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## **Soviet Union**

***KOMMUNIST***

No 14, September 1987

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# Soviet Union KOMMUNIST

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### The City Knows Best

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[Article by Alfreds Petrovich Rubiks, chairman of the executive committee of the Riga City Soviet of People's Deputies]

[Text] As we look at the initial steps in restructuring, we come across an idea which initially may seem paradoxical: the mechanism of the *soviet* system is one of the most powerful and accessible yet, at the same time, an extremely poorly used organizational mechanism in the acceleration of socioeconomic development.

Indeed, we frequently consider the term *soviet* system simply as an ordinary combination of words, and do not give a great deal of thought to its true meaning. Hence the numerous contradictions which arise when the soviets, which nominally have a great deal of rights, actually frequently adopt the position of petitioners, entirely dependent on the ambitions and interests of various departments.

Recently there has been a great deal of talk about such contradictions. Nonetheless, how is the problem being solved? I shall try to answer this question by describing the work of the Riga City Soviet of People's Deputies.

## I

Departmental authority, not balanced with proper control by and responsibility to the soviets, and the entire long process of its development as a kind of monopoly have played a negative role in the development of Riga as, actually, in many other cities and territories. The priority development given to production, objectively necessary and justified during the first post-war 5-year periods, led subsequently not simply to harming but, in frequent cases, also to totally ignoring the needs of the social sphere. The largest enterprises of leading ministries, commonly described as "flag bearers of industry," frequently acted only in the interest of their own development, ignoring the needs of the city, the need to conserve natural resources and to protect the environment, and so on. The "syndrome of departmentalism" worsened the disproportion between the production and social areas even during the most seemingly successful 5-year periods.

By the mid-1970s, Riga's industrial potential enabled it to become the fourth strongest among the capitals of union republics in terms of its contribution of industrial output to the all-union industry. The volume of output of the individual industrial sectors increased by a factor of 300-400 compared with 1940. In other words, during the period of its socialist development, the republic's national economy expanded to such an extent that essentially no comparison among indicators became

possible. At the same time, however, a different dynamics became apparent, characterizing the condition of the social sphere and the level of development of urban economic sectors.

The point is that unlike many other towns, which were destroyed and virtually rebuilt after the war, Riga's housing remained virtually intact. For a long period of time city residents averaged 14.5 square meters of housing area, which created the illusion of availability of housing, although one-half of housing facilities had been built in the 19th century.

The physical wear out of housing facilities reached 36 percent; 2,700 houses were rated substandard in terms of sanitation and more than 1,000 of them are scheduled for demolition. More than 15,000 communal apartments were established in the city, in which 37,500 families live under strained circumstances. Compared with the growth of industry, water supplies, sewers and treatment of sewer waters, urbanization, transportation, consumer services, trade and health care fell behind.

The urban population increased, belying all the estimates of the old general plan, primarily by mechanical means (as a result of migrants from essential rural rayons), for industry was dominated by extensive development factors. In the 15 years (1966-1980) during which the previous general plan for urban development remained in effect, population growth exceeded the planned level by 41 percent while the actual growth of housing turned out to be 16 percent below the planned figure. As a result, today a record number—63,000 families—are waiting to obtain housing, and the length of the waiting period is 20 years. Residents of the new microrayons have had wait between 10 and 15 years for the construction of planned polyclinics, stores, communications facilities, ATS, and laundry and dry cleaning establishments, i.e., for all the amenities needed in a normally organized way of life. The underpowered sewage treatment systems could not cope with even one-tenth of effluents, as a result of which the Daugava River lost in its lower reaches the capacity for natural self-treatment. Most of the 1,100-km-long city water main system had to be urgently relocated. By the end of the 1970s, this system was experiencing as many as 70 breakdowns daily. By that time the amount of "unfinished" road asphaltting repairs had exceeded the 2-year capital repairs program. The enumeration of such problems could be continued.

The combination of all such problems generated a large number of citizens' complaints to different agencies. All day long the personnel of the city rayon soviets were engaged in drafting answers to claims, lacking personnel and funds for making any real improvements in the situation. Meanwhile, the planning and directive-issuing authorities had no possibility for radically solving problems in the social sphere. For all practical purposes the situation did not change even after the implementation of the main tasks in the decisive areas was assigned to the

ministries and departments. Neither the city party committee of the Latvian Communist Party nor, even less so, the city soviet of people's deputies could make fulfill the various plans in their entirety.

Let us take as an example the light industry enterprises in the city. Light industry is traditional here. Twenty percent of the people employed in industry in Riga work in one of its subsectors or another. However, these are the most backward enterprises both in terms of basic production capital and the standard of the facilities needed for satisfying the social requirements of labor collectives. They have no clubs of their own, not to mention palaces of culture, sports facilities or youth centers. The poorest hostels in the city are those of the Ministry of Light Industry. Young people frequently occupy hastily adapted premises lacking elementary amenities, for which reason this is one of the most urgent problems. As in the past, however, the ministry pays no attention to this problem.

Anticipating, let me say that even the plan for measures to improve the work of light industry, recently submitted to the gorispolkom, does not include even a single item related to solving social and consumer problems. Naturally, funds for such purposes are not allocated. Obviously, we could not agree with this approach and submitted our counterproposals. Unfortunately, this is by no means an isolated example of obvious underestimating of the human factor and failure to gain a full understanding of the social trend of acceleration. This reproach is not of recent vintage.

So far, we have been talking about the time which preceded restructuring. Alas, the picture of an urban economy chronically lagging in its development is typical of many areas. Let me merely add that in the case of cities such as Riga, with its unique historical and architectural heritage, which is nearly 800 years old, this picture has assumed a rather dramatic aspect. The underestimating of the sociocultural area costs society a great deal. Nor can we fail to note that nationalistic elements and hostile radio broadcasts willingly speculate on its shortcomings. It is hardly necessary today to prove that with the gradual disappearance of the material and cultural values of the past, destroyed both by time and human indifference, the moral criteria of the present invariably decline as well.

What is the nature of the unequal interrelationship between the sector and the territory? In order to answer this question we must determine who of the partners owns what and who is responsible for what.

As a rule, a sector is based on a well-developed planning, scientific research and information foundation, not to mention a production and technical potential. Essentially its plans are fully backed by financial and material and technical resources. Its main task, therefore, is relatively simple: to meet the social need for one commodity or another.

In the case of territories matters are different. In itself, the territorial structure is a significantly more complex formation than any sectorial department, for it includes the entire set of a great variety of sectors, which cover the production, distribution, trade in and consumption of material and cultural goods and services. The regional system of relations consists not only of the customary sectors involved in the same type of production and economic interrelationships but also a variety of socioeconomic, cultural and internal political relations and dependencies. Understandably, the problems it must solve are also immeasurably more difficult. One of the most difficult and important among them is the comprehensive socioeconomic development of the territory.

The following data indicate the manner in which this was achieved in Riga: during the 9th 5-year period the share of capital investments in the social area was 36 percent; it declined to 32.1 percent in the 10th and to 28.9 percent in the 11th. We must point out that the plans for the current 5-year period merely halt the declining trend but by no means catch up with the lag and are still far from achieving an optimal correlation between capital investments in the production and nonproduction areas.

Therefore, the old conflict of unequal partners—the sector and the territory—has substantially distorted the socioeconomic ratios in the development of the urban infrastructure. In the immediate future, taking furthermore the ecological situation into consideration, this threatens the human habitat with inevitable worsening.

Such was, roughly speaking, the “deployment of forces” in the city at the time when the “enterprise in the city” system, developed by the planning commission of the gorispolkom, began to operate. The initial steps convinced us of the need to pursue even the most daring experiments in planning, collecting funds on a shareholding basis, and management and coordination in the interrelated development of the sector and the territory.

Let me immediately point out that in this case we did not discover America and that we merely made use of the legitimate right of the local soviets to coordinate the size of the industrial-production personnel of enterprises and organization. Precise calculations helped us to determine the cost to the city for the maintenance of a new worker coming to Riga, for example. Taking into consideration all the different services he would use—housing, communal, medical, trade and cultural, including the cost of street paving, the sum totaled about 20,000 rubles (based on an average family size). On this basis, the following counteroffer was made to the enterprises: if you want to increase the number of your workers, you must pay the city for each additional unit.

Numerous efforts were made to dispute this step as being allegedly illegal and to appeal to superior authorities, i.e., to take us back to the old limit of the rights exercised by the soviets. However, the question was already formulated on a principled basis: Did we have the right to be

the full masters of our territory, as interpreted by the constitution, or not? The right was accepted, although this was achieved with a great deal of difficulty and required the powerful support of the city and republic party authorities.

This step did not bring us "big millions," and nor did we try to add to the treasury funds in addition to set limits and material resources. Its unquestionable usefulness lay elsewhere: it is pertinent to recall here the case of the Riga experimental plant for technological equipment, in which production and management were being expanded by following the well-trodden path and where the decision was made to recruit from the outside about 100 new workers. Whereas in the past the procedure for coordinating the number of workers by any plant with the gorispolkom was essentially a mere formality, now the ROZTO faced the difficult choice: either request of its ministry an additional 2 million rubles, which seemed entirely unrealistic or, clenching its teeth, increase its volume of output through technical retooling and intensification. As a result, although forced, preference was given to the second choice. Thus, the initial experience in implementing the system of the "enterprise in the city" indicated that the process of controlling the size of the industrial-production personnel and, therefore, the mechanical population increase, was entirely workable.

In speaking of the interrelationship between soviets and departments, soviet personnel frequently voice the thought that the latest resolution, as was the case with previously adopted documents on the soviets, does not stipulate any penalties whatsoever for economic managers who disobey soviet resolutions.

We believe that there is more to it. A great deal of what is happening is related to the insufficient professional competence of the ispolkoms themselves, their low authority, the one-sided interpretation by soviet personnel of their rights and obligations and their inability to engage in a business dialogue with departmental organizations. In short, once again the matter comes down to a narrow way of thinking and the standardization of methods and approaches to solving problems of socioeconomic development. Naturally, all of this does not grant any power to the resolutions passed by soviets, for which reason they frequently fail to yield desired results. Incidentally, hence the aspiration to involve party committees into purely economic matters, to rely on their authority and somehow to share responsibility with them.

The key to success in any matter is, above all, its professional approach. Incidentally, discussions with departments and economic managers must also be conducted on a professional basis. I am not sure whether our ispolkom would have been able, shall we say, to convince the Sarkanays Kvadrats Production Association to lay 2 kms of a water main in Moskovskiy Rayon had we based our discussion strictly on emotions and appeals. This would have hardly succeeded. The language of precise

figures, computations and economic substantiations is always more clearly understood by economic managers. The same applies to the fact that, on the basis of such irrefutable computations, we set for this association, as for another 249 industrial enterprises in the city, a strict limit for water consumption provided by the city water system which, in the final account, was assessed by them as being entirely logical and an economically justified step on the part of the urban authorities. Under such circumstances it proved to be simpler and more expedient for them to build a water main with their own forces than to find circuitous ways of solving the problem. Furthermore, based on the ispolkom resolution, they could with full justification demand of their own departments capital investments for building a system of recirculated water supply. Today such systems have been built by 118 enterprises. In other words, the instruments for efficiently influencing departments are available and one must only learn how to use them.

The most important among them, the one which can ensure the solution of urgent social problems of local significance, is the labor collective. We realized this several years ago, when we began extensively to apply the system of preliminary discussions within labor collectives of draft resolutions of city soviet sessions, directly related to territorial socioeconomic development. At this point the "departmental syndrome" was forced to yield under the influence of openness.

## II

All that we have said so far applies to the past, to the 11th 5-year period, when the Riga gorispolkom was only developing the principles and approaches to a balanced combination of sectorial with territorial interests. Incidentally, the accuracy of our system was indirectly confirmed also by the incredibly large amount of funds allocated by enterprises and organizations for building housing, kindergartens and communal economy projects in the past 5-year period, incredibly high compared to the past—exceeding 160 million rubles, compared to some 90 million rubles collected during the 10th 5-year period. In other words we were able, for the first time, largely to compensate for the unequal allocations of capital investments, dictated by the vertical departmental system.

For the 12th 5-year period the gorispolkom intends to collect 280 million rubles, which is an increase by a factor of 1.7. What will these funds be used for, other than housing? They will pay, for example, for about 40 percent of the cost of construction of the largest environmental protection project: a set of city-wide treatment systems, the planned capacity of the first section of which is 350,000 cubic meters of treated sewage water per day. Part of these funds will also go into the construction of the Riga concert hall, the building of the ATS in the new housing districts, commercial enterprises, sports facilities and many other projects equally needed by the city.

Furthermore, this 5-year period some 40 consumer projects will be built by the departmental contracting construction organizations themselves, which is important when we consider the extremely heavy load carried by the production facilities of the republic's ministry. However, even this is not all. A number of projects will be built with the forces and funds of associations, enterprises and organizations in the city. For example, the Alfa Production-Technical Association will build a kindergarten; the REZ Production Association will build a hardware store; the Baltic Railroad will build a food store and two kindergartens; the Baltic Military District will build a consumer mart in the Purvtsiyems residential block and the Latrybprom Association will build a hospital.

The second stage in the "enterprise in the city" system will lay the organizational-methodical and legal foundation for collecting and withholding shares of funds. This will take into consideration not only the increased number of jobs but the entire number of workers. Ideally, we would like for each enterprise or organization located on urban territory and using urban services actively to participate in the development of the town and to be precisely aware of the share of funds and material resources they must contribute to satisfy the overall urban needs on an annual basis.

This will put an end to the numerous disputes concerning the size of contributions and, above all, the purpose of the funds. For example, an enterprise may be willing to allocate funds for housing only; another, for kindergarten. But both try to avoid contributing to the building of, shall we say, a polyclinic, a store, a sewer pumping station, etc. Or else, they may substantially lower the amount of a previously agreed upon contribution. Nonetheless, the city can see more clearly where to build and what, before something else, the amount of funds to be spent and the purpose.

In the course of the implementation of the resolutions of the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress, the city formulated a number of comprehensive target programs dealing with the key areas of socioeconomic development. They include "Reconstruction-90," "Quality-90," "Housing-2000" and others, or a total of 15 programs. Their titles speak for themselves. Without discussing other local problems which are part of a specific central problem of the urban economy, let us consider in greater detail a basic one, "Housing-2000," which was drafted by our services jointly with "Latgiprogorstroy" and the scientific research construction institute, and was adopted as a structural component of a similar republic-wide program.

The program includes specific steps aimed at increasing the volume of housing construction by the end of the 13th 5-year period by a factor of 1.6. A support subprogram contemplates, to this effect, the accelerated reconstruction and increased capacity of the Riga House-Building Combine and the large-panels house building

plant. The first stage in the reconstruction of the DSK has been completed, which means that already next year we shall have an increase in house building by 40 percent. Among others, this leads to the conclusion that even the most stressed program can be completed ahead of schedule by adopting a nontraditional approach to its implementation. In this case, what is nontraditional is the fact that the forces of one of the three detachments of the youth housing complex were concentrated on the reconstruction of the house building combine. The detachment will subsequently be able to make use of the additional output of the DSK in building a one-of-a-kind, we believe, youth residential complex district in one of the new residential areas. The interest of the young people in the fastest reconstruction of the combine is, therefore, understandable.

Another subprogram deals with a set of measures aimed at demolishing old and damaged housing. Already last year 86 houses were demolished, which is higher by a factor of 3.5 compared to the annual average during the 11th 5-year period. The amount of such housing is particularly extensive in Riga's Moskovskiy Rayon. Here again we let young people display their ability. In the first of the two standard-setting districts, the members of the youth housing construction detachments will demolish 23 old houses, make capital repairs to 21 and build several new house buildings. The balance? Every member of the youth housing complex detachment is either building or reconstructing one unit for himself and another for the city.

The third program involves comprehensive capital repairs and reconstruction of basic city buildings. This part of the program is of great importance to us. The point is that the special and unique features of Riga's central section consists of five- or six-story buildings which were erected by the turn of the century and in which most of the communal apartments are concentrated. These houses will service many more generations of Riga people. Most of them, however, necessitate capital repairs, such as new roofs, reinforcing foundations and changing the layout.

One such building, located on 111 Lenin Street, has become the base for the first youth housing complex in the country. It was created on the basis of the capital repairs made to the building; in 1 year 45 members of the detachment did a tremendous amount of work, instilled a second life to the house and celebrated the new occupancy. Currently the same type of work is being done by another detachment which is rebuilding the house on 13 A. Upit Street.

This initial experience in the use of Komsomol-youth detachments in capital repairs and housing reconstruction was not easy but taught us a great deal. In particular, it indicated that a detachment consisting of 45 members with virtually no practical experience in construction, with the exception, perhaps, of a few members, who failed in the first half-a-year to meet production norms

could, in 1 year, complete a house building with a full set of premises, on a high-quality basis, equipped with facilities for hobbies, sports, kindergarten-nurseries and other "surpluses" included in the reconstruction project. Generally speaking, professional builders and managers of the city construction repairs trust have some food for thought in this matter.

These were not the least important considerations in restructuring and reorganizing the repair-construction subdivisions of the gorispolkom. We set up a second repair-construction trust specializing exclusively in housing repairs. Currently a separate new house building complex administration is part of it.

A thorough survey established that approximately 1,860 house buildings, including 670 basic units, which are of particular architectural value to the city, need capital repairs. Most of them require comprehensive capital repairs with relocation of the residents. If we were arbitrarily to divide the volume of repairs into sections, 60 percent would be accounted for by repair-construction trusts, 20 percent of the work would be assumed by youth complex house-building detachments and the others would be the concern of urban enterprises and organizations, with the subsequent occupation of such housing by the repair workers. This decision was also prompted by restructuring.

The final subprogram is eliminating communal housing which, as we already pointed out, exceeds 15,000 units in the city. This is a complex matter, for the old housing in Riga includes six, eight or even 10-room apartments in which currently as many as six or seven separate families live. Such apartments are subject to reconstruction and a new layout. As to three or four-room communal apartments, they will be reassigned on a single-family basis.

We are involving all city enterprises and organizations in the solution of such programmatic tasks. For example, today by decision of the gorispolkom, we are completing the formulation of rayon programs which will indicate the specific contribution of individual enterprises to solving the housing problem. The Riga Leningradskiy Rayispolkom was the first to draft such a program, to coordinate it with all enterprises and departments, and subsequently to approve it at its soviet session. We must point out that both the rayon soviet and the labor collectives of enterprises located in the rayon will be guided by this type of work document for the first time. Here everything has been computed, taken into consideration and weighed, down to its minutia. Each enterprise now knows what type of housing, combined with cultural and consumer service establishments and so on, it will have to build, where and within what period of time, how much obsolete housing to remove, how many communal apartments must be vacated, and so on. Everything is known, including the method, and the financing source of construction.

In addition to everything else, the adoption of such programs enables us to solve a wide range of problems on a comprehensive basis and thus frees us from the need to consider and make a number of individual decisions. A great deal more time is left for the implementation of the main function of the soviet and its executive committee—the organization and supervision of execution.

The main thing is that such target programs enable us clearly to see the long-term development in all main areas of work. It is no accident that they are known as target programs, i.e., the fact that they are concentrated on reaching a specific objective within a certain deadline. We approve some of them in joint resolutions with a department or ministry. For example, a program for improving supplies of fruits, vegetables and potatoes to the Riga population was approved together with the collegium of the republic's Gosagroprom. Currently, we are drafting a program for the development of urban kolkhoz markets, together with the Latvian Consumer Union.

The interdependence among the majority of comprehensive target programs is obvious. For example, there could be no question of resettling the residents of communal apartments before the implementation of the program for increasing the volume of housing construction. In precisely the same way we shall not be able to attain the planned amounts of capital housing repairs for the period until the year 2000 or upgrade the overall level of exploitation of the available housing unless we complete the program for the development of the production base for housing facilities during this 5-year plan.

The comprehensive program for the regeneration and restoration of the historical medieval center of the city—Old Riga—located on the right bank of the Daugava, is of exceptional importance to our city. Here for the second consecutive 5-year period, work is being done to restore and preserve 550 buildings and structures 300 to 400 years old. They include 197 architectural monuments spread over about 51 hectares. In this connection we are being greatly helped by the construction and restoration companies from the People's Republic of Poland.

On a parallel basis, steps are being taken maximally to limit traffic; pedestrian zones are established and the network of small stores, coffee shops, art galleries and exhibition premises is being broadened. Keeping Old Riga in top condition requires substantial outlays, for which reason, exercising its rights, the ispolkom intends to see to it that withholdings of specific amounts are made from the income of firms such as Turist and Inturist, including some in foreign currency.

### III

What is the most important part of any project in addition, naturally, to high-level professionalism? It is the choice of tactics. In the experience in restructuring

gained by the Riga gorispolkom, this is seen particularly clearly in the harnessing the exploitation possibilities of the urban economy and maintaining a daily and hourly uninterrupted functioning of the set of systems of services and engineering facilities. The unscientific running of such systems, to which we had become accustomed for many decades, and the inability of the housing and communal economy to perceive, assess and apply essential scientific and technical innovations have had severe negative consequences. The local soviets themselves had gradually accepted the role of stepsons of scientific and technical progress. In part this was due to their lack of knowledge of the needs of the urban economy other than, for example, for snow-removing trucks or asphalt layers. But what are the other needs in housing construction, communal services, road building, repair work and park maintenance?

These questions were asked of the department of science and new technology which the gorispolkom set up slightly over a year ago. The list of priority scientific and technical problems facing the urban economy included 80 topics. What happened next? It was at that point that the choice of a tactic played its role. A kind of competition among ideas was launched in the city. We gathered together managers and leading specialists in production associations, sectorial design bureaus, scientific research institutes, design organizations and schools. The extensive discussion of the problems of the urban economy greatly interested the specialists, who formulated counterproposals. Occasionally, in the course of the conference debates developed on the solution suggested to one problem or another. The specialists are not indifferent people and if asked to solve even a simple problem such as removing fallen leaves from lawns without the use of rakes or crushing bits of reinforced concrete for the production of gravel of a specific size, the engineering mind instantly starts thinking. Today some 50 enterprises and organizations have either signed or are in the process of signing creative contracts with the gorispolkom on work on problem topics. And this is only the beginning.

Last year, on the initiative of the deputies who attended the city soviet session, a decision was made to involve the participation of all urban residents in city improvements and in building consumer service and cultural projects. Each rayon drafted a list of such projects and named the main enterprises and organizations in charge of the work, under the guidance of deputies from the rayon and city soviets. The city drafted about 1,000 such projects. Bearing in mind that every resident of Riga should devote no less than 25 hours to this initiative, by decision of the labor collectives and the urban population, we believe that this competition of ideas has a very realistic foundation for their technical implementation.

As we convert to the new work principles and as we develop and strengthen practical and creative relations with our partners, we cannot fail to mention something which concerns us and which hinders the renovation process.

Today justifiably daring steps and energetic action are expected of the personnel of soviet agencies. However, despite recently passed laws, most of the existing and totally unrepealed instructions and other legal acts prohibit initiative and independence. We planned to build in the city a shop for enameling hot water pipes but we are told that we cannot do so because of the expense. No one bothers to consider that enameling would extend the durability of the pipes by almost a factor of 10, whereas ordinary pipes must be replaced each 5 to 6 years, for bare metal cannot resist an aggressive environment. This is a strange type of economics if it can be scared by the amount of a one-time capital investment in building a shop while not worrying in the least about many millions of rubles spent on repairs.

Or else consider the following: the cooperatives we set up have just about begun to stand on their own two feet (today there are more than 100 of them). They were immediately asked, however, to submit quarterly accounts to the State Committee for Prices, State Committee for Labor, Gosstnab, Ministry of Finance....

We speak a great deal about broadening the independence of the soviets and, in particular, about the fact that the soviets can see more clearly what and where to build on a priority basis; nonetheless, the annual and 5-year building programs must still be approved by the Gosplan and the Ministroy which do not take sufficiently territorial interests into account. The result is that whereas in Riga a plan for industrial robots is being built with the usual departmental sweep, for the second consecutive 5-year period the plans of the Ministroy do not include the building of a polyclinic for children in a large residential area such as Imanta, with a population of some 70,000.

In exercising our rights, we set up in all six city rayons departments in charge of the comprehensive economic and social development of their territory. The personnel and wages for them were contributed by different enterprises, as stipulated in the resolution on the soviets. However, not everyone understood and accepted the need for the establishment of such structural subdivisions. For example, for a long time the Radiotekhnika Production Association, which is famous throughout the country, categorically refused to make a contribution.

Yet it is precisely such essentially new structures, aimed at radical improvements in the national economic organism, that can lay the scientific and engineering foundation for restructuring and become its "think tanks" and experimental grounds. The city urgently needs to have its own specialist who can make a profound scientific study of the activities of enterprises, sectors and the entire urban economy and formulate a detailed organizational plan for upgrading the efficiency of a given urban service system and apply it.

Furthermore today the importance of the efficient exchange of new practical experience is more important than ever. But where is such experience acquired and through what methods can it be studied and popularized?

Strange though it may seem, chairmen of executive committees in large cities acquire their most useful information not from the journal *Sovety Narodnykh Deputatov* but at meetings of the Association for Relations Between Soviet and Foreign Cities. Naturally, this cannot replace a system of purposeful exchange of experience. I believe that it would be expedient to set up something like a permanent council or association of USSR cities, which would regularly (two or three times a year) hold topic discussions involving the exchange of views and experience in experimental practices dealing with the most important problems of the work of soviets and suggestions on managing an urban economy. This could be organized, for example, by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. One way or another, anything new and progressive which appears in the activities of the soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees after the April Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress should become common knowledge. In this sense foreign experience is of some interest. Finland, for example, has an association of cities which deals with such matters, although its functions are broader. Similar organizations exist in the FRG and elsewhere.

Naturally, new developments do not always make their way easily. This has always been the case. We not only have no right to hope that everything will be in order once the mentality of cadres has "finally matured." The restructuring of the mentality and of the economic and organizational mechanisms should take place in a state of total unity. The permanent and persistent application of new elements and ways and means of organization of economic management will inevitably ascribe a different quality to the administrative apparatus of the soviets which, as agencies of the people's system must, in turn, make the remaining participants in restructuring work in the necessary manner.

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### Engineering Contracting

18020002b Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 87 (signed to press 14 Sep 87) p 13

[Letter to the editors by B. Lukin, candidate of physical and mathematical sciences, Leningrad]

[Text] In my opinion, under the new conditions of economic management the contracting brigade—a temporary collective of "developers of a topic"—must become the main form of organization of engineering,

scientific research and experimental design work. Obviously, the time has come to convert from the previous forms of financing (paying supplements based on savings from the wage fund, and bonuses from the economic incentive funds) to accounts among enterprises and engineers, based on contractual prices.

It worth be worthwhile to consider the worldwide system of development based on grants in which the customer proclaims a competition for the solution of a specific problem, studies and evaluates with the help of experts the received suggestions and, having selected the best, concludes a contract. A group of engineers is given funds to pay for its work and necessary outside services and for leasing equipment and premises.

I believe that converting to an engineering contracting system would drastically reduce the negative influence of a variety of "science administrators" on the outcome and results of developments. Conversely, the role of technical councils, consisting of "leaders" of such brigades would substantially increase: they will become the true guarantors of contracting quality and assume the functions of information and coordination centers which will ensure the mobility of engineering cadres.

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### Propaganda and Sociology

18020002c Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 87 (signed to press 14 Sep 87) pp 13-14

[Letter to the editors by I. Bolotin, candidate of philosophical sciences, leading scientific associate, Scientific-Research Problems Laboratory for the Communist Education of Youth, Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov]

[Text] In my opinion, restructuring in the teaching of the social sciences and the system of political and economic training and lecture propaganda will be greatly helped by the skillful use of a variety of statistical and sociological information. Data which characterize the economic, social and spiritual life of society in its entire true complexity will unquestionably enable us not only better to master theoretical knowledge but also to give "flesh" to theoretical categories and teach us to think analytically.

Many VUZ departments study social processes at enterprises but pay little attention to similar problems within their own collectives. VUZ personnel are well-familiar with moods in youth circles. They are aware of the need to make a serious study of the training and education process. As a rule, however, this need is met only on the level of the ordinary "working awareness" of the teacher, as a result of which most frequently some of the studies are available only to their authors.

Obviously, we must involve more extensively the students themselves in sociological studies and share with them more extensively already available data. In addition to all else, this will help the future specialists to identify the social aspect of any type of activity and abandon technocratic illusions.

Nor could lecture propaganda function without sociological information. I speak frequently on topics of international and atheistic education. I know from personal experience that no oratorical skills can substitute for the lack of specific, full and truthful information. Typical in this case is the interest shown by students in such problems and their lack of information and vagueness of concepts. This includes idealizing the existing situation, unnecessary dramatization of many other situations and inability to separate national from religious aspects.

Occasionally we are very short of accurate statistical data on achievements and problems in these most important areas of communist upbringing. For example, the study of a variety of data reflecting the dynamics and level of religious faith in specific areas is quite difficult. Yet both lecturers and researchers need such information.

Naturally, it would be mistaken to claim that audiences unquestionably accept any information. However, there is no doubt that such information helps to channel the thoughts of the students in the right direction.

Information published in the mass press is an important but not the only way of developing glasnost. Equally important is better access to archives and statistical and sociological data. The saturation of all areas and realms of ideological work with specific information is, naturally, not self-seeking. It is an efficient means for profound mastery of Marxist theory and the development of the ability of the person to orient himself independently in complex social processes.

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### **A Forgotten Matter**

*18020002d Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 87 (signed to press 14 Sep 87) p 14*

[Letter to the editors by I. Arkhipov, teacher, Shushkodom Village, Kostroma Oblast]

[Text] In my opinion, in seriously discussing the conservation of raw materials and resources, we should remember the way in which we struggled in the past against "metal hunger." Those times seem to be behind us but we, the old rank-and-file party members, bitterly look at the heaps of written-off machinery and equipment, assemblies and parts which dot the Russian countryside, repair workshops and livestock farms, stretch along rural

roads and absurdly stick out in the fields. After completing a construction project bulldozers "bury" a great deal of metal; geologists leave behind them in forests hundreds of meters of drilling pipes and all kinds of cables and wires.

I am confident that on the territory of our sovkhoz the amount of such "dead" metal is five to six times higher than that of "live" metal in functioning equipment. When we mention this to knowledgeable comrades, they reassure us by telling us to forget about our sovkhoz, just look at the "cemeteries" of metal at large construction projects!

Could it be that no one needs all this metal? I recall that at the start of the 1930s a now virtually forgotten project was started: we, primary school students, collected old buckets, horseshoes and even nails and considered a treasure any bit of copper, bronze or abandoned samovar; the pick-up peddler who toured the countryside immediately rewarded our efforts with school equipment, sweets and toys. Later, in 1947-1950, when I managed the workshop in a machine-tractor station, the warehouse would not issue a new part unless we delivered the worn-out one; we looked everywhere for old threshing machines, plows and sowing machines with which to make whatever the workshop needed.

Today school students no longer collect scrap metal and why should they, if piles of such metal, 10 years old, are found in the villages and the school itself, long ignored by Vtorchermet. Perhaps collecting scrap metal is easier in the cities; or else it is possible that no freight cars are being allocated with which to carry the metal. Many such "objective and subjective reasons" can be cited in justification.

Younger people believe that this is a normal situation, for "there can be no bread without spilling crumbs," while rayon managers, are more likely, awaiting the latest "instructions from the center." However, it has been justly said that it is the abundance of our natural resources that has corrupted us. The attitude toward metal is a living example of such "spoil from abundance." Such metal may not be suitable for making steel alloys but may be used for something in other countries....

The view of a rural resident may not be all that important but I would like to believe that our economists will undertake to study the convertibility of such metal stocks and, on the basis of statistical data, issue recommendations which, I am confident, even ministers would find worthy of consideration.

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### Competition—A School of Management

18020002e Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14,  
Sep 87 (signed to press 14 Sep 87) p 15

[Letter to the editors by V. Tirskiy, docent, Tomsk State University imeni V.V. Kuybyshev]

[Text] In my opinion, identifying still unidentified reserves of management cadres is an important task in the elections and competitions which are being held in filling various managerial positions. For it is not a matter exclusively of the results of such elections which, unquestionably, largely determine the development of labor collectives. It is also a method for seeking and finding original ideas, a kind of training in social self-government and a "tangible lesson" that this teaches all candidates and "amateurs."

"Home-grown" methods for holding competitions, and the hasty and unplanned following of the latest "fashion" could spoil this excellent idea. In order for competitions to become truly accepted, in my view we should properly consider the principles and working procedure governing such a "school of management." I believe that in all cases psychological, sociometric and medical tests should be administered; the candidates must prove their ability in the course of business games, as was the case for example in Latvia, at the RAF. Naturally, the nature and scale of such preliminary tests must be consistent with the level of competence required to fill a given "vacancy."

We must also determine who actually has the right to announce and hold such competitions: the superior agency or one's own administration, party or trade union organization, labor collective council, a permanent production conference or all of the above, jointly? Who has the right to submit nominations and, finally, who has the right to make the final choice? These are by no means meaningless questions, for they are indicated by the already existing experience in holding competitions. Occasionally, an announcement would stipulate that applicants may be "individuals with experience in managerial work," which may lead one to believe that this is nothing new and that this could undermine the basic idea of the competition, which is essentially a race, a competition aimed at finding the worthiest person.

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### Public Decision

18020002f Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14,  
Sep 87 (signed to press 14 Sep 87) p 15

[Letter to the editors by L. Savyuk, candidate of juridical sciences, docent, Moscow Higher Militia School, USSR MVD]

[Text] In my opinion, in drafting the Law on the Referendum, the question of changing the names of cities and other settlements and geographic sites should be

included in the list of the most important problems of state life submitted to nationwide vote. This is an action of great sociopolitical significance, which affects both us and our descendants. In this case there should be no haste or hesitation (although there are cities the names of which have been changed on two or three occasions in the life of a single generation). Obviously, such decisions must not be made within the narrow circle of executive authorities, without a preliminary extensive public discussion.

I am convinced that the entire country must participate in solving such problems. It is mistaken to believe that the residents of cities whose names are known and valued by the entire nation have the "monopoly right" to submit suggestions about either changing them or restoring their previous ones.

Incidentally, this would eliminate many "technical" difficulties. I have no idea of the cost of printing new geographic maps and references, forms and seals of various establishments, or changes in the work of the transportation and communications systems. I believe that such cost is not to be neglected. That is why we should perhaps not delay in restoring the historical names of areas, long requested by the public. Obviously, it would be expedient to make decisions affecting simultaneously an entire group of cities.

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### Full Employment. How Do We Understand It?

18020002g Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14,  
Sep 87 (signed to press 14 Sep 87) pp 16-25

[Article by Vladimir Georgiyevich Kostakov, doctor of economic sciences, professor, director of the Scientific Research Economics Institute, USSR Gosplan]

[Text] V. Kostakov's article "Employment: Scarcity or Surplus?" (Kommunist, No 2, 1987) drew the attention of the readers and triggered a number of questions which motivated us to return to this topic. We asked the author to analyze the letters which were received and to single out their most characteristic features.

Certain positive changes have taken place over the past 2 years in the utilization of labor resources. The growth rates of labor productivity have increased. However, it is still early to speak of any basic, any essential changes. Above all, a great deal of the old mentality of economic managers on different levels remains unchanged. They customarily ascribe blunders and shortcomings in their activities to the "scarcity" of cadres. Many specialists, not to mention nonspecialists, continue to consider labor resources through the lens of such "scarcity," although another view is increasingly making its way: it is not a question of scarcity but precisely one of surplus of cadres

that is obstructing their efficient use. Furthermore, the following realistic fear has emerged: Shall we be able to preserve one of our main accomplishments—full population employment?

It is on the basis of such views that we shall try to consider the answers. Essentially, the questions asked by the readers may be reduced to the following three: What are the origins of the cadre problem? What is the situation with manpower management? And is unemployment in our country possible? We shall use excerpts from letters sent by M. Ivanovich from Donetsk, V. Loskutov from Murmansk, R. Nozdrin from Pskov, G. Rashin from Kzyl-Orda, V. Strol from Vilnyus, I. Shilova from the Khakass Autonomous Oblast, L. Shishkin from Moscow and others.

### Once More on the Origins of the Cadre Problem

Excerpts from letters: *"Dear doctor of economic sciences! The basis of your article remains unclear: between 1970 and 1985 the percentage of workers, employees and kolkhoz members of the entire population not only did not decline but increased approximately from 44 to 47 percent. We see no place for the "demographic forecasts" of the Gosplan or any kind of "adverse situation" in terms of the availability of jobs for the population. Could you specify in the journal the type of 'shortage' which worried the Gosplan and on which you based a number of your conclusions?"*

*"Scarcity of manpower is not someone's idle fabrication but a reality, neglect of which would simply mean making a major error."*

The main aspect of the cadre problem today is the poor adaptation of labor resources to progressive structural changes: the mechanism for releasing working people as a result of increased labor productivity is not working. It is a well-known fact that there is a powerful tendency on the part of every enterprise manager to have manpower reserves in addition to reserves of all other types of production resources. This is influenced by economic management conditions which took many years to develop. However, this is not all. Should any plant director today dare to reduce his personnel quite justifiably, in the interest of efficient management, the first thing he would be facing would be major difficulties. This is the cost of imperfect legal regulations which control employment today.

A different view on the cadre problem has currently become popular.

From a letter: *"The construction of new and expansion of existing enterprises and the reconstruction of production facilities with the opening of additional work places, without consideration for a real reserve of manpower resources, have led to a manpower scarcity."*

According to this logic, all we have to do is to reduce the volume of construction and there would be no scarcity of cadres. Can we agree with this? Naturally, in planning to build a new enterprise one must carefully consider who will work in it. However, reducing everything to the scale of new construction means simplifying matters. The following question remains: What will happen to the so-called scarcity of cadres at enterprises which were built a long time ago and have a regular collective? In this case we can no longer avoid the main question of the way labor is being used with a specific technology, its level of intensiveness, working time losses, and so on. If we take all of these factors closely into consideration we reach the inevitable conclusion that labor is being inefficiently used and that in the past roughly 15 years all sorts of pretexts have been used to justify personnel increases.

Nonetheless, the building of many new enterprises will be unavoidable. This even applies to areas with a quite high where the industrial potential, such as the European part of the country. Scientific and technical progress presumes the successful development of some already familiar production facilities, such as machine building. Most important, new types of industry and entire industrial sectors appear. A literal interpretation of the idea of "building less in order to avoid cadre scarcity" could hinder scientific and technical progress, the development of new areas and the solution of employment problems in the republics of Central Asia and many other places with a similar labor resource situation.

We cannot do without new jobs. However, this fact should be approached in such a way that in the majority of already operating enterprises and in essentially traditional industrial sectors technical updating would enable us, while increasing output, to use fewer people and close down a substantial number of jobs. The new enterprises should hire the exact amount of people needed for the job. This is difficult to achieve under circumstances in which operating enterprises are oversaturated with manpower. New developments are most closely related to old situations. Designers always have in mind the way in which manpower is currently used and, willy-nilly, apply the concept of personnel surplus to future enterprises. This is influenced by the notorious principle of planning "from the base." Therefore, before determining how many people a new production facility would require it is mandatory for this "base" to be thoroughly studied and "cleansed."

It is noteworthy that articles on cadre problems provide data on the number of vacancies throughout the country. Their number is in the millions. This seems an impressive argument in favor of the so-called cadre scarcity. However, not even an attempt is being made to determine how many such vacancies are truly needed and without which we cannot do. It would be also useful to determine how many filled vacancies are real and how many are the result of poor organization and, above all,

of low labor intensiveness. If we look at this problem from this viewpoint it would turn out that the number of surplus personnel greatly exceeds the number of vacancies.

That is why it is so important to concentrate on the way in which manpower is utilized. We sometimes build new enterprises for the reason that the existing ones are not providing necessary labor returns. Obviously, many more efforts will be needed to eliminate views which have become a kind of psychological obstruction to the accurate understanding of the cadre problem. The basic number of workers by no means reflects the real need for manpower conservation and as a rule is substantially higher. We can only speak of the absence of a structural order in a number of professions, particularly those related to scientific and technical progress. If we are guided by announcements at the gates of enterprises and construction projects, we may get the wrong idea that there is a shortage of literally all types of skills.

Some letters accuse the author of being alienated from life.

From a letter: *"In many farms in the Nonchernozem there is no one to milk the cows; there is no one to drive the available tractors and combines...."*

Does the author know this? Naturally, he does. This is an urgent matter and the solutions in this case are complex. However, with every passing day reality offers us proof that simply with proper organization of the work, according to which everyone is always kept busy and is materially interested in the final results, in some cases the need for cadres is reduced several hundred percent and a great deal less equipment is necessary. How to achieve this everywhere and faster is one of the main problems the solution of which, in many cases, would also solve the cadre problem.

It is no accident that currently we are actively searching for new forms of organization of labor in agriculture and making extensive use of the brigade and family contract. Their flexibility and efficiency in harnessing local resources would, in our view, accelerate progressive changes in employment as well.

With such a system also a great deal will depend on the extent to which the idea of closing down unprofitable farms, as stipulated in the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), will be implemented systematically and sensibly, and would apply not only to sovkhozes but to kolkhozes as well. Using traditional methods, supporting underpowered farms with subsidies and applying all sorts of uneconomical means for keeping the people in them, we have been quite successful in achieving a certain stabilization in the size of agricultural employment and have even taken credit for this. In the final account, however, this has hindered progress in this sector. Here is what the figures show: until 1980 the

percentage of agricultural workers in the employed population in the country kept declining. After that year it stopped at the 20 percent level and resumed its decline only in 1986, dropping to 19 percent (currently it is under 5 percent in the United States). However, at the same time there was a drastic slowdown in the growth of labor productivity among agricultural workers. The gap between us and the United States in this area has widened. According to statistical data, output per worker in the USSR had reached approximately 20-25 percent of the 1966-1970 U.S. level, about 20 percent of the 1976-1980 level and under 20 percent of the 1981-1985 level.

This shows particularly clearly the way in which the exceptionally low level of labor utilization led to the formation of a kind of agricultural "abscess" in the overall picture of employment of the country's population, and to an artificial scarcity of cadres. That is the main fact from which we must proceed in assessing the future development of labor productivity in this sector. Our estimates indicate that more than 10 of the 16 million people by which we must reduce the number of those employed in material production by the year 2000 (as a result of increased public labor productivity by a factor of 2.3-2.5) will be in agriculture. This will be a manifestation of scientific and technical progress. In the final account, it must affect to the fullest extent one of our largest areas of employment in which most people are still performing manual labor. As of now, however, and in the immediate future, we can already hope for a radical change in the dynamics of agricultural employment.

### Are We Controlling the Manpower?

From a letter: *"Management encompasses the process of the production of material goods and other areas of social life and activities.... Nonetheless, the second part of the production forces of society is its manpower, which was considered by Marx and Lenin the main productive force but which, essentially, was not part of actual management. Nor does such management exist at present."*

Of course there is management. Tremendous experience has been acquired, which we should study and establish all positive and negative factors which prevent us from bringing order in this area of population employment.

The most important tasks in planning the utilization of manpower have been clearly defined and codified in the methods formulated by the central planning authorities. This involves ensuring full employment, i.e., meeting population needs for jobs, creating conditions for the efficient utilization of labor in all economic sectors, increased public labor productivity and meeting sectorial manpower requirements. Finally, of late yet another important task has appeared and become increasingly

important: coordinating steps in the area of employment with targets of demographic policy, for the utilization of manpower substantially influences demographic processes.

Our successes in supplying economic sectors with manpower are obvious. Let us note that a tremendous intellectual potential has been created. According to this author's computations, in 1985 approximately one-half of all working people had received vocational training in a regular school (within the vocational technical training system or at higher or secondary specialized schools) compared with 20 percent in 1960. Thanks to systematic and purposeful efforts, today a certain percentage of the population in the developed parts of the country has moved to promising eastern areas in which it is developing their natural resources.

Therefore, there has been and there is manpower management. The fact that it was organized sometime ago, in prewar times, and has changed little and is largely no longer consistent with current economic and social needs and, sometimes, simply conflicts with them, is a different matter.

As the June CPSU Central Committee resolution notes, today we need *efficient employment*. It is a question of full employment but one in which people are not only given jobs but are also satisfied with them. A great deal of unsolved problems remain in this case (suffice it to mention the number of jobs being done under extremely adverse labor conditions). Obviously, however, today we must also review traditional concepts concerning the policy of employment, which took a number of years to develop, and which clash with intensification and social requirements.

For a long time the steady increase in the number of people employed in the national economy and the corresponding steady and fastest possible increase in the level of employment, i.e., the share of manpower employed in the public economy, was considered a benefit. This inevitably lead to an unjustifiably high supply of manpower for which by no means was there always corresponding demand. This influenced the policy of wages: the wage fund was spread among the largest possible number of people and wages lost their stimulating value. Added to this is the fact that, all other conditions being equal, the size of the wage, if not unjustifiably small, increases demand for jobs by other members of the family.

All of this eventually had an adverse effect on the efficiency of the production process. The social consequences as well were unfavorable. The unjustified restrictions imposed on private auxiliary plots aggravated the food problem. The excessive conversion of women from housekeeping to jobs in the public economy without corresponding support on the part of the service

industry harmed somewhat the upbringing of the growing generations, worsened the negative demographic consequences over a large part of the country's territory and accelerated the slowdown in the birth rate.

Under conditions in which extensive structural changes are expected in the economy (and, therefore, professional changes as well), and with the task of radically upgrading the level of public labor productivity, increasingly priority in ensuring full employment is given to *systematically influencing the population's need for jobs* in such a way that employment may be consistent with the economic and social interests of the country.

But let us go on. Having been under the magic influence of the cadre "scarcity" for a long period of time, we somehow forgot about the length of working time. Reducing it in all its aspects, with the growth of public labor productivity should, in our view, be assigned an important role in the overall concept of population employment. It would be pertinent to note that in the West a 35-hour work week is not a thing of the very distant future.

Another important aspect of the employment concept is that of the future areas of application of labor in state, cooperative and individual sectors of the national economy. At the present time a rather monotonous picture has developed here: the state sector has the overwhelming share and within it the emphasis in both production and services is on large enterprises and establishments, which sets rigid limits to employment, depriving it of the necessary flexibility and maneuverability. According to 1986 data nine-tenths of all people employed in the public economy worked at state enterprises, establishments and organizations and only one-tenth worked in the cooperative sector (the kolkhozes). Slightly more than a quarter-of-a-century ago the situation was different. Together with members of craftsmen cooperatives (which were still extant until 1959) the cooperative sector accounted for about one-third. However, the fast increase in the role of the state sector was not followed by any noticeable change in agricultural efficiency. The food problem became aggravated by the turn of the 1980s and the elimination of craft cooperatives adversely affected the market of some durable goods in demand by the local population.

It is recognized today that cooperatives have by no means exhausted their possibilities for the production of food, durable goods and services and upgrading the well-being of the population. As a rule, in frequent cases small but properly organized and highly efficient cooperative enterprises can adapt to local conditions and handle available raw materials better. Frequently, with their help problems of efficient employment can be solved better, for the very nature of cooperatives facilitates the use of manpower, taking maximally into consideration the way of life, traditions and work habits of the local population. In order to utilize these possibilities, it is important to remember that a kolkhoz, for

example, is an agricultural cooperative governed by its own rules. Today, as a result of the interference of different organizations and the issuing of numerous (and sometimes contradictory) instructions by superior agencies, the status of kolkhozes have become virtually indistinguishable from that of sovkhozes; in turn, the sovkhozes have become very similar to budget-subsidized organizations. The reorganization of kolkhozes into sovkhozes, which was promoted intensively in the 1960s, eventually led to the fact that the state undertook to subsidize unprofitable and backward farms. This eliminated the responsibility of the former members of agricultural cooperatives for the state of affairs and contributed to the spreading and aggravation of dependency. The kolkhoz situation entirely applies to the industrial cooperatives, the revival of which has now become vitally necessary.

According to the now familiar resolutions, industrial and other cooperatives and individual labor activity must be rapidly developed today. In our view, this will promote employment, making it more "responsive" to the demands of different population groups and, therefore, more efficient as well. However, for the time being it is more a question of surmounting opposition to the development of these forms. On 1 July 1987 the country had no more than 3,700 cooperatives in various labor areas (naturally, without the kolkhozes). Nor can an upsurge be sensed in the development of (legitimate) industrial labor activity.

The reasons for all this are several.

Many people are still questioning the future and viability of the new forms. State enterprises and their managers frequently assume the role of active opponents, fearing "competition." However, it is precisely such competition that is extremely necessary in order to put an end to the monopoly status of producers. This is demanded in the plenum's resolutions.

Another strong argument of the opponents is the following: *"Would they not be earning too much?"* (from a letter). It is implied that yes, they will earn a great deal, for which reason the suggestion is to set some limits (incidentally, voices concerning "superincome" can be heard coming from everywhere. Clearly, this is one more proof of equalization moods shared by some population strata).

But what does providing scope and comprehensively encouraging such forms of labor activity mean? It means the development of economic competition which will see to it quickly and efficiently that, on the one hand, income does not exceed socially acceptable standards and, on the other, would not dull incentives to work.

This touches upon a more general question: Is greater income differentiation useful? In our view, this is important also in terms of long-term employment as a whole, in all its aspects, for differentiation determines the labor efficiency and the person's satisfaction with the job.

Another obstacle to the development of cooperative and individual labor activity is the imperfection of our economic management: we are more accustomed to dealing with state enterprises; other forms are unfamiliar and even viewed as alien, which makes understandable the aspiration to bring closer, to adapt the new forms to the state enterprise system.

Today employment in our country is uniform also because there is little differentiation in the labor area. A virtually uniform order of a labor career has developed for all population strata. After completing his training, the individual goes to work "from start to finish," as the saying goes, until he retires, or even after that, for as long as he can. Although some people may need a break—long or short as in the case of women, those with children in particular. Today partially paid leave for child care (as much as 1 year) has been introduced comprehensively, with an extension of unpaid leave for up to 18 months. However, there could be other reasons for interruptions as well, which are not currently stipulated in the law. It is important to make a study of all of this and to take it into consideration and to formulate a corresponding policy of employment in accordance with the wishes of the people.

Currently the working day and week is identically structured for everyone. Currently a flexible schedule is under discussion, and whatever is being done about it is experimental and does not go beyond that stage: the percentage of people working a partial work week or day, or else who work at home is substantially less than even 1 percent of the employed population. In a number of countries, including socialist ones, it is higher. Many economic sectors do not require full 8 hours of work for everyone. If nonetheless a person works the full 8 hours, it is to the detriment of efficiency. At the same time, there are many people who find partial employment suitable, at least for a certain time in their careers, and earning wages proportional to their working time. Many people prefer to work at home more than anywhere else. Such an understanding of labor activity is consistent with the concept of full employment, for it is a question of meeting the need for jobs in a form *needed by the people*.

There is yet another important aspect in manpower management, worthy of the closest possible attention. It has to do with the enhancement of the human factor in the course of socioeconomic development. Today approximately 60 percent of the country's working population consists of generations which were born in the 1950s and later. These are still young people. For the time being, however, their role in all changes taking place currently is by no means consistent with their high percentage in the labor army. Young people are more the object of education, provided most frequently in an obviously instructive manner. The old Oriental saying is that children resemble their own time more than they resemble their fathers. We believe that today the most important aspect of education is the active participation of such generations in restructuring, including in the

management of society on all levels. This offers extensive possibilities which have been used quite insufficiently. This largely explains the passive attitude of a high percentage of young people in all areas of life, jobs above all.

The accomplishment of major revolutionary exploits presumes a steady updating of cadres and the addition to their ranks of energetic people, full of strength, possessing modern knowledge and modern views on life. This is the way to educate truly active young people and to provide a reliable protection against any kind of dependent mentality, which is already clearly manifested and which, naturally, cannot fail to concern us.

### Is Unemployment Possible Under Socialism?

Excerpts from letters: *"In accordance with the objective economic laws of capitalism a reserve labor army—the unemployed—inevitably appears. However, in connection with restructuring, increasingly we read in our press the claim that hidden unemployment exists in our country: some people work unproductively and do substandard work yet are granted equal benefits as conscientiously working people. Is it not mistaken to speak of them as being unemployed?"*

"What are we—the 30 to 40-year-old people to do now? We have received a poor education, we have no skill to 'survive,' and, therefore, we have no confidence in the future. Today I find it unprofitable to work well, for as a result of such 'zeal' there will be surplus manpower which means either loss of job or no certification. What then?..."

This author has frequently heard such views expressed in reading his lectures on problems of labor resources. Characteristically, people who have nothing in common with each other, specialists and nonspecialists alike, are generally unanimous in their interpretation of the way technology and a better organization of labor will affect the new generations; in short, they will drastically reduce labor outlays in manufacturing the material goods needed by society. We see here a certain skepticism in the possibility of successfully solving the problem of full employment.

For a long time the number of people employed in industry and construction in our country increased, for which reason many people could find different jobs within the same enterprise. This was a reflection of objective needs during a specific stage of economic development as well as the trend of extensive utilization of labor (including the aspiration to solve the employment problem the easiest possible way, within the same enterprise and frequently to the detriment of efficiency). Today the problem of the release of workers and related

consequences has appeared in its full magnitude. Information on this problem is subconsciously related by the broad population strata to the way it appears in the West, which is the reason for concern and a feeling of insecurity.

It is indicative that one of the letters received was from the United States, from Gerald Rose, who teaches history of agriculture in Oakland, California. He writes with concern about the fate of millions of working people who will become surplus labor under the influence of new technologies in material production noting, in particular, that *"what strikes me is that your problems are so similar to ours, as though they are one and the same."* The fact that in all countries, including ours, workers will be released from production in the immediate future, on a mass scale at that, is unquestionable. However, naturally, the consequences of this process cannot be the same.

Worker layoffs are one of the most important problems in which economic, social and even moral interests become closely interwoven. No radical increase in labor productivity can be achieved without taking this step and, therefore, no acceleration in socioeconomic development. That is what makes this question so important to us: How to do it while, at the same time, maintain full employment or, in other words, how to make our employment efficient? Computations indicate that if we were today to eliminate hidden manpower surpluses at enterprises this would be the equivalent (or, possibly, even somewhat more than that) to the growth of labor productivity planned for the entire current 5-year period. It would be the result solely of streamlining the utilization of manpower. This is an extremely necessary step, for how can technology be successfully applied if there is surplus manpower?

In this case we must not forget that the layoff if merely the first stage, which must be followed by involving the people in other types of activities. This precisely is the main difference between the USSR and the Western countries. The service industry is urgently in need of manpower. The need for cadres with new skills is felt everywhere, and it is precisely in this area that it is legitimate to speak of scarce manpower. There is also the question of skilled cadres for industry in the so-called labor-surplus areas (such as the republics of Central Asia).

Therefore, a layoff under the conditions of a planned economy is the first stage in the redistribution of manpower among sectors and areas of the national economy and skills and not in the least unemployment, which is the virtually automatic consequence in some Western countries. The task is to apply an organized planned mechanism for such redistribution, which will include a well-organized vocational guidance service and a training system (which will help some to upgrade their skills and others to master new ones). Combined with other

steps, this provides a social guarantee within the framework of radical improvements in the economic mechanism, as was pointed out at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The advantages of the planning system enable us to anticipate for many years into the future any expected changes in labor resources and take timely steps to reduce to a minimum both the scale and the length of interruption of employment for those who will not undergo a training course.

Furthermore, the socialist state has great opportunities for purposefully influencing the needs of the different population groups for jobs, with the help of a planned distribution policy, reducing such needs in the interest of the growth of labor productivity (which I discussed in greater detail in my previous article). There is a great need for this, for a certain segment of our population now works too much.

Let us particularly mention youth employment: obviously, young people must learn more than they do currently. The production process requires better trained workers from the viewpoints of general education and professional knowledge.

Suggestions on organizing second and third shifts are formulated in some of the letters we received, and discussed quite extensively in publications as one of the efficient means of solving the employment problem. Let us point out, however, that multiple-shift work, as conceived in the initiative of the people of Leningrad, had a different purpose: to accelerate the growth of labor productivity in order precisely to save on manpower and not in the least to increase personnel. The purpose was to install the latest more productive equipment with limited funds, which required to organize the work in two or three shifts. As a result, more productive equipment makes it possible to produce the same amount of goods with fewer people. Furthermore, production space became available for other purposes. That is why in this sense multiple-shift work is a powerful means of releasing workers rather than hiring more personnel. It is only in the so-called labor surplus areas that a second and a third shift would indeed lead to the hiring of the unemployed population. However, this would require a great increase in the availability of raw materials (cotton, hides, wool) which are now shipped to and processed in the European part of the country. Therefore, the raw material must be redistributed geographically and changes made in the location of the respective production facilities.

It is frequently suggested that we establish small labor reserves, for without it, it is alleged, strict discipline and the desired zeal to work would be hard to achieve. However, this is like a whip with which to urge on loafers and careless workers. We must not forget how depressingly this may affect the others. Would the results be the opposite of those expected? Fearing unemployment, the

other workers would be unwilling to reveal what they can do (a roughly similar idea was expressed in the letter an excerpt of which we cited previously). As a result, such layoffs, which are so necessary in order to accelerate the growth of labor productivity, would become doubtful.

We must proceed on a different basis. We must instill order in enterprises, establishments and organizations and remove from them any negative features that have accumulated over long periods of time and which hinders the efficient utilization of labor. We need strict discipline, rhythmical work, efficient incentives, prompt enhancement of skills, retraining and many other activities which will create a favorable background for highly efficient labor. Only then shall we be able to determine the true need for manpower for each enterprise and establishment. Should there be surplus personnel, which would generally be the case, we should mandatorily release a certain number of workers but also mandatorily guarantee their social protection, which will give people confidence in the future.

Judging by the response of readers to press articles, a simplistic interpretation of confidence had been prevalent in the country: Should the need for manpower decline in any given enterprise, tomorrow that same person would be offered a job requiring the same skill and in the same enterprise. We believe matters to be more complex than this. The main thing is not to forget the individual, to show concern for him, and to help him find another job without any material losses. This may require a certain amount of time, for a number of circumstances related to production requirements and the wishes of the individual himself will have to be taken into consideration; if necessary, the people will be helped in their training and mastering a new job with no detriment to the family budget.

On a wider level, confidence in the future means confidence that better work will mean higher wages earned without restriction and thus enabling the person to buy everything he needs. In case of illness proper treatment will be given and a suitable retirement pension will be awarded. Such an understanding of confidence, in turn, requires of the individual readiness to meet the needs of society. All of this is not so simple as it may seem. A certain mentality has already developed which is actively opposing progressive changes in the employment structure. That is why today the view of every individual on the prospects of his own employment throughout his labor career is particularly important.

We must not assume that the release of workers will take place sometime in the future, when the influence of scientific and technical progress will become fully apparent. As we have repeatedly pointed out, already now the hidden manpower reserves are hindering production intensification. The system of manpower releases,

backed by social guarantees, must become one of the most important conditions for the successful restructuring of the economic mechanism.

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### **The GCP and Restructuring in the USSR**

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[Article by Willi Gerns, member of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the Board of the German Communist Party]

[Text] The changes which have been taking place in the Soviet Union after the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress have been followed with sincere interest in the FRG. Naturally, this particularly applies to the members of the German Communist Party. We are inspired by the Soviet peaceful offensive and its influence on the awareness of a significant portion of our people. We are also inspired by the policy of acceleration of socioeconomic development and the advancement of socialist democracy, as well as the new opportunities for increasing the attractiveness of socialism related to them. We shall be the more successful in using the opportunities offered to our party under these circumstances the more deeply we become aware of the true historical significance of the changes occurring in the USSR.

### **Restructuring and Developments in the World**

When the CPSU emphasizes the revolutionary nature of such processes, naturally, it refers above all to Soviet society. However, the significance of restructuring extends to the world revolutionary process as a whole and, with it, to the conditions of our struggle.

As we know, in the past the global revolutionary process received two of its most powerful impulses from the revolutionary changes the background for which were World War I and World War II. These wars were the expression of the extreme aggravation of imperialist contradictions. The world wars brought incalculable calamities and suffering to the nations and weakened imperialism in a number of countries to such an extent that revolutionary situations appeared in them. The revolutionary worker and liberation movements, which opposed these wars with all their might, mounted a struggle for the revolutionary situation to be followed by socialist or national-liberation revolutions.

The first powerful revolutionary impetus was provided 70 years ago by the Great October Revolution which was made by the workers and peasants of Russia. From theory socialism became reality. Revolutionary battles broke out in many capitalist countries and enslaved

colonies. The second revolutionary impetus was the result of the victory of the Soviet Union and the other members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition over German fascism and Japanese militarism in 1945. People's democratic and anti-imperialist revolutions broke out in a number of European and Asian countries. The world socialist system was born. In this connection events such as the Chinese Revolution and the founding of the GDR, the first worker-peasant state on German soil, were of outstanding importance. Other important landmarks in the development of the global revolutionary process were the Cuban revolution and the victory of the peoples of Indochina over the American aggressors. The imperialist colonial system collapsed.

Whereas in the past, whenever revolutionary situations leading to radical social changes arose world wars played an important role, in the future such a development of events is no longer necessary and does not have to occur. Under present-day conditions a world war would endanger the existence of civilization.

The inevitable question which arises in this connection is the following: What are the ways which the global revolutionary process could follow under contemporary conditions? This question particularly affects the labor movement in the developed capitalist countries, where no radical social changes have occurred for 40 years. The fact that under these circumstances the example of real socialism becomes particularly important in achieving further social progress does not lower in the least the responsibility of the communist parties of these countries for waging a successful struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

Hence the outstanding significance of the changes which are taking place in the Soviet Union in terms of the further course of the global revolutionary process. "The international aspect of restructuring means asking socialism to engage in peaceful competition with the other social system," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized. The current processes in the development of the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries offer real socialism the opportunity of becoming even more attractive in the competition between the two opposite social systems, which can be traced particularly clearly in five separate areas.

First, this pertains to the question of war and peace, the basic question of mankind. In this area, thanks to its consistently peaceful policy, socialism has already strongly increased its attractiveness. This is eloquently confirmed by the results of a public opinion survey conducted by the FORSA Institute in Dortmund, which was published in the journal *Stern*. Asked who is making a greater effort to have peace and disarmament, only 9 percent answered "Reagan," while 49 percent answered "Gorbachev." The extent to which the attractiveness of socialism has increased in this area was indicated, incidentally, by the structure of the participants in the impressively representative international peace forum,

which was held in Moscow in the spring of 1987. With its peace-loving policy socialism is showing the way to solving the other global problems of mankind as well, for funds to this effect become available thanks to a policy of peace and disarmament and could be used only through international cooperation which exceeds the framework of either system.

The second area is that of economic and social development and the making of the scientific and technical revolution. Whereas the question of war and peace is decisive in terms of mankind's survival, in the final account it is the area of economics that will decide the outcome of the competition between the two social systems. Lenin himself emphasized this most definitely.

In the course of this competition the economic sphere assumes tremendous importance to the future and to the developing countries inhabited by the majority of mankind. Millions of people in the developing countries are dying of hunger. They need economic aid. Whenever socialism lacks sufficient strength to give them such aid they are forced to resort to imperialist "aid" and accept the crushing terms set by imperialism.

Economics and the scientific and technical revolution decisively influence the growth of the revolutionary and labor movements in the developed capitalist countries. The workers in these countries judge capitalism and socialism above all by the level of the living standard. As it advances in the scientific and technical area, socialism has already outstripped imperialism from the social viewpoint, for it is unfamiliar with the consequences of the scientific and technical revolution characteristics of capitalism, such as mass unemployment and others. Under socialism scientific and technical gains are systematically used in the interest of the working people, for the purpose of achieving greater social progress. In the economic and technological areas, however, socialism is still behind the most advanced capitalist countries in a number of aspects. However, here as well the possibility of success exists, providing that all the advantages of socialism and of the socialist planned economy are applied correctly and in full. This is realized by the forces of imperialism as well, for which reason their most reactionary supporters would like to arm socialism "to death," thus preventing it from displaying its advantages.

The third area is in the development of democracy. Naturally, in this area socialism must not simply remove from the minds of the working people in the capitalist countries the clichés of bourgeois parliamentarianism imposed upon them. We, communists, must rely more on the qualitative aspect of socialist democracy, on the new quality of democracy for the working people, the material foundation for which is the public ownership of the most important means of production, for it is only under socialism that the rights formulated in the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), extensively discussed

in the Soviet Union, are possible; this includes the right of collectives or of their representatives to appoint and recall all leading cadres in an enterprise.

The growing attractiveness of socialism in the area of democracy is particularly important in refining the views of the critical segment in West German society, i.e., of hired white collar workers and the intelligentsia. Unlike the worker masses, they are prejudiced against socialism essentially not because of the as yet still lower material living standard under socialism, but because of the problem of democracy. One of the important opportunities for socialism to become more attractive is the fact that in this case the two social systems are pursuing two directly opposite trends. The current trend of curtailing democratic rights and freedoms in the capitalist countries is not merely the result of the ill will of the leading representatives of capitalism. To a much greater extent it is related to the critical development of this social system, caused by the system itself. On the other hand, the further advancement of socialist democracy is consistent with the nature of socialism. This was expressed by M.S. Gorbachev at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum in his statement that "we need democracy like the air we breathe." In his speech at the meeting with the heads of mass information and propaganda media, he emphasized that the main purpose of the January Plenum was "the development of democracy, from the viewpoint of solving all problems."

At this point we must recall a widespread Western misconception that so far there has been no democracy in the USSR. Matters, however, are quite different. Ever since the October Revolution there has been socialist democracy which, to this day, has been superior to any bourgeois democracy. However, socialist democracy is not a monument erected once and for all. It changes in accordance with the conditions and level of development of socialism. Thus, naturally, in Soviet Russia after the revolution or during World War II the situation in this area was different from what it is today. Now it is a question of giving a new impetus to the development of socialist democracy, for it is only thus that the great tasks which the Soviet Union has set itself can be implemented.

Imperialism is aware of the possibility for socialism to become more attractive thanks to the further development of socialist democracy, for which reason it tries to extend the debate to the fourth area—human rights. We know that such rights are classified into social and individual. Social rights are included in the UN charter on human rights. They are the rights to work, the right to education, the right to health care, and others. Unquestionably, in this area the socialist countries have advanced far ahead although, unfortunately, in the course of the ideological class struggle this is not always been suitably emphasized.

However, the forces of imperialism try to reduce the entire problem of human rights to individual rights and freedoms and to create the impression that they are

being neglected under socialism. In reality, it is only socialism, with its guaranteed social rights, that has laid the necessary foundation for human individual rights as well and converted them from formal postulates into reality.

Obviously, we must proceed from the fact that here as well the CPSU is on the offensive. Attention to the real violations of human rights in the imperialist world is being drawn more firmly. A suggestion on holding an international conference on human rights in Moscow was formulated. Obviously, it is from this viewpoint that we should look at the amnesty granted to Soviet citizens sentenced to jail terms for anti-Soviet actions, referred to as "dissidents" in the West. This step pulls the rug from under the feet of the imperialist demagogues blabbering about human rights. Naturally, however, all such steps are also aimed at developing a coalition between peace and reason. The Moscow peace forum demonstrated the success of these efforts.

The fifth area which, thanks to restructuring in the Soviet Union is acquiring additional attractiveness, is that of art and culture. The policy of restructuring calls for providing a new impetus to cultural development and opens new horizons to artistic creativity. Art and culture greatly inspire the Soviet people. They can help them to surmount inertia, habit and mental ossification. They are an invaluable spiritual productive force in the making of revolutionary changes. The elimination of bureaucratic obstructions and the ever broader and creative development of Soviet culture are also of prime importance in shaping the ideas about real socialism among the people in the capitalist countries.

The changes which are taking place in the Soviet Union open to us, FRG communists, new opportunities for our own policy of unity of action and alliances. The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, the GDR and all members of the Warsaw Pact, and the internal processes in the USSR have greatly contributed to easing relations between communists and social democrats in our country. They have significantly weakened the influence of the supporters of the idea of equal responsibility of the "superpowers" for international tension. Naturally, this facilitates the activities of the communists as respected and equal partners in the antiwar and other democratic movements.

Not least among the new opportunities which have been opened to us is the possibility of using the increased sympathy shown for Soviet policy for upgrading the prestige and influence of the GCP as the party of socialism. However, this will not happen by itself. We must intensify our explanatory work on development processes in the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries. Nonetheless, this will lead to a greater sympathy shown for the communists in the FRG only if we establish closer relations with the working people in

our country at enterprises and at home, in schools and VUZs, in worker activities and democratic movements, and in our joint struggle for common interests and objectives.

### **Conclusions from Restructuring Relative to the GCP**

In connection with the processes taking place in the Soviet Union, the frequently asked question is the following: "What are the conclusions which the GCP is drawing from this in terms of its own work?" This is a pertinent and necessary question. The GCP maintains strong friendly relations with the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries. It is an inseparable component of the international communist movement. Understandably, the restructuring in the Soviet Union and the CPSU cannot bypass us without leaving any traces.

Naturally, in this case there can be no formal borrowing of experience. If Comrade Gorbachev, in reference to the other socialist countries and the fraternal parties in these countries, notes the impossibility of duplicating the Soviet approach and the need to take into consideration the historical and geographic conditions and specific level of development of the respective country and its own experience, naturally all of this applies to the GCP as well, for it is struggling in the capitalist Federal Republic under entirely different circumstances. However, in such a case a great deal of information can be obtained from the renovation processes taking place in the Soviet Union and within the CPSU, as we study and consider their possible utilization under our specific circumstances. Let us illustrate this with three examples.

Let us consider one of the most important, if not the most important, result of the new processes occurring in the Soviet Union—the new way of thinking in the matter of war and peace and, in general, the new approach to global problems.

*Is there such a new style of thinking within the GCP as well?*

To begin with, it is worth emphasizing that the new way of thinking in the Soviet Union did not appear all of a sudden, out of thin air. On the contrary, it was formulated in the course of the lengthy process of becoming aware of the new conditions under which mankind exists in the age of nuclear weapons and the scientific and technical revolution. Such a process occurred within the GCP as well. Its development can be traced in our basic documents, from the programmatic declaration of the 1969 Essen Congress, the theses of the Dusseldorf 1971 Congress and our 1978 party program to the theses of the 8th Congress, which was held in Hamburg in 1986. Other important landmarks included the declaration of the Presidium of the Board of the GCP "On Relations

Between Communists and Pacifists," on a cohesive policy toward the developing countries, and the resolution of the party board entitled "The GCP and Atomic Energy."

The conclusion we reached in the course of formulating the new style of thinking is found in the theses of the 8th Congress: "Preventing a nuclear hell has become the fundamental prerequisite for the preservation of human civilization and for further advancement on the path of social progress. The struggle for peace is the most important humanitarian task and the first duty of every revolutionary."

More profoundly, compared to the previous documents, the theses of the 8th Congress also analyzed the entire drama of the ecological crisis. The process of shaping a new way of thinking, in which the Chernobyl catastrophe was not the least important factor in its acceleration, touched upon the very foundations of our approach to the question of the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy. The party's resolution of 17 June 1986 stipulates the following: "At the present level of development of science and technology, we consider the splitting of the nucleus for purposes of obtaining energy merely an intermediary solution for a historically limited time segment."

All of this, naturally, does not mean that we have answers to all new questions. We must continue to think about them and, obviously, draw new conclusions on a variety of problems. We receive impetuses from our fraternal parties and, in turn, our own ideas provide them with food for thought.

*What conclusions is the GCP drawing from the critical and self-critical assessment made by the CPSU of the errors and omissions committed in the past, for the purpose of promoting socialism?*

We must give serious thought to such questions, in order not to throw the baby out with the bath water. Some people consider the changes taking place in the USSR as changes in a pile of debris: economic stagnation, moral corruption, crime, suppression of democracy, and so on and so forth. The conclusion drawn from this picture of horrors is that our propaganda of socialism was fraudulent, that those who claimed that not everything done by the socialist countries was worth defending were right and that a so-called critical solidarity is necessary.

What can we say on this subject? Above, we must not ignore the fact that real socialism, despite all of its problems, outstripped real capitalism by an entire historical age, as the theses of our 8th Congress stipulate. Despite even the most adverse conditions which prevailed at the starting point, it is solving problems which not even the most highly developed capitalist countries can solve. There is no greater distortion of reality than the efforts to reduce to naught the outstanding historical progress made by the Soviet Union, the first and today

the most important socialist country, in solving economic or moral problems. Comrade Gorbachev emphasized with full justification in his speech to the heads of mass information and propaganda media that "we must cherish each single year of our 70-year Soviet history." We must care for it regardless of all its outstanding achievements, errors and difficulties. Even if some achievements do not present the entire truth, this truth cannot consist exclusively of errors and omissions. This applies also to the most recent past. A considered approach to problems of history and contemporaneity was, incidentally, inherent in the 27th Congress and the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum. On each occasion the starting points are the major achievements of the Soviet people, followed by a harsh review of shortcomings and errors, and concluded with statements on what is being planned to solve these problems. It is precisely thus that we, communists in the FRG, also should approach the processes occurring in the Soviet Union.

We must work extensively on improving the propaganda of socialism. Our solidarity with and class-principled attitude toward the Soviet Union and real socialism are, in general, unchanged. This, however, presumes that we cannot form our concepts on any given socialist country or fraternal party by looking at tea leaves or on the basis of the poisonous concoctions cooked by the bourgeois mass information media. The most important source of information on the development of such countries and parties was, and remains, the information which we obtain from our fraternal parties. Furthermore, as is self-evident, there are sources of information, such as reports by our correspondents or impressions of members of our delegations which have visited these countries. Nonetheless, they can be compared only to photographs, whereas we can obtain the full picture only as provided by the fraternal parties themselves.

Such was our approach to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the past and such is our approach to the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries. That is how we must continue to behave in the future as well and, incidentally, that is the way the CPSU behaves toward us. We would have been justly indignant had the CPSU provided an impression about the GCP in PRAVDA or any other Soviet printed organs, guided by reports from the bourgeois mass information media or statements made by social democrats or "Greens" about the GCP. However, the approach of the CPSU in reporting on GCP activities has always been based on the resolutions of our congresses and board plenums and any other type of information received from the GCP.

The processes which have been taking place in the Soviet Union since the April Plenum confirm that our line of action is entirely correct. The Soviet Union may have been slow in assessing problems and quite significant delays in providing such assessments have taken place. However, no other party has approached its errors and difficulties so critically and self-critically as has the CPSU.

If we continue to apply the principle according to which the main source concerning our reports on the socialist countries and communist parties must be information provided by the fraternal parties themselves, we must improve our information policy. We must inform one another like communists not only about our successes but also about our difficulties and problems.

Furthermore, naturally, the possibility of selecting items from the general flow of information, to consider them and to put the facts together are of great importance in defining our approach to news from the socialist countries. The responsibility for this is entirely ours. In this connection as well we must, again and again, reassess our work.

The need seriously to consider improvements in the propaganda of socialism was discussed last year at a conference on this subject, sponsored by the Institute for Marxist Studies. Interesting considerations were expressed. A realistic view of socialism, which is the only one deemed persuasive, should be primarily materialistic rather than idealistic or reflecting anyone's subjectivistic aspirations. The concept of socialism must be dialectical, for it must reflect socialism in all of its interconnections at a specific historical stage in its development and with all of its accomplishments and errors. Let us recall that, naturally, dialectics does not bypass socialism and that, consequently, under socialist conditions as well development goes through the struggle of contradictions, the struggle between the new and the old. A realistic concept of socialism must be historical, i.e., it must take into consideration the conditions which prevailed at the starting point in its establishment, its possibilities and their limits at each stage of development and the conditions of the class struggle in the international arena. We cannot ascribe to socialism features which it neither has nor could have.

*What are the conclusions in terms of our internal party life that we can draw from the changes occurring within the CPSU?*

This question is asked particularly frequently in the various discussions on the Soviet Union. We frequently come across distorted ideas on the changes taking place within the CPSU. To the CPSU it is not a question of "eroding" the principles of democratic centralism, applicable to both of its facets—democracy and centralism—but of restoring its principles wherever they have been violated.

For example, some new developments currently mentioned by the CPSU have long been practiced by the GCP such as, for example, the nomination of several candidates in the election of party leaders. Under our circumstances, usually the problem is not one of finding several candidates but of finding even a single candidate who could cope with the great additional amount of work which inevitably arises as a result of the candidate's election. Unquestionably, we must still learn from what

today is described as "glasnost" in the Soviet Union. We must learn from the CPSU how to behave toward one another in a critical and self-critical manner. By no means has such an approach become self-evident within our party. Although may not be simple to achieve it must be achieved nonetheless. Here as well it is important to bear in mind that it is a question, above all, of the nature of the criticism. In this area our situation is vastly different from that of the CPSU.

As to the further development of intraparty democracy and the central management within our party, we must make party life more active. We must broaden intraparty discussions and involve to a greater extent the entire party in the decision-making process. We presented our ideas on this matter at the 3rd Plenum of the Party Board. Unfortunately, the plenum concentrated on the electoral campaign for the Bundestag, which was taking place at that time. Now we must catch up with our discussion on such ideas and enrich them with the collective experience of the entire party.

Today we must above all concentrate our forces on implementing the ideas we have formulated. In this connection the intraparty discussion during the electoral campaign, which was also conducted through the newspaper *Unsere Zeit*, laid a substantial foundation. However, we must not stop there but go on. We must think of how we, together with our newspapers, can enliven such exchange of views.

Discussions within the party must be enhanced. An example of this are the Thursday discussions at the Karl Liebknecht School, where all problems of interest to communists are discussed without any lengthy introductory talks or forbidden subjects. Such an atmosphere must be developed comprehensively throughout the party. Today we must create it in each district and group. This sets great requirements to all of us.

The conclusions which we drew at the 3rd Plenum of our party's board indicate that, like the CPSU and the entire global communist movement, the GCP is a live organism which is developing and reacting to the demands of life and the class struggle, but which at no point stops being a communist party. In this connection let us note that to us intraparty democracy is not a game; nor is it self-seeking. On the contrary, it serves to mobilize collective knowledge and the party forces and unite them for joint and centralized actions aimed against the well-organized class enemy which we face.

We must continue to develop intraparty democracy while preserving our communist principles. Above all, we must broaden our ties with the masses and establish closer relations with the working people in the country. This is the most important conclusion which we must draw from the changes occurring in the Soviet Union.

The main idea of the processes of restructuring in that country is that everything depends on the masses, on the close ties between the party and the people. The same can be said of the GCP. We must not only think but also act in a new style.

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### Thirty Years of the Space Age; A Dialogue on Results and Prospects

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[Text] "On 4 October 1957, for the first time in the history of mankind a flying machine, the creation of the minds and hands of the Soviet people, left earth and began its fast orbiting around it.... Our great socialist fatherland was seen by the entire world as a country of progress, as the bearer of the highest standards and progressive science and powerful industry." Such was the description of this event, provided by S.P. Korolev, the outstanding scientist and greatest designer of Soviet space rocket technology.

The KOMMUNIST editorial premises were visited by Academician B.V. Raushenbakh and Doctor of Technical Sciences K.P. Feoktistov, USSR cosmonaut. Following is a transcript of their discussion, prepared for publication by KOMMUNIST associate A.I. Antipov.

**K. Feoktistov.** Thirty years of space age.... A long distance has been crossed from the first man-made earth satellite to the Mir Orbital Complex. How do we look at 1957 today? Naturally, it was a great day for rocketry; it was precisely in 1957 that a superrocket, which could take a payload in orbit in space, was created in the Soviet Union.

**B. Raushenbakh.** I was recently asked to review some materials prepared on the occasion of that event, in which this first satellite was described as a technical miracle. However, the satellite itself was no miracle whatsoever. It could have been made as early as 1930 or, in 1957, at the Young Technician's Station. The miracle was that this simple yet nonetheless bulky instrument (83.6 kgs) was launched in an orbit around the earth! Incidentally, it provided important information on atmospheric density at different altitudes, the dissemination of radio waves, etc.

**K. Feoktistov.** Somewhat schematically, one can say that the usual way of development of technology involves a repetition of the best achievements in the world, after which a more or less significant step forward is taken. Our rocket technology as well made use of the acquired experience, including that of the German engineers who had developed the V-2 in World War II. It is important

to emphasize, however, that the rocket we developed 30 years ago was, from top to bottom, the offspring of Soviet designers. Original engines, the guidance system, the measurement system and orbital control were all our own, designed and manufactured with our own facilities. Above all, naturally, this applied to the two-stage system in which the main block ensures the functioning of the first and second stages and the side engines of the first stage only. This system proved quite viable; it was applied in the Vostok, Soyuz and Energiya rockets. It was also applied in the American Shuttle. Therefore, our 1957 rocket (which we named "Seven") opened, and this is no exaggeration, the road to space for mankind.

**B. Raushenbakh.** The useful life of this rocket is amazing. Generations of contemporary technology succeed each other quite rapidly. A number of new rockets have appeared, performing a variety of difficult tasks, but to this day we cannot do without the "Seven." This is an amazingly reliable and inexpensive rocket. I would compare it to the AN-2 aircraft in aviation. Its long life unquestionably proves the very high standards we had reached in rocketry 30 years ago. It was precisely these standards that made possible the tempestuous, I would say the explosive, development of space technology. How was this outburst manifested? In the first 10 years of the space age, every year essentially new types of space engines made their appearance. Artificial earth satellites serving a great variety of purposes were developed, including weather and communications satellites; the hidden part of the moon was photographed and there was a soft landing on the lunar surface and flights to the nearest planets—Venus and Mars. Naturally, there were also manned flights. Only 3.5 years after the launching of this still extremely simple unmanned satellite was the flight of Yuriy Gagarin, the first man who tore the chains of the earth's gravity. In these 3.5 years a new three-stage carrier rocket was developed, and a satellite with a guidance system which guaranteed the return of the cosmonaut to earth was created; the problems of heat shields, life support and many others were solved. Soon the one-man ships were followed in outer space by two- and three-men rockets. For the first time man reached outer space. Methods were developed for coupling space engines in flight. All of this took place in the first 10 years. I consider the first decade of the space age its sporting-romantic period. At that time any practical application of space flight was, as a rule, a secondary task. The most important thing was to penetrate into the unknown, to see something which no one else had seen before and to accomplish that which only yesterday one could not even dream about.

**K. Feoktistov.** I fully agree with this definition. A sporting spirit imbued the entire atmosphere surrounding our work and frequently dictated the nature of engineering solutions, forcing us to select the simplest among them which, however, nonetheless ensured our primacy in space. What other meaning do I invest in the concept of "sporting?" Despite all conceivable and inconceivable difficulties of the period, the 1940s and 1950s had

provided us, it seems to me, with a certain optimism, a confidence in our own strength. We were convinced that man is born for the sake of displaying his best possibilities, participate in a major project and accomplish something, perhaps not outstanding but least quite important and essential. For we, engineers, perfectly realized at that time that technically we were significantly behind America. However, the technical base determines above all the level of mass production which requires an extremely high degree of adjustments and the development of a large number of assembly-line elements. Rockets and space engines, however, are custom-made objects in which, roughly speaking, all parts must fit. The main problems here are solved by the mind, by scientific and engineering thinking. Quite important to us was the awareness that our brains functioned as well as those in America or anywhere else! Furthermore, we wanted to be and we indeed were the first in space throughout those 10 years! This may not fit any "sporting" terminology but I like the term.

**B. Raushenbakh.** The romantic and aggressive nature of the work at that time was naturally also influenced by S.P. Korolev, the acknowledged head of our space rocket program. I have already had the opportunity to say that whatever features have been ascribed to him as a scientist, engineer, organizer, and so on, they would be accurate but incomplete. In my view, in discussing the aspects of his personality we must bear in mind that Sergey Pavlovich unquestionably had the talent of a military commander. Such a talent can be described as consisting of three components. First, the true military leader makes quick decisions and assumes full responsibility for them. Second, he displays inflexible will for victory and the ability to inspire his troops, to instill in them confidence in their rightness and invincibility. Finally, even despite scarcity of information, not only about the enemy but also of his own regiments, he virtually always makes accurate decisions! All of these qualities were clearly manifested in Korolev. He was an outstanding military man, naturally not in the military area but in the area of cosmonautics, which can be justifiably considered his offspring.

**K. Feoktistov.** I would add to this that in my view Korolev is an example of an organizer of a new, a contemporary type. He not only conceives of the project in all of its details but also is perfectly familiar with the system within which the project is born and functions—everything must serve the main objective. Sergey Pavlovich knew the right person to call on the telephone, with whom to reach an agreement, where to use power and where to compromise.... He made brilliant use of the intellectual potential of his associates and consulted them several times daily on controversial problems. Some 12 people would gather, and would make constant decisions, yes or no. He made his decisions quickly and on time. However, today we must remember not only S.P. Korolev but also other outstanding designers who started the rocket industry in our country: V.P. Glushko,

V.P. Barmin, N.A. Pilyugin, M.K. Yangel, G.N. Babakin, A.M. Isayev and many, many others...and, naturally, M.V. Keldysh. Nor should we fail to mention D.F. Ustinov. He was an outstanding organizer of our defense industry, a wise and far-sighted person. He splendidly realized that the most important thing was to put in command positions people who could "push things forward." He was not bothered by the fact that creative personalities are frequently difficult to communicate with, "hard to manage," so to say. Indeed, he subsequently disagreed with many of them, there were clashes and tiffs, but the main thing was invariably the project, and Dmitriy Fedorovich was able to look at everything from the viewpoint of its successful outcome.

Generally speaking, each one of these people gave to the development of cosmonautics the impetus which urged it on during the first 10 and the subsequent 20 years.

**B. Raushenbakh.** The second and third decade, in my view, were of an entirely different nature. Cosmonautics became "an adult," and romanticism no longer played such a great role in it. Today any space program must have a solid foundation: obtaining scientific data is planned, the flight targets are defined with extreme clarity, the contribution of the flight to economics, defense, and so on, are assessed in advance. Therefore, in presenting a new space program, today it is totally insufficient to say: we shall be the first. For everything "first" has already taken place: satellites for all possible purposes, manned space and lunar flights—for man has gone to the moon—and there have been expeditions to the planets within the solar system; one may ask what else is left?

**K. Feoktistov.** A great deal of interesting and entirely new projects remain. One could be the first in space not only once or twice. I believe that we can and should obtain from space extremely new information about the world around us, about the universe. Consider outer space astronomy: suffice it to deploy in orbit optical, radio, x-ray and gamma-ray telescopes to obtain qualitatively new information on the world in which we live and the horizons of our knowledge would vastly expand, for the length of reception antennas in space could range into the dozens and hundreds of kilometers, something which today is entirely possible. One can only regret that we have yielded our primacy in the development and launching of astrophysical observatories. The Americans, the British and the Dutch turned out to be the first to obtain qualitatively new information from the depth of the universe. I see as the reason for our lag in this area the increase of departmentalism and a primitive and vulgar practicality which turns into a fearsome impractical attitude. A rocket engineer may think as follows: For whom shall I be working? For science? Is this profitable? Many people, including those who make major decisions in our work, have lost, it seems to me, track of the fundamental principle: the main thing is to

obtain new, unusual information! Naturally, however, I by no means underestimate the tremendous practical returns which we are already obtaining as a result of space research.

**B. Raushenbakh.** That is precisely what I am talking about. Modern man has actually stopped noticing the daily work performed in space by the automated machines he has created. This proves the firmness with which space technology has entered our lives. Communications satellites have linked continents and enabled us to transmit television images across huge distances. It is impossible to conceive of a modern weather service and, consequently, the activities of entire economic sectors, without weather satellites. The use of space navigation instruments has become customary; information on disasters is received through space, and so on, and so forth. Essentially, in the last 10 years cosmonautics has become a national economic sector, which is what determines the nature of its development. I have no doubt that in the next few years space technology will find even broader application, above all in the study of natural resources, observations on the state of vegetation, identifying environmental pollution and other programs of a similar nature. Unquestionably, this will require thorough planning, substantiation and profound economic assessments.

**K. Feoktistov.** It would be no exaggeration to say that the development of cosmonautics is changing our way of life. For instance, what are relay satellites? They will develop in the future a global information network which will allow a tremendous number of specialists, without leaving their home, to have access to any data bank and to share the results of their work with anyone. This is an entirely new concept of the work place and, in any case, the nature and means of intellectual activities. Unquestionably, returns from space technology are tremendous. However, what a great deal of unused reserves remains! For it is clear as of now that we shall not be able to link within a single system our earth and space economy. Consider photography. Everyone realizes that one of the main advantages of space control over anything taking place on the surface of the planet is its speed. We have the opportunity to follow changes over vast territories and over an individual field in crops or an industrial sector. However, in order to make use of photographs from space they must be efficiently processed and the information must be quickly transmitted to the interested specialists, so that they may make decisions and act on the basis of such information. Actually, huge arrays of data are being stored at the Priroda State Center and in many other institutions, which are being interpreted with great delays. What advantages does this offer? Metaphorically speaking, who needs yesterday's weather forecast? Control of natural resources must be provided in real time, which requires the development of huge lines of communications, ensuring the immediate processing of information and its transmission to one institution or another, such as the Gosagroprom, construction workers, timber growers, and so on.

**B. Raushenbakh.** Incidentally, occasionally the impression is created that by no means is everyone interested in the availability and accessibility of accurate and efficient space information. I know of cases in which our agricultural workers have been literally frightened by the knowledge that it is possible to assess accurately and quickly areas planted in one crop or another, the need for irrigation, the condition of the crops and harvest projections. For this is a kind of openness in problems which, as reality indicates, are quite sensitive and, generally speaking, not everyone likes glasnost.

**K. Feoktistov.** In this connection, let me tell you a story which is both funny and outrageous, and typical in its own way. During one of his orbital flights, Cosmonaut V.V. Lebedev was given the assignment to make surveys for geologists working in the Mangyshlak area. In the course of his radio communications, he was naturally interested in the results of his work. "Yes," he was answered from the ground, "everything is excellent, keep photographing, this is very important and necessary," and so on. Back on earth, and during his leave he decided to visit Mangyshlak and to see the practical results of his work. While he was there, not a word was said about his photographs.... Such things do occur.

**B. Raushenbakh.** Cosmonautics at the "adult" stage, demands adult ground support. I am confident that in the decades to come space will be increasingly "settled" with machinery and, consequently, the people on earth must be prepared for this. Why this confidence? First, because of the overall trend in contemporary technology: the aspiration toward maximal automation, robotization and computerization. This trend will not only remain but intensify in the foreseeable future. Second, automated technology in space offers a number of advantages compared to people; for example, such machinery can work continuously for a necessary period of time and, after the implementation of its program, does not have to be brought down to earth. Already today the share of work done in space by many hundreds of automated machines is substantially greater than that performed by cosmonauts. In this sense, space technology and aviation have followed separate ways. By the turn of the century a manned airplane rose in the air and it was only decades later that the possibility appeared of passing on some controls to autopilots and other automatic systems. However, to this day no total automation has been achieved (which would include takeoffs and landings). Automatic machines went in space from the very start, and only then did man follow. You, Konstantin Petrovich, have been involved with manned flights for many years and would probably object to this.

**K. Feoktistov.** Not at all. I too believe that the future belongs to automation. I would say further that from the viewpoint of such prospects cosmonautics is catastrophically lagging behind achievements on earth in the area of automation. For here we have fully robotized and exceptionally complex production facilities. For example, today a car can be assembled virtually without

human participation, as many people have seen in television programs. Meanwhile, to this day we cannot develop in outer space the proper production of new materials and biologically active substances. I believe that this is not a great deal more difficult than to assemble automobiles. Yet with the help of our cosmonauts very promising developments have taken place in this area. In my view, we are fully "mature" for organizing automated production in space, using as components the technology of weightlessness and deep vacuum. This is merely the beginning. In the course of time it is possible that we shall transfer beyond the earth's range the ecologically most dangerous and harmful industries. We must as of now begin seriously to consider such problems.

But let me say a few words about manned space flights. The profession of cosmonaut, which was born in 1961, will develop and advance. Having a man in space offers some advantages compared to automated equipment. Regardless of the level of automation, the function of space as a laboratory with the mandatory participation of man remains. Obviously, the most delicate operations in installing, repairing and replacing equipment on space engines will be the work of cosmonauts. We have gained extensive and quite useful experience in long orbital flights. Unquestionably, this will be useful in expeditions in geostationary orbit in which a space engine or station will be "hanging" over a specific area on earth. Putting an instrument in geostationary orbit is very expensive: going to the moon and returning is less expensive than doing work on such an orbit. This makes understandable why short-term geostationary launchings are economically unprofitable. However, although I am skeptical about the expediency of a manned flight to Mars, it is not excluded that once again sporting-romantic moods will prevail at some point, although such a flight would take 2 to 3 years....

**B. Raushenbakh.** The need for a relatively large manned orbital station is obvious from the following considerations as well: the cost of space technology remains quite high. Consequently, it is expedient to use it in orbit for many years. From time to time instruments which automatically operate in independent flights, will dock at their base and be coupled to it, in accordance with their work plan, for servicing, tuning up and repairs. This is a major area of activity of the base personnel. It would seem, in the context of our discussion on automation, simpler to make an orbital station even larger and to install in it all the necessary technological and scientific equipment. In many cases, however, this is impossible. Here is an example: astronomical observations require a space platform which is quite precisely oriented in space. The fuel and energy needed for such orientation grow exponentially with the increased size of the space station. Therefore, an astronomical platform must be small, work independently and be coupled with an orbital station only if necessary and for brief periods of time. However, if a station becomes a kind of center which would service groups of relatively small autonomous

flying platforms, it must be systematically connected with earth. Equipment, instruments, fuel and food must be supplied to it and crews must be replaced. This requires the use of spaceships.

Incidentally, the Mir Soviet Orbital Station is already equipped with a great deal of what we mentioned: spacious working premises for the crew, six docking centers, crews rotated with the Soyuz-TM spaceships and freight delivered with Progress freight carriers. Docked to the station is the Kvant astrophysical module, and facilities for the docking of other modules are available. Therefore, to a certain extent the activities on board the space complex, based on the Mir Station, is a prototype of the future peaceful conquest of space. It is difficult to overestimate the value of the experience acquired in the course of the flight tests of this complex and, in particular, the experience of many-month-long manned flights, the expedition which visited the Salyut Station and many others.

**K. Feoktistov.** In connection with the development of cosmonautics, problems related to future orbiting space settlements-colonies are occasionally discussed. I admit that some 20 years ago I was virtually convinced that eventually mankind will settle in space. However, I made some computations, thought about it and now realize that nothing of the sort will happen. Not because the contemporary state of our human economics and technology will not allow us in the foreseeable future to put in space huge metal cylinders, as suggested by American Professor J. O'Neil. In his view, they should be between 1 and 6 kms in diameter and 3 to 30 kms long. They would include housing, trees, rivers and lakes; naturally, they would use solar energy and according to O'Neil, and contain between 100,000 and 20 million people. I repeat, it is not a question of the feasibility but of the very nature of people. An enclosed space is as alien to us as an outer-space environment, with its vacuum and fierce radiation. It would be stupid and terrible to imagine life in a jar, whether large or small, but nonetheless a jar.... The solution of the problems which we are encountering on earth should be found not by setting up space settlements but by making efficient and humane use of the achievements of the human mind, of the potential of our civilization. However, I share the thought that the space age, which began 30 years ago, symbolizes man's breakthrough to a new habitat. Possibly, in the same way that our distant predecessors came out of the ocean to dry land, a breakthrough into space means that a new race of people will appear, who will find neither vacuum, nor radiation nor space temperatures alien. They would have little resemblance to us but the feature they would inherit would undoubtedly include the ability to think, feel and live for the sake of others. Actually, this is in the domain of science fiction or philosophy. The reality is that today's cosmonautics must serve as best and as efficiently as possible the solution of our earthly problems which, let us admit, have accumulated.

**B. Raushenbakh.** In this connection, I would like to mention global problems. The point is that space technology is particularly suitable for their solution. The ecological, energy, food, resource and many other problems are global precisely because they affect all mankind and cannot be entirely solved within national boundaries. By virtue of their dramatic nature they affect the entire population on earth and their solution requires international cooperation and a global approach. In this respect, the study of earth from outer space is exceptionally promising. It provides an efficient, accurate and, let me emphasize, global information on the basis of which we must act. International cooperation in space is gradually improving. Valuable experience which instills optimism has been acquired. Is the study of Halley's Comet last year, by a large international group, not something like science fiction? Or else the formulation of the Phobos program, which is in full swing in our country, related to the flight to the satellite of Mars by an unmanned station? What about the work of international crews in manned space flights? It is precisely such and similar projects that, in my view, outline future developments in the conquest of space—peaceful, universal, uniting all of us, the inhabitants of a single and rather frail planet.

Finally, the most global of all problems is that of safeguarding peace. Today space instruments play a very responsible role, for it is with their help that armament control is provided. Neither we nor the Americans can build even a dog house at a military site without this becoming immediately known to our partners in corresponding treaties. I categorically object to the expression "spy satellite" in the press when it applies to an instrument permitted to operate on the basis of international agreements. Today national means of control over armaments are means of preserving peace. They serve mankind also in the area of reducing the number of nuclear missiles and other armaments; all that matters is to reach agreements and to undertake their implementation without delay. This is the task of our time.

**K. Feoktistov.** Another task is to prevent the militarization of space. Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative cannot attain its publicized objective of deploying some kind of space "umbrella" over the United States or any other territory. This has been proved through studies independently conducted by scientists from various countries. It was also proved that the deployment of an SDI system in space will inevitably invalidate all the treaties you mentioned and would trigger a new round in the arms race although, even without it, today the world finds itself at an extremely dangerous point. However, even if we abstract ourselves from all this and believe that the SDI is merely a safe "game," anyone with even elementary knowledge would understand that in the course of such a "game" a tremendous likelihood appears for the development of new types of armaments which would be as dangerous as nuclear weapons. This would affect mankind as a whole and not any specific country or continent. Today's world is too small and

helpless in the face of such power over which we could accidentally lose control. Incidentally, the cosmonauts understand, feel and can see for themselves this quite clearly. I believe that a look at our planet from outer space, which was first cast by Yu.A. Gagarin, stimulated to a certain extent the development of a new way of thinking, the need for which is being realized, fortunately, by an increasing number of people.

If mankind, considering its present material poverty, develops the need to invest dozens and hundreds of billions of dollars in any kind of space program, which may not be successful but, nonetheless, be romantic and noble, worthy of the title and purpose of man, as we have seen, the possibilities in this area would be substantial. In conclusion, I would submit one more such idea: to set up a solar space electric power station. If we consider a power of 10 million kwts, the area covered by the batteries would be approximately 100 square kms. Such energy can be safely transported to earth within the radio range of electromagnetic waves. Is this not a tremendous project? In any case, to say the least it would help to solve global problems of energy and ecology. And what about the opportunity this would provide for international cooperation! A good base for such a program exists.

Thirty years have passed, yet everything is only at its beginning....

**B. Raushenbakh.** Perhaps the future generations, looking back, would describe our century as the space age. Let us be optimistic!

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### Juridical Science and Practice Under Conditions of Restructuring

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[Text] Restructuring is affecting ever new areas of life. It demands an attentive, a thoughtful and considered approach to assessing positive and negative experience, exchange of views and the formulation of practical scientific recommendations.

Today many existing concepts in juridical science and current practices, essentially pertaining to various areas of social life, such as economic management, the functioning of sociopolitical institutions, the struggle against delinquency, and the protection of the rights and legitimate interests of the individual, need profound reinterpretation. Negative phenomena in the legal area include obsolete laws and instructions, violations of the law by

law enforcement agencies, the low professional standards of some of their personnel and many other problems all of which are attracting the close attention of the public and determine the need for a broad discussion of such problems.

Starting with issue No 5 for 1987, *Kommunist* has discussed in its pages basic problems of economics. The following article, prepared at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law, marks the opening of a discussion on a new subject: Topical Problems of Juridical Science and Practice.

The current status of juridical science is not easy to assess. Despite noticeable accomplishments (the publication of a number of interesting monographs and articles, the broadening of sociological research in the area of the law, fruitful participation of legal scientists in drafting bills, etc.), it suffers from serious shortcomings which prevent its theoretical intensification and the enhancement of its role in social life. This includes the prevalence of a narrow legal interpretation of rights and the analysis of primarily legal texts; abundance of terminological arguments which do not advance scientific knowledge and have no practical application; glossing over reality and avoidance of identifying and studying the real contradictions within our society; finally, the poor ties between legal science and its practical application.

Raising to a new standard in juridical science requires the rejection of a number of stereotypes, the formulation of new ideas and an unprejudiced creative consideration of the major problems which arise at the present stage of restructuring and pertain to both the general theory of the state and law and to sectorial legal disciplines. We know that in the course of the development of our society there have been periods during which the role of juridical science was underestimated and during which it was unable to make maximal use of its potential and actively to maintain socialist legality. This is in the past. Today Soviet juridical science has all the opportunities to make a qualitative breakthrough in the study of the problems which it faces.

## I

The process of restructuring and acceleration of the socioeconomic, political and spiritual development of society is impossible without proper legal support. However, this also means that the socialist legal system itself will become increasingly involved in the process of restructuring, which will affect its content as well as its organizational forms. Both tasks have their practical and scientific aspects. As to the science, its true participation in restructuring the legal system and social life as a whole is an urgent requirement of our time.

Juridical science is called upon to contribute to the translation into legal language and to express within the system of state-legal standards the needs, both present

and future, of restructuring. All basic elements of restructuring, such as guaranteeing the economic autonomy of the producer and the interests of the consumer, broadening self-government, democracy and glasnost, enhancing the human factor, the strict observance of the rights and freedoms of all members of society and the practice of social justice must all be codified, one way or another, in the law.

The renovation of socialism presumes the consistent and comprehensive implementation of its principles through the application of suitable ways and means. They include Soviet democracy, socialist law and the economic methods of management it codifies, as the opposites of arbitrary "power" means of socialist control and an arbitrary approach to the management of social affairs.

The negative processes which took place in the past (the precrisis situation in the economy, equalization trends in distribution, authoritarian style in state management, stagnations in the spiritual life of society) adversely affected the political-legal superstructure. Closely related to arbitrary and administrative methods, they inevitably led to belittling the role of the law and substituting the views of officials in leading position for scientifically substantiated legal regulations. Naturally, even when cases of arbitrary behavior occurred frequent use was made of laws and instructions. In such cases, however, the legal forms can be considered only as an appearance of the law, for they reject the main aspects which characterize the legal institutions of socialism: the reciprocity of the rights and obligations of the participants in public relations, their equality in the eyes of the law and their responsibility for their actions not only by subordinates to superiors but also by superiors to subordinates and to society.

We know that the attitude toward problems of democracy, law and legality are the foundation of one of the essential differences between scientific socialism and egalitarian, "barracks-style" socialism. It is precisely this that determines the essential significance to our entire theory and practice of the Marxist-Leninist concept that the law is an objectively necessary regulator of social relations, above all of the measure of labor and consumption, in the process of transition from capitalism to socialism and under socialist conditions (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 19, pp 18-19; V.I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Completed Collected Works], vol 33, p 95). Therefore, one of the practical tasks in the area of economics is to put an end to equalization and make full use of the socialist principle "From each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work."

Substantiating the need for law under socialism also means decisively criticizing and rejecting authoritarianism and arbitrariness as types of social control essentially conflicting with the nature of socialist society. Voluntarism and bureaucratic administration, on the one hand, and democracy, glasnost and legality, on the other, are

two basically different types of organization of social life. Their incompatibility is based on the fact that they express two mutually exclusive types of relations among the members of society: voluntarism and bureaucratic administration, which mean arbitrary decision-making and blind obedience; and democracy and legality, which mean the active participation of the masses in administration, collective management, conscious discipline and reciprocal responsibility.

We must firmly eliminate the trend toward primarily bureaucratic administration and broaden the use of economic methods in controlling relations in production and distribution, as was discussed in detail at the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The legal aspect of this process is found in reducing the number of prescriptions, characteristic of administrative control of economic problems and broadening what is permitted by law, and the rules within the limits of which the participants in economic relations themselves determine their behavior. We know that permissions and prohibitions are two aspects of legal control: ideally, their unity is expressed with the formula that "all that is not forbidden is allowed." Permission is a manifestation of the stimulating role of legal control (the occurrence of favorable consequences of the sensible utilization of what is permitted); a prohibition mandatorily indicates responsibility for violating the law.

The restructuring of economic management is based on the initiative, autonomy and responsibility of the participants in social relations. The principle of "greater rights and greater responsibility" is persistently making its way, clearly manifested in the new Law on the State Enterprise (Association). This principle will enable us to put an end to excessive "regulation" of social relations in economics and other areas of our life.

The task of the science of law is to determine the optimal level of legal regulation of economic activities, to open new opportunities for the use of state, kolkhoz-cooperative and private property in the interest of meeting the growing needs of society; to ensure through legal means the just solution of problems of labor, wages, prices of commodities and services, social assistance and concern for motherhood and childhood.

The idea of the "steady increase" in the role of legal controls, which dominated in our literature and was frequently interpreted in a strictly mechanistic manner, was well suited to the constant increase in the number of regulations, departmental above all. The negative aspects of this process are known. However, we must not throw ourselves from one extreme to the other. There are a number of areas in social life which are regulated today at the whim of officials. A legal base must be laid under them. As to the legal, including departmental, regulations, we cannot do without them. The trouble is not that they exist as orders, regulations and instructions, but their tremendous number and the fact that many of them act as substitutes for laws or even directly violate them.

The prosecutor's office and the legal and arbitration authorities play a decisive role in the struggle against such phenomena. This struggle could be helped by establishing a Constitutional Court.

The development of legal controls mandates the solution of the problem of the so-called decriminalization of a number of antisocial phenomena. This implies converting from the criminal prosecution of individuals who are minor first offenders, to a variety of administrative, disciplinary and material penalties.

Therefore, restructuring in the area of the law changes less the object of legal controls than means and methods. This is one of the ways of surmounting a certain contradiction between the stability and flexibility of the law. The dynamism of legal instruments enables us quickly to take into consideration practical requirements and to react to them promptly. Juridical science must do a great deal more to concretize such general stipulations in terms of the various areas of social relations and perfecting legislation in accordance with the specific nature of the various means of legal controls. The drafting of the corresponding recommendations must be based on a comprehensive study, involving sociological methods, of the totality of factors which determine the choice of what is permitted or forbidden, and the efficient means of legal control of a specific set of social relations under contemporary conditions.

Let us emphasize in this case that it is only the legal act, with a suitably manifested and shaped legal content, that can implement in full its regulatory function: that of codifying the necessary conditions for progressive social development, ensuring means of preventing abuses of power, guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of the members of society and their observance of legal obligations and contributing to the practice of social justice in all areas of social life.

Legal support of the requirements of social justice based on socialist principles is one of the essential aspects of social policy under the conditions of restructuring. This is impossible without perfecting the laws themselves. Juridical science must formulate specific ways and means of solving specific problems with a view to strengthening and enriching the democratic content of the laws and the efficient, consistent and accurate juridical expression within legal standards of the fundamental principles of restructuring and acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

## II

The further development of socialist democracy and strengthening legality in the country are the main areas of restructuring in the state-legal area. The legal foundations for this process, which was clearly manifested in the political resolutions of the 27th Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, are embedded in the Soviet Constitution and in a number of

laws. They include the constitutional stipulations of the state of the whole people, the legal forms of its functioning, the constitutionally accepted activities of all state, political and social groups, officials and private citizens without exception; the consistency of the entire legal system with the constitution as the fundamental law and as an act of supreme juridical power; the constitutional-legal formulation and regulation of the foundations of the social system and social policy, and the relationship between the individual and the state. All of these are essential and historically legitimate achievements in the development of Soviet society, state and law.

Restructuring opens new opportunities for the systematic practical implementation of such constitutional stipulations and standards, the enrichment and development of legal forms and procedures of social life and the formulation and elaboration of a scientific concept of the *socialist state of law* and its full implementation.

According to this concept, which is entirely consistent with the ideas of our constitution, all basic social relations which require the intervention of the state (including public power, managerial, organizational-institutional, etc.) are streamlined and regulated by the law. All political-power relations take the aspect of state-legal relations and the rights (and obligations) of the subjects of such relations are manifested as their rights (and legal obligations) stipulated by the law. In turn, the state-legal institutions are inseparably linked to procedural forms and to procedures required for their practical implementation.

Under the conditions of a socialist society objective prerequisites are established for ascribing a more profound democratic and humanistic nature to the concept of the state governed by law and for its implementation, compared with capitalism. In this connection, we must recall the important stipulation formulated by Marx: "Freedom means the conversion of the state from an authority standing above society into an authority totally subordinated to that society...." (K. Marx and F. Engels, *op cit.*, vol 19, p 26).

The problem of constitutionalism is of key significance in formulating the concept of the socialist state based on the law: the primacy of the constitution in the system of sources of law, the direct and immediate effect of constitutional norms, the exercise of control functions over the constitutionality of all general mandatory laws operating in the country, etc. On the structural-organizational level all of this presumes a clear division of labor and division of competences among the different state authorities. The history of the development of Soviet constitutional law confirms the strengthening of the trend toward a more efficient assignment of functions and rights among legislative, executive and judicial authorities and enhancing the role of legality in the organization and functioning of the entire system of political-power institutions. The Soviet state and all of its authorities operate on the basis of socialist legality,

ensuring the preservation of law and order, the interests of society and the rights and freedoms of the citizens, Article 4 of the USSR Constitution stipulates.

On this level, enhancing the role of the soviets of people's deputies, from top to bottom, and comprehensively ensuring their supremacy within the system of state authorities, is of fundamental importance. The essential aspect of this fact is that the formulation of universally mandatory legal acts is, in principle, the prerogative precisely of representative institutions and, above all, of the supreme representative authority—the legislator. Without this neither the supremacy of the constitution and the laws nor a uniform and firm legal order are possible.

Excessive departmental rule-making is one of the manifestations of the violation of the supremacy of representative authorities. The right given to sectorial management authorities to issue mandatory rules which go beyond the range of their department, not to mention those which regulate the rights and obligations of citizens, essentially leads to granting them the right to act as representative and legislative authorities.

The proper demarcation of activities and rights among the different state authorities is a necessary prerequisite for the normal exercise of the functions of justice and the independent activities of courts based on the law. The purpose of the recently passed party and state resolutions is to strengthen the independence of prosecutors and to enhance their role and responsibility for the state of legality in the country.

The prosecutor's office, the investigative authorities and the courts were able to conduct a number of successful trials against the organizers of corruption, account padding and bribery. This is a substantial contribution to restructuring. However, there have been frequent press reports to the effect that in the struggle for the observance of legality, the law enforcement personnel themselves violate such legality. In frequent cases repressive measures are taken against innocent people who have initiated the struggle against obsolete phenomena. Furthermore, some people have been able to turn the legal mechanism against individuals they personally consider unsuitable.

All of this is entirely inadmissible, for its results affect human lives. There are those who believe that errors in any major project are inevitable. However, we know from past experience the price of tolerating violations of the law on the part of those who are called upon to enforce it and the results of the morality according to which "you cannot make an omelet without breaking eggs." No "superior" interests can justify such "errors," for whenever the law is violated, anything at all can be concealed behind the claim of "superior" interests.

The activities of law enforcement authorities must be restructured and cases of illegal indictments and sentencing of innocent citizens must be totally eliminated; an end must be put to bureaucratism, red tape and neglect of the people. To this effect, in addition to strengthening the guarantees for the independence of courts and prosecutors, we must enhance the role of the protection of individuals during preliminary investigations and in court, and strengthen public control above all over the work of the militia and the corrective labor institutions. The union and republic criminal, procedural and corrective labor legislation must be reviewed. Scientists must develop the concepts of new laws and actively participate in drafting practical recommendations on restructuring the organization and activities of courts, prosecutor's offices and MVD authorities.

Let us particularly emphasize the need to enhance the role of the courts within the law enforcement system, along with all judicial practices. The steps taken in this area must become a means of upgrading the legal standards of our society and increasing the attention paid to the observance of legality and the rights and freedoms of the citizens. Sociological studies and daily practice, unfortunately, indicate that the population clearly has no respect for the courts. Many citizens doubt that the courts can reliably protect individual interests. This is a quite widespread psychological stereotype. Officials, managers of administrative agencies and some party leaders not always show proper respect for the courts and, furthermore, make attempts to influence judicial decisions, violating the constitutional principle of the independence of the courts, which must be guided strictly by the laws. The problem is not only one of eliminating existing stereotypes in the mass consciousness and violations of the principles and standards of judicial activities. It is equally important in the course of restructuring the work of law enforcement authorities for the courts to assume a new, a more substantive role in the life of our society. Unquestionably, this will be helped by the Law on the Procedure for Appealing in Court Illegal Actions by Officials Who Violate Citizens' Rights. As we know, the USSR Supreme Soviet instructed the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the legislative proposals commissions of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities to consider in one of their sessions proposals submitted by deputies in the course of the discussion of this draft bill and to report on the results at the next session of the Supreme Soviet. Without anticipating the decision which the Supreme Soviet will adopt on the basis of such a report, obviously, in the future the activities of officials, carried out singly or collectively, should be subject to judiciary control. In addition to criminal and civil justice, the creation of a justice system to deal with administrative and labor affairs and social benefits would be entirely justified.

Let us note that in order to ensure qualitative improvements in the work of the courts something else is needed as well: a drastic enhancement in the requirements governing the professional training of judges, people's

judges in particular; furthermore, the number of judges should be significantly increased and their salaries should be higher than those of economic managers.

As to the democratization of management and strengthening legality in this area, they must be supported by a variety of sociopolitical steps. It is a question, above all, of the type of streamlining the processes for making and adopting state decisions (particularly those related to the utilization of state resources and those affecting the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens), which would exclude any kind of subjectivism and dilettantism, not to mention abuse. This presumes enhancing the role of the soviets and their permanent commissions, collective authorities, scientific expert councils and public organizations. For a number of years the public organizations, the largest among them above all—the trade unions—as a rule duplicated the state management authorities. The opinion of the state apparatus prevailed and continues to prevail in making most administrative decisions.

The task of broadening the range of problems which can be solved by state authorities only with the participation of public organizations and granting the latter the right, in a number of cases, to invalidate administrative decisions, was set at the 27th Party Congress and in the new draft of the CPSU program. The legal scientists must participate more actively in drafting the corresponding documents. They must also undertake more extensively the formulation of a more general theoretical problem of the functioning of the management system, taking into consideration the new role of the public organizations on all levels of the state system.

Furthermore, the rights of labor collectives must be increased. The Law on the Labor Collectives must be updated and significantly expanded on the basis of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), converting it into an efficient instrument for direct socialist democracy.

Finally, both political and legal steps must be taken to ensure broad openness in the activities of management authorities. In particular, it is a question of keeping the population fully informed on planned and adopted managerial decisions and taking into consideration the views of individuals and public organizations in decision-making.

The legislation, management and justice systems must become efficient democratic channels for the implementation of CPSU and Soviet state policy in all areas of life.

### III

In the course of restructuring juridical science, we must combine extensive work on arising theoretical problems with drafting substantiated proposals aimed at improving the legislation and the practice of its application and

eliminating or redrafting obsolete laws and legal acts. The condition of the science of law must be subjected to critical assessment from this viewpoint.

In some areas of the law long-term studies have been quite productive. For example, several years ago a group of criminologists, scientific associates of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law and of other legal scientific research institutes and law schools began drafting a "model" Criminal Code. At that time this theoretical model anticipated practical requirements. However, this scientific anticipation proved to be correct. Later, when a decision on drafting new criminal legislation was made at the beginning of 1987, the scientists were in a position to suggest a model which became the basis for the discussion of this matter.

A different situation developed in the area of governmental law: in this case virtually nothing had been prepared on problems of developing self-government and some other topical areas. Today we must begin essentially from scratch. In this case political concepts have substantially outstripped the formulation of scientific ideas. It was only after decisions were made on the formulation of a new pensions legislation that work on the theoretical substantiation of the new law was undertaken. The June CPSU Central Committee Conference discussed the updating of labor legislation in accordance with contemporary conditions. For the time being, however, there is no scientific concept of any new labor legislation and the search for it is insufficiently intensive.

For a long time the least successful stage in legal regulation was and still remains that of the application of the law. This pertains to both scientific and practical work: for many years legal scientists paid attention essentially to the text and formulation of the laws rather than to their actual implementation. Yet it is precisely at the stage of application of the laws that the true advantages and annoying shortcomings of legal regulations appear and it becomes clear whether or not legal standards have achieved their purpose.

One of the most important trends of study in this area is that of sociology. Here, however, legal scientific institutions can report only initial results. We know, for example, that legislative measures to strengthen labor discipline and to prevent manpower turnover proved inefficient. A sociological study further indicated that legislation on administrative responsibility has remained virtually unknown not only to citizens but also to many militia personnel; penalties and fines remain virtually unused in economic relations and so on. The efforts to study the application of laws must be continued and broadened. This is necessary both for the accurate assessment of the condition of legal regulation and for ensuring the feedback from practical worker to legislator.

Soviet legal scientists must analyze our historical experience with all its achievements and failures. For example, the development of sciences related to the constitutional and state-management areas requires the

re-evaluation of everything that has been accumulated over several decades of functioning of the system of soviets (particularly in Lenin's time); the development of agrarian law requires a new study of the permanent significance of the Leninist cooperative plan. The further development of criminal law is impossible without the study of the basic institutions of criminal justice of the first years of the Soviet system and the consideration of the bitter lessons related to the grossest possible violations of legality; finally, the science of civil and economic-legal regulations must provide a modern assessment of governmental-legal forms of development of our economy during the 1920s and 1930s and in subsequent years.

The history of the Soviet state and law is not a closed book. It is continuing with the development of the country on the path of acceleration, for which reason a great deal should be reinterpreted and restructured today. It is even more important, however, to consider the contemporary aspects of our development and the scientific and practical problems which have been reformulated by life.

Another urgent task of the legal science is to ensure improvements in the quality of training of jurists in higher educational institutions. This can be successfully accomplished only through the joint efforts of VUZ and scientific research institute personnel. The current level of training is inconsistent with contemporary requirements. Many curriculums and textbooks are being updated only pro forma. As a rule, they do not include materials on the real situation, on the disparity between legal norms and reality and on the degree of their efficiency and unsolved problems. As a result, the majority of school graduates are unable to cope with the complex problems of the application of the law and the level of their skill is inconsistent with practical requirements. It should be a question of upgrading the theoretical standards of teaching and linking them more closely with the practice of state building and the functioning of the legal system. This sets stricter requirements concerning the professional standards of law school professors.

High political and legal standards of the citizens, officials in particular, are mandatory prerequisites for the development of democracy. This calls for the formulation of a system of steps which would include the organization of "universal legal training" for economic and administrative managers and increased publishing and propaganda-educational activities dealing with problems of the state and law. The scientific institutions and law schools must draft updated curriculums for introductory courses on the foundations of legal knowledge for the various categories of working people. The time is also ripe for a mass publication addressed at the broadest possible readership, such as, let us say, a *Yuridicheskaya Gazeta*. This would help to acquaint the Soviet people with current legislation and new legislative acts and the practices of the courts and other law enforcement authorities in protecting the rights and interests of the citizens.

We believe that it would be necessary to review the attitude of party, soviet and economic authorities toward the legal sciences and the recommendations they draft. Maximal use must be made of the potential of legal scientists and teachers who must become actively involved in state and public activities, both centrally and locally.

The major and responsible tasks which are set to the legal science and practice demand a decisive restructuring of legal thinking, without which it would be difficult to implement a *reform of the entire legal system*, the time for which is ripe in the country. The science of the law must become more humanistically oriented and firmly support the ideas of social equality, socialist justice and respect for the Soviet individual and his dignity and honor. The creative discussion of problems of the legal science which has been initiated, will contribute to the elimination of shortcomings and stagnation, and to the enhancement of the legal science to the higher level of contemporary requirements.

**The editors invite jurists and other social scientists and practical workers to express their views on all or some of the following questions:**

1. How do you assess the role of law and legislation in restructuring the economy and the other areas of social life? What problems of contemporary socioeconomic and political development should be solved with the maximal application of legal instruments?
2. What are the trends in restructuring in the legal area that you consider most relevant? Do you support the idea of an overall legal reform? If you do, what should it consist of?
3. What legislative acts should be drafted and adopted or what changes should be made for the sake of the further intensification of Soviet democracy, the development of self-government and the broadening of glasnost? Which, in your view, among the current legislative acts and departmental legal regulations and instructions are hindering the process of democratization, particularly in the area of economic activities?
4. What should be done for legality to be strictly observed in all cases and applicable to all people in the activities of the militia, the courts and the prosecutor's office?
5. What role should legal training play in contemporary Soviet society under conditions of democratization? Does the system of legal training in our country need restructuring? In your view, what are the problems which law-oriented VUZs—institutes and law schools in universities, who are training the main cadres of lawyers for our country—face today?

6. How to upgrade the standard of legal knowledge of the population and of officials? What should be done to this effect in secondary schools, VUZs, enterprises, state agencies and establishments?

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### **An Accurate Image of the World**

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[Article by Stanislav Nikolayevich Kondrashov, IZVESTIYA political commentator]

[Text] One conceals editorial secrets from one's rivals, and I hope to be forgiven for revealing one of them. Of late we can see on the weekly *Izvestiya* flier the critic on duty, whatever his area of expertise, show his boredom as he surveys the foreign affairs section of the newspaper in the course of his review. In an ordinary issue of *Izvestiya* internal events account for four and foreign affairs for two typed pages. As a rule, however, the critic will assign to them not half but 10 times less space, avoiding any specific analysis whatsoever. Occasionally, he will receive a suggestion from the writer of the flier for his use of a tongue twister. Or else, experts in foreign affairs will express their indignation to that department. The following Wednesday, nonetheless, the story will be repeated: there will be a detailed analysis of domestic subjects, emphasizing the crucial ones, and minimal attention will be paid to the fourth pages. Even in discussions with young contributors who now, fortunately, have been given greater opportunity to display their talents and civic zeal, one can feel a condescension which transpires through the regulation-dictated respectful attitude toward one's seniors, a condescension toward someone engaged in a worthwhile and even risky matter, someone who, as was the case in the past, is engaged in producing ritual expository articles.

"Well, you really hit at Reagan yesterday! You lashed, you slashed!" For such efforts no kudos: your job is simple, brother, no problems. This is easy: once again, in a newspaper, to slash at some personality, over there in the West, who, in all likelihood, will not even know that you have demolished him. But just try, at least once in your life, in those same pages, barely to mention not an overseas but a home-grown royalty, not even higher than the "guberniya" level, just try and you will find yourself in the depth of journalistic misfortune....

What can you answer to this silent but sensed charge? Naturally, you may feel insulted and rightly so. You could complain of the lack of comradely attention on the part of your "domestic" (forgive this horrible word) colleagues toward the foreign-affairs journalists, and their lack of familiarity with world affairs, of which they sometimes even boast, although this is to be regretted,

for it reveals a lack of a broad view on the world, which a journalist needs, and an inability to distinguish between "slashing" and simply analyzing. One could even pity this odd kind of snobbery, for it is a quality usually ascribed to foreign-affairs journalists. A great deal could be said in defense of the foreign affairs section of *Izvestiya*, despite mistreatments in its flier: unquestionably, its information has become faster, more objective and more varied; our foreign correspondents are also restructuring their work, although not all of them and not so firmly as one would wish....

But let me postpone my counterclaims for later. To begin with, however way we phrase it, our colleague is right: the true qualities of a fighter are displayed under circumstances close to those of combat rather than in safe verbal tournaments with foreign presidents or ministers, who do not counterattack with written complaints to the authorities or a telephone call to the editor in chief. Second, and above all, it is important for those of us in foreign affairs to realize the meaning of the reduced tension and displeasure shown by our colleagues, shared by readers, listeners and viewers and take a critical look at ourselves, at foreign affairs journalism, and better clarify its present tasks and place in restructuring and the changing nature of its increased responsibility.

Such a discussion is taking place among us and in the press but, so far, not actively enough. I too had the opportunity to make my views known, in particular in connection with the interview which British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher gave to three Soviet journalists. The question, however, demands a more thorough consideration and discussion.

Yes, foreign affairs journalism is now losing compared with, and contrasted against, domestic affairs. The basic, simple and quite substantive explanation is that matters at home, in our country, are by far more important to us compared to what takes place abroad. Despite the entire interdependence of the contemporary world, we are living our own lives and not those of people elsewhere, even if their lives affects ours, one way or another. It is natural for priority to be given to domestic topics in mass information media, whereas foreign affair topics, whatever opinions foreign affairs journalists may have about themselves and however intensive life abroad may be, take second priority, except for extremely critical situations.

This has always been axiomatic. The difference between today and yesterday, however, is that today life at home is not only more important but more interesting than life abroad, as reflected on the television screen and in the press. Yet only yesterday, in this public reflection, life abroad was tempting to the ordinary person, perhaps because of its variety, exotic nature, sensations and noisy exposures. All too frequently our domestic life repelled us with its falsely successful and deadly bureaucratic gloss. For in addition to everything else, stagnation also means boredom and lack of events whereas restructuring

is when life becomes interesting. This is the golden opportunity for "domestic" journalists to display their creative possibilities and civic temperament. Glasnost, and the territory it conquers as it expands its limits, making yesterday's taboos the facts and phenomena of today's social life, lead them to write openly, boldly and honestly. Their writings crowd newspaper space. They are being read, viewed and listened to eagerly. By old habit, jealously following reactions from abroad, we note that we have become interesting to them also, to the rest of the world. Moscow is the prime source of news. To Moscow, shout not Chekhov's sisters but ambitious correspondents of all sorts of foreign publications, who would like to make their reputations here, in our country. Why conceal it, this flatters us. What matters most, nonetheless, is not the fact that we have become more interesting to them but more interesting to ourselves as well.

Glasnost means a collective cleaning of the Augian stables of stagnation, swept with a broom of truth, something which has always been the sacred right of citizens of a socialist state but which, nonetheless, we concealed in order not to spoil the impression about ourselves, both to ourselves and to people abroad. All of a sudden we found among ourselves a mass of thieves and embezzlers, monstrous bureaucratic distortions, honest activities suppressed in a mockery over common sense but consistent with the letter of instructions, crying irresponsibility, backwardness and drunkenness which lowers the genetic stock of the nation. We suddenly found out that it is not easy to be young, and that in the Komsomol young careerists are killing in their coevals any interest in the social ideals by the very fact that they claim to personify such ideals. We suddenly discovered prostitution, not the prostitution of toadies and turncoats but true prostitution, the prostitution of the streets or hotels for foreign tourists, prostitution for foreign exchange. We suddenly discovered drug addiction....

Suddenly?! Living in our own country, sharing the life of our people we naturally knew about all of this in the past as well, before the newspapers, but on the level of isolated cases rather than as summed up statistics and analyzed phenomena. Although many fighters in our journalistic ranks, without betraying their professional vocation, honesty and honor, struggled, even during the years of stagnation, essentially for restructuring, for which they earned the respect of the public, and although our press, in accordance with its nature, preserved its critical principles, nonetheless the tone was set not by the realists but by the singers of ostentation, exclusively loyal to the principle of obedience.

We are familiar with the superficially paradoxical idea of the inverse relationship between events and phenomena in popular life and literature: events or phenomena cannot be complete if they remain nothing but part of history, and unless they are properly reflected in a classical work, a work of permanent significance. The example given is that of Tolstoy's epic "War and Peace,"

without which the epic of the 1812 Patriotic War would not have been so strongly impressed in our historical consciousness. To a certain extent, this applies to journalism, naturally taking into consideration its other impact, which is quick and transient. The truth which all of us had known in the past as well, based on personal experience, was neither a truth nor a problem acknowledged and realized by society. Now, heard by millions of people, it has become the truth. It has also become a new discovery for us, and a problem which, having been acknowledged and formulated, must be solved.

It is thus that we are changing, we are adopting a more sober and exigent view on ourselves, our life, our work and our society, more slowly than we would like it, and with more difficulty, but we are nonetheless changing. What about our view on the world around us? Should it and will it change? We look at ourselves differently, having abandoned a hindering tool, such as our complex of infallibility. What about our view of them, of the West, of the developed capitalist countries? It is precisely they that we mean above all in our ordinary understanding of the meaning of foreign country, and choose as a yardstick in comparing our life to that of others. These are natural and essential questions in the age of restructuring. In asking them, the public has the right to demand an answer and a responsible attitude on the part of foreign affairs journalists concerning events of the world around us.

What kind of a world is this world of theirs, a world with which, having proclaimed our new style of political thinking, more actively than in the past we are seeking a common language for the sake of universal salvation in the nuclear age? What kind of world is it in its own reality and complexity which does not yield to a quick and trenchant summation or as an eternal theme with variations on the decay of capitalism? Interconnections are revealed in everything and, in particular, also in the fact that ritual variations on said topic long hindered us and still do in soberly assessing ourselves and our own situation. Lacking an accurate knowledge of their world, of what is opposing us and what our neighbors are like, we cannot define with the necessary accuracy our own position and our own tasks in this common world. It is precisely the accurate and objective knowledge and real criticism of true reality rather than the habitual automatic exposure that will help restructuring within the country and the restructuring of our relations with other countries. Precise knowledge of the contemporary world and a practical consideration of this knowledge and its lessons are a powerful factor in our accelerated development.

In the past 2 years our foreign policy and diplomacy have changed more and become more productive than foreign affairs journalism has. It is a great accomplishment and the merit of our people and, not shying at a big word, to mankind, that from a military-political rivalry on the level of fierceness and increased armaments, relations between East and West are increasingly converting to the

level of flexibility and persuasive peace initiatives, which offer the entirely realistic possibility of lowering the level of military confrontation. An indication of success is the universally acknowledged fact which is puzzling our opponents, that in the areas of control over nuclear armaments, today Moscow is trusted more than Washington (in Western Europe in any case). Appeals for a new type of political thinking, based on the commonality of our destiny and giving priority to the interests and values of mankind, were initially perceived as a new trap of communist propaganda. Today they are increasingly falling on fertile soil in Western social as well as official circles.

By the end of the 1970s and start of the 1980s our foreign affairs journalism was almost entirely focusing on counterpropaganda, which all too frequently was conceived in terms of counterarguments, for which reason it inevitably encompassed the familiar principles of so-called "streetcar polemics," expressed with a formula which all too familiar to us since childhood. Today once again the obvious has been confirmed: intelligent and convincing propaganda is, above all, the direct consequence of intelligent and convincing policy. It is also the best "counterpropaganda."

Glasnost is turning out to be a more convincing and, if you wish, a more civilized answer to BBC and Voice of America radio broadcasts, than was jamming them. Ever since press conferences and briefings by Soviet official representatives have become frequent and timely, Moscow Western correspondents, who now obtain improved information, have largely lost their taste for haphazard fabrications and assumptions.

Naturally, substantiated and suitable answers retain their significance as counteraction to steady disinformation and open slander; the hatred of and malice shown toward our country and socialism have not been eliminated. They must be exposed with dignity and knowledgeably; provocations, ignorance and stupidity, of which there is more than enough, should be described for what they are. With this approach, the need for a primitively understood counterpropaganda vanishes by itself, the way the propaganda thesis of our opponents concerning the "Soviet threat" vanishes as a result of intelligent and convincing policy. If not routed, the stereotype of the enemy has been quite severely shaken up, although we must not forget that this is not only a stereotype but also a hydra the heads of which keep reappearing unless slashed off with the persistence of peace initiatives.

But let us return to the main topic of these notes. I am offering them, as a foreign-affairs journalist with more than 30 years experience, who spent 15 years abroad as a correspondent and 10 years as a political commentator for *Izvestiya*. With such a long experience behind me it is not easy to describe my profession briefly. But, taking the bull by the horns, let me say that both among Soviet foreign affairs journalists and foreign news personnel in

Moscow and, even more clearly, among our foreign correspondents, despite the entire understandable ideological commonality and necessity, particularly those working abroad, unity and a cooperative spirit, two approaches and two views have always existed and have fought their way, well-known to professionals and to those outsiders who kept close watch: a simple sober view (or, more accurately, an attempt at achieving a maximally sober view) on foreign life and politics, if possible without any spectacles or blinkers or the view that assignments are not research themes but essentially illustrations of a single thing: dogma.

The initial approach, despite all sorts of caveats and reservations, gave priority to reality: the complex reality, rich in hues, changing and dynamic, for capitalism is by no means stupid. It can learn and master lessons from its own reality and from those taught by socialism, and has long stopped fitting the tempting propaganda poster of olden times, which presented the powerful proletariat dressed in overalls, breaking with a hammer the chain of hired slavery (imagine this figure and this heavy tool for manual labor on computer screens or among robots in unmanned production lines). The second view was a look through dark (or rose-colored, when it came to progressive forces) lenses, preferably ignoring facts of development or the learned lessons and changes unless they fitted the increasingly obsolete dogmatic system learned in school or at the institute and supported by the same type of editorial practices. With such a view and approach the main task was to promote the blossoming of pseudopublicism, i.e., not the presentation of accurate thoughts or observations but to "slash" more cleverly, roughly speaking, with devil-may-care sharp little words.

Thus, we proceeded from the fact that life was either real and varied, or on the basis of schemes which killed the living soul of everything. We gave priority either to truth, which was complex and not always to our advantage or to preordained and automatic exposure. In the age of color television, even this black and white world hinted with its own pictures that the colors should be richer and more varied. As a result, the gap between the reflection of contemporary capitalism in mass information media and in the practical knowledge of the specialists who were aware of our technological lag in one area or another, or the perception of life abroad when, complaining of shortages, our people became convinced that in more frequent cases not Soviet but imported goods were synonymous with quality, increased.

It seemed that the problem was entirely clear. Both the true interests of socialism and party-mindedness, understood as truthfulness and principle-mindedness (in Lenin's words, not a word against one's conscience), would require the rejection of self-deception and the endless reproduction of a simplistic picture of the world. However, the difficult inertia of decades took us, and still does, down the old road.

Let me stipulate that, as is always the case in reality, there is no chemically pure separation, and both views and approaches are sometimes combined and clash, and coexist both peacefully and not peacefully within that same foreign affairs journalist who, furthermore, cannot ignore the prevalent general mood in the world.

What do I see in this new social climate? I see essentially new opportunities for work in the two main areas of foreign affairs journalism: foreign political, i.e., related to problems of foreign policy and relations among governments, and specific country affairs with which deal mainly our foreign correspondents who are close to and observe and describe life in other countries on a day-to-day basis.

Let me go briefly over the first area and then, in greater detail, speak of the second.

Our recent foreign policy successes which we mentioned would have been impossible without the present more accurate idea of the contemporary world, the politics and interests of other countries and the mind-set and interests of other nations. Naturally, the main credit in this case does not belong to the journalists. In the formulation of foreign policy strategy and tactics, it is not our information or views that play the main role but dispatches from embassies and, naturally, the comprehensive consideration of governmental interests by the center. However, even with this stipulation, we should not belittle the influence of mass information media on shaping the attitude of the public toward certain phenomena and processes in foreign affairs.

The stereotypes created by some journalists return, like a boomerang, not only to hit other journalists and, through them, once again the public at large, reproducing the old simplistic concepts, but even areas in which at one point, by rights of seniority and leadership in ideological affairs, they were encouraged to do so. Furthermore, politicians find it very useful to listen to the opinions of journalists, providing that they are objective and serious. Also useful to some extent is the need for public discussions of foreign policy problems, not pro forma or for the sake of creating the illusion of such discussions, as is sometimes done by newspaper and television journalists, who stop pedestrians on the streets, but thoroughly, in a spirit of enlightened patriotism and civic concern for the fatherland. A public opinion which was displayed so beneficially in, let us say, saving the northern rivers or historical monuments, should not have only the formal right to have a say in solving problems concerning our relations with other countries.

However, in order to say something worthwhile, one must know what one is talking about. Yes, the information portions served to journalists in Moscow, both foreign and Soviet, have improved substantially. The other, the Western viewpoint is more fully presented in our press. Without agreeing, we learn how to understand and take into consideration a different logic. Glasnost,

however, which has not as yet won all of its sensible victories, as is the case with the main problem of our days, that of the nuclear threat. The point is that our journalists are not always getting the necessary information they need for work on military and military-political topics. Unquestionably, state and military secrets must be closely kept. However, it is no secret that some of our military secrets on the number and combat features of one type of nuclear missile or another, have long stopped being a secret abroad, thanks to space or electronic intelligence. Meanwhile, they are still being kept secret from our own people, and Soviet journalists must cautiously make use of foreign data, for we do not refute them and do not even refute foreign names given to Soviet weapons, such as SS-20 or "Backfire." The weapon itself may long have stopped being a secret but its name still is, and thus it acquires a foreign "pseudonym." These are paradoxes of excessive secrecy under a rather transparent roof known as planet earth. Such paradoxes are not all that harmless. Profiting from our lengthy stubborn and still not entirely eliminated tradition of making everything secret, the American "hawks" depict the Soviet Union as stronger militarily and the United States correspondingly weaker than is the case. They use this durable trick to brainwash the American public and to extract from the American Congress new tens of billions of dollars for military programs. This is another boomerang which returns to us.

The journalist is the natural spokesman for public opinion. If he has truly mastered information and if his experience, knowledge, intelligence and feeling of patriotic responsibility are treated as attentively as those same qualities are valued in a diplomat or an official in another governmental institution, clearly the social usefulness of our articles would increase. I believe that foreign policy debates in newspapers, journals, and on the air, discussions which presume different opinions, should not be exempted from the restructuring process.

And now let us take up the other, the area side of our journalism.

When foreign affairs journalists speak of covering domestic life in foreign countries—political, economic and cultural—the current term is "balanced information," i.e., striking a kind of balance between positive and negative aspects in the interest of objectivity. In practice, this is frequently understood as follows: one article on electronic raising of cows in the Netherlands for 100 reports on the troubles of the unemployed and the homeless in America. Such a view on balanced information is both excessively narrow and unprofitable. We must set ourselves the more difficult yet socially useful task of presenting events, phenomena and facts against a broader background in, let us say, American society, explaining their status, important or insignificant, in the overall picture and the national panoramic view and the awareness, system of values and priorities of, let us say, the average American. A real balance is not symbolic but realistic and able to recreate the real

proportions of events. A journalist is, if you wish, something of a guide who both shows and explains the lives of outsiders. He must be doubly and triply more accurate and respectable, for these are imaginary "excursions" in unfamiliar lives.

The guide must name things by their right names, i.e., he must provide not only current information related to a certain event but also the basic information which indicates the main purpose of things and the context of relations within which they exist. By avoiding this we lose our idea of the main features of reality, seeing it not in its sociohistorical but only in its sensationalist context. Many such examples could be cited. Let us look at the U.S. Congress. Yes, it is a "millionaires' club;" yes, one cannot become a member of Congress without a great deal of money. But why not, if pertinent, also speak of the prerogatives of Congress, as stipulated in the Constitution, the way it is able to defend them and the fact that this legislative branch of the Government, together with the juridical branch, represented by the Supreme Court, embodies the historically developed principle of the separation of powers and controls the executive power of the President and his cabinet, including exercising strict financial control and, if politically necessary, may latch itself like a bulldog to the President and leave him almost naked in front of the American people (a noted example of this was "Watergate" and, to a certain extent, today's "Irangate"), serving not only the ruling class but also society, the majority of which supports this system.

Calling things by their names is a principle of glasnost and should it not be extended to the outside, to our coverage of foreign life? Yet we do not speak a great deal about this life, neglecting principles of information such as comprehensiveness and concreteness. For example, we report a strike but do not mention what specific wages or improvements in labor conditions are demanded by the working people. We report that dozens or even hundreds of participants in an antiwar demonstration were detained but forget to report that they were immediately afterwards released on bail.

Or else, why not point out that in terms of its system of retirement benefits Sweden is far ahead of us, and that England has borrowed some features of our free medical service but in some respects has left us behind, and so on. This is not salt poured on open wounds but the power of glasnost, which helps their healing. Did Lenin not call for learning from the capitalists as well? Is his behest invalidated because we have not always been diligent students?

Now, when such great and very urgently needed attention is being paid to the moral aspects of anything we do, we must not forget the educational power of shame. Had we extensively reported on how well organized and maintained are the various museums of the Smithsonian in Washington, financed by the U.S. Government, who knows, perhaps the History Museum in Moscow, the

repository of national relics, would not have reached such an extreme extent of neglect, perhaps simply out of a feeling of shame. Had our purchases of grain abroad, which have been going on since 1963, had been the subject of extensive publicity, perhaps they too could have been eliminated.

If only...one Sunday, two autumns ago, quite by chance, I believe, two television programs coincided. In the "Rural Hour" program the noted Soviet soil expert V. Kovda, interviewed by Yuriy Chernichenko, pulled out of a desk drawer a lump of the famous Russian chernozem, turned...into stone (yes, stone) as a result of excessive irrigation and the cultivation of the land with heavy equipment. Meanwhile, in the "International Panorama" program Igor Vykhukholev described and showed the way in which in Japan artificial chernozem is being created from basalt rock which, ground and milled, becomes entirely fertile soil. This was a most outstanding example of what can be thoughtlessly done with one's own land, while thoughtlessly ignoring someone else's experience. If only glasnost would always sound in such clear tones! These two sounds presented the full truth about ourselves and the full truth about the others....

Slightly over 20 years ago, as a correspondent in New York, I too frequently wrote about its people at the bottom of the scale and depicted the truly terrible vices and faults of American society, rich yet merciless toward its failures. To this day, when I visit New York I see, dumb-founded, how this giant of a city, totally unashamed, with total openness, flaunts on its own streets homeless pariahs, the rejected and the unfortunate. One of the paradoxes of the period without glasnost in our country was that we depicted life in New York in greater detail than life in Moscow. Now, however, we can see our own life better and more completely and within it, among others, the unfortunate people of Moscow. The reasons may be different and expressed differently, but there are socially aggrieved people in our country as well, and it is only the social lack of kindness that prevented us from noticing them in the past.

Recently one of our papers published a brief excerpt from militia and court records about the staggering story of a woman who, simply because she refused to suppress her maternal feelings, sheltered in her apartment her son who had been released from prison, and the way she was deprived of a roof and a job, turning this woman, who was past 50, into a beggar because of the inhumanity not of New York but of Moscow officials, who were merely observing the letter of the law which also turned out, under these circumstances, inhuman. Yes, it was in our country and not in theirs that this story involving a "little man," almost like a story by Gogol or Dostoyevskiy occurred, on the 70th year of the Great Revolution which was made precisely to put an end to such stories. It was not in New York, involving the American Joe Maury, well-known to us, but in Moscow, that this occurred, involving a Soviet citizen, a cleaning woman at the ZIL Electrical Machine Shop, Antonina Ivanovna Aprelikova, who was taken under the wing, with somewhat lesser enthusiasm, but nonetheless, by *Literaturnaya Gazeta*.

Having looked around us, what should we do? For quite some time, to excessively pushy illustrators of dogmas and exposures of foreign life, ignorance of life in their own country was, if you wish, salutary, for if there were sins the sins were not made public. The less a foreign affairs journalist living abroad knew about his own country (our own information media and, in some cases, his own laziness, helped him to maintain such ignorance), the easier it was for him to adopt the pose of a prosecutor of the country in which he worked. The reason was that he tried that other world in the court of the great socialist ideals. Meanwhile, negative phenomena were accumulating in our own lives. In looking at his ideological opponents, he displayed the sharpness of Pushkin's prophet ("look and pay attention!"); as far as the problems and difficulties of his own people were concerned, he was blind. Is this possible today, even with the strict division within journalism, which is still with us and according to which some write only about foreign affairs and others about domestic affairs? This is a question not only of a split within the profession but also within the personality, in which integrity, the prime feature which gives the journalist the right to represent the public, is eliminated. The dilemma is harsh.

Carried away with my enumeration and analysis of professional problems, I have virtually ignored the already extant favorable changes in our foreign affairs journalism. Such changes exist and they are substantial, particularly if we consider how little time has passed since the drastic turn toward restructuring. They are particularly obvious in television by virtue of the visual nature of this most widespread of the mass information media. It is more difficult for journalists, perhaps for the fact alone that by no means does every writer have the visual possibilities of a television camera and because details and fine points of political analysis do not always interest the mass reader. Changes for the better are a separate topic. For example, a visible but nonetheless superficial form of communicating, such as television bridges, is worthy of philosophical interpretation. However, let us not deal with all this casually. Today we shall let the other side speak more frequently, more freely, on various subjects. Above all, in the course of roundtable and other types of discussion it becomes a matter not of who will win but whether common sense will prevail. The most important thing is the humanizing of both sides, of their attitude toward us and our attitude toward them. Stereotypes are disappearing, replaced by human faces. The gap of differences remains and harmony is just as difficult. However, what is becoming increasingly clear as we look at the human faces is that we cannot do without it. This is how the unity within this varied world is established.

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**In the Age of Progress Without Diseases**  
*180200021 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14,*  
*Sep 87 (signed to press 14 Sep 87) pp 60-63*

[Article by Gennadiy Ivanovich Tsaregorodtsev, professor, doctor of philosophical sciences, head of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Department of Philosophy]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers draft "Basic Directions in the Development of the Population's Health and Restructuring Health Care in the USSR During the 12th 5-Year Plan and the Period Until the Year 2000" is addressed at the huge army of medical workers and at every Soviet individual. The party considers the shaping of a harmoniously developed and socially active individual the target and the means of achieving a new qualitative status within society. This is impossible without strengthening human health, increasing the span of active life and perfecting the health care system. Considerations regarding the future and the specific suggestions submitted by scientists, practical workers and those who make use of medical services and who provide them, convincingly prove that radical changes in this area have long become necessary. Every one of us and society at large are profoundly interested in them.

Following, under the overall title of "Health Is the Prime Value of Life," are initial materials received by the editor which, naturally, do not lay a claim to an exhaustive interpretation of the problem; they are responses and views expressed by scientists working in different health care areas.

Health mirrors the socioeconomic, ecological, demographic and sanitary-hygienic condition of the country. It not only reflects positive changes occurring in economics, labor, way of life, culture and recreation but also sensitively reacts to any worsening of their condition. That is why, while legitimately considering the health of the population one of the most important social indicators of progress, it is also important to study the topical problems of health care on the basis of a broad social standpoint.

According to a number of Soviet and foreign studies, more than 50 percent of the population's health is determined by its way of life. Fifteen to 20 percent is determined by the environment and an equal figure by heredity and the health care system. The social grounds for the way of life and the environment are obvious. In heredity as well the influence of the outside world is transmitted and accumulated on the basis of the principle of evolutionary continuity. All of this confirms the decisive role of the socioeconomic and ecological factors in determining the population's health.

As we know, scientific and technical progress and social development change and increase the complexity of the interrelationship between people and their environment and have a decisive impact on the nature and reasons for diseases and their development patterns. During centuries of evolution the most important systems for life support of the human body developed under the influence of factors such as hard physical labor and steady malnutrition. Today factors of a diametrically opposite nature play an increasingly essential role in the outbreak of many diseases in the economically developed countries: insufficient muscular and motor activity (hypodynamia), overweight and psychoemotional stress. In addition to other socioeconomic, ecological and demographic changes, they cause a significant increase in the frequency of cardiovascular and nervous-mental diseases.

In the case of most people habits and behavioral stereotypes have fallen behind the way and pace of present-day life. A peculiar biosocial arrhythmia has developed as a common prerequisite for the type of pathological condition of modern man. The inability of the body rapidly to adapt to changes occurring in the social and ecological environments is the foundation for a number of psychosomatic conflicts and illnesses. It has been rightly said that cardiovascular diseases are the retribution of nature, a punitive justice for the violation of its laws.

Scientific and technical progress has brought to life a number of previously unknown factors of influence on man (such as new chemicals or various types of radiation), in the face of which he, as a member of a biological species, found himself virtually helpless. Without interacting with them in the course of its development, the body failed to develop corresponding biological defense mechanisms.

Under contemporary conditions psychoemotional relations among people are becoming increasingly complex. All channels through which human interrelationships take place are now full to the limit and sometimes even overflowing. Our nervous system is subjected to constant "bombardment," which is increasing with every passing year, by both healthy, bracing as well as negative and even pain-generating emotions. The pace of life is intensifying and the "wear-out" time of knowledge and equipment is accelerated; some professions "age," and the development of science and culture becomes faster. All of this sets greater demands toward the internal resources and physical and mental health of the individual.

The role of the psychological factor in shaping human health is increasing in the age of tempestuous socioeconomic change. Communication standards must be improved under conditions governed by the intensification of relations among individuals and the constant lack of time. In this case the psychological microclimate in the labor collective becomes particularly important. The development of restraint and

patience and the ability to understand one another and to assess critical situations, which frequently lead to an outburst of emotions, and to maintain an objective attitude in an argument are necessary prerequisites for improving the communicative aspect of the way of life. Obviously, the adoption of certain administrative-legal steps is needed in the case of individuals whose rudeness, tactlessness and bureaucratic callousness cause heart attacks, hypertension crises, angina and emotional breakdowns....

Therefore, the increased dependence of the social and individual health of the people on socioeconomic factors turn health protection from a task of the health care system to a national, a state task, something to which particular attention has been paid in the draft CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers "Basic Directions in the Development of the Health Care of the Population and the Restructuring of Health Care in the USSR in the 12th 5-Year Period and the Period Until the Year 2000." Furthermore, medicine itself no longer deals exclusively with powders, drops and scalpels, increasingly becoming sociopreventive and hygiene-oriented, in the direct and broad meaning of this term.

As V.D. Bonch-Bruyevich recalls, in one of his discussions with Lenin, the latter said: "Sanitation is everything. It means the prevention of all diseases. We like very much to treat patients, we grieve for the dead a great deal but we do precious little to prevent diseases and early and premature deaths" (V.D. Bonch-Bruyevich, "Vospominaniya o Lenine" [Recollections About Lenin], Nauka, Moscow, 1965, p 268). Success in prevention depends, more than ever, on the coordinated activities of state and economic institutions and health care and social organizations in charge of promoting, above all, extensive treatment and prevention. This is not a narrow departmental problem but a system of comprehensively planned national medical and social measures aimed at the prevention and early detection of diseases, lowering disability and mortality, strengthening the health and lengthening the active period of life. This is the most important humanistic task in the solution of which everyone must participate.

Diseases which result in the loss or reduced labor activity of people also cause a great deal of socioeconomic harm to society, for which reason the struggle against them, while primarily solving humane objectives, also has its economic consequences. Let me cite a single example. We are now engaged in the gradual rehabilitation of victims of heart attack. The fact that 36,000 heart attack victims have been returned to active life over the past 2 years has added more than 10,000 man/days to the production process. The benefits from this have exceeded 40 million rubles.

The formulation of sociohygienic forecasts for the population's health and morbidity on a union-wide scale is becoming increasingly urgent. Their purpose is not only

to determine the existing situation but also promptly to predict the possible appearance of adverse consequences of any scientific and technical, technological and ecological developments to human health and promptly take the necessary steps.

We have reached a point in the development of our health care in which it is equally important to improve the ways and means of preventive work and to enhance its prestige. Unfortunately, for the time being this prestige remains low. It is obvious, nonetheless, that medical measures alone cannot correct the serious shortcomings noted in the draft. The historical experience in Soviet health care indicates that the only proper way in the struggle against disease is comprehensive social prevention. Thus, according to data provided by the Scientific Research Institute of General and Communal Hygiene imeni A.N. Sysin of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, reducing the level of air pollution in industrial centers in our country by 25-30 percent (which is realistic providing that we perfect production technology and undertake the efficient treatment of harmful emissions in the air) could lower population morbidity by no less than 10 percent. That is why it is difficult today merely to claim that opening new medical institutions or spending the funds allocated for the struggle against noise and environmental pollution for such purposes would by themselves have a tangible effect on reducing the incidence of cardiovascular and oncological diseases.

As we pointed out, today the main reasons for temporary or permanent disability are chronic diseases of the cardiovascular system, the respiratory organs, the endocrine system, malignant tumors, etc. The diseases of modern man are, above all, diseases of his way of life and daily behavior. Medicine cannot be limited to the struggle against diseases. A disease is largely the consequence and the reasons are found in the environment and in working, living and recreational conditions. If our way of life is made consistent with optimal hygienic requirements and standards, it would become the base for the mass reproduction of health, high-level activeness and creative long life and a prerequisite for a sharp decline in morbidity. That is why perfecting and strengthening the health of those who are healthy assumes particular importance.

Unfortunately, our medical science has little experience in this area. Medical ethics, with its century-old traditions, deals essentially with relations between physician and patient. However, the ethical, psychological and legal principles of his relations with the healthy person have not been formulated. A developed diagnosis of diseases exists but the methodical foundations for health diagnosis have not been developed. There is an epidemiology of diseases but not an epidemiology of health. We are unable to determine and measure the level of health and quantitatively to express the dynamics of its changes. These are new tasks which are set to our health care system at its present stage of restructuring.

We believe that it would be expedient to set up consolidated health centers in town and country instead of scattered genetic and vocational guidance offices and consultation facilities. Such centers would engage in consultative and medical education work in promoting the hygiene of nutrition, mental and physical labor, family life, physical culture, psychophysiology and vocational guidance. Such work could involve the participation of retired physicians with extensive professional and practical experience. Such a center already exists in Klaypeda, in the LiSSR.

In my view, we must also codify the stipulation according to which an enterprise and organization producing specific goods and employing a specified number of workers should include in its basic social services not only medical-sanitation units and prevention sanatoriums but also children's preschool and sports institutions. This would strengthen the material facilities in adopting a comprehensive approach to protecting the health of the working people.

We know that care for sick children involves especially heavy work losses. Every day some 700,000 women do not show up for work for that reason. Meanwhile, infant morbidity in nurseries and kindergartens not only does not drop but even keeps growing. In recent years the group of children who are frequently sick for long periods of time remains large. In order to lower such alarming indicators, obviously, we must set up more preschool institutions and sanatorium-type units.

Statistical data and the experience of various countries prove that most frequently ill are children in the first 3 years of life (a significant number of reports we receive are about mothers with children within that age group). Guided by humane considerations, as well as proceeding from the economic and sociomedical viewpoints, it would be expedient to extend the time needed for child care (albeit with reduced pay) to the age of 3 as is practiced, for example, in Hungary.

The time has come seriously to raise the question of the development of a modern healthy recreation industry. Unfortunately, this aspect of our life is not reflected in the draft. Yet problems related to the organization of recreation are assuming national importance today. It is no secret that in frequent cases during their leisure time the people not only do not restore or strengthen but, conversely, destroy their health. Toward the end of days off and holidays and, sometimes, during their paid leave, some people experience a so-called "leisure time fatigue."

Practical experience indicates that a high percentage of the population is still insufficiently well-informed of the fact that some diseases are the inevitable and unavoidable consequences of an unhealthy way of life and harmful habits. At the same time, many sick people do not consider themselves in the least to be

responsible for their illnesses. They demand of the medical workers to give them back their health but see no reason to make such demands above all of themselves.

We know that the foundations for health and a long and creative life are laid in childhood. That is why today great attention is ascribed to developing a basic knowledge of hygiene in school.

The shaping of a healthy way of life presumes the elimination of drunkenness and alcoholism as extremely negative social phenomena which cause irreparable physical, mental, moral and economic harm to the individual and to society. The harm of drug addiction, which leads to the moral and physical destruction of man, is self-evident. All of this must be made familiar to the people since childhood along with instilling in them healthy habits which are so greatly necessary for their entire subsequent life.

Relieving people from hard work without involving them in corresponding ways and means of active life (physical culture, sports, hiking, work at garden plots, etc.) will not yield the necessary healing results.

Only one-third of our employed population are systematically engaged in physical culture. Exceptionally few young people are engaged in practicing it. Insufficient motor activity leads to overweight even among high school and university students. Among the population as a whole, it affects as many as 30 percent of the people.

Physical culture and sports are not only a help in working but also a necessary element in the rational organization of the work and the most important prerequisite for health protection and the harmonious development of the individual, for many centuries of evolution have programmed our organism for active and quite ascetic and harsh life, related to the expenditure of substantial physical and muscular efforts. Simple, accessible and inexpensive methods exist for involving the broad population strata in physical culture. We must bring order in the use of funds for the construction of sports facilities. In some cases it would be more sensible to set up several sports-treatment complexes in residential areas instead of a single pompous "prestige-oriented" palace of sports.

Under the conditions of restructuring all areas of our life, shaping in the people the need for a healthy way of life and for becoming comprehensively and harmoniously developed is one of the main sociohumanistic tasks which can be implemented only through joint and well-coordinated efforts.

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### Foundations of Biology in Practical Medicine

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[Article by Aleksandr Yakovlevich Kulberg, professor, doctor of medical sciences, head of the Immunochemical Laboratory, USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Scientific Research Institute of Epidemiology and Microbiology imeni N.F. Gamaley]

[Text] More than ever before today the answer to the question of what is a disease is relevant. We know from daily practical experience that a disease, unless strictly related to an accident or any other strong outside influence, is manifested to one extent or another in weakness, inability to lead a customary way of life and to perform one's usual job. It means a disturbance of the biosocial dynamic balance inherent in an individual. Whenever external conditions change, the healthy person preserves this a balance through his adaptation mechanisms. The adapting ability of someone who is ill is quite limited and is restored only after he has regained his health. Whatever the reason for his illness (the reasons may be in the thousands), and regardless of the organ or tissue in which a pathological process has developed, the disease will manifest itself with symptoms which reflect the reaction of the entire body to the damage caused to some part of it. Such symptoms are frequently similar in a great variety of diseases, something which all of us know. The general symptoms (indisposition, headache, aching muscles and joints, higher body temperature and so on) are merely the tip of the iceberg.

The question of the mechanisms which trigger the destabilization of the organism as a whole, whenever one organ or another is affected, remains one of the main questions in contemporary medicine. Biological balance is based on the harmonious work of a tremendous number of cells with their complex metabolic processes, controlled by a variety of regulatory molecules. That is why the seeming reason for any disturbance of the biological balance detected in a given case in reality could be merely the consequence of disturbances which have appeared elsewhere. This leads us to assess diseases on the basis of an increased number of parameters, the accurate choice of which is sometimes possible to prove with the same amount of confidence as that of their random nature.

If a disease reveals its existence "most loudly," its accurate diagnosis by experienced physicians will require the use of a variety of means and methods. A diagnosis is much more difficult in the course of a nonsymptomatic course of the pathological process at its initial stages in the violations of the biological balance which, to one extent or another, are "compensated" by man's adaptation possibilities. However, it is precisely at this stage of the disease, should it be identified, that it is the easiest of all to treat and thereby to prevent a number

of tragedies. That is precisely the purpose of the universal outpatient treatment of the population, which is an essential and significant task which was set by the party to the Soviet health care system.

The examination of tens of millions of people, within the framework of the universal outpatient treatment of the population, planned for the immediate future, sets the science of medicine the task of formulating criteria on the basis of which it will be possible to determine the lack of symptoms of a disease in the individual, obvious or not. We need a scientific and economically expedient strategy for such an exceptionally important project. The choice of such strategy presumes, as in the solution of other major national problems, wide experimentation, in the course of which, on the basis of a competitive creative basis one could evaluate the various concepts. One such concept is based on the results of studies conducted of late in our country within the framework of the study of mechanisms which regulate the biological balance and its violation as a result of different pathological conditions. We believe that the implementation of an essentially prophylactic program for the development of health care, which is currently being discussed, may include the results of projects described in this article.

As we know, each cell in the living organism "works" in the interest of implementing the program issued to it through the hereditary system. The cells "learn" from their environment what they need for their nutrition as well as from the regulatory molecules, with the help of the special proteins—receptors—which are built in their membrane. The receptors selectively (specifically) bind the respective substances, for which reason their "selection" is not the same for the various cells. However, the need for some substances (glucose, amino acids, insulin, growth hormones) exists in all cells without exception. That is why the specific features of some receptors are coincidental.

Of late we have been able to prove both theoretically and experimentally, that the various specific cellular receptors have similar structures and, therefore, a certain commonality of biochemical features. Such studies, which are essentially of a purely theoretical value, have been a base for the elaboration of a concept, according to which receptors and products of their partial division "include" the positive feedback which destabilizes the organism as a whole should a pathological process develop in any given organ.

Let us explain this. The receptor proteins have their weak spots, which are sectors highly sensitive to the splitting of the ferments, which are biocatalysts. As a result of their effect the "learning" sector of the receptor is "cut off" from the cell. However, this fragment retains its ability to bind the same substance as the receptor from which it came. This important fact was experimentally proved in our laboratory. Fragments of receptors, which we describe as regulatory (R) proteins become the

interceptors of the molecules needed by the cells and the latter inevitably begin to experience hunger even if an adequate amount of nutritive substances enters the body from the outside along with the necessary hormones and other metabolic regulators. Any pathological process, which develops within a restricted space (in a given organ), regardless of the reasons which caused it, results in the death of a certain percentage of cells and a lowering of the viability of other. The cells which have died or are weakened release ferments which cut off from the surrounding cells the "knowing" parts of the different receptors. This leads to the accumulation of R-proteins in the pathological center and, as a result, the hunger experienced by an increased number of cells. Now these cells, with a reduced viability, become "donors" of ever new portions of such proteins. The process develops, as a result of which, at some point significant amounts of R-proteins enter the blood and, through the blood, enter organs and tissues throughout the body. As we already noted, all cells need substances which are the most important in sustaining their life. By intercepting them, the respective R-proteins disturb the biological balance in the entire body. Since the entire process of metabolic exchange depends on the nutrition needed for the life support of the cells and regulatory molecules, the destabilization of the body which occurs will be paralleled by changes in a great variety of indicators. The prime reason for such changes, however, is the violation of cellular receptivity under the influence of R-proteins.

All the facts affecting the nature and properties of R-proteins urgently required an assessment of their nature in different human diseases and comparisons with healthy people. Our laboratory developed a simple and reliable method for identifying R-proteins in the blood (which requires no more than a single drop of blood), saliva, milk, or bone marrow. Corresponding instructions and aids were drafted and the training of physicians and laboratory personnel from many clinical institutions in Moscow and other cities in the country was undertaken. In the past 2 years more than 150 clinical workers have specialized in our laboratory and returned to their jobs. The obtained data convincingly proved that the content of R-proteins in sick people, compared with their level in healthy ones is, as a rule, higher and the extent of this increase is determined by the severity of the condition of the patient. These conclusions were reached in the study of patients suffering from infectious diseases, internal diseases, including insult and infarct, malignant growths, and diseases in the joints and the nervous system. The R-protein test was extensively tried in obstetrics and is now beginning to be used with very encouraging results in pediatrics.

What is the result of clinical work? As theoretical postulates indicated, the test characterizes not the nature of the specific disease but the very fact that it exists and the severity of disturbance of the biological balance. With efficient treatment the content of R-proteins regains its normal values, but only when improvements are of a durable nature. It is of great importance that with the

help of this test we are able to forecast the appearance of diseases. Thus, the high accuracy of a prognosis of infectious complications in obstetrical clinical treatment was confirmed by N.I. Yakovleva and M.F. Feyzulla, at the Moscow Oblast Scientific Research Obstetrics and Gynecology Institute, using R-proteins as the main test. The prognostic value of this test in obstetrics is confirmed also by the work done under the guidance of Professors K.V. Voronin (Dnepropetrovsk) and D.N. Yevnin (Kursk). The essential significance of the results of said studies in solving topical problems of protecting motherhood and childhood led to the initiation of broad studies of pregnant women and mothers in several cities in Moscow Oblast with the participation of immunologists, epidemiologists and clinicians.

The studies in obstetrics are being carried out by pediatricians from the All-Union Scientific Research Center for the Protection of the Health of Mothers and Children, the Scientific Research Institute for the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood of the TaSSR Ministry of Health (Dushanbe), the Second Moscow Medical Institute and the Kursk Medical Institute. Such comprehensive activities can, in our view, make a tangible contribution to protecting the health of mothers and children, as stipulated in the draft of the document under discussion.

The prognostic value of the R-protein test is also based on data obtained by a group of Yerevan specialists, headed by Professors E.S. Gabrielyan and G.O. Bakunts from the study of patients with a risk of disturbance of blood circulation in the brain. All of this leads us to rely on the formulation of a widely accessible method for identifying *the risk group*, i.e., individuals in whose body changes in the biological balance have been noted.

Within the framework of the discussion of the draft "Basic Directions," justifiably, in our view, Professor G. Apanasenko pointed out in *Pravda* that in the interest of developing prevention in medicine we must substantiate the "methods for diagnosing the 'quantification' of the condition of health itself." The suggested formulation is somewhat unusual but essentially it is a question of evaluating the degree of individual stability in preserving the biological balance under the influence of one adverse factor or another or their combination. Common experience also indicates that this resistance differs with the individual.

Our laboratory has started joint studies with the medical school of Yakut University with a view to determining the value of R-protein testing for the purpose of solving problems related to the influence of migration processes and the environment on human health. Such studies are being carried out at the Neryungra coal mine and at Yakut enterprises. Similar work is being done in West Siberia, at the Tomsk Medical Institute and the Oncological Scientific Research Institute, Tomsk Scientific Center, USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and in the

Baltic area, at Minelektrotekhprom enterprises. Similar studies are planned for other parts of the country. Their conduct, with the participation of both physicians and sociologists, will enable us, we believe, to provide a comprehensive solution to problems of modern prevention.

Thus, as fragments of cellular receptors, R-proteins are able, with a certain concentration, to destabilize the biological balance, for which reason they are a significant factor in the development of diseases. The following naturally arises: Does the body have a system which would act as an antidote to R-proteins? The latter always develop in small quantities in the healthy person as well, for the cells and their components (such as receptors) are constantly renewed.

Our studies have indicated that the body indeed develops proteins, so-called antireceptors, which can attach themselves to the R-proteins and deactivate them. The antireceptors are synthesized in the cell together with the receptors, for which reason each receptor has its antireceptor. Like the receptors, they are built in within the cell's membrane, can be "cut off" with its ferments and find their way into the blood and other body liquids. If a certain ratio between the receptor and the antireceptor in such a mixture is achieved, they neutralize each other. This is manifested in the fact that the "cut off" antireceptor suppresses the fermenting activity of the R-protein with which it interacts. This system is quite dynamic. The proteins which form it catalytically turn each other into products which have lost their respective functions. The disturbance of the balance within such a system, under the influence of certain factors which are being intensively studied presently, leads to the prevalence of R-proteins, with all the consequences we already mentioned. That is why the elimination of disproportions between R-proteins and antireceptors could greatly contribute to maintaining the body's biological balance.

The experiments we conducted confirm the usefulness of the method we have selected to upgrade the resistance of the body to adverse influences. A number of laboratories of our institute have joined in this work together with specialists from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Molecular Biology and other institutions. Low-molecular natural peptides, followed by their synthetic "duplicates" were developed, which can influence the R-protein-antireceptor system. It has already been established that said peptides are efficient immunoreactive regulators and can ensure the development of a powerful immunoregulator and interferon, which is an antiviral agent. They have no toxic characteristics and could be developed in the future as a new type of medicinal compounds which could stabilize and correct man's biological balance. The new compounds are protected with authorship certificates.

The discovery of the antireceptors made it possible to formulate and experimentally to substantiate a method for controlling the biosynthesis of protein based on the

feedback principle. This principle, which is the base of the functioning of all cells and the organism as a whole, was already known to the scientists. However, the universal mechanism for its implementation had remained unknown until the discovery of the antireceptors. With its use medicine acquires qualitatively new opportunities for the treatment of a significant number of diseases.

Going back to the problem of outpatient treatment, let us point out that these methods are promising even during the earliest stages of the study of individual professional groups as well as the population at large. Such studies do not require any major time outlays or funds and, in our view, would make it possible to identify disease-risk groups. At a second stage such groups would be carefully examined by specialists with the use of a variety of instruments and laboratory methods, which would enable them to diagnose specific diseases and undertake their treatment.

This outpatient treatment system with identification of risk groups will be experimentally tested next year in a rayon in Yerevan. The idea met with the support of the Armenian SSR Ministry of Health. At the same time, the same method will be tested in several areas and among different professional groups.

Let me note in conclusion the unquestionable priority assumed by our country in such studies. They are the result of the formulation of an interdisciplinary and interdepartmental program which is directly aimed at practical health care and biotechnology. The speed with which scientific developments have begun to be applied in clinics and hospitals is explained, above all, by the enthusiasm of the participants in the program and their profoundly creative attitude toward the work. The major steps which are planned in the development of medicine and in restructuring health care will give a new impetus to basic research in biology and medicine and the efficient practical utilization of their results.

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#### **Important Link in Preventive Treatment**

*18020002n Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 87 (signed to press 14 Sep 87) pp 66-69*

[Article by Yuriy Anatolyevich Aleksandrovskiy, head of the All-Union Scientific-Methodical Center for Marginal Psychiatry, deputy director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of General and Forensic Psychiatry imeni V.P. Serbskiy, USSR Ministry of Health, doctor of medical sciences, professor]

[Text] The steps aimed at upgrading the efficiency of prophylactic work, stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers draft "Basic Directions in the Development of the Population's

Health Care and Restructuring of Health Care in the USSR in the 12th 5-Year Period and the Period Until the Year 2000," cover all aspects of life in our society. This is quite correct. Social conditions play an important role both in the origin and the outcome of many currently widespread diseases. This is most valid in cases of neurotic disturbances. In all likelihood, based on personal experience, all of us know that increased irritability and fatigue, lack of confidence in oneself, bad mood and insomnia not only cast a cloud on our life but have a harmful influence on those around us. They could be the reason for the development of vegetative disturbances, hypertonia and other somatic diseases. Frequently such phenomena are not as yet a disease in the straight meaning of the word and require no special intervention. They are functional and easy to treat compared to mental illness. The reasons for neurotic disturbances are by no means always noticeable to the outsider. In their most general aspect they are part of the emotions of a person, based on the inconsistency between an ideological-psychological mind set and the possibilities of real life. In any case, the conflict situation, whether "verbalized" or not ("something is flickering inside") creates anxiety, depression and other disturbances which trigger indifference, mistrust, and hatred and reduce the ability to work and responsibility for assignments which, in turn, frequently has catastrophic consequences.

It would be naive to think that psychological traumas would ever leave man alone and that the psychoemotional overstress and, with it, neurotic disturbances, would disappear. Hence the task of predicting, inasmuch as possible, the appearance of mental traumas and actively to surmount that which physicians describe as psychogenic influence and, if necessary, to a certain extent, to become adapted to them.

Statistics confirm a significant increase in such disturbances. According to several researchers, from 1956 to 1981 in 63 countries throughout the world the number of people with neurotic disturbances increased annually by 10.8 percent. In the socialist countries, including the USSR, the increase averaged 5.4 percent.

In our country the main reason for neuroses are family and daily life factors (poor housing conditions, a drinking family member, etc.) as well as conflict situations at work (poor organization of the work, unfairness or psychological incompatibility).

The identification and consideration of the reasons which contribute to the development of neurotic disturbances lead us to raise the question of establishing an efficient system for their prevention and treatment. We must remember that in neurotic disturbances psychological aid is only part of the necessary set of social, organizational and medical measures. Without them simply medical-preventive and treatment procedures are ineffective. This must be mentioned without embarrassment and without any hope that a miracle can be performed with the help of a pill or any other type of

medicine which could "instantly" eliminate irritation, give a boost to a tired person, uplift his mood and increase his ability to work. Drugs and psychotherapy are used mainly for people who are sick. The healthy person suffering from temporary neurotic reactions needs a system (and not a pill or psychotherapy) of psychological corrective steps aimed at resolving psycho-traumatic situations. Naturally, this requires the comprehensive efforts of a specialist physician, public organizations and the person himself.

Until recently virtually all problems related to the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism were classified as "medical." The result of such interpretation is familiar to all. Our time demands specific steps aimed at identifying and eliminating the social and organizational reasons for neurotic disturbances.

In terms of medical and organizational problems, let us note that the means of assisting people with neurotic disturbances existing in our country are by no means perfect. There are a number of explanations for this, among which, in our view, two are basic. First, the difficulty of finding a specialist in "one's own" polyclinic or even rayon forces the people to turn to various specialists who are not always properly trained to make a correct diagnosis and indicate the necessary course of treatment. Selective studies conducted by our associates have indicated that neurotic disturbances account usually for 11.6 to 12.5 per thousand people who seek any kind of treatment. A special study indicated that the number of such cases was approximately quadruple that number—41.7-48.8 per thousand. Secondly, mental hospitals and psychoneurological outpatient clinics are oriented essentially toward providing specialized aid. A person who displays a certain neuroticism frequently avoids turning to a psychiatrist for fear of being "put on the books" and subject to some social restrictions.

The organization of medical aid under contemporary conditions requires substantial improvements. Its purpose should be to take people closer to general medical services or, in other words, to have some aspects of psychiatric help "come out" of the specialized outpatient clinics and hospitals and enter general treatment and treatment-prevention institutions. Today there are many more reasons for this than there were in the past.

The All-Union Scientific-Methodical Center for Marginal Psychiatry of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of General and Forensic Psychiatry imeni V.P. Serbskiy has undertaken a comprehensive project assigned by the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Ministry of Health, the purpose of which is to improve the prevention of neurotic disturbances. Methodical-diagnostic recommendations have been formulated and are being used. This enables specialists to assess and take into consideration the various forms and aspects of neuroses and neurosis-like

conditions, new therapeutic means and methods for their differentiated application on the basis of unified positions. They are being tested at the clinical bases of the institute.

It is important to note a pattern in the nature of psychogenic reasons for neurotic disturbances among workers in industrial enterprises, identified in the course of a sociohygienic study, which are somewhat different from data obtained in the study of general populations in which the leading causes are domestic conflicts. It has been established that despite the specific nature of different production facilities and socioprofessional groups, some of the most frequently identified factors of increased risk include the unsatisfactory organization of the work and the labor system, which create conflict situations. The consideration of the identified psychogenic reasons and the taking of necessary steps jointly with the enterprise's management, aimed at their elimination, could contribute not only to protecting the health of the working people but also to significantly improving the sociopsychological climate in the collective and upgrading labor productivity. Unfortunately, many production managers find it difficult to accept this concept. They consider the advice of physicians and psychologists as unnecessary or, in any case, of third-rate importance. They put first the implementation of the production plan at all costs.

I recently had the opportunity to talk with machine operators at the first and second blocs of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant. As we know, the shift system which was introduced there after the accident, the difficulties related to the continuing restoration work and, in a number of areas, the increased level of radiation significantly worsened the already important and stressed labor activities. Let us add to this that many of those people experienced the catastrophe and the losses it caused. The overwhelming majority of operators, like all workers and employees at Chernobyl, are successfully coping with their obligations. But here is a note I made: "In the first hours of the shift I feel normal.... Then I become tired and sleepy, uptight, irritated have a feeling of stress.... I try to fight this condition and not make mistakes.... Toward the end of the shift I become nasty, unwilling to see else, but shows restraint and am unwilling to look tired. I go to the dormitory and try to sleep but there is no sleep and I keep thinking of my work.... Finally, I drift off toward the morning and then, back to the shift.... Naturally, if necessary that is the way we shall work and we shall carry out all assignments regardless of the cost...." Through the efforts of physicians and with the most active support of the party organization and the management of the nuclear plant, a system for psychoemotional release and treatment measures has been developed, which includes self-training, massage and reflex therapy, conducted at the health center and in the premises as close as possible to the jobs. In particular, based on their request, some preventive measures are organized directly in the shielded areas. Let me reopen my notebook: "...The moment I feel that I am tired or

'just in case,' after 3 or 4 hours on duty, I go for a massage, acupuncture, relaxation..., and 15 to 20 minutes later I return to my job no longer tired.... What matters most is that then, until the end of my shift, I feel like a real person and back at Zelenyy Mys (the shift settlement), I have enough strength for a sauna.... Then I lie down and sleep soundly...." More than 600 workers and employees who were surveyed highly rated the contribution of medical personnel to the labor success of collective in their nuclear plant. This evaluation is also an acknowledgment of the need for the development of preventive measures and their economic results which are by no means always possible to assess in terms of rubles.

Available experience indicates that if in any given collective the number of people with neurotic disturbances exceeds 10 to 12 percent of those surveyed it means that the sociopsychological climate in it is adverse and that urgent steps must be taken.

Our center is developing a structure and functions of new forms of aid. They include the organization of offices for functional neurology, psychoprophylaxis, psychotherapy and mental hygiene, offered in medical-sanitary units and territorial polyclinics, where a set of general healing and treatment facilities should be provided. Such subunits work most fruitfully if specialists are included in their staffs.

Consultations and psychoprophylactic, psychotherapeutic and other measures are carried out primarily without taking sick leave and, in the majority of cases, virtually without separating the working people from their jobs (provided before going to work, between shifts, or after work).

Some 2,000 workers and engineering and technical personnel at the ZIL were examined at the office of functional neurology of medical-sanitary unit No 1, on an outpatient basis, in 1985-1986. Needed assistance was provided to 958 people suffering from neurotic disturbances. A total of 628 patients were treated at polyclinic No 20 in Sverdlovskiy Rayon in Moscow and 591 people were treated at the physical culture-treatment complex of the ZIL. As practical experience has indicated, the medical-engineering brigades play a major role in organizing prevention and treatment at enterprises for people suffering from neurotic disturbances. Such brigades may include a psychiatrist (psychotherapist), a shop therapist, a psychologist, a sociologist, a foreman and a safety equipment engineer. They determine risk factors, analyze the sociopsychological climate in the collective and formulate and implement the entire set of necessary social and psychological measures.

The use of this method rapidly lowers the symptoms and contributes to upgrading the ability to work, the lowering of morbidity and increased labor productivity. Thus, at the ZIL, in 1986, compared to 1985, the number of people who requested medical-psychological aid among

those who turned to specialists, declined by a factor of 1.4; morbidity with temporary disability, in terms of full days, by 22.1 percent; and on a random basis, by 19.6 percent (among workers); the corresponding figures for the engineering and technical personnel were 14.3 and 17.2 percent. The efficiency of such steps has been confirmed at enterprises elsewhere in the country as well.

Scientific institutions and medical schools are essentially the organizations which apply the system of early detection of people with neurotic disturbances and undertake their treatment. The time has come to make extensive use of such experience in practical health care. However, usually the medical-sanitary units and territorial polyclinics do not have the necessary personnel to this effect. Obviously, it would be proper to allow an industrial enterprise to open additional jobs needed for the organization and implementation of the entire set of preventive "antineurotic" measures. To this effect it would be also necessary to obtain funds from the trade union organizations and, in particular, to transfer some sanatorium-resort institutions and prevention centers under the jurisdiction of the health care authorities for purposes of setting up treatment sanatoriums and specialized daytime (night time) prevention centers for those who suffer from neurotic disturbances. A great deal could be expected from the planned expansion of the activities of cost accounting health care institutions. Bearing in mind that there is a shortage of specialists in psychoneurology and medical psychology, it would be expedient for institutes for the advancement of physicians and the specialized scientific research institutes significantly to expand training in medical psychology, psychotherapy and marginal psychiatry and to involve more extensively specialists from scientific research institutes and medical schools into consultation in treatment-prevention institutions.

It is important for the system of psychohygienic and psychoprophylactic aid, which is currently being developed, to take into consideration regional features and the availability of specialists in this field of medicine. It is recommended, as a basic standard unit in providing psychological aid, to organize as part of the planned steps in preventive medicine, wards and recovery polyclinics of offices for mental hygiene and prevention operating under dual jurisdiction—of the polyclinic and the rayon (city, oblast) psychoneurological outpatient clinic.

Improving prevention, general treatment and medical aid in neurotic disturbances should always remain the focal point of attention not only of medical personnel but also of party committees, enterprise administrations and public organizations. Work in this area helps to identify and involve the spiritual and physical forces of a large number of people in solving socioeconomic problems which face society today and popularize a sympathetic and respectful yet exigent attitude toward one another, which is a major factor in leading a full life.

#### Editorial note:

The discussion of this draft marks the beginning of a major project, as part of restructuring, to promote human health. A great deal of customary concepts must be revised. A great deal must be abandoned and, conversely, a great deal of new developments must be asserted in practical work. Social protection and guarantees which our society gives the individual in this area are what makes socialism be socialism, as was noted at the June Central Committee Plenum. Health protection is one of the most important such guarantees. For that reason the editors believe that this comprehensive topic, considered from various theoretical and practical aspects and from the socioeconomic and sociopsychological viewpoints and on all levels of medical services, must become one of the leading topics of our journal next year. Articles related to the implementation of social guarantees will be combined in a new section entitled "Social Protection," which we shall institute and systematically promote with the active participation of our readers.

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#### Melikhovo's Keeper

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[Article by V. Shugayev]

[Text] In 1940, after graduating from the Krasnodar art school, with his newly acquired diploma in his pocket, he returned to his mother in Serpukhov.

Avdeyev's friends, who worked at the local regional museum, suggested the following: "Go to Melikhovo. We have opened a branch there. You can be its director." One has to have a job, and Yuriy agreed: All right, I shall go there and take a look.

He started for Melikhovo in July, on a day marked by a warm heavy rain. He covered the 12 versts of meadows barefoot, from the station, hitching up his trouser legs. Old man Misha Simanov, the watchman and only guide of the branch, welcomed him with the significant words that "This is real Chekhov weather." He had been familiar with Chekhov from childhood, and with his notes and letters from the countryside.

Avdeyev saw the abandoned garden, the ponds covered with duckweed, nettles and goose-foot growing on the lot where Anton Pavlovich's house had stood. The out-house, where "The Seagull" had been written, had fallen into decrepitude, the roof was green with moss and partially collapsed. The July rain kept falling and Avdeyev felt that he could not stay there. He felt too isolated and living there appeared depressing.

He returned to Serpukhov, said "No," and undertook to paint Chekhov's portrait in oil. On the canvas Anton Pavlovich came out strict, secretive, not warmed by the heart or illuminated by the imagination of the young painter.

Subsequently, Avdeyev was to realize that this July Melikhovo rain had helped him to grow up and deepen his memory of Chekhov's land, of the garden covered with grass and shrubs, where once Chekhov had worked tirelessly.

In August 1941 Avdeyev volunteered for frontline duty. In the reserve regiment he was trained as a signal man, and this frail youngster, who looked more like an adolescent, hauled his bobbin with his battery toward the Baltic shores. He considered himself lucky. At one point the neighboring battery caught up with his and soon ran into an enemy ambush. For the first time Avdeyev felt the closeness of death. Once, as he was crossing a field, a fascist pilot who, apparently, had nothing better to do as he flew in the foreign skies, began to pursue this frisky and evasive soldier. He strafed and bombed him but Avdeyev kept running from one stack to another and finally hid in the woods.

Avdeyev explained his soldier's luck as follows: "Fate knew that I would be improving Melikhovo, for which reason it so carefully guided me between craters and deflected bullets away from me."

It did not take long for the battery personnel to learn that their signal man could "draw" a person better than a photograph. There was a pile of requests: "Draw me up and I will send the picture home instead of a postcard." He invariably obliged.

The reputation of his skill of "drawing up people as though they were alive," reached the division's political department. Konstantin Aleksandrovich Biryukov, the chief of the political department, summoned Avdeyev, and looked at his pencil drawings: "Fine. You will stay with us, you will draw our heroes and leaflets and posters." Antsilovich, Biryukov's deputy, added: "My advice to you is this: A portrait is a portrait, but you must paint everything: the way we dig trenches and dug-outs, the way the field kitchen comes to us, and the way the medical battalion sets camp. There will come a time when such testimony will be very valuable."

Avdeyev's first one-man exhibition of paintings took place in the autumn of 1942, near Staraya Russ. Before presenting the guards banner to the division, Biryukov ordered: "Hang all the portraits you have painted on pieces of red cloth and let everyone look at our best people."

The exhibit was held in the tent of the medical battalion, which was the largest. A few pieces of cloth were issued, and a spry laughing female medic was assigned to help

him. She crawled on her knees on the earthen floor, skillfully tacked the paper drawings to the cloth and kept enthusing: "Did you do this all by yourself? What a sight! Will you draw me too?"

He promised. The medic combed her hair, made herself up and stood frozen like a stone by the tent. Avdeyev drew her smiling, with sparkling eyes. The girl took the drawing and indeed smiled: "Right, you made me look happy." All of a sudden she started to kiss the soldier. She kissed his cheeks and his lips firmly, hotly. He felt embarrassed. This was the first time in his life that his artistic talent was being recognized so tempestuously.

Avdeyev reached the Baltic in 1944. He managed to get a pass from Biryukov to tour Riga, made a few sketches and returned to his unit, which was near Tukums. It was there, on the bank of Riga Bay that trouble struck the soldier: Nearby a mine exploded and wounded him heavily. Avdeyev came to in a hospital, surrounded by darkness, and from the talk of the other wounded understood that it was daylight, that the sun was shining and that he was blind....

As he was shifted from hospital to hospital, every night he had "seeing" dreams: He was sketching, or walking down a black road under a July rain in Melikhovo. Incidentally, he frequently dreamed of this path in his youthful dreams. It was as though he would wake up and once again see colors and the sandy willow-lined bend of the Oka.

In Kotelnichi the chief physician, who examined him one more time, said: "Soldier, get used to the idea that you will be blind. Find yourself, think about what to do, what kind of job to have."

Avdeyev returned to Serpukhov. Blindness aggravated the feeling of being walled in, of the resistance of the world around him: He could feel the thickness of a fence without going near it and the strange breath coming from inside a house as he handled the catch; his legs became strong and sensitive, seeking hard surfaces, anticipating a ditch, cobblestones or snags. Although quite tired from this excessive mental and physical stress he gradually became used to it. In fact, he was feeling his way in finding his new place in life: He did educational work with the blind and set up an arts workshop. He realized at that time that any good initiative could turn into grinding officialdom, paperwork, irritation and bureaucratism about premature possibilities which, it is hoped, would appear in a year or two whereas for the time being let us heal the wounds caused by the war.

This sightless bureaucratic travel exhausted him, and Avdeyev went to the countryside, to calm down and gather strength for new efforts.

He remembered July in Melikhovo and the warm heavy rain, the puddles with bubbles which gently tickled his bare feet, and old Misha Simanov with his clever stories,

and it occurred to Avdeyev that in this neglected Melikhovo garden he could find spiritual concentration and thus also a goal which would replace the nostalgic yearning for the prewar colors and turn his casting about and discontent with himself into a meaningful life illuminated by a major objective, a clear involvement, which would combine beauty with truth.

Meanwhile, the position of director of the Melikhovo museum was again vacant, for no one would hold that job for more than a year. That is why, at the city culture department Avdeyev was told: Here is the seal, here is the key to the safe, go and be the director. Again he walked from the railroad station, but this time more slowly, more cautiously than in 1940. There was no rain this time. Once again he was welcomed by Misha Simanov, the permanent watchman and guide, greatly aged since the war, who growled:

"Relax, feel at home. You are neither the first nor the last. Meanwhile, I am here, like Firs, and once again I will be saying, 'They have forgotten me'..."

The countryside was totally wrecked, the outbuildings had come down, Chekhov's garden had frozen in the winter, and the roof on the wing where "The Seagull" had been written, had become totally rotten. The fences had been used up as firewood. Yuriy Konstantinovich settled in the museum's office which had been built from timber taken from the old Chekhov home. Energetically swinging his cane, Avdeyev took the long road to Lopasnya, went from one office to another, saying that Melikhovo had to be rebuilt, the house and the garden of Anton Pavlovich had to be restored, a road to the nearest farmstead had to be laid and exhibits collected. He then went to Moscow, to the culture administration, again with his silent but persistent list: this, that and the other are needed. The lady who ran the administration said in a deep voice: "We have no intention of restoring the lordly estate!"

In the evenings in Melikhovo, as he listened to the rain or the rustling of the old lime-trees and the elms, which remembered Anton Pavlovich, he dreamed of the beauty of the future museum, the growing garden and the carps jumping in the cleared pond.

One morning Misha took him to the collapsed foundations of the old house: "I was tinkering around here during the day, and I think that here is where the stove should be." And they noted on their own sketch the spot where a stove would stand.

One day in July (let me point out, incidentally, how rich the month of July has been in Yuriy Konstantinovich's life), a group of high school students came from Balashikha, not far from Moscow, led by a Russian language and literature teacher. Late that evening the children went to sleep on the floor of the office, on a bed of crackling straw, while Yuriy Konstantinovich and Lyubov Yakovlevna took a walk along Melikhovo's only

street. They walked under the full July moon until midnight, after which they sat 'til daybreak on the emerald-gray dewy porch. They discovered a great deal of common features in their destinies and a feeling of intimacy became so strong that when the time to say good-bye came, Yuriy Konstantinovich asked, his voice trembling: "Shall we meet again soon? Really, shall we?..."

"Yes," barely whispered Lyubov Yakovlevna.

Before I send Yuriy Konstantinovich on his way to Balashikha to ask her hand in marriage, allow me to make a digression I consider relevant.

Let us recall how Anton Pavlovich had come to Melikhovo. He purchased the estate in February 1892 and by 4 March had already settled in. He brought with him the start of his manuscript "Chamber Number Six." He was still excited by the road to Sakhalin, along which evil with nobility, and greed with selfless dedication merged and intertwined, a road along which he had encountered so many victims of misfortune and martyrs, and so many loafers and phrase-mongers, so many Russian fates and Russian space which heavily weighed in him, as his future stories took shape. In Melikhovo Chekhov hoped to gain the spiritual peace and creative concentration he had so greatly missed in Moscow. This hope was strengthened the very first days he spent in Melikhovo while working on "Chamber Number Six."

Somehow superstitiously the thought comes to mind that it was precisely the land of Melikhovo that helped Chekhov to write one of his best stories.

Nonetheless, unquestionably this land, related to dedicated labor, becomes mysteriously imbued and saturated with an attractive power which is transmitted to dedicated people of other times. For many years the Melikhovo field which Chekhov planted had waited for Avdeyev to help him restore industriousness, modesty and spiritual refinement....

Let us now go back to Yuriy Konstantinovich who is in Balashikha, asking for the hand of Lyubov Yakovlevna in marriage. Her mother, as they used to say in olden times, gave her approval, for it was flattering, as Avdeyev joked later, to give her daughter to a museum director! What she did not know was that her future son-in-law was the director of a ruin, earning a miserable salary.

Soon afterwards Lyubov Yakovlevna came to settle in Melikhovo permanently and became Yuriy Konstantinovich's eyes and hands. And he alone knew the place that she held in his heart. Now they went together to see officials, arguing the need to rebuild Chekhov's home. The people at the Lopasnenskiy Party Raykom listened to their arguments and even asked for a photograph of

Anton Pavlovich, clearly in the hope that under his ironic gaze the demands of Yuriy Konstantinovich and Lyubov Yakovlevna would materialize faster.

Together they went to see Olga Leonardovna Knipper-Chekhova. Yuriy Konstantinovich asked her if she remembered the layout of the Melikhovo house. Olga Leonardovna laughed: "My dear, it was spring and I was in love and I do not remember how things were." However, she willingly agreed to help with a letter or a telephone call to a high official, after the owners of Melikhovo sadly returned to see her after their latest round of offices.

They went together to Yalta, to see Mariya Pavlovna Chekhova. It was winter and they carried their luggage to the station on a sled. Mariya Pavlovna, old and sick by then, was touched to tears by the fact that, finally, people who wanted to rebuild her beloved Melikhovo had shown up. She generously shared her possessions with the Avdeyevs, who returned to Melikhovo and immediately, impatiently, opened in the office the first exhibit with the objects they had brought from Yalta and, later, became museum guides.

Ivan Georgiyevich Pchelintsev, a tall, strong blunt man, with a firm handshake, became the chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Chekhov, located on Melikhovo land. Quietly, under his chairmanship, the countryside came to life: Houses were restored, new houses were built and cattle sheds were put up. Pchelintsev frequently told Yuriy Konstantinovich: "Let us first build up the kolkhoz and then the kolkhoz will help you." The "building up" of the kolkhoz did not prevent Ivan Georgiyevich from using museum funds for the needs of the kolkhoz or to grab the lumber which had been obtained with such difficulty for restoring the garden. Avdeyev quarreled with Pchelintsev and matters came to blows but the latter, satisfied, grinned: "Don't be cross. We are on the same side." The kolkhoz chairman found the idea so hilarious that he decided to use the museum's office as the kolkhoz's boardroom. Yuriy Konstantinovich fired a desperately angry cable to Moscow.

Nikolay Georgiyevich Likovenkov was the new chief of the culture administration. He was a frail but energetic and quick moving long-haired man. Looking at him, people hardly believed that he had already had three heart attacks. Seeing the quiet, delicate way in which Yuriy Konstantinovich was guiding a tour, Likovenkov realized that help was mandatory: He managed to find money for laying a road and rebuilding the house. Before his final heart attack Nikolay Georgiyevich was able to celebrate the newly rebuilt Chekhov home.

The road was completed quite quickly: Cobblestone was laid, lined with concrete and, as Yuriy Konstantinovich said, "The eternal road to Chekhov was opened." Generally speaking, Avdeyev loved the word "eternal:" an eternal road, eternal sites, eternal pages. What he meant by this was not simply a span of time but the permanence

of objects or phenomena. Anton Pavlovich's home was rebuilt from creosote-soaked timber, which would remain impervious to Melikhovo's raw weather or wood-borers. In Chekhov's time the inside walls had been covered with Swedish cardboard (today known as dry plaster). Lyubov Yakovlevna, who was also bitten by the concept of "eternity," argued with the builders and saw to it that wet plaster was used instead of cardboard, so that no mouse would ever disturb the tranquillity of Chekhov's new home.

With their tireless meticulousness, the Avdeyevs' Melikhovo troubles were similar to those experienced by Anton Pavlovich himself such as, for example, when he started cholera-treatment centers in Serpukhovskiy Uyezd, tirelessly making the rounds of landowners, physicians, zemstvo officials and manufacturers, collecting aid. And what about Chekhov's rescuing the journal *KHIRURGICHESKAYA LETOPIS!* How many letters did he have to mail all over Russia to collect funds for its publication!

While the house was under construction, Yuriy Konstantinovich and Lyubov Yakovlevna were rebuilding the famous Chekhov garden, which had been laid out in the style of gardens in the south of France, planting artichokes, red cabbage and other strange foreign vegetables. Some letters written by Anton Pavlovich had been preserved, in which he asked Mariya Pavlovna to bring him various seeds, naming the owners of stores where they could be purchased.

The Avdeyevs raised rabbits, birds, chickens and turkeys, for without such efforts one could not survive on the museum's salary. Furthermore, according to Yuriy Konstantinovich occasionally it was necessary to entertain and butter up recalcitrant collectors who may own a priceless autograph by Anton Pavlovich or any item of his, which could be added to the exhibits.

The bathtub which had once stood in Melikhovo was returned, the new garden bloomed, and a museum branch was opened in Kryukovo village, at the medical center where Anton Pavlovich had treated the sick peasants. A branch was opened also in Novoselki, in the school which had been built with Chekhov's money. The post office was being rebuilt. It had been opened in Lopasna in 1896, thanks to the writer's efforts. It was here, surrounded by items of the postal and telegraph service of old Russia, that his letters were exhibited.

Last March Yuriy Konstantinovich was at work in his office on a book describing the restoration of Melikhovo. Avdeyev quietly said: "Another lifetime would be needed to rebuild everything, for all outbuildings to be restored, as they were in Anton Pavlovich's lifetime, and to restore the garden in its entirety. Many of the elm trees have died in recent years and they must be replaced.

Daily efforts are needed. We have 17,000 exhibits. The story of each one of them should be told and many instructive stories could be told about selflessness or human greed and trickery."

We entered Chekhov's office. The tail end of a snowstorm raged outside, rising in white spirals or helplessly falling on snowdrifts. Darkness was falling. We recalled one of Anton Pavlovich's letters in which he said "...I see a big hare sitting not far from my window, mulling about something; he sat awhile and then calmly hopped in the garden." Yuriy Konstantinovich said: "To this day hares stare at this window. When the ice thickened it becomes quite a show."

A couple of days later we went to Novyy Byt, a village visited by Ivan Velikopolskiy, one of the characters in "The Student," one of Anton Pavlovich's most tender and saddest stories, a story which should be literally memorized. We found the path which branched off the highway, crossed a hanging bridge thrown over a dark gully and saw past the shrubs a large field on with snow brought in by the blizzards had piled.

I stopped waiting for Yuriy Konstantinovich to catch up with me. He walked cautiously on the narrow path among the snowdrifts tapping with his walking stick. A warm feeling welled up in me: What a great deal he had been able to accomplish! He rebuilt Chekhov's home from scratch, he selflessly served his memory for 40 years, bit by bit creating a huge unique museum-preserve, without which the country's cultural life would be inconceivable. Avdeyev has written several books on his searching and finding Chekhov memorabilia, books written in clear and expressive language, which inevitably make the reader grateful to their author: That is how one can and must preserve the great names of the nation.

"This," Yuriy Konstantinovich said, as he approached me, "is the meadow where Chekhov and Levitan measured their strength. It was here, on this field that stood the fence which Ivan Velikopolskiy saw."

Aware of Avdeyev's extraordinary memory, I asked him to recite something from "The Student." Yuriy Konstantinovich thought, turned his head toward the field, in the direction of the fir grove on top of the hill, perhaps imagining how Chekhov and Levitan had ran down from it, gaily out-talking one another. He quietly said: "Truth and beauty, which guide human life..., have not stopped to this day and, obviously, will always be the main facet in human life and, in general, on earth."

Yuriy Konstantinovich Avdeyev, the Russian devotee, was no longer with us by the time these pages were being prepared for publication. His heavy ailments had done their work....

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## The Humanistic Vector of Science

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[Text] The International Congress on the Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science was held in Moscow between 17 and 22 August 1987. The theme of the congress was "Science-Man-Humanism." The congress, in the proceedings of which more than 1,200 scientists from more than 40 countries participated, was a noted event in our country's scientific life. Unquestionably, the results of its activities will influence the development of global philosophical thinking as well.

Scientists from the socialist countries were exceptionally well-represented. The congress was attended by a delegation of philosophers from the PRC (about 100 people), which was the first time that such an impressive delegation had attended any such forum. The congress was also noteworthy for the participation of many scientists from developing countries.

The Moscow meeting was the eighth such meeting sponsored by the International Association of Philosophy and History of Science and its Department of Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science (OLMFN). The first such congress was held in Stanford (United States) in 1960. At the third congress, which was held in Amsterdam in 1967, the Soviet National Association attended the work of the OLMFN. A.A. Markov, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, was elected OLMFN vice-president. The now deceased Academician B.M. Kedrov and A.A. Markov, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, played a major role in OLMFN activities and helped to strengthening the prestige of Soviet science and establishing fruitful contacts between Soviet scientists and their foreign colleagues.

The Moscow congress was the most representative of all of them, greatly surpassing in terms of the number of participants the fourth congress which had been the largest until Moscow, the one held in Bucharest in 1971. In addition to the sessions of 13 sections and 2 all-section symposia, special seminars and 8 roundtable meetings were held on broad interdisciplinary topics, such as the comprehensive study of man, factors governing the development of scientific knowledge, global problems of our time, the computer revolution and artificial intelligence.

Noteworthy above all was the type of atmosphere which prevailed at the congress. In this respect it was substantially different both from preceding congresses on scientific logic, methodology and philosophy as well as from similar undertakings which had earlier taken place in our country. It was unusual for an encounter among scientists to discuss their own special problems to generate such lively and broad interest: for some of the sessions

there were more people wishing to participate than there was space despite the sizable premises. The work of the congress was noted for the lively, frank but nonetheless proper exchange of views in the course of the debates which repeatedly broke out: in frequent cases young and beginning scientists argued against statements by noted high-ranking colleagues.

Some already apparent trends of intensified philosophical-methodological study of science were clearly noted and gained strength at the Moscow congress. At the same time, a great deal of new developments were also noted, which are bound to have a future influence on research topics.

The paper submitted by Academician P.N. Fedoseyev at the plenary session and the concluding speech by I.T. Frolov, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, emphasized that the characteristic feature of the contemporary stage in the development of science is a synthesis of methodological, conceptual and humanitarian problems.

Complex processes have taken place in recent decades in the study of the logic, methodology and philosophy of science. For a time it appeared as though such topics were being pushed to the side of philosophical research, losing their clear conceptual trend. Today, as was proved once again at the Moscow congress, the relevance and conceptual significance of the methodological and philosophical study of science is unquestionable.

The history of civilization in the second half of the 20th century has developed under the mark of the accelerated progress of science and technology and the active invasion of science into a variety of areas of social life. It is natural for the study of the laws and trends in the development of scientific knowledge and its special functions and role in culture are becoming the most important aspects in the interpretation of contemporary social reality.

There has been a noticeable and steady increase of interest in the social, human and humanistic aspects in the development of science, which relatively recently had been virtually ignored in the field of logical and methodological research. Today this topic, which was the theme of the Moscow congress, was extensively debated not only at the sessions where general problems of methodology were discussed but also in the study of individual areas of knowledge, such as physics, biology, psychology, etc.

This is quite natural. In its interrelationship with science, today mankind frequently comes across unexpected and unique situations. Philosophy must interpret new experience, develop a rational attitude toward science, determine what people should and should not expect from science.

The editors requested several participants in the congress, members of the Soviet Organizational Committee for the Congress, and heads of sections, roundtable meetings and seminars, to share their impressions of the congress.

**V.S. Stepin, director of the Institute of History of the Natural Sciences and Technology, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor:**

The debates focused on the situations and problems affecting science today. The variety of speeches recreated the multidimensional image of contemporary science in its basic aspects: as a system of knowledge, a cultural phenomenon and a social institution. In frequent cases the traits of this image were imprecise and not always clearly identifiable. However, they somehow imbued all key debates, appearing in the discussion of methodological problems of individual disciplines, in interdisciplinary discussions on global problems, in the problems of man, the synthesis of knowledge within the contemporary scientific picture of the world, etc.

The trend toward interpreting the contemporary state of science did not mean that the historical approach was ignored. On the contrary, many of the papers dealt with historical-scientific materials. The synthesis of the history and methodology of science is characteristic of contemporary research. The search for laws and trends of contemporary scientific progress presumes its consideration in a historical perspective and the deeper the trends that philosophical-methodological analysis tries to identify in the rapidly changing science of today the more important becomes the comparison between its contemporary condition and historically preceding stages of scientific development.

The processes related to restructuring the foundations of science in the last third of the 20th century are by no means being studied adequately. They require an intensified analysis, something which has already been undertaken. A number of different viewpoints concerning science became apparent in this area along with different concepts, each one of which draws attention to specific aspects of contemporary scientific progress.

Without claiming to offer a total interpretation of this problem, I shall try to single out some of the most significant features of contemporary science related to the new methodological problems which became topics of lively discussions at the congress.

Even a brief familiarity with the papers and addresses at section and roundtable meetings leads to the conclusion that the most important place in the discussion was held by problems of the methodology of the study of self-organizing and self-developing systems. This is no accident, for it is precisely this that determines the individual areas in contemporary science. These are the main

objects of most basic disciplines, interdisciplinary studies, applied sciences and engineering-technical developments. For example, to the physicists, such problems assumed priority only in the last decade. A comparison between the last Salzburg (1983) and Moscow congresses proves that the share of such problems has increased significantly: problems of the development of physical systems were discussed not only by the section on "Foundations of Physical Knowledge" but also at other section and roundtable meetings.

In his paper at the roundtable meeting on "Factors of Development of Contemporary Scientific Knowledge," I. Prigozhin, Nobel Prize winner (Belgium) presented an integral picture of the irreversibility of physical processes in the micro-, macro- and megaworld. Emphasizing that physical objects, of which our universe is made, are open systems which constantly exchange matter and energy with the external environment, the speaker proved that time should be considered not as an external parameter indifferent to the system but as an internal characteristic of physical systems, expressing the irreversibility of processes and the ability to convert from one level of organization to another. Although many of the ideas in the report (in particular, a suggested new interpretation of the problems of irreversibility in quantum physics) must be discussed in greater detail by specialists, as a whole this concept was a major step toward "evolutionary physics," which considers physical objects as developing systems. The introduction of this idea was related to the development of two areas of physics in the 20th century—the problem of thermodynamics of imbalanced processes and those of contemporary cosmology and theory of elementary particles. The possibility exists today of synthesizing these two areas within a single picture of the development of the universe.

The study of a number of mechanisms of this development, based on the concept that physical objects are open self-organizing systems, was also discussed in the papers by Soviet scientists S.P. Kurdyumov, Yu.L. Klimonotovich, M.V. Volkenshteyn and others.

W. Ebelling (GDR) expressed noteworthy considerations on two strategies of the evolution of the universe: the "thermodynamic," which characterizes processes preceding the appearance of life, and "Darwinian," which became prevalent with the appearance of biosystems (in the last 5 to 6 billion years in the history of the Metagalaxy).

In arguing with I. Prigozhin, USSR Academician N.N. Moiseyev, basing his ideas on Vernadskiy's concept, proved that in order to determine the specific nature of transitions from biological to social systems the concept of the "thermodynamic evolution" is insufficient: the development of the universe must be considered by taking the coevolution of nature and society into consideration.

These and other ideas relative to the problem of the self-organization and evolution in the contemporary scientific picture of the world quite clearly presented the specific nature of contemporary science, dominated by the concept that the objects under study are complex self-developing systems.

Under these circumstances, new exchanges, not inherent in classical science, arise in methodological systems applied in the natural and the social sciences. Increasingly, the ideal structure of theory as an axiomatic-deductive system is competing against theoretical descriptions based on the use of the method of approximation, on theoretical systems using computer programs, etc. The natural sciences are encountering unique historically developing systems which have no duplication and the theoretical explanation of which requires a reproduction of the logic of their historical development.

Whereas in the past historical reconstructions were essentially the work of the humanities and were used only to a limited extent in the natural sciences, today they act as a special type of natural science theories (for example, the various models of the development of the Metagalaxy could be interpreted as special reconstructions of its history). I especially emphasized this circumstance in the debates, for here we see one of the manifestations of the synthesis between the methodology of the natural and the social sciences.

In general, in the science of the age of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution, processes of synthesizing knowledge and interpenetration among the methods applied in the different sciences are taking place much more intensively than in the past. This is the result, on the one hand, of the new social conditions governing the functioning of science and, on the other, the very nature of the topics of scientific research.

The broadening of the social functions of science and the use of its achievements in the various areas of social life, controlling research through planning, financing, targets training of cadres, and so on, brought to life new forms of scientific activity and cooperation in scientific work. Today, in addition to research in the individual fields, an increasing role is being played by comprehensive, problem-oriented studies organized on the basis of preset priorities, combining specialists in different areas, engaged in the implementation of specific scientific programs.

Research activities within such programs frequently blend basic with applied research and even with implementing specific assignments. This enhances direct and inverse relations among natural, social and technical sciences and between basic and applied research.

Today not only achievements in the basic disciplines but also discoveries which arise in the area of applied research and development have a revolutionizing impact on science. Their feedback to basic science frequently

leads to essentially new concepts concerning reality, which changes the existing scientific image of the world. It would be pertinent to point out that a restructuring of our picture of the world, based on concepts of self-organizing physical systems, was developed in the course of numerous applied studies which brought to light the results of unbalanced phase conversions and formations of dissipation structures (structures within liquids, chemical waves, laser beams, plasma instability, the exhaust and flutter phenomena, and others).

As a rule, in the course of interdisciplinary research science encounters complex systemic objects which, in some disciplines, are frequently studied only fragmentarily, for which reason the effect of their systemic nature is not apparent in the individual sciences but only in synthesizing basic with applied tasks in problem-oriented research.

It is important to bear in mind that increasingly not simply developing systems but special types of such systems—complex natural combinations—in which man himself is a component, are becoming subjects of contemporary interdisciplinary research. Such projects are studied also by a number of basic disciplines, which changes their orientation and traditional research methods. Examples of such "human-dimensional" systems include ecological topics, including the biosphere as a whole (global ecology), biotechnical topics (genetic engineering, above all), the "man-machine" system (including problems of software and artificial intelligence) and others. The research strategy applied in the study of such projects clearly demands that we take into consideration the system of human values as initial guidelines for scientific research and involves a series of means and methods typical of humanitarian studies.

It would be legitimate, from this viewpoint, to speak of the penetration of new types of scientific theories and new nonclassical natural scientific and technical disciplines in science in the last third of the 20th century. Fruitful efforts were made at the congress to analyze some of the features of such disciplines and theories.

Many important problems of the synthesis between the humanities and the natural sciences were discussed at roundtable meetings on methodological and social problems of computerization. In this area one could clearly see the way the subject itself stimulates the synthesis of sociohumanitarian and natural science research traditions (the papers by D. Scott, United States; Academician G.S. Pospelov, V.A. Zvegintsev, USSR, and others). The area of these problems, which was outlined in the debate of the congress, directs all of us to a further, a deeper study of the specific nature of the methodological problems and tasks in modern science.

**V.Zh. Kelle, head of sector, Institute of the History of the Natural Science and Technology, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor:**

One of the characteristics of the Moscow Congress was the obvious increase in the number of social and socio-philosophical problems. Extensive work was done by

Soviet philosophers, based on the principles of dialectical materialism and its results in the area related to the specific role which sociocultural parameters play in scientific development, presented at the roundtable meeting on this topic.

The idea of the inseparable link between science and society and between science and man was clearly voiced at the congress, on the publicistic and scientific levels. This means the growing need for and urgent necessity of considering contemporary science not by itself but closely related to the development of society. The roundtable meeting on the problems of man met with broad response. It rallied noted scientists from different countries. For example, the paper presented by M. Maroua (France), director of the International Life Institute, which described some nontraditional aspects of this topic, generated a great deal of interest.

Let us bear in mind that as a social phenomenon science expresses the essential, the basic interests of the human species. It is a powerful intellectual means and a direct production force in the development of civilization. That is why its orientation toward man is its natural feature and not something extraneous. However, whereas in the past scientists could still hope for such essential features of science to be manifested automatically, today science has penetrated so profoundly within matter that researchers must compare any further step they take with the interests of man and do this entirely consciously, with a high feeling of responsibility. This, specifically, is the meaning of the humanistic orientation of science.

In practice, however, everything is much more complex, for there is a deliberate urging not only of the humane but also the antihumane trends in the development and utilization of science. That is why a struggle must be waged for a humanistic orientation of science. The congress made its contribution to the solution of the difficult problem of strengthening the humanistic trends in scientific development, which is also important in upgrading the prestige of science itself, for its reputation in the eyes of society depends on the way society rates the "scientific product."

Many scientists supported this trend adopted at the congress and defended the idea of the humanizing of science. Although initially it may appear that the problem of humanizing applies only to the natural and technical sciences, while the social sciences are, so to say, humanitarian in nature, for they study the "world of man," this is not so. The idea of a value "neutrality" of socioscientific knowledge, that which we usually describe as objectivism, has sunk deep roots in the West. The papers submitted by a number of foreign participants in the congress showed a tendency to consider the social order while ignoring the distinctions between capitalism and socialism.

The ideological and theoretical foundations for rejecting the fact that a certain social orientation is inherent in socioscientific knowledge are by no means always the same. However, they have the common objective of separating science from ideology. Humanism, however, is also an ideology and the humanizing of science such as, for example, acknowledging the priority of universal human interests and humanistic values, also ascribes to science a certain ideological trend. That is why we cannot separate science from all ideology. In a world in which the threat of nuclear war is increasing, social science vitally needs a humanistic orientation.

Furthermore, we must take into consideration that society is becoming increasingly saturated with a great variety of equipment, including software and computers which not only change the way of life but also contributes to the development of technocratic trends. Yet the main task is the development of man himself who must be served by such supermodern technology. In order for the social sciences to be able to identify the problems which arise in this area and to find ways of solving them, and in order to be able to contribute to the development of a sociohumanitarian way of thinking, it must be humanistically oriented itself. The orientation toward man is also a moral imperative in scientific work. Such problems were most urgently raised and considered at the congress, which significantly enhanced its social impact and its consideration of the topical problems of our time.

Traditionally, the logic, methodology and philosophy of science were developed primarily on the basis of the mathematical and natural sciences, and the social sciences were of interest to the specialists up to a point only. This was reflected in the structure of the working sections at the congress: there were more than 10 of them but only one specifically dealt with the philosophical foundations of the social sciences. However, the interest in it increased significantly: about 90 papers, including 54 foreign, were read at the section and a certain number of papers on the topics covered by this section were included in the programs of other sections (on general methodology, etc.). Therefore, increasingly the social sciences are becoming objects of logical-methodological analysis.

Let us note the great variety of topics discussed at sections on the philosophical foundations of the social sciences. The speakers discussed not only purely epistemological and methodological problems of social knowledge but also actual problems of development of economics, ideology, ethics, culture, etc. Problems of social prediction and forecasting and of the practical utilization of social knowledge were considered as well. In particular, several Soviet scientists noted the importance of the development of the applied aspects of the social sciences in the intensification of their role in solving practical problems. In this connection a major debate was held on the status of sociological science in our country: Is it in a state of crisis or upsurge? Some attention was paid to the rather crucial problem of social

rationality, which is extensively discussed in worldwide publications. In particular, a study was made of the correlation between rational choice and social standards in the determination of human actions. Some foreign participants in the congress submitted papers relative to one aspect or another of the use of the apparatus of contemporary logic in depicting human relations and actions. This makes it very difficult to single out the leading topic or problem in such debates. It means that the limits of a specific section become too narrow for the discussion of such comprehensive problems. Let us also note that in the work of this section a difference in the ideological and research traditions observed by scientists in socialist and capitalist countries were noted more clearly than elsewhere.

**V.A. Smirnov, leading scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor:**

The language of logic and precise methods were extensively used by the sections on general methodology of science, the foundations of biological and social sciences, linguistics and psychology. Naturally, neither the methodology nor, even less so, the philosophy of science could be reduced to logic; however, an orientation toward logic and reason was the characteristic feature of the Moscow gathering of scientists.

After each congress I try to identify the areas of growth of the science of logic. The Montreal (1975) and, particularly, the Hanover congress (1979) were oriented toward the link between logical studies and the theory of knowledge: a special section on the "philosophy of logic" was even set up. At the Salzburg congress the orientation toward the use of logic in linguistics and the logical analysis of natural languages were the areas of growth. A sharp turn of logic toward problems of computer science and software was noticed at the Moscow congress. The topic of applied logic dominated all logic sections and was discussed at a roundtable meeting on computerization and in several special symposia. Such a practical trend in logical and methodological studies may explain another characteristic feature of the congress: the sharpened feeling of responsibility for the results of the practical application of science and its humanistic orientation.

A number of results related to the development of the concepts of trueness were presented in Moscow. The theoretical-cognitive concept of trueness is one of the sources for new logical theories and is important in the application of logic to software and computers. Let us emphasize in this connection that contemporary formal logic has included in the scope of its research time, change, and development. The possibility of presenting an objective contradiction within a formal-logical system, the use of logic in ethical considerations, and so on, were discussed at the symposium.

The successes related to the philosophical orientation of logic and the logical analysis of natural languages laid the grounds for the development of applied problems of logic. The development of nonclassical logic and semantics provided tools for the study of programming procedures. A variety of program logics, including dynamic logics, have been created. Fifth-generation computer designs stimulated work on logical programming and the development of procedures for the search of proofs, the languages used in the presentation of knowledge, non-monotonous logics, use of the ideas of approximation, the localizing of contradictions, the need for consideration of resources and memory limitations, etc.

A number of interesting reports were submitted on logical programming. So far, programming has largely remained an art. However, a number of basic results in logic and in the development of dynamic logic and logically oriented program languages enable us, in this area of human activities, in frequent cases to make it into a science and to automate it.

Dynamic logic developed, on the one hand, from the strictly philosophical interest in analyzing action and, on the other, programming. It is not only a means of verification and synthesizing of programs but it also provides new opportunities for the formal analysis of social actions. This trend has become an independent area and was quite extensively discussed at the congress.

Interesting new results were obtained in the logic of proof developed by Soviet and American scientists.

The range of logic research at the congress was exceptionally varied. Let us note some of the studies: thus, a special session was held by the fifth section (general logic) on quantum logic; it included the participation of noted specialists in that area. The rather intensive studies in Aristotelian and traditional syllogistics conducted by Soviet scientists with the application of modern logic tools agreed with studies conducted by Japanese scientists.

In our time a logical language is becoming a necessary tool in methodological and philosophical research. It would be preferable to master such a language in secondary schools or at the start of a higher education course. The development of logical science is impossible without the systematic training of highly skilled cadres. This could be helped by establishing a department of logic as part of the department of philosophy at Moscow State University.

**B.G. Yudin, deputy editor in chief of the journal *Voprosy Istorii Yestestvoznaniya i Tekhniki*, doctor of philosophical sciences:**

Today science holds a very important place in our life, for which reason its study is an important sector in the study of life itself. This was manifested most clearly on the very first day of the congress, in the debates on

traditional philosophical and methodological topics, such as "What Are the Distinguishing Features of Science?" In the past, this topic which is described by specialists as a problem demarcation and which could be renamed into "What Is Science?" had been discussed primarily on the level of the distinguishing features of science as a system of knowledge.

Today, as was proved at the congress, the approach itself has proved insufficient: in addition to the study of cognitive aspects, the identification of the specifically social and cultural features of science as a separate area of human activities becomes increasingly important. It is becoming ever more obvious that we cannot understand the development of science or discover its laws and mechanisms by concentrating exclusively on the cognitive aspects of scientific activities to the detriment of its social and cultural characteristics.

The interest shown in the reciprocal influence of cognitive and sociocultural factors in scientific progress was clearly apparent at the Moscow congress. The roundtable meeting at which this topic was discussed was, in my view, one of its most outstanding events. This meeting, held on the initiative of the Soviet side and which was supported by the international organizational committee, was dedicated to the memory of the noted Soviet scientist Academician Bonifatii Mikhaylovich Kedrov (1903-1985). The following feature was characteristic of the atmosphere at the congress: many of the participants in the discussion, who came from different countries, spoke with sincere warmth of B.M. Kedrov's scientific merits and human qualities.

Going back to the topic of the discussion, let us point out that today the priority gained by Marxism in the interpretation of science as a social institution and in drawing the attention to the social and cultural aspects of its development, which have become topics of intensive research, has been acknowledged throughout the world. However, the situation is paradoxical in the sense that frequently works are published in our country on science and its history, whose authors discuss the topic hastily and in ritualistic general statements, stipulating that the development of science is determined by the needs of material production, without bringing to light the specific forms and mechanisms through which practical requirements (and not only material production) turn into scientific and technical problems. Clearly, this indicates a fear of falling into vulgar sociology. Whatever the case, today we can no longer be satisfied with such works in which the history of science is portrayed as external to the history of society. We need studies which would depict the development of science in its interaction with other areas of social life and on the historically changing role of science as a structural component of universal culture.

Another trend which was manifested at the congress was the fact that the philosophy and methodology of science cannot be limited today to being serviced, so to say, by

scientists working in specific areas of scientific knowledge. A view on science "from the outside" also becomes necessary, along with a formulation and sober discussion of the problems which man and society face with the development of science. Science is frequently defined as rational knowledge; obviously, the time has come for the philosophical and methodological study of science to be based on rational analysis rather than the servile veneration of it.

Indicative in this respect are a growing interest in the problems of the ethics of science and the social responsibility of the scientist. Let us note at this point that such problems had already been discussed at the previous two international congresses on logic, methodology and philosophy of science. At the Moscow congress, however, unlike the previous ones, in addition to a joint section symposium on "Ethics in Science," a roundtable meeting was held by young scientists interested in the global problems of our time and of the responsibility of scientists; furthermore, the ethical aspects of scientific development were analyzed in a number of papers presented at section meetings. Therefore, fruitful contacts between philosophical-methodological and socioethical studies of science are increasing.

I would like to single two of the large number of problems considered at the "Ethics in Science" symposium. The first was the following: Are there ethical problems related to basic research? The popular viewpoint is that one could speak of ethics and the social responsibility of the scientist only in the case of applied research aimed at obtaining certain practical results. As to basic research, its purpose is to acquire "pure" knowledge, for which reason it is ethically neutral. This viewpoint was subjected to quite convincing criticism, in my view, in the paper submitted by Italian philosopher E. Agacci, who proved that basic research could be subject to an ethical assessment from the viewpoint of its objectives, means applied to achieve them and the extent to which the allocation of resources in one area of research or another appears justified.

Another problem was raised by Swedish scientist P. Hardenfors and formulated as follows: Is there something which we do not wish to know? It was a question of the possibility of limiting a given area of research if its results could present a technical or ideological threat to society. Many participants in the discussion disagreed with the hard-line view of the Swedish scientist, who denied the expediency of any restrictions whatsoever. Generally speaking, the discussion of ethical problems of science triggered very lively debates and clashes among different viewpoints. On one problem, however, views were unanimous: the participants (including representatives of the USSR, Norway, the United States, Yugoslavia and Poland) condemned scientific research aimed at perfecting means for the destruction of people.

The Moscow congress was quite indicative of something else as well: as we know, of late many sharp yet just remarks have been addressed at our philosophers for

their alienation from the problems of real life. If we speak of the philosophical studies of science, in this area the situation may appear better. However, here as well there have been many general considerations on the importance of dialectical materialism in science but little specific, philosophical as well as specifically scientific, study of real science, modern science in particular.

Such statements could be found in the materials presented at the Moscow congress. As I studied them, I could identify no less than five reports on the topic of "The Role of Philosophy in Scientific Knowledge." Understandably, a two- or three-page paper or a 15-20 minute address do not allow to say on this matter anything which has not been previously and repeatedly written about. Obviously, the Soviet Organizational Committee did not always display the necessary strictness and principle-mindedness in its selection of the submitted topics.

Naturally, however, the level of Soviet research on philosophical-methodological problems and, in particular, the level of the Soviet delegation to the congress were determined not by these but by the majority of high-class papers. The congress offered an excellent opportunity to compare the state of philosophical-methodological studies of science in our country and abroad. Quite frequently the papers submitted by the Soviet participants were at least as meaningful and interesting as those we read knew and heard at the congress, presented by our foreign colleagues. Incidentally, this was mentioned by our guests as well, in their official speeches and private conversations, and were dictated by no means simply by considerations of courtesy to the hosts.

Work has currently been initiated on the publication of a collection of the proceedings of the congress, which would include the texts of the main reports. Obviously, it would be expedient for this collection to be published in the Russian language as well, so that a general idea may be acquired on contemporary trends in the logical and philosophical-methodological studies of science.

**V.A. Lektorskiy, head of sector, USSR Academy of Science Institute of Philosophy, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor:**

In the light of the events of the congress, I would like to point out some changes which are taking place in the philosophical-methodological analysis of science.

Let us note, above all, the increased philosophical content ascribed to this topic and the ever greater role played by conceptual problems in methodological analysis. It is precisely on such matters that the most heated arguments are taking place.

In recent years another trend as well has appeared in the development of the philosophy of science, which may seem the opposite of the first but which, in reality, supplements it fruitfully and interacts with it. I am

referring to the growing tendency of specialists in this area to elaborate models of the functioning and development of scientific knowledge not on the basis of some "ideal-typical" concepts but on the basis of the painstaking empirical study of specific facts of the history of science, the psychology of scientific creativity, the sociological study of interrelationships within scientific communities and among them, and between them and society at large. Let me mention as an example the joint paper submitted by I. Stengers (Belgium) and Ch. Tcher-tok (France), which triggered broad debates at the congress and in which specific examples of historical ties between chemistry and psychology were analyzed.

The integration trends characteristic of contemporary science also apply to the area of philosophical-methodological analysis. A number of interesting and promising studies were submitted at the congress combining methodology with psychology (contemporary works in the field of heuristics and the "logic of discovery"), methodology and history of science and methodology and sociology. New opportunities appear for interaction between methodological studies of science and developments in the area of artificial intelligence. Great interest in philosophical-methodological works is displayed in the area of the developing cognitive science, which is a broad interdisciplinary area of the study of cognitive processes (let us note parenthetically that Western specialists in methodology use such opportunities more extensively than do our researchers).

That is why philosophical concepts and detailed special-scientific studies of specific problems interact and become interwoven in many contemporary works on methodology. Naturally, there is usually an interconnection between the two which, nonetheless, makes this situation quite important, for the rejection of a given philosophical position neither can nor should lead to ignoring the specific scientific study of concrete data. In such cases principle-minded philosophical criticism presumes a thorough study (and, possibly, reinterpretation on the basis of different positions) of specialized scientific material. This feature of contemporary works on methodology offers great opportunities for truly fruitful debates. In my view, this was demonstrated quite clearly at the last congress.

Let us note, however, that said fruitful trend in the development of methodological research could and, in some cases, does suffer from a faulty interpretation, and that it was this kind of interpretation that was included in some of the statements. The intensified interaction between methodology and the history of science, psychology and sociology is interpreted by some Western researchers as essentially the dissolution of the former within the latter. By advocating the "naturalization" and "socialization" of the philosophy of science, many Western theoreticians try to deprive it of its philosophical nature and convert it into one of the specialized strictly descriptive sciences (as we know, however, a standard does not directly develop from a description and what is

does, does not automatically turn into what should be). In this case, actually, methodology stops being methodology, for it is deprived of its standardizing function and loses its philosophical dimension.

Let me say a few words about another trend. Currently philosophical-methodological problems in the science of man, culture and society are being extensively analyzed. Intensive work is being done on the problems of the technical sciences and the philosophical-methodological problems of design. A particularly large number of papers describing the variety of forms of contemporary scientific knowledge were presented at the sixth section (general methodology of science). Problems of the similarity and differences between natural scientific and technical knowledge were analyzed in great many papers.

In all of these areas of knowledge and activities the standards of scientific level, criteria of accuracy, means of consideration and types of theorizing are quite original and cannot be reduced to what is taking place in physics. Therefore, the expanded role of methodological analysis leads not simply to adding new problems but also to the reinterpretation of the old. This applies above all to general basic problems related to the understanding of science and scientific knowledge. It is clear today that it is impossible to solve such problems without taking into consideration the entire broad spectrum of contemporary scientific disciplines, the new trends in their development and the new forms of interaction among natural, social and technical sciences.

Particular attention was drawn at the congress to the work of sections dealing precisely with such new topics: foundations of psychology and cognitive science, foundations of linguistics and foundations of the social sciences.

**Editors' note:** Thus, for the first time an international scientific congress dealing directly with philosophical problems was held in our country. The philosophical and methodological problems which were raised with the development of contemporary science and the development of which is necessary in understanding science itself and the processes, characteristics and laws occurring within it and in improving the logical-methodological tools used by science, were considered. Usually, international philosophical congresses are attended by representatives of various irrationalist trends in philosophy, which are quite remote from and even hostile to science. There were not present at this congress. In this respect, the congress extended the tradition of the preceding congresses on the logic, methodology and philosophy of science. The Moscow congress was imbued with a spirit of scientific approach and rationalism. Nonetheless, if we speak of the general atmosphere, it was not one of scientism. Problems of human dimensions and humanistic orientations of science were among the leading topics of the plenary sessions and roundtable meetings and extensively discussed at the work sections.

This circumstance contributed to the broad interest which was shown in the Moscow congress by the world scientific public and the mass information media. The organizers of the congress widely opened the doors to the visitors who did not participate in the congress, and who included noted scientists, beginning scientific workers and representatives of yet another very young scientific offspring—undergraduate and graduate students. No such people were present at the previous congresses which were of a more closed nature. This openness at the Moscow meeting was all the more significant for its corresponded to the new spirit of democracy and glasnost which is being asserted in our society. Typically, the congress itself included more young people who were offered the opportunity to speak out on a number of social and scientific problems of interest to them, at a specially organized roundtable meeting on "Global Problems and Social Responsibility of Scientists."

Logical-methodological and philosophical research plays an important role in contemporary scientific life. On the one hand, it contributes to the development of specialized scientific knowledge. On the other, the inclusion of the latest achievements of science in culture and the identification of their conceptual significance are impossible without work especially dealing with their philosophical and methodological interpretation. It is such special work that requires particular, one could even say unique qualifications combining a profound knowledge not simply of the basics but also of the specific content of concepts and theories which are being developed at the cutting edge of science and high, truly professional philosophical standards. The training of such specialists is becoming a socially important problem the solution of which is required both in order to develop a rational attitude on the part of society toward science as well as to strengthen the humanistic direction of science itself. Furthermore, professional, seeking and daring philosophical thinking is one of the important prerequisites for the dynamic development of contemporary culture and scientific and technical and social progress.

The consideration of methodological and philosophical problems is the result of a number of major circumstances. Today science is a mass type of activity. Scientific research is being done by large groups of scientists with different and sometimes quite disparate types of specialization. Naturally, this creates difficulties in reciprocal understanding and the inevitability of the need for an ideological, a methodological coordination of scientific work. The cost of scientific programs and the need for technical support are sometimes correlated to the economic possibilities of the individual countries. Furthermore, they contain elements of risk and the uncertainty of end results. It is clear, therefore, that even before initiating a study we must determine the theoretical long-range development of a given problem, choose the necessary ways and means to solve it and substantiate its economic and social expediency. In this case the philosophical interpretation of such tasks and the elaboration of efficient conceptual guidelines become extremely important.

The increasingly theorizing aspect of scientific thinking, the growing complexity of the conceptual apparatus and the trend toward using in scientific analysis increasingly refined means of abstraction, ideal multidimensional structures, mental experiments, and a complex, not only symbolic-structural but also sociohistorical type of scientific presentations of reality, urgently require the synthesizing of scientific data with the help of philosophical methodology. Today such methodology is a special area of scientific research which truly and actively participates in the process of obtaining, organizing and substantiating new knowledge.

In our days we frequently come across pitting the rationalism based on science against some kind of "true" spirituality. Unquestionably, culture cannot develop in a state of unilateral orientation toward science with its specific way of thinking. It is equally unquestionable, however, that science is one of the loftiest manifestations of the human spirit and that spirituality without science is as harmful as is science without spirituality: true spirituality in our age is inconceivable without an understanding of science, its methods, its place in life and culture and in the development of contemporary civilization.

We believe that all of this must be taken into consideration in planning research in philosophy. The congress reasserted the topical nature of the priority study of "Philosophical and Social Problems of Scientific and Technical Progress," the program for which is being formulated by the USSR Academy of Sciences. The implementation of this program will require the combined and coordinated efforts of philosophers, historians of science and technology, and specialists in the individual areas of scientific knowledge.

We must think also of restructuring the system of training philosophy cadres, a problem which causes serious concern today. The organization and proceedings of the congress clearly revealed the vulnerable, the weak spots in the system of our philosophical training. This system is not aimed at training people who can deal on a modern level and independently with philosophical, methodological and logical problems of physics, mathematics, software, biology, cosmology, economics, law and other sciences. That is why we are already noting a grave shortage of such young cadres. Yet we need a well-trained creative reinforcement, for we have no right to ignore the important area of scientific-philosophical knowledge, which is of prime conceptual significance.

However, in order to work productively in this area, mere education is insufficient. We need two types of education: philosophical and specifically scientific. Both types must not be limited but be complete and high quality. Specific practical steps must be taken in this case. Possibly, we should pay more attention to foreign experience (in England, for example, cadres are being trained in areas such as "philosophy and mathematics," "philosophy and physics," etc.). It would also make

sense to recall our own traditions which, regrettably, have been abandoned. In the 1950s, for example, one could obtain a double training: in philosophy and in a specific science. We must recruit talented young people who want to work in this area and to help them acquire the necessary training. This is a timely question which must be solved. We must train and recruit people familiar with contemporary science, understanding it and capable of posing and solving methodological problems. This requires profound philosophical training and a broad cultural outlook. Our entire system of training young people for work in the area of the philosophy of science demands such a combination of high-level professionalism and a high general culture.

As a whole, the Moscow congress was an exceptionally important event in world philosophy. It was no accident that L.G. Cohen, the noted British scientist, who spoke at the closing of the congress, described it as the most important of any such congresses held thus far.

The department of logic, methodology and philosophy of science held its general meeting while the congress was in session. It elected as its department president L.G. Cohen (Great Britain); I.T. Frolov, the representative of the Soviet Union, was elected first vice-president. Hopefully, the Moscow Congress has made a considerable contribution to the breaking of stereotypes characteristic of the way of thinking of many Western scientists, based on extremely primitive interpretations of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. We believe that this gain in international prestige and recognition will continue to strengthen.

It is obvious today that the principles of dialectical-materialistic philosophy and methodology provide the necessary foundation for the solution of specific methodological problems of modern science. It is important, however, not simply to note that we have the efficient means of doing such work. What matters, above all, is to make skillful use of them in our real cognitive progress.

The lessons of recent decades have proved that the most efficient criticism of non-Marxist methodological concepts and approaches is provided by actual results in solving the methodological problems of science. It is only a dialogue on the level of specific ideas and results that can ensure progress in research. The Moscow congress proved the need and fruitfulness of such dialogue.

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### Vavilov's Lessons

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[Article by Sergey Sergeyevich Dyachenko, candidate of biological sciences, member of the USSR Writers' Union]

[Text] Nikolay Ivanovich Vavilov was born on 25 November 1887. By UNESCO resolution, this date will be noted throughout the world. Few scientists have been

so honored. What did Vavilov accomplish to deserve such universal recognition?

The International Genetics Congress was held for the first time in our country in 1978. One of the plenary sessions at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses was on "Vavilov's Legacy in Contemporary Genetics."

The huge hall was crowded. There was conversation in a variety of languages, for about 4,000 scientists from all parts of the world had gathered in Moscow. A huge canvas on which Vavilov's portrait had been put hung over the podium. The people honored his memory with a one-minute silence, standing. I shall never forget this silence, these people, their faces and the expression in their eyes.... The hustle of ordinary activities and the habitual stereotypes of scientific congresses and conferences were absent. Something noble and bright had entered the hall, stronger than divisions, boundaries and confrontations. There was sadness, for Vavilov was no longer with us, and pride in being born in a land which had given someone so highly respected by everyone and considered a genius in his own lifetime.

Here, for example, is what J. Harlan, the noted American geneticist, said about Vavilov at the congress: "Our age is an age of great knowledge and little wisdom. Vavilov knew how to formulate questions. He was a true philosopher. He also knew how to make wise use of knowledge. Vavilov's legacy lives on, but it seems to me that it must be reinterpreted in terms of the present. We must not be excessively carried out by our methods but learn how to reformulate the radical questions pertaining to nature in Vavilov's spirit."

Soviet scientist F.Kh. Bakhteyev emotionally said: "The life of this unusual researcher and person was like a bright comet in the skies. Totally absorbed with the global idea of the study of the growth of plants, he was able to accomplish an exceptionally great deal within a short time. He also left to us and to future generation an even greater legacy."

But Vavilov is precious to us today not for his scientific legacy alone. The 27th CPSU Congress set the country tremendous tasks the implementation of which will largely depend on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Here again Vavilov's life and work, not only as a theoretical scientist but also as an outstanding organizer of science and, above all, as a person and a citizen, become truly invaluable.

N.I. Vavilov was born in Moscow, in Presna. The history of his family is unusual. His father, Ivan Ilich, had been a church choir singer; as a youngster he worked as an errand boy for the merchant Saprykin. Eventually, he became one of the directors of the famous Trekhgornaya Manufaktura! His dream was for his sons to become merchants, but they went against his will, although he had seen to it that they received a first-rate business

education. Vavilov's sisters dedicated their lives to medicine and Sergey, his younger brother, to physics. How and why was it that in this religious merchant's family all children became scientists and the brothers even became presidents of two separate academies: Nikolay, of VASKHNIL and Sergey, of the USSR Academy of Sciences? Has there ever been another family in Russia to give the fatherland two academy presidents serving at the same time?

N.I. Vavilov graduated from Moscow's Agricultural Institute in 1911 and stayed on in its private-farming department to train for professorial work. The first ideas and beliefs of this young scientist became crystallized in 1917, in an introductory lecture at the Saratov higher agricultural courses, where he was scheduled to take over a department. At that time genetics was only at its beginning, born amidst arguments and the heat of passion, and selection was merely a mixture of empirical observations. Vavilov was one of those who made it into a science, combining, for the first time, genetics with agriculture. The daring task he set himself was to put together, in his own country, samples of plants from the entire world, to save them from destruction, to study them and, on by crossing them with local varieties, to develop new high yielding farm crops. Before Vavilov no one had conceived of such a vast project. Was the fact that this occurred during the year of the revolution a coincidence? Clearly, it was not: In the eyes of the young Vavilov the old world was crumbling. A new society was being built. It was a time of emancipation of the mind and of the greatest daring and inspired creativity. Naturally, Vavilov was not a revolutionary politician. However, the events which were taking place around him could not leave him indifferent or fail to stimulate a re-evaluation of old concepts. Many years later, he was to write that "I would like to build a temple to science, to true science.... The foundations of such a building were laid by the October Revolution...."

At that time, in 1917, Vavilov was only formulating a goal and establishing the way to reach it. A great deal depended on the policy of the young Soviet state. V.I. Lenin knew that it was possible to provide bread for the hungry, to solve the food problem and to renovate the land only by relying on basic science, on scientists, such as N.I. Vavilov. In 1918, Lenin wrote his "Outline of a Plan for Scientific and Technical Work," which laid the foundations for the country's scientific progress. The Soviet system gave Vavilov land near Saratov for experimentation, and although it was unable to provide the necessary facilities, the trust and support of the state inspired the scientist and his followers.

Another event in Vavilov's life was related to the October Revolution, a painful and dramatic one. His father did not accept the revolution and called upon Nikolay to join him abroad, promising mountains of gold there and predicting Armageddon here. Arguments and persuasions did not help. The senior Vavilov left but could not survive outside the homeland. His situation worsened,

he fell gravely ill and was in pain. In the final account, on the insistence of his son, in 1928 terminally sick Ivan Ilich returned to Russia to die in the land of his fathers and grandfathers....

Amazingly, Vavilov made his most outstanding discovery at the beginning of the 1920s. This may have seemed a very inappropriate time for scientific creativity: there was civil war, disease, dislocation.... Vavilov and his students survived on lentil soup, froze in barracks and used their own salaries to buy nails, buckets and axes (an ordinary microscope was considered inaccessible luxury), but worked from dawn to dawn with amazing enthusiasm.

Vavilov reported his discovery at the breeders congress which was held in Saratov in 1920. Its participants sent to the government an unprecedented type of telegram: "Moscow, the Sovnarkom.... The All-Russian Congress of Breeders heard a report submitted by Professor N.I. Vavilov, of exceptional scientific and practical significance, in which he presented new foundations for the theory of mutability.... This theory is a most important one even in terms of world biology, equal to Mendeleev's chemical discoveries. It offers the broadest possible opportunities for practical work. The congress has passed a resolution on the need for the state authorities to ensure, on the broadest possible scale, the development of Vavilov's work and submits to this effect a special report."

Having studied a number of plant strains and varieties, and rejected established ways of thinking, Vavilov was the first to establish a pattern in the chaos of mutations in the plant kingdom. The scientist systematized its entire variety in a table (which indeed reminded of Mendeleev's), with the help of which he could predict existing forms, as yet undiscovered by science. The law of homological series provided the type of dialectical interpretation of genetic processes which far outstripped current ideas. As to the practical application of this law, thanks to it the breeders were able to do their selections not blindly, as in the past, but deliberately. This was a true upheaval in genetics, selection and biology.

Today Vavilov's law and the theory of plant immunity he formulated are among the most fundamental discoveries in the natural sciences. This law no longer applies exclusively to the world of plants, for homological series have been found also in the animal kingdom and in microorganisms. It is an important theoretical-methodological instrument in building models of hereditary changes. To solve the problem of developing controlled hereditary changes means to unravel one of the most profound secrets of matter and to learn how to control biological processes. The scientific, conceptual and philosophical significance of this law is tremendous and it will continue to serve as a platform for the creative work of new generations of natural scientists.

The image of Vavilov, as a scientist and a person, would be incomplete without mentioning yet another facet of his biography: his meeting with Yelena Ivanovna Barulina, in those distant years of the 1920s.

The materials of the breeders' congress we mentioned include Barulina's work as well. It provided the first experimental confirmation of the law of homological series. Yes, it was precisely she, the modest student and subsequently postgraduate student Lenochka Barulina (she looked so fragile and feminine that her friends still called her Lenochka even decades later) who participated in Vavilov's research from the very beginning and, as it turned out, understood its nature better than others. With her faith in the common cause, loyalty and utter adoration, she conquered Nikolay Ivanovich and fired within him a response, obviously triggering a tremendous spiritual upsurge and a sharpened perception of the world around him....

The power and beauty of this feeling can be judged by Vavilov's letter to her: "Night of 27 November 1920. I am in Saratov. Yesterday...I received your letter. Dear friend, you are nagged by the worry that enthusiasm and thrust will wane. Dear friend, I do not know how to convince you, how objectively to prove to you that you are wrong. I would like to stand outside my own body and analyze my own soul mercilessly. It seems to me that despite my tendency to be carried away and my enthusiasm, I nonetheless remain steady and firm. I take love quite seriously. I have indeed deep faith in science, in its purpose and its life. I do not regret to have dedicate my life to even a most minor feature in science. I have roamed the Pamir and Bukhara, I have frequently been on the verge of death and have been frequently terrified.... Nonetheless, in general, it was even pleasant to take a risk. In my view, I know a little bit about science and I have had the opportunity and the luck to be close to its prime sources. Serving science has become my life. And that is why, Lena, simply as a loyal son of science I do not allow myself fits of enthusiasm and love, for a service to science does not agree with a lightweight attitude toward oneself and others.... One simply does not allow oneself inner impetus or brief attractions."

How intrinsically this letter to one's beloved is also a declaration of love...for science! To him these two feelings were indivisible.

Here is another excerpt which also helps us to understand Vavilov's "secret of success" as a scientist, and his philosophy of optimism: "...Life can be the way we want it, happy, cheerful and splendid.... When there is enthusiasm and daring we can accomplish whatever we usually consider difficult."

In 1921 Vavilov left for Petrograd, to set up a system of institutions which were later merged into the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin. He was followed by his students. Ignoring her parents' ban (Petrograd, distant and alien, frightened them with its

disorganization and hunger), Ye.I. Barulina as well followed Vavilov. She was to become Nikolay Ivanovich's wife and loyal friend, sharing with him enthusiasms and the joy of inconceivable accomplishments and the tragedy of his life.

But this was to happen years later. At that time, in the 1920s, Vavilov the theoretician had proved himself also as the greatest scientific organizer. As the youngest academician in the country (he was elected to the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1929), he became the founder and first president of VASKHNIL and director of two institutes—the VASKHNIL All-Union Plant Growing Institute in Leningrad (VIR) and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Genetics in Moscow. He pioneered the development of a new structure for science. He promoted the harmonious combination of basic research with applied developments, combining them within large comprehensive target programs, i.e., he sought and with amazing efficiency found that which is today the high road in the development of science. It is no exaggeration to say that he was a manager of a Leninist type: His management style was based on extensive democracy, glasnost, trust and discussion of controversial problems, with a respectful attitude for every member of the collective. It is virtually impossible to imagine (this, as well as many other things!) the fact that he personally knew, and not by name only, thousands of his associates in the institutes and selection stations scattered throughout the country; he furthermore tried to bring to light everyone's possibilities and to help him surmount both scientific and ordinary difficulties in daily life.

Above all, Vavilov dedicated his entire life to the renovation of the land, to the struggle against hunger throughout the world. He thought and created—no more and no less—on the scale of the entire earth! For the sake of fulfilling his program of collecting the "world's plant capital" he, the greatest of theoreticians and developer of an entire science, turned into a real plant hunter. He hunted plants passionately in all continents, deserts, high mountains, impassable jungles, in places where no European had ever set foot. Thus, he was the first to walk the mountain paths of mysterious Kafiristan alone, without a guide (his guides were afraid to go with him), at the risk of his life.... As a rule, he had to travel alone, for no one of his fellow workers, even the most loyal ones, was able to keep up with him. Nikolay Ivanovich participated in most difficult expeditions in 52 countries, covering almost 80,000 km on foot or on horseback.

The guiding star of his searches was the law of homological series. Vavilov did not act at random but according to a strictly planned system. The law indicated what type of lacking forms were to be found and where, in what parts of the world could they be found. He was helped by the theory he had developed on the origin of cultured plants; in 1926 these efforts brought him the V.I. Lenin prize. Vavilov identified eight centers of different continents and this was precisely the itinerary followed by his expeditions. These were impenetrable and most ancient

centers of farming, which had developed in the mountainous areas of the old and new worlds. It was precisely there, Vavilov assumed, that a variety of cultured and wild species were concentrated. He was right. Here is what Professor North, the American plant collector, wrote on the work of the Soviet scientist: "...We have already suffered a major defeat. We had money and they had wings.... We rushed to famous botanical gardens and ignored unattractive mountain canyons."

To this day the theory of the centers of origin of cultured plants is a beacon in the development of world selection and in the Green Revolution. Naturally, it is being refined and intensified. However, all new expeditions go to "Vavilov's centers" for seeds. A special UN commission deemed it necessary, in planning its national expeditions, mandatorily to use the theory developed by Vavilov. Furthermore, in the opinion of many scientists, his works on the origin of plants provided an incentive for research in areas seemingly remote from plant growing, such as archaeology, ethnography, and others.

During his lifetime Vavilov collected with his expeditions a truly unique wealth: 160,000 live samples of cultured plants and their wild relatives. He collected 28,000 strains of wheat alone! He, a geneticist, was recognized as a great traveler and geographer and was even elected president of the All-Union Geographical Society. In all the countries he visited, Vavilov invariably acted as a messenger of peace and friendship, a worthy representative of Soviet science, precisely the reason for which he was elected honorary member of many academies throughout the world. He is remembered by the people on the Amazon and Nile Rivers, the Tibetan mountains and the Japanese islands. The "geographic" part of his biography alone is saturated with enough interesting adventures to be made the background of an exciting novel....

He was an unusual man and in his case ordinary standards become inapplicable. Hardly anyone could work as hard as did Vavilov. He worked between 14 and 16 hours daily, no less.... Every single day of his life. There were no days off or rest. Frequently, arriving at a selection station or a laboratory, he set to its personnel such a furious pace that, after his departure, some of them were granted a week's worth of leave. Meanwhile, as though nothing happened, Vavilov remained fresh and active, smiling (he was somewhat boastful of his tirelessness, but could there be a more forgivable weakness?!), on his way to the next laboratory. He had a phenomenal memory: Looking at a crop in a field, he could immediately dictate to alternating secretaries entire chapters of his book, with precise figures and quotations. His mad rhythm unwittingly inspired the people. He was able to instill in his fellow workers the aspiration to work the way he did. "I believe that issuing orders in science is an unsuitable system!" Vavilov frequently said. That is probably why the highest praise he could bestow was the word "worker," and his favorite saying was that "Life is short, we must hurry." He was an

encyclopedically educated person, who knew some 20 languages and who corresponded with scientists of 93 countries! His exceptional charm was noticed by everyone; his personal qualities as a scientist and a person drew to him many people from all parts of the world and, therefore, to our country.

Vavilov never forgot that he was a citizen of his country. He harmoniously combined within himself global thoughts and a warm attitude toward Western scientists and their progressive work with a feeling of personal involvement in the fate of the homeland. He conceived of the fatherland as the only thing which can neither be bought nor sold or replaced, although he was repeatedly offered the best laboratories and fabulous fees in various other countries. Everywhere and always he acted and behaved like a loyal son of Russia, worthily representing it at congresses and symposia and in encounters with scientists and government leaders. It is true that Vavilov never spoke openly of his patriotism but proved it with his actions. Occasionally, in his letters one could sense a feeling of pride and love for his fatherland. For example, here is what he wrote from South America, on the occasion of the October Revolution anniversary:

"7 November 1932. Yes, today is the 15th anniversary of the revolution. From afar our cause looks even greater. Greetings to all. We shall continue the initiated revolution in plant growing.... The land of the soviets needs everything. It must know everything in order to set the world and ourselves on the right way. And we shall do so.... From afar what we are doing becomes even clearer, dear friends (in English).... We are stirring up the world. We are achieving our objectives. The institute is engaged in major project of union and world importance. Not everyone understands this but we shall justify our work and results and we shall dare look the fatherland and the world in the eye. Let anyone just try to do better."

By no means could this be considered bragging. By the mid-1930s Soviet genetics and selection were at the cutting edge in the world. Selection had become a science and in this area the major work of the VIR "Theoretical Foundations of Selection," which came out in 1935-1937, was of tremendous importance. The worldwide collection of the institute was tested on the basis of a uniform program in the so-called "geographic crops" at hundreds of selection stations throughout the country. Before the war strains from Vavilov's collection had been sowed in one out of each six hectares of arable land and scientists had started work on the next and final stage in their tremendous work: the synthesizing of new strains with the help of genetic crossbreeding of "foreign" with local plants. Fundamental discoveries were made also at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Genetics, which Vavilov headed. A recognition of the merits of Soviet science and of Vavilov was the decision to hold the next 1937 international genetics congress in our country and Nikolay Ivanovich was elected its president....

However, it would be erroneous to present matters as though Vavilov alone was involved in the development of domestic genetics. The origins of this science rest in the democratic and progressive traditions of Russian biology, developed by scientists such as I.I. Mechnikov, I.M. Sechenov and K.A. Timiryazev, and a profound knowledge of the concepts of evolution. It was no accident that by the turn of the 20th century Russia was described as the second homeland of Darwinism. In the 1920s and 1930s as well, alongside Vavilov an entire galaxy of brilliant scientists worked fruitfully in a great variety of areas of the rapidly advancing science of genetics.

They included, above all, N.K. Koltsov, who developed a school of experimental biology and genetics. Studying, in particular, the nature of heredity, he perspicaciously predicted that the mysterious gene was a new type of chemical substance, a gigantic molecule-biopolymer, which was capable of self-reproduction (it was precisely what the DNA, which was discovered by J. Watson and F. Krick in 1953, turned out to be).

S.S. Chetverikov was one of the initiators of population genetics, which studies the laws of gene distribution in the community of organisms. A.S. Serebrovskiy, the journalist and speaker, together with the young N.P. Dubinin and B.N. Sidorov, who discovered the effect of the splitting of genes (it turned out that, like the atom, the gene has a complex internal structure), was one of the founders not only of theoretical and mathematical genetics but also of animal genetics. G.A. Levitskiy was a pioneer in the field of cytogenetics, which studies the structure and functions of chromosomes. S.N. Davidenkov and S.G. Levit laid the foundations of human genetics, anticipating the study of hereditary predisposition for many diseases. In the area of plant genetics, which was directly related to Vavilov's interests, there was global recognition of the works of wheat expert Yu.A. Filipchenko, the young breeder A.R. Zhebrak, and the fine experimental scientist G.D. Karpechenko, who reproduced in a laboratory one of the methods for the development of new plant species....

Some foreign scientists, amazed by the scope of genetic activities in our country, paid special visits to Vavilov to work in his Institute of Genetics. Thus, Doncho Kostov came from Bulgaria, while the famous H. Meller, a Nobel Prize winner, who was the first to prove that gene mutation is possible with the help of X-rays, came from the United States. This helped him to discover one of the ways of controlling heredity. The atmosphere in the institute, created by Vavilov, captivated Meller to such an extent that he stayed here about 5 years and always warmly referred to that time and to his cooperation with Nikolay Ivanovich.

It would be impossible to list all the scientists who have contributed to the development of genetics at that time. This was a powerful attack mounted on the secrets of heredity. The scientists were united by a feeling of

amazing enthusiasm and faith in the great future of genetics. Vavilov was first among equals. Laureate of the V.I. Lenin Prize, member of the USSR Central Executive Committee and the All-Union Central Executive Committee, Academician Vavilov was one of the most popular scientists in the land of the soviets. It seemed as though nothing could stop the forward and ever accelerating thrust toward genetics by Vavilov and his fellow workers, aimed at promoting the good of the homeland and the people.

However...as it were, no genetics congress was held at that time in Moscow. Hard days of trials befell geneticists and their science. T.D. Lysenko played a special role in the tragedy which developed.

The first works of the young agronomist Lysenko appeared by the end of the 1920s. He reported that with pre-sowing treatment of seeds (cold, soaking) he was able to turn spring wheat into higher yielding winter species. This was a new selection method which seemed promising, for with its help one could try, for example, to grow heat-loving strains in the northern parts of the country, including some from the collection of the All-Union Plant Growing Institute. That is why this young scientist, who was distinguished by an envious industriousness and faith in his rightness, the offspring of a peasant family, was supported by Vavilov himself, who recommended him for membership in the UkSSR Academy of Sciences and as corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nikolay Ivanovich simply could not even conceive that a scientist could allow himself to publish the results of his work without proper investigation and control.

At the start of and the mid-1930s, Lysenko rapidly climbed the hierarchical ladder of agricultural science, gradually assuming a monopoly position. Lysenko suggested ever new methods and promised to develop miracle strains not in 10 or 15 years, as was done in classical genetics, but in 2 or 3 years. His ideas were accepted and gradually gained universal support. Bypassing painstaking laboratory research, Lysenko immediately took his suggestions to kolkhozes, where they were tested. The results were assessed by himself and his associates; if any failures were mentioned (isolated), they were explained away as being the acts of "saboteurs"....

Lysenko's theoretical platform was Lamarquism, a 19th century concept of inherited characteristics. The ideas of Lamarque and his followers were still alive in the 1920s but had vanished, finding no experimental confirmation, and also in connection with the development of genetics, which had unraveled many secrets of the mechanisms of heredity and mutation. It was then that Lysenko revived the ghost of Lamarquism by creating the "theory" of the development of the necessary strains and characteristics by "educating" plants and animals by changing environmental conditions. The existence of genes, mutations and chromosomes was rejected. All of this was described

as "Michurinist biology." Lysenko demagogically used the name of universally respected I.V. Michurin (although it was precisely Vavilov who had made the work of this talented self-taught gardener available to the public and applied it in science; Michurin's methods had nothing in common with Lamarquism).

The vulgar, mechanistic and antidialectical views of Lysenko and his supporters (noted among them was VASKHNIL Academician I.I. Prezent, the chief ideologue of Lysenkovism, an intrigue maker and an absolutely unprincipled person, who headed the department of Darwinism simultaneously in several VUZs in different cities; a lawyer by training, he had the "talent," with the help of quotations culled from the works of the classics, to prove anything one wished) were incompatible with the fundamental concepts of genetics and could not withstand scientific criticism. In order to protect his position and gain new grounds, Lysenko proclaimed a "crusade" against those who could expose him. This was addressed, above all, against Vavilov: The personnel of the VIR, like other scientists, had already begun to check Lysenko's work. The planned international genetics congress in Moscow would have seriously undermined Lysenko's position....

The first open and public clash forced by Lysenko on genetic workers took place in 1936 at a VASKHNIL session. Here Lysenko and his supporters, making a demonstration of their "accomplishments," charged genetics with practical and theoretical uselessness.

The position held by Vavilov was indicative. As VASKHNIL vice president (A.I. Muralov was made president in 1935), director of the largest institutes, a world-famous scientist who, at that time, enjoyed great prestige, he could deal a serious blow at Lysenkovism, which was then gathering strength. Many people expected this and this was also the instruction he had received from the associates in his institutes.

However, Nikolay Ivanovich behaved differently. Once again, in his final speech, he patiently explained the concepts and achievements of genetics and, concluding, turning to his opponents, he said: "This discussion will give a charge to geneticists and breeders. We have failed to convince one another. However, our differences have become clear and our viewpoints well understood by the other side. The first thing we need is to pay greater attention to our reciprocal work and show greater respect for it."

"We are convinced that in our country, in the exceptional conditions in which we work, when the entire country is following our work, and when our achievements are being applied by hundreds of thousands of kolkhozes, all the necessary facilities for great deeds exist. Although we differ on some theoretical problems, our aspiration is one: We wish to remake cultured plants within the shortest possible time and create the best strains of all most important crops in the basic areas in

the country. In all likelihood we shall use different methods in the years to come and will borrow more from one another. The main objective, however, we shall achieve, whatever the cost."

Such were the views of the great scientist-educator, who was infinitely tolerant of other viewpoints and who considered debates an inseparable part of science. No, this was not a compromise but an example of nobility and generosity toward scientific opponents. Vavilov was fighting not against Lysenko but for the better features he had seen at that point in that individual. Nikolay Ivanovich assumed that scientific reality and the investigation of data would force Lysenko to abandon his false ideas. Realizing the difficulty of the task facing Soviet science, he tried to rally all of its forces around it. It was not Vavilov's fault that the scientific conscience of those to whom he appealed was totally nonexistent.

It was in 1939 that Lysenko imposed on Vavilov and his fellow workers the next public discussion, aimed at routing genetics. In the 3 years which had passed the situation had radically changed. In 1938 Lysenko became VASKHNIL president and his ideas and activities had gained support in high places. Why had this happened?

Let us not forget the historical background against which Lysenko appeared. In the 1920s the country was plunged into industrialization and unparalleled successes had been achieved in that area. The Stakhanovite movement, shock work and enthusiasm were ubiquitous. Agriculture, meanwhile, as if out of spite, had fallen behind! Vavilov was pressured into providing new strains, new species, new agricultural technology, to provide and provide, faster and faster! However, genetics was still a very young science. Repeatedly Vavilov said that no building can begin without a firm foundation and that haste is fraught with catastrophe. However, many people wanted to reach new levels, to cheer, to report success!

The country needed grain, which was in short supply (the situation was worsened by breakdowns in collectivization). What to develop under those circumstances: basic research, aimed at the future, or practical work which could yield instant results? One bird in the hand or two in the bush? (Let us point out that this is an eternal problem.)

It was at that point that Lysenko appeared. Profiting from the theoretical nature of genetics at that time (its favorite model was the fruit fly), he attacked it and accused it of alienation from practical work. His own suggestions dizzily promised instantaneous returns. The country was in a hurry and the slogan "the pace decides everything!" also defined the attitude toward seemingly strictly scientific theories. Furthermore, Lysenko's ideas, based on Lamarquism, were simple and understandable and consistent with so-called "common sense."

On the other hand, Lysenko, Prezent and other members of this group "substantiated" their attacks on Vavilov's genetics with demagogic speculations on objective problems of the tempestuously developing young science. Genetics was penetrating the very core of the science of man and involved most serious social, political and conceptual problems. In the 1930s the Nazis had used genetics to substantiate their "mystique of the blood." In substantiating their conclusions on the advantages of the Aryan race many German geneticists hid behind the terminological and methodical apparatus of contemporary genetics. Need we mention that Soviet genetics had nothing in common with racism? Lysenko and his supporters, however, accused our scientists of ties with fascism and even charged them with distorting eugenics and social Darwinism, quoting old and forgotten works by N.K. Koltsov, I.S. Serebrovskiy and others. In the conditions of the second half of the 1930s, this was, naturally, an entirely demagogical but accurately calculated political provocation, the consequences of which were harsh.

The events of that time cannot be understood without mentioning the fact that Lysenko's activities were approved by J.V. Stalin. As early as 1935 he had interrupted Lysenko's speech at the Second All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Members-Shop Workers in Moscow, with the words "Bravo, Comrade Lysenko, bravo," and had applauded. The speaker had been discussing the class struggle within science, the need to uproot kulak scientists on the vernalization front and saboteurs in the scientific world. In the atmosphere of the cult of personality, with its distortions and violations of democratic foundations, cheerful reports on achievements, promises of new successes and demonstrations of personal loyalty became increasingly important. All of this abounded in the arsenal of Lysenko and company. The plans formulated by Vavilov and other geneticists, which came with hard to understand tables and computations, aimed at long-term developments, could only cause irritation....

By 1939 many breeders, geneticists and agronomists had been arrested and their places in the institutions filled by Lysenkoists. The most experienced VASKHNIL and selection station associates became the victims of mass repressions. N.I. Vavilov's friends and fellow workers were executed as "enemies of the people:" academician N.P. Gorbunov, one of the creators of VASKHNIL and VIR, VASKHNIL President A.I. Muralov, Vice Presidents N.M. Tulaykov, G.K. Meyster and many other equally noted personalities in the science of agriculture. Soon afterwards their fate was shared by associates of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Genetics G.A. Levitskiy, G.D. Karpechenko and many other outstanding geneticists. Clouds gathered over Vavilov's head. His discoveries and activities were subjected to fierce ostracism in the scientific and central press....

However, Vavilov remained inflexible scientifically as well as morally. He had strong "genes of decency." "Nothing could be worse," he said, "than when a scientist begins to dissemble, witnessed, furthermore, by other

scientists. The old story says it simply: All of a sudden an idiot tries to teach another idiot to think. In science, however, such dissembling is the last thing to do!"

He had a choice. He could compromise and resort to "military cunning," by acknowledging the accuracy of triumphant Lysenkovism and thus save his institute and seed collection (about which he was particularly worried), conduct genetic work on the quiet, waiting for the development of world science and merciless practical experience to set everything in its proper place. Such was the advice given to him by many people, even close friends, who feared for his fate. To fight Lysenko and to expose his delirious ideas meant losing positions and titles and, in the final account, inevitable death. According to his relatives, Vavilov had no illusions on this account.

However, he knew that the eyes of hundreds and thousands of scientists, noted and unknown, those who would enter science tomorrow or the day after, were turned to him. A compromise under the circumstances of a sharp struggle of ideas meant abandoning the principles of scientific ethics and conscience.

Vavilov gave battle to Lysenkovism. In the course of the discussions, loyal to his views on the forms of scientific debate, he profoundly analyzed the achievements of global and, above all, practical genetics. He brought to light the foundations of theoretical differences, criticized the "theory" of the influence of the environment on heredity and proved the groundlessness of Lysenko's theory. In describing the existing situation in science, among others, he said: "One could argue about principles and debate them. Unfortunately, matters have gone beyond that and virtually every day, one way or another, efforts to wreck the work are being made both overtly and covertly. You must realize that the opposite viewpoint does not consist of an argument with a group of Soviet geneticists but with all of contemporary biology." He also said: "The specific nature of our differences lies also in the fact that under the guise of progressive science, we are asked to return essentially to the views which have been outlived by science, i.e., the views which prevailed in the first half of the middle of the 19th century!"

In one of his addresses, he said words which sounded like a hymn to genetics, as an appeal to those who would come after him: "We, workers in the land of the soviets, cannot turn our backs to modern genetics.... Few areas of biology are developing so rapidly and successfully as genetics. We believe that what matters most is not to replace a contemporary strong and tested global theory of genetics but to ensure its further development and intensification!"

As vice president of VASKHNIL, repeatedly Academician Vavilov sharply criticized Lysenko's activities, proving with facts the harm which it was causing agriculture and the development of biology. Although others

could not or were unwilling to understand him, he remained inflexible. In one of the conferences, Vavilov openly proclaimed: "We shall go to the stake, we shall be burned at the stake but we shall not betray our beliefs!"

It was precisely thanks to Vavilov's courage that during that prewar period his opponents were unable to destroy genetics. They succeeded in doing this only in 1948, at a VASKH-NIL session, after which genetics virtually stopped existing in our country for a period of 16 years....

Nikolay Ivanovich's fate, however, had been predetermined and his statement about the stake was prophetic.

On 6 August 1940, during an expedition in the Western Ukraine, Vavilov was arrested and sentenced to death on the basis of fabricated charges. Shortly afterwards he was transferred from Butyrka to the jail in Saratov, for the execution of the sentence.

After N.I. Vavilov's rehabilitation, F.Kh. Bakhteyev, who was a member of the USSR Academy of Sciences "Vavilov Commission" (we quoted his speech delivered at the International Genetics Congress) was given the opportunity to study the respective files and to meet with people who had been in touch with Nikolay Ivanovich at that time. According to Bakhteyev, in prison as well the great scientist behaved with dignity. During the investigation, profiting from the fact that he had been given paper and a pencil, relying on his phenomenal memory, he wrote the book "History of World Farming" (unfortunately, we are unfamiliar with the fate of this manuscript). Being told of the outbreak of the war, Nikolay Ivanovich requested that the execution of his sentence be postponed until its end so that he could work for the good of the homeland. He listed in his letter the specific problems which, in his view, the science of agriculture had to solve under wartime circumstances. The letter remained unanswered.

In the Saratov jail as well Vavilov displayed an utmost strength of spirit. Denying the charges against him, he encouraged and tried to cheer up other scientists and specialists (there were many such), and read lectures on genetics to the inmates.... Nonetheless, as a result of such harsh experiences and hunger he passed away on 26 January 1943. The precise place of his grave remains unknown.

Vavilov's exploits as a scientist and citizen did not vanish without a trace. In the footsteps of their teacher, the same strong will was displayed by his fellow-workers and associates in the VIR who, sacrificing their lives, saved in blockaded Leningrad the unique collection of seeds. Today it is the base for the National Repository of World Plant Resources, which includes 370,000 samples of cultured plants and their wild relatives. All of them are alive! Nearly one-half of this treasury was collected by Vavilov himself. A great deal of that which he was able to save no longer grows anywhere else on earth.... In the past few years alone Soviet selection workers, using Vavilov's collection, have developed about 900 strains of major farm crops, growing them on an area in excess of 100 million hectares. This collection,

which is the largest in the world, generously shares its wealth with geneticists and breeders from all countries. This means bread for us and the rest of the world, bread for our children and their distant offspring.

Vavilov's ideas and the laws he discovered live and will live. Today, when mankind is at the brink of nuclear or, perhaps, even genetic apocalypse, the humanistic enthusiasm of this great sower, this ambassador of goodness, peace and friendship on five continents, is particularly precious.

Naturally, Vavilov's anniversary will be most extensively celebrated in our country. A great deal has been done to perpetuate the memory of the scientist. The All-Union Plant Growing Institute in Leningrad, the Institute of General Genetics in Moscow, the All-Union Society of Geneticists and Breeders and the Saratov Agricultural Institute were named after him. Vavilov's scientific works are being published, memorial plaques are being set, and Vavilov scholarships are being awarded. An ocean-going vessel bears his name, a stamp with Vavilov's picture has been issued, and so on.

However, we still owe something to the memory of Nikolay Ivanovich.

This applies above all to the condition of our genetics and selection. Their standards, particularly in basic research, are still behind those of the rest of the world. This was mentioned, among others, by the delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress. This lag affects not only molecular genetics or plant and animal genetics, on which the solution of the food problem depends, but also medical genetics, which is related to the health of millions of people of this and future generations. Regaining the progressive edge, as Vavilov and his fellow workers had done in the 1930s, is an important governmental task and a matter of honor for Soviet scientists.

Furthermore, naturally, history must make a thorough study of Vavilov's life. This is the task also of men of science, culture and the arts in general. So far there is no proper monument to the great scientist either in Moscow or in Leningrad. A Vavilov museum must be created, perhaps simply on the basis of the Institute of General Genetics, which could become the museum of history of Soviet genetics as a whole. The institute has preserved Vavilov's working premises, works, instruments and objects....

As to the arts, the creation of works of art about Nikolay Ivanovich Vavilov is a most relevant task, for the exploit of the life of this 20th century Prometheus belongs not only to science. It is an inseparable and a permanent part of the cultural and spiritual legacy of our people.

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## Collective Experience of Party Work

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[Text] In implementing their historical mission as the vanguard of social progress, the communists and worker parties in the socialist countries pay constant attention to perfecting the forms and methods of management of social processes. The conference of secretaries in charge of organizational-party work of the central committees of the BCP, the MSZMP, the Vietnamese Communist Party, the SED, the Cuban Communist Party, the Laotian People's Revolutionary Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the PZPR, the Romanian Communist Party, the CPSU, the CZCP and the Korean Labor Party (with observer status), which was held in Bucharest in May 1987, encouraged reciprocal familiarization with experience acquired in this area.

A broad exchange of views was held on problems of intensifying organizational-political work by party agencies and organizations, aimed at upgrading the responsibility of the party members for the implementation of the resolutions of their party congresses concerning socioeconomic development and intensification of socialist democracy.

The majority of socialist countries, which have reached different stages in building the new system, have undertaken the reorganization and renovation of various aspects of social life. At such times, the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized, "it is particularly important and necessary to strengthen the party's influence in all areas of restructuring, to ensure the skillful guidance of social processes and to formulate new creative approaches in party work." There is no Marxist-Leninist party which would disagree with the fact that the party organizations must be in the vanguard of the changes which are taking place and that the party committees on all levels "must systematically follow a line of perfecting their work style and asserting political methods of management, relying on the primary party organizations, labor collectives and public organizations; they must truthfully and principle-mindedly assess the situation and teach the cadres how to act in a new style." As to the forms of organizational-party work, they directly depend on the specific assignments which face society at each level of maturity. All of this was reflected in the materials of the conference, a brief survey of which follows.

In noting the successes achieved in building socialism, the variety of acquired experience and the ways, means and methods of solving increasingly more difficult problems, the participants in the meeting focused on the new requirements which face the ruling parties at the present stage. These requirements are growing and so does the significance of the organizational-political activities of

party organs and organizations and their role in economic, political and social life and their contribution to achieving their set objectives.

Properly organized political and organizational work is an important prerequisite in harnessing all available forces for the implementation of the party's general line and the programs and plans for economic and social progress in the individual countries. It is important in this case for each party to develop the capabilities of all its units, soberly to assess their own activities and to renovate its democratic ways and means of organization and management.

In the USSR and in the other countries restructuring is being deployed along the entire front and is reaching deep within social life. There is a re-evaluation and a critical reinterpretation of achievements, the moral atmosphere is improving and positive trends are strengthening. Glasnost, truthfulness, intolerance of shortcomings and the aspiration to make constructive changes irreversible are the most important features of the social climate.

The sole final objective of the fraternal parties is to build a new society. However, the specific problems they face cannot be solved by identical methods or ways. Each individual case requires its own approaches and methods, which depend on the domestic and international situation, the party's theoretical and political maturity and its ability to meet the requirements of our time.

The range of such objective and subjective conditions is quite broad and the differences in the levels of socioeconomic maturity of socialism reached by the individual countries are equally significant. Thus, the Laotian People's Revolutionary Party is leading a country in which a sharp class struggle is continuing to the present. This society undertook to make a socialist revolution and to build socialism bypassing the capitalist stage. The party's activities are complicated by the fact that the overwhelming majority of its members come not from the working class, which is still very weak, but from the toiling peasantry; party organizations have not been established throughout the country.

The Vietnamese Communist Party is facing the task of stabilizing the country's socioeconomic situation at the initial stage of the transitional period to socialism. Grave errors in the essential concepts and decisions and errors in managing and organizing the implementation plans were exposed at the 6th VCP Congress. The critical analysis of the state of affairs in the party and the country will help to improve the political, organizational and cadre activities of the VCP, aimed at surmounting arbitrariness, a simplistic approach to problems, subjectivism, shortcomings in supervising the development of the economy and all social life and violations of party standards.

The communist and worker parties in countries whose socioeconomic and political development has reached a higher level are solving qualitatively different problems.

To the PZPR the 1980s are a period of profound restructuring of the political, social and economic institutions in the country and the mechanisms of party influence on society, as well as a period of radical changes consistent with the aspiration of the working people directly to participate in the administration of governmental and social affairs. The thesis according to which socialism can develop only as the live creativity of the people themselves was confirmed with particular emphasis under Polish conditions. Taking this into consideration, the PZPR is seeking a social consensus on the ways and means of building socialism. It is developing a dialogue with all patriotic forces. The method of so-called "social consultations," which is a system of extensive discussions of crucial problems facing the country, has been firmly adopted. This is an original form of controlling administrations and participation of the masses in decision making; currently they have been codified and developed in the referendum law.

The Bulgarian Communist Party considers its work the beginning of a profound and essentially revolutionary restructuring which calls for radical changes in the political system and, above all, in party life. Socioeconomic and scientific and technical development have become areas of particular concern to Bulgarian communists. To the BCP the scientific and technical revolution is, above all, a political problem. The party is solving it by closely combining the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism in the specific activities of enterprises and labor collectives, exerting its influence on the choice of priorities in the technological updating of the production process and perfecting its organization and management.

The experience of the MSZMP as well confirms the accuracy of Lenin's idea to the effect that only a party which enjoys the trust of the masses and is always ready for self-renovation can be on the level of its historical mission. The MSZMP is struggling on two fronts—against revisionist distortions and dogmatism, and against sectarianism; it daringly undertakes the search for and the development and implementation of long-term resolutions. To the MSZMP the accelerated building of socialism is not an economic task alone but a program for the reorganization of the entire society, which affects the totality of political, economic, cultural and social relations.

The CZCP is implementing the general line of its 17th Congress. The party's strategy includes the acceleration of economic and social development. Its implementation is related, above all, to scientific and technical progress and intensification of socialist integration within CEMA, restructuring the economic mechanism and profound democratization and enhancement of social and

spiritual life. The increased leading role of the party and the importance of political methods in its work have been reflected in the amendments to CZCP statutes.

The SED, which is seeking, in the course of building socialism, the most efficient solutions consistent with the national interest, set itself, as early as in 1971, the task of converting the national economy to the track of intensification and ensuring close ties between science and production. A course was charted, the essence of which is unity between economic and social policy, aimed at meeting the material and spiritual needs of the people. This also determined the nature of the work of the party organizations, focused on the individual.

Under the new system the fraternal countries have acquired extremely rich experience in the development of socialist democracy. Unfortunately, there have also been negative aspects from which serious lessons are being drawn. The ruling parties consider the broad democratization of social life a guarantee for successful progress. The nature of the course of renovation and restructuring was expressed by the CPSU in a short and precise formula: more socialism and more democracy. It is only under the conditions of developed democracy that formalism and bureaucratism can be eliminated from organizational party work.

The parties ascribe prime importance to the development of democracy in the work place. In accordance with the stipulations of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) the USSR is setting up councils of labor collectives in a number of brigades, shops and enterprises. Practical experience confirms the efficiency of this method of involving the working people in directly solving production and social problems and developing in them the feeling that they are the masters of the enterprise and the country. Under the conditions of the ever-broadening self-government, a number of new problems have appeared in the work of the party organizations.

One of the most important political tasks formulated at the 13th BCP Congress was the assertion of self-government in the socialist labor collective. A specific step in solving it was the election of brigade leaders, enterprise directors and managers of economic associations and trusts by direct and secret vote. Self-governing organizations of labor collectives have been created and are already operating in material production: general meetings, meetings of representatives, brigade councils and economic councils, which now operate on firm state-legal foundations (their rights were codified in a National Assembly declaration and in a resolution of the Bulgarian government on transferring socialist ownership to labor collectives).

The Bulgarian communists are convinced that the development of self-government does not replace but, conversely, presumes improvements in the political leadership. In this case the party organizations become "political laboratories" in which new approaches and forms and mechanisms of party activity are developed.

Most of the Hungarian state enterprises have adopted new forms of management, thanks to which the working people either directly or through their delegates elect the director and solve important production problems. Democracy in the agricultural cooperatives has broadened. Here the interests of society, the collective and the individual are successfully combined.

It was repeatedly noted at the conference of central committee secretaries that the main link in socialist democracy and self-government is that of the people's authorities. It is natural for the party to be concerned mainly with them. This concern follows a common line of broadening autonomy and responsibility of the state authorities, particularly those which are the closest to the masses—the middle and lower levels of government. Subsequent to the 27th CPSU Congress, the CPSU passed several resolutions on the activities of the soviets of people's deputies and their leadership by the party. The purpose is for each soviet to be fully responsible for the solution of daily problems and meeting the needs of the people, and for the use of funds and local reserves allocated for social needs, and for coordinating and controlling the work of organizations providing services to the population. In accordance with the programmatic stipulations, the forms of people's representation are being perfected and the principles of the Soviet electoral system are being developed.

The problems of democratization of political life are of utmost importance to all ruling parties. The MSZMP, as was emphasized at the conference, proceeds from the fact that the party's leadership of state authorities must be of an essentially political nature. The interference of party authorities in the affairs of state agencies is inadmissible, for this erodes responsibility. The administrative management structure was changed in Hungary with a view to the further strengthening of local autonomy and responsibility without weakening the leading role of the party: the rayon level in rural areas was abolished and the work of legislative and administrative authorities was improved. Substantial changes were made in the electoral system. In particular, the nomination of several candidates for deputies to the State Assembly per electoral district and for local councils has become mandatory; in the view of the Hungarian leadership this has contributed to the increased social activeness and personal interest of the citizens in setting up representative authorities.

The increased role and authority of the Sejm and the enhancement of its legislative and control activities were part of the changes in the Polish political system. At the same time, the competence of the people's councils was expanded. The substitution of state management authorities by the party is a thing of the past. A system of institutional-legal guarantees of the "power of the law" was established on PZPR initiative: a State Court, a Constitutional Court and a Supreme Administrative Court were established and enjoy great authority among the people; a position of ombudsman is being created.

The Cuban Communist Party pays great attention to the participation of the people in the management of and control over governmental affairs, and the country's political and social life. A number of functions previously performed by ministries and other state institutions are being gradually transferred to agencies of the people's self-government on different levels.

The participants in the conference unanimously noted that democratization and moral-political renovation are also the determining features in the life of the public organizations in the socialist countries. The national (fatherland, patriotic) fronts, democratic parties and trade union, youth and women's organizations are increasingly and more actively participating in various projects and social processes. Their authority, influence and possibilities are being widely used in organizational and ideological education work among the various population strata. The difficulties which arise in this connection of different nature and are resolved in different ways. Thus, the MSZMP believes that the place and role of the trade unions depend on the efficiency with which they implement their functions; the BCP is concerned with changing such functions in connection with the development of self-government at work, while the PZPR is promoting the restoration of class-oriented trade unions and their participation in the self-governing system of the working people. However, all parties are objectively interested in upgrading the role of the public organizations, which will enable them to surmount bureaucratic administration and master the Leninist methods of management through personal example, participation in discussions, etc.

The role of elective state and public authorities is increasing in the socialist countries. A necessary prerequisite to this effect is the development of openness. It is only under these circumstances that the elected authorities become truly efficient and responsible. The expansion of openness is of vitally important political and practical significance. It is an essential factor in the cleansing and improvement of the moral atmosphere and an efficient means of mobilizing the masses. It contributes to strengthening confidence in the party and to the exposure of shortcomings and the prevention of negative phenomena.

The mass information media play a decisive role in ensuring glasnost. Lively responding to the relevant topics of the day and covering all social events, the radio, television and the press must tell the entire truth, concealing nothing from the people so that openness does not become one-sided. Truth and truth alone, and the principled criticism of shortcomings are what strengthen in the people faith in the socialist ideals and social justice.

The communist and worker parties closely relate the strengthening of socialist democracy and the further development of self-government to discipline and order.

They proceed from the fact that democracy alone can ensure conscious discipline which, in turn, will not allow democracy to slide into anarchy.

The tasks set to socialist society in its rise to the heights of social progress objectively require the enhanced role of the party in the life of the people and its greater responsibility to them. Success depends on the extent to which the party can restructure its means and forms of work on time and fully, guide the various movements and involve the toiling masses in the reorganization process.

As the nucleus of the political system, the party itself must set the example of true democracy. It is above all the party which determines the continuing and comprehensive development of intraparty democracy, the creation within all party organizations of a practical atmosphere of openness, true comradeship and reciprocal exigency, which cleanse intraparty life from formalism, bureaucratic distortions and anything which conflicts with Leninist standards and principles and with the democratic nature itself of the party.

The communist and worker parties in the socialist countries act in an atmosphere of growing independence of mass public organizations and enhanced role of the human factor. This demands of them to show particular concern for a democratic style in their work. Democratic centralism remains the fundamental principle in this case. Centralism is necessary but, more than ever before, today it is necessary in a democratic aspect, precisely as democratic centralism. It indeed becomes such above all in the course of democratization of the style of party leadership and party life.

As was said at the conference, perfecting the workstyle of ruling parties is always relevant. The Mongolian communists link the solution of this problem to upgrading the combativeness of the primary party organizations in defeating the enemies of live party work, such as bureaucratism, formalism, ignoring the views and demands of the masses and bureaucratic administration.

According to the Hungarian comrades, the contemporary situation requires the elimination of the spirit of officialdom, bureaucratism, formalism, excessive organization and endless paper shuffling from party work once and for all. This is achieved, in particular, by reducing the number of meetings, setting up in small rural, plant or office party organizations committees without buros, and reducing the number of items to be discussed at meetings, as stipulated by party authorities and organizations (this is also practiced by the Cuban Communist Party).

The MSZMP demands of all party members active participation in shaping its political course: this reduces the possibility of making wrong decisions and contributes to strengthening unity in party ranks. The concept according to which a discussion allegedly proves lack of

unity has been rejected. Today it is accepted that all most important decisions must be preceded by a wide exchange of views with the participation of the members of the central elective authorities, the aktivs of primary party organizations and experts. The MSZMP Central Committee draws attention to the fact that some party members do not always openly express their views at party fora, for which reason in some cases there is only pro-forma democracy in drafting resolutions. An exchange of party cards is contemplated, in the course of which talks will be held with all party members on their work and for determining their views on the most significant problems of social life.

"Mass political work days," sponsored by district and regional party committees, in the course of which thousands of party, state and economic workers and officials of mass organizations conduct political talks with citizens in labor collectives or at places of residence, are one of the efficient forms of SED work. Such meetings lead to the formulation of a number of useful initiatives. The high level of activeness of SED members is confirmed by their participation in drafting resolutions and supervising their implementation. In the course of the last party electoral campaign more than 400,000 suggestions were submitted, on the implementation of which the heads of the party organizations must report.

One of the most important tasks of all SED party committees and organizations is to enhance the political leadership in economic activities. The party leadership systematically hears reports on such problems in order to make the best progressive experience available to all. Voluntary party work is being done with the participation of some 700,000 party members (in commissions, work groups, party staffs and other party aktivs). The GDR maintains Central Committee party organizers in 175 combines under central and 283 combines under district administration, who also act as secretaries of primary party organizations of head enterprises in the combines. They also manage the councils of secretaries of party organizations of the enterprises within the combine.

The PZPR is actively democratizing its work and management style. The party organizations are being strengthened and their activities are enjoying the support of superior party organizations. Systematic consultations are being held with the primary party cells on drafting party decisions (including decisions involving personnel). Their views and recommendations concerning candidates for various responsible positions are taken into consideration. The new party institutions, such as worker consultation groups under the first secretaries of voyevodstvo PZPR committees, are intensifying their work. Circuit consultative meetings between such managements and members of the Central Committee and itinerant Politburo sessions have become permanent features. The most important party documents are drafted by Central Committee problem commissions.

The CZCP pays great attention to the work of party agencies and organizations under the conditions of restructuring the economic mechanism, so that they may study the essence of economic problems and political-ideological and social interconnections and coordinate the interaction among the economic leadership, the trade unions and the Youth Socialist League, thus helping the broad party vanguard to acquire a profound understanding of the nature of restructuring and be in the lead in its implementation. The CZCP tries to perfect the work of rayon party committees with primary party organizations and is strengthening the direct leadership of the latter. In connection with the preparations for and holding of accountability meetings, in January-February 1987 alone more than 78,000 representatives of superior party authorities, including members and the aktiv of the Central Committee, were assigned to party organizations. Members of oblast and rayon CZCP committees and members of their apparatus and the party aktivi, regularly participate in the work of the primary organizations. Work groups are sent to the local areas and talks and consultations are held with party committees and at meetings of oblast and rayon committee buros at enterprises. Increasingly, the speeches of leading party workers may be heard live in labor collectives. Open party meetings, regular political information meetings, so-called "Gottwald days" and "The Party Talks with the Youth" talks have also become popular. Making use of a variety of channels of communication with the masses, the CZCP leading authorities are promoting a dialogue between the party and the nonparty members. The purpose of all of this is for the style of party work to be more consistent with the principles of democracy and collectivity.

For example, the Romanian Communist Party practices plenary sessions of the party aktivi, ranging from district to plant committees, at which specific assignments are issued to committee members and the rank and file membership. Improvements are being made along the same line in the area of party control. So-called area, support and control collectives were set up in 1986 and assigned to districts for a period of no less than 1 year. They are headed by members of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee. They include members of the Central Committee, deputies to the Great National Assembly from said district and other party and state officials. Such collectives have been set up by RCP district committees and assigned to municipalities, cities or separate governmental and cooperative agroindustrial councils.

The RCP considers as the most important element in the development of party democracy that of improving work with the party aktiv, which includes nearly 600,000 people, as well as the continuous expansion of activities on a voluntary basis, while gradually reducing the size of the party apparatus. Problem commissions have been set up from the Central Committee down to the party committees of enterprises and establishments.

Intraparty democracy is inconceivable without the development of criticism and self-criticism. Taking into consideration the need for radical restructuring in all areas of party activities, the 27th CPSU Congress noted that "...wherever criticism and self-criticism are suppressed and wherever party analysis of the real situation is replaced with talks about successes, all party activities become distorted. An atmosphere of tolerance, permissiveness and impunity appears, the consequences of which are most serious.... **There neither are nor should be within the party organizations which are either left uncontrolled, or closed to criticism; there neither are nor should there be any managers immune to party accountability.**" The CPSU Central Committee develops in the party members intolerance of shortcomings, stagnation, ostentation and verbiage, creating an atmosphere of principled-mindedness and a responsible and interested attitude by everyone in everything which takes place in the individual collective and in society at large.

As was emphasized at the conference, criticism and self-criticism within all parties are part of statutory rights and obligations. However, such basic requirements are frequently violated. Criticism is rejected and persecuted. The condemnation of this kind of attitude toward criticism by the party organizations has a most positive impact on the entire society.

Delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress noted that there can be no vanguard role of party members in general; the vanguard role in manifested in practical actions. In upgrading its authority and influence within labor collectives, the CPSU organizations increased, above all, their exigency toward all party members for maintaining the clear and honest image of the party member. They extensively practice the system of reports submitted by party members at meetings, which is today the standard, as codified in the statutes.

The participants in the discussion dealt extensively with problems of upgrading party discipline and responsibility on the part of rank and file party members and managers for their work and behavior. Since 1975 the Romanian Communist Party has practiced a system of annual talks held by the buros of primary party organizations with every party member. The Cuban Communist Party has mounted a struggle against the narrow, one-sided understanding of party exigency, which has developed in recent years, in which it is manifested only in matters of intraparty life and the implementation of party assignments, but not in the way the party members fulfill all their obligations and, above all, the obligation to do work well in their jobs.

The fraternal parties take strictly to task those who misuse the high title of communist and who shame it through their actions. The Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee, for example, passed a resolution of mounting a campaign throughout the party to purge its ranks and to upgrade the combativeness of the party

organizations, to purge and upgrade the efficiency of the state management apparatus and to prevent negative phenomena in society and ensure the systematic observance of social justice.

The vanguard role and responsibility of party members directly depend on the party's qualitative structure. The penetration of unsuitable people and careerists, or people who compromise the image of the party member is not always firmly blocked. That is why particular concern is shown for the party's reinforcements, who are primarily members of the working class.

The following data were cited at the conference: workers account for 58.1 percent of SED members and candidate members; 75 percent of SED candidate members must be workers. Since a number of questions have appeared in controlling the social structure, the decision was made to review the directives on the social categorizing of party members and candidate members, with a view to determining the sociopolitical and professional status of party members and candidate members in accordance with the current requirements of social development in the GDR. Workers account for 55 percent of the Romanian Communist Party, 44.4 percent of the CZCP and 42.3 percent in the MSZMP. At the beginning of 1987 workers accounted for 45 percent of CPSU members; they account for 47 percent in the PZPR, and the PZPR Central Committee believes that strengthening the worker-peasant nucleus in the party is the main task of the immediate future.

The Cuban Communist Party is steadily following a policy of reinforcing its ranks with the best members of the working class and the other toiling strata. In the past 9 years more than 178,000 workers directly employed in material production have joined the party; they account for 57.3 percent of the total number of new members, excluding the military.

The MPRP controls the growth of its ranks and its qualitative structure on the basis of the same principles. Today the working class, which accounts for 31.7 percent of Mongolians employed in the national economy, has become the party's main social force. Workers account for 32.9 percent of MPRP members and candidate members.

Cadre policy is a key link in party work. A wide range of related problems was extensively discussed at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee plenum and at the fora of other parties. Guided by the Leninist criteria, the party determines the abilities of a worker to hold a leading on the basis of his real accomplishments, intolerance of shortcomings and routine, and his aspiration to adopt anything progressive. Experience protects from underestimating the political and theoretical training of cadres and from the danger of technocratic deviations.

In addition to requirements which are common to all parties, such as high idea-mindedness, political maturity, moral qualities, receptiveness to new developments, organizational capabilities, initiative-mindedness and ability properly to combine in one's activities independence with responsibility, there also exist specific features of cadre policy in the individual parties. The participants in the conference shared extensive details on experience acquired in this area of party life and exchanged views on how to upgrade the efficiency of the selection, placement and training of cadres.

The MSZMP is promoting sensible stability and systematic renovation of cadres, so that experienced comrades and the young generation, with its great dynamism and modern specialized knowledge, be suitably represented in management. The MSZMP considers a guarantee for the prevention of negative phenomena in cadre work the practice of a procedure according to which a given individual can hold most important elective positions for no more than two terms and not to exceed 10 years. This applies to Politburo members, secretaries, Central Committee department heads and first secretaries of oblast party committees. The practice of nominating several candidates is expanding in the organization of social life and within the party; the filling of leading positions is based on a competitive system and managers are approved for a specific term (as a rule, 5 years).

A "review" of key personnel in party committees took place in Vietnam after the 6th VCP Congress; the Central Committee departments were streamlined and weak units were strengthened. At the same time, the machinery of state and mass organizations is being improved. The certification of cadres under circumstances in which the old management mechanism has not been eliminated, while the new one is in the process of establishment, is no easy matter, for which reason the VCP Central Committee cautions the party committees against haste and formalism in cadre renovation.

In the GDR, the leading SED authorities draw up special 5-year programs according to which a cadre reserve and young reinforcements are being systematically trained. The selection and training of capable people drawn from the ranks of the working class is a task of tremendous political importance. Currently the party authorities number more than 260,000 politically knowledgeable and professionally skilled personnel, mostly young. The share of workers in the party committees of the primary party organizations has reached the 54.5 percent figure.

The Cuban Communist Party began improvements in cadre policy within its own ranks, with changes in its qualitative structure and gradual training of new replacements. At the present time, 48 percent of all party workers have higher training, which is a significant change compared with the recent past. Frequently, however, their main skill is inconsistent with the requirements of the area in which they are doing party work. Candidates for managing authorities are being carefully

selected. The party workers on all levels are subject to certification. The Communist Youth League, in the opinion of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, must make a decisive contribution to the training of cadres who must have all the necessary qualities for work in party agencies.

The problem of cadres is particularly important to the Laotian People's Revolutionary Party. Currently the party has 27,000 members with higher and secondary specialized training, i.e., 10 times more than immediately after the liberation. Nonetheless, nepotism and favoritism have frequently taken place in cadre work. The LPRP is engaged in a difficult struggle against bureaucratism, formalism, the cult of personality, nationalism, departmentalism and parochialism. The essence of restructuring of cadre policy lies in rejuvenating the current personnel structure and ensuring continuity in developing a reserve. Every manager, whatever his position, must train one or two people for promotion and train his own deputies so that, if necessary, they could take over.

The RCP has developed a system for cadre selection and training in the course of which a proper ratio is maintained between experienced and young personnel. The party has reserves on all levels, which help it to make necessary replacements within the apparatus of party, social and economic organizations. For a number of years Romania has practiced the principle of rotation of party and state cadres. In the opinion of the Romanian comrades, this step ensures a close combination of organizational-political with economic work and makes it possible to supply cadres with managerial skills in various areas of activity.

The participants in the conference unanimously agreed that cadre policy, and the advancement of all aspects of organizational-party work, must lead to an enhancement of the party's leading role in the life of society and increase the activities of both party and nonparty members in the formulation and implementation of domestic and foreign policy.

The exchange of experience in perfecting organizational forms, work style and methods and upgrading the responsibility of party members for the systematic implementation of party decisions and for anything which occurs within and with society will, unquestionably, help the fraternal parties in acquiring a better idea of the condition and possibilities of organizational-party building.

The creative use of tried means and social changes is the more effective the closer the parties cooperate among themselves. Reality has confirmed the objective need for the intensification of interparty relations on all levels, from central authorities to primary party organizations. It is important, as was noted at the conference, to study the new aspects of interaction among socialist states in all areas—political, economic, scientific and technical,

ideological, cultural, military, etc. Today the importance of cooperation increases not only in material production but also in the theoretical field and in the areas of ideology and upbringing.

As was stated in the joint communique, the conference of secretaries of central committees of fraternal parties noted the usefulness of the exchange of views and experience in various areas of party work and building socialism, in order to become better acquainted with the achievements and tasks of each nation and to strengthen friendship, cohesion, interaction and unity among parties and countries. The participants in the meeting confirmed yet once again the resolve of their parties and peoples to strengthen reciprocal cooperation in the interest of all-round progress, the accelerated development of each country and the common cause of socialism and peace.

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### **Sons of the Fatherland**

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[Text] In addition to its direct meaning, the word "field," the Russian field, with its many meanings, has been treated from way back as a poetic image symbolizing the vastness of the land and the infinite size of the plains. The power of the land is related historically to the unabated and ineradicable popular memory of the sacred sites of military glory and military feats and exploits in battles, which have decided the fate of the fatherland for centuries, and thus also marking crucial turning points in world history. Such was the case on the ice of Chudskoye Lake, the Kulikovo field, and the fields of Poltava and Borodino....

"The most difficult thing... is to be able to combine in one's soul the importance of everything.... No, not to combine. One cannot combine thoughts but one can **link** all such thoughts, that is what is needed! Yes, **one must link, one must link!**" was what Pierre Bezukhov mentally repeated, reviving in his mind the day of Borodino, which revealed to him the "secret... warmth of patriotism" and illuminated with this "new light" everything around him. Let us not forget, however, that such an understanding and view of events was instilled by the writer in his character more than 50 years after the epic event had taken place. At that time, in those August days of 1812, the "linking" significance of the Borodino battle within its true historical scale was, in all likelihood,

realized by no means by all of its contemporaries. The same impression is imparted by some diaries of veterans of the Patriotic War, which followed day after day the development of the battles. In the chronicle of such works, the "great day of Borodino" (Pushkin) rates no more than a few lines.

"The courier brought the news from our Main Army on the general battle which was fought on the 26th of this month at Borodino village. It is claimed that the enemy was thoroughly defeated. Despite the victory, however, the next day we were forced to retreat. This creates doubts. We lost an incredible number of people," notes critically N.D. Durnovo, a young general-staff officer. Let us make an allowance for his viewpoint which, naturally, is that of a privileged member of the Emperor's retinue, very close to General Bennigsen, who was against Kutuzov. However, we find the same type of brief note and scant record in the diary of General D.M. Volkonskiy, a close combat ally of Kutuzov's: "...on the 26th our army was attacked in the center and at its left flank. The battle was fierce. Virtually all of our batteries were captured but we recaptured them at the cost of tremendous casualties. It is believed that the enemy lost as many as 4,000 people. We have lost as many as 20,000 and there are many wounded.... Many of our generals were killed or wounded."

But let us not hasten to blame both of short-sightedness or to justify the poet's aphorism that "face to face, we do not see the face. More can be seen from a distance." As the distance of time grows, so does knowledge. The understanding of the past becomes consolidated. However, its live and unique voices become dulled and monotonous, voices which were heard differently by every individual and could not be reduced to a common denominator, depersonalized and averaged. Coming to us after 175 years, they are interesting and valuable precisely because of the dissimilarity, the originality of individual perceptions and their variety which, combined, provide us a mosaic-like, a multicolored yet integral portrait of a distant age.

This fully applies to the ideas and views of the contemporaries of the Borodino battle. Some of them initially considered Borodino only one of the many days of battle and it was only later, in some cases much later, that they were able to understand its greatness. Others, and there were also many of them, particularly among those who had themselves fought on 26 August (7 September by the new calendar) at the Borodino redoubts, realized its importance not in subsequent years or decades but in the immediate aftermath of the events, however hidden they may have seemed behind the endless thundering of the guns and clouds of gunpowder smoke.

This is confirmed by the writings of Fedor Glinka, which can be justifiably classified among the first chronicles of 1812. Whereas "*Essays on the Borodino Battle*," are worthy, according to Belinskiy, of "the title of a people's book," timed for publication on the 25th anniversary of

the war, as a memoir, enriching his personal experience with historical knowledge of the past, his "*Letters of a Russian Officer on the Patriotic War of 1812 and the 1813 War Abroad*," is essentially a diary of those years, in which "anything which had been written" initially remains "untouched," "where it happened and how it happened." This was the wise advice given to the author by I. Krylov, who rated above anything else the "lines written on the march, developing in the campfires and covered, perhaps by the ashes of these forgotten camps. Let the historian," he warmly argued, "seek, add to and expatiate on that which you, as a frontline officer, could neither know nor describe!" The "*Letters of a Russian Officer*," which were first published at that time, in 1812-1813, in the journals *Russkiy Vestnik* and *Syn Otechestva*, subsequently reprinted in 1815-1816, according to contemporaries, "were a brilliant success," and were read "eagerly by all social strata in all parts of Russia," so that the "live vivid pictures and bold instant impressions" were accepted as documentary confirmation of events which were only winding up. For that reason they were not always and instantly open to a clear understanding which imperceptibly matures and gradually strengthens. It was no accident that the author postponed for a later date a "better description of the Borodino battle," although he now rates the battle as an immediate eyewitness and direct participant, writing it in the tone of a heroic epic: "The earth moaned and awakened the sleeping soldiers. The fields shuddered but the hearts remained calm."

Equally noteworthy is another key intonation in the "*Letters of a Russian Officer*," written in a diary style: a polemic intonation which persistently strikes in two directions: the first is that of the durable myths which romanticized Napoleon's luck as a military commander. This was based on a comparison between Austerlitz and Borodino, partially caused by Napoleon's statement, addressed not without a self-serving purpose, to the "lined troops" at sunrise: "This is the way the sun rose on the day of the battle of Austerlitz!" The arrogant leader, "ironically comments the author of the diary on this performance given for the benefit of the public and history, "wished to read victory in the skies in advance. His prophecy, however, did not come about." Napoleon's lucky Austerlitz star infamously set and vanished on the Borodino field. "I was at Austerlitz, but that battle, compared to this one, was a mere punch!" Glinka exclaims, citing the 60,000 shots which the enemy artillery fired on the Russian positions. "No, my friend! Neither the banks of the Danube and the Rhine nor the fields of Italy or the German soil have for a long time, perhaps ever, seen such a fierce, such a blood-shedding and such a horrible thunder of guns as in this battle! The Russians alone could withstand: they fought under their native sky and stood on their native land."

The second target of the polemic is the aristocratic opposition to Kutuzov, which is decisively rejected by the author of the "*Letters...*" as early as during his most difficult time, when neither able nor willing, after the fall

of Smolensk, to conceal bitterness and pain, he honestly admitted to be "in the throes of unwitting doubts: where are the troops going? Why are they surrendering ground? Finally, how will all of this come about?" The only thing which prevented his confusion and despair at that time was his intuitive faith in the strategic thinking of the commander in chief, whose invariable firmness described a person who was bound to have a "thought-out plan and a precise target." Borodino strengthened this faith, which was not shaken either by a new retreat or even the "sea of flames" of the Moscow fires. "Our troops are launching a kind of very skillful movement to the left. The loss of Moscow does not mean the loss of the fatherland. That is what history will say and that is what the commander in chief says: such is the voice of his troops, ready to fight to their last drop of blood!" Let us compare this with, in Kutuzov's words, the "golden" days of anticipated victory by the Parutin camp, and the drastically conflicting views of N.D. Durnovo, who failed to understand the maneuver of the Russian army and that it had won the battle of Borodino: "... the field marshal simply fears to make even the slightest movement: he is sitting in Tarutino like a bear in its cave, unwilling to leave it. This makes all of us mad."

At this point it would be appropriate to go back to the Borodino or, specifically, the "Kutuzov" chapters in *"War and Peace."* Their anti-Bonaparte feeling, based on the philosophy of history as it affects individual and national fates, the poetic interpretation of patriotic awareness and national feelings of both real and fictitious characters in the epic are based on a factual foundation which was thoroughly studied by the writer from a historical perspective, before giving it an artistic interpretation. Kutuzov's idea of victory at Borodino imbues the thoughts of Leo Tolstoy on the "spirit of the troops" in which he saw the moral foundation of Russian courage and stubbornness.

Expressing, almost like Tolstoy, such a spirit, which was not only not crushed but strengthened a hundred times on the Borodino field, Kutuzov reported to Aleksander I on the day after the battle: "Your Majesty's troops fought with incredible courage. The batteries changed hands repeatedly, and the outcome was that nowhere did the enemy capture even one foot of land despite his superior forces.... When it is a question not of the glory of battles won but of the destruction of the French army, I decided to retreat...." However, the Emperor of all the Russias did not share the beliefs and intentions of the commander in chief. "Prince Mikhail Illarionovich!" he testily said, frightened by the continuing retreat, "starting with the second of September Moscow has been in enemy hands... it becomes your responsibility whether the enemy will be able to assign significant forces to advance on Petersburg. Remember that you also owe an answer to the insulted fatherland for the loss of Moscow!" These thoughts were not expressed alone by Aleksander and his obedient court retinue. The retreat from Borodino and the subsequent surrender of Moscow had dulled the feeling created by the just won victory. This

page in the war, which is perhaps the most dramatic, could be understood and interpreted only in the overall context of the combat operations of the Russian army and Kutuzov's military strategy and tactics.

The year 1812 is indelibly linked to the original, outstanding and great personality of this Russian military leader who, at the sunset of his life, assumed the heavy but great responsibility for the fate of the fatherland. This step is considered a high civic and patriotic exploit which to this day has not been fully interpreted in our historical—scientific as well as popular—literature. This despite the fact that a great deal has been written, convincingly, particularly by military historians, on Kutuzov's talent as a military leader. We believe that bringing to light the social and political significance of Kutuzov's activities is a most important problem awaiting its solution.

It is true that of late certain changes have occurred in this area, greatly helped by introducing new documents, essentially of a memoir-dairy or correspondence nature. A. Tartakovskiy, who systematized them in the book *"1812 God i Russkaya Memuaristika"* [1812 and Russian Memoir Literature] (Nauka, Moscow, 1980), substantiates the need which appeared a long time ago for intensified historical-source studies, thanks to which "many important aspects" of the Patriotic War will be considered "from a new angle," enriching our present understanding both of the battle of Borodino as well as other strategic decisions made by the commander in chief at the time of the retreat from Moscow and the Tarutino maneuver.

In giving Kutuzov great power in the theatre of military operations, Aleksander I did not provide, nor could he, any written plan for operations, for he himself lacked any constructive ideas whatsoever. Therefore, Kutuzov was given the right to use his own judgment (A.I. Mikhaylovskiy-Danilevskiy). What use did the commander in chief make of it?

In formulating his plans in accordance with the real situation which had developed since the beginning of the war in the army and the country, he consistently and purposefully proceeded from the prime need to preserve, to protect human and material resources, and to concentrate and increase the forces in resisting the enemy, for as Tarles emphasizes, he both trusted and knew that "Napoleon will be doomed not simply by space but by a desert which the Russian people will make of their land in order to destroy the invading enemy." This was a firm, an indestructible knowledge which predicted and anticipated the course of events and which took into consideration the particular nature of the war, for it was not in vain that since its onset Kutuzov had commanded the Petersburg people's militia. This as a patriotic war, which had generated a high upsurge of national and patriotic self-awareness. "I firmly believe that I shall correct matters to the honor of Russia," he wrote his

daughter, on accepting the command. That same sharpened feeling of national cohesion, of unity in the face of the common danger, rallied around the field marshal higher and middle-level military commanders—P.I. Bagration, A.I. Kutaysov, P.P. Konovnitsyn, N.N. Rayevskiy, A.P. Yermolov, D.S. Dokhturov and M.I. Platov, as well as Denis Davydov, A.N. Seslavin and A.S. Figner, who were the organizers and leaders of the partisan movement.

No unanimous view prevails in Russian prerevolutionary and foreign historiography and among many Soviet researchers as to the point at which Kutuzov's overall strategic plan began to develop into a detailed specific plan for a counteroffensive maneuver from the Moshaysk-Moscow-Podolsk-Tarutino line. This maneuver, which radically changed the situation, permitted the Russian army to retain the strategic initiative lost by the enemy at Borodino. The main concentration of Napoleon's forces was bottled up in Moscow, and economic centers such as Tula, Kaluga and Bryansk were reliably protected; the only retreat left to Napoleon was the old Smolensk road, which had been wrecked and devastated by the French in the course of their advance. These, however, are the end results. What about the origins?

Differences in concepts on the origins are largely the result of the fact that, in implementing his intentions and plans, Kutuzov kept them in a state of profound secrecy. Convincing proof of this is found in documents, unknown until recently, collected by I.P. Liprandi, a person who lived a long life full of inconsistencies and unpredictable twists. As a participant in the Patriotic War, he wrote "*Recollections on the War of 1812 in General and, in Particular, a Detailed Presentation of the Operations of the 6th Dokhturov Corps*." The full text of his recollections has not been preserved but a fragment—"Excerpt from the Diary"—is, as the researcher certifies, a source "without analog in the memoirs of contemporaries of the retreat from Moscow and the Tarutino maneuver carried out by M.I. Kutuzov, which largely predetermined the outcome of the war." With an almost literal accuracy the "*Excerpts from the Diary*" "illuminates as though from within every hour in the changing circumstances of passing on to corps quartermasters M.I. Kutuzov's order on the forthcoming maneuver, which was entirely unexpected to the command personnel."

Such was the style of Kutuzov's leadership of the armed forces, in which the features of his balanced character features as a military leader and restrained nature as a diplomat were manifested. A rare case of openness, concealed at that, is found in a slight hint in a letter to his daughter, in which he advises her, with extreme caution, not to remain in Tula, i.e., near Kaluga, but to go "farther away from the theater of war," demanding, however, that anything he says "remain a most profound secret, for should this become known, you could cause me great harm..." The letter was written before the Borodino battle but it silently hints at a possible maneuver which will take place after Borodino with a view to preventing the enemy from reaching the road to Kaluga.

As we can see, both memoirs and letters introduced in contemporary historical studies contain a great deal of important information which sheds light on seemingly long-familiar phenomena. Scattered in small bits, they may be sometimes ignored by researchers. Combined, systematized and summed up, they suddenly bring to light most unexpected concatenations of events and destinies, as their ragged edges mesh and become a clear line leading to the depth of hidden cause and relation ties. Considered on the basis of a broad overview, they solve the question of whether the battle of Borodino was accidental or legitimate, what was the military will which directed it and to whom did it bring victory. "I, thank God, am well... and did not lose but won the battle against Bonaparte," the field marshal rightfully reported to his family after the battle.

On the day of Borodino, the general battle—the foundation of Napoleon's strategy and tactics—for the first time in the history of his wars, the desired success did not come to the French. To Kutuzov it became an inseparable link in the overall strategic plan of the Patriotic War. Yes, the battle of Borodino was not of an offensive but of an actively defensive nature. Yes, acknowledged by its contemporaries as one of the most blood-stained battles in the entire history of the war, it cost the Russian army two fifths of its strength. Yes, concludes N. Troitskiy in a journal publication of some chapters from the book "*The Storm of 1812*," which is currently being prepared for publication, after the battle Kutuzov was forced to "sacrifice Moscow for the sake of protecting the army and Russia. However, he did this not only by the will of Napoleon but by his own will, not because he had been defeated and demoralized, but because he had withstood and he believed in the victorious course of the war for Russia without risking a new general battle for Moscow." It would be naive to expect of Napoleon absolute agreement with this historical truth. However, shortly before his death, he acknowledged that "the most terrible of all my battles was the one at Moscow. In that battle the French proved themselves worthy of victory and the Russians proved themselves worthy of invincibility."

This conclusion of a contemporary Soviet historian would have been quite incomplete without a crucial specification: what made the Russian soldiers **invincible** was the inspiring patriotic feeling, sharpened national self-awareness and personal understanding of the fact that they were fighting and dying "not for the sake of glory and even less for faith and tsar, but for the fatherland." The main hero of Borodino is "**the Russian soldier**, flesh from the flesh of his people..."

It is no accident that in the vocabulary of 1812 the words "Fatherland" and its closest synonym "Motherland" are most frequently used. "Proudly the trumpets on the battlefield call for love of Fatherland," are the emotional lines with which Fedor Glinka concludes his "Military Song..." "Savior of the homeland," is how Zhukovskiy described Field Marshal Kutuzov in his message "To the Leader of the Victors," which was written after the Krasnyy battle. The term "Son of the Fatherland" was born in 1812. It expressed

the concept which had taken roots in the social consciousness of that period of the civic worthiness of this Russian patriot. Such is the reality of history.

The reason for which the war of 1812 became a Patriotic War was the high national upsurge which it inspired in the people, strengthening in them the spirit of civic-mindedness. However, even on the crest of its upsurge, the national idea did not lose its social aspect. It did not eliminate the conflict between official patriotism, as interpreted by the tsarist court, and the patriotism filled with a deep national sense. It was this rather than personal bias that provoked a clash between Aleksander I and Kutuzov and a state of "open" "internecine" (N.D. Durnovo's diary) war between imperial headquarters and the field marshal. Their patriotism stemmed from different roots and, by virtue of its historical determination, was manifested differently on the different levels of social thinking. "What do I care about the Fatherland! Tell me if the Emperor is in danger!" This was an extreme formula of protective patriotism, Arakcheyev style. "Attack and die if necessary!" "Resist to the utmost!" Such were Kutuzov's firm and decisive orders in the heat of the Borodino "life or death" battle, which embodied the people's patriotism, which is inconceivable without selfless and dedicated love of fatherland. It was this that led Belinskiy to describe Borodino as "the most solemn, the most tragic act of the great drama of 1812," in which "the personality of the people was manifested, encompassing within itself all individuals; there was but a single thought in all the minds, and the hearts beat with a single feeling, in rhythm, as one..."

This kind of patriotism, manifested most emphatically during periods of national awakening to active social creativity in both domestic and world history, is described in Marx's article "Revolutionary Spain," which deals with the anti-Napoleonic struggle waged by the Spanish insurgents in 1808-1814. It would be against history to apply its basic concepts to Russia by straight superimposition. The point, however, is entirely different. The point is one of analogies and parallels, the possibility of which is indicated by the typological correlation among phenomena and processes which are sequential within a general historical context. Marx's statement is applicable not only to Spain but, on the theoretical level and in its methodological key, to Russia as well: "... Napoleon who, like his entire generation, considered Spain a lifeless corpse was quite unpleasantly surprised by realizing that whereas the Spanish state was dead, Spanish society was full of life and the forces of resistance were active in all its segments." Surveying the initial stage of the national liberation struggle, from the uprising in Madrid, which was fiercely suppressed by Murat, to the uprising in the Asturias, which "soon afterwards spread throughout the monarchy," Marx drew particular attention to the fact that "this initial self-generated movement was born within the people, while the 'better' classes calmly accepted the foreign yoke" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 10, p 433).

The justified projection of such views on Russia is fully confirmed by the dynamics of Russian social thinking, which recognized in the heroic resistance to Napoleonic aggression the historical commonality of ways and destinies of nations fighting at different ends of the European continent. Thoughts on this subject are found in F. Glinka's "Letters of a Russian Officer," who wrote in July, at Smolensk: "No one wants to remain in the hands of the enemy. Apparently in Russia, as in Spain, the enemy can conquer only the land but not the people." The "Spanish topic" was extensively reflected in the Russian press of 1812, more frequently and more than anywhere else in the journal *Syn Otechestva*, in which various polemic interpretations blended within a feeling of homeland and love of fatherland. Thus, A.P. Kunitsin's Message to the Russians" was in direct answer to the article "Voice of the Truth" by the German journalist Arndt, which was imbued with a spirit of official loyal patriotism and fatalistic reliance on "divine foretelling." Referring to the inspiring example of the Spanish people who, without a government, with the only given by generous allies, were able to liberate their country from foreign yoke, Pushkin's school tutor ("He made us, he developed our fire, he laid the cornerstone, he lit the clean oil lamp," was to say the poet later) called upon his compatriots to wage a people's war: "Let our fields grow in weeds, let our villages be barren, let our buildings collapse in ruins; let only freedom remain...." The scope of the partisan struggle, in which the peasant detachments commanded by Gerasim Kurin, Vasilisa Kozhina and other people's heroes of the Patriotic War participated, quickly confirmed the relevance and effectiveness of such patriotic appeals.

The nationwide resistance to the foreign invasion of 1812, which took place under the sign of the idea of national liberation, not simply sharpened and intensified patriotic awareness but also provided a tangible impetus to its internal demarcation. On the eve of 1812, despite their differences and heterogeneity, the patriotic feelings and moods of Russian society found a common area of contact in the anti-Napoleonic enthusiasm, to which Pushkin's verses from his poem "Napoleon" were entirely applicable: "Glory!... He showed the Russian people their lofty destiny".... The essence, however, was that this "lofty destiny" of the people was given different interpretations. There was that of Moscow's *Russkiy Vestnik*, the views of which were frequently of a protective nature. Another one was that of Petersburg's *Syn Otechestva*, the patriotism of which, resting on a broader platform, began to assume the expressive features of socially minded and politically colored education. This creates a continuity between A.P. Kunitsyn's "Message to the Russians" and his subsequent article "On the Constitution," in which, professing the enlightened ideals of humanism, he calls for "basic laws" which would guarantee the inviolability of the individual and restrict the absolutism of monarchic power.

Having thus acquired an impetus for demarcation in 1812, the patriotic feelings indeed separated in the years which immediately follow the war, losing their former areas of contact and resulting in an open confrontation among the various social trends. Pushkin's "Arzamas

Brotherhood" appeared, around which rallied free thinking and freedom-loving people who anticipated the revolutionary patriotism of the Decembrists (some of them, such as N.I. Turgenev, N.M. Muravyev, M.F. Orlov and P.A. Vyazemskiy, the "Decembrist without December," were, as we know, members of Arzamas).

Under the influence of the antihistorical moods which developed in the stagnant atmosphere of the 1970s-1980s in literature and criticism, the spiritual genealogy of the Decembrist movement was sought anywhere but in the national upsurge, the national patriotism of 1812.

However, the biographies and lives themselves of the Decembrists firmly reject such excommunication. As participants in the Patriotic War of 1812 they became its heroes, whose exploits were highly rewarded; 65 future Decembrists fought at Borodino and 7 of them (including P.I. Pestel, M.S. Lunin and V.F. Rayevskiy) were presented with gold sabers "for courage." Battle decorations were awarded to I.D. Yakushkin, M.A. Fonvizin, V.L. Davydov and many others. Justifiably describing themselves as "children of 1812," the Decembrists created and asserted this new type of personality in Russian society: son of the fatherland, within whom the ideal of the patriot most closely blended with that of the citizen. This made even more symbolic an event in the history of the Decembrist movement, such as renaming the "Alliance for Salvation" (1816), the first secret organization, to "Society of Loyal and True Sons of the Fatherland" (1817). Let us look into this programmatic name: what does it describe if not the acceptance of superior moral standards which became the inviolable foundation of the moral code of the Russian revolutionaries? And what is the prime source of their ideological convictions if not patriotism imbued with revolutionary awareness?

The tenth chapter of "*Eugene Onegin*," directly links the civic hatred felt by the Decembrists for the "lashes of slavery" to the patriotic "people's frenzy" during the stormy period of the Patriotic War. This thought expressed by the poet is consistent with a great deal of what the Decembrists have said and written about themselves.

"When the lethal hand of war  
brought death and fear  
and shed a river of blood  
on the precious fields of our fathers,  
for the first time in my free soul  
I sensed some ties  
and, seeing the sadness of the people,  
trembled from empathy..."

Vladimir Rayevskiy exclaimed in his "*Message to G.S. Batenkov*." The memoirs gave the following explanation to the conceptual evolution which had led to the creation of the "*Thoughts About the Soldier*" and "*Thoughts About the Slavery of the Peasants*," which are outstanding examples of uncensored political literature of the Decembrists' period: "With their deaths hundreds of thousands of Russians ransomed the freedom of the

entire Europe. The army, spoiled by victories and glory, was subject to unparalleled oppression instead of receiving the promised rewards and benefits. Military deportations, and commanders such as Vitt, Shvarts, Zheltukhin and dozens of others cowed the soldiers; the serfdom of the peasants continued and line officers were expelled from the service.... The intensified collection of arrears, which had increased with the war, strict censorship, new drafts, and so on and so forth, brought about muffled grumbings.... Arakcheyev's rule, Speranskiy's exile and the lack of respect for famous generals... greatly worried and concerned the people who expected a renovation and the healing of the severe wounds inflicted on their fatherland...." We find similar themes in Ivan Yakushkin's notes: "The war of 1812 awakened the Russian people to life and is an important period in their political existence. No governmental order or effort would have been sufficient... had the people remained benumbed."

However, the victorious people who, crushing the Napoleonic empire, had saved their own fatherland and liberated Europe, continued to waste away "under the heavy yoke of autocracy" (K. Ryleyev), while its peasant majority remained in the yoke of serfdom, which had become even harsher than before the war. Even the ringing manifesto proclaimed by Aleksander I on 30 August 1814 on the occasion of the victory over France, mentioned this absolute majority in a single line and left no illusions whatsoever for the future: "The peasants, our loyal people, will receive their reward from God." In recommending his subjects to the care of the lord in heaven, the lord on earth let it be understood that no one should count on him. By a remarkable coincidence, he clearly demonstrated this in front of thousands of people as he solemnly entered Petersburg, returning from Paris with the laurels of a victory he had not won. It so happened, narrates I. Yakushkin, who watched the ceremony, that "virtually in front of his horse a muzhik ran across the street. The Emperor spurred his horse on and hurled himself on the fleeing man with a drawn sword. The police started beating on the muzhik. We could not believe our own eyes and looked away, ashamed for our beloved tsar. This was my first disappointment in him..."

Innumerable disappointments followed, along with the "main ulcer" of Russian reality, mentioned ever more vocally by free-thinking youth. "... The sluggishness of the people, the state of serfdom, the cruel treatment of soldiers, whose 25-year term of duty is almost like forced labor; ubiquitous bribery and corruption, thievery and, finally, open disrespect for people in general." Careerists who had crowded the army did not consider a soldier fit for service before they had broken "several cartfuls of sticks on his back." Landowners "looked at their peasants as strictly their private property" and, considering serfdom sacred, looked at even the slightest attempt against it as "shaking of the very foundations of the state." "These were unfortunate years for Russia," I. Yakushkin concludes. In repeating Lenin's words from the article "*On the National Pride of the Great Russians*,"

it would be fair to acknowledge that this too was the voice of a Russian patriot, filled with "true love for the homeland, unrequited love because of the lack of revolutionism among the masses of the Great Russian population" (op. cit., vol 26, p 107).

No, it was not peace and hunger, the calm of agreement and universal peacefulness and peacemaking that prevailed in the Russian empire after the Patriotic War, as Zhukovskiy tried to convince society and, even more so, himself, in his 1839 poem "*The Borodino Anniversary*." "The splendid beginning of Aleksander's days" was replaced by Arakcheyevism, and the autocracy countered the ferment of the progressive minds and peasant unrest with its desire to cover the country with military settlements. This marked a return "from the unrest of a national war... to the dead calm of Petersburg's despotism," Herzen wrote about the time which took to Senate Square the best sons of the fatherland. He was the first to recognize the "horrible and sad lot that was being prepared" in Russia for "anyone who would dare raise his voice above the line drawn by the Emperor's scepter." At the same time, none other than Herzen, whose "*Cradle Song and Childhood Fairy Tales*," and whose Iliad and Odyssey were "the stories of the Moscow fire, the battle of Borodino, Berezina and the capture of Paris," who assumed that "the true history of Russia begins only in 1812. Anything previous to that was merely the prologue." What was the reason for such a categorical and perhaps somewhat rigoristic assertion? Least of all the nostalgic recollection of times past, of the former glory of the fatherland; above all, it was a clear understanding of not only what the Patriotic War had meant to Russia during that critical turning point and dramatic period in its historical destiny but what it had contributed to subsequent national development. If, according to Herzen, "our time is the last page of history," there is no reason to flee "from the present to the past." Russia's real history kept making its way during the dark times of Nicholas's reaction when, after 14 December 1825, tsarism threw the full might at the state at the "movement of the mind" and turned patriotism into "something like a whip, a police matter," raising over it the "standards of **orthodoxy, autocracy and nationality**, cut in the shape of a Prussian banner and supported by anything handy." However, it was not the legitimized "official nationhood" but progressive social thinking, Decembrist at first and, subsequently, revolutionary-democratic, that took up the baton of popular patriotism.

The heroic aspect of domestic history, which is inseparable from the spiritual experience of its contemporaries, is consistent with their patriotic awareness and feelings. Today as well it is consistent with the new style of political thinking of the nuclear age, in which a "nuclear-free world" and the "survival of mankind" have inseparably become interchangeable concepts. Today its sons, who draw lessons from history, have more than anyone else the right to inherit the behests of their predecessors, bearing in mind the extremely heavy and irreplaceable casualties suffered by the fatherland in its wars.

From the distance of the last century they come to us, calling upon us in the voice of the Borodino hero, the Decembrist Vladimir Rayevskiy, who charged Napoleon Bonaparte with the responsibility "for over 500,000 innocent victims!... I ask what did Napoleon feel when, after the battle of Borodino, 40,000 corpses, the wailing wounded and the utterly exhausted people thickly covered the field on which he rode?... Why is it that a person, a citizen, is sentenced to death for killing just another citizen or a woman for killing her child... while the killing of masses of people is described as a victory?... An unfair war, or war in general, which could have been avoided through agreements and concessions, should be tried by the people's court and the culprits should be sentenced to death..."

That is what he thought on the level of his time, unaware of the profound humanism which his spirit would acquire toward the end of the 20th century. Such is also the peremptory lesson of the "great day of Borodino," which is inseparable from other historical lessons inherited by the Russian sons of the fatherland.

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### The Army Under the Conditions of Democratization

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[Review of the article "*Restructuring and Democratization of Our Army Life*" by Major General V. Fedorov, candidate of historical sciences; Colonel Ye. Zabavin, candidate of philosophical sciences; and Colonel V. Podolets, in *Kommunist Vooruzhennykh Sil*, No 16, 1987, pp 9-16]

[Text] An article in *Kommunist Vooruzhennykh Sil* discusses the democratization in army life. In what key are the authors considering this subject?

Yes, reliable defense capability, a strong army and strong discipline are exceptionally important to us. Any weakening in this respect is wrong and inadmissible. However, an army which is organically linked to the life of the people and a country which is democratic in its nature cannot ignore the changes which are taking place in our society and, above all, the process of development of socialist democracy, which is the core of restructuring and a decisive prerequisite for its success.

Naturally, the specific features of a military organization also determine the features of democratization in the army and navy. It is no accident that some officers are asking how to combine this process with the requirements of strengthening one-man command and military discipline. Is there not a contradiction in this case? The

answer to this question is simple, the authors claim: no such contradiction exists. As we know, the life of army and navy personnel is based on regulations, orders and the principle of one-man command, which ensures in the best possible manner the firmness and flexibility of troop control, efficient organization and discipline and high combat readiness. However, the principle itself is implemented in accordance with the democratic nature of our armed forces. It does not exclude collective methods but is sensibly combined with them. Thus, essentially the military councils are democratic management authorities and it is precisely they that discuss the most important problems of troop life and activities. Upgrading their activeness, involving fresh forces in their work and seeing to it that they truly encourage a practical exchange of views on topical problems of upgrading combat readiness, strengthening the discipline and developing the social sphere is one of the tasks of the restructuring under way.

In the view of the authors, what are the main trends in the democratization of army life? The intensification of democracy means, above all, the more active participation of military servicemen in solving the problems of the armed forces. Every person is granted the extensive opportunity for displaying his capabilities, creativity and initiative. This is also the objective of the socialist competition in units and ships. The efficiency of patriotic initiatives by military servicemen becomes the higher the more comparable become results and the public rating of the winners, and the better secured are the necessary conditions for implementing plans, without "report mania" or embellishing the real state of affairs.

The creative activity of cadres is particularly valued under the conditions of restructuring. In the life of an officers' collective, wherever the exigency of the senior commander is combined with the initiative of his subordinates, successes are usually greater in all matters and there is better order. Whenever a superior takes over from a subordinate in solving even the simplest problems, he kills initiative, humiliates others with his mistrust and, above all, adversely affects the efficiency of joint work. In some cases such substitution is explained by claiming that the subordinate is short of experience. The legitimate question arises in that case: how will a commander who is poorly prepared to act independently acquire experience if he does not make his own decisions?

Further democratization presumes development and encouragement of sensible initiative, showing trust and comradely support, combined with high exigency and control. Only thus can the activeness of the people and the efficiency of their work be enhanced and inertia, passiveness and indifference toward assignments, which still exist, be surmounted.

The authors note that the strict observance of socialist legality and reinforcing with guarantees the rights granted to the people by the USSR Constitution and

various laws and regulations contributes to broadening democracy in the army and navy as it does in the entire society. The armed forces are a social institution with extensive legal regulations of activities. Nonetheless, in frequent cases orders and instructions are issued in violation of the stipulations of army statutes and other laws and clearly clash with the principles of socialist democracy. The main reason for this phenomenon is the poor knowledge of the officers of the proper documents and their insufficient competence and inability to anticipate the educational consequences of their orders. In order for an order to have moral and legal force it must be consistent with the law. Under the conditions of democratization commanders and political workers must strictly observe the rights of the soldiers, defend the personal dignity of their subordinates and be concerned with the conditions of their daily life.

One of the most important areas of democratization, according to the authors of the article, is upgrading the activeness and initiative of the party organizations in the army and navy. Restructuring encourages an atmosphere of openness, sincerity and true comradeship in party life. The initiative and principle-mindedness of CPSU members and their reciprocal exigency increase. In this connection, the role of the party meetings increases noticeably. Their thoughtful preparations, which have nothing in common with excessive organization, and the creation of an atmosphere of exigency and comradely criticism and self-criticism contribute to upgrading their efficiency and to increasing the influence of party members on all aspects of the life and activity of military collectives.

In practice, however, the authors note, there have been cases in which individual party members-managers have exceed their rights at party meetings, doing everything possible to emphasize their superiority, seniority and rank. Some of them resort to commenting on the statements by party members and dare to issue instructions to the party organizations and try to shift to them full responsibility for shortcomings. All of this is the result of low political standards and lack of understanding of the nature of party work.

The systematic use by the party organizations of their statutory rights in solving personnel problems also encourages the assertion of democratic principles.

Democratization presumes more active efforts on the part of Komsomol and trade union organizations and the other social institutions in the army and navy. It is no secret that some of them are showing no initiative and autonomy. In frequent cases this is the direct consequence of the fact that commanders and political workers fail to pay the necessary attention to the activities of the public organizations and sometimes consider such activities a hindrance to the bureaucratically interpreted concept of one-man command.

Restructuring calls for upgrading the role of social institutions, such as meetings of the personnel and the councils they elect. In the opinion of the authors of the article, officer conferences must become more efficient. They are a good democratic method for the joint discussion of topical problems and decisions. However, such conferences, as those of ensigns and sergeants, are frequently used only for announcing orders and become grounds for abusing and punishing subordinates. In a number of cases they develop into monologues, although it is only extremely meaningful and short conferences, at which common views are shaped, that can contribute to the creation of an atmosphere of confidentiality, openness and reciprocal respect, without which the successful work of any military collective is impossible.

The commander or political worker who relies on democratic institutions gains an extensive opportunity to study and take into consideration in his work the political and moral condition of the military personnel and the nature of relations which develop in the primary collective.

As we know, so-called informal groups, associations based on similarity of interests, likes and attachments, may appear in any subunit. Usually, the objectives and forms of their activities do not conflict with the tasks of units and subunits. However, nor should we ignore the fact that occasionally appearing contradictions lead to violations of military discipline, nonstatutory relations among military servicemen and other negative phenomena. Training and upbringing are more difficult and so is strengthening the discipline without knowledge of the situation in and identification of the leaders of such informal groups and without purposefully and actively influencing them.

The authors of the article emphasize that these are the basic directions which must be followed today in the process of democratization of army life. It is also important to learn how to work under the conditions of increased democracy. In itself the possibility of exercising one's rights and relying on democratic principles in military service are not enough. Persistence and skill are necessary as well.

The article notes that cases of abuse of position and manifestations of rudeness, foul language and denigration of the dignity of subordinates are still encountered in the armed forces. It is precisely this category of leaders, the June Central Committee Plenum noted, who are displeased with democratization, who fear the open and frank assessment of their work and behavior. That is why it is particularly important today to develop the ability to use the sharp and strong instruments of socialist democracy, such as criticism and self criticism.

Yes, the commander's order is the law for his subordinates. As to the other aspects of his activities, not to mention his behavior, they could and should be targets of criticism. Under this pretext some commanders and

political workers try to avoid accounting to their comrades for errors and blunders. The ability to criticize and properly to accept criticism is a necessary element of standards of human relations under conditions of democracy.

Today the statements by military servicemen at party and Komsomol meetings are becoming increasingly sharper. To a certain extent this helps to eliminate stagnation phenomena which became widespread in army life as well in recent years. Nonetheless, the one-sided attitude toward criticism, which more frequently goes only downwards, is still being felt strongly. A peculiar approach has been established in a number of party organizations in staffs and administrations: commanders and political workers in the troops are willingly criticized; as to the activities of their own party members, they are discussed in most general terms only.

An efficient interest in public affairs and a principled attitude toward negative phenomena can be established only under circumstances of glasnost. The process of restructuring in the army and navy is enhancing the life of military collectives and glasnost is spreading. It is manifested not only in the criticism of shortcomings but also in anything constructive which is being accomplished in asserting that which is new and progressive. Obviously, the meaning of glasnost, the authors believe, is for military collectives to become well aware of the worth of individuals, and their contribution to the common cause. Understandably, glasnost should not mean divulging military secrets or tactless interference in the strictly personal aspects of the life of an individual or insulting his honor and dignity.

Understanding people and being close to them are among the most important principles in the activities of a leader under the conditions of broadening democracy. In its most humane manifestations, the article emphasizes, closeness to the people has nothing in common with familiarity, making advances to or surrounding oneself with subservient people. It categorically excludes favoritism as a means of providing easy conditions to selected people in which to do their military service. It is based on fair strictness toward people, combined with concern for them.

The democratization of army life also presumes a restructuring of political education. Understandably, without a real enhancement of the soldiers' political awareness it would be difficult to develop in them a feeling of personal participation in the changes under way.

**We submit to the attention of the readers this paper, for life in the armed forces is part of our common life and the processes occurring here are part of the single process of restructuring. The editors intend to dedicate one of their forthcoming roundtable meetings to the heroic history and present life of the Soviet Army on the eve of its 70th anniversary.**

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05003

**Optimization Approach to the Economy: Results and Lessons**

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Sep 87 (signed to press 14 Sep 87) pp 120-124

[Review by F. Valenta, corresponding member, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; A. Granberg, corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; R. Rayatskas, corresponding member, Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences; and A. Rumyantsev, member, USSR Academy of Sciences, of the following books: "*Vvedeniye v Teoriyu i Metodologiyu Sistemy Optimalnogo Funktsionirovaniya Sotsialisticheskoy Ekonomiki*" [Introduction to the Theory and Methodology of the System of Optimal Functioning of the Socialist Economy], Moscow, 1983, 368 pp; "*Problemy Metodologii Kompleksnogo Sotsialno-Ekonomicheskogo Planirovaniya*" [Problems of the Methodology of Comprehensive Socioeconomic Planning], Moscow, 1983, 416 pp; "*Metody Narodnokhozyaystvennogo Prognozirovaniya*" [Methods of National Economic Forecasting], Moscow, 1985, 472 pp; "*Sistema Modeley Narodnokhozyaystvennogo Planirovaniya*" [System of Models of National Economic Planning], Moscow, 1982, 374 pp; "*Mezhotraslevyye Kompleksy v Sisteme Modeley*" [Intersectorial Complexes Within the System of Models], Moscow, 1983, 320 pp; "*Khozyaystvennyy Mekhanizm v Sisteme Optimalnogo Funktsionirovaniya Sotsialisticheskoy Ekonomiki*" [The Economic Mechanism Within the System of Optimal Functioning of the Socialist Economy], Moscow, 1985, 348 pp; "*Modelirovaniye v Protsessakh Upravleniya Narodnym Khozysystvom*" [Modeling in National Economic Management Processes], Moscow, 1984, 320 pp; "*Problemy Razrabotki i Realizatsii Kompleksnykh Programm*" [Problems of Development and Implementation of Comprehensive Programs], Moscow, 1984, 279 pp; "*Ekonomiko-Matematicheskiye Modeli v Sisteme Upravleniya Predpriyatiyami*" [Economic-Mathematical Models in the Enterprise Management System], Moscow, 1983, 391 pp; and "*Matematicheskiy Apparat Ekonomicheskogo Modelirovaniya*" [Mathematical Apparatus for Economic Modeling], Moscow, 1983, 368 pp]

[Text] The multiple-volume series of collective works entitled "*Problems of Optimal Planning and Socialist Economic Management*," which were published between 1982 and 1985 by Izdatelstvo Nauka, encompasses a wide range of problems of the methodology of centralized planning, management and economic incentive of the production process and rationalization of organizational management structures. The most important problems of managing the national economy and its individual units are considered here from the unified position of optimization and combining economics with mathematics and cybernetics.

It was 20 years ago that the formulation of a theory and methods of optimal planning and functioning of the socialist national economy was classified among the important tasks in the science of economics. The reasons for this were sound: by then a new trend in Soviet economic science—mathematical economics—had appeared, thanks to the efforts and work of outstanding scientists and Lenin Prize winners L.V. Kantorovich, V.S. Nemchinov and V.V. Novozhilov and economists, mathematicians, and cyberneticians among their numerous students and followers. The USSR Academy of Science Central Economics-Mathematical Institute and many other similar scientific collectives were created.

Let us admit that, as is very frequently the case in science, this new science met with a mixed response. Many people will remember the stormy debates of the 1960s, when some economists rejected the very possibility of the use of mathematical methods in economics, labeling economic cybernetics or econometrics "reactionary bourgeois doctrines," and accusing as being anti-Marxist Soviet economists-mathematicians who were blamed for using concepts such as production factors, usefulness, maximal values and even, in the words of an author, the "suprahistorical idea" of maximal results with minimal outlays. Subsequently, such doubts were replaced by half-hearted admissions, the meaning of which was that, generally speaking, the use of mathematics in economics was possible but that the specific suggested methods for optimizing the economy were unacceptable in a real socialist economy.

This circumstance and, to an even greater extent, the demands of reality itself, motivated mathematical economists to undertake the study of profound problems of economic theory. Economic mathematical studies underwent a significant development. From solving problems of the optimal distribution of production resources, gradually they were extended to an increasingly broad range of economic tasks, strongly influencing the shaping of new concepts relative to the system for planning and managing the national economy, and entered rather complex theoretical areas, such as the effect of economic laws, the theory of reproduction, price-setting, distribution relations and many others. It became clear that it should be a question not simply of the application of mathematical methods and computers as efficient tools for economic research but of qualitative changes in the science of economics. The experience which was gained in solving specific economic-mathematical problems, the formulation of new theoretical concepts and the reinterpretation of many old ones in the science of economics, resulting from the combination of this science with mathematics and cybernetics, led the supporters of this development to the qualitatively new idea of building a system of the optimal functioning of the economy (SOFE) and the search for possible means by which economics could develop into such an "optimal system." Essentially, this was an attempt theoretically to substantiate a variant of the country's economic mechanism to replace the existing

one, the imperfection of which was by then clear to the mathematical economists (let us recall, for example, that many of the ideas expressed by Academician V.S. Nemchinov on state orders to enterprises, competitive principles in planning and others are today not simply relevant but have been directly taken up with the radical economic reform which has been initiated in the country). On the other hand, this was the initial action mounted against the style of commentaries and descriptiveness, which was then popular in the science of economics and which, to a certain extent, may be found to this day, and against stagnation and conservatism in economic thinking.

As a whole, the attitude toward the concept of a system of optimal functioning of the socialist economy, as toward economic-mathematical methods had never been nor could be simple, perhaps because of the sharply polemical nature of this concept alone. It is important for Soviet economic science soberly to assess both successes and failures in studies of the theory of optimal planning and management. Not everything and perhaps even far from everything that had been intended and proclaimed was accomplished and not all hopes were justified. This must be admitted. However, that which was accomplished deserves most serious consideration, for it greatly changed the face of Soviet economic science. Many of the concepts, ideas and methods developed by supporters of economic-mathematical system have today become firmly part of its conceptual arsenal. They have enriched its research methods and are being widely applied in economic practice.

As currently interpreted, the SOFE does not claim in the least the role of a "constructive socialist political economy," as was erroneously believed by some of its supporters by the turn of the 1970s, although it formulates an entire system of views on perfecting production relations, the effect of economic laws, the most important categories in the socialist production method and the need to intensify the practical aspects of socialist political economy. In our view, these concepts are the political economic aspect of the SOFE. The inverse influence which the SOFE has on the theoretical-methodological arsenal of socialist political economy is found and implemented, in particular, through the mathematization of the analytical apparatus. We are considering this matter because to this day we find published statements which oppose the SOFE concept of socialist political economy and even accuse the supporters of this concept of trying to "substitute" it for political economy. The views expressed here expose the groundlessness of such criticism.

The monographs, which are part of the series, were published between 1982 and 1985 and, naturally, could not reflect the specific problems of restructuring of the Soviet economy and of the system of national economic management, which began after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. It is important, therefore, to answer the following question: have the ideas expressed

in such works not become obsolete, and to what extent have they proved their viability under the qualitative changes within the economic situation itself and the requirements set to the science of economics? We can legitimately claim that a number of basic concepts of the SOFE, which are detailed in the monographs under discussion, are consistent with contemporary concepts on the restructuring of the science of economics and the economic management system. This precisely is the view on tasks of centralized management, use of the program-target approach, management of intersectorial complexes, role of economic standards, expansion of enterprise economic autonomy, investment management, the role of banks, and so on. Equally relevant are the results of the study of the organization and information support of planning and management and the development of the mathematical apparatus of economic models.

The category of the socioeconomic optimum plays the main role in the SOFE. It is the base which makes possible the study of the socialist economy as a single entity, and the optimizing and coordination of development of its individual subsystems. Convincing proof has been offered to the effect that it is only through the application of the principle of socioeconomic optimality that the greatest efficiency can be achieved in the functioning of the basic economic law and the other economic laws within the socialist system. Unquestionably, the optimum and the criteria of optimality are part of the arsenal of new concepts we mentioned, which mathematical economists contributed to this science. In the series under consideration, they continue to intensify and improve these concepts and the methods for their study. The authors analyze the various optimality criteria, formulate the principles of coordinating them within the system of the national economic hierarchy and introduce new tools for the meaningful interpretation of both scaled and multicriteria optimization.

The monographs deal extensively with the question of the human factor in managing the planned activities of the socialist economy, which is of exceptional importance to all socialist countries. The intensified role of the human factor, as the authors argue, by no means conflicts with the objective effect of economic laws. Other types of reciprocal processes take place, such as complementing, reinforcing and stimulating. The increased role of the human factor does not clash with the objective nature of the optimum, which is based on the requirements of the basic economic law of socialism. "It is precisely the emphasis on the objective nature of the target, included in the basic economic law, that leads to a realistic and truly scientific interpretation of the objective nature of the optimum and of the entire system of categories within it" (*Vvedeniye v Teoriyu...*, p 37).

While giving proper credit to the depth and comprehensiveness in the development of the problem of the socioeconomic optimum, let us express a critical remark.

The authors used a "target tree" system in the monographs "*Problemy Metodologii...*" and "*Problemy Razrabotki...*" This instrument can be applied quite suitably in program-target planning. However, the compatibility between this approach and the modeling of the system of optimality targets and criteria (target functions) included in optimization models remains unexplained.

The study of crucial theoretical problems of economic functioning should lead to the elaboration of a specific planning system in which the basic principles could be applied. To this effect, the TsEMI formulated the idea of comprehensive socioeconomic planning. In accordance with the main principle of the consistency between set targets and available and recoverable resources, the authors of "*Problemy Metodologii...*" consider the most important targets of planning and problems of coordination and continuity of plans on different levels, the role of the various forecasts in their interconnection with corresponding plans and the outlines of the economic mechanism for plan implementation. In particular, identifying the special role of long-term plans and forecasts in achieving the general objectives of socialist society is paralleled by the elaboration of the mechanism for their gradual implementation with the help of plans formulated on a lower level, characterized by their continuity and coordination. The authors of this book develop conceptual views formulated in their previous works; they also mark the beginning of the so-called concept of continuous planning, currently used in the formulation of national economic plans and forecasts by the majority of socialist countries.

The authors answer essential problems of the application of economic-mathematical models in planning technology. At this point we must recall that such ideas were largely implemented in the creation of the ASPR—the automated planning computation system of the USSR Gosplan and the gosplans of union republics—the first two parts of which, as we know, are already in use.

One of the concepts of the SOFE theory, which was most sharply criticized in its time, was the approach to the socialist economic system as stochastic, as a system of probabilities. For example, in 1967 *Voprosy Ekonomiki* wrote as follows: "The mathematical abstractionists are becoming excessively carried away by stochastic processes;" *Planovoye Khozyaystvo* stubbornly insisted that in a planned economy forecasting is neither possible nor necessary. Reality put everything in its proper place. Today the significance and meaning of forecasting have been codified in the party documents of the USSR and of a number of other socialist countries and the formulation of forecasts has become an intrinsic part of planning. The authors of "*Metody Narodnokhozyaystvennogo Prognozirovaniya*" are continuing to develop their ideas. Their book considers methods and models (including a number of new and original ones) for forecasting rates and factors of economic growth, reproduction of labor resources and their intersectorial distribution, the economic structure and development of machine building,

which is the leading industrial sector, income and consumption structure, development of the sectors in the nonproduction sphere and, finally, scientific and technical progress. Incidentally, this last problem deserves greater attention. Such a broad study requires the analysis of yet another theoretical problem we consider important, namely the correlation in forecasting controllable, poorly controllable and uncontrollable variables which determine the process of socioeconomic development.

The monographs "*Sistema Modeley...*" and "*Mezhotraslevyye Komplekсы...*" are an important link between the general theoretical concepts of the SOFE and that of comprehensive planning and problems of optimizing planning-management decisions on different economic levels. These works analyze the most significant concepts and experimental developments of systems of models applied by a number of scientific organizations in the country. They indicate the requirements which must be met by practically applicable systems of models. The described complexes and systems of models apply to units of consolidated, sectorial and territorial planning and problems of the development and location of production forces. A most thorough study is provided of modeling overall national economic ratios and the most important functional blocks (people's well-being, financial correlations, foreign economic relations and utilization of nature). It is important to note that a number of systems and their individual parts have not only been experimentally tested but also are being put to real practical use in national economic planning and forecasting. This applies, for example, to the approximation system for multiple-step optimization, developed by the TsEMI, a number of intersectorial balance models, and others.

The theoretical analysis of the role of organizational structures of management in national economic functioning leads the authors to the important conclusion that the rationalization of such structures and the perfecting of the economic mechanism are a single process which can be synchronized by levels of planning management and time segments. Although we fully agree with the fact that an inefficient management structure could reduce to naught even the best concepts, we must nonetheless acknowledge that it must always be (but, unfortunately, is not always in practice) the consequence of the applied type of economic mechanism (in the broad meaning of the term it can be even interpreted as a structural component of the latter). This interconnection has been frequently violated. Suffice it to recall how some time ago the three-step system of sectorial management was firmly adopted in Soviet industry and that subsequently, without changing the previous economic mechanism, an equally decisive restructuring was undertaken based on a two-step system. Incidentally, similar cases can be found in Czechoslovakia as well.

The question of the economic mechanism is discussed in a separate book—"*Khozyaystvennyy Mekhanizm...*,"

although, one way or another, these problems are mentioned in all the books within the series. This is natural for, as we said, the SOFE is conceived precisely as an economic mechanism functioning in an optimal regimen. It is natural for precisely the optimization approach to be adopted as a methodological foundation in the study of the role of economic standards in a planned economy.

The monograph on the economic mechanism describes new approaches to economic standards such as prices, standards governing the efficiency of capital investments and assessments of the efficiency of scientific and technical progress and new equipment models. We know that to this day not all economists share the ideas of SOFE supporters on such matters. This is normal, for the competition of ideas in science is a natural prerequisite for its development. All that is required is for each side taking part in the debate to be given the opportunity to present its views frankly, to display the entire arsenal of its arguments and extensively to prove the results of its theoretical research and practical experimentation; the entire system of theoretical claims presented by the opposing side must be analyzed very critically. We believe that efforts to create such conditions are still in the future.

The series of monographs provides a quite timely theoretical substantiation of the correlation between the physical and value aspects of planning and the laws of broadening the area of application of economic standards, replacing mandatory physical assignments issued to enterprises. Convincing use is made of Marx's formula of capital turnover. Equally interesting to political and practical economists is the interpretation of the role of limits and average values in the study of socially necessary outlays (let us recall past accusations addressed to supporters of economic-mathematical methods of engaging in "bourgeois marginalism"). We are astounded, however, by the fact that the theoretical principles governing the definition of the standards of efficiency of resources (including planned prices) are described in the volume which deals with the economic mechanism (section II, chapter 2), exclusively on the basis of the correlation between the two aspects of mathematical programming.

Attention has frequently been drawn to the fact that the optimization model of the national economy, which does not overtly include economic relations and the interest of the participants in the reproduction process, is not an adequate instrument for the study of value indicators. The supporters of the SOFE theory themselves, as other publications indicate, have long reached the conclusion of the erroneousness of directly identifying optimization categories with apparently corresponding phenomena in economic reality (optimal assessments of goods through prices, assessments of labor and natural resources through wages and rental payments, etc.).

In this connection we must support the views of the authors concerning natural resources. As we know, over a long period of time the TsEMI, headed by Academician N.P. Fedorenko, has been persistently proving the groundlessness of the interpretation of such resources as "gifts," and the need for their corresponding economic evaluation and of payment for them by the socialist enterprises. Today, when such conclusions are being confirmed from various sides, one can only regret that such ideas are sluggishly being put to economic use.

In this area as well the elimination of the obstruction mechanism was demanded by the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which indicated the need for developing equally stressed demands by the state concerning the utilization of production resources and the use, to this effect, of rates of payments for productive capital and labor and natural resources.

Managing the investment process and enhancing the role of state loans play an important role in perfecting the socialist economic mechanism. The listing of unnecessary restrictions in investments, suggested by the authors, should be tried on an experimental basis. An equally important problem is that of the harmonious interaction between the material and financial aspects of economic turnover, repeatedly mentioned by V.I. Lenin. These problems, as well as that of loans and their efficiency, illustrated with simple examples, are discussed in the series under review. However, the formula for credit efficiency suggested by the authors, as the correlation between the bulk of actual prices and that of credits, with the simultaneous consideration of optimal efficiency as an equivalent unit, seems doubtful to us. Today's economic life urgently demands constructive models which would organically combine material with financial flows. This could greatly help the popularization among researchers of simulation modeling (see the book "Modelirovaniye...").

Nor has the problem of the development of intersectorial economic complexes, which is essential in perfecting national economic management, been ignored. To a considerable extent it is related to the formulation and implementation of comprehensive programs. The common shortcoming in the presentation of such problems (which are the sole topic of the book "*Mezhotraslevyye Komplekсы...*" and a section in the book on the economic mechanism) is their excessively abstract nature. This also largely applies to the book "*Problemy Razrabotki...*" The authors analyze the complex structural systems and models but virtually ignore problems of the actual functioning of intersectorial complexes and practical experience in the implementation of programs. Without this, however, the organizational-economic contradictions between the programmed approach and the sectorial and territorial management structures cannot be identified and eliminated. For it is no secret that there are cases in planning in which comprehensive programs are formulated by "extracting" individual

indicators from the corresponding sections of the national economic and sectorial plans. It is hardly possible for such programs to be viable.

The successful elaboration and implementation of various types of models of economic processes must be based on the elaboration and development of a corresponding mathematical apparatus. The need for a universal algorithmic and programmatic support, which will enable us to solve such problems appears with the increased number of practical problems solved with the help of economic-mathematical models. The special monograph which discusses the mathematical apparatus for economic modeling not only deals with strictly mathematical problems but also includes a number of questions which are closer to the problems of economic theory (the section on mathematical economics). This is a successful addition to the cycle of works under consideration.

In assessing the value of the series of such monographs as a whole, we regretfully note major omissions. The link among the individual works is by no means simply traced, for there are no reciprocal references or comments. Nor is there an index of the books included in this series!

Not all socioeconomic problems are interpreted with sufficient thoroughness in the series. The territorial aspect has been particularly neglected; the problems of planning and controlling well-being, the utilization of nature and scientific and technical progress have not been sufficiently discussed. Little attention has been paid in the series to problems of the practical application of the theoretical and methodical concepts formulated in the works, with the exception of the book "*Ekonomiko-Matematicheskiye Modeli...*" In frequent cases there is a lack of factual data, study of results and, in general, work with figures. Some problems have been duplicated in different books. For unexplainable reasons, the authors have ignored the study of theoretical works and the experience of socialist countries in economic planning and management.

What makes such faults, which are not inevitable in the least, even more annoying is that this series of monographs is a broad scientific study in which both beginning and experienced specialists will find answers to many topical problems of economic theory and practice.

In a brief address to the readers, the editors emphasize that shaping the concept of optimal planning and management is by no means nearing its completion. Nonetheless, extensive work has already been done.

The results of long studies of the problem of optimal planning and management of the national economy should be closely studied by practical workers and stimulate a new cycle of economic-mathematical studies in the USSR and the other socialist countries. The conversion of the results of scientific research to practical work is an indivisible component of such works.

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### Short Book Reviews

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[Text] R.G. Yanovskiy, V.F. Sbytov and L.N. Dobrokhoto. "*Chelovecheskiy Faktor Nauchno-Tekhnicheskogo Progressa*" [The Human Factor in Scientific and Technical Progress]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 431 pp. Reviewed by Academician Yu. Osipyan.

This book is about problems of shaping the political awareness and standards of the scientific and technical intelligentsia, the role of which is growing with every passing year and is also influenced by the faster growth of the intelligentsia's size and the importance of science as a social production force.

The monograph makes extensive use of materials prepared by the USSR Academy of Science Institute of Sociological Research. With their help the authors analyze the practice of the production and social work done by scientific collectives. They convincingly prove that the active involvement of the scientific collectives of institutes in management, from the very beginning of planning socioeconomic developments, is becoming an efficient method for the political upbringing of scientists. Comprehensive planning, which contributes to the search of internal economic and social reserves, is particularly important.

Unfortunately, problems of long-term scientific forecasts, the importance of which would be difficult to overestimate, have been ignored in the discussion on problems of planning. Omissions in this area lead to the unjustified waste of efforts in "semi-exhausted" areas and actually delay essentially new research. This problem should have been discussed in the part dealing with the practice of holding philosophical methodology seminars, which are a ready-made form for the discussion of forecasts.

In discussing the education of leading scientific cadres, the authors have formulated quite accurately the principle governing the shaping of a scientific collective, indicating the great importance of a healthy moral atmosphere in terms of doing fruitful work and the growth of scientific associates. Quite interesting statistical data are cited in the book along with instructive and specific examples. In discussing the basic requirements which must be met by managers of scientific collectives, the authors indicate the great importance of the ability not to order but to persuade, to educate through personal example, to be acquainted with and take public opinion into consideration, and to ensure collective leadership.

The study of the main reasons for the outbreak of conflicts and examples of positive experience in the democratization of management will be very useful to a wide range of readers.

The successful development of political standards by the scientific and technical intelligentsia largely depends on working conditions. Unfortunately, in recent years the development of the social sphere fell substantially behind the level of scientific and technical achievements. The authors also note the significant lowering of the capital-labor ratio in scientific research, particularly in basic science. A serious lag has developed in the availability of specialized information. It is not astounding that most scientific associates are dissatisfied with the developing situation. No more than one sixth of the respondents included in the sociological surveys wished for their children to go into scientific research.

Today great attention is being paid to the study of public opinion, which is entirely justified. This enables us to highlight other unsolved problems and to find ways to solve them. However, surveys, investigations and other methods applied in the study of public opinion are still not being used sufficiently. Occasionally such results are deliberately held back, for in frequent cases ignorantly designed surveys can do more harm than good.

Professionally knowledgeable surveys enable us to involve the collectives in management and to organize a feedback between the collective and its management. Unquestionably, such feedback must become an intrinsic part of the work of the administrative authorities and public organizations. The authors extensively describe their overall experience and express useful views on the organization of such work.

Nonetheless, the book includes a number of controversial problems and formulas. The impression develops that the authors have not made a clear methodological distinction between basic science and applied research. We cannot agree that the approaches to these two different types of scientific activities must be the same. Thus, the view is expressed that some scientists and even entire collectives engaged in basic research should also be the developers of new types of equipment and technology. I believe that it is precisely in the interests of both that the distinction between the two must be clearer. The systems applied in assessing their activities and the organization of their work should be different, for the requirements concerning their final results are also different. We are somewhat concerned by the trend to assess with increasing frequency the work of the USSR Academy of Sciences institutes on the basis of the practical application of their developments in industry.

Naturally, the long-term development of technology must be taken into consideration in selecting areas for basic research. In this case accurate expert forecasts and increased contacts among collectives engaged in basic and applied research are of great importance.

We believe that this book will be welcomed with interest by the broad scientific public. Its main feature is that it focuses the attention on the most topical aspects of the activities of the scientific and technical intelligentsia.

*Soobshchestvo: Plany i Perspektivy* [The Pacific Community: Plans and Prospects]. Nauka, Moscow, 1987, 350 pp. Reviewed by Academician S. Tikhvinskiy, academic secretary, USSR Academy of Sciences History Department.

Greater attention has been paid in recent years by the world public to problems of ensuring the peace and security of countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean. The policy of American imperialism, aimed at intensifying the threat of war in this part of the world, is countered by the Soviet Union with a consistent line of ensuring the peace and security of the area. The Soviet concept of Asian-Pacific security was, as we know, presented in detail in the 28 July 1986 Vladivostok speech of the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary.

In speaking of the essence of this concept, in his 19 May 1987 speech at the dinner in honor of Nguyen Van Lin, Vietnam Communist Party Central Committee general secretary, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that "we would like relations among countries of the Asian-Pacific area, which is becoming increasingly important in international life, to be governed by peace and a good neighborly attitude, trust and reciprocal understanding, and mutually profitable exchange of technologies, goods and cultural values." The practical implementation of the policy pursued by our country was manifested, among others, in the New Delhi declaration on the principles of a nonviolent world free from nuclear weapons, the visits which the Soviet leaders have paid to countries in the area recently, the signing of the Rarotonga Treaty on the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Southern Pacific by the Soviet Union, and other steps taken by the Soviet government.

This recently published collective work by Soviet scientists provides a comprehensive analysis of the deployment of forces in the area of the Pacific and describes the prospects for its economic and political development. The authors of the monograph analyze the prerequisites for comprehensive international cooperation in the Pacific Basin, the possibility of implementing them and the problems which arise in this connection. In pointing out that in recent years the pace of economic development of the countries located around Pacific Ocean is double the global average, the authors express the view that "historically it is not excluded that in the future the Pacific area will indeed assume the position of leadership in economic growth now held by the North Atlantic as, in its time, the North Atlantic took such leadership away from the Mediterranean." The authors cite extensive factual data on the economic potential of the countries of this area, and the status of foreign economic and trade relations among them and analyze the possibilities of their future development.

The authors of the monograph justifiably believe that the potential for Asian-Pacific cooperation could be realized only with a restructuring of international relations on an equal and democratic basis and a lowering of the level of military confrontation on the part of U.S. imperialism and its South Korean and Japanese allies. In considering the idea of Pacific economic cooperation, the Soviet Union has no prejudices against it and has proclaimed its readiness to join in the discussion of the possible foundations for such cooperation, providing that it is not conceived on the basis of blocs and antisocialist plans but is a result of a free debate, without any discrimination whatsoever. The comprehensive approach favored by the Soviet Union in ensuring security in the Asian-Pacific area requires the rejection of the use of force or the threat of force, the solution of all disputes through peaceful means and the observance of the principle of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries in the area.

The book under review is a study based on extensive factual data and a meaningful, although not exhausting, interpretation of all aspects of the problem. Unquestionably, it will draw the attention of a wide readership.

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### Bookshelf

18020002w Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 87 (signed to press 14 Sep 87) pp 127-128

[Text] 1. "Uskoreniye Sotsialno-Ekonomicheskogo Razvitiya Strany—Zadacha Vsey Partii, Vsego Naroda. Dokumenty i Materialy" [Acceleration of the Country's Socioeconomic Development—The Task of the Entire Party, and People. Documents and Materials]. For a course of political study. Second supplementary edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 575 pp.

2. Ryzhkov, N.I. "O Perestroyke Upravleniya Narodnym Khozyaystvom na Sovremennom Etape Ekonomicheskogo Razvitiya Strany" [On Restructuring Economic Management in the Contemporary Stage of the Country's Economic Development]. Report at a joint meeting of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, seventh session, 11th convocation. —"On Restructuring Economic Management in the Contemporary Stage of the Country's Economic Development." USSR Supreme Soviet resolution. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 61 pp.

3. "Vizit v Sovetskiy Soyuz Generalnogo Sekretarya TsK Kommunisticheskoy Partii Vyetnama Nguen Van Linya, 17-22 Maya 1987 Goda. Dokumenty i Materialy" [Visit to the Soviet Union by Vietnamese Communist Party

Central Committee General Secretary Nguyen Van Lin, 17-22 May, 1987. Documents and Materials]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 48 pp with illustrations.

4. "Vizit v Sovetskiy Soyuz Premyer-Ministra Respubliki Indii Radzhiva Gandi, 2-4 Iyulya 1987 Goda. Dokumenty i Materialy" [Visit to the Soviet Union by Prime Minister of the Republic of India Radhiv Gandhi, 2-4 July 1987. Documents and Materials]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 32 pp.

5. Abarenkov, V.P. "Politika SSHA v Oblasti 'Kontrolya Nad Vooruzheniyami'" [U.S. "Arms Control" Policy]. Nauka, Moscow, 1987, 176 pp.

6. "Ateizm i Religiya: Voprosy i Otveti" [Atheism and Religion: Questions and Answers]. Compiled by V.M. Kuvneva. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 255 pp.

7. Barg, M.A. "Epokhi i Idei" [Epochs and Ideas]. The formation of the historical method. Mysl, Moscow, 1987, 350 pp.

8. "Velikiy Oktyabr i Zashchita Yego Zavoyevaniy" [Great October and the Defense of Its Achievements]. In two volumes. Vol 1. "Pobeda Sotsialisticheskoy Revolyutsii" [Victory of the Socialist Revolution]. Vol 2. "Zashchita Sotsialisticheskogo Otechestva" [Defense of the Socialist Homeland]. I.I. Mints, responsible editor. Nauka, Moscow, 1987, vol 1—479 pp; vol 2—407 pp.

9. Vityuk, V.V and Efirov, S.A. "'Levyi' Terrorizm na Zapade: Istoriya i Sovremennost'" ["Leftist" Terrorism in the West: History and Contemporaneity]. Nauka, Moscow, 1987, 318 pp.

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### Meetings With the Editors. Chronicle

18020002x Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 14, Sep 87 (signed to press 14 Sep 87) p 128

[Text] On 3 September the editors of *Kommunist* were visited by K. Voigt, member of the Board of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and of the leadership of its faction in the FRG Bundestag, who is visiting the Soviet Union as guest of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation. The guest was interested in the course of restructuring the management of economic and social processes in our country and its successes and difficulties. A lively exchange of views on international problems took place.

On 7 September the editors were visited by a group of Bulgarian journalists, headed by V. Asparukhov, special correspondent of the newspaper *Otechestven Front* in the USSR. In the course of the friendly visit with their Bulgarian colleagues, the editors answered numerous questions on restructuring and the comprehensive renovation of Soviet society.

On 9 September the editors were visited by Ligden Batmunkhijn, member of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and editor in

chief of the journal *Namyn Amdral*, the journal of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee. A thorough discussion was held on the work of the two journals in implementing the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th Congress of the MPRP. Great attention was paid to problems of development and intensification of cooperation between the two fraternal collectives and the use of new forms of reciprocal relations, consistent with present-day requirements.

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