundamental importance at present is the retooling of sectors of the national economy and acceleration of scientific-technological progress on the basis of the use of computer technology and automated systems. In this regard the party and government have taken serious measures to improve the coordination of work in the sphere of computer technology and

to enhance the efficiency of its utilization. A USSR All-Union State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science has been established. It will operate as a central managerial and programmatic organ with a wide range of powers.

Particular attention in the upcoming period will be devoted to enhancing the effectiveness of centralized planning leadership. The main thing here is carrying out a unified state policy in creating economic conditions for the activity of all management components, which would ensure the best combination of the interests of the state, enterprises, and labor collectives and would orient economic activity toward high end results.

Restructuring the activity of the upper echelons of economic management, as pointed out at the 27th CPSU Congress, will proceed along the path of primarily focusing efforts on solving the most important problems of socio-economic development, refining national economic proportions, and accomplishing key scientific-technological tasks. It is important to overcome the practice of interference by the center in the operational activity of lower economic components. Then, central planning organs could focus to a greater extent on setting the basic general-economic, intersectorial, and inter-regional proportions of social production, on making major progressive structural advances in the national economy, and on pursuing an active structural policy.

The importance of balancing work must be enhanced, particularly the role of the balance of the national economy, the intersectorial balance, the balance of capital investments, and the balance of monetary investments and of expenditures.

Much is also to be done in turning the price system into an effective tool of economic and social policy, to make a closer link between all forms of prices, the goals of the development of the economy, and the practice of constantly refining equipment and technologies and of strictly observing the policy of thrift and everyday resource-saving. The basic principle in reviewing prices and wage rates must be the creation of conditions under which enterprises that operate normally could fully implement total economic accountability in their activity: recovering outlays for the production and sale of output and obtaining accumulations that are adequate for refining production, for social development, and for active participation in forming the centralized fund of financial resources--the budget.

While preserving centralized state management of price-setting, it is also necessary to expand the autonomy of enterprises in the sphere of fixing prices. This concerns, for instance, dissemination of the practice of determining prices of new consumer goods on the basis of agreement between industrial enterprises and trade organizations. In this case price becomes a factor that promotes an increase in the sale of goods and a fuller satisfaction of the needs of the population. Contractual prices must be introduced for a strictly defined period so that later, taking into account the practice of their utilization, constant prices that are more valid and practically

tested are established. For this purpose it is also important to introduce more boldly contractual prices regarding output for production and technical purposes and to present them, after a certain period, for approval to price-setting organs, taking into account the real outlays for production and the impact of the utilization of new equipment by the consumer.

In the 12th 5-Year Plan it is no less important to resolve the task of establishing a close connection between the work results of collectives and the labor remuneration system. The state policy in the sphere of labor remuneration stems from the need of preferential incentives primarily for workers in vocations that determine scientific-technological progress--engineers, production engineers, and designers. The issue of restructuring the system of wage rates and salaries so as to differentiate to the utmost labor remuneration for workers based on their skill and real contribution to the end work results of enterprises has also come to a head.

To solve these tasks, the normative methods that have justified themselves in practice and that ensure the interest of labor collectives in the growth of labor productivity and in reducing the number of workers must be widely used. A most important principle in carrying out measures to introduce new wage rates, salaries, differential supplements (koeffitsientnyye nadbavki) to wages, and bonuses for continuous long service is that the resources for these goals must be found primarily by enterprises themselves.

It is also planned to do much in the upcoming period to regulate the financial-credit mechanism. It should be more fully oriented toward a balance of material-physical and value proportions and toward a timely and total mobilization of resources necessary to finance planned measures. At the same time its cost-conscious orientation, which places a barrier against various kinds of waste, the irrational use of all forms of resources, and the withdrawal from circulation of people's property by excessive reserves of commodity stocks must be sharply intensified. It is also necessary to sharply enhance the role of finances and credit in the further consolidation of economically accountable relations.

A general line in refining financial relations in all sectors of the production sphere must be the widespread and consistent use of methods of distributing monetary accumulations between the state budget and enterprises that have justified themselves during the large-scale economic experiment. In this regard the specific forms of interrelationships between enterprises and the budget obtain a new quality--they are built on the basis of long-standing stable norms of payments and allocations. Economic norms predetermine the amounts of priority payments from profits into the budget, which are associated with the use of production resources, primarily fixed and circulating capital. In this the payments systems is restructured so as to limit endeavors by economic managers "to extract" from the state as much capital investments and other resources as possible.

The initial level of norms of the distribution of profits must guarantee normally operating enterprises the right to retain and dispose of resources adequate for the technical refinement of production and the social development of labor collectives, at the same time creating an interest in increasing monetary accumulations by developing production and enhancing its efficiency. It is fundamentally important to implement the new approach toward establishing and utilizing the monetary funds of enterprises: They should be created from profits remaining after the fulfillment of all commitments to the budget, to banks, to suppliers, and to consumers, proceeding on the basis of stable long-term norms. In this enterprises must be given full autonomy in disposing of their financial resources. In these conditions state financial organs should more actively influence economic processes by intensifying the impact of the financial-credit mechanism on strengthening the circulation of money and economic accountability, on reducing expenditures on management, and on observing the strictest policy of thrift.

The broad and many-sided complex of measures already being carried out and those projected for a serious restructuring of the system of managing the economy requires that all participants in social production embrace the new methods of economic operation and increased activity by each organ and component, each labor collective, and each person. Herein lies the guarantee that the reform of the economic mechanism projected by the 27th CPSU Congress will be conducted successfully and will have a great impact on accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

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USSR WORKER PARTICIPATION IN MANAGING S&T PROGRESS DESCRIBED

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[Article by V. A. Mikheyev: "Workers and Scientific-Technical Progress":
Based on the Industrial Enterprises of Vladimir Oblast]

[Text] The increased assertiveness of workers in the control of S&T progress is a most important condition of the country's socioeconomic acceleration. The CPSU is pursuing and "will continue to consistently pursue," the new version of the party program emphasizes, "a policy of development of the working people's creative initiative and their increasingly full involvement in the process of production management." The practice of socialist management testifies convincingly to the implementation of Lenin's proposition concerning the "enlistment of even more workers and working peasants in the management of industry and the national economy."* The forms and methods of the workers' participation in the management of S&T progress are highly diverse. The most characteristic of them are activity in the party, soviet, union and economic authorities and social and creative organizations and also their direct participation in the retooling of enterprises and sectors of the national economy and the introduction of new equipment and progressive techniques.

The obkom, gorkoms and raykoms and the party organizations are consistently pursuing a policy of ensuring that the workers occupy the leading position in the oblast party organization. They today constitute 52.6 percent of its composition and 67.3 percent of the new replenishment. And this is not simply a quantitative characterization. Thousands of workers hold key positions in the party and state leadership. Approximately 3,300 workers have been elected to party committees and bureaus or constitute almost 30 percent of the composition of members of party authorities. Everywhere in the oblast workers and kolkhoz members have been elected to obkom, gorkom and raykom bureaus. Besides, the invitation of workers and labor pacesetters and innovators to virtually every obkom bureau session for the discussion and adoption of decisions has become obligatory. Their business-like, qualified speeches at the bureau sessions contain, as a rule, valuable proposals and high-minded critical observations. S&T progress assistance

* V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 40, p 143.

councils, which also incorporate foremost workers, inventors and efficiency promoters, are operating efficiently under the auspices of the obkom and in the majority of gorkoms and raykoms. Over 640 commissions monitoring management activity pertaining to the introduction of new equipment, in which workers constitute from 20 to 30 percent, have been set up in the primary party organizations. The vanguard role in the management of S&T progress belongs to the communist workers; they constitute 12 percent of industrial enterprise workers.

Questions of the workers' participation in the management of S&T progress are studied in the party committees at communists' meetings. For example, a Vladimirskiy Gorkom plenum discussed the city party organization's tasks pertaining to the increased labor and social-political assertiveness of the working class in an acceleration of the rate of socioeconomic development. In the period of preparation for the plenum meetings and colloquia of various sectors were held in the gorkom and party organizations on ways to further develop their assertiveness in the management of production and the introduction of new equipment and progressive techniques. Specific measures were elaborated and are being implemented in respect of the results of these meetings and examination of this question at the gorkom plenum.

A big contribution of the management of S&T progress is being made by the workers participating in the activity of the state authorities. The experience of Hero of Socialist Labor Rimma Aleksandrovna Gavrilova, weaver of the Vyazniki Linen and Woven Fabric Production Association, may serve as one of a multitude of convincing examples of this. For the second convocation in succession she has been elected deputy and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The retooling of the works and many questions of the building of socio-cultural facilities in the city of Vyazniki are connected with her direct activity. Rimma Aleksandrova has more than once submitted proposals to ministries and other state bodies. And great credit is due R.A. Gavrilova for the fact that today the linen and woven cloth works is well equipped. Trained workers are successfully leading standing commissions in the oblast, city and rayon soviets. Altogether they constitute 59 percent of the people's deputies of the oblast's local soviets.

Workers and production pacesetters are participating actively in the people's control authorities. The oblast has 65,000 people's control inspectors, of whom 10,000 are participating in the work on monitoring the introduction of new equipment and efficiency proposals and inventions.

The development of the assertiveness of workers in the management of S&T progress is brought about not only by the democratization of all components of the economic and political system but also by the extensive turnabout toward innovative change in social life and the establishment in the consciousness of each individual of a profound understanding of the need for the accomplishment of the main strategic task--acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. Convincing confirmation of the growth of assertiveness of the workers is the mass movement of labor collectives for the adoption and successful fulfillment of supplementary socialist pledges pertaining to realization of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

Working not as is customary but increasing the load considerably and fulfilling the national economic plans of 2 years of the 5-year period ahead of the schedule--such is the purpose of the socialist pledges adopted at worker meetings of many labor collectives. It is planned in the "Tekhnika" Production Association having by the 70th anniversary of the Great October manufactured in the 12th five-year period 7.5 times more machine tools with numerical programmed control than envisaged by the plan. At the Kovrov Engineering Plant the production of consumer goods will increase by a factor of 2.5. Thanks to the ahead-of-schedule assimilation of new capacity for the manufacture of economical types of rolled products from complex alloys, the Kolchugino metallurgists will save more than R20 million.

Bold quest and an innovative approach are particularly necessary today, and the effective reorganization begun by the party is inconceivable without them. Practice persuades us that, given the availability of the same resources, it is possible to produce more products of better quality on the scientific-production base which has already been created. Production pace-setters act as innovators in the reequipping of production, the introduction of progressive techniques and the upgrading of management and the organization of labor. Thus in a short time the Murom Plant imeni Ordzhonikidze has undertaken modernization and assimilated large-scale capacity for the manufacture of refrigerators. Much in the development of the replacement plans and their realization was done by in-house efforts. There has been an increase in labor productivity and a considerable improvement in product quality, and the enterprise has unswervingly observed supply discipline for a number of years now.

Positive experience of the retooling of production and worker participation in the management of S&T progress has been accumulated at the Kovrov Plant imeni V.A. Degtyarev. One out of every two workers here has been elected to social organizations, commissions and councils, and the workers are participating actively together with engineering-technical specialists in the permanent production conferences (PPC), All-Union Association of Inventors and Rationalizers (VOIR) and Scientific-Technical Society organizations, Scientific Organizations of Labor councils and other social formations. The "Intensification-90" comprehensive program is being implemented purposefully. In collaboration with specialists teams of workers at the enterprise have created flexible manufacturing bays and introduced a number of fundamental new production processes: precision steel and vacuum casting, die casting and the manufacture of parts from metal powder. Plastic deformation methods--reeling, extrusion, reduction in cross-sectional areas and others--have become widespread. The entire workforce is participating in the modernization, competing under the motto: "Our Creative Quest for Retooling!"

The practice of the formation of composite teams for introduction of the achievements of S&T progress has also become firmly established in the "Tekhnika" Production Association. Active members of the Scientific-Technical Society, VOIR and PPC, who realize in practice the recommendations of these social organizations, are nominated for work in the teams. Thus a composite team of mechanics-assemblers headed by worker N.A. Gorbov,

delegate to the 27th party congress, was formed for the manufacture of a flexible production module. It also included the deputy shop chief, the department chief and leading design workers and production engineers. The team coped with the assignment very quickly, ahead of schedule and at a high-performance level. Such teams have been set up in the association and are working successfully not only in the "bottlenecks" but also in the permanent production. The "Engineering Support for Worker Initiative" movement is acquiring new content here and contributing in practice to productivity growth, an improvement in quality and economies in resources.

The skill of the worker enriched by the thought of the engineer is affording the team contract new, extensive opportunities. Questions of an improvement in management of S&T progress are resolved more successfully in teams working per a single job-order and with payment per the final results of work. Targets for a reduction in labor consumption for the coming year are issued at a number of enterprises and production associations of the cities of Vladimir, Kovrov and Murom in the month of March of each year at team leader plant councils. And the teams begin to calculate, find potential and submit proposals thanks to which a reduction in the labor-intensiveness of products may be achieved. The team plans are collated by the team leader council and confirmed in the shop S&T council. Then specialists together with the team leaders prepare similar plans for the shops, from which a plant and intra-team S&T progress program takes shape, and joint measures of the worker teams and engineering services producing the greatest results in the management of S&T progress are mapped out.

Fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the workers are operating with greater enterprise and assertiveness, setting about many practical matters more boldly and breaking with old principles, traditions and many instructions even. An example. In response to M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Tselinograd, which emphasized that S&T progress has had an inadequate effect on animal husbandry, a group of enthusiasts of the "Vladimirskiy traktorny zavod im. A.A. Zhdanova" Production Association, in which more than half were workers, quickly, in 6 months, planned had manufactured a special unit for the mechanization of laborious operations in small livestock sections.

The machine was created on the basis of the new "Vladimirets T-30A" tractor and performs loading, shipment, fodder-distribution and section-cleaning operations. Three models were work-tested, and, with regard for the observations which were received, a new version was created. In accordance with a decision of the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, the first industrial consignment of these machines will be manufactured, and they will then be put into series production. In accordance with the previous approaches to the creation and introduction of new equipment, this development would have taken many years. Under current condition this question was solved promptly.

The high-mindedness of the workers and specialists, their feeling for what is new and their ability to see the political purpose and ultimate goals of management are effectively promoting an acceleration of S&T progress. In

accordance with the initiative of the workforce, given the support of the central authorities, the Vladimir Tractor Plant imeni A.A. Zhdanov will, for example, be practically reequipped from scratch in the 12th Five-Year Plan. The state has allocated for its modernization over R240 million, which have to be assimilated in the period 1986-1990. The manufacture of products in this period is to increase by a factor of 1.6 without an increase in the numbers of workers. The successful accomplishment of this responsible assignment will depend to a decisive extent on the mass development of the workers' technical creativity. The workforce of the tractor engine manufacturers has accumulated abundant experience in this respect. Some 30 in-house scientific developments with a savings of more than R2 million were applied in production in the association in 1985 alone. Workers constituted approximately half the participants in this application, what is more. For example, to the credit of A.S. Yershov, blacksmith-puncher of the hammer press shop, are 47 applied efficiency proposals with a savings of R30,500. He is an author of the application of waste-free forge work and pays much attention to raising the quality of products and assimilating new technology. He very quickly assimilated work on new transfer machinery of the stamping of the body of a pulverizer. A.S. Yershov generously shares his experience of efficiency promoter and inventor, participates actively in competitive reviews and exhibitions organized by the oblast VOIR and Scientific-Technical Society councils and discusses ways of streamlining production and increasing labor productivity.

There are still many plants and factories which are developing noncomprehensively, lack their own facilities for the manufacture of attachments, means of mechanization and nonstandard equipment and are fully dependent on centralized supplies. Workers and specialists are expressing many critical observations in this connection and submitting specific proposals concerning the surmounting of bottlenecks in the tool, billet, stamping, galvanizing and casting works and machining. The state of affairs in this field was attentively studied by the obkom and, with regard for the working people's proposals, a sectoral program is currently being drawn up for the development of its own machine-tool-building facilities providing for no less than a doubling of the manufacture by enterprises of the oblast of machine tools, units and other highly productive equipment.

Under the conditions of an intensification of production waiting for the solution of all problems centrally means losing precious time. Where people are thinking about the future, working with an eye to the long term and displaying socialist enterprise, technical policy is implemented the most successfully. The experience of the workforce of the "Avtopribor" Production Association testifies to this. Back at the start of the 1970's, that is, at a time when industry was manufacturing practically no special machine-tool equipment for automotive instrument-making, this enterprise had set up a process for the manufacture of the necessary machining attachments. Let us at once say that there were also opponents of this experiment, who accused the innovators of "amateurishness" and proposed waiting until the ministry adopted the appropriate measures. However, this process developed successfully and proved in practice the efficiency of its operation. A machine-tool-building shop was set up at the plant shortly after which is today even

manufacturing highly productive progressive equipment. As a result the association has manufactured approximately 1,000 various machine tools and machines for its own production and plants of the sectors. The workforce very quickly replaced the active part of fixed capital and with the same numbers of workers considerably increased the manufacture of products. The "Avtopribor's" experience is currently being used actively by enterprises of the oblast. Machine-tool-building shops have been set up in the Vladimir "Tochmash" Production Association, at the Kirzhach "Krasnyy Oktyabr" Plant and in a number of other outfits.

Job certification is contributing to the workers' increased responsibility for production matters and their psychological reorganization. The workers themselves are the main figure in the course of certification. Everything is being done for them with their active creative participation also. They are submitting proposals concerning ways to speed up the introduction of new equipment and progressive techniques, expansion of the servicing zone and the upward revision of the production norms. Comprehensive programs for increased production efficiency and the better use of operating capacity and labor resources producing substantial savings have been drawn up at the majority of enterprises in respect of the results of certification.

Job certification conducted under the conditions of extensive openness and with the study and collation of public opinion is increasing considerably workers' assertiveness in the control of processes of the intensification of production. After all, unfortunately, it is sometimes the case that the modernization of production outlined by specialists and carried out per their "armchair" plans is not entirely suitable in organizing workplaces and far from always contributes to an increase in labor productivity. The experience of certain industrial enterprises where skilled workers are on the engineering-technical specialist certification commissions merits attention in this connection. This helps evaluate more objectively not only the technical training of the engineering personnel but also their capacity for leading and creating a sound moral climate in the workforce.

Convincing confirmation of the increased assertiveness of the workers in the management of S&T progress is participation in the struggle for increased product quality. The initiative of workers of the Kovrov Excavator Plant, who launched in the first year of the 12th Five-Year Plan competition under the motto "High Quality Is Duty and a Matter of Honor," has been generally supported. All workforces and hundreds of thousands of workers are participating currently.

At the Aleksandrovskiy Radio Plant, for example, commissions for monitoring management activity pertaining to a further rise in the technical level and quality of manufactured products are operating actively. Workers constitute a considerable proportion of them. Great work in these commissions is being performed by Raisa Timofeyevna Yudina, member of the plant party committee, leader of the Komsomol-youth team and color television receiver shop regulator, Yevgeniy Sergeyevich Leontyev, mechanic-troubleshooter of the stamping shop, and Yevgeniy Vasilyevich Yelov, lathe operator-borer of the tool shop.

The movement for the right to work with one's personal seal and conferment of the "Quality Specialist" title has acquired new impetus at the plant. This movement incorporated a further 75 teams in 1986.

At the same time, however, the standard of quality of the television receivers manufactured by this plant does not satisfy the consumer today. The number of defects is not declining quickly enough. The comprehensive product quality control system has yet to become a reliable guarantee of defect-free labor, and it is essential that it be further upgraded for the purpose of enlisting all workers of the outfit in the control of S&T progress and product quality.

Quality and the technical-economic and aesthetic standard of products is a weak spot and source of many difficulties and problems. There are many instances of newly created equipment proving obsolescent even at the development stage and of the manufactured product, even that put in the top category, not withstanding comparison with the best world models.

The removal of these shortcomings and the successful accomplishment of the tasks of an acceleration of S&T progress largely depend on a rise in the educational level and professional skill of the workers. At the present time there has been a considerable growth in the proportion of highly skilled workers in industry. At enterprises of the city of Vladimir, for example, the proportion of workers with the highest grades has increased from 3 to 20 percent of the overall composition in the period since 1960. However, another process is under way also in certain outfits together with this--a quantitative growth of workers of the lower grades, which, of course, is creating certain difficulties in the efficient use of the latest transfer machinery, robots, machine tools with numerical programmed control and other progressive equipment and technology. A random analysis at Vladimir's industrial enterprises has shown that only 25 percent of workers is working in highly productive manner at the Electric Motor Plant, while approximately 40 percent is violating labor and production engineering discipline for various reasons, owing to an inadequate level of vocational training included.

The efficiency of the management of S&T progress is conditioned not only by how many workers have been enlisted in group forms of managerial activity and in which spheres they are most, and in which, least, active. This is just one aspect. The other is the timely and prompt fulfillment of adopted decisions pertaining to an acceleration of S&T progress and the performance of specific economic assignments. It is today a question of a stimulation of the human factor and of a need for an increase in the effectiveness of the workers' initiative, and this depends to a decisive extent on the professional and general educational level of the personnel. The national economy needs increasingly creative people capable of controlling complex production processes in skilled fashion.

A comprehensive plan of the socioeconomic development of vocational-technical educational institutions in the 12th Five-Year Plan, which provides for the training of over 80,000 skilled workers for various sectors of the economy,

has been drawn up and is being realized in our oblast in accordance with the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress concerning a continuous rise in the working people's educational level. It also determines measures pertaining to the further development and upgrading of the course training and retraining of worker personnel based on evening (shift) vocational-technical schools and industrial training centers and in forms of industrial instruction at enterprises and in organizations.

The role of the workforce and social organizations in the accomplishment of tasks of an acceleration of S&T progress rises appreciably under current conditions in connection with the introduction of the new economic mechanism and the broadening of enterprises' independence. It is impossible now to run things without an adroit combination of the principle of one-man management and reliance on collective wisdom and the strength and authority of public opinion. For this reason it is very important to direct the activity of the working class labor collectives toward the solution of sectoral problems where initiative and quest may be particularly useful.

However, we still have much unutilized potential in this respect. The realization of the comprehensive programs of retooling of a number of enterprises may serve as an illustration here. Such programs have today, as is known, been drawn up in many outfits, but some of the measures outlined in them remained unrealized, although all deadlines have already expired. The reason is that not everywhere or at a majority of enterprises is there a sufficient mood of the strenuous labor of each workman and the accelerated renewal of production with reference to a specific workplace, bay and shop. It is no secret that information concerning impending technical and technological changes is sometimes confined merely to slogans and shop stands and does not reach the consciousness of the workers and in a number of outfits has been allowed to drift.

The workers frequently ask: "Will the obsolete equipment be replaced in the shop and in the bay when production has to be modernized?" How is it that the least is known about the serious intentions of renewing production by those who will have to implement these plans? Why? Because the modernization plans have not been discussed in such outfits. It turns out that reports, measures and orders exist and everything is seemingly geared to renewal, but things move slowly. Far from full use is made even of the possibilities of worker meetings and PPC as forms of enlisting the workers in the control of S&T progress.

Some 930 plant and shop PPC, to which 42,300 persons, 25,900 of whom workers, have been elected, have been set up in the oblast, for example. Some 10,800 proposals were accepted from PPC members last year. The savings from their application constituted R8.7 million. Good indicators. However, there are still many shortcomings and much formalism in the activity of the PPC. The reasons are various. In some cases an agenda which does not excite the workforce; in others, inadequate preparation of the questions for discussion; in yet others, nonfulfillment of decrees and recommendations adopted earlier. It happens that questions are submitted for discussion by the PPC on which

the management has already made its decision. At some enterprises workers constitute only 50 percent approximately of the PPC, that is, they are in practice being converted from social to administrative formations.

Pertinent today is the need to analyze in greater depth and more thoroughly all forms of the workers' participation in management of S&T progress and also to contribute to their improvement and the creation of a strict and orderly system of public managerial activity in accordance with the requirements of an intensification of the economy and the country's socioeconomic acceleration. Accumulated experience testifies to inexhaustible possibilities in this respect.

It is a question today of a purge of all components of management of bureaucratic, localistic and departmental extraneous features; of an expansion of openness in managerial work, the fullest consideration of public opinion and the eradication of all manifestations of ostentation and formalism. The shortcomings in the economic mechanism which operated in the 1970's, including the predominance of consultative forms of the working people's participation in management, reduced workers' interest in management of S&T progress.

Thus a regularity of the development of the communist production mode consisting of the continuity and all-around expansion of the working people's participation in management must be realized consciously, by way of the creation of the conditions most conducive to its manifestation. This means that the workers' participation in the management of S&T progress cannot be regarded in isolation from the economic mechanism or as an appendix thereof. Democratic character is an inalienable property and essential feature of the socialist economic mechanism. The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, which are being discussed extensively and with concern currently in the labor collectives, strengthen and develop democratic principles in the control of society and the state. Their successful realization will depend to a decisive extent on the further development of the creative assertiveness and initiative of the working class.

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EFFECTS OF COMPUTERIZATION ON CAPITALISM'S WORKERS DISCUSSED

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[M.N. Nochevnik report: "The 'Microelectronic Revolution' and Social Change at the Capitalist Enterprise"]

[Text] The application in the leading spheres of material production of the achievements of microelectronics is a principal manifestation of the contemporary S&T revolution. The term "microelectronic revolution," which is being employed increasingly extensively in foreign and national literature, characterizes profound changes in the technology of practically all sectors of production and in the sphere of labor, the economy, organization and management.

The research of foreign authors pertaining to the "Labor" project contains a vast amount of factual material and a detailed scrupulous analysis of social changes at capitalist enterprises brought about by the introduction of microelectronics. These include fundamental changes in the functions of labor, the correlation of workers' physical and mental loads and the demands made on the age and professional characteristics and the continuous training and retraining of the personnel; changes in the ecological environment of the enterprise and production bays; the cross-linked nature of labor and the organization of work and free time: intracompany structural changes in the organization and management of production and pay; changes in social motives, values and interests; questions of surmounting psychological barriers when introducing new equipment.

The authors also looked into questions of the influence of new production engineering decisions on the structure of production and the mechanism of competition in the course of the spread of innovations at individual enterprises. The scholars' particular attention is attracted by indicators of labor activity (for example, the efficiency of indicators of the volume of net product produced in 1 hour of work time, total capital investments per employed person and others), questions of the initiative behind the innovations (from whom it emanates), the influence of workers and their representative bodies (unions, production councils and others) on the formation and realization of enterprise plans and also the workers' reaction to the scheduled transformations.

The most obvious and impressive consequences of the introduction of microelectronics are man's growing deliverance from direct participation in the production of goods and services and the high rate of replacement of live labor by the latest equipment.²

This article examines the social consequences of the application of microelectronics directly at industrial enterprises and the most typical engineering and metal-working plants in a number of developed capitalist countries.

As the material of the investigation pertaining to the "Labor" project shows, the most appreciable social changes at enterprises in connection with the application of microelectronics are occurring in the structure of the worker personnel. They are leading to a sharp exacerbation of the problem of employment, fundamental changes in the content of labor, new qualifications requirements and the problem of the "polyvalency" (multiple-discipline character) of labor and a growth of the role of the unions and other working people's organizations designed to defend the workers' interests at the time of technological innovations.

The exacerbation of the contradictions of bourgeois society is manifested most graphically at the enterprises. They are becoming an arena of class struggle where such pertinent questions as the prevention of a cutback in jobs, the organization and division of labor and acquisition of necessary education and vocational training and questions of social security and health care are being settled. Not only the level of employment but also the spiritual development of the working people, satisfaction of their requirements of a higher order and their social assertiveness depend on the outcome of this struggle. It is at the enterprises that the social consequences of the introduction of microelectronics primarily as equipment of the labor-saving type which has entailed a sharp reduction in employment, polarization of wage workers and an exacerbation of social tension are clearly revealed.

Even the partial application of microelectronics at enterprises is leading to considerable economies in manpower. Thus, for example, at an engineering plant in Colchester (England), which produces a multitude of types of shafts, gearwheels and plates, just 3 operators have come to replace 30 with the introduction of microprocessor technology.³ On the night shift at the Funk Plant built in the vicinity of Tokyo just 1 person has come to be used instead of 200 workers.⁴

According to information of the British expert G. Child, a participant in the "Labor" project, a chocolate-making installation in Britain controlled with the help of a microprocessor is serviced by four persons, only one of whom is a controller-operator, furthermore. He replaces the 23 operators who were required earlier with the old technology. There are many such examples. In the old, traditional sectors (shipbuilding, chemical, auto manufacturing and others) microprocessors are being introduced within certain limits, in the new sectors (radioelectronics, space, aviation and others), on the other hand, very extensively. But even the relatively limited introduction of microelectronics in the traditional sectors is entailing a sharp reduction in

employment, whereas in the new sectors, given the generally higher level of technology and the skills composition of manpower, the reduction in employment at the time of innovations is considerably less.

The introduction of microelectronic equipment on a more extensive scale, the well-known American scholar D. Bell estimates, will have led by the year 2000 to a reduction in the number of persons employed in the United States' manufacturing industry to 10 percent of their present strength. Researchers working in the Rand Corporation predict even more dramatic results--a reduction in employment to 2 percent.⁵

In France, experts estimate, the process of technological and technical innovations in the production and nonproduction spheres will in 1986 even have brought about a 20-percent reduction in the total number of persons with jobs.⁶ In the FRG, according to forecasts of the federal Ministry for Labor and Social Affairs, 55 percent of preserved jobs will by 1995 have been furnished with electronic equipment, which will inevitably be reflected in the situation in the employment sphere. In Italy, according to estimates of the EEC Employment Committee, the introduction of modern labor-saving equipment will have led to unemployment having embraced 20 percent of the economically active population by the mid-1990's.

But whereas there is a sharp reduction in employment in a number of sectors as a consequence of the change in microprocessor technology, this same process is creating certain opportunities for the emergence of new jobs in sectors producing electronic means of production and, partially, in sectors employing information technology. A number of experts notes four versions of the creation of new jobs as a result of the introduction of microelectronic technology: jobs connected with the manufacture of new computer-controlled machine tools with numerical programmed control (NPC); jobs connected with the use of robotics and mechanical arms; jobs created in new types of services and in connection with the production of new types of commodities which have appeared as a consequence of the employment of robotics; jobs preserved precisely thanks to the process of robotization (without the application of microelectronics some types of production would be uncompetitive, which would lead to the elimination of all jobs). Nonetheless, the proportion of new jobs, and this is acknowledged by the majority of foreign authors, is not capable of compensating for the "costs" of the microprocessor revolution expressed in a reduction in manpower given the high rate of introduction of information technology and the automation and robotization of the production and nonproduction spheres.

The introduction of microelectronic technology has had a considerable influence on the position and conditions of the activity of organizations defending the workers' interests, specifically the trade unions, both on a national scale and at individual enterprise level.

The positions of the unions at enterprises of the traditional production sectors, where a sharp reduction in manpower is under way in connection with the technological innovations, differs from the position of the unions in the

new sectors. Thus, for example, the unions' demands in defense of the workers at the time of introduction of microelectronics in the traditional sectors are encountering the opposition of the capitalists, who are accusing the unions of a "new Luddism". In the struggle against the unions and the working people in the new sectors capital is employing among other forms the "strikebreaking" function of microelectronics. The workers and unions of McDonnell-Douglas learned a bitter lesson when, during a strike, the managers kept the plant going by using the latest equipment. The air traffic controllers' strike in the United States in the summer of 1981 was broken in roughly the same way.

However, some efforts of the unions made to defend the interests of the workers of a number of West European enterprises and sectors have culminated in a certain success. The results of surveys conducted within the framework of the "Labor" project show that with the use of machine tools with NPC controlled by a microprocessor device the operator is "stripped" of his creative functions and performs predominantly routine, monotonous operations. The unions sought the transfer to these categories of workers of individual adjustment and programming functions. This measure made it possible not only to make the worker's labor more diverse but also to extend his qualifications and enhance his interest in the work. This practice has become widespread in the FRG, where certain progress has been made in recent years in the vocational training of the workers. The unions of Norway and Sweden also have achieved at the enterprises a transfer of programming functions to the operator of machine tools with NPC, which required the appropriate vocational training of these operators.

A particular type of difficulty confronts the unions seeking from the employers an increase in the resources allocated for the retraining of the workers and their improvement since special training is required for work on the new equipment. Canadian experts observe that although in the course of the spread of microelectronics new jobs are created, the working people are not trained to fill them. Canadian firms are spending far fewer resources on worker retraining than firms of other developed capitalist countries. Thus whereas in Japan a worker is retrained at the place of work in the course of a year for 65 hours and in the United States for 35 hours, in Canada the figure is only 25 hours. As M. (Idi), the leader of a Canadian trade union, declared, "...where workers are dismissed as a result of technological innovations, only a negligible proportion of those let go can acquire new qualifications without union help."

Many problems connected with the introduction of microelectronics at the enterprises may be solved in the interests of the workers if the unions participate actively in this process. Studies at France's enterprises have shown that even at one and the same enterprise the consequences from the introduction of new production engineering processes have not been identical. Where the unions have not participated in the preparation and application of new technology, the result has been an organization of labor of the Taylor type. Where they have intervened assertively in the preparation of the innovations, "polyvalent" (multiple-discipline) qualifications and conditions

more conducive to a rise in the overall level of education of the workers have been created and the proportional participation of the labor outfits in the management of production has increased.

Characterizing union policy in respect of innovations as a whole, foreign participants in the "Labor" project show the existence of two contradictory trends. On the one hand the union movement is experiencing a period which is distinguished by a high level of organization of manpower capable of substantiatedly and cogently posing tasks of industrial, social and political significance in connection with the technological innovations, and these tasks are being posed in the earliest phases of the commissioning of the innovations, what is more. But, on the other, the capacity of the workers and unions for displaying a high level of initiative in respect of the latest technology remains manifestly limited. Their strategy at individual plants is characterized as class-collaborationist.

There are many factors explaining such a state of affairs: the magnitude of the innovations in the sphere of the economy and industry and in the sphere of the activity of individual enterprises; the dominating role of multinational enterprises in the process of control and operation of the technology; the very nature of the latest technology, which to many trade union associations appears "fatal"; the traditionally limited economic concepts of the trade union organizations; and others. For these reasons many union associations approve the technology in the form in which it is offered by management.

While taking into consideration the enumerated difficulties in the unions' work it should be added that a principal problem remains the limited nature of the unions' rights at the enterprise and in capitalist society as a whole.

It is perfectly natural that the dissimilarity of the spread of microelectronic technology at the enterprises of different countries and specific traditions and singularities of the development of the workers movement could not have failed to have been reflected in the strategy and day-to-day tactics of the unions' work.

For example, the draft new contracts of Finnish trade unions put forward the following demands: automation and efficiency promotion must not be used to speed up the pace of work or the workers' fatigue factor; efficiency promotion must lead to a greater combination of capabilities and work assignments and diversity of labor functions; in the event of reduced need for manpower with the application of new technology the employer is obliged to provide the workers with the necessary retraining; the benefits obtained from automation and efficiency promotion should be perceived by each workman; updating of the training programs and the workers' increased possibilities should influence the planning of training; considerably more attention than hitherto should be paid to the mental consequences of efficiency promotion.

The data of a survey of enterprises in Finland show that the latest automatic data-processing technology at the plants is giving rise to the local union organizations' particular concern. Its application currently, specifically as a means of monitoring the use of work time, an analysis of the labor process, computation of expenditure on wages, control of production processes, computation of the cost of contract work, observance of fulfillment of individual labor plans and so forth, is making control of labor processes, pay, the compilation of price-rate instructions and so forth virtually impossible for the unions.

It is significant that together with the Finnish trade unions concern in connection with enterprise computer data processing is shared equally by France's trade unions. The French sociologist J.-P. Duran emphasizes in this connection that capitalism's use of information science at the enterprises and in the country as a whole is increasing inequality in the cultural and political sphere since a narrow category of people in possession of information is taking shape as distinct from the broad masses of working people which do not have access to it.

Particular difficulties for the unions at France's enterprises are connected with changes in the structure of the work groups servicing microprocessor equipment (the groups include workers, employees, technicians and engineers). As the French sociologist (K. Mayo) points out, union delegates are encountering tremendous difficulties in penetrating the new work groups. In turn, enterprise and shop management is doing everything to distance the unions from the new groups of workmen employed in areas using the latest technology.

Microelectronic technology has also been a factor which has not only changed the motives and interests of the workers and the unions (struggle for an increase in monetary forms of compensation is now no longer sufficient) but also put forward demands of a different nature. Unions at the enterprises are increasingly distinctly aware of and formulating goals connected with labor guarantees: jobs in the event of efficiency promotion, guaranteed length of service, improved work conditions and others. This trend is characteristic of unions of both the traditional and new sectors of production.

Together with the quantitative reduction in manpower under the impact of microelectronics there is also a qualitative reorganization of its professional structure. The quantitative and qualitative changes frequently occur simultaneously.

Surveys conducted in connection with the "Labor" project have shown that the following occur at the time of the introduction of microelectronics:

1. Disqualification of many categories of manpower for the operations which have traditionally been performed by skilled workers are disappearing given a simultaneous increase in the demands made on the qualifications of workers of the new specialties.

2. Increased administrative control under conditions where "omnipresent" microprocessor devices controlling the technical parameters of production frequently permit with equal precision determination of the "conscientiousness" of the worker, his industrial assertiveness and his "loyalty to the firm". Built into the machine-tool equipment, these devices preserve in their memory the number of times it has been started up and stopped, the idle time, failures and interruptions in work.

The consequences of the microelectronization of production for work conditions are dissimilar and extremely contradictory. As a whole, automatic machinery increases work safety and improves the conditions thereof; at the same time the worker's isolation increases, the expansion of distribution of operator functions is squeezing out types of work in which elements of creativity are present and the worker is ceasing to see the perspective of the production process and the "meaning of work".

There is evidently no simple answer to the question of whether skills increase or diminish under the conditions of microelectronics. This applies, in particular, to such a most prevalent category of workers as operators. At some enterprises, where the organization of labor stimulates the "polyvalency" of qualifications (this will be dealt with further on) the operators assimilate a number of the simplest functions of programming and also the adjustment of the machine tool. The content of their labor is thereby enriched. In many other cases, where the operator's functions are confined to the routine observation of machine processing, his professional training remains low, and his functional activity, monotonous. As far as the so-called auxiliary workers--troubleshooters, repairmen and electronics technicians--who are essentially main workers, are concerned, they must all have high qualifications and vocational training.

A fundamental distinctive feature of the content of labor in divisions with microprocessor technology is the fact that the position of the worker under the new conditions is characterized not by constant intervention but is reduced merely to observation of a self-regulating production process. He intervenes only in exceptional instances. In premicroprocessor production the labor process was united with supervision activity. Given the latest technology, they are separate. Together with this, supervision and practically necessary intervention are relatively independent. When exercising the function of supervision, the engineer or technician watches over the normal operation of the equipment. But as distinct from previous types of technology, the "norm" in microelectronics is secured automatically and without man's help. What, then, remains for man? The engineer-controller has to intervene in the process in three instances: he must rectify a breakdown, switch the machine tools on and off and, if necessary, alter the equipment's operating time. But the specialist's functions go far beyond this. The engineer-controller has to know how to determine a symptom of a disruption and, what is more important, forecast possible deviations from the norm. The fundamental difference in the content of a person's labor on microprocessor equipment is not the registration of a defect but a search for potential sources of the malfunctions.

The "microelectronics revolution" has engendered not only new forms of labor but also made appreciable changes to the demands made on the worker's skills and vocational training. The changes in qualifications and the demands made on training are becoming not only a subject of discussion here but of the unions' close attention.

In the search for new forms of the organization of labor activity in areas equipped with microprocessor technology a particular place belongs to the method of ensuring the "polyvalency" of workers' labor, which means the creation of a situation wherein the workers perform or, at least, can perform a number of assignments, extending the traditional boundaries of qualifications and duties. "Polyvalency" is achieved by several different methods. One consists of an abandonment of the precise division of functional duties and a broadening of the range of these duties and is "horizontal" in nature. In some cases the changes in technology have engendered the need to expand workers' functional duties and enlist them in the accomplishment of various production tasks. The need for application of the "polyvalency" method is particularly great among workers employed in equipment repair.

Many foreign experts believe that besides affording employers potential opportunities for reducing outlays thanks to the increased flexibility of manufacture and the reduction in the amount of employed manpower, the "polyvalency" method represents an approach to control of the labor process which could be more efficient than direct control and supervision. This method consists of reducing personnel turnover, tying workers to a certain enterprise and ensuring the fullest use of their knowledge and ability suitable for the specific features of the work of this enterprise. It increases the authority of management in the sphere of production relations and, consequently, management's possibilities in the organization of stricter control over production.

The labor "polyvalency" method at the contemporary capitalist enterprise could at first sight appear to be a phenomenon making merely functional and skills changes to workers' labor. In fact, however, "polyvalency" has a considerable socioeconomic and even, to a certain extent, political thrust.

The latter is connected with politicization of the working people's mass consciousness and their participation in the activity of the unions and other worker organizations. "Polyvalency" is leading to a kind of "confusion" of the worker's skills and his transition to other professional duties and to a certain separation of the worker from the "narrow" professional environment which the union can influence most. This is why, for example, "polyvalency" has in Great Britain given rise to the unions' disapprobation. It is difficult enlisting the multiple-discipline worker in one of the numerous unions at an enterprise. At some plants "polyvalency" is being implemented consciously and purposefully as the policy line of the employers against the unions.

It should also be noted that the application of the "autonomy of responsibility" method (entrusting to the worker or group of workers responsibility for performance of a "fuller" set of assignments, which is sometimes called "whole assignment," like, for example, that of complete assembly of a television receiver) facilitates for the enterprise management determination of the workers' degree of culpability for defective work. The application of new microelectronic devices for controlling production processes and data-transmission systems is making it possible to improve the measurements of output parameters and therefore reduces the need for managers' personal observation of the labor process, substituting remote supervision for supervision at the workplace.

It is perfectly natural that in employing the "polyvalency" method employers do not set the goal of an improvement in the workers' work conditions and defense of their interests. A principal task of the method is economies in live labor and the more intensive use of manpower. At the same time it would be an oversimplification to regard the "polyvalency" method merely as a means of a more intensive increase in workers' physical and nervous loads. "Polyvalency" is a condition for a more positive organization of labor. Thus the British expert Wilkinson adduces the example of the use of the "polyvalency" method in a situation where the application of microprocessor technology could lead to a sharp disqualification of a large number of workers.⁸ This occurred at an enterprise producing lenses and glasses where the interchanging of operations was introduced in order to maintain interest in the work at the time of the introduction of new equipment programmed on the basis of the use of computers which reduced the demands made on the workers' qualifications and did away with the need for a display of creativity. Introduction of the principle of the interchanging of production operations was underpinned by the careful selection of new assistants, and particular attention was paid to questions of the vocational training of the workers, what is more. At the same time these measures, the expert believes, "provided opportunities for alleviating the work of management in the future. Management of the given firm's activity has been exercised such as to tie in the new demands on workers' qualifications and the possibilities for people's headway in the job with the prospects of the firm's intrinsic development."⁹

Employing the "polyvalency" method at the time of the introduction of the latest technology, a number of enterprise managers has sought a considerable reduction in the use of manpower. Attempting to increase their pressure on the workers and secure even greater flexibility of production and economies in manpower, they are not only entrusting to the workers additional duties but also introducing systems of grouped operations, that is, the allocation of operations without strict regard for professional and skills levels. Actions in these two directions have, according to the experts' information, put "management in a position of direct confrontation with the unions." It should be considered here that several unions operate in the majority of companies. Studies have shown that there is a conflict between employers with their own views on the prospects of the development of the domestic labor market and those who represent the interests of the workers.¹⁰

The main purpose of the introduction of the latest technology under capitalism is a reduction in essential work time for an increase in surplus labor. For this reason "...all means for the development of production become means of subordination and exploitation of the producer."¹¹ At the current stage of the S&T revolution microprocessor technology is becoming the material base of new capitalist efficiency promotion. The utmost use of the achievements of science and technology for an increase in the competitiveness of production is being combined with a broad offensive against the positions and social gains of the working people.

Microelectronics and the application of other most recent technology are subjecting to fundamental change the entire capitalist economy and also super-structural institutions and influencing production relations.

"The bourgeoisie," Marx and Engels wrote, "cannot exist without summoning constant revolutions in the implements of production and without revolutionizing, consequently, production relations and, therefore, the sum total of social relations."¹²

The colossal pace of development of microelectronics in the basic spheres of material and nonmaterial production in the realm of the organization and management of labor in the developed capitalist countries is inevitably influencing the workers movement and giving rise to the need for quest for new forms and methods of the activity of the unions and other organizations in the struggle for the working people's interests and against the policy of big capital, which is using the achievements of S&T progress to intensify its domination.

A principal task of the working class under capitalism is active struggle against the monopolies' usurpation of the fruits of S&T progress. The working class is emphatically opposed not to S&T progress but changes in technology in the form and on the terms which are being imposed on it by monopoly capital. The modern capitalist industrial enterprise is becoming increasingly the social arena where the main contradictions of capitalism and the S&T revolution are clashing and where new forms of the working class' struggle against the domination of monopoly capital are being really manifested.

FOOTNOTES

1. The article uses material of an international comparative study pertaining to the "Labor" project published in Finland in the digest "New Technologies and Social Development," Soensun, 1984. The "Labor" project (1982-1985) set as its goal joint study by national research groups of the social consequence of the introduction of microelectronics at industrial enterprises in countries with different socioeconomic systems (Hungary, the GDR, CSSR, USSR, Yugoslavia, Britain, Denmark, Italy, France and others). Scholars from the USSR Academy of Sciences International Workers Movement Institute, including the author of this article, participated in the work on the "Labor" project.

2. See N.D. Gauzner, "Current Stage of the S&T Revolution and the Working Class," RK i SM No 3, 1985, p 35.
3. "New Technologies and Social Development," p 86.
4. Ibidem.
5. See "Technological Changes, Wage Labor and the Workers Movement of Developed Capitalist Countries (New Trends in the Employment Sphere)," Moscow, 1983, p 75.
6. Ibid., p 154.
7. M. Kence, "SFL Conference on Technological Change," CANADIAN LABOR Vol 27, No 1, Ottawa, 1982, p 20.
8. B. Wilkinson, "The Shopfloor Politics of New Technology," London, 1983.
9. "New Technologies and Social Development," p 174.
10. Ibidem.
11. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 23, p 660.
12. Ibid., vol 4, p 427.

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'PROGRESSIVE' VIEWS ON DEVELOPMENT OF LA CAPITALISM EVALUATED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNY MIR in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 86 pp 175-181

[Article by L.S. Poskonina: "Current Stage of Development of Latin American Capitalism: New Concepts in the Social Thought of Countries of the Continent"]

[Text] The 1980's in Latin America have been marked by a growth of socio-economic and political contradictions and an exacerbation of the crisis phenomena in countries of the continent, which has been connected to a considerable extent with the consequences of their gigantic foreign debt to creditors from the imperialist centers and the policy of Latin America's ruling classes. Economic crisis brought on by foreign debt and the debt itself preventing the countries of the continent from overcoming the acute crisis situation--all this has led to a sharp increase in social tension, a deepening of class conflicts and an exacerbation of the ideological struggle.

The development of problems connected with study of the current stage of the development of Latin American capitalism is inseparable from a critique of various non-Marxist concepts prevalent both in Latin American and beyond.

Latin American communists are keeping a close watch on the development of the ideological struggle in this region. They are making a scrupulous appraisal of both bourgeois, conservative theories geared to an unconcealed defense of capitalism as the social system allegedly capable of ensuring the surmounting of the backwardness and dependency of countries of the region and the concepts of a left-radical kind, which, together with a positive contribution to an analysis of Latin American countries' dependency, have been unable to make an all-around evaluation of the causes of backwardness and dependency, which is connected with the fact that, as E. Reyes, executive of the Cuban CP Central Committee, observes, the authors of these concepts "do not take into account the capitalist 'roots' of imperialism, whence the relations of dependency, domination and subordination proceed."¹ Criticizing non-Marxist assessments of the place and role of the transnational corporations (TNC) in the region's economy, the Brazilian CP emphasizes that the TNC, while constituting the basis of the general system of exploitation, by no means represent "some supplementary sector" of the economy: "In reality they are predominant

there while remaining associations under the control of a small number of financial² groups very often connected with local financial-monopoly capital."

An analysis of the ideological evolution of an influential direction of contemporary foreign political science--Latin American leftwing radicalism, which is attempting to give its answer to these urgent questions of Latin American reality--would seem extremely pertinent in this connection.

The leftwing radicals have revealed important new aspects of the expansion of the TNC engendering inequality between the developed and developing countries and shown imperialism's hostility to Latin America's truly independent development. As a result of an analysis of the nature and historical forms of the Latin American countries' dependence on imperialism they have shown the influence of dependency on the development process and drawn the conclusion as to its all-embracing nature. Having criticized the ideological postulates and development models formulated in the bourgeois-reformist concepts of desarrollism and other varieties of bourgeois political economy and sociology, leftwing radicalism was undoubtedly a step forward in the process of comprehension of such important theoretical problems as the causes of the underdevelopment and dependence of Latin America on imperialism and the paths of social development of countries of the continent. In a quest for a way out of the structural crisis the leftwing radicals occupied an anticapitalist position, attempted to develop a revolutionary development alternative of the countries of the continent and began to take a look at the experience of real socialism. As distinct from the ideologists of bourgeois "modernization theory," the leftwing radicals advanced their own theory of development, understanding it not as a process merely of technical-economic growth but as a change in the sum total of social relations and economic and social factors.

In the 1970's-1980's Latin American scholars have been posing with all seriousness the question of "alternative development models" and advocating the need for the advancement of new political projects different from capitalism. They have made a considerable contribution to substantiation of the "different development" concept, which has become widespread in the non-Marxist sociology and political science of the developing countries. Emphatically dissociating themselves from capitalism as a social system, they are putting forward demands for fundamental structural transformations and the "global and complete rebuilding of society". Criticizing the limited nature of bourgeois democracy, Latin American sociologists are proclaiming the ideals of "democratization and socialization," advocating the elimination of relations of domination and exploitation and noting that genuine development demands a quest for new forms of the people's masses' participation in political processes. Their works raise with full force the question of the fact that under the conditions of capitalism and increased dependence on imperialism no situational changes, including those brought about by the "oil boom" and the influx of "petrodollars" which followed it, are capable of entailing a genuine reorganization of the economy of the Latin American countries; only a break with capitalism and a change in development paths can lead to liberation.³

"Different development" in the interpretation of Latin American scholars represents not only a rejection of the copying of the development model of the capitalist countries, a revolutionary alternative of social development and the establishment of a "democratic and just society". The advancement of these postulates is organically linked in their conception with an understanding of the new, sharply increased role of the developing countries on the international scene. Their concepts contain a sharp criticism of imperialist expansion and the oppression of the TNC and formulate conclusions concerning the need for a reorganization of international relations on a democratic basis and struggle for the creation of a new economic order. "Different development" is designed to contribute to the democratization of international relations, a just solution of global problems and the establishment of a "new world order" based on "sovereignty, equality and noninterference in internal affairs," do away with "the monopoly position of a handful of developed countries" and their diktat in international affairs and replace "bilateral diplomacy with multilateral diplomacy",⁴ oriented toward broad international cooperation for development purposes.

All this has brought the concepts of the leftwing radicals to the forward edge of the ideological struggle and increased their popularity among broad circles of the progressive intelligentsia not only in Latin America but beyond also--in the sociology and political science of West European countries and the United States and the developing countries.

At the same time it has to be seen that procedural flaws of the left-radical concept--nonacceptance of Marxism-Leninism, nondialectical structuralist approach--were ascertained distinctly in the 1960's-1970's, which brought about the extreme contradictoriness of the positions of the leftwing radicals on a number of most important problems of Latin American reality. This was manifested primarily in the counterposing of "dependency theory" to Lenin's theory of imperialism, which the leftwing radicals considered "inadequate" for an analysis of the problems of Latin America. Attempting to "improve" and "Latin Americanize" Marxism, they declared the "crisis of classical Marxism" and its "inapplicability" to Latin America. This essentially meant a renunciation of the application of Marxist-Leninist methodology of an analysis of social phenomena and consideration of the general regularities of historical development.

However, on the frontier of the 1980's there was a considerable evolution in the positions of the leftwing-radical sociologists as study of the problems of Latin America's contemporary development was extended. Under the ever increasing influence of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, many of them are beginning to surmount the extremes and one-sidedness of left-radical "dependency theory". Progressive scholars have not only largely dissociated themselves from this theory but have comprehensively criticized it. They emphasize that a fundamental methodological flaw of left-radical concepts based on structuralism is rooted in the substitution for class relations of dependency relations and the study of the history and economy of Latin America outside of a class approach.

Thanks to the use of Marxist method, there has been an enrichment of prominent leftwing-radical scholars' understanding of a whole number of phenomena--the nature of social processes in Latin America, the problems of imperialism, dependency and general regularities and singularities of the development of Latin American capitalism and the role of classes and the state. As Latin American communists emphasize, this has enabled progressive Latin American scholars to make a big contribution to study of the most important problems of Latin American reality.⁵ Speaking at a meeting in Havana on the foreign debt problem in August 1985, prominent economists and sociologists--including A. Aguilar and F. Carmona (Mexico) and E. Torres Rivas (Guatemala)--made a precise evaluation of the problem of the gigantic debt exacerbating the dependency of Latin American countries and increasing imperialist exploitation and oppression. The progressive scholars emphasized as forcefully as could be that the huge debts have essentially become the principal mechanism for pumping capital from the Latin American countries and a new form of their exploitation. Mexico, Brazil and other countries of the continent suffering from unequal trade exchange, the rapacious expansion of the transnational banks and technological and financial dependence on imperialism have found themselves subjected to an ever greater extent to pressure on the part of the United States and even more dependent on the IMF. Noting the seriousness of the contradictions between countries of the continent and imperialism, the progressive scholars pointed out that the "debt crisis" represents a major political problem awaiting immediate solution and declared their support for the idea of Latin American integration, the unification of the efforts of the countries of the continent and their joint actions for a just solution of the foreign debt problem.⁶

Marxism-Leninism has had a particularly profound impact on the investigation by progressive Latin American social scientists of the theoretical problems of Latin American capitalism and the correlation of the general and the particular in its development. The problem of the general regularities of the capitalist production mode and its specific singularities in Latin America had always been at the center of the theoretical investigations of the leftwing-radical authors. However, studying the distinctiveness of the genesis of Latin American capitalism and such features thereof as dependence on imperialism and the existence of precapitalist vestiges causing the deformation of the socioeconomic structures of countries of the continent, in the 1960's-1970's some supporters of "dependency theory" counterposed them to the general laws of the development of the capitalist production mode operating in Latin America also.

In the 1970's-1980's the views of many disciples of dependentism* pertaining to the question of the correlation of the general and the particular in the development of Latin American capitalism underwent a considerable evolution in the direction of an understanding of the significance of general regularities. Whereas at the early stages of the coming into being and formation of

* The dependentists are supporters of the left-radical "dependency theory" from the Spanish dependencia (dependency).

left-radical historical-philosophical, political-economic and sociological concepts their disciples based their analysis on structuralist methodology and their use of Marxist categories was "superimposed," as it were, on structuralism, they have now begun to assimilate to a greater extent Marxism as an integral teaching.

Progressive scholars' mastery of Marxist dialectical method enabled them to revise from new standpoints the sum total of problems connected with study of Latin American capitalism. They depart from the attempts to overemphasize the individual aspect typical of contemporary bourgeois philosophy and gradually approach an understanding of the fact that specific features may emerge and exist only in a system of overall interaction.

An analysis of the singularities of capitalism in Latin America as developing in accordance with general historical formational regularities was a major achievement of Latin American democratic social thought of the frontier of the 1980's. Progressive sociologists' study of the general regularities of the development of Latin American capitalism contributed to a deepening of their understanding of dependency. They study the general regularities from the standpoints of Lenin's view of the "general" as embodying "the wealth of the particular, individual and separate (the entire wealth of the particular and the separate!)." In this plane all that was most valuable that was performed by left radicalism--the analysis of the specific economic history of Latin America, thorough and scrupulous study of the mechanism of dependency and investigation of the causes of backwardness and underdevelopment--organically became a part of the new concept.

Thus A. Cueva (Ecuador) notes the importance of study of Latin American capitalism from the standpoints of correlation of the general, particular and individual and emphasizes that the common regularities of the capitalist formation revealed by Marxism operate both in Latin America and on other continents, although functioning here under particular historical conditions. A. Quijano (Peru) writes that the action of the "basic laws of the movement of capital" is manifested in specific forms in Latin America. The eminent Brazilian economist and sociologist F. Cardoso and the Chilean scholar E. Faletto observe that owing to the fact that dependency itself is conditioned by the phases of development of the world capitalist system, the main thing consists of revelation of the specific manifestations of the common economic regularities of capitalism. Cardoso and Faletto show that both in developed and dependent countries development proceeds in cyclical form and produces such phenomena typical of the capitalist production mode as the polarization of wealth and poverty and the accumulation of capital at one pole and the ruin, unemployment and impoverishment of the proletariat at the other. The time has come, P. Vuskovich (Chile) observes, to "recognize the action both of general laws and singularities in the process of the functioning of dependent capitalism." The deepening of dependence and the emergence of new forms thereof and the intensification of imperialist domination do not refute but, on the contrary, confirm the fact that processes of capitalist accumulation, the concentration and centralization of capital, formation of monopoly structures and a financial-industrial oligarchy and concentration of the bulk

of national income in the hands of privileged groups and, as a consequence, a growth of social inequality, a deterioration in the working people's living conditions and an intensification of marginalization processes are inherent in Latin American capitalism.

An important element of the theoretical quest of democratic Latin American scholars is their interpretation of the problem of the genesis and development of the capitalist production mode in Latin America, and their very interpretation of these questions, furthermore, testifies to the considerable influence on their world outlook of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Whereas earlier certain leftwing-radical authors had been inclined to underestimate the internal dynamics of Latin American capitalism, they now note the interconnection, interconditionality and mutual influence of the internal and external factors. Highly indicative in this respect is the concept of the Chilean sociologist O. Sunkel, which reveals singularities of Latin America's historical path. He shows that the external factor has made an appreciable mark on the shaping of the contemporary appearance of Latin American countries (a manifestation of this was the formation of the colonial system in the 16th century, development of the export sectors of the economy, foreign penetration of local industrial production and the impact of the consequences of the world wars and world economic crises). At the same time Sunkel emphasizes the significance of such factors in the development of capitalism on the continent as the liberation struggle of the Latin American colonies in the 19th century, pursuit of an "import substitution" policy and so forth. Sunkel notes the strengthening of the Latin American countries' positions in the world arena, they being not passive "pawns" but active subjects of the historical process.¹⁰

Progressive Latin American sociologists' interpretation of the role of foreign capital and the TNC and their theoretical comprehension of the processes of the capitalist modernization and transnationalization of the economy of countries of the continent are essentially new. The problems of the "transnationalization of the Latin American economy" and the "internationalization of the domestic market" of countries of the continent raised in left-radical political-economy are closely linked to the sharp debate (not only in the countries of Latin America, but also in other developing countries, and in the USA) on the issue of the perspective development of Latin American capitalism. It is a question of arguments connected with the problem of the correlation between the conservation of underdevelopment and dependency on the one hand and the reserves of the capitalist system which still exist under the conditions of the domination of imperialism on the other. A number of authors (T. Dos Santos, D. Masa Savala, R. Mauro Marini, A. Gunder Frank, S. Bodenheimer, R. Beran, S. Amin), proceeding from the fact of the increased dependency of Latin American countries and the widening of the gap between the "developed" and "developing" regions of the capitalist world, deny the possibility of the evolution of the capitalist economy of Latin American countries, believe that these countries' development is acquiring a "blind alley" nature and are writing about the "stagnation" of the economy of the "peripheral countries."

This viewpoint is opposed by the concept supported by F.E. Cardoso, J.A. Silva Michelena, J. Serra, M. Kaplan, A. Cueva, T. Harding and S. Bettelheim. Criticizing the proposition concerning the impossibility of the further development of capitalism in countries of the continent and characterizing it as a "revival of the ideology of populism" on Latin American soil, they have shown that the plunder and exploitation of the Latin American countries by foreign capital and the relative underdevelopment of their domestic market by no means testifies to the absence of intrinsic reserves of the development of capitalism, which they term "dependent-associated" development and which, they emphasize, is characterized by the general laws of capitalism: accumulation, expanded reproduction and the concentration and centralization of production and capital. The deepening of the dependence on imperialism and its embodiment in new forms by no means preclude the development of Latin American capitalism.

At the same time both groups of scholars, while polemicizing with one another, advance concepts which do not take into consideration to the full extent the entire complexity of Latin American reality and do not make a comprehensive dialectical analysis of all the contradictory trends; each viewpoint reflects merely one singularity of the process of the capitalist development of countries of the continent. From these concepts ensue one-sided evaluations of the latest processes in the development of Latin American capitalism and the penetration of the TNC.

Thus while observing such an important aspect of TNC activity as the increased exploitation of Latin American countries and the endeavor to intensify their dependence on the imperialist centers, Dos Santos and his supporters do not see another feature characterizing foreign capital's penetration--its assistance to the development of capitalism. As a counterweight to this concept Cardoso and M. Kaplan (Argentina), Cueva and others insist that the process of transnationalization and technological and financial control over the economy of Latin American countries and even the very process of the intensification of dependency are methods of the spread and modernization of capitalism and entail an acceleration of industrial development, general economic growth and so forth. This concept glosses over the role of the TNC as a factor of the conservation of dependency and backwardness, and the latter are not seen as constricting the prospects of Latin American countries' economic development; this approach exaggerates the possibilities of economic growth under the conditions of dependency, whereas the actual reality of Latin America testifies that even the most developed countries of the continent are not in a position to cope with the burden of the colossal foreign debt, which has become a principal lever of imperialist domination; all this is making Latin American countries even more vulnerable in the face of increased interference on the part of U.S. imperialism.

Both groups of scholars fail to take into consideration the general historical regularity discovered by the classics of Marxism-Leninism of the consequences of the introduction of foreign capital in the countries of the periphery. Yet it is in Marxist-Leninist theory that these problems have been comprehensively and dialectically evaluated. K. Marx pointed out that

the consequences of the introduction of foreign capital in the economy of backward countries are on the one hand their direct plunder and, on the other, the development of capitalism therein.¹² V.I. Lenin revealed the dialectical unity of the processes of the capitalist development of backward countries and the conservation of backwardness and the appearance of new forms of dependence on imperialism. His works show both the fact that "the export of capital to the countries to which it is channeled influences the development of capitalism, accelerating it extraordinarily,"¹³ and the fact that this process is accompanied by the increased exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the broad masses and growing social polarization. The predatory, exploiter role of imperialism in the underdeveloped countries is obvious; the essence of imperialism is "the division of nations into oppressors and oppressed,"¹⁴ and a handful of "particularly wealthy and powerful states" is plundering the whole world.¹⁵

While revealing the consequences of the enlistment of dependent and colonial countries in the international capitalist division of labor and the growth of capitalist relations contributing to the decomposition of traditional structures and production modes¹⁶ the classics of Marxism-Leninism at the same time show the extremely contradictory nature of the activity of the bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries and foreign capital in countries of the periphery, noting that their "creative work is barely noticeable behind the pile of ruins."¹⁷

Progressive scholars are endeavoring to reveal the deep-lying causes of the capitalist modernization of the countries of the continent and the inseparable connection and interaction of the dynamics of capitalist development and the introduction of the TNC and to show the mechanism of the conversion of foreign capital from a purely external factor to an internal factor. They are studying the processes stimulated by the TNC of an acceleration of capitalist modernization and concluding that the introduction of foreign capital in the very fabric of Latin America's socioeconomic structures and its "interiorization" signify both increased dependence in new, concealed forms and also testify to the possibilities of the further development of capitalism. "Transnationalization" symbolizes the genesis of a new bloc of social forces with an interest in the accelerated growth of capitalist relations. Progressive scholars have been able to reveal the historical evolution of the role of foreign capital and the TNC in the economy of countries of the continent. They show that whereas at the early stages the purpose of foreign penetration was the formation of an "enclave economy," now foreign capital is becoming interwoven in the very fabric of the economy of Latin America and that the TNC are becoming an integral part of the entire complex of economic and social structures of the countries of the continent.

J. Chonchol (Chile) and R. Mauro Marini (Brazil) reveal new forms of dependency connected with the growth of direct investments of foreign capital and foreign loans and complex interweavings with local capital and show new trends in the financial and technological enslavement of Latin America where the countries of the periphery are essentially becoming a source of financial

receipts for the developed capitalist countries. At the same time A. Cordova, A. Quijano, F. Cardoso and E. Faletto examine the influence of foreign capital on the diversification of the economy, expansion of the sphere of investment of local capital and the formation of internal sources of capitalist accumulation.¹⁸

Progressive sociologists' study of economic, social and political processes in countries of the continent and the use of Marxist-Leninist methodology determined also the evolution of their views pertaining to the question of the essence and nature of dependency.

During examination of the problems of dependency in the 1960's-1970's the leftwing radicals ignored the internal aspects of the development of Latin American capitalism. Having analyzed various manifestations of the Latin American countries' dependence on imperialism and its structural nature, they left on the sidelines another trend--the local bourgeoisie's contradictions with imperialism and the Latin American countries' aspiration to lessen dependency. For this reason, while having shown that dependency had been woven into the very "fabric" of Latin American capitalism, they at the same time failed to analyze either the state of or changes in this "fabric," that is, failed to see the internal foundations of dependency rooted in the development of Latin American capitalism itself. Whence the underestimation of its certain maturity and belittling of the seriousness of class conflicts.

Highly indicative is the evolution of the views of A. Cueva, who emphasizes that his assessments evolved under the direct influence of the methodology of historical materialism. Cueva sees as the causes of underdevelopment and backwardness the singularities of the formation and evolution of the capitalist production mode in countries of the continent. Latin America's colonial past largely brought about the deformation of socioeconomic structures, having slowed down the process of the formation of capitalist production relations. Against this background the invasion of foreign capital at the end of the 19th century and its entire subsequent activity resulted in the capitalist development of Latin American countries under the conditions of dependency and given conservation of precapitalist vestiges. All this led to appreciable deformations in the nature of Latin American capitalism, the unbalanced nature of the development of various sectors of the economy, the hypertrophied development of the agrarian-raw material sector and inadequate industrialization. Dependency and underdevelopment are thus interpreted in Cueva's concept as having an internal base rooted in the singularities of the genesis of the capitalist production mode on the continent.

The development of capitalism in Latin America, Cueva, Kaplan, Vuskovich and Quijano emphasize, has its own dynamics and is based on economic laws common to the capitalist formation. Latin American capitalism is thus completely a part of the worldwide history of capitalism, and the dependency factor by no means contradicts this conclusion.¹⁹

The new trends in progressive American political scientists' analysis of the interweaving of domestic and foreign factors of capitalist development were formed under the undoubted impact of Marxism's teaching on the role of super-structural institutions in social-historical development and their relative independence. While proceeding from the fact that domestic factors have an impact on the degree, nature and forms of dependency, Cardoso and Faletto emphasize that the consequences of dependence on imperialism for Bolivia and Venezuela, Mexico and Peru and Brazil and Argentina have been various. The socio-historical singularities of the development of a country, albeit taking shape under the strong impact of the world capitalist system, in turn exert a considerable influence on the degree and nature of foreign penetration and the processes which it engenders, Kaplan, Cardoso and Faletto observe. Relations of dependency have their domestic basis and are rooted in the internal socioeconomic and political structure of each country. The specific features of the current stage of Latin America's dependency consist precisely on the introduction of "countries of the center" in the "underdeveloped countries," dependency's penetration of various spheres of domestic life and its impact on various strata of society. Dependency is rooted in the very nature of exploitation, which, in turn, grows as the first intensifies.

Progressive scholars are paying particular attention to an analysis of the role and place of the bourgeoisie and the new trends in the economic and political development of countries of the region. Assessing the social consequences of the "transnationalization" of the Latin American economy, progressive scholars show that this process is being accompanied by a strengthening of the TNC's alliance with the local monopoly haute bourgeoisie and ruling elite groupings. New accents have emerged in their interpretation of the problems connected with an evaluation of the role of foreign capital and the TNC. Whereas consideration of the entire Latin American bourgeoisie merely as a "passive instrument" in the hands of foreign capital was characteristic of some supporters of dependentism, now these scholars are revealing a process of the "local economy's" integration in the "international system" by way of ascertainment of the domestic channels of dependency and showing that the subordination of the Latin American bourgeoisie to foreign capital is occurring via local finance capital. Whereas the theorists of dependentism regarded foreign capital as the sole factor determining the fate of Latin America, in the new concepts of Latin American sociologists foreign capital appears as a force using the alliance with local capital in its own interests.

The works of progressive social scientists adduce the idea that all these processes have been brought about by the very logic of the capitalist development of Latin American countries: whereas earlier imperialism gambled on the landowner-oligarchical bloc, now the imperialist monopolies are relying on an alliance with the local ruling bourgeois groupings and the oligarchical and technocratic elite in power. It was precisely the changes in the social appearance of the ruling classes--a weakening of the political importance of the traditional groups and the advancement to the forefront of economic and political life of new strata (primarily of the middle bourgeoisie oriented

toward development of the domestic market and monopoly-type haute bourgeoisie, the technocratic and entrepreneurial elite and the civil service upper crust)--which brought about the appearance of the domestic basis which is making possible these forces' close alliance with the foreign monopolies and the TNC and contributing to increased dependency on a new basis, on a new circuit. A new bloc of forces--an alliance of the state, the local bourgeoisie and the TNC--is taking shape in the process of the concentration of the means of production in the hands of certain giant enterprises, the progressive scholars emphasize. It is observed that the TNC, penetrating, for example, the economy of Venezuela, are entering into an alliance with new, dynamic groupings of the local haute bourgeoisie using the latest technology and opposed to the traditional strata of the bourgeoisie. Thus in the most developed Latin American countries the nucleus of the local monopoly bourgeoisie, the financial oligarchy and foreign capital are forming a new social conglomerate.

Progressive Latin American scholars have taken a big step forward en route to the theoretical comprehension of key problems for the developing countries. Their aspiration to take Marxist-Leninist ideology as a base for comprehension of the most important trends of Latin American reality and their critique of the methodological principles and theoretical and political premises of the left-radical, "dependency theory" signify a positive contribution to the investigation of socioeconomic and political processes on the continent. Under the influence of the theory of scientific socialism the representatives of non-Marxist social-political thought are reexamining their views on cardinal problems of Latin American reality and formulating new approaches and evaluations of the essence of the revolutionary processes. The progressive scholars' attempts to analyze the history and current stage of the development of Latin America from the standpoints of the working classes are becoming increasingly purposeful. The increased influence of Marxism has also been reflected in their critical evaluation of bourgeois social science and the world-outlook aspects of bourgeois theories. Examining problems of the anti-imperialist struggle, the leftwing-radical scholars are departing from the concepts of the "bourgeoisification" and "nonrevolutionary character" of the proletariat which they propagandized in the 1960's-1970's and studying problems and prospects of the workers movement and its alliance with other detachments of the democratic, left forces. However, the perception of the ideas of scientific socialism by representatives of non-Marxist sociology is not comprehensive, and the evaluations of the society of real socialism are not always distinguished by objectivity and the socialist system is frequently portrayed in a distorted form. The ideas of Marxism are blazing a trail for themselves in the course of the acute ideological-theoretical struggle and ideological debate and polemics. On the path of the assimilation of Marxism there are not only victories but also backward movements and relapses, as it were, into former ideas and a structuralist approach. At the same time the process of growth of the influence of scientific socialism on the democratic social thought of Latin America is strengthening unswervingly.

FOOTNOTES

1. "PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM No 6, 1985, p 49.
2. Ibid., p 54.
3. F.H. Cardoso, E. Faletto, "Dependency and Development in Latin America," Berkeley--Los Angeles, 1978, pp XXIII-XXIV; M. Kaplan, "Petroleo y desarrollo: la experiencia de los otros," REVISTA MEXICANA DE SOCIOLOGIA No 1, 1980, p 201; O. Sunkel, "La interaccion entre los estilos de desarrollo y el medio ambiente en America Latina," REVISTA DE LA CEPAL No 12, 1980, Santiago de Chile, p 52; A. Quijano, "Dominacion y cultura. Lo cholo y el conflicto cultural en el Peru," Lima, 1980, pp 11-12; "El nuevo orden economico internacional," Caracas, 1981, pp 233-239.
4. F.H. Cardoso, "Por un outro desenvolvimento" in F.H. Cardoso, "As ideias e sue lugar," Petropolis, 1980, pp 119-120, 117, 128; M. Kaplan, "Las características del nuevo orden politico internacional," NUEVA SOCIEDAD No 55, 1981, p 21.
5. O. Millas, "Debemos profundizar el analisis de las economias latinoamericanas," ESTUDIOS No 79, 1981, Rome, p 61.
6. GRANMA, 31 July 1985, p 6; 1 August 1985, pp 2, 12.
7. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 29, p 90.
8. A. Quijano, "Imperialismo y 'marginalidad' en America Latina," Lima, 1977, p 13; REVISTA MEXICANA DE SOCIOLOGIA No 2, 1977, p 475.
9. F.H. Cardoso, E. Faletto, Op. cit., p XXIII; TEORIA Y PRACTICA EN AMERICA LATINA No 9, 1977, Bogota, pp 111-112.
10. O. Sunkel, "El desarrollo de la teoria del desarrollo," "Transnacionalizacion y dependencia," Madrid, 1980, p 22.
11. See for discussion of this problem "Transnacionalizacion y dependencia; El nuevo caracter economico internacional," Caracas, 1981; "El desarrollo del capitalismo en America Latina," Mexico, 1979; "Dependency and Marxism. Toward a Resolution of a Debate," Boulder, 1982.
12. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 9, pp 225-228.
13. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 27, p 362; see also vol 30, p 132.
14. Ibid., vol 28, p 276; see also vol 30, p 390.
15. Ibid., vol 27, p 308.

16. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Work," vol 4, pp 426-427; vol 46, pt II, p 463; V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 3, p 57.
17. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 9, p 225.
18. R. Mauro Marini, "La acumulacion capitalista mundial y el subimperialismo," Mexico City, 1977, pp 9-10, 13-14; J. Chonchol, "Alternativas de America Latina; un nuevo tipe de desarrollo rural con reforma agraria o la aceleracion de la desintegracion social," NUEVA SOCIEDAD No 41, 1979, p 10; A. Cordova, "La ideologia de la revolucion mexicana," Mexico City, 1977, pp 16-17; F.H. Cardoso y E. Faletto, Op. cit., pp XVIII-XX; A. Quijano, "Problema agrario y movimientos campesinos," Lima, 1979, p 7.
19. A. Cueva, "El desarrollo del capitalismo en America Latina," Mexico City, 1979; REVISTA MEXICANA DE SOCIOLOGIA No 3, 1978, p 817; A. Quijano, "Problema agrario y movimientos campesinos," pp 1, 3-4; idem. "Imperialismo, clases sociales y estado en el Peru," Lima, 1977, pp 19, 26; idem. "Imperialismo y 'marginalidad' en America Latina," pp 27-29.

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REVIEWS OF BOOK ON ASIAN REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY, COMMUNISM

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[Reviews by V. G. Gelbras, S. N. Alitovskiy under the rubric "The Collective Work of Soviet Orientalists" of "Revoliutsiannaya demokratiya i kommunisty vostoka" [The Revolutionary Democracy and Communists of the East] by Professor R. A. Ulyanovskiy, executive editor and M. A. Persits, author-in-chief, Moscow, "Nauka," 1984, 373 pages]

[Text] In the Vanguard of Progressive Forces of Oriental Countries

The hopes of the champions of progress throughout the world for a further extension of social transformations in the Afro-Asian countries and the advance of an increasingly large number of developing countries along the path of a socialist orientation are linked with the revolutionary democracy and communist movement of these countries. Under the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, the exacerbation of the confrontation of the forces of reaction and progress in the sphere of international relations and the growth of the influence of scientific socialism, various concepts of the transition to socialist development are taking shape and different versions of political, economic, social and cultural transformations are being tested--versions which reflect in one way or another the natural evolution of the national liberation movement and the development of the struggle for social progress; and the process of rapprochement of the positions of the progressive forces with Marxism-Leninism, is blazing a trail for itself.

Extensive domestic foreign literature is devoted to the revolutionary democrats and communists of Afro-Asian countries. A new book on this theme is the latest publication of a group of scholars united by the USSR Academy of Sciences International Workers Movement Institute for elaboration of problems of the revolutionary process in Asian and African countries in the post-October era. The preceding three books¹ are well known in the USSR

¹ "The Comintern and the East. Struggle for Leninist Strategy and Tactics in the National Liberation Movement," Moscow, 1969; "The Comintern and the East. Critique of Criticism. Against Falsification of Leninist Strategy and Tactics in the National Liberation Movement," Moscow, 1978; "The Revolutionary Process in the East. History and the Present Day," Moscow, 1982.

and abroad. This, fourth, study will undoubtedly attract attention also. It has been composed in the key characteristic of these books: events are viewed from close, medium and long range and analyzed on several planes simultaneously. The group of authors' evolved style of presentation in the form of a digest of articles is in this case a fortunate one and will enjoy definite success. It has made possible a formulation of the fundamental methodological problems of study of the revolutionary process inevitably demanding a certain abstraction from specific-historical phenomena, an all-around analysis of the events of past decades more often than not not comprehensively illustrated in the scientific press and, finally, an examination, as F. Engels said, of the "history of current events."

In their articles R.A. Ulyanovskiy and O.V. Martyshin concentrated attention on questions of the methodology of study of revolutionary democracy. It was logical that the authors turned primarily to the very rich Leninist inheritance.

The first methodological principle of V.I. Lenin which they revealed amounts to the need for the separation of revolutionary democracy from the overall mass of democratic social forces. V.I. Lenin also formulated the main criteria serving to ascertain revolutionary democracy: "...being a democrat means reckoning in practice with the interests of the majority and not a minority, being a revolutionary means breaking with all that is harmful and outdated most emphatically and most ruthlessly" ("Complete Works," vol 34, p 166).

The second principle consists of the demand for a precise elucidation of the class and specific-historical meaning of the platforms and practical activity of revolutionary democracy: "...it is necessary to distinguish from one another the revolutionary democracy of capitalists, the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat" (ibid., vol 32, p 248). V.I. Lenin deemed it essential here to take into consideration the nature and interests of the mass base of this current or the other and the fact that they differ "in terms of viewpoint" and "in terms of their theoretical banner," to compare the platform and activity with the economic position of the given class, stratum and group of the population and with the historically conditioned goals of the struggle and to pay close attention to the forms of organization and methods of struggle employed.

The third principle is studying revolutionary democracy in its development and in inseparable connection with particular periods of historical development and changes in the correlation of class and political forces in the corresponding countries. Mentioning in this context the shortcomings characteristic of the illustration in a certain period of our historical science of the ideas and activity of the great Russian democrats of the 1840's-1860's and the revolutionary populism of the 1870's-1880's, R.A. Ulyanovskiy notes a principal source of these shortcomings: just one path of theoretical and political development seemed logical--from revolutionary democracy to Marxism. "But this was wrong: anti-Marxist revolutionary-democratic currents attended all three Russian revolutions and possessed, as V.I. Lenin

observed, a certain revolutionary potential and support in the masses, recognition of which was the Bolsheviks' alliance with the left SR's, which was treacherously broken by the latter in 1918" (p 10). A fundamental problem is also consideration of the nature and degree of influence of the cultural-historical inheritance of individual countries on the formation and development of revolutionary democracy therein. An in-depth analysis of Marxist tradition, organically inherent in which is a most attentive attitude toward each country's cultural-historical actuality, is made in A.V. Gordon's article.

R.A. Ulyanovskiy is right when he notes that without a most attentive attitude toward the process of the almost half-century development of Russian revolutionary democracy and without study of its tremendous historical experience it is difficult to cope when examining the destiny of contemporary revolutionary democracy in Asia and Africa. This idea is developed by other members of the group of authors, and many fruitful comparisons and collations of contemporary revolutionary democracy in Asia and Africa with its historical predecessor--Russian revolutionary democracy--may be encountered in the articles of O.V. Martyshev, A.V. Gordon and V.G. Khoros.

While proving that the premise concerning the incontestable regularity of just one path of ideological development--from revolutionary democracy to Marxism--is one-sided and based on an examination of the desired and not the actual state of affairs, R.A. Ulyanovskiy rightly reminds us not only of the existence of the theoretical possibility of movement in the reverse direction but also of the fundamentally different historical situation and class structure of the oriental countries making such an evolution possible in practice. The concise characterization of the differences of Russian revolutionary democracy from the revolutionary democracy of Asian and African countries merits attention in this connection: "The Russian revolutionary democrats of the 1840's-1860's were the spokesmen for the interests of the peasantry and implacable enemies of serfdom. They were already disenchanted with capitalism and consciously rejected the prospects of bourgeois development for Russia. They were the creation of the social nature of Russia and the class division in Russian society.... In the Asia and Africa of the 1960's revolutionary democracy emerged not from a new class struggle in pure form but primarily from the national liberation, anti-imperialist and antiracist struggle, and this, even if it had no subjective illusions concerning intra-national class peace, led and could not have failed to have led to a fundamentally different social basis, that is, the national liberation basis. In Russia, the exploited classes against the exploiter classes, in Asian and African countries, the entire nation or all the representatives of the nation who had not lost... national consciousness against the imperialist oppressor and conqueror. Workers, peasants, petty proprietors, capitalists and frequently even feudal lords are in a single camp and opposed to a common enemy. And, naturally, their interests are represented by an entirely new, particular anti-imperialist national revolutionary democracy" (pp 11-12).

Many of the propositions and conclusions advanced in the book merit closer attention. We shall highlight just some of them. O.V. Martyshin writes about the existence in Asia and Africa of a "whole palette of revolutionary-democratic currents": "The revolutionary potential of some is exhausted fully by anti-imperialism and militant nationalism, others add to it antifeudalism, yet others, demonstrations against capitalist monopolies, and still others, against capitalism in general. It is possible to be revolutionary in one respect and not be revolutionary in another. The entire spectrum of revolutionary democracy--from the revolutionary democracy of the capitalists to the revolutionary democracy of the proletariat--is represented in the East..." (p 41). We would add that the process of delineation of the different trends of revolutionary democracy in these countries is still far from its culmination. The author observes that in Asian and African countries "...there is a wider range of classes capable of revolutionary character and democratism, and historical conditions and development levels are at times strikingly different from one another here. Whence the abundance of revolutionary-democratic currents distinguished in terms of their class content and degree of fidelity to the ideals of revolutionary character and democratism" (p 42).

The proposition that V.I. Lenin's broad understanding of revolutionary democracy makes redundant arguments concerning the correlation of revolutionary and national democracy (we find it in the articles of R.A. Ulyanovskiy, O.V. Martyshin and A.V. Gordon) merits support. O.V. Martyshin observes in this connection: "It should not be thought that contemporary revolutionary democracy in countries of the East is identical with a socialist orientation. It is considerably broader. The struggle against neocolonialism and feudal principles creates conditions for the emergence of revolutionary-democratic currents which have not risen to a recognition of class struggle, an appeal to the ideas of scientific socialism or even to trust in the socialist world and a clear understanding of its role in the anti-imperialist movement.... The future will undoubtedly bring new forms of revolutionary democracy" (p 66).

Many authors of the book characterizes the causes of the predominance in the contemporary revolutionary democracy of Asia and Africa of the national over the social factor. The conclusion formulated by A.V. Gordon would appear to be of interest. Characterizing the ideology of the national liberation movement, he writes: "Bourgeois nationalism has found therein a certain embodiment... but reducing it to this nationalism would be an oversimplification" (p 87). He notes: "Strictly speaking, bourgeois nationalism ('classical') was engendered here not so much by the development of the nation as 'suggested' by the clash with the bourgeois culture (and ideology) of the colonizers. And the very idea of the nation was applied... to the prebourgeois national entity" (p 88).

The book distinguishes several different historical types (or "generations") of revolutionary democracy in Asia and Africa: the first is of the 1920's-1930's, that is, the "era of Asia's awakening," the second, of the 1950's-1960's, that is, of the era of the postwar collapse of the colonial system, and, finally, the third, of the 1970's, that is, the era of the

complete eradication of colonialism and intensified struggle for choice of social development path. This theme is portrayed particularly extensively in O.V. Martyshin's discursive article. However, its revelation would appear debatable in a number of aspects. The main thing is that undue emphasis has been placed, it would seem to us, on the petty bourgeois character of the situation and petty bourgeois character of peasant revolutionary democracy in Asia and Africa. The peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie are at times seen almost as synonyms. Yet it is well known that the peasantry becomes petty bourgeois only under the conditions of the capitalist economy or transition thereto. Unfortunately, the article does not raise the subject of the subsistence economy and the particular social type of peasantry which it engenders or, equally, the specific revolutionary-democratic currents. Nor is this theme worked through in A.V. Gordon's article.

Vagueness and inconsistency in the evaluation of agrarian relations are defects of Yu.M. Ivanov's article on the theory and practice of the democratic solution of the agrarian question in the East. Asserting that "in the East the peasantry was simultaneously both prebourgeois and bourgeois" (p 249), the author is guilty of imprecision here in his description of the processes which actually took place and exaggerates the depth of the agrarian transformations in China, losing sight of the low level of development of the productive forces. On the other hand, it was precisely consideration of the underdevelopment of the agrarian economy and deep penetration to the essence of this underdevelopment which enabled V.G. Khoros to make an interesting analysis of the complex problems of socioeconomic transformations in Tanzania, Algeria and a number of other countries.

V.G. Khoros' article is very valuable. The point being that the experts' insufficient attention to problems of the transition of the Afro-Asian countryside from subsistence farming to commodity farming--problems with aspects of very different levels: political, economic, social, cultural-historical--prevents a thorough examination of a variety of concepts of noncapitalist and socialist development which have been emerging recently in Asia and Africa. The experience of India and China, Tanzania and Algeria and Vietnam and the other Indochina countries, as equally, of many other countries, testifies that these problems are still far from being solved and that a quest for their solution will be conducted increasingly intensively. Self-sufficiency in basic foodstuffs affording an assurance against starvation is an indispensable condition of any social progress. The next, no less important, step is transition to commodity production in agriculture. The struggle for food independence represents strong impetus to the further development of the assertiveness of revolutionary democracy in Asia and Africa.

A particular place in the book is occupied by the articles of M.A. Persits, M.F. Yuryev and A.V. Pantsov, which recreate the history of the development of the revolutionary democracy of Asian countries toward Marxism under the direct influence of the Great October and the building of socialism in the USSR. In terms of the width of the spectrum of the countries and problems studied, wealth of factual material and depth of its comprehension and

meaningfulness and scale of the conclusions M.A. Persits' article provides such a profound outline of the history of the formation of the communist movement in Asia for the first time in Soviet historiography. It says that the communist movement in the East "...thanks to its anti-imperialism and under the influence of the October Revolution, emerged not only on the basis of the highly developed struggle of the working class (it did not then exist) but on the basis of the upsurge of the national liberation movement. It acquired an adequate foundation later in the increased class-independent and conscious movement of the proletariat. Whereas in the developed capitalist countries the revolutionaries came to Marxism from the workers movement and in the name of the liberation of the workers, in the East their route was different... they came from the national liberation struggle to communism, and from it, to the working class" (p 233). This made for preservation in the views of Asia's first communists of vestiges of revolutionary nationalism transformed into a kind of "infantile disorder of 'leftism'" (see pp 233-234).

The article shows how the young communist movement in Asia under the influence of the Comintern, V.I. Lenin and the international communist movement gradually, with difficulty, but unswervingly overcame its disorder. It is this analysis of the complex process of the formation of the communist movement which helps us understand the path of the historical ascent of the communist parties, which became in the majority of Asian countries an influential force of social development, and in some of them, ruling parties leading the building of a new society free of man's exploitation of man.

This brief outline of the formation of the communist movement in Asia is supplemented and illustrated by the articles of M.F. Yuryev and A.V. Pantsov. The authors dwell on certain circumstances of the development of revolutionary democracy in China. Both articles are interesting, although the first of them is somewhat static and fragmentary.

The book concludes with the discursive article of S.L. Agayev devoted to an analysis of the political struggle in Iran throughout the period 1978-1983. Tracing the development of the situation in the country and highlighting the major, pivotal events, the author ascertains the changes in the correlation of political and social forces and reveals the roots of the dramatic processes in the course of which antipopular forces which opened the way to counterrevolution and the despotism of the conservative clergy emerged at the forefront.

The group of authors set themselves the task of an examination of a limited range of problems connected with revolutionary democracy--a subject which is "as inexhaustible as history itself" (p 7). I would like to hope that the group of authors, continuing the development of the problems of revolutionary democracy, make the investigation even more comprehensive--and not only in the plane of an increasingly in-depth comprehension of the experience of the past and the increasingly sensitive perception of the problems of the present day but also in the plane of an ever increasing amplification of prognostic features, quite difficult as this is.

It is very important, for example, to thoroughly analyze the objective conditions lending impetus to the development of revolutionary democracy and summoning into being new generations, currents and nuances thereof or, in other words, actualizing and intensifying the struggle for choice of paths of social progress. These processes, which are extraordinarily complex, but which demonstrate great vitality, demand precisely such an investigation. We would recall that the first steps along the path of a socialist orientation were in certain countries unsuccessful and everywhere very difficult, but this by no means prevented the revolutionary democrats from again and again developing their programs and concepts of development and again and again seeking forms, methods and ways of struggle for social justice and social progress.

The results of recent years testify that the capitalist path of development of the emergent states also is no less but even more difficult. The experience of the latter half of the 1970's-start of the 1980's has shown how intolerable for the working people it is. Despite the fact that private-economic capitalism as an independent structure in certain Asian and African countries is developing at quite a high rate, not enough countries have been able to advance appreciably on the capitalist path, and there has been too striking a manifestation of the gap between the hopes (as of the promises also) of the social and political groups which were the initiators and proponents of capitalist development and harsh reality--the diktat of the TNC and international imperialism. And it has not been the socialist world which has created the sources of the adversities of this group of emergent countries but the internationalization of big capital and the forces of imperialism and neocolonialism.

Problems of the Revolutionary Process in the East

In scientific and political literature the revolutionary democracy and national democracy concepts are now more often than not identified, being associated equally with the noncapitalist path. Frequently, however, "revolutionary democracy" is placed higher than "national democracy," and then the latter is recognized as either not corresponding to the level of the revolutionary potential of the forces advocating a noncapitalist path or portrayed as the initial stage of development along this path, and in this case "revolutionary democracy" appears as its left wing.¹ Inasmuch as this terminological question is of methodological significance it is examined specially in the book in question.

The authors--this has to be acknowledged--have brought greater clarity to it, which is of sufficient importance in itself. They are guided by Lenin's interpretation of revolutionary democracy as a broad concept encompassing the

¹ On this see A.S. Kaufman, "The Socialist Orientation: Certain Questions of Theory" in AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 2, 1980; R.A. Ulyanovskiy, "National and Revolutionary Democracy" in NARODY AZII I AFRIKI No 2, 1984.

positions of political forces differing in terms of their class nature acting in different eras and at different stages of the liberation movement in defense of the interests of the people's masses and capable of upholding them by revolutionary methods.

The term "revolutionary democracy" is "in itself a very broad sociopolitical characterization suffused with varying content in specific historical conditions," R.A. Ulyanovskiy, author of the foreword, emphasizes (p 6). Later, in his article, he writes: "Considering the varying character of revolutionary democracy, we may evidently regard that which at the start of the 1960's was called national democracy a stage thereof and a historical form and type of revolutionary democracy. In this case the entire path of a socialist orientation is encompassed within the 'revolutionary democracy' framework, but on one indispensable condition: a precise definition of its character and change in its class content at each stage" (p 13).

This is how O.V. Martyshin formulates the question also: "...it is not revolutionary democracy which appears as a special case of national democracy and something that grew up on top of it by way of a narrowing of the social base, but national democracy appears as a special case of the broad 'revolutionary democracy' concept. ...The entire 20-year successful and unsuccessful experience of development along the noncapitalist path is encompassed within the framework of ideas concerning the struggle of the classes within revolutionary democracy and around it" (p 66).

Coming into use in connection with problems of the development of the emergent countries together with the neologism of the frontier of the 1950's-1960's--the term "national democracy"--the term "revolutionary democracy" reflected the class differentiation of the common national front in inseparable connection with which national democracy evolves. Its development, R.A. Ulyanovskiy observes, may proceed in line of ascent, and then it is transformed into revolutionary democracy of the working people, which appears within the framework of all national revolutionary democracy (as a phenomenon of an international scale of the era of the collapse of imperialism's colonial system) as a "left wing"; but it may also evolve in line of descent (see pp 12, 14). Currents capable of evolving in the direction of scientific socialism or, on the contrary, in a direction away from it--toward bourgeois "national reformisms" and, thus, in the direction of a departure from national democracy in general--come to light increasingly clearly in national democracy in line with the deepening of the social content of the national liberation revolutions and the transformations which it undergoes.

Delineation within the common national front occurred to a considerable extent around the attitude toward the class struggle and was very acute. However, O.V. Martyshin observes (analyzing the problem on the basis of African material), the complete delineation of national democrats and reformist currents of "national socialism" did not occur. "A certain ideological-political community was preserved.... The national democrats shared with the national-reformists to a certain extent ideas concerning the uniqueness of the 'African personality,' the innate disposition of the African

peoples to socialism..." and so forth (p 59). O.V. Martyshin discerns and, more, traces in the history of the national liberation movements of Afro-Asian countries a whole spectrum of "varieties" and "generations" of revolutionary democracy right up to the mid-1970's, when "the second echelon of supporters of a socialist orientation has been proclaiming Marxism-Leninism as its credo" (p 74), rapprochement with which is the arterial path of revolutionary democracy. "But it is very difficult and thorny..." (p 67).

Cultural-historical aspects of the problem in question are illustrated in A.V. Gordon's article. Analyzing and collating the studies which exist in Soviet oriental research on this range of issues, the author emphasizes, in particular, the genetic connection of Afro-Asian nationalism with the anti-colonial movement of oppressed peoples. The article traces the genesis and analyzes the singularities and intrinsic contradictions of the process of cultural-historical synthesis in the colonial East. The author emphasizes particularly the "crisis" and "decline" of the bourgeois Enlightenment in its colonial version and reveals the objective nature both of the very problem of "socialism's interaction with the cultural-historical soil of the emergent countries" (p 95) and the "complexity of the entire process of the combination of scientific socialism with the national liberation movement" (p 94). The task of "effecting the synthesis, of world-historical significance, of all that is most healthy, viable and progressive in the national culture of the developing countries with socialist culture as the embodiment and development of the best aspects of human civilization" (pp 105-106) falls to the lot of the revolutionary democrats.

Questions of theory and practice connected with the experience of the non-capitalist development of the emergent states are illustrated in V.G. Khoros' article. It studies a complex question: concerning the possibilities and paths of integration of communal institutions in the transitional economic structure taking shape. Noting that the communal organization as such is historically doomed in view of the incompatibility of its principles with those of either capitalist or socialist relations, the author points in this connection to the advantages of the noncapitalist path making it possible to use the collectivism, mutual assistance and so forth inherent in the commune as "ready-made forms of the sociopolitical organization of the peasantry" as a counterweight to the ruthless destruction of the commune by capitalism with disastrous consequences for the working people. At the same time, while correctly evaluating the complexities of the socialist orientation as a difficult historical "experiment," the author evidently nonetheless underestimates the significance of its objective prerequisites (see p 151).

Yu.M. Ivanov's article adduces the idea concerning the exceptional enhancement of the role of the working classes in the situation of the world-historical transition of capitalism and the precapitalist economy to socialism. The role of these classes has been manifested, in particular, in their capacity for championing the radical solution of the agrarian question embodied in the agrarian and, in general, economic policy of revolutionary-democratic regimes. Unfortunately, this proposition did not enjoy more in-depth historical substantiation in the analysis of the class nature of the colonial society.

Of the other articles (they are all of considerable scientific interest), let us dwell on S.L. Agayev's article on the Iranian revolution. In the author's interpretation the "revolutionary democracy" concept encompasses, apparently, only the "left movement" for only it is characterized by him as "on the whole, popular, anti-imperialist and anticapitalist" (p 334). Its composition includes together with the Iran People's Party (IPP) "various paramilitary youth organizations at various levels of evolution from left radicalism to revolutionary democratism" (ibid.), that is, primarily two main groupings: the Fedayeen and Mujaheddin. The analysis of the complex situation of quasidiarchy which arose following the victory of the 9-11 February 1979 armed uprising calls attention to itself (pp 338-339). S.L. Agayev believes that the "Islamic revolution" was "an expression of the crisis of the truly popular antimonarchical and anti-imperialist revolution which began in February 1979 and which ended in May 1983"; the author considers as its main result, evidently, the fact that it "opened the way to bourgeois counterrevolution" (p 367).

The article is very interesting and thought-provoking. At the same time questions arise: how correctly to interpret the term "revolutionary democracy" with reference to the Iranian revolution? Does it encompass the entire spectrum of ideological-political forces involved in the revolution or only the "left movement"? Is the recommended "effective cooperation of all progressive forces" for the sake of "winning a popular majority adhering to a conservative leadership" (p 368) compatible with the fact of the formation of dictatorship of this leadership as a form of power? What is the essence of the main reasons for the failure of the IPP's policy of almost total support of the "Khomeini line"---merely an underestimation of the significance of the "socio-corporate aspirations" of the religious leadership, which were disastrous for the revolution? Such questions still away await an answer and require new reflection and, possibly, a quest for new approaches to a study of the complex nature of the Iranian revolution.

The group of authors has performed a great deal of scientifically very useful work, having made, as a whole, an in-depth study mainly of the political-ideological aspect of the set problems. However, some of the questions which were touched on go beyond the framework of this aspect and require new methodological solutions, particularly the more active use of methods of political-economic analysis.

Let us dwell, for example, on the question of the origins of the revolutionary democracy of the East. It truly "emerges" from the national liberation movement. But a great multitude of the most diverse currents arises therefrom. What genetically distinguishes among them precisely revolutionary democracy? The term itself, as we already know, does not reveal the socio-class content of the phenomenon---such content needs to be specially "invested" in it on each occasion as the phenomenon evolves; but the whole question is where to "get" that which needs to be "invested". In our view, such content should be sought far from last---at least at the stage of conception of the phenomenon---precisely whence it "emerges," namely, in the sphere of the national liberation struggle, which, after all, itself also "emerges" from something; the contrast of the national-liberation and socio-class in

not absolute. The anticolonial movement of oppressed peoples--and, as mentioned, Afro-Asian nationalism is genetically connected with it--bears within it primordial socio-class content, which to an appreciable extent predetermines prior to the conception even of national revolutionary democracy and the national front the nature of their future differentiation and evolution and which is, obviously, connected with the role of the toiling classes in anticolonial revolutions.

What is the nature of their role? The key to the answer, evidently, consists of their particular social nature, which is different from the social nature of the classes of the "classically"-capitalistically developing society. In our view, their role in anticolonial revolutions is active and even decisive, despite the seemingly inadequate degree of their state of formation. Quantitative and qualitative criteria of the maturity of classes applied to societies of "classical" capitalism are unacceptable here. For example, the working class in a number of colonies was relatively strong and organized, but showed itself as a class in its own way: the worker here appeared not as a proletarian of capitalist society but as a type of colonially oppressed worker. Outwardly, as in the capitalist society, the colonial working class was opposed to the local exploiters (the intermediary classes), it was essentially, however, albeit in indirect form, the class antagonist of foreign capital. In this sense it merged with peasantry, forming together with it a common type of colonially oppressed workers and differing from the peasantry only in the means of conversion into this kind of aggregate "worker-peasant class". It was this vast and diverse class formation of the colonial type with its social aspirations frequently inspired by ideals of the past which served as the social basis on which national revolutionary democracy emerged from the national liberation movement. It thus represents a movement born not simply of anti-imperialist struggle but also as the result of combination of the struggle of the colonially oppressed toiling masses for their socioeconomic interests and the liberation goals of anticolonial revolutions.

Determination of the genesis of the communist movement in countries of the colonial East also demands such amplifications, we believe. The communist parties here primordially arose essentially as the party of social revolution in the anti-imperialist movement. The conception of the communist movement here appears, from our viewpoint, as a combination of Marxism-Leninism not with the national liberation movement but, which is more precise, with the movement of the colonially oppressed toiling classes under the conditions of the national liberation struggle.

Other judgments which require amplification or which are contentious even are also encountered in a number of articles of the group work. However, as a whole the book merits high marks as a serious contribution to an investigation of questions of the history of the revolutionary process in the East and comprehension of the most complex and as yet insufficiently studied pertinent problems of contemporary social development in countries of the vast region. These problems should undoubtedly be further studied by the joint efforts of Soviet orientalists.

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