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KOMMUNIST

No 11, July 1987

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Author(s) :

Editor(s) N. B. Bikkenin (editor in chief),
A. I. Antipov, E. A. Arab-Ogly,
B. S. Arkhipov, K. N. Brutents,
V. I. Kadulin, S. V. Kolesnikov,
O. R. Latsis, Yu. L. Molchanov,
Ye. Z. Razumov, V. F. Rubtsov,
N. N. Sibiryakov, V. P. Trubnikov,
P. N. Fedoseyev, S. F. Yarmolyuk

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EDITORIAL--STRENGTHENING SOCIALISM IN PRACTICE

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[Text] We work for ourselves. This truth, which expresses the very essence of the advantages of socialism, is simple and obvious in its general aspect and inordinately complex in its practical application. In the very first months after the October Revolution Lenin wrote: "The great change from forced labor to labor for oneself, labor which is planned on a gigantic, nation-wide (and, to a certain extent, international, global) scale demands...tremendous organizational and organizing efforts by the proletariat and the poorest peasantry" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 197).

Today as well public production demands tremendous organizing efforts on the part of the working people, for we are working for ourselves but not like the private farmer or medieval craftsman. Under the complex production process of today we work for the entire society and thus for ourselves. Therefore, we need a transmission mechanism in order to apply the economic initiative of every working person, which would reliably coordinate the interests of labor collectives within the framework of society and the interests of individuals within the framework of labor collectives. We must become familiar with the structure of public production and the laws of dynamics and development of national, collective and individual interests. We must understand the complex system of the interests themselves, which cannot be reduced to higher earnings or to material interests in the narrow meaning of the term. Finally, this understanding must be steadily corrected as real socialism advances and as changes occur in the material and sociopolitical conditions in society.

The June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum discussed not partial improvements in the management system or the latest cosmetic repairs or administrative reorganization, but profound quality changes in the content, functions, forms and methods of work. On the ideological and theoretical level the decisions made at the plenum are related to the further enrichment and concretizing of the concepts of restructuring, which was formulated at the April Plenum and codified in the resolutions of the 27th Congress and the January Central Committee Plenum, as a necessary and most important part of restructuring. On the practical political level, the reform in the management system is dictated by the needs of reality itself. The implementation of the congress' plans, the course of socioeconomic acceleration and the overall progress of the

country largely depend on the extent to which this problem is radically formulated and solved.

The management system is the nerve system of the economy. The urgency of this feature is that the old forms of management, which have been preserved, hinder and restrain our development, whereas the new ones are only beginning to develop. With every passing day the need to apply a scientific concept of management consistent with the contemporary stage in the development of our society, such as to advance socialism is being felt with increased urgency.

M.S. Gorbachev's speech, the plenum's decisions and the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet are not only documents which are extremely important on the practical level but also a new step in the development and intensification of our concepts of socialism. They pertain to the entire range of basic concepts which characterize socialist social production. Our ideas on centralized planned management, the socialist enterprise and its activities based on full cost accounting, socialist democracy and self-government, social justice, the radical advantages of our social system and the problems and future of its development have become more vital and extensive and scientifically substantiated.

I

Not so long ago rigid formulation of assignments in terms of volume and variety, issued "from the top down," was considered sufficient guarantee for centralism in planned management. Life proved that under contemporary conditions it is precisely this type of management method that not only conflicts with upgrading production efficiency but also undermines centralism itself. The method of allotments, which provided certain advantages from the viewpoint of planning "technology," led to a loss of the decisive social advantage: influencing the production process through the people's interest. With this method individual and collective interests become no longer functional or even turn against the interests of society: the enterprise finds itself interested in lowering production plans and increasing requests for state resources. As a result, the objectives of the general economic plan, which may be entirely realistic from the viewpoint of the availability of resources, are not supported by the efforts of labor collectives and remain unattainable. The economy does not obey the instructions of the planning center in everything. Could such centralism be considered real? Naturally, it cannot. The result was only formal centralism whereas in fact we had frequent cases of bureaucratized anarchy. The lengthy functioning of this system, which became inconsistent with the objective needs of the national economy a long time ago, brought the economy to the verge of a crisis, as was said at the plenum.

The post-April course of acceleration and restructuring halted the negative processes which were endangering the country's economy. Within an inordinately short time a new economic mechanism was formulated, which provided conditions for the intensification of economic growth on the basis of scientific and technical progress. This mechanism is based on the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. The dialectical connection between the two aspects of the principle--democracy and centralism--has nothing in common

with a mechanical combination. That is why the strengthening of democracy and broadening the rights and responsibilities of enterprises and labor collectives are by no means paralleled by a weakening of centralized planning and management. On the contrary, true planning (i.e., above all a consciously implemented proportionality) can be based only on the initiative of enterprises and the efficient use of their interests.

The rate of distribution of profits between enterprises and society, amortization and interest rates and credit regulations, paying for resources, wage rates, planned prices of basic commodities and price-setting rules for contractual prices, taxes and other standards are also forms of centralized planned directives, equally strict and much more efficient than the direct formulation of volume indicators. Furthermore, the state authorities retain control over direct planning instruments: the part of capital investments financed by the state budget, general economic reserves and state orders. They new conditions will offer the opportunity for making better use of the balance method of planning.

The economic reform presumes not a frustration of the activities of the Gosplan or other central economic authorities but their qualitative restructuring and the actual increase in the role of the economic headquarters of the country while reducing their administrative-dispatcher functions. Improving the entire economic environment in which the enterprises will develop their cost accounting activities remains the most important task of the Gosplan, the Gossnab, Ministry of Finance, State Committee for Prices and the banks. The new economic mechanism presumes a strong economic balance, a commodity-monetary and material balancing and a strong ruble. Without this the economic superiority of the consumer over the supplier or, in the language of the economists, a "consumer market," which is a very important and necessary element of the reform, cannot be applied. Without it, however, it would be difficult to improve production quality, increase its variety and accelerate scientific and technical progress.

One should not trust that improvements in the economic situation will take place automatically with the introduction of the new economic mechanism. No, this will require a purposeful planning strategy and a new style of active efforts on the part of the central economic authorities. In particular, as was especially emphasized at the plenum, it is the economic role of the Gosplan that must be enhanced.

The conversion to wholesale trade will not diminish the role of the Gossnab or its sectorial and territorial agencies. This role will be reorganized qualitatively. The wholesale trade market is not freed but organized. Direct relations are not possible in all cases and a considerable share of the turnover in material resources will be carried out by enterprises with the help of middlemen operating on a cost accounting basis. Such middlemen must not act like monopolists who will issue the enterprises administrative instructions concerning procurements and marketing. However, should the enterprises voluntarily request their services, they must engage in reliable and efficient buying and selling activities. Their duty will be to accelerate the turnover of material resources and to help lower their stocks in the

national economy, particularly in enterprise warehouses while, at the same time, preventing shortages and breakdowns in procurements.

The prime task of the financial-credit system will be to eliminate the surplus of cash and achieve a commodity-monetary balance. It must strengthen the ruble, stop inflation and budget deficits and guarantee real results from loans.

Freed from daily dispatcher functions, the Gosplan, the GKNT and the sectorial ministries and territorial management authorities will be able to concentrate on more thorough planning of strategic long-term tasks, implementing structural policy, selecting radical trends in scientific and technical progress, ensuring the efficient location of production facilities and developing new territorial-production complexes. Great attention will have to be paid to progressive changes in the structure of foreign economic relations and to upgrading their efficiency.

II

The June Plenum ratified the "Basic Regulations for the Radical Restructuring of Economic Management." This is a general document which contains an integral concept of the new economic mechanism formulated by the party. The Basic Regulations emphasize that the enterprise (association), which is the basic economic unit, is the starting point for radical changes in the economic mechanism. It is also this that determines the essential significance of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), which was approved at the plenum and subsequently adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

This is the first time that such a law has been promulgated in our history. Even comparing it briefly with the Regulation on the Enterprise, which was adopted in 1965, would make clearly the tremendous step forward that has been taken. The old regulation was totally void of fundamental concepts which are dealt with in entire articles and sections in the new law, such as the cost accounting income of, and self-government by the labor collective, economic competition and the standard planning method. In the past the idea of cost accounting was not provided a logical development in terms of the requirement for full cost accounting. There were no stipulations concerning wholesale trade in means of production, self-financing, the economic contract as a base for the enterprise plan and the rights of enterprises in planning and price setting. Many items were formulated in an essentially different aspect, particularly those dealing with wages, finances and credit, etc.

Also quite different from the present law are the various regulations on the enterprise which were adopted in the 1920s. It is true that at that time there was full cost accounting. However, it was a cost accounting by trusts rather than enterprises. Nor was there an integral system of national economic planning. Since then the scale and standards of development of public production, the complexity and variety of economic relations and the amount of experience and scientific knowledge acquired in our country and abroad have increased immeasurably. All of this is reflected in the new law.

Naturally, this comparison does not belittle the historical value of the experience of the 1920s and its importance to the present. The Leninist ideas of socialist economic management, the need to rely on commodity-monetary relations, the leading role of planning, the significance of cooperatives under socialism, the need to influence the production process through the interest of the people and the Leninist principle of cost accounting are all the foundations of the present party decisions and a creative interpretation of the experience of the NEP of the 1920s. At the same time, we must not forget the changes which have taken place since that time in the social structure of a society which has had neither exploiting classes nor private farmers for a long time. Nor should we forget the radical changes in the structure of the material base and the scale and technical standards of the national economy and the acquired experience in planned management. All of this predetermines the impossibility of direct duplication of the experience of the past for purposes of current use. This includes the use of individual labor activity and small-scale cooperation which, today are essentially different from the role of private ownership activities in the 1920s in terms of their economic and social nature.

The innovative nature of the law on the enterprise provides possibilities of working in a new style. However, a possibility is different from reality. It is not accident that in the course of the discussions of the draft law the working people expressed their concern about guarantees for its implementation, as a result of which a new article was introduced in the text on guarantees for the observance of enterprise rights. However, a legal guarantee cannot fully solve the problem of the implementation of this law, since its purpose is to regulate economic relations. Furthermore, many new economic categories stipulated by the law are as yet to be put to practical use.

An uncompromising defense of each article of this law against emasculation and efforts to conceal the old methods and habits behind new words is necessary. Obviously, the decisive point here will be defending the cost accounting approach of the labor collective as the bearing structure of the entire system of economic incentives. We must oppose above all any efforts at confiscating enterprise funds or allowing anyone other than the labor collective to handle them. At the same time, the cost accounting approach must be protected in the broader meaning of the term: we must not allow any distortions of the basic idea according to which all enterprise outlays and all results without exception must be fully reflected in the general results and thus directly determine the individual income of the working people and the possibilities of production development and expenditures for the social needs of the collective. This will require a revision of all types of payments, prices, and rates, a thorough weighing of their economic substantiation and ensuring the mandatory nature of payments. No socially usefully labor contribution must be left unrewarded and no negligence unpunished. This is the meaning of full cost accounting. Under such circumstances the collective itself will become the best controller of its work and an irreconcilable enemy of negligence, technical stagnation, waste and theft, for they would mean not only a lowering of state budget revenue but also of individual incomes. It is difficult to create and maintain direct and clear ties between the social effect of enterprise activities and the individual well-being of the workers.

But if successful, however, the efficiency of this system will be tremendous. It is precisely here that we find incalculable opportunities for harnessing the human factor in the interest of the progress of socialism.

III

Socialism is a system of social justice. The creation of equal conditions for a start in life, above all through the protection of motherhood and childhood, free education, guaranteed right to work, free health care, and accessible housing and public transportation have all contributed to the attractiveness of socialism in the eyes of the working people of all countries. Such achievements of our system must not only be preserved but strengthened further.

However, we must not forget that we can distribute only that which has already been produced. Although he rated the protective-distributing function of socialism highly, nonetheless Lenin did not put it at the head of the entire social relations system. As we know, he believed that highly productive labor was the most important, the most crucial factor in the victory of the new social system. Consequently, the productive function was given priority. Even during the hungry year of 1921 he said: "...One must not think that distribution can be based only on fairness; we must think that such distribution is a method, a tool, a means of upgrading output" (op cit., vol 43, p 359). We must bear this fact in mind, for a certain objective contradiction exists between the interests of production and consumption. In economic and social practice this contradiction must be constantly resolved and the choices we make greatly determine the success of all socioeconomic development.

Nonetheless, in recent decades this protective function obviously predominated over the stimulation of high efficiency in production, distribution and consumption. Consequently, the production process began to provide ever fewer opportunities for the development of the social sphere. Thus, in wages a trend toward equalization and guaranteed payments objective encouraged unconscientious workers and penalized those whose labor productivity was substantially above average. This applies both to physical and intellectual work, to all people with creative initiative, innovators and inventors. All of them were hindered. Under such circumstances, production cannot develop successfully. Particularly sharp conflicts break out in the clash between the most progressive and collective wage systems and deep-seated mental stereotypes. That is why the plenum emphasized the need to lift any restriction on differentiations in wages, if justified by real growth in output.

The deep-seated orientation in the use of labor resources not toward upgrading labor productivity but increasing the number of jobs triggered particularly extensive debates. The overall scarcity of manpower led to a depreciation of the value of jobs in the minds of many workers and, consequently, a worsening of discipline and the quality of labor. The declined quality of labor in trade and services, which frequently assumes catastrophic dimensions, has made many people particularly angry. There have been calls for "minor unemployment" as a solution. For quite some time the bourgeois economists

have been preaching the concept according to which the choice between two evils is inevitable: either "superemployment" with low- production efficiency or high efficiency with unemployment.

However, there are no reasons whatsoever to consider that such a choice is inevitable. Under socialism this is a false dilemma. It is entirely possible and necessary to maintain a rough balance between the size of labor resources and the number of jobs. This would suffice to ensure the value of a job. Under socialism unemployment is neither inevitable nor, even less so, necessary. Understandably, in terms of the current situation in the national economy, plagued by a scarcity of millions of working hands, the discussion of such a problem is purely academic. However, the question of the efficient redistribution of manpower could also become practical as a result of improved labor organization and wages and production mechanization and automation.

Another problem discussed at the plenum, inevitably related to the efficiency of distribution and consumption, is improving the structure of retail prices. The existing structure, of prices of food products, rentals and rates of communal services, running into many billions of rubles, developed 40 to 60 years ago under entirely different social conditions. In the past, when the income of the overwhelming majority of families was sufficient to meet no more than the basic vital needs, such a price policy protected the social interests of low-paid people. Since then the level of material well-being of the population has increased significantly. The share of most valuable types of food and industrial commodities increased within the consumption structure. Today this obsolete price system not only triggers artificial scarcity of many commodities and creates conditions for speculation but also no longer fulfills its initial function of protecting low-income strata. Both social studies and budget surveys have indicated that it is the highly paid working people who benefit the most from subsidies of food prices and rentals while the least benefits go to the low-paid strata. Meanwhile, the state budget funds used in subsidies are the result of the efforts of all strata. Naturally, the solution of such a complex problem which affects everyone's interests demands a just socially substantiated compensation, which would prevent a drop in real income. The entire range of such problems must become a topic of thorough and open discussions, which was also mentioned at the plenum.

By charting a course toward efficiency, acceleration and restructuring, our society abandons none of its social gains. All it abandons is dependency, which cultivates backwardness in production and waste in consumption. The real consumption level will increase. Already now, thanks to the elimination of "residual" financing of the social area, additional resources have been found for housing construction and the development of material facilities for health care and education. The acceleration of economic growth as a result of the reform will enable us comprehensively to increase such resources.

Furthermore, the law on the enterprise significantly expands and strengthens aspects of socialist social relations which particularly emphasize their superiority over those in the capitalist system. In particular, socialist democracy has been substantially reinforced with elements which are inaccessible to capitalism because of its very nature. This applies above all to the self-government of labor collectives, which includes their right to

make most important decisions concerning the planned development of production, to handle their cost accounting income and to elect enterprise managers. These decisions indicate that socialist democracy is not formal but applies to the creation of material living conditions and to all prerequisites for the all-round development of the individual.

The regulations on restructuring, adopted at the party's Central Committee Plenum and Supreme Soviet session, encompass the achievements of the social sciences. Economists, jurists and sociologists were able to mobilize already extant but long-neglected scientific achievements. Particularly noted at the plenum was the significance of the works of Academician V.S. Nemchinov (the present issue includes a reprint of his article initially published in KOMMUNIST in 1964). At the same time, the elaboration of an integral concept for restructuring and for hastening its practical implementation highlights new problems and poses new questions to science.

Thus, the need was emphasized at the plenum of completing the establishment of an optimal organization of the industrial structure and the creation of a network of production and scientific-production associations which can independently cover the entire research-investment-production-marketing reproduction cycle. In this connection, precise knowledge must be acquired in economic practice of what is an enterprise and a production association in terms of contemporary criteria? How to determine their optimal size and structure? Active discussions are being held on other questions which have not been entirely clarified yet. What is full cost accounting? What is a socially necessary outlays and anti-outlay price setting? How to ensure the efficiency of controlled wholesale trade? How to understand acceleration and what quality of economic growth must be reflected and how to reflect it in statistical data? These and other questions have not been clarified entirely on the theoretical level. Meanwhile, economic practice already demands their urgent solution.

IV

The resolutions of the June Plenum mark a turning point in restructuring. The period of preparations, of intensive formulation of the new economic system, is coming to an end. A general conversion to this system and its practical implementation will start next year. No single working person can remain aside of this tremendous and complex project, the success of which will have a determining influence on our entire way of life.

As it were, we lost years and decades, the report to the plenum stipulates, in answer to those who assumed that "restructuring may wait." Such lagging worsens the difficulty of solving a problem which, in itself, is quite difficult, bearing in mind such a profound renovation of the economic structure and mechanism of a huge country. Breakdowns at the beginning of this year indicated that acceleration has still not gained adequate stability. Last year's noteworthy turn for the better is explained essentially as the result of organizational steps, bringing order, strengthening discipline and improving work with cadres. However, the profound possibilities related to perfecting the production structure, restructuring the economic mechanism and accelerating scientific and technical progress have remained virtually intact.

Meanwhile, life demands more substantial changes for the better. The possibilities offered by the new mechanism must be used without delay.

The experience gained with the first steps of restructuring proves that the adoption of new legislation does not always in itself and immediately ensure changes for the better in economic practice. Thus, for example, the major progressive decisions made last year, such as expanding the rights of enterprises in foreign economic activities or the rights and responsibilities of local soviets of people's deputies in the socioeconomic area, are still being used extremely insufficiently. The feeling is that although the door has been opened no one is in a hurry to cross the threshold. Naturally, this is affected also by insufficient cost accounting interest today, when the law on the enterprise has still not been enacted. Equally important, however, is the negative role played by mental stereotypes and the inertia of old habits.

Under such circumstances the responsibility of party organizations and of every party member for the development of restructuring becomes particularly great. A great deal also depends on the activeness of the soviets of people's deputies, the trade unions, the Komsomol and the mass information media.

It is politically important that the process of restructuring is developing on the initiative of the party and under its daily guidance and with the increasing participation of the working people in making social changes. It is precisely during such transitional periods from old to new forms of activity that the role of the party particularly increases in implementing the stipulated ideas and in protecting and promoting the national interests.

This entirely applies to the economy, for politics is inseparable from economic management. Any economic process, local or union-wide, affects the interests of individuals, collectives and social groups. Such processes assume great social and sociopolitical importance, for they apply to the foundations of life--labor and the material well-being of millions of people.

The forthcoming reform is not a departmental affair or, even less so, a bureaucratic measure. It must be approached from the only accurate positions which are broad, general-political and principle-minded. The reform covers all economic stages and its success will greatly depend on the extent to which it will be coordinated on all levels and in all areas, strictly observing the gradual nature of its implementation. Key management problems will not be resolved by the center alone. We know from past experience that any stipulation adopted at the top may be lost unless supported at the bottom, unless it reaches the labor collectives.

Many labor collectives have firmly started to restructure and most seriously to change their work methods and retrain cadres in the spirit of the new style of economic thinking, reorganizing internal production relations on the principles of cost accounting and extensively applying, without waiting for additional instructions and clarifications, the principles of self-government. In such increasingly broadening activities, which are already yielding results, we can clearly see the active stance adopted by many party committees and organizations and their aspiration to restructure their work. However, this is by no means the case everywhere. Positive results in restructuring

are still peacefully coexisting with serious shortcomings and omissions. Frequently everything is reduced to purely external, superficial changes which do not affect the essence of economic management and, consequently, its results. Instead of making specific decisions some party committees draw up extensive minutes with notes such as "strengthening," "accelerating," "studying," "drafting suggestions," and so on.

What is the reason for such different, not to say conflicting, approaches? What determines them? They are determined, above all, by the depth of understanding on the part of the party authorities of the policy of restructuring, the nature of decisions which are made and the extent to which contemporary work style and methods have been mastered. Furthermore, resources, material facilities, the latest machinery and technologies and many others are still not always available. Above all, however, there is a scarcity of fresh ideas to lead us ahead; there is a scarcity of daring and nonstereotyped action. The fear remains of the difficulty of the present stage, the fear of being wrong. "We have firmly adopted the rule of tackling crucial problems and problems, for as it were, too many of them have accumulated," noted M.S. Gorbachev in his concluding words of the plenum. "The fear of being wrong is particularly destructive: it paralyzes the will and hinders efforts for the reorganization of society."

Courage and daring are what is demanded today of the party organizations and all party members. The main role, the central task of the party organizations and party committees is to develop everywhere an atmosphere of creative search. We must comprehensively generate initiative and efficiently disseminate progress in economic management methods, stimulate the independent solution of problems and substantiate and promptly formulate major problems to be solved by superior authorities.

Some party cadres have become involved in purely economic matters, engaging in extraneous work. The habit of taking a political approach to life, whether in the area of the economy or in social and spiritual life, has been largely forgotten. Furthermore, some of them proved unprepared for the increased activeness of the working people and continue to think in categories of the past and apply obsolete methods, replacing soviet authorities or economic managements. As a rule, they handle tonnages, meters and milk output and yields quite well. They are familiar with problems of material and technical supplies. However, entrapped by obsolete work methods, they are helpless or inert in sociopolitical affairs, problems of democratization, study of social feelings, and ideological-theoretical and educational matters, i.e., precisely in what should be the content of party work.

When we speak of political methods of managing economic construction by party committees, it is a question above all of the skill promptly to assess, on the basis of broad party positions, any phenomenon in this area and to define its significance, scale and importance in social life, see the nature of the new problems and the best means of solving them, set accurate priorities in each matter and display principle-mindedness in assessments and criticism and self-criticism in the analysis of the work.

It is entirely understandable that political management methods presume the proper deployment of cadres in all sectors and the ability to attract specialists, to interest them, and to convince and rally the people in solving formulated problems.

In other words, political management methods mean constant work with the people, natural, live and daily contact with the masses and the ability to listen to and speak with the people about the main and most urgent matters. Finally, they mean democratization, extensive openness and candor in all matters and the use of the opinions and suggestions of the working people in the formulation of administrative decisions. Obviously, this is much more difficult and complex than bureaucratic administration, the promulgation of decrees and the issuing of orders, which are inherent in the bureaucratic work style in which everything is based on pressure, the omnipotence of an office and the power of a piece of paper or an order.

Today we must develop a new style of party management of the economy under conditions of full cost accounting, management democratization, electivity of managers and intensified restructuring as a whole. Such problems will be the focal point of attention of the 19th All-Union Party Conference which, as resolved by the plenum, will be held next June.

The party cannot avoid political management of the economy. Such management was and remains the most important content of its role in socialist society. This role will be retained also after the type of economic mechanism we need will be created and will function smoothly. Today's situation demands a particular intensification of the party's influence in this main trend of restructuring, for replacing old with new work methods will not take place immediately and because in the transitional period major additional efforts will be required of all party organizations. As was emphasized at the plenum, it is particularly important now to concentrate on the primary tasks of restructuring, directly related to improving the working and living conditions of millions of people, whether it is a question of the food problem, housing, consumer goods, etc. The restructuring of the economic mechanism is a most important party-wide political matter. The attitude toward it must be entirely consistent with this project. This is a guarantee for the successful implementation of the planned program for action.

The radical economic reform will influence all aspects of social life--the political superstructure, economic relations, and social consciousness and standards. Its implementation will be a tremendous step toward achieving a new qualitative status of socialism.

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TURNOVER AND INTENSIFICATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 87 (signed to press 14 Jul 87) pp 13-22

[Article by Boris Pavlovich Plyshevskiy, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The acceleration of turnover funds and putting surplus commodities in circulation play an important role in the overall set of the new quality components of economic growth, conceptually substantiated at the 27th Congress and the June Central Committee Plenum.

The very fact that working assets account for more than 10 percent of the country's national stocks of commodity-material values and that they have reached almost 30 percent of the value of fixed assets confirms that the accelerated dynamics of resources offers a substantial possibility of increasing returns on the entire developed production potential and constitutes an essential factor in converting to primarily intensive type of expanded socialist production.

Reasons for Slowed-Down Turnover

The efforts which were made in the 1960s and 1970s and the first half of the 1980s to solve the problem of upgrading the efficiency of public production were unfortunately not supported by accelerated turnover. Furthermore, the attention which economic managers and services of enterprises paid to such problems had substantially declined in recent 5-year periods. They were also given second priority in the work of the central economic departments and sectorial ministries in terms of perfecting the economic mechanism. Naturally, this situation adversely affected the correlation between the growth of volumes of output and stocks of commodity-material values (raw materials, materials, unfinished production and construction, and finished products). The growth of stocks kept "outstripping" that of output.

Thus, in the last 15 years the accumulation of reserves of commodity-material values outstripped the growth of the gross public output by one-third and industrial output by a factor of 1.2 (in real prices). The figure was higher by a factor of 3.8 in construction and 1.1 in retail trade. The turnover of working capital in stocks of commodity-material values in all stages of the reproduction process slowed down from 107 days in 1980 to 121 days in 1985. As a result of this overall 14-day increase the average length of storage of production reserves increased by 4 days and so did the length of the

production cycle; the length of stay of finished products in enterprise warehouses before they were shipped out increased by 1 day.

As a result of such a noticeable slowdown a significant portion of produced goods turned into reserves. Their growth in the accumulations fund increased from 15 percent in the 9th 5-year period to 16 percent in the 10th and to 20.4 percent in the 11th (in prices for the respective years). In the last 5-year period one out of 5 rubles of the accumulations fund went into increased reserves. Understandably, such a diversion of material resource from current economic turnover limited possibilities of investing in the expansion and improvement of basic production capital and thus hindered the enhancement of the technical standards of the national economy.

Many enterprises accumulated substantial surplus stocks, which worsened the stress in supplying the production process with materials. In industry alone, the value of such accumulated stocks reached 27 billion rubles, which meant that it exceeded the norm by a factor of 1.7. However, only 1.5 percent of such stocks were held by Gosstab organizations; most of them were scattered throughout the economy. Thus, reserves of rolled ferrous metals held by consumers increased by 2 million tons or 27 percent in the last 6 years. This occurred while an increased number of associations and enterprises were forced to function with insufficient working capital and a loss due to a waste of some of the latter, caused by different unproductive expenditures and losses. In frequent cases, in an effort to compensate for the scarcity of their own working capital, needed to settle their accounts with suppliers and making reciprocal payments, enterprises and economic organizations used excessive amounts of bank loans.

How was such slowdown in turnover explained in the few works on this topic which were published in recent years? They essentially explained it by citing shortcomings in the economic mechanism and, more specifically, in the use of the system of cost accounting instruments. In our view, another substantial role in this case was played by the fact that the weakening of economic management instruments led to increased structural (intersectorial and territorial) production disproportions during the period under consideration.

The lagging affected first of all a number of raw material sectors. This was manifested, in particular, in the fact that during the 9th and 10th 5-year periods planned increases in the production of electric power, petroleum, ferrous metals, cement and a variety of chemicals were not achieved. During the 11th 5-year period the assignment for the production of natural gas was overfulfilled but work in the petroleum industry worsened: a total of 8 million tons fewer petroleum (including petroleum gas) were extracted in 1985 compared to 1980 (whereas the plan called for an increase by 27 million tons). The planned increases were not met for chemical fertilizers (by 25 percent), synthetic resins and plastics, chemical staples and fibers, paper and cement (by 40-50 percent), ferrous metals (by two-thirds), coal extraction (83 percent) and iron ore (84 percent). Lumber production dropped from 298.5 million cubic meters in 1970 to 281 million in 1985.

Naturally, under these circumstances the processing industrial and construction sectors began to experience increasing shortages of raw and other materials. Increased difficulties in material supplies to industry forced economic managers to set up stockpiles which would ensure the stable work of their enterprises which, had supplies been reliable, would have been unnecessary. Economic penalties consisting of higher payments to the budget for surplus stocks proved ineffective. The enterprises preferred to pay such fines rather than to lose incomparably more (in wages, bonuses and withholdings for incentive funds) resulting from the nonfulfillment of assignments for the volume of production marketing and other plan indicators. The disparity between them and said financial penalties also included the administrative penalties to enterprise managers for failure to fulfill mandatory plan assignments.

The disproportion between raw material and processing sectors was worsened by the systematic failure to reach indicators for the commissioning of production capacities. Compared with the 9th, in the 11th 5-year period such commissioning declined by 30-40 percent for the production of steel, rolled ferrous metals, sulfuric acid and calcinated soda by almost 100 percent for the extraction of iron ore and coal and the production of lumber, and by a factor of more than 3 in the production of cellulose, cement, lacquers and dyes.

This clearly indicates that the slowdown in turnover is closely related to the wrong choice of priorities in structural and investment policy. Such choices hindered the conversion of the economy to intensive development and was part of what was described at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum as the "hindrance mechanism."

In this connection, we must not fail to note errors in determining the specific ways of meeting the needs of the national economy for fuel and raw materials. Throughout the entire period under consideration the share of investments in the extracting industry increased. Naturally, concern for the stable development of basic sectors in heavy industry was considered necessary. However, increasingly structural policy in the fuel-raw material sectors began to be based on the low efficiency of the utilization of their output (high specific outlays in the production process, slow long-term reduction in waste and losses, a low share of utilization of secondary resources). The possibility of satisfying the respective needs of the national economy by improving technologies in the processing sectors and economizing on resources in all the areas of their application were clearly underestimated.

The situation was also affected by the excessive fuel exports, which drew major resources away from the domestic market. Nor did the policy of imports contribute to stabilizing turnover. As a result of compensation agreements a significant quantity of equipment was purchased, the need of which was not properly substantiated and coordinated with capital construction plans. Furthermore, the sectorial ministries purchased from capitalist countries a variety of equipment, the production of which could have been organized in the country. As a result of lags in construction (again not least as a result of

scarcities in material procurements) a number of enterprises which were to be equipped with imported equipment were not commissioned on time.

Similar errors were made in the agrarian sector. The fact that today the national agroindustrial complex accounts for one-third of all capital investments is consistent with the objective need of strengthening the material and technical base of kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Here as well, however, in a number of cases the trend was to compensate with increased volumes of output the inefficiency for the APK system and, above all, the lagging in developing facilities for storing and processing crop growing and animal husbandry products.

Capital investments in agriculture were not comprehensive. They were poorly related to the structure of the kinds of agricultural machinery supplied to kolkhozes and sovkhoses and the creation of capacities for crop storing and processing. A considerable share of investments were locked in unused reclaimed land, neglected livestock complexes (due to lack of fodder), and so on.

The problem of meeting the needs of the national economy for agricultural raw materials became aggravated. The assignments of the last three 5-year periods on increasing output remained unfulfilled. After 1978 grain production declined in absolute terms and the average annual harvests in the 11th 5-Year Plan were lower than even the level reached during the 9th 5-year period. In the last 15 years sugar beet and the potato harvests declined. The natural result was a substantial increase in the dependence of the food and light industries on imported raw materials.

The unsatisfactory quality of consumer goods was a most severe negative factor influencing turnover of material resources. The variety, finishing, reliability and other consumer features of goods produced by many industrial enterprises were clearly inconsistent with higher population requirements, as confirmed by the increased volumes of the notorious "unsalable goods." Thus, whereas in the 1970s the correlation between commodity stocks in retail and wholesale trade and industry, on the one hand, and retail trade, on the other, was in the 25 percent range, it rose to 30 percent by 1985. During the 9th and 10th 5-year periods the growth of stocks per ruble was paralleled by an increase in commodity turnover by 5.4 rubles; in the 11th 5-Year Plan this indicator did not exceed 1.75. Between 1981 and 1985 the growth rates of commodity stocks (in real prices) exceeded the respective dynamics of retail trade by a factor of 2.3.

The slowdown in turnover created both intersectorial and some territorial disproportions. Due to changes in the sites of production forces the fuel industry and other extracting sectors had to be moved to the eastern parts of the country. An higher share of capital investments was concentrated in them and employment in these sectors increased. Meanwhile the industrial centers in the European part of the USSR and in the Urals gradually found themselves distant from sources of energy and mineral raw materials. Furthermore, the slowdown in the increase in manpower (in some areas its absolute reduction), with major shortcomings in its utilization, led to the fact that these centers began to suffer from acute manpower shortages.

These changes in the location of production forces drastically enhanced the role of the transportation system in ensuring the stability of production relations. Pressure on the transportation system increased, particularly in rail transports. The latter (despite the fact that significant amounts of petroleum and natural gas procurements had been converted to pipeline transportation) failed to cope with the growing volume of freight due to the aging of material and technical facilities. The handling capacity of the main railroads which link the center of the country with the areas along the Volga, the Urals, the Donets Basin and many southern parts of the country reached its limit. The other railroad arteries are also being overloaded. The growth in the volume of freight hauled by the railroads during the 10th 5-Year Plan dropped to 107 million tons, i.e., by a factor of almost 7 compared to the preceding period, although a certain increase was noted starting with the middle of the 11th 5-Year Plan.

This worsened the negative effect which the weakening of cost accounting management instruments had on turnover and to disparities between costs and materials.

The effort which was made in the second half of the 1960s in making extensive use of economic instruments was ineffective, for it was not backed by increasing the economic rights of enterprises and displaying the necessary persistence in the implementation of planned measures.

The harnessing of reserves for accelerating turnover was also hindered by major shortcomings in material and technical procurements. The faulty practice of not balancing assignments with material resources developed in planning. The dominant trends in their allocation were petty centralization, unjustified multiple-channel organization and departmentalism. The procurement authorities were not held suitably responsible for the implementation of their obligations to consumers. They exerted no tangible economic influence whatsoever on the work of enterprises in the areas of thrift and improved utilization of material resources.

Overall, the slowdown in turnover became one of the manifestations of the stagnation which had been taking place in the past 5-year periods in the efficiency and intensification of public production, and an indicator of the worsening of the quality of economic growth. In terms of the dynamics of the public product, the latter was manifested in a nonoptimal structure of the accumulations fund. Higher stocks blocked an increasing share of the growth of the national income and took material resources out of economic circulation. Essentially, this nullified savings on material outlays.

This past period is instructive in the sense that it brought to light the impossibility of eliminating a slowdown in turnover with partial measures and minor corrections in the essentially administrative management system which had developed.

The concept of radical restructuring of the economic management system, which was formulated at the 27th Party Congress, scientifically substantiates the way of solving the problem of accelerating the turnover of material resources. An essentially new approach to this problem is possible only within the context of the key idea of a radical reform in the economic mechanism: all-round enhancement of the efficiency of planned and centralized management in

solving strategic problems, on the one hand, and the all-round development of initiative and greater independence and responsibility of enterprises and associations, on the other. It is precisely along these two lines that this problem must be studied.

Increased National Economic Balance

The elimination of disproportions which had developed in a number of public production units, optimizing the correlation between extracting and processing sectors and radically improving the structure of the unified national economic complex of the country is related to the conditions we mentioned for drastically shortening the length of the turnover of resources.

In the 12th 5-year period the pace of development of raw material sectors, in which the lag had such an adverse effect on turnover in the past, will be increased significantly. This applies above all to the absolute growth in the production of the most important varieties of fuels and raw and construction materials, such as petroleum, coal, electric power, rolled ferrous metals, modern plastics and fibers produced by the chemical industry, and fiberwood tiles.

In this connection, let us particularly emphasize that whereas the production of construction materials during the 5-year plan will increase by 6.6 percent, the production of modern varieties of metal goods will increase by a factor of almost 1.4. This will enable us to ensure the priority development of machine building and other processing industry and construction sectors which use such materials.

Essential progressive changes, such as a faster growth of the nuclear power industry, the gas industry, coal strip mining, the recovery of fuel from developed petroleum, natural gas and coal deposits and the increased scale of conservation of energy, are taking place in the structure of the fuel and energy complex.

Conservation becomes drastically more important in meeting the needs of the national economy for material resources. Thus, the pace of lowering power intensiveness in the national income will be accelerated by more than 50 percent; the rate of lowering metal intensiveness will be increased by a factor of 1.4. For a number of most important items, the conservation of resources becomes a decisive factor in increasing the balance between raw material and processing sectors. Between 65 and 70 percent and, in some cases, 100 percent of the need for additional fuel and raw materials will be met as a result of conservation. There will be a significant increase in the scale of utilizing secondary resources in the economy, which will save primary raw and other materials and fuel worth 40 billion rubles by 1990 (compared with 1985).

The emphasis in optimizing the territorial organization of production forces will be on eliminating existing disparities in the location of raw material (fuel-energy in particular) resources and processing capacities, and the comprehensive development of economic areas. The plan calls for major steps to be taken in the further growth of the economy in the European part of the USSR and the Urals, oriented toward resource- and energy-conserving policy,

while limiting the construction of new and the expansion of operating fuel intensive production facilities. The development of Siberia and the Far East will begin an essentially new stage (largely related to improving the combination of extracting with processing sectors).

The harnessing of reserves for accelerating turnover during the 12th 5-year period is based on restructuring the investment policy: increasing the growth rates of capital investments and their primary concentration on technical retooling and reconstruction of operating enterprises. In order to accelerate the technical retooling of the national economy the correlation in the use of the national income changes in favor of accumulations, the share of which had declined during the 10th and 11th 5-year periods. In capital construction priority will be given to upgrading the technical standards of enterprises using obsolete equipment.

Conversion to a two- and three-shift work offers extensive opportunities for the conservation of material resources by increasing the balancing of production capacities for their material support with available manpower. This conversion, backed by writing off underproductive equipment, will enable us substantially to reduce the scarcity of material resources felt in a number of sectors by lowering overexpenditures, compared with progressive standards. It is thus that in the final account the overall need of the national economy for necessary increases in the extraction of mineral raw materials and the production of construction materials will be reduced.

The implementation of the new approaches formulated at the 27th Party Congress for the development of the national economy enabled us, during the very first year of the 12th 5-year period significantly to halt the trend of decelerating turnover. In the past year, thanks above all precisely to the improved production balance and strengthened planning discipline, for the first time in recent years turnover has accelerated. The growth of output outstripped increases in stocks, the volume of which was reduced in relation to the public product. Some reduction in the absolute amount of unfinished construction and uninstalled equipment was achieved.

Enhancing the Use of Economic Levers

The "Basic Regulations for the Radical Restructuring of Economic Management," which were approved at the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, define the most important features of the economic mechanism with the help of which the problem of accelerating turnover will be solved, in addition to the other aspects of the party's economic strategy.

The planning system will be restructured, which will require the use of economic methods. Under the conditions of broadening the rights of enterprises and increasing their responsibility for the results of their activities, centralized national planning will be concentrated on solving problems of long-term development, accelerating scientific and technical progress, implementing and efficient structural and investment policy and ensuring the balancing of the national economy. Control figures, state orders and ceilings, and stable economic rates will be the main instruments in planned influence on the work of enterprises. The role of the 5-year plan, the formulation of which will assume more democratic forms, with the extensive

participation of ministries, councils of ministers of union republics and local soviets, will be enhanced. Starting with the next 13th 5-year period, the formulation of mandatory assignments will be abandoned.

The policy of increasing production proportionality through economic methods is supported by the reform in the entire price system. Prices will come closer to socially necessary labor outlays and the price-setting procedure will become more flexible: the financial reform will involve a conversion to standardized methods for forming the state budget revenue and full cost accounting in the sectors; the implementation of the special program for improving the financial and credit status in the national economy will involve the elimination of working at a loss by enterprises, removing unnecessary payment instruments and cash from circulation and restoring the violated lending principles: loan repayment on time and availability of material resources.

Economic publications and practical specialists have discussed alternate approaches to solving the problem of the utilization of economic levers in the following areas: 1. Developing a special system of incentives for the efficient utilization of stocks of commodity-material values and funds; 2. The functioning of corresponding instruments within the overall structure of the economic mechanism.

The former variant presumes the use of special incentive withholdings from profits for cost accounting enterprise funds and a corresponding increase in the rates of withholding for the budget and interest rates on loans in the case of surplus stocks; and differentiated interest rates based on repayment terms.

Available experience in improving management, in our view, confirms the existence of limited possibilities for the radical solution of the problem by creating special incentive systems. One such case involved efforts to develop such a system of management of scientific and technical progress, production quality, conservation of material resources, and so on. All such novelties led to a splintering and increased complexity in the unified structure of economic management and in some cases the different elements of such systems clashed with its overall principles.

The second approach based on the new model of economic management appears more profitable. According to this method, economic levers and incentives used in influencing a given process are closely "tied" to basic cost accounting and evaluation parameters of association and enterprise activities, and thus become part of the overall logic of development of the economic mechanism. Individual elements of the first approach may be used as well. The basic difference in the use of economic instruments in accelerating turnover under contemporary conditions is that they are a structural component of the new integral management system rather than part of the existing economic mechanism, as was the case in the past.

The profound process of restructuring economic management will require a certain amount of time during which two most important work stages may be singled out: the first will be the most difficult and important: during the next 2 or 3 years a conversion will be made from the old to the new economic management methods; the second will be when in the next 5-year period the

center of gravity will shift to developing a coordinated interaction among all units and elements of the integral management system.

In conclusion, let us discuss a few tasks in the current efforts to accelerate the turnover of material resources in the immediate transitional period. In this case strengthening contractual discipline is of the greatest importance. The unreliability of procurements forces the enterprises to ensure themselves by increasing their stocks of fuel and raw and other materials. Such steps, which are entirely understandable from the viewpoint of the individual enterprise, are basically inefficient from the viewpoint of the entire national economy.

Starting with 1987, requirements on observing contractual discipline have been drastically intensified. To begin with, the previous rules which legitimized a certain maximal percentage of nonfulfillment of contractual obligations were abolished. Second, accordingly, the implementation of the plan and the activities of associations and enterprises will be assessed as a whole in all industrial sectors on the basis of their 100-percent fulfillment of contracts. A system of state inspection has been introduced in 1,500 enterprises.

However, the status of contractual discipline worsened because of the failure to meet planned assignments in the first quarter: between January and May industry fulfilled its contractual obligations 98.4 percent. There was a particularly substantial lag in machine building, where 57 percent of associations and enterprises failed to keep up with deliveries; one out of three light industry enterprises fails to meet procurement requirements; enterprises in the chemical and timber complex are lagging as well.

The importance of an instrument for the acceleration of turnover, such as the rhythmical nature of production, increases under contemporary conditions. The possibility of maintaining it, based on the planning system in socialist economic management, was poorly used until recently. Essentially output increased in the third and fourth quarters of the year, whereas as a rule in the first, compared with the level reached in the final quarter of the preceding year, declined. Naturally, this was partially related to sectorial production characteristics (in particular its seasonal nature in the food and timber industries and some other sectors); however, in this case shortcomings in issuing annual assignments by the planning authorities and sectorial ministries were of determining significance.

Frequently they planned most of the marketing of the planned increase in output for the last quarter, whereas the plans for the beginning of the year were not stressed. Naturally, they also changed the time for ensuring the production system with the necessary material resources; in the first months of the year less attention was paid to the efficiency with which available stocks were used, hence the stress in developing an inventory at the end of the year.

Such arrhythmia was manifested even more clearly during the quarter (by individual month), particularly in sectors with interrupted technological processes, such as machine building, the light and food industry, and the production of construction materials. The widespread faulty practice of lowering planned assignments at the beginning of the quarter allowed many ministries and enterprises to report the overfulfillment of assignments for

the first 2 months. Such "favorable" information concealed major faults in production organization, as a result of which the plan for the third month of the quarter frequently remained unfulfilled.

In order to improve the work rhythm in industry, starting with 1987 the USSR Gosplan set up for all ministries and councils of ministers of union republics a quarterly breakdown of marketing assignments. The planning authorities tightened their control over the monthly breakdown of quarterly assignments by ministries so that they may be issued at the proper time to associations and enterprises, ensuring the stability of their plans. However, as the overall adverse results of the implementation of contractual obligations during the first half of the year indicated, such steps as well must be economically backed, above all by radically improving material and technical procurements in industry.

The most important possibility in organizing rhythmical work is eliminating fluctuations in the output of enterprises during the month and of rushing during 10-day periods. Thus, frequently more than one-half of the monthly output of metal-cutting machine tools and forge-presses, tractors plows and mowers, spinning looms and other commodities is in the last 5 working days. Work under conditions of rushing always involves the advance accumulation of surplus stocks of raw materials and materials and unfinished goods. In this case we note a situation similar to the one we pointed out relative to higher planned assignments timed for the end of the year.

Increasing the rhythmical nature of the work in construction, where it is much slower than in industry, is particularly relevant. For decades a procedure developed according to which nearly one-half of the annual commissioning of capital assets, production capacities and many sociocultural projects took place during the last quarter. Toward the end of a given month, quarter or, even more so, year, the work in most construction organizations becomes feverish. The scarcity of material resources drastically increases although until then a significant portion of such resources remains unused.

The accelerated turnover of resources is decisively linked to the reform in material and technical procurements, which involves conversion to wholesale trade and expanding direct relations between suppliers and consumers. Replacing the distribution of material resources based on centralized funds and ceilings with wholesale trade substantially lowers the volume of enterprise orders. Thus, even at the very beginning of the conversion of kolkhozes and sovkhoses to the new cost accounting principles, their orders for combines dropped by approximately 30 percent. The development of wholesale trade--the possibility of purchasing the necessary items at the proper time--eliminates many of the reasons which previously motivated enterprises to hoard surplus stocks.

As industry and other sectors convert to full cost accounting, self-support and self-financing, and as the area of centralized allocation of material resources is drastically curtailed, regulatory planning, financial and other economic instruments will exert a greater influence on the acceleration of turnover.

During the 12th 5-Year Plan turnover becomes a direct target of overall state planning. For a number of 5-year periods the correlation between the growth of output and stocks developed in the course of the implementation of annual plans as the post-facto result of the financial and economic activities of enterprises and ministries. This took place when overall reproduction conditions, as we pointed out, hindered their efforts to accelerate the turnover of resources and led to the accumulation of surplus stocks.

Starting with 1987, ministries, departments and councils of ministers of union republics will draft their state plans on the basis of fixed annual rates determining the maximal amount of stocks. This will require a faster growth of output compared with their accumulation. These administrative units will issue corresponding rates to enterprises and associations. Additional quarterly payments to the budget out of profits left at the disposal of the enterprise (3 percent of the average value of the additional working assets set aside as a reserve) will be introduced for violation of standards. In cases of improved the planned ratios quarterly increases in the material incentive fund will be added. The direct and strict connection between said payments and rates and target projections included in the state plan should increase the efficiency of already extant and newly introduced financial instruments aimed at accelerating the dynamics of turnover assets.

The importance of an organizational and economic instrument for upgrading production efficiency, such as preparations for the enactment of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), starting with 1988, and the conversion of enterprises and associations to true socialist cost accounting, is enhanced at the present time. In itself, this will motivate the enterprises to seek possibilities of accelerating the turnover of available resources, for the income of the collective based on cost accounting--wages, economic incentive and other income (including funds allocated for capital construction), remaining after settling accounts with the budget, the banks and commodity suppliers, will directly depend on the overall results of economic activities. This will direct enterprises to a comprehensive lowering of stocks needed for ensuring rhythmical and efficient work.

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SOCIALIST MANAGEMENT AND PRODUCTION PLANNING

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[Article by Vasiliy Sergeyevich Nemchinov; first 5 paragraphs are KOMMUNIST introduction]

[Text] Many recently published books and articles may seem hopelessly obsolete today, under the conditions of restructuring. Nonetheless, be works which have not become obsolete even decades later will appear particularly outstanding. One of them is the article by V. Nemchinov "Socialist Management and Production Planning," which was published in KOMMUNIST No 5, 1964. It was mentioned in M.S. Gorbachev's report to the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The great scientific economist and statistician Academician Vasiliy Sergeyevich Nemchinov made a great contribution to the formulation of methods for the analysis of mass economic phenomena and the study of problems of socialist economic management and price setting. He stood at the origins of the economic-mathematical trend of research in the USSR. Together with like-minded people in the areas of most important problems of economic theory and practice--Academician L.V. Kantorovich and Professor V.V. Novozhilov, V.S. Nemchinov was awarded the Lenin Prize.

A number of readers have asked the journal to provide them with the opportunity to study the full text of said article. Bearing in mind that its content is most closely related to the type of economic restructuring which is planned for the immediate future, the editors decided to reprint the article in its entirety.

Naturally, this work does not answer all the questions raised by life. Today we are better familiar than we were a quarter of a century ago with the difficulties which we shall encounter in the course of applying economic management methods and can rely on the critical study of the experience acquired in the reform of the 1960s, an experience which V.S. Nemchinov did not live to see.

This work convincingly proves that the program for a radical restructuring of the management system, which was earmarked at the 27th CPSU Congress and

developed at the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, did not spring from thin air. It is based on the best accomplishments of Soviet economic thinking.

Tremendous experience in national economic planning and managing economic development processes has been acquired in the course of our building of socialism. Today Soviet economists urgently face the task of theoretically summing up this experience, which is almost half a century old.

Particular attention should be paid above all to the all-round study of the nature of relations between units directly engaged in management and the national economic objectives which arise in the course of the process of planning and managing material public production. As time goes on this problem is becoming increasingly relevant, for our plans are becoming increasingly comprehensive and all-embracing. Today planning runs through the entire national economy. The widening and deepening of the role of the conscious planning principle in the socialist economy, therefore, requires better consistency between planning techniques and methods and the principles and needs of the live, direct and continuing economic process.

I

The proper assignment of functions and rights and obligations between planning authorities and executing economic units is of decisive significance in the formulation and implementation of the plan. No superior authority can be as familiar with internal production resources and production conditions as the enterprise itself. In centralized planning, therefore, it is particularly important to maintain the necessary extent of centralization in order always to provide sufficient scope for low-level planning and local initiative. No increase in the number of plan indicators can ensure the establishment of efficient economic relations between the center and the local areas and between central planning authorities and enterprises.

We know that national economic planning is only part of the process of managing public production. In particular, one could have a well-formulated plan but be poorly prepared for its implementation. It is obvious that the conversion of intermediate estimates into mandatory plan indicators, the purpose of which is to reflect only the end results of socialist economic management, is the wrong method. Such a broadening of plan indicators can only lead to the economic system's loss of the necessary flexibility and efficiency. In this situation very little scope is left for local and creative initiative by the primary production cells in society and individual economic workers. Such an improper expansion of planning leads to a system of bureaucratic administration based on the false premise that planning workers and administrators alone can manage public production without harnessing the creative economic activities of the people or applying the principles of individual material interest on the part of the working people to the results of collective labor.

Furthermore, we know that some plan indicators (such as gross output), which successfully fulfill their functions on the level of national economic planning also clearly distort the results of economic activities of individual enterprises. It is on the basis of this contradiction, for example, that the problem arose of improving some plan indicators. In particular, the suggestion was made of applying the special "standard production cost" plan indicator. Practical experience indicates that in many sectors the indicator of standard processing cost quite well reflects the volume of work done by the enterprise collective. A very frequent situation appears according to which the overall results of common coordinated efforts are totally inconsistent with the sum of individual results. For example, each individual sovkhoz or kolkhoz could increase its yields per hectare in a given year whereas as a whole, conversely, the economic rayon may show a lowering of average yields if the widening of areas in crops in individual parts of the rayon where yield averages are lower turns out to be respectively greater than that of areas under crops in other parts of the rayon, where yields are higher.

It would be a mistake to believe that the main difficulty in the course of the further intensification and expansion of planning in our economy and its conversion into a comprehensive principle lies in the choice of a specific system of consolidated (unified, from top to bottom) and differentiated plan indicators. A more difficult problem appears at this point. This became instantly clear when our planning authorities undertook the implementation of directives according to which the national economic plan would be based on plans directly drafted by the enterprises. It became clear that this proper directive should not be treated primitively, in the sense that the national economic plan simply become the sum of plans drawn up at lower levels. The national economy is a complex economic system which is not the simple sum of its elements and primary cells. It consists of a number of smaller economic systems (such as sectorial output, economic rayons and economic associations). These smaller economic systems, in turn, break down into primary production (enterprise) and consuming (family) economic units. Both direct and inverse relations always develop between them. In such a complex system of relations the various behavioral incentives, particularly those involving material and moral rewards, are of very great importance. The simple addition of planning and accountability indicators cannot encompass the sum total of such relations. Even simple information which is provided in the basic plans cannot be simply added up. It must be reworked quantitatively and qualitatively before it can be used in the formulation of the plan on the higher level.

It is a well-known fact that consolidated technological planning standards, which are averaged for the entire association, substantially depend on the planned variety of output produced by the association, the breakdown of the production program among the individual plants, the technological means of production and the nature of the raw materials used. Consequently, the consolidated system of standards, such as material procurements for the entire association, can be developed only as properly reworked standards, i.e., weighed in accordance with the factors which determine the level of basic technologically substantiated standards. Such is the case with machine-time

standards in planning the utilization of available machine tools, industrial equipment and many other similar cases.

In this connection, consolidated standards can never be something permanent and fixed. It is only with a more advanced system of their processing with computers that the necessary flexibility and variability of consolidated standards can be ensured, so that they may reflect to the necessary extent the structure of the primary technological standards of which they consist.

The structure of the larger system is always of decisive significance in the combination of small into large economic systems. Yet this is totally ignored whenever the larger economic system is considered in a primitive manner, as the simple sum of primary small economic systems.

A primitive understanding of relations between big and small economic systems could only lead to the creation of an ossified mechanical system in which all management parameters are issued ahead of time and the entire system is restricted from top to bottom, at any given point and moment. Inevitably, life will bring quite substantial corrections to such a system, as a result of which plan indicators will not have the necessary strict definition but remain flexible. Such a limited economic system will hinder social and technical progress and, under the pressure of the real process of economic life, will collapse sooner or later.

In order for the economic systems of different levels of complexity to operate in a coordinated manner there is no need whatsoever to ensure their mechanical and mathematical similarity. It is quite sufficient to ensure giving the necessary priority to the large economic system and to the reorganization of the flow of economic information which will ensure the uninterrupted effect of the mechanism of inverse economic relations (reactions which correct deviations from the program).

Such inverse relations in the economy can be achieved only through a system of cost accounting and a system of a variety of social funds, enterprise funds in particular (such as material incentive, enterprise development, new equipment, etc.). The procedure for contributing to and using such funds must be controlled with long-term legislated economic standards. The main and most important thing is for the planning mechanism to be coordinated with the cost accounting system and the system of enterprise social funds. It is important to find as quickly as possible the necessary ways and means for the development of such a social mechanism. This is the basis for solving the problem of efficient planning and management of material production. Only thus can the inverse relations mechanism be activated.

The inverse relations mechanism should be regulated in advance, so that both the cost accounting and fund systems can stimulate economic associations and enterprises in fully implementing their orders-assignments included in the national economic plan. The long-term standards which regulate the system of social funds of enterprises and cost accounting relations must be chosen and corrected in such a way as to ensure at all times and to support the national economic ratios which are consistent with the basic directives included in the

national economic plan. The entire system of economic instruments (planned prices, credits, subsidies and fiscal penalties) must be applied in the same area.

II

On the basis of cost accounting relations, the economic possibilities of enterprises must be made consistent with the requirements of the entire national economy. This can be achieved with a radical change in relations between planning authorities and primary enterprises. In particular, this would require of the planning authorities to place economically efficiently and rationally among individual enterprises and construction projects, through a network of economic authorities, sufficiently profitable orders for commodity procurements, based on the national economic plan. Each enterprise would submit in advance to the planning authorities its proposals on the circumstances under which it would be prepared to fulfill a given commodity procurement plan (indicating variety, quality, deadlines and prices). The economic and planning authorities would place their orders only with enterprises which will offer conditions for the implementation of planned assignments considered to be most advantageous to the national economy as a whole.

The acceptance by enterprises of planned assignments, supported by written documents, turns planned assignments into a planned orders. This procedure is more difficult to follow for the planning authorities. However, it is necessary as a filter which would prevent displays of naked voluntarism and is entirely realistic. Such a system could be described as a cost accounting planning system, for it organically combines planning with cost accounting principles, the same principles which must regulate any economic activity under socialist conditions. What are the elements of this system and what are the conditions which ensure its unhindered functioning? The cost accounting planning system can operate impeccably only if it is structured on the basis of the following principle: anything which is useful and advantageous to the national economic entity should be advantageous to the enterprises which implement the respective part of the plan as its executing links. This principle can be secured if the planned assignment becomes a planned order, if the basic conditions for the implementation of orders are set and, particularly, if the set price is acceptable to both the planning authority and the enterprise.

The contractual relations which develop with such a system among enterprises, economic associations and planning authorities cannot be limited to an annual term but must be of a longer-range nature. With a strict annual calendar planning the continuity of the economic process will inevitably and drastically conflict with the sporadic and discrete nature of planning itself. If the entire process of socialist economic management is restricted to narrow calendar limits it would be as though the economy must be planned anew every year. The live fabric of the economic process inevitably breaks down, as a result of which the internal continuity and consistency within the economic management process itself are violated.

Nonetheless, each calendar segment in the production process is inseparably and closely related to the preceding periods within a single multiple-stage economic development process. The new requirements which appear in this case must be subject of additional contractual relations. Therefore, the matter can be reduced to no more than placing new orders and, if necessary, refining old ones, for changes in the portfolio of orders take place during any given calendar time segment, which is entirely consistent with a truly continuing economic process!

However, economic contracts must stipulate certain obligations not only for the primary enterprises but also the superior economic and planning authorities. In the case of the planning authorities, such obligations are manifested in the prices stipulated in the contracts and the obligation to market (purchase) the entire ordered variety of goods by clearly defined economic authorities.

The abnormality of the existing planning order is the one-sided nature of obligations. Our basic enterprises keep receiving at all times from superior organizations specific plan percentage assignments (for increased volume of output, higher labor productivity, lowering production costs, etc.). Meanwhile, as a rule, the superior authorities bear no responsibility to the primary enterprises for plan disproportions. Plans for production, labor, financing, crediting and material and technical procurements are frequently not intercoordinated. The reason is that the individual economic elements are being planned separately. The mechanism of modern planning is so structured that each line and stroke in the plan are drafted separately and that the comprehensiveness of the plan is not organizationally secured. Changes in some plan indicators are by no means always paralleled by corresponding changes in its other indicators. Reciprocal obligations are not always shaped in terms of contracts with customers and procurers. Contractual discipline is extremely weak.

It is only the conversion of a planned assignment into a planned order and the corresponding cost accounting implementation of the planned order by specific economic associations and enterprises that will make it possible comprehensively to correlate the individual strokes and lines within the national economic plan.

The cost accounting system eliminates another essential defect in the contemporary planning procedure, according to which the planning of prices is separated from the planning of quantitative indicators. However, the national economic plan can be fully consistent with the law of proportional development only if the prices stipulated in the plan are entirely consistent with the levels of labor, material and monetary outlays and if they ensure any normally working enterprise a minimal level of profitability.

III

The national economic plan can be coordinated in all its aspects and become optimal not with any but only with an entirely defined price system which, among others, will be entirely consistent with the volume indicators in the

plan in the sense of balancing production with consumption and ensuring the economic efficiency of the utilization of manpower and production and natural resources.

Under socialism money and commodities no longer indicate the appropriation of the added product and their extraction from the working people, as is the case under capitalism. However, in the socialist society as well commodities and money continue to perform quite important functions. The production of commodities used not for personal consumption but for consumption by other social cells assumes decisive importance in the intensification of the public (sectorial and territorial) division of labor.

The perennial scarcity of some material and technical resources is essentially due to the fact that we continue to consider procurement items not as commodities (with their own equivalent exchange laws) but as objects of direct barter. In order for the process of equivalent exchange to be continuous the items produced by state enterprises must be exchanged essentially through a system of wholesale state trade. In the area of material and technical procurements in our country a kind of "rationing system" has been actually practiced. The production of material procurement commodities is accomplished by issuing predetermined detailed physical objects for each enterprise. All resources needed for material and technical procurements are dispersed among an innumerable number of individual asset holders (organizations and enterprises) and individual commodity items. Inevitably, the cumbersome system of preliminary orders for assets, followed by a repeated revision of assets and subsequent mandatory processing with a system of orders through which consumers are given material supply items leads to the development of a faulty metabolism within our economic organism. Assignments, like all rationing, always include not the amount of commodities which are truly needed at a given time and place but the entire stipulated quantity. As a result, some units within the national economic organism accumulate material values which they do not need at that point, and which are urgently needed by others.

In the overwhelming majority of cases the scarcity of material resources is the result of such an inefficient system for their distribution. In the final account, everyone gets the necessary materials. However, the imperfect system freezes, on the one hand, working capital and, on the other, develops a permanent scarcity of items subject to material and technical procurements.

Let us also emphasize that the process of production and turnover can develop unhindered only if the national economic plan is based on a combined system of equations in which economic evaluations and planned prices are reciprocally coordinated and consistent with the physical (volume) structure of production and consumption. Under the conditions of a capitalist market economy, this process develops spontaneously, behind the back of the producer. In our country, it must be controlled on a planned and deliberate basis, in the course of a properly organized commodity exchange.

In socialist society the urgent need for balancing and reciprocally coordinating systems of planned prices and physical plan indicators is also an inviolable law, although the process itself of reciprocal coordination and

balancing must take place consciously, by tracing with the help of computers the behavior of a given system, such as material procurements.

The regulating power of prices is so great that bourgeois economists as a rule pit prices against the plan and frequently raise the slogan of "price rather than plan." We, Soviet economists, confident of the regulatory power of the plan, sometimes take the opposite view: "plan instead of price." Nonetheless, in our view, the only proper solution to this problem is the purposeful combination of the plan with the price. In this case the priority of the plan is that prices themselves are also subject to planning; planned prices must be fully consistent with the objective process of price setting and correspond to the processes governing the creation and redistribution of values.

Planned control over the consistency between prices and commodity value can be achieved with the help of some strict economic and planning computations. Such computations would reflect not only the estimated but also the stimulating and redistribution role of prices. This will make the permanent and systematic control over plan correlations and their consistency with value possible.

However, the very procedure of current price planning could be organized without the help of the present cumbersome planning system, which includes the centralized formulation of detailed price lists. Essentially, firm and rarely changing prices should be set only for a limited number of commodities of particularly great importance. These would be most important commodities which determine the material and cultural living standard of the population and commodities which determine the level of production costs. Firm prices are needed only for basic mass commodity groups; as to the commodities within the group, maximal (from-to) ratios correlated with the starting basic commodities could be set. In order for such prices to be consistent with those which are based on the balance between production and consumption and supply and demand, it would be expedient to make use of a separate national price control fund. Most other commodities could be included in a group for which only so-called "controlled prices" would be set. Such prices would be established by the economic associations and departments and approved by the USSR Higher Council of the National Economy or by the union republic governments. Prices of all nonserially produced items could be set by the enterprises themselves, providing that price calculation methods are strictly observed.

A more flexible and improved price planning procedure would enable us totally to eliminate the pitting of plan against price and price against plan. Only then would prices be able to perform their basic role of economic regulator of exchanging labor results by individual economic cells within the society. And only then would planned prices regulate exchanges among structural elements within the social product. Such a system would be entirely adequate in maintaining the necessary proportionality and planning in the economic development of the entire economic national system as a whole.

The systematic use of prices in national economic planning is entirely consistent with democratic centralism. Stable yet flexible prices would allow all economic social cells to use a reliable criterion in choosing an optimal system of economic activities in which the individual optimum will be entirely consistent with the overall (national economic) optimum.

IV

In a cost accounting planning system, the principle of determining the profitability of enterprises with the help of planned prices and a system of public funds (the contribution to and use of which would be regulated with the help of legal long-range standards) is related to the overall planning principle of proportional (planned) economic development of the entire economic entity. The social planning system as a whole would receive the bulk of the profits earned in the course of the production process. At the same time, the economic units themselves would develop the necessary material incentive to increase the profitability of their economic activities, for the material incentive of a production collective, based on the results of its economic activities, is essentially determined only by that part of the profit which goes to the various public funds of the enterprise (wage supplements, enterprise development, etc.).

In order to make relations between fiscal authorities and enterprises quite clear, we must legislatively set long-term rates which will regulate a sufficiently large percentage of the actual profit left at the disposal of the enterprises. If the enterprise produces commodities which, for a variety of reasons, are in short supply, withholdings for the enterprise fund could be maximal; conversely, in the case of commodities which are not in demand, such withholdings could be minimal or even none.

Since, in the final account, in a planned economy there is only one pocket, that of the state, for a while the prevalent opinion was that allegedly it makes no sense legislatively to regulate the processes of distribution of profits between the state and the enterprise. However, practical experience teaches that it is extremely important to distinguish among individual purses inside a single pocket. Only then can we ensure a differentiated approach in regulating the socialist economic management system and the course of economic processes themselves.

Society has a clearly defined cellular structure (household economy, enterprise, association, the state). That is why it is by no means a matter of indifference how relations between individual social cells are controlled and regulated, as well as those between the individual cell and the national economic entity.

We must distinguish in the theory of economic management between managing and performing units and, among the characteristics of a given economic system, particularly single out management parameters. In a capitalist economy the role of management parameters is performed by tax and interest rates and subsidies. In a planned socialist economy first among management parameters are the control figures which determine the planned assignment issued to the

performing units within the system. However, under socialism as well financial and credit instruments are also of some significance. Under these circumstances, it is extremely important to refine the method and technique of planning, bearing in mind the use of economic instruments which stimulate the economic activities of enterprises in the areas defined in the national economic plan.

The current practice of setting planned assignments in terms of percentages of the level already reached leads to the fact that our advanced cells find themselves at a disadvantage. With such a system higher assignments are issued precisely to the frontranking units and, conversely, lower and easier assignments are given to the lagging units in the system.

Even if the new planned assignment is raised by the same percentage, the frontranking enterprise finds itself under less advantageous conditions, for the absolute value of a percentile point of plan increase in a frontranking enterprise is much higher than in a lagging one. Under the existing system of percentile planning based on the production level reached, frequently the efforts of the collective are wiped out by the next plan, for it immediately absorbs the entire result of the previous efforts of the collective. For that reason enterprise managers are frequently forced to conceal their resources and reserves from the planning authorities and not work at full capacity, so that during the next planning period they would not put their collective under difficult conditions from the nonfulfillment of the new increased plan.

In the case of planning based on the level achieved entirely abnormal relations develop between managing (planning in particular) and performing units. The performing units try by all possible means to obtain a minimal planned assignment for commodity output and maximal capital investments, whereas the opposite is true for the managing units. It is no accident that our planning and statistical authorities have no more than a very superficial knowledge of the production capacity of enterprises and production sectors. Nonetheless, national economic planning must be based precisely on the planned increase of production capacities, achieved not only on the basis of capital investments in new construction but also by comprehensively upgrading the coefficient of output per unit of installed production capacity.

V

The main task in the formulation of the technical-industrial-financial plan is properly to define the production capacities of economic units. Production capacities depend on the variety of planned output, the quality of the raw material and fuel, and the possibility of eliminating bottlenecks which restrict the production process. That is why it would be expedient for the basic technical-industrial-financial plans always to contain several variants for improving production capacity as a result of respective changes in planned variety and the quality of raw materials and fuels, allocations for capital investments needed for the elimination of bottlenecks, etc. All variants must be accompanied by plant production cost estimates and computations on labor productivity and specific capital investments.

Under such circumstances the task of the planning authorities and economic associations will be that of properly placing planned assignments-orders, making maximal use of enterprise production capacity. Today the main task is the full combination of the implementation of the national economic plan with the economically efficient utilization of resources such as production capacities and the land. The 20 March 1964 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on the practice of planning kolkhoz and sovkhoz production indicates the proper way to the solution of this problem. The essence of the matter is precisely that of ensuring a combination of state management with comprehensive development of local creative initiative and activeness. This equally applies to all economic sectors. Planning based on cost accounting would enable us to make proper use of the production capacities of industrial and construction enterprises.

Society gives a certain amount of production capacities to each production collective. For that reason each production collective must ensure a certain profitability based on their utilization. That is why full plant production cost must consist not only of plant production cost but also mandatory payments for basic and working capital which society has put at the disposal of the enterprises. Such payments would obligate the enterprises to ensure a minimal economic efficiency (profitability) of their assets.

Intensive scientific work has been under way of late in formulating objective methods for determining rates of profitability of basic production capital and determining the economic efficiency of capital investments. The results of the studies lead us to believe that in the not-so-distant future a method may be developed for determining the rates of mandatory payments for basic assets, which would take into consideration the material structure of the assets and the economic efficiency of their utilization in the individual production sectors.

The mandatory law of economic building, formulated in the CPSU program, calls for obtaining maximal economic results with minimal labor, material and monetary expenditures.

The rates of payments for basic and working capital are one of the forms for expressing the minimal requirements of society in terms of expected economic results from the utilization of production resources. This is one of the economic criteria of optimization of enterprise plans. Withholdings from basic assets must be adopted as an objective method in planning enterprise profitability. This method is considerably more advanced than the current method of planning profitability in terms of percentage of plant production costs. The latter is not logical, for as costs rise profitability should decline rather than increase. Furthermore, the use of differentiated mandatory payments for fixed assets enable us properly to take into consideration the economic conditions under which the individual enterprises work, with their varying capital-labor ratios and, consequently, different labor productivity.

The introduction of mandatory payment rates for fixed capital enables us to eliminate the "free" nature of fixed capital and, at the same time, to

organize the more economical utilization of productive assets, lower capital intensiveness per unit of gross output and reduce capital intensiveness per unit of increased output.

The planning of production capacities, as the planning of profitability in terms of paying for fixed assets are mandatory elements of the cost accounting planning system.

The conversion from "plan-assignments to plan-orders," as well as an orientation toward planning production capacities, would enable us to eliminate to a large extent bureaucratic administration and all kinds of manifestations of arbitrariness in national economic planning and management.

The cost accounting planning system will create a reliable filter which will block vestiges of the element of arbitrariness in socialist economic management. We can say that the element of arbitrariness under our circumstances as well, if allowed to expand, would lead to harmful consequences which, in some cases, would be as severe as the results of uncontrolled rivalry under capitalism. Under the conditions of administrative arbitrariness the creative freedom of economic managers in choosing the ways and means of fulfilling their plan becomes extremely limited. In this case the situation is similar to the one which prevailed at the dawn of the industrial revolution with the introduction of steam-powered machinery. For example, during Newcomen's time, before the Watt regulator was invented, the flow of the steam in a steam engine was regulated by a special worker who would pull the handle of the slide valve at the right time.

Such a situation cannot be tolerated in either the machine regulating mechanism or the mechanism which regulates the economy. Under the conditions of a contemporary progressive assembly line automated technology we cannot tolerate such an obsolete production control method.

VI

The urgent need for applying in the national economy automated control systems appears in converting to a cost accounting planning system. This means, above all, an automated system for gathering, processing and reformatting economic information (reported and planned) and an automated system for economic and planning computations as a basis for planning decisions made centrally and locally.

At the present time, by decision of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, extensive work has been undertaken to design an automated uniform system for gathering, transmitting and processing economic information, creating a network of dispatcher and computer centers and formulating corresponding economic-mathematical and mathematical-statistical models of economic processes and of national economic planning. The training of specialists in this area has been undertaken as well.

The automatic development of upward flows of economic information will make current observation of the course of implementation of the national economic

plan possible and, furthermore, if necessary, could ensure the timely restructuring of the elements of the national economic plan in order to maintain proportionality and planning in economic development. Automated electronic control systems are based on known requirements and cannot be confused with the mechanism of spontaneously developing processes. We shall be able to eliminate from social life the automatic appearance of uncontrolled processes only with the extensive use of an automated planning and management system in the national economy, based on contemporary electronic technology.

The purpose of automated electronic control systems is to ensure the priority of directives and control figures of the national economic plan and, at the same time, to promote the extensive utilization of cost accounting and of economic instruments as systems of social funds, prices, profits, and credit. The existence of an automated system for gathering and processing economic (reported and planned) information will enable us to make extensive use of the system of social funds.

In this case extensive use can be made also of long-term standards formulated in economic legislation. Such standards could regulate the amounts of withholdings from enterprise profits for the state budget, the material incentive and enterprise development funds, etc. Withholding quotas could depend, among others, on the correlation between the actual and the computed profit (computed in percent of the value of available fixed and working capital of the enterprise). Sale prices should be structured in such a way that payments of computed profits to the state budget are guaranteed at least on the basis of a sectorial average.

In the cost accounting planning system economic legislation should stipulate differentiated quotas for the distribution of profits between the state and the enterprise, taking particularly into consideration cases in which actual profits do not exceed those legally estimated. If the actual profits are below the legally computed ones, the enterprise funds could receive a certain share of the savings from reduced production costs and wages and increased labor productivity. This share as well could be established legislatively as long-term rates.

VII

The entire system of economic levers must be controlled with long-term rates and prices in such a way that the enterprise would find it to its advantage to fulfill the directives and meet the control figures of the national economic plan. This is an entirely realistic task. It will be entirely inadmissible to maintain in the future a situation in which particularly scarce or strategically important commodities are manufactured at a loss by an enterprise while others for which there is no market are made highly profitable.

The law of value is of essential importance in a socialist economy which develops under the powerful influence of the law of planned (proportional) development. The cost accounting planning system enables us organically to combine the effect of both laws and, on this basis, steadily to combine the

national economic optimum (which develops under the influence of the law of planned and proportional development) with the local optimums (which appear under the influence of the law of value.

With the help of a stable yet flexible price system and an efficient system of public funds and full cost accounting, it is entirely possible to ensure the combination of these two laws, for at that point the effect of the law of value will be subordinated to that of the law of planned (proportional) development of the national economy.

With such a planning system the consistency between the general and the local optimums will be based on a price system which, acting as economic factors, will not only balance the entire system of the national economic plan but would also stimulate the economic activities of all enterprises in ensuring the implementation of all planned assignments.

With a properly functioning price and long-range rate systems, legislatively codified, we can have a situation in which the enterprise will try to obtain orders from the planning authorities and economic associations for precisely the type and variety of goods included in the overall national economic plan.

This combination of different optimums (general and specific) will provide the basic enterprises and associations with the necessary economic initiative and scope in choosing the ways and means of implementing planned orders. In terms of the national economy as a whole, it will become possible to implement the requirements included in the national economic plan. The continuity of the economic process here will be ensured by the fact that the current annual plans will be based on specific calendar time segments of the long-range plan, while the annual and current calendar plans of enterprises will be determined by the portfolios of their orders and the deadlines for their completion as stipulated in economic contracts.

It is only deadlines for the implementation of procurement plans, as stipulated in the economic contracts and portfolio of orders, that can fully reflect the need for commodities for periods of under 1 year.

If the current annual national economic plan is properly drafted it would become unnecessary to achieve a physical and mathematical similarity between the annual indicators of the overall national economic plan and the annual breakdown of obligations based on economic contracts. In that case the national economic plan would be able to implement its specific role of general guideline of economic activities of individual enterprises and their associations.

The unified system of economic information and its reorganization with computers would also ensure current monitoring of the degree of consistency between the indicators of current national economic plans and the calendar plans of the enterprises based on fulfilling the orders in their portfolio. The disparity in such indicators, found through economic analysis, would be grounds for corresponding orders on the part of the management units within the economic system, issued both to the performing units (enterprises) and the

planning authorities. In any case, the existence of essential disparities between the indicators of the plan and the portfolio of orders may require not only a refining of economic contracts but also of the national economic plan itself. The latter is particularly important in the formulation of the plan for subsequent calendar periods.

To sum it up: the cost accounting planning system, the purpose of which is to combine the procedure of national economic planning with a contractual cost accounting system and a system for material incentives, consists of the following units and is structured as follows:

1. The enterprises submit to the planning authorities of economic associations and sovnarkhozes alternate plans for expanding their production capacities, indicating operational and capital outlays. Based on the national economic plan and these alternative planning programs, the planning authorities issue to economic authorities and enterprises their plans-orders in the guise of contracts, indicating prices and other delivery conditions;
2. The enterprises will not only calculate production costs but also determine the full cost which will equal the current production cost plus mandatory withholdings for fixed and working capital based on long-term rates as stipulated in economic legislation. The results of economic activities will be determined as the difference between the planned price and the total plant cost. A positive difference will characterize the added profit and the negative difference will indicate underprofitability. The actual profit will be the sum of the mandatory withholdings for fixed and working capital plus the added profit or minus the profit shortfall. There will be mandatory withholdings from the actual profit, based on long-term rates, for the enterprise funds (separately for material incentive and for the development of the enterprise and new equipment). Under certain circumstances enterprises may make withholdings also from savings on production costs and wages (compared with the preceding period and per unit of output);
3. Planned wholesale prices would be set on the level of the average sectorial cost. In the case of disparities between the wholesale and retail price systems, a price control fund would be established, based on general state income and used to subsidize wholesale (marketing and procurement) trade. A special insurance fund would be set up for procurement prices of grain for food and fodder (the cost of which would be based on a long-term yield average). Out of this fund the agricultural enterprises would be paid insurance moneys which guarantee a level of income stipulated in planning zonal prices if actual yields fall below the computed ones in the planned price, due to adverse weather conditions independent of the work of the enterprise. In order to control the level of socially necessary labor outlays consistent with prices, a special system of plan computations would be applied. The current centralized procedure for drawing up price lists would become substantially simpler and decentralized;
4. The system of physical stocks, which control the use of material resources, would be replaced by a widespread system of target social value stocks, which would control the entire expanded reproduction process both on

the national economic level as well as on that of the enterprise. This system would include not only special value stocks of material resources (fuel-energy, raw material, complementing items and amortization), but also the wage fund, the bonus fund, the material incentive fund, the social consumption fund, etc. Contribution to and expenditures from this entire system of specific social funds would be legislatively regulated on the basis of long-term rates;

5. An automated electronic system for data gathering and processing and an automated system for making extensive economic, planning and engineering and technical optimal computations would be created with a view to radically improving the procedure and techniques for planning and managing public production; it would be used for making plans centrally and in the local areas.

The cost accounting planning system, based on the requirements of the national economic plan and applied through a system of economic contracts would unquestionably offer tremendous advantages compared to the current system of percentile breakdown of indicators of the national economic plan by economic authority and enterprise.

The cost accounting planning method is entirely consistent also with the principles of democratic centralism. It would help us to eliminate methods of bureaucratic administration in planning and in economic management.

At the present time there is no task more important than that of providing scope for the live and continuing process of economic activities by establishing the necessary consistency between methods and techniques in planning and managing the production process, on the one hand, and the continuity and flexibility of the live process of direct social economic management, on the other.

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FOR A SOBER WAY OF LIFE; KOMMUNIST ROUNDTABLE MEETING IN ULYANOVSK

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 87 (signed to press 14 Jul 87) pp 33-47

[Text] [Editorial note] In the resolution which it promulgated at the beginning of June 1987, the CPSU Central Committee noted that the practice of the past 2 years confirms the realistic nature of the task of uprooting drunkenness from the life of our society. The efforts made to this effect are warmly supported by the Soviet people. Nonetheless, for the time being we have been unable to open a comprehensively broad front in the struggle against drunkenness and skillfully combine within it educational with economic and administrative-legal measures. The necessary aggressiveness, persistence and consistency are lacking in this work. The exceptional difficulty of this most important task set by the party is obvious. That is precisely why we need a constant search for the best ways of solving it, exchange of views, scientific discussions and interpretation of positive experience. Such experience has been acquired, in particular, by the Ulyanovsk Oblast party organization. Here the difficulties clearly appeared and new and sometimes unexpected problems arose in the course of the efforts to promote sobriety. The main task of the participants in the roundtable sponsored by KOMMUNIST, together with the Ulyanovsk CPSU Obkom and the Central Council of the All-Union Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety, which was held on 2-3 June 1987, was to interpret this experience against a broad "all-union" background, in order to ensure the more efficient implementation of the strategy and tactics for further progress as earmarked by the party. Participating in the debate were noted scientists and practical workers, party, soviet and Komsomol officials, workers, kolkhoz members and activists from the Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety. In order to widen the range of the discussion, Belorussian representatives were invited to attend.

The account on the roundtable meetings was drafted by KOMMUNIST Editor B. Arkhipov and KOMMUNIST Consultant Yu. Kudryavtsev.

What Initial Experience Reveals

From the address by Yu.G. Samsonov, first secretary of the Ulyanovsk CPSU Obkom:

The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Course of the Implementation of the CPSU Central Committee Resolution on Surmounting Drunkenness and

Alcoholism and Enhancing This Work" provides an objective assessment of all activities related to the assertion of a sober way of life. The resolution emphasized that this problem cannot be solved merely through prohibitions and restrictions. A comprehensive combination of educational, economic and administrative-legal measures is needed. We interpret the offensive on harmful vestiges and degenerate habits above all as a struggle for man, for his healthy way of life and for the enhancement of the human factor in the acceleration of the oblast's socioeconomic development. We clearly realize that the negative processes which are based on drunkenness, as well as drunkenness itself, are stubborn and still widespread.

Drunkenness and its consequences cause tremendous moral and material harm to society, the state and the family. Suffice it to say that in 1984, when the struggle against this evil in our country was only developing, the average family spent some 700 rubles per year on alcoholic beverages!

There is a basic connection between drunkenness and work absenteeism. Can we also remain indifferent to the fact that drinking parents procreate sickly children and that minors are being kept in children's homes for that reason? What is particularly alarming is the fact that women and adolescents are exposed to drunkenness.

The population of town and country and the labor collectives justifiably demand that the struggle against deviations from the norms of social behavior not be weakened whatever the case and that efficient steps be taken to influence those who violate antialcohol legislation. Negative phenomena become even less tolerable under present circumstances, conflicting with the positive trends which are developing in the country.

We began our efforts to assert a sober way of life by increasing the role and responsibility of the party and soviet aktivs, above all the secretaries and members of the party obkom buro, and the heads of the oblast executive committee and other oblast organizations and establishments. The members of elected authorities announced their voluntary intention to end the use of alcoholic beverages at plenums of the oblast, city and rayon CPSU committees and session of soviets of people's deputies. Similar steps were taken by trade union and Komsomol organizations. This set the tone for an intolerant attitude toward drunkenness and the struggle against drunkenness was mounted by all people, rather than by administrative authorities alone.

Naturally, like in any other matter related to restructuring social awareness and social customs, the process of asserting a healthy way of life demands a certain system, a concentration of the efforts of public organizations and law enforcement authorities and economic managers. This task was assumed by the coordination councils for organizing the implementation of the Central Committee resolution on the elimination of drunkenness and alcoholism, which were set up under the obkom and the city and rayon CPSU committees. Twice monthly these agencies analyze the situation in all areas of the struggle for sobriety. Extensive discussions are being held among labor collectives of letters-appeals issued by the party obkom to party members and all working people in the oblast.

Ideological work in labor collectives and at places of residence has become very specific. It involves the study and molding of public opinion through the press, television and radio, and citizen's rallies, where open and frank discussions are held on various problems which affect the life of the people.

Today the question of developing a conscious and honest attitude on the part of every individual toward his job becomes particularly important. That is why we find justified the indignation expressed by the overwhelming majority of Soviet people in cases of avoidance of labor and leading a parasitical way of life by some citizens. The practice of organizing the struggle against such negative phenomena proved the imperfection of the current legislation aimed at fighting parasitism. Today legal steps can be used only when the basic source of the subsistence is fortune-telling, gambling, begging and petty black marketeering. Yet a chronic alcoholic, who has been released from the LTP, could live a whole year on the funds which he was forced to earn in the course of his treatment in isolation. As the law currently stands, this situation is not considered in the least a delinquency.

In our view, the period of time which must pass before law enforcement authorities can take proper steps against parasitism is extremely long. Today this requires a minimum of 3 or 4 months before a warning can be issued and 1 month after it. None of this contributes to instilling proper order. In their letters to the CPSU Obkom and the editors of the oblast newspaper, war and labor veterans and other citizens justifiably demand an intensified struggle against unearned income and parasitism.

Great significance is ascribed to strengthening the ideological and moral influence on the family atmosphere. Individual work with people who tend to engage in drunkenness is taking new aspects. This applies both to chronic alcoholics, as well as those who drink moderately, decently, so to say, and who do not consider this habit a major evil.

We must not fail to mention the curtailing of the manufacturing and the streamlining of the sale of alcoholic beverages. The number of liquor stores has been reduced. For more than 6 months now liquor stores are opened only on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. Wages are paid by enterprises and organizations on days when liquor stores are closed.

In the efforts to eliminate drunkenness and alcoholism, from the very start the party obkom took the line of increasing its exigency and reciprocal strictness among party members in primary party organizations. Some party members had to be issued strict warnings; others who could not abandon their drinking habits were subject to the strictest possible party punishment....

Statistics

In 3 years more than 1,000 members of the CPSU, 300 members of the trade unions and about 700 members of the Komsomol in the oblast have been expelled for drunkenness.

The commissions for the struggle against drunkenness under the executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies considered as many as 9,000

cases in 1986 alone. Administrative penalties were imposed to one out of each two violators. About 5,500 people were sent to drug treatment offices and treatment-labor prophylactic establishments. One out of four individuals, whose cases were considered by the commissions, was fined or forced to work out the amount of the during his leisure time.

In 1986 the commissions penalized 69 managers for failure to take steps to prevent the drinking of alcoholic beverages in labor collectives; 80 people were punished for offering drinks to minors and more than 100 for violating the rules of trading in alcoholic beverages. The search for ways and means of eliminating drunkenness is permanent, Yu.G. Samsonov emphasized. In the course of this work we decided to sponsor experimentally a sobriety month set for April 1987.

It was important to do everything possible to involve the population in socially useful pursuits, to organize recreation sensibly and to enrich it with a variety of cultural and sports projects and alcohol-free celebrations.

Anything related to satisfying the cultural and social needs of the people is directly related to creating conditions for a healthy and sober way of life.

The range of specific measures carried out in the oblast in this area is quite broad.

According to statistics, the average resident of the city of Ulyanovsk spends no more than 75 rubles per year for cultural purposes; the need for cultural services, however, as sociological studies indicate, exceeds this amount greatly. Bearing this mind, the oblast executive committee drew up a list of such services to be provided.

A study of the work of oblast and rayon cultural institutions indicated that in the past 15 years it had been greatly neglected. Half of the seats at cultural performances remain unoccupied. Only four of 20 rural rayons had theaters and even these were virtually inactive.

This did not particularly concern the management of the oblast culture administration. They were not held answerable for the implementation of the cash plan of clubs. When we established an additional assignment totaling 150,000 rubles in 1985, they stubbornly tried to prove that it was unrealistic. They were quite amazed when at the end of the year, thanks to improved mass cultural work, above-plan income exceeded 800,000 rubles. In 1986 as well the revenue was more than twice the planned figure.

The party obkom is directing the personnel of trade and other sectors to seek and apply new forms of population services and ensure the fullest possible satisfaction of its needs. Immediately after the publication of the resolution on steps to surmount drunkenness and alcoholism measures were considered on how to use the money which would become available to the population from not purchasing alcoholic beverages. In this case improving market trade is of great importance. Every Saturday and Sunday trade fairs and sales are sponsored in the oblast center and the various cities and rayons. In addition to the state trade stores, they include public catering and consumer

cooperative enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses. This has quintupled the share of kolkhozes and sovkhoses in market trade.

Recently the obkom buro and the executive committee of the oblast soviet passed a decision on taking additional steps to ensure the further involvement of agricultural enterprises, private plots and gardening cooperatives in market trade, to develop the material and technical facilities of the markets and to improve trade services.

Industrial, construction and other enterprises are being involved in participating in trade fairs. They organize the sale of industrial waste products, above-norm stocks, unused commodity-material values and substandard goods, which could be used for home purposes or in promoting youth technical creativity.

It is already possible to say that a stable trend has developed in the oblast of faster increase in spending compared with population income. During the 11th 5-year period expenditures increased by 30 percent and income by 27 percent. The proportion remained the same in 1986. Another confirmation of the fruitful efforts aimed at the fuller satisfaction of solvent population demand is the fact that in the past 5 years the amount of money in circulation in the oblast has been reduced by more than one-half. During the 11th 5-year period and in 1986 the amount of money in circulation was reduced by 76 million rubles....

According to Yu.F. Goryachev, chairman of the executive committee of the oblast soviet of people's deputies, any reduction in alcoholic consumption must be compensated with something else. In 1986 such consumption in the oblast declined by 18 million rubles which, essentially, was withdrawn from circulation. Nonetheless, the cash plan was significantly overfulfilled. This was achieved above all by increasing sales of goods and providing services to the population in town and country. In Ulyanovskiy Rayon alone, today communal enterprises are providing 18 types of services and overfulfilling their cash plan by more than 1 million rubles annually.

V.M. Rybnikov, chief of the oblast trade administration, noted that the increased sale of commodities and services to the population are the strongest possible instruments for reducing the consumption of liquor. Many problems remain, however, which cannot as yet be solved locally. Thus, a plant, kolkhoz or sovkhos cannot purchase sports equipment or musical instruments because of ceiling limitations. Occasionally such rules must be broken and we must assume responsibility for selling such commodities in excess of the stipulated limits. No more than 20 to 30 percent of requests submitted by the oblast trade administration for such commodities, and no more than 50-60 percent of requests for sports clothing and shoes can be met.

Statistics

The reduced consumption of alcoholic beverages in the oblast, compared with 1984, averaged 4 liters of pure alcohol per resident. Absenteeism, compared with 1984, dropped by more than one-half and cases of lethal accidents related

to drunkenness declined by two-thirds. Hospitalization because of alcoholic intoxication declined by 55 percent.

As a result of the oblast's April 1987 sobriety month, the number of violations of antialcohol legislation by the population declined by a factor of 2.7 (compared with March); the number of individuals sent to sobering tanks declined by a factor of 3.2 and of stills, detected by the militia and the public, by a factor of 1.8. The number of crimes committed in a state of intoxication declined by 44 percent and their share in the sum total of delinquencies dropped to 10.4 percent.

To a certain extent "sober April" justified the hopes. However, it also made something else clear: the fact that the oblast was not fully prepared for it. The restrictive measures were not sufficiently backed by economic and educational activities. The people went to neighboring oblasts to buy liquor, moonshine increased and so did black market sales of alcoholic beverages and consumption of alcohol surrogates.

One learns from one's mistakes. The people of Ulyanovsk learned a great deal from the initial experience in sponsoring such a project, which indicated the "weak spots" in the preparations. The participants in the meeting insisted that in planning such months (and, possibly, even longer periods of absolute sobriety) in the future, one should above all "tighten up" the economic area and ensure a sufficiency of commodities and services and, at the same time, make efforts to restructure the awareness of the people, for it is clear that prohibitions, if not supported by an entire set of socioeconomic steps, would yield no results.

Seeing All Aspects of the Problem

The frank story told by the people of Ulyanovsk about the experience they had acquired in the struggle for sobriety, with all its successes and failures, triggered a lively exchange of views. It turned out that despite the 2-year experience in quite successful efforts to assert a sober way of life, scientists as well as practical workers had different views on the reasons for drunkenness, alcoholism and drug addiction and on the specific ways and means of continuing to wage the struggle against these most serious social anomalies. The differences applied above all to the scientific and ideological support of practical action. As a result, sometimes diametrically opposite views were expressed at the roundtable meetings on the same subject.

From the statement by S.V. Borodin, doctor of juridical sciences, professor, leading scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law:

Unfortunately, to this day the prevalent view in society is that the problem of the struggle against drunkenness can be solved almost exclusively by legal means, prohibitions and coercions. It is indicative that when the respective law was passed in 1972 a number of people considered the matter closed. Nonetheless, the steps taken in the struggle against drunkenness yielded virtually no positive results. By the turn of the 1980s the average life span of a man in the Soviet Union had dropped to 64 years and was the shortest in

Europe. In addition to the high level of accidents and other reasons which lead to male mortality, not the least causes were drunkenness and alcoholism.

Why did the 1972 antialcohol legislation fail to yield positive results? I see two basic reasons. The first is failure to use the main instruments in the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism and failure to take steps of economic, organizational, ideological, education, social and psychological nature. The second is that in an atmosphere of idling, stagnation and total forgiveness, no one in our social circles took seriously the antialcohol legislation which remained, so to say, a dead letter.

The present legislation is being applied under the conditions of restructuring and strengthening of discipline. In addition to legislative, other steps were taken as described here by the Ulyanovsk comrades. What is worrisome, however, is that most of the hope is still based on the old restrictions and prohibitions. To a certain extent this is understandable. Legal measures are the most obvious and they are efficient. Indeed, the crime rate has declined and so have industrial and traffic accidents. However, drinking was abandoned essentially by people who were not confirmed drinkers, by those who drank little and those who feared for their jobs. As to the others, they prefer to drink at home and many have turned to moonshine or the use of surrogates. But if we rely only on prohibitions we cannot expect any great progress in the struggle with drunkenness. Such steps can only preserve the more favorable situation of today compared to 2 years ago....

Statistics

Compared with 1964, in 1986 the number of people who were sent to medical sobering-up facilities dropped by a factor of 1.9.

The number of crimes committed in a state of drunkenness within that period dropped by 37.8 percent. The same trend prevails in 1987.

From the statement G.G. Zaigayev, docent, USSR MVD Academy:

The resolution demands of us critically to assess accomplishments in the past 2 years, the results obtained and, most important, to analyze shortcomings and, on this basis, to develop optimal ways of solving the problem.

The positive results of the past 2 years of work are universally known. However, there also were side effect of the offensive on drunkenness, which must not be ignored. We still do not know the cost to society of moonshine, drug addiction and use of toxic substances. Nor have we a concept of the immediate consequences of the fact that, shifting to the family, drunkenness will inevitably have a more tangible effect on young people.

I tried to make some computations and reached the conclusion that increases in moonshine have matched decreased sales of alcoholic beverages. Sugar consumption in 1986 was 45 kgs per capita, with a scientific norm of 37.5 kgs. Last year such consumption increased by 5 kgs and last spring by yet another 14 percent. This is the national average. In the Ukraine the increase averaged 29 percent and sugar consumption reached 58 kgs.

Another worrisome feature is the following. It is my profound conviction that of late a certain drop in the intensity of the antialcohol struggle has taken place. Obviously, psychologists and economists must give some thought to this! It seems to me that a certain confusion has developed in the ranks of the participants in the movement for a sober way of life. Interest in antialcohol topics has declined. This undermines the foundation of the struggle, which is mass population support.

What is happening? The policy which was adopted is correct. Nonetheless, in the past 2 years we have come across a number of negative consequences. I assume that the reasons for this are found in underestimating the comprehensive approach to solving this problem and the simplified concept concerning its tremendous difficulty. We surveyed 300 chairmen of commissions for the struggle for a sober way of life in three different oblasts, to determine the orientation of the organizers of this struggle. It turned out that three-quarters of those we surveyed deemed necessary a strengthening of administrative influences on the violators of antialcohol legislation, and that was all. However, we must first of all determine the reasons for the phenomena against which we are fighting. It is only by eliminating the reasons can the problem be solved. I think that in the efforts to uproot drunkenness and alcoholism we must proceed from the fact that a social phenomenon can be triggered by nothing other than social reasons and conditions. For the time being, many of them remain. Is it an accident that in the 1960s the country experienced a boom in alcohol consumption? Or the fact that in the 1970s the number of people suffering from alcoholism increased sharply? Is it not clear that this is directly related to stagnation phenomena in economics, social life and the organization of the leisure time?

For example, in the 1960s the system of having 2 days free was introduced without solving problems of organizing the leisure time; immediately alcohol consumption indicators rose. Hundreds of thousands of people were "freed" from their private auxiliary farms which, in addition to the creation of a number of other negative factors, doomed the population of worker settlements to idleness. The people could not or were unable to fill their leisure time. This was not the least factor which encouraged them to drink.

The process of eliminating drunkenness is complex and comprehensive. It includes the simultaneous solution of current and long-term problems. A scientific system for the struggle against drunkenness must be created. I believe that some of its basic elements are being developed in Ulyanovsk Oblast. In the country at large, obviously, there is no streamlined system in the struggle for surmounting drunkenness and alcoholism. I believe that in this struggle we must not approach all alcohol users with the same yardstick. For example, I divide the adult population into five groups: alcoholics, 3-4 percent; drunks, 9-11 percent; "moderate drinkers," 70-75 percent; alcohol consumers under exceptional circumstances, 6-7 percent; and total abstainers, 3-4 percent. Each of these groups, with the exception of the last, has obviously its own path to sobriety. Therefore, in order to be successful, we must differentiate our efforts in working with them.

Whereas strict measures of coercion, treatment and re-education must be applied in the case of alcoholics, painstaking and persistent educational work must be carried out among the bulk of the people who are moderate alcohol consumers (in my estimates, they exceed 120 million people), emphasizing skillful organization of working, living and recreation conditions....

In his answer to G.G. Zaigrayev, who considers that the accumulation of phenomena of stagnation in social life is one of the main reasons for the dissemination of drunkenness, N.S. Chernykh, first deputy chairman of the Central Council of the All-Union Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety, pointed out that these processes are interrelated and that feedbacks exist among them. Phenomena of stagnation could be considered consequences of drunkenness as much as their reasons. In promoting a sober way of life we are thus contributing to restructuring and, therefore, to the elimination of stagnation. Like drunkenness, alcoholism and drug addiction, stagnation is intolerably alien to socialism and to a socialist way of life.

As to "moderate drinkers," in the opinion of N.S. Chernykh and of S.N. Cheverdin, editor in chief of the journal TREZVOST I KULTURA, it is precisely they that cause the main harm in the struggle for the assertion of sobriety, above all because they are a steadily reinforced contingent of people, young above all, who consume alcoholic beverages.

From the address by B.M. Levin, doctor of economic sciences, professor, head of sector at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research:

If we proclaim a "struggle" against all categories of drinking people who would we be left with? With 5 percent of teetotalers? It would be unwise to declare "moderate drinkers" enemy "No 1." We must not fight but persuade them to join our camp. We must be realists and not maximalists. By making the "moderate drinkers" our allies we can achieve greater results than by alienating them.

The problem we are discussing today is as topical as it was before 1985. We must not confuse the making of even the most useful decisions with their practical implementation. I believe that we must not flatter ourselves with victorious reports from various areas on closing down drinking establishments, introducing "sobriety zones," alcohol-free marriages and other entirely useful activities. We live in different times. We do not describe the present as revolutionary for nothing. This present requires a different standard in the struggle against drunkenness, alcoholism and drug addiction.

Let us ask ourselves the following: Have drunks disappeared or are they still here? Have all the reasons for drunkenness and alcoholism been eliminated? We must frankly say that both drunks and reasons remain. Based on Ulyanovsk Party Obkom data on moonshine, compared with 1985 it doubled in 1986 and in the first 4 months of 1987 there was an increase by yet another 45 percent. The number of registered drug addicts has increased.

What has the resolution given us? First, as a result of the steps taken in the past 2 years, the people have begun to drink less. The question arises, however, of who is drinking less: Those who drank little or those who drank a

lot? As a rule, the answer is the following (which is closer to the truth): those who drank a lot continue to drink a lot and those who drank little drink even less. This is a result for which we justifiably take credit. I agree with Nikolay Stepanovich Chernykh. We must work with this population group but only through persuasion. Second, from our past passive attitude we have converted to active action. Third, the foundations have been laid for an antialcohol policy. All of this determines the tremendous importance of the decisions which were made.

The most difficult and unstudied problems in our science remain: Why do people use alcohol, why do they become drunks, why are there alcoholics? The easiest answer is to blame the legacy of capitalism. This assessment is erroneous, for it blocks the way to the practical solution of the problem. Unquestionably, we inherited drunkenness and alcoholism from capitalism. However, these are not simply its vestiges. We also have here "acquisitions" of socialism! This too must be said openly. We must study the reasons for drunkenness and alcoholism which continue to exist and to reproduce in our society.

It was accurately said here that the system of emotional and social needs has not been developed in a large number of people. It is precisely among them that we notice the most urgent need for alcoholic beverages. However, inability to spend properly one's leisure time and the weak material base for recreation could hardly be considered the most important reasons for drunkenness and alcoholism. It seems to me that the main reasons for these phenomena are in the labor area. For example, for 20 years we have been surveying patients in medical drying-out facilities in Kostroma and Moscow Oblasts. In 90 percent of the cases these were the least skilled people. It would be difficult to describe them as members of the contemporary working class. This applies to both industry and the service area. Such people have no incentive to upgrade their skills. They earn decent wages, have a great deal of leisure time and fill their vacuum with alcoholic beverages. If such beverages are not available they turn to substitutes, to surrogates. If I remember correctly, for the past 20 years I have been seeing the same figure in a variety of documents: some 50 million people in the national economy are engaged in manual labor. This is not creative labor and the people engaging in it have no possibility of developing their capabilities. By merely eliminating manual labor we would take a major step toward surmounting drunkenness.

The scarcity of high-quality consumer goods is a major reason for drunkenness. We must see to it that without having to wait in line, without overpaying, without "knowing people" the consumer would be able to purchase for himself and his family all that he needs. At that point he would think three times over whether it is worth spending earned rubles on vodka and would make the proper choice....

From the address by D.V. Kolesov, USSR APN corresponding member, director of the USSR APN Scientific Research Institute of Child and Adolescent Physiology:

Drunkenness and drug addiction have specific influence on the mind, suppressing negative and subjectively unpleasant sensations and experiences

and stimulating subjectively accepted "positive" ones. Thanks to this, while the substances are effective, the person achieves a psychologically comfortable condition, regardless of the real state of affairs. At the same time, as the drug keeps being used, the person's resistance to factors which harm the mind is lowered and his dependence on the substance increases. In the final account, the dependency becomes absolute. A traditional positive attitude has been developed as a result of an uncritical assessment of the effect of alcohol and drugs in areas which grow poppies for opium, marijuana, coca leaves and others.

Another reason for drunkenness and drug addiction is the fact that most people are unable to control their emotional state and psychological comfort through means acceptable to society, and have low psychological standards. To a certain extent, this can be explained by the fact that man is more interested in the world around him (with which the main achievements of civilization are related) compared to his inner world.

All of this is worsened by the lack of a purposeful antialcohol and antidrug education, which would develop a resistance in the growing generation to the alcohol (drug) pressure of the social microenvironment. Equally important here is developing a proper attitude toward difficulties in life. We must learn to surmount them through active efforts rather than by "avoiding" them, by turning ourselves off. Finally, this is also influenced by the absence of a well-developed system of steps aimed at ensuring a mental relaxation. By this I mean psychotherapeutical counseling, rooms for psychological relaxation at enterprises, etc., although of late we have undertaken such efforts....

In the view of A.N. Molofeyev, chief physician, oblast antituberculosis outpatient clinic, and chairman of the Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon Council of the Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety, Ulyanovsk, it should be remembered that the disease of alcoholism is virtually incurable. It is only 5 percent of the patients that can be totally cured. At best a long and stable remission may be achieved in the rest. Therefore, it would be logical to concentrate our main efforts on the prevention of drunkenness and alcoholism by accepting the fact that society is unable to save the overwhelming majority of patients suffering from alcoholism. This category of people, who find themselves isolated as a result of the attack on drunkenness, will disappear by itself. Within that time a new generation will grow up in the country, raised in the traditions of sobriety and absolute rejection of drunkenness.

B.M. Levin objected to this. He pointed out that in 1986 alone the country had 500,000 registered alcoholics. It is obvious that if society leaves those people alone, several centuries will be required before the idea of the "withering away" of alcoholism is implemented. This type of approach to the problem is simply antihumane. We must struggle not against but for the people, including for rescuing the alcoholics. These are our fellow-citizens!

Although agreeing with this view, the participants in the discussion emphasized that alcoholism is not simply a disease but also a vice. Consequently, the fact that the individual himself is to be blamed for the disease is by no means excluded. This being the case, not only medical but

also administrative and educational steps must be taken in the case of alcoholics. In order to make such steps more effective we must most thoroughly coordinate the efforts of physicians, sociologists, the militia and the public.

L.L. Katalymov, professor, Ulyanovsk State Pedagogical Institute imeni I.N. Ulyanov, spoke of the importance of early detection of alcoholism and the creation of conditions under which the consumption of alcohol by individuals under the age of 25 (an age considered critical in the case of 97 percent of alcoholics) would be made totally impossible.

According to S.V. Borodin, in many parts of the country less than one-half of individuals suffering from alcoholism are registered. Alcoholism is a real disease and trying to establish who is to be blamed for it is a secondary matter. Obviously, the person himself is to be blamed, but so is the society, the environment in which he lives. Some alcoholics are mentally ill people and must be approached from this viewpoint. Yet in our country there is virtually no legislation on the hospitalization of the mentally ill. The departmental instructions which are applied in this case suffer from many substantial shortcomings. Many countries have laws on the hospitalization of the mentally ill and of their rights. We must pass the same kind of laws in our country. The Institute of the State and Law has submitted such a proposal to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. An instruction has been issued now on formulating a draft of such a law, jointly with the Institute of Forensic Psychiatry imeni Serbskiy.

We must also consider improvements in the procedure for the treatment of alcoholics and their release from medical-labor prevention establishments. Our legislation stipulates the ahead-of-time release of alcoholics from LTP. However, they are by no means always cured and, in the overwhelming majority of cases, they are not. That is why it would be expedient to consider not the premature but the conditional-premature release of alcoholics.

Drug treatment centers are being opened in many cities at large enterprises. Consequently, laws promulgated on the republic or union scale should make it mandatory for enterprise administrations to provide more efficient help to health care authorities in opening such centers.

What can the family, the collective and the residential rayon do?

Giving their proper due to the mass information media, which are persistently engaged in antialcohol propaganda, the participants in the roundtable meeting were unanimous in rating the primary role which educational work within the labor collective, the family and the place of residence plays in promoting a sober way of life. The primary organizations of the All-Union Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety could make a major contribution in this work, as confirmed by the Ulyanovsk experience.

A.N. Zhuravlev, tuner at the automated shop of the machine-assembly facility, Ulyanovsk Motor Vehicles Plant imeni V.I. Lenin, discussed the educational role of the collective in improving relations among people. His brigade has put an end to the tradition of having a drink on all kinds of occasions, which

had an immediate positive influence on upgrading labor productivity and production quality. At the same time, the leisure time of workers and their families has become more interesting and meaningful. The people have developed a taste for work, as a result of which their wages have increased. Today such wages are spent not on alcohol but on items needed by the family. Foodstuffs and durable goods are sold on payday directly at the plant.

In the view of S.A. Karmanovskiy, head of a forging and pressing brigade, and chairman of the council of metallurgical brigade leaders at the Ulyanovsk Aviation Industrial Complex imeni D.F. Ustinov, the situation can be changed only by systematically applying against violators of antialcohol legislation steps involving the influence of the public and instilling in the labor collectives a system of joint responsibility for the behavior of their members. Naturally, the simplest thing would be to fire the culprits. However, is this sensible? Occasionally this applies to highly skilled workers, thus affecting the production process. Furthermore, rejecting such a person means only worsening his situation and destroying his faith in himself and in others. The only solution is for the labor collective, the brigade above all, to educate the lovers of alcoholic beverages.

Three brigades have already accepted the 1987 contract on collective responsibility at the shop where the speaker works. In these brigades losses of working time, absenteeism and cadre turnover have declined sharply. However, the collective responsibility contract imposes obligations on the enterprise's administration as well. It must be concerned with rhythmically supplying the working people with materials and instruments, for this has a great influence on the moral and psychological climate in the collective, the mood of the people and the efficiency of educational measures.

Statistics

More than 110,000 people, 13,000 of whom school students, inhabit the residential area of the Ulyanovsk Aviation Industrial Complex. The rayon has its house of culture, sports stadium, riding school and clubs for children and adolescents. Currently it has nine children's clubs with 80 circles and sections attended by 3,000 children. The Ruslan house of culture has 31 amateur art collectives and eight club associations for singing and hiking, for soldiers-internationalists, for sobriety and others.

M.P. Pilnik, general director, Ulyanovsk Aviation Industrial Complex imeni D.F. Ustinov, discussed the basic elements of the system of the struggle against drunkenness waged by the administration and the party, trade union and other public organizations and groups at the enterprise.

The entire work is based on a comprehensive plan supervised by a prevention council, headed by a deputy general director. Such councils have been set up in each subdivision of the complex. The leaders of the complex--the general director, the party committee secretary, the trade union committee chairman and the Komsomol committee secretary--sponsor a monthly discipline day.

Of late, in discussing violators, the collective has begun to invite to such discussions the adult members of their families. This is a very strong means

of moral influence. Noticeable results were obtained from meetings of a preventative nature, to which workers who lean toward the use of alcohol are summoned. As a rule, such meetings are attended by the rayon's prosecutor, militia workers, people's judges, a drug addiction specialist and members of public organizations.

A system of collective moral and material responsibility of brigades for the condition of discipline in and out of work is being promoted. The voluntarily set price for each violation at work or on the outside is a 10 percent reduction in the bonus of all brigade members. If no violations have been recorded, the brigade bonus is increased by 15 percent. Such contracts have already been concluded by 121 brigades.

Hero of Socialist Labor B.T. Pavlov, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Zhdanov, Veshkaymskiy Rayon, reported that drunken bouts are no longer standard practice in their farm. Whereas previously all holidays, anniversaries, ceremonies, send-offs, meetings, and marriages invariably involved the use of alcohol, today this has become an infrequent phenomenon. However, the use of alcoholic beverages should not be restricted without replacing it with something else. It is important to help people in trouble, for it is not in vain that people say about someone that he drinks to forget his troubles. But is it always possible for all of us to voice our sadness and concerns? Are we engaged properly in individual work with people, the significance of which was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress?

Questions which the kolkhoz cannot answer arise in the efforts to assert a sober way of life. For example, for the past 4 years the farm's management has been asking the design institute to draw up a plan for the reconstruction of the kolkhoz cafeteria, which would include a banquet hall, a bar, a family club, playrooms for children, a "Skillful Hands" or "Do It Yourself" room or, in short, places where people could gather according to their interests. What the institute is suggesting is a standard blueprint for a cafeteria which does not include anything of the sort. The people must be offered the type of plans which they need, B.T. Pavlov emphasized. This is what real restructuring means.

From the statement by L.V. Krishtal, milkmaid at the Cherdaklinskiy Sovkhoz, Cherdaklinskiy Rayon:

What kind of crop can we have if a drunken mechanizer sowed and harvested the grain? How much milk and fattening of the cattle can be obtain if a livestock breeder goes to work drunk or else has started drinking and has not gone to work at all? It is painful to see the way such pseudoworkers mistreat the animals. It takes 2 to 3 years to raise a cow and it takes no more than 2 or 3 days of skipping the milking to lose it, and all of this tremendous amount of work goes down the drain!

I would like to appeal to our women, to their hearts which are capable of great love. The outcome of the struggle against drunkenness depends more on us than on the men. In fighting for a happy and sober life, women must start above all with themselves and under no circumstances take even a sip of wine!

A sober family is a happy family. However, a woman must start her fight for happiness not when the time has come for her husband to go to a treatment center but before he has had his first drink. But even after the man has reached the limit, a loving woman could return him to a sober life by showing willpower, persistence and firmness.

Something else: the family must not suffer when a drunk is fined. Let such fines be worked out during his leisure time!....

M.D. Borzova, director of the Novodolsk Children's Home, Baryshskiy Rayon, spoke on the educational functions of families and the tragedy of children raised in children's homes:

I have worked in a children's home for 35 years and am myself one of its alumni. Children's homes in wartimes are one thing and those of today, another. One should see the faces of the children yearning for a parental touch, warmth, attention and concern which they do not get as much as they need, although most of them have fathers and mothers. More than 50 of our students are children whose parents have been deprived of their parental rights for drunkenness and immoral life. The parents of the others are in jail.... Seventeen of our children are orphans, whose parents died because of alcoholism.

We are worried by the fact that we are raising children whose parents were cured from alcoholism and were given good jobs and housing but are in no hurry to take their children back from the home. When I tell them that the time has come to take their child from the home and that however good our situation may be it is better to be with one's father and mother, I frequently hear the mother say: "Mariya Dmitriyevna, keep my daughter a little longer, she can thus get an education and grow up properly."

A particularly strict approach must be applied to such parents. The result? The children are staying in children's homes while their fathers and mothers become production frontrankers! The collectives forget the way those people behave at home and the reason for which their children are in a home. The question arises: Could a person consider himself an equal member of society if he avoids to raise his children? I believe that in the case of such parents the state should at least charge the full cost of the raising and education of their children.

To the best of my knowledge, every year the public education authorities identify some 100,000 children throughout the country who must be placed in children's homes. The main reason for this is parental drinking.

In the course of an investigation our students were asked about the type of children's homes they would like to see in the future. Their answer was none. It has been remarked to me that we are doing poor educational work. The children, however, are right. They do not want to live in children's homes, and all of them want to go home!....

Ulyanovsk and Belorussia.... What brought them together in a roundtable discussion? A similar experience in the efforts to promote sobriety, common concerns and some specific problems.

N.Ye. Kolotsey, first deputy chairman, Grodno Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee, spoke on the participation of labor collectives in the struggle for sobriety.

In the oblast the adoption of high standards and a sober way of life of collectives and sobriety zones have become widespread. A total of 297 labor collectives have pledged to struggle for a sober way of life and 38 sobriety zones have been created.

Sales of lumber and construction materials have been increased; 20 warehouse stores have been opened where the population can purchase materials for house building and repairs and for building dachas and gardening tools. The sale of such items has been organized also in many hardware stores. "Do it yourself" stores are functioning in the cities of Grodno, Lida and Volkovysk, and stores selling by-products of industrial output and substandard goods have been opened in other cities (in 1986 sales of such commodities totaled 1.2 million rubles). Paid services in culture, sports and household services are being developed everywhere.

Of late the problem of drug addiction and use of toxic substances has become acute in the oblast. This phenomenon is causing great concern. Not only the drug addiction treatment services but also the broad medical public are involved in the struggle against drug addiction. The faster identification of drug addicts has been organized in the oblast with increased control over the dispensing of prescribed drugs; medical-educational work is being conducted among the population on the prevention of drug addiction.

The health care authorities and establishments have energized their efforts. The oblast has 10 drug treatment wards with 810 beds, including 7 wards at construction organizations. A treatment-labor preventive institution with 750 places and a 100-place drug treatment hospital for the mandatory treatment of patients suffering from tuberculosis operate in Novogrudskiy Rayon. A total of 1,040 public drug treatment centers have been set up, staffed by Red Cross activists. Two interrayon outpatient drug treatment centers have been created. A drug treatment outpatient clinic operating on a cost accounting basis was opened in Grodno; 59.5 positions for physicians specializing in drug addiction have been opened at specialized medical institutions.

In addition to antialcohol propaganda and use of public influence, the militia authorities are firmly opposing manifestations of drunkenness and the drinking of alcoholic beverages in public.

Statistics

Thirty-six thousand people were charged with violations of antialcohol legislation in 1985, 21,500 in 1986 and 8,300 in the first 4 months of 1987 in Grodno Oblast. In 1987 100 people were charged with encouraging adolescents to drink; in 1987 1,514 drivers and mechanizers were punished for drunken

driving. These steps have made it possible somewhat to reduce the number of accidents related to drunken driving. In the first 5 months of 1987 the number of such accidents declined by 20 percent. During that time a total of 1,060 stills were discovered.

V.I. Maksimov, chief of the Terengulskiy ROVD, Ulyanovsk Oblast, and V.D. Pimenov, senior section inspector, Zheleznodorozhnyy ROVD, Ulyanovsk City, spoke on the work of the militia in labor collectives and militia help in the prevention and elimination of drunkenness.

No patrol-post services, or medical sobering-up facilities are available in rural areas, for which reason here success depends above all on the organized efforts of militia personnel and their close interaction with the population. Meetings are extensively held between militia workers and the population at work and at home, in particular with people registered as drug addicts.

The group at the administrative section in Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon includes the senior section inspector, the investigator, the criminal investigation inspector, the OBKhSS and others. This permits it to engage in preventive work on a broader and more comprehensive basis. In searching for stills the militia relies on the help of the public--the councils of microrayons, the ZheU party organizations and other social groups.

The quality of treatment at LTP remains low and it is rare for a drunk to stop drinking after treatment. Insufficient work is being done with individuals who have been released from the LTP. In this case the public, the labor collective above all, could help. However, as a rule the personnel department at enterprises try to avoid hiring such individuals, for which reason they apply for work from one organization to another until they resume drinking or else the section inspector helps them to find a job.

V.A. Arkadyev, turner at the Ulyanovsk Instrument Making Plant imeni 60-Letiya SSSR, and chairman of the shop organization of the voluntary society for the struggle for sobriety, said that they consider as their main purpose not to punish violators but to help people follow the right way. Individuals who have pledged not to let the collective down during the year and who have kept their word are asked to join the society.

The shop pays a great deal of attention to organizing meaningful recreation. A number of problems exist in this area, one of which is the lack of financial autonomy. Whenever they undertake a project, the society's activists are forced to request funds from the trade union organization. According to the speaker, the percentage of withholdings from membership dues, which could be kept by the primary organizations of the society, should be raised.

V.A. Arkadyev, who believes that "moderate drinkers" are the greatest social reserve in the struggle for sobriety, suggested that such people be accepted as candidate members of the society, thus involving them in the promotion of sobriety. This idea was supported by many among the roundtable participants.

Naturally, an "alliance" with "moderate drinkers" does not indicate in any way any connivance with the "genteel" consumption of alcohol. It is only a

question of the fact that said category of people are the most available reserve of the sobriety movement. Work with them must be tactful and persistent. The advantage which such a stance offers compared to sectarian intolerance, which occasionally develops into demagoguery, is self-evident, for such an attitude can only alienate millions of people from the sobriety movement. Age-old traditions and customs cannot be eliminated in a few days or a couple of months, and it is the easiest thing of all to have a good project fail at its very onset.

A.N. Molofeyev and N.V. Tokmeninov described the practical experience of the rayon and oblast organizations of the society. They were concerned with the trend of shifting drinking to the home and the family which, they pointed out, makes particularly relevant the work of activists in the sobriety movement in residential areas.

We have been very successful in the application of administrative and restrictive measures. However, for the time being we have been unable to make substantial changes in the mentality of the people. A great deal remains to be done to develop in the people healthy traditions and to teach people how to spend their leisure time in a cultured way. We must reach a situation in which the mere appearance of someone in the street or in a public place while intoxicated would be considered a violation of decency and an unseemly and shameful act. The development of such an attitude must be initiated within the family, at an early age.

G.M. Khrumchenko, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian Republic Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety, particularly emphasized in his statement shortcomings in the organization of the sobriety movement. Thus, primary organizations of the society have been established in all republic VUZs. In a number of them, however, they account for no more than 4-9 percent of students and faculty. Should we therefore be amazed by the fact that both students and faculty find themselves in detoxification facilities? It is obvious that the prestige of the society remains low. Also low is the standard of training its cadres. Many primary organizations simply do not know what to do. For the time being the republic organization of the society is insufficiently supported by the creative unions, men of literature and the arts and people in the motion pictures and the mass information media.

Advance and Look Ahead

The need for this was clear to all roundtable participants. What will the future activities be of the scientists, practical workers, party, soviet and economic authorities and primary organizations of the society in the struggle for sobriety?

From the statement by V.A. Baskakova, secretary, Ulyanovsk CPSU Obkom:

As we have done in the past, we intend to be guided in our efforts to assert a sober way of life by an efficient program for action. Particular attention will be paid to giving it ideological support.

What new features have been manifested in the ideological work of the oblast party organization in surmounting drunkenness? First, greater attention is being paid to moral problems; second, actions are becoming more flexible and dynamic. They are constantly changing according to the situation. We have developed a special plan of steps for work in socioeconomic and spiritual "sensitive areas," including the struggle against drunkenness. What are the problems here?

Sometimes sensationalism is given priority in the activities of the mass information media. Their materials are occasionally short of analysis and efficient assessment of antialcohol work and the ability to determine its main features. It is clear today that many of the former decisions remain unfulfilled for lack of economic, ideological and organizational support. The campaign-style approach to the struggle against drunkenness is an important reason for the fact that most people have developed the belief that it is impossible to eliminate this social evil.

That is why it is particularly important today to ensure unity between words and actions and realistically to approach the solution of problems. The people must become convinced of our resolve to uproot drunkenness and the fact that we have mounted a serious long-term struggle against it. If they believe us we gain a powerful ally--the live creativity of the masses.

The significance of differentiated individual work with the people, which was discussed in our roundtable meeting, would be hard to overestimate. Unfortunately, the potential of individual work in the struggle against drunkenness is by no means being used fully, for a number of reasons. We are short of cadres and experience. Individual work is done by people without pedagogical training. As a rule, they are economic managers and party, trade union and Komsomol activists. There are essentially no suitable publications on the subject.

In order to help the people shun liquor, we must create for them conditions for highly productive toil and way of life, sports, hiking, collecting and fishing. Therefore, we must build sports facilities, see to it that they are used, organize equestrian schools, yacht clubs and carpentry and metal work workshops. All of this requires funds, some of which substantial. Yet we are short of funds. We end up by sitting on the banks of a great river without a good yacht club, without a boating center or a water stadium.

I believe that the plans for the socioeconomic development of the cities, enterprises and kolkhozes must mandatorily stipulate the appropriation of funds and material resources for specific purposes. No other way is possible! Without this it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to oppose the "green dragon." That is why let there be fewer official measures and more practical work. We must not only treat and re-educate alcoholics and put an end to drinking bouts, but also eliminate the very thought of drinking.

The participants in the roundtable meeting expressed serious concern about the state of the work related to promoting sobriety among children and youngsters. V.P. Denisov, Komsomol Central Committee secretary, emphasized that all

problems without exception discussed at the roundtable meeting affect young people one way or another.

According to him the minimum age of 21 for buying alcoholic beverages, which was set in 1985, is inadequate. It would be entirely possible to raise this age limit by 1 year every year or, in other words, gradually to introduce for the young generations something like a dry law.

In order to achieve major successes in raising young people, they must be entrusted with major and specific projects. One of them is the building of youth housing complexes. This helps not only to solve the housing problem but also to develop a new social way of life. Unfortunately, by no means are all party and economic workers seriously dealing with this, considering it sometimes as the latest "eccentricity" of the Komsomol.

A.G. Moiseychev, first secretary of the Ulyanovsk Komsomol Obkom, spoke of the place and role of the Komsomol organizations in the promotion of a sober way of life in the oblast. The obkom began by setting up a system for quick reaction to cases of antisocial behavior by Komsomol members related to the use of alcoholic beverages. Every day, on the basis of information provided by internal affairs authorities, proper information is given to the primary Komsomol organizations. The Komsomol obkom supervises the holding of meetings at which personal cases are discussed.

Unfortunately, for the time being the liberalism displayed by the primary organizations in assessing actions by Komsomol members and establishing in youth hostels an atmosphere of principle-minded strictness and intolerance of drunkenness, remains. The fact that no more than 25 percent of Komsomol members are members of the oblast organization of the society for the struggle for sobriety proves the weakness of the views held by most young people. The duty of the Komsomol aktiv is to influence young men and women through personal example. That is why at Komsomol obkom, gorkom and raykom plenums the members of the elective authorities unanimously passed resolutions to abandon the use of alcohol and to consider that the violation of this regime is incompatible with membership in a Komsomol committee, regardless of its level.

As we know, alcohol is consumed most of all in sending off young people to the Armed Forces and during marriages. The Komsomol has assumed individual work with draftees and with the newlywed. This has been the topic of discussions about leading a sober way of life, the organization of defense-sports camps for future draftees, "Young Family Club" television programs and articles in the youth newspaper ULYANOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS. Each rayon has developed "Youth Recreation" programs which have been extensively discussed by the primary Komsomol organizations. Many items in the program (which covers virtually all areas of recreation) are already being implemented.

M.P. Pilnik, G.G. Zaigrayev and S.V. Borodin, along with other speakers, drew attention to the problem of the antialcohol upbringing of children and adolescents. They emphasized the need to include in the curriculums of general education schools, PTU and technical schools classes in antialcohol and antidrug instruction. Such classes must be made mandatory. Problems of

antialcohol propaganda are quite touchy. Without a sensible and scientific approach such work could easily turn into a farce, which is what has frequently happened. A scientific method must be developed for antialcohol and antidrug education of children and adolescents. Foreign experience as well should be used in its formulation.

Further improvements and scientific substantiation are needed in the areas of administrative-legal and prevention efforts and in work to assert a sober way of life. The prevention and elimination of drunkenness, particularly in transportation, were discussed by L.V. Zverkovskiy, chief of the Main Administration of the USSR MVD State Automobile Inspectorate. Some positive results have been achieved in this work. Thus, compared with 1985, the number of drunk-driving accidents dropped by 13.8 percent; the number of fatal casualties dropped by 20.5 percent and of wounded by 11.8 percent. Nonetheless, drunkenness remains one of the basic reasons for traffic accidents.

The automotive enterprises are slow in reorganizing the activities of services which hire and promote drivers and which must organize educational work with them. Not everywhere are intoxicated drivers stopped from driving. Pre-trip medical examinations of drivers are substandard and formal. The heads of the GAI and the city and rayon internal affairs authorities sometimes try to please the administrations of transportation enterprises which, instead of tightening up discipline in their work, defend the drivers detained for drunkenness, claiming that they are short of cadres.

Statistics

In 1986 39,500 traffic accidents were caused throughout the country by drunk drivers (or 20 percent of all accidents), which resulted in the fact that 52,500 people were killed or hurt. About 80 percent of them were committed by drunk drivers.

The number of accidents related to the use of alcoholic beverages in 1987 increased in the Latvian, Moldavian and Estonian SSRs, the Kabardino-Balkar and Tuva ASSRs, Altay and Krasnodar Krays, and Astrakhan, Ivanovo, Kalinin, Kostroma, Smolensk and Yaroslavl Oblasts. In these republics, krays and oblasts the share of such accidents ranged between 20 and 31 percent, which is far above the union average (16.3 percent). A characteristic feature of the breakdown of accidents caused by drunk driving remains the high share of accidents caused by intoxicated drivers.

Full use must be made of the legislative measures contemplated in the case of officials who have allowed drunken driving, with a view to intensifying the struggle against drunkenness in automotive transportation. Labor collectives and public organizations must mandatorily consider cases of drunken driving. This equally applies to drivers of privately owned cars.

Commissions in charge of traffic safety must assume a more active position. It is important to organize their closer interaction with the commissions for the struggle against drunkenness and to organize constant and strict supervision over the implementation of joint resolutions. Due to the fact

that most automotive enterprises are small (there are more than 260,000), there is a shortage of personnel to conduct sobriety checks on drivers. It would be expedient, therefore, to involve in such work medical workers who would do it on a private basis.

S.V. Borodin discussed the need to improve some regulations applied in the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism. He supported the suggestion formulated at the meeting of replacing fines for violations of antialcohol legislation with making the culprits work out the amount, thus not harming the families of violators. This measure is being applied in Ulyanovsk Oblast. It is understandable and expedient. However, it has not been legislated. To act by circumventing the law, albeit morally justified, is not the best way. The working out of fines must be simply legitimized.

The right of brigade members to assume collective responsibility for the actions of their comrades must be legislatively codified. To this effect a supplement must be added to the respective article on the Regulation on the Production Brigade.

Some other problems require a legal settlement, such as the attitude toward individuals released from the LTP but who continue to drink using the money they have earned there; simplifying the procedure for LTP admission; organizing stricter control over payments by parents for children kept in children's homes.

The militia workers particularly complained of the complexity of the procedure for committing someone to an LTP. We believe, however, that this is a sensitive problem which cannot be settled with a single stroke of the pen. Any hasty or unplanned "simplification" of procedures which affect the rights and freedoms of the citizens, as practical experience has indicated, is fraught with serious violations of the law.

A.F. Mitreykin, chief specialist of the scientific-organization administration of the GKNT, spoke on the draft all-union comprehensive program for the prevention and elimination of drunkenness and alcoholism.

The program includes a set of socioeconomic, sociodemographic, legal, educational, psychological, propaganda-educational and medical measures and assignments, aimed at developing an efficient structure of the needs of the population and for their optimal satisfaction.

The general objective of the program is to ensure a significant lowering of adverse social, economic, psychological and medical-demographic consequences of drunkenness and alcoholism on the basis of the systematic elimination and reduction in the level of consumption of alcohol in the country at large, aimed at the eventual development of a healthy and sober way of life.

The main trends in the implementation of the program are the following: eliminating drunkenness among the country's population, above all in the active age categories and among young people and adolescents; significantly reducing alcohol-related morbidity; organizing differentiated and comprehensive preventive work against drunkenness and alcoholism.

The USSR Gosplan, the councils of ministers of union republics, the USSR Ministry of Justice, the USSR MVD, the USSR Prosecutor's Office, the AUCCTU, the local soviets of people's deputies, union ministries and departments, and the Central Council of the All-Union Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety are participating in the implementation of the program until the year 2000. The variety of assignments and the participation of different ministries and departments in their implementation make particularly relevant the general coordination and supervision over the implementation of the program. To this effect it would obviously be useful to set up under the USSR Council of Ministers a corresponding subunit which would be granted suitable rights and would include representatives of the most important ministries, departments and social organizations participating in the implementation of the program.

As the work proceeds, the program would be corrected and supplemented in accordance with the needs of the real situation. The program includes practical science studies. A recent CPSU Central Committee resolution indicates the need to accelerate the implementation of this program and of the projects it includes.

S.V. Borodin noted in his address that in fighting drunkenness and alcoholism we must take into consideration that they are closely related to crime, drug addiction, prostitution and other social deviations. This requires the implementation of a set of measures aimed against all types of social anomalies.

Today no single scientific institution is engaged in the implementation of this program. It is the work of isolated scientists and enthusiasts, who have neither the means nor the material facilities for doing the full amount of such work. Such a scientific subdivision had been set up by the USSR MVD Academy. The previous minister of internal affairs, however, closed it down in 1983 without suitable explanation.

It is necessary today, using funds which are being appropriated for a number of obviously far-fetched and useless scientific institutions, to set up a laboratory or an institute which would study on a comprehensive, systematic and high theoretical level the problem of the struggle against any manifestations of social pathology. This would be of great use to our society, the more so since it will take decades of work to solve this problem.

According to G.G. Zaigrayev, the main thing is to undertake an unusually complex social experiment without any analogue in history. This experiment should not be discredited. Yet this could occur if we fail to provide scientific support for the work we have initiated. Today such work is frequently carried out by trial and error. We must develop socially acceptable needs and create a real alternative to alcohol consistently and patiently, without lurching into extremes. The CPSU Central Committee directs the participants in the sobriety movement precisely along this line.

The task of the scientists is to explain, to interpret occurring processes, to submit suggestions on how to work further (in terms of deadlines, population groups, etc.) in order to make sobriety a law, a general norm of life, S.N.

Sheverdin said in his statement. This is the main task of the detoxification services which have still not been set up completely in the country; nor is there an ideological service which would purposefully promote the standards and values of the sober way of life. The Council of the All-Union Society for the Struggle for Sobriety could become the hub of such a service.

It is the duty of the social scientists to create a realistic program for the sobriety movement, which could attract millions of people. The phenomena which B.M. Levin indicated as reasons for alcoholism and drug addiction, triggered by alienation from labor, could be eliminated only under full communism, S.M. Sheverdin noted. Does this mean that we must first build communism and only then, on its basis, undertake to eliminate drunkenness? Or else, conversely, should we use the sobering up of society in building communism more successfully? Everything seems to indicate that the latter is preferable. Otherwise we could create the illusion that drunkenness cannot be eliminated.

It would be useful at this meeting, B.M. Levin said, to emphasize the significance of scientific ethics. The most enthusiastic supporters of a dry law or other essentially prohibitive measures sometimes exceed all limits in arguing with their opponents. Such intolerance can only harm the common cause. Soviet scientists share a common noble objective and, for the sake of attaining it, we must abandon personal attacks. An atmosphere of mutual respect must prevail in science.

B.M. Levin suggested amendments to the statutes of the society for the struggle for sobriety. The indications are that the stipulation that only teetotalers can be members of the society has not been justified. It prevents millions of people from joining the society. The framework of the movement must be broadened and those who themselves need help must be allowed to join.

The speaker regretfully noted that in recent months the press has written disrespectfully about the society for the struggle for sobriety, for this undermines the foundation of the antialcohol movement. Help must be given to the society to acquire a reputation and to be respected and trusted.

Yu.G. Samsonov emphasized that the society for the struggle for sobriety can and must be more active. By virtue of their professions and official and public activities, obviously old teachers and instructors in schools and higher and secondary specialized schools, physicians and middle-level medical personnel, students in the humanities and medical schools, the personnel of cultural institutions and administration officials and some other categories of working people should become members. The struggle against drunkenness should be both their civic duty and an official obligation.

VUZ social scientists and specialists in the national economy should participate in such efforts more energetically. They could study the trends and prospects of the antialcohol movement and formulate practical recommendations for its enhancement.

Particular responsibility is assumed by the party members who must be in the vanguard of the struggle for the elimination of drunkenness and its

consequences. They must become convinced supporters, active fighters and propagandists for making sobriety a standard of the socialist way of life and the most important structural component of ideological work in developing lofty ideological and moral qualities in the working people.

In this case we must always bear in mind that success, as M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, can be achieved only if we involve the entire nation in this work, if we work tirelessly, firmly and uncompromisingly.

In this roundtable meeting, noted N.S. Chernykh, we must say once again clearly that the strategic objective of the antialcohol movement is the establishment of a sober way of life. It is a question of totally uprooting drunkenness, alcoholism and drug addiction. We have taken firm measures to this effect and declared war on traditions and customs which are centuries old. The experience of the Ulyanovsk Oblast Party Organization indicates that this project is realistic.

The main thing is resolve and taking systematic and profoundly scientific steps. The processes of restructuring and assertion of sobriety must follow a parallel line, for socioeconomic restructuring contributes to the elimination of drunkenness, and the assertion of a sober way of life helps to solve socioeconomic problems. That is precisely the way the party's Central Committee has formulated the question.

It is only a comprehensive approach that can make our work successful. This approach is found in the unionwide program in the implementation of which virtually all working people must participate. As to coordination of activities, a coordination council consisting of representatives of all interested departments, the Komsomol and the trade unions should be set up under the USSR Council of Ministers.

Let us particularly emphasize the exceptional seriousness of the task of protecting children and adolescents from alcohol. That is why no tolerance should be displayed even toward "moderate drinkers" if they drink in front of children and adolescents. The character of the child is formed above all in the family. Nothing can replace the family in this case. Therefore, the main object of our concern must be the family, the parents. This is an as yet virgin area of work!

According to a sociological study conducted in Latvia, 65 percent of pre-school age children were exposed to alcohol by adults; 90 percent of the respondents had their first drink in the family. Who was the first to offer the child a drink? According to the survey, 38 percent of the respondents said the mother and 25 percent the father. Should not all of us be blamed for the fact that as a result of the drinking of parents children turn out in children's homes?

If we want to be successful, we must totally melt the ice of indifference which is still manifested in the attitude toward such most grave social problems as drunkenness, alcoholism and drug addiction. Such problems will not be solved by isolated enthusiasts. They can be solved by all of us together.

[Editorial note] The roundtable discussion clearly indicated not only differences in the evaluation of the ways and means for the assertion of sobriety, applied since May 1985, but also the fact that a number of scientific problems had remained untouched. Naturally, this is delaying the enhancement of the efforts to surmount drunkenness, alcoholism and drug addiction. However, this does not mean in the least that we can passively await the results of scientific research.

The people of Ulyanovsk did not wait for the formulation of a comprehensive program. They acted and their actions have been largely successful. They have made some errors as well. The worst in any major project, however, is fear of possible error, and forgetting Lenin's behest that persistence, resolve and the ability to test 100 times and to correct 100 times is a prerequisite for victory. The main thing is to act, having clearly defined, as was the case in Ulyanovsk, who is responsible for what, so that the solution of such a most important social problem may not be frustrated by the fact that "all of us together" have been responsible for it, or else that "no one in particular" was (which is virtually one and the same). The solution of the problem of involving "the entire world" does not mean in the least that we must act without organization, without proper coordination. The party organizations, from top to bottom, must head this tremendous project in which dozens of organizations participate.

The party set the historical task of asserting a sober way of life for the entire population in the country. The party members must start this movement. It is precisely the party organizations that must today rally all healthy forces in society toward achieving the noble objective and become the vanguard of a sobriety movement, ensuring its mass nature, proceeding from the belief in the urgency and eventual success of this project.

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GLOBAL STANDARDIZATION AND THE COMPUTER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 87 (signed to press 14 Jul 87) p 48

[Letter to the editors by F. Shirokov, associate of the Central Aerohydrodynamics Institute, candidate of physical and mathematical sciences]

[Text] In my opinion now, when the production of domestic personal computers is planned, is the proper time to be concerned with their consistency with global standards. The serial production of our models should play the same role as that which the inexpensive prime readers played in the past. They brought literacy and, in turn, literacy brought the ability to understand social and technical ideas. To the child familiarity with the computer begins with games; the adolescent is already able to make simple programs which becomes to him as natural as reading. A generation of young people are entering plants and scientific centers, whose quality of training is entirely different. This process is taking place throughout the world under different circumstances and at different speeds and it is precisely its results that determine cadre policy in the competition between economic systems.

The personal computer will remain an expensive and nothing more than a convenient toy if its basic system cannot be expanded with the so-called chips which are adapters for various systems and equipment which will enable us to adapt it to perform thousands of most varied operations, from providing information support for machine tools with numerical programming to the study of foreign languages and from blueprints to book publishing. In the West the production of such chips has become widespread and has led to the appearance of an entire subsector of the radioelectronic industry. World standards have already been set to this effect. This means that chips produced in a great variety of countries can be used in virtually any model of personal computer, wherever it may have been manufactured.

Demand for personal computers on the world market is tremendous. In order to ensure the competitiveness of our electronic equipment it is important, in my view, as of now to be oriented toward the production of models consistent with universally accepted standards ("fully compatible"). From the professional viewpoint our computers (YeS-1840, 1841 and 1842) are "incompatible in terms of dimensions with the IBM PC," i.e., no foreign chips can be used in them and, consequently, we cannot become familiar with research, discoveries and achievements in the scientific and technical and humanitarian developments by

specialists in many countries (we must point out that new means for correcting, storing and processing information are already replacing printed publications).

I do not believe that we can allow ourselves the "luxury" of developing our own specialized chips literally from scratch, regardless of global experience. The development of a truly mass computer knowledge, consistent with contemporary global standards will unquestionably change our present approach to the solution of this important social problem.

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COOPERATIVE APIARY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 87 (signed to press 14 Jul 87) pp 48-49

[Letter to the editors by A. Kosov, CPSU member since 1919, pensioner, Crimean Oblast]

[Text] In my opinion serious attention should be paid to organizing our amateur beekeepers in cooperatives. In agriculture apiculture is a quiet and unnoticeable sector although a number of problems have accumulated in it. Thirty percent of the marketable honey is provided by public apiculture--specialized sovkhoses, complexes, reserves, interfarm enterprises and bee-raising kolkhoses and sovkhoses. The rest is the product of the individual sector or simply of "private individuals" or "private dealers" as we are frequently described by officials on whom we, amateurs, directly depend.

The term "private dealer" is no simple euphemism. This word indicates, frankly speaking, a not especially benevolent attitude. Amateur bee keepers are mainly retired people. For purposes of our annual "migration" with our hives we usually form groups of four people. The group has its "leader," who is the person most familiar with places where we could set the hives and who is able to surmount the many obstacles which are set in front of us every time: the permission of the veterinarian and the chief of the bee control office, registration with the forest farm, availability of a truck procured by the transportation-shipping office and coordination with the GAI of the moving schedule, for the average size of a "nomad" transport consists of 35 to 40 hives. Unquestionably, all of these formalities are needed. The difficulty lies elsewhere: there is no document whatsoever or organization to protect our interests. So, every time, the moment the honey-yielding plants begin to blossom and while time is not waiting, we must cope alone, relying on no one else and expecting help from nobody, making our move by hook or by crook.

I must point out that the prejudice against amateur apiculture has not always existed. It is interesting to recall that in 1919 V.I. Lenin signed a Sovnarkom decree on protecting apiculture. Any restrictions imposed on "working apiculture" in terms of moving the hives and other equipment was forbidden, "working apiculture" being the name which was then given to describe our private sector. However, subsequently this procedure lost its juridical force in an effort to accelerate the development of public apiculture and to organize it on an industrial basis. Naturally, this is good

but for the time being not always profitable. This is a seasonal occupation. In the winter bee growers have no particular work. However, they receive their wages also during the 6 cold months of the year. Cadres must be kept. In order somehow to improve their finances, farms engaged in apiculture receive from public apiculture a rental payment for "the pollination of crops." Furthermore, in an effort to reduce losses, it is contemplated to increase such rent by a factor of 1.5-2.5.

In my view, instead of shifting the costs of some to the shoulders of others, thus artificially lowering the cost of output in the public sector, would it not be better to restore the most important stipulations of Lenin's decree and to strengthen the legal foundations of cooperatives of amateur beekeepers? Long practical experience, in my view, has proved quite convincingly their productive nature and a better organization of this matter would help us to accelerate the increased production of honey.

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SURVIVAL OF FOLKLORE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 87 (signed to press 14 Jul 87) p 49

[Letter to the editors by Ya. Gudoshnikov, doctor of philological sciences, head of the department of literature, Tambov State Pedagogical Institute]

[Text] In my opinion the attitude toward folklore, which is our national wealth, should be seriously reviewed. Publishing houses pay no attention to it since it is considered part of the concern of academic institutes and VUZs. Detskaya Literatura alone is steadily popularizing Russian tales. We thank this publishing house for this! However, the adult public should become equally regularly acquainted with folklore. Foreigners are amazed by the fact that in the USSR it is virtually impossible to purchase a collection of Russian tales, songs and chastushki. I am convinced that no old editions of enduring scientific value, such as "Velikorussskiye Narodnyye Pesni" [Great Russian Folk Songs], edited by Professor A.I. Sobolevskiy, would remain unsold even if published in mass editions. It is shameful that in our country not even philology students can sing a single folk song, and if they are asked by foreign friends to do so they sing "Katyusha" or "Moscow Nights." But simply try to find a Pole or a Bulgarian, Czech or Serb who does not know at least two or three folk songs!

No single science in the humanities is so afraid of our time as folklore studies. It reminds us of characters in a romantic novel who live "in the past." However, folklore is alive and quite active. There has been a sharp increase in the interest shown in it by young people. Currently dozens and hundreds of folklore ensembles are being organized. For some reason this is of little interests to scientists. However, a science cannot survive without knowledge of the present condition of its subject. I do not oppose the study of traditional genres of folklore but if only one-tenth of the scientific forces engaged in the study of bylini could be directed into the study of contemporary Russian folklore.... I consider this to be good and, I am convinced, fair.

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RADICAL ECONOMIC REFORM AND PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 87 (signed to press 14 Jul 87) pp 50-58

[Article by Yakov Aleksandrovich Pevzner, chief scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences IMEMO, professor, doctor of economic sciences, laureate of the USSR State Prize]

[Text] The need for a fundamental breakthrough on the theoretical front was underscored at the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The more time passes the more obvious it becomes that we can progress only on the basis of a critical analysis and the rejection of stereotypes and of some concepts which are currently considered primary. The need for a nonaxiomatic approach to the study of social processes applies, in my view, to the fullest extent above all to political economy.

It has long been obvious to many scientists working in the individual economic sciences, that the necessary contact between them and political economy has been disrupted. This is not a question of a formal separation but of something else: in the individual economic sciences progress is achieved not only regardless of basic postulates of political economy but frequently despite them.

At the present time the problem is as follows: should our political economy be restricted primarily to the dissemination of the great truths discovered by the founders of scientific socialism or, under current historical circumstances, on the basis of and in the course of the development of such truths, a central position should be assumed in political economy by the study of the basic principles governing reproduction, labor productivity and economic efficiency and their conflicting, contradictory and progressive aspects, focusing our attention on the theoretical problems of a revolutionary upturn in the socialist economy and the powerful acceleration of economic growth?

Contrary to bourgeois-apologetic views according to which three elements are involved in the creation of value--land, labor and labor tools--while economic life is based on the distribution of the newly created value among the owners of said three elements in proportion to their participation, Marx proved that under capitalist conditions of the domination of private ownership of means of production the only creator of value is hired labor, labor which can be

divided into two parts: necessary, used to pay its participants and which is the restoration of the value of their manpower, and added value, which is the result of exploitation and on the basis of which capitalist profit appears.

Even before undertaking the study of added value, Marx thoroughly analyzed the categories of commodity and money, proving that commodity is the only value which reflects labor outlays for output and consumer value, which indicates not only the specific purpose of one object or another but, which is particularly important, its rating by the consumers (purchasers). Marx had to resort in the course of discovering the law of added value to a number of major abstractions, including considering as a single unit the entire working class and its entire labor. In the study of the socialist nature of capitalist production, Marx deemed expedient to abstract himself from the consumer value of the specific commodities and the disparities between the values of usefulness and labor outlays, brought about by the market. "In reality," Marx wrote, "supply and demand never cover each other and if they do, this can be only accidental. Consequently, from the scientific viewpoint this case should be equal to zero and considered as nonexistent. In political economy, however, it is presumed that they cover each other. Why? The reason is in order to consider phenomena in their natural order, in a way consistent with how we understand them, i.e., to consider them regardless of their external appearance which is triggered by fluctuations between supply and demand...." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 25, part I, p 208).

The fact that from the viewpoint of the study of exploitation and of capital as such may seem an "external appearance," assumes priority in the study of the functioning of the economy and efficiency.

The worst "sin" committed by our political economy, which led to the fact that it actually became an ally of extensive economic management methods, is that political economy abandoned the concept of usefulness and rejected the very possibility of measuring the usefulness of commodities and services. Unfortunately, this "sin" does not apply to the past alone. Let us consider, for example, the article by V.N. Cherkovets, published in KOMMUNIST (No 16, 1986) in the section "Discussions and Debates." The title of the article is "Production Forces, Production Relations and Economic Mechanism. Thoughts of a Political Economist." In the course of his considerations, V.N. Cherkovets claims that the aspiration to eliminate the "outlay nature of the economic mechanism has led some commentators to a point of absurdity by proclaiming the idea of some kind of 'non-outlay' production efficiency," linking the latter to a specific social requirement and trying totally to separate prices from outlays and to make them dependent on the extent of the "usefulness" of the product ("which," V.N. Cherkovets writes, "incidentally no one has been able to and, we believe, will never be able to compute").

It would be pertinent, in connection with this assertion, to ask the following: Who needs such an economic science which not only does not put prices as dependent on usefulness but even questions the very possibility of determining usefulness (putting even the word "usefulness" itself in quotes)? Neither in the past nor now have there been any commentators who have agreed on an outlay-free efficiency and who have separated prices from outlays, nor could they exist (in our country or abroad), for which reason ascribing such

an absurdity to nonexistent anonymous individuals unwittingly makes the reader ask: Does this represent an attempt to preserve the approaches which hinder the conversion of political economy above all into a science of economic efficiency, a science which helps us to formulate the best means for computing outlays and usefulness on a socialist basis?

Anyone familiar with the history of political economy knows well that in this science the problem of measuring outlays and usefulness is a most difficult one. The characteristic here is that neither of these two values can be determined speculatively or artificially without the other. "Labor invested in a specific commodity," Marx wrote, "is totally impossible to compute.... It is important only as a portion of the overall ideal labor spent on it and evaluated" ("Arkhiv Marksa i Engelsa" [Marx and Engels Archives], vol II (VII), Moscow, 1983, pp 189, 191). The social assessment of objects depends on the labor invested in them to the same extent to which it depends on consumer value and usefulness, the size of which, in turn, (like the size of the labor invested) is determined by social conditions. In other words, neither weight nor length, time or any other measurement created to determine the size of physical objects can be applied in determining the social value of something created through labor. The difficulty in science (as in politics), however, is there to be surmounted rather than pushed aside. The "squaring of the circle" of outlays and usefulness was achieved by the age-old history of mankind with the help of commodity-monetary relations, with the help of the market in which the corresponding measurement is made only on the basis of continuing deviations between one and the other--usefulness from outlays; on the basis of the mechanisms of supply and demand, prices, profits and losses, which control the production process, so that under optimal conditions the exchange values of commodities and services come closer to their degree of usefulness. The market price has a double synthetic nature: it reflects outlays and results in their continuous interaction.

The founder of scientific socialism clearly imagined that an approach from the position of equality between price and value and supply and demand, being necessary and adequate in identifying the law of capitalist exploitation, is in itself entirely inadequate in the study of the overall economic mechanism. It is precisely for the sake of avoiding such one-sidedness that as early as 1857-1859 (i.e., long before the publication of the first volume of "Das Kapital") Marx formulated a plan for economic studies (or a plan for six books), the methodological foundation of which was based on dividing the general theory of capitalism into the theory of added value (production and turnover of added value and its transformed aspects) and specific theories. Six parts of this work were to encompass the entire variety of the capitalist economy from the viewpoint of added value, including the laws of competition and price setting, credit, shareholding capital, land ownership, hired labor, foreign trade, and the world market; separate books were to discuss the relatively independent dynamics of such categories in terms of added value. Although he always concentrated on the study of the problem of value and added value, he never abandoned his initial plan and repeatedly emphasized that the problems earmarked in it should be subjects for a special analysis.

The CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism's publication of Marx's "Economic Manuscripts" and other works enriched world science with new

most valuable facets of Marx's legacy. In 1983, which was proclaimed the year of Marx, Soviet and foreign scientists paid particular attention in their papers on economic theory to areas in Marx's works where any dogmatic interpretation of labor value as allegedly belittling the role of the consumer, consumer value and means of determining usefulness was rejected. "The product which is offered," Marx wrote, "is not useful in itself. Its usefulness is determined by the consumer" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op cit., vol 4, p 79). "In order to satisfy the social needs a certain amount of working time is necessary. The limitation appears here through the consumer value" (vol 25, part II, p 186). In his 1857-1858 manuscript, Marx wrote that "the need for the product is determined in terms of the quality of its consumer value" (vol 46, part I, p 381).

The sad part, however, was that in 1983 the greatest attention was paid to anniversary ceremonious meetings without summing up the scientific results of the Year of Marx. Nor did special studies of the plan for the six books, which are legitimately considered Marx's scientific legacy, gain the proper support or were subjected to special studies in work on political economy. These works discussed the possibility, which was contemplated from the very beginning, of converting from "Das Kapital," as the first part of the work on problems of capitalist exploitation, to its subsequent parts, which were to be works on economics.

Under contemporary specific historical conditions, in our view, it would be inexpedient mechanically to divide political economy into two virtually independent sections—capitalist and socialist political economy. We must acknowledge that under the conditions of the struggle between the two global systems priority is assumed by concepts common to both economic systems, such as labor productivity and efficiency, the optimal functioning of the economy, the correlation between outlays and results, market and price setting, semifinished and finished product, and domestic and international economic structures (in particular and especially the growing role of the service industry and its value nature), the role of the World Market and of foreign economic relations, the influence on the economy of sociopolitical factors such as the overall political situation, military expenditures, environmental pollution and the struggle against it, and so on. It is self-evident that the study of such categories, which are common to any economy based on the division of labor, should be imbued, from beginning to end, with a comparative analysis of the way such categories are manifested in either social system in the course of their competition and confrontation.

History should not be simplified. As proletarian revolutionaries, Marx and Engels gave priority to the contradictions and grave faults of the capitalist market, which were based on its private capitalist nature--the transformation of manpower into a commodity, economic crises and unemployment, speculation and profit by few and ruination and poverty of the broad masses of the toiling population. Nonetheless, they expressed the idea that under socialism the need for a market will be eliminated. However, Marx and Engels realized that the principles of a direct non-market measurement of outlays and results had not been developed and that the suggestions on this matter, formulated by some of their contemporaries, should be criticized sharply.

In his article criticizing Rodbertus, Engels wrote: "If we now (if the market fluctuations of prices are eliminated--author) ask what are the guarantees that each product will be produced in the necessary amount and no more, that we would need bread and meat while drowning in sugar beets and in potato vodka, or that we would not experience a scarcity of trousers with which to cover our nakedness, drowning into millions of buttons for such trousers, Rodbertus would triumphantly show us his famous computation according to which for each surplus pound of sugar, unsold barrel of liquor or buttons not sewed to a pair of trousers, a proper receipt was issued and a computation made in which everything will be accounted precisely and for which "all claims will be satisfied and settled accurately. Anyone who doesn't believe this should address himself to the chief bookkeeper of the State Treasury of Pomerania, who checked such accounts and found them accurate, and is a person who has never been accused of being short and who is worthy of total trust" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op cit., vol 21, p 190). Amazingly, this situation which was described by Engels more than a century ago (in 1884) reminds us of the state of affairs which subsequently developed whenever attempts were made to exclude the market when engaged in trade.

In the 20th century as well the possibility of replacing the market with a direct measurement of outlays and results has been studied repeatedly. Here mathematics came to the aid of political economy. Scientists asked themselves the following: Could we avoid the use of the market and money and determine the ratios of trade by asking sellers and buyers about their wishes, with subsequent mathematical processing of such data? This was also a theoretical formulation of the task of replacing cash in trade with bartering. The subsequent analysis of this problem, which was made by both Soviet and foreign scientists, led to the inevitable conclusion that the number of equations which would be necessary to describe this problem was such that not even the most powerful computer could solve it. Economics, which deals with people, classes, production, distribution, consumption, outlays and results, is an immeasurably more complex mechanism than even the most complex cybernetic system and the numerous efforts to invent various types of economic indicators which would be independent of the interaction between supply and demand and commodity-monetary relations could be compared to efforts to invent a "perpetual motion" machine.

Nonetheless, the concept that under socialist conditions the social necessity of labor outlays is determined before the production process takes place, i.e., by excluding the consumer and the market from the processes of social evaluation, became fundamental in our political economy. The vicious circle we pointed out proved to be closed: it is impossible to determine artificially (without a market) the social necessity for labor; it is equally impossible to determine quantitatively the usefulness of objects. As to market and commodity-monetary relations, a taboo was imposed upon them.

Looking at the past, we must remember that the historical and political situation at that time did not contribute in the least to surmounting the concept of barter. The international and domestic conditions of building socialism in our country triggered, initially, the need for tax-in-kind, and subsequently, starting with the end of the 1920s, the adoption of emergency measures to mobilize maximally internal human and material resources for

purposes of industrialization and for preparing to repeal the growing threat of aggression and, still later, for waging a difficult war against German fascism and its allies and for postwar restoration. Under these circumstances it was virtually impossible to be guided by the categories of supply and demand on the market and to provide scope for the effect of market laws. We had to ignore the fact that with the lack of objective evaluations which took into consideration supply and demand shortages were created as well as socially separate (i.e., not based on private property) unearned income. Such precisely was the situation during which a firm group of economic cadres was established, which rejected any management method other than orders and administrative regulations, allied to people who, directing and engaging in training and propaganda work in political economy, proved that it was precisely this style that reflected the principles of a planned economy. In denying the role of commodity-monetary relations (suppressing them in practice) and rejecting the possibility of comparing usefulness, labor outlays remained the only criterion. This was a theoretical justification of the outlay concept in price setting and the policy of outlays and the dictatorship of the producer over the consumer, which was the greatest possible evil which blocked acceleration.

"...Socialist political economy...", M.S. Gorbachev said, "has become obsolete in many aspects. Its concepts are accurate but it proved to be nondialectical from the viewpoint of life and motion. It is like an old piece of clothing which is cracking at all seams." We consider that the lack of dialectics is manifested above all in the fact that many concepts, which are accurate and needed in the study of some real phenomena turn out addressed to the study of phenomena which require different approaches.

For example, the familiar thesis in historical materialism on the primacy of the production process, which is necessary in the study of the general laws and motive forces of historical progress, frequently turned into ignoring the laws of distribution, exchange and consumption, thus blocking the study of the entire reproduction process as a whole from the viewpoint of its efficiency. Furthermore, in answer to the criticism of such distortions, labels were frequently tagged, such as "market socialism," "price concept" or "consumerist approach."

Virtually all textbooks on capitalist political economy dedicated long chapters or sections on problems which are of little relevance today, such as production price or absolute rental. Meanwhile, no more than a few meaningless and trite lines were dedicated to a most important category, from the efficiency viewpoint, such as market price (price is the converted form of value and the sum of prices equals the sum of values).

The overt or covert rejection of the need for the extensive use of commodity-monetary relations in determining the economic effect and strengthening the planning principle made political economy the ally of a variety of phenomena within the outlay concept, such as "plan based on gross output," planning on the basis of achievements, and antieconomic methods such as computing the implementation of the plan based on outlays (instead of on the delivery of finished products of suitable quality) in construction, the number of runs in transport facilities and the amount of consumed fuel (rather than the quality

of consumer services) in transportation; bulk in the production of a number of machine models, etc. Refusals to evaluate labor on the basis of its end results and real usefulness, something which radically clashed with the basic principle of socialism, became the economic base for equalization. Today such distorted phenomena are being subjected to sharp and meaningful criticism in our press. As to the specialized political-economic publications, what we can say about them in most cases is that they are waiting and are in no hurry to revise concepts which greatly contributed to the appearance of stagnation phenomena in the economy.

This can be seen in a number of works which were published after the 27th CPSU Congress. Let us cite as an example the latest draft curriculum for the course in political economy for higher educational institutions, as published in the journal *EKONOMICHESKIYE NAUKI* (No 8, 1986). Changes in the old curriculums are no more than cosmetic and do not reflect the urgent need for radical change. The same could be said of the latest textbooks. The very choice of concepts used in such textbooks is such that even the most complex problems of the science of economics are not only not solved but are not even mentioned.

Let us cite as an example the attitude of authors of works on political economy to a phenomenon such as scarcity. In the dogmatic interpretation of some categories in political economy ("demand equals supply," and "production and consumption are preplanned") this phenomenon is either generally wrong or could appear only as a result of accidental and short deviations. Is this not the reason for which encyclopedic publications on political economy do not include at all the term "scarcity." Yet scarcity was and remains the true calamity of our national economy. Could we describe otherwise a situation in which the high standards and fast growth of the production process are combined with the idling of a huge amount of equipment because of scarcity of manpower, while millions of able-bodied people's time is wasted in looking for scarce goods?

Is it not an entirely proven fact that scarcity harms not only reproduction but also the principles of social justice, for it is on its basis that a special type of parasitism of retailers appears? In our view, the formulation of a concept on the possibility of the appearance of exploitation not only in the production process but in trade, above all and essentially based on scarcity, is the direction to be followed in the future development of political economy. One of the tasks of contemporary Marxist economic science is to formulate the principles which would combine an anti-outlay mechanism with elimination of scarcity. We believe that until shortages have been more or less eliminated the very establishment of a socialist market as a necessary part of a planned economy cannot be considered complete.

Related to this problem is that of social consumption funds. What if not political economy should be able to answer to the question of to what extent (naturally, on the dynamic level) is the creation of social consumption funds progress toward communism and at what point does it begin to harm socialist principles, the principles of distribution according to labor and, with them, the entire economy?

The task today is to get rid faster of the expensive method of trial and error, which involves substantial outlays and time losses, and to rely on social science in the solution of problems such as continuing optimization of the interaction between planning and commodity-monetary relations and centralization and autonomy in all areas of the national economy. On this level, the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), which was passed at the seventh session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is a major step forward. However, as was pointed out in the course of the discussion of the law, its adoption and implementation do not put an end in the least to the search for new and improved variants. Political economy has the duty actively to participate in such quests.

The need to address ourselves to socialist rivalry appears at the very first stages of restructuring. It is a question of the type of assessment of labor results in which the Emblem of Quality will be set not by the enterprise or those who supervise it but by the purchaser who is prepared to pay a higher price for a better item, naturally without violating the state price discipline and unquestionably blocking efforts to earn a selfish profit because of monopoly status.

Both practical and theoretical progress in this direction is not something to be achieved in a single day or even year. This makes it even more necessary to emphasize that it is impossible in principle if, in the analysis of socialist commodity relations, political economy and practice will proceed from the thesis of their temporary nature and the fact that the rejection of rigid regulation and the promotion of initiative is not a step forward but a step backward in the development of a socialist planned economy.

In connection with the study of the problem of efficiency, we must once again recall the method of broad abstractions applied by Marx, which are necessary in solving the basic problems formulated in "Das Kapital." In studying the process of exploitation in the capitalist economy, he paid great attention to categories such as average profit and production price, the law of the tendency shown by profit rates to decline and the laws of simple and expanded reproduction in their most abstract manner (as a correlation between the two subdivisions of the public product) and so on. Although Marx quite frequently turned to problems of technical progress, he remained on the periphery of its analysis in his study of these categories. In his work "On the Subject of the So-Called Problem of Markets," Lenin pointed out that in his system concerning the correlation between the first and second subdivisions, Marx "did not take technical progress precisely into consideration" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 1, p 78). We are referring to this feature of Marx's analysis in order to recall another of the basic stipulations of the logic of dialectics: the principle that "all other conditions being equal" the social sciences must display the greatest possible caution and a clear understanding of the time and purpose before conditions to be considered fixed. Whereas in their time these categories, which represent various aspects of exploitation, could be used regardless of changes in technology, the use of technology, all other conditions being equal, in the study of problems of economic efficiency makes no sense.

We cannot expect of political economy the necessary but fast solution of the new and ever more difficult problems which it faces while it remains isolated from the other economic sciences. The harm which this causes to economic theory was, in our view, well described by Leningrad political economists G. Pogomazov and P. Grebennikov: "The effort to limit the task of socialist political economy by assigning it nothing but a 'conceptual' role hinders the development of economic theory and separates it from economic practice. Thus, instead of providing a scientific analysis to the reasons for the excessively slow restructuring of our economic mechanism, the conclusion is reached that on the theoretical level essentially all problems have already been solved and that practical experience is not following the road it should only because of the conservatism and inefficiency of economic managers or the insufficiently high level of training in the subject of political economy" (VESTNIK LGU, Series No 5, Issue No 2, 1986, p 34).

No one can set rates and proportions in the correlation between political economy and other economic sciences and a simplification in this case could lead us to a dead end. Today, however, what draws our attention most is that in one form or another (in the past as unsubstantiated criticism and "tagging labels" and now more in the form of keeping silent) the authors of textbooks on political economy distance themselves from successes achieved by Soviet science in the study of conditions for the optimal functioning of the economy, the short-, medium- and long-term planning of production and marketing, problems of outlays and results, supply and demand, linear programming and rental relations, changes in the efficiency of individual factors and production facilities as a whole, theoretical aspects of rates, the economic nature and structure of services, the latest and very complex aspects of uneven development of capitalism (particularly in the area of credit-monetary and currency relations), and so on.

The economic theory of the working class has always been aggressive in terms of concepts and interpretations of economic laws alien to socialism. It is worth recalling that Marx subtitled "Das Kapital" as "Critique of Political Economy," by which (political economy) until the second third of the 19th century, was meant the views of supporters of the bourgeois system. It is becoming increasingly clear today that the aggressive nature of Marxist-Leninist political economy can and must be strengthened not only with the help of criticism of views alien to socialism but also with the help of all-round self-criticism and a firm and speediest possible rejection of simplistic and dogmatic interpretations and the formulation of different concepts which provide scope for the conversion of political economy into a powerful tool of the restructuring which is advancing. However difficult this problem may be, Soviet economic science, which has gained noticeable experience in the struggle against vulgarizing and schematism, can ensure its fast solution. We believe that on the way to such a solution it would be expedient to consider the following propositions:

The first applies to a definition of political economy. In our contemporary encyclopedic publications political economy is described as "science which studies social relations among people, which develop in the course of the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of goods" (see

"Politicheskaya Ekonomiya. Slovar" [Political Economy. A Dictionary]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, p 333). We believe that the study of social relations is above all a task of historical materialism. As to political economy, should we not base the interpretation of its subject on Engels' formulation: "Political economy, in the broadest meaning of the term, is a science of the laws which govern production and the exchange of material goods..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, op cit., vol 20, p 150)?

Taking into consideration the need for turning political economy to problems of the efficiency and the length of the period of coexistence between the two social systems, would it not be expedient to adopt the following definition: "Marxist-Leninist political economy is a science which studies the overall laws of the reproduction process (production, distribution, exchange and consumption) and their specific features, under the conditions of the private and the public ownership of the means of production?"

The second proposal is related to the interpretation of the basic law of a commodity economy--the law of value. Let us recall that by the end of the 19th century in the works of the Russian scientists dealing with Marx's economic theory the word "Wert" was frequently translated as "value" (rather than "production cost"). In the 1920s many Soviet economists even used this concept (i.e., that it was a question not of the theory of cost but of the theory of value). Supporters of the concept of "value" included the noted Soviet political economist A.A. Voznesenskiy (see "Izbrannyye Ekonomicheskiye Sochineniya (1923-1941 Gg.) [Selected Works on Economics (1923-1941)]. Nauka, Moscow, 1985, p 201). Should we not go back to this concept? In this case, it is by no means a question of semantics, for in its very nature the concept of "cost" is of an outlay nature (how much does it cost, i.e., how much was spent), whereas "value" is a concept which reflects the conflicting unity between cost as an outlay and consumer value as the result, i.e., as something useful. In our view, with such an approach the interpretation of the laws of value and added value themselves, and of antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions in the reproduction process could become more meaningful.

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TOWARD NEW HORIZONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 87 (signed to press 14 Jul 87) pp 59-73

[Article by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic]

[Text]

I

We live in the age which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution. The 7 decades which have passed since indicate in a historical dimension the significance of this change and its decisive impact on the process of renovation of the world. The great cause of restructuring, initiated first in the Soviet Union, and the innovative approach to the development of socialism and to building a peaceful future are ascribing a new quality to this process which is taking place today. Broad horizons have been opened to the nations.

They were opened by the October Revolution. It radically changed a huge country and, at the same time, shook up the world with the victorious slogans of "All Power to the Soviets!" and "Bread, Land and Peace to the Peoples!" The old foundations crumbled, opening the way to the future. Unlike previous revolutions, which had brought to power other property-owning classes, this revolution put an end to all exploitation and oppression of man by man, violating the rights of nations, and all discrimination. It hurled a decisive challenge to conquests and aggressions, to the ideas of imperialism and to the practice of starting wars as the extension of politics, which had accompanied the history of mankind. There was no area of life in the land of the soviets which was not renovated under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Real socialism was born in a state of constant interconnection between theory and practice, with a tireless investigation of their reciprocal consistency. A social system was set up in the course of this process, with a new base and superstructure, a new type of state.

The Leninist period is a source of permanent values. It is an example of readiness to solve any social problem, of daring search, as necessary today as it was then.

It was a time of establishing a new economic policy. Lenin defined it as a law of the transitional period, as the effect of economic laws under specific

circumstances. The Leninist creative approach is equally necessary today, in the implementation of the reforms.

Lenin considered democracy the base of the new system. He took as its cornerstone worker-peasant control, the struggle against bureaucratism and corruption, the consistency between words and actions, and truthfulness and openness in social life. Today as well no progress is possible without them.

Lenin saw the essence of the party's leading role as one of maintaining direct and daily relations with the working class and the masses, and its strength in the ability to persuade with its words and its example, daring criticism and self-criticism, free expression of opinions and discipline in the implementation of decisions, and the systematic observance of the principles of democratic centralism. These requirements retain their importance in the implementation of today's tasks by the party members.

It was during those years that the beginning was laid to the theory and practice of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and of replacing armed confrontation with equal and mutually profitable cooperation. Today this is the only alternative to the threat of nuclear destruction.

To the international working class, the people's masses, national-liberation movements and antiwar forces, revolutionary Russia became the harbinger of a new world--the world of free people and free nations. The October Revolution won over the intelligentsia--scientists, writers and men of culture. They had witnessed the extremely hard living conditions of a backward country in which, after a destructive war and in the struggle against domestic and foreign counterrevolution, a new system based on social justice was emerging. They saw its tribulations. However, faith in the future gained the upper hand over the dramatic realities of the start.

The land of the soviets drew the attention of the entire world with the successes of its first 5 year plans. It amazed others with the scope of industrialization, labor heroism, universal accessibility to education and culture, scale of progress and international solidarity with the struggle waged by the toiling masses on all continents.

The victorious proletarian revolution played an outstanding role in the development of the international communist movement. Despite the offensive mounted by the reaction and the intrigues of the bourgeoisie and despite its own errors it expanded and strengthened its positions.

The impact of the Great October Revolution on the national liberation movement is unquestionable. The views held by Lenin and the Soviet Union on this matter inspired the outstanding leaders of liberation and revolutionary-democratic movements, such as Sun Yatsen, Mahatma Gandhi, Kemal Pasha and many others.

The land of the soviets also greatly influenced the actions of the working people in the capitalist countries, pursuing social and political gains. Trade union rights, social insurance, democratization of the electoral

process, equality of women and less racial discrimination were achieved as a result of the efforts of the various forces acting under the influence of the ideas and example of the October Revolution.

October 1917 opened the way of the struggle for a lasting peace and for a new type of international relations. The communists were the first to point out the danger of fascism and Hitlerite nazism. Awareness of this threat led to the new strategy of "popular fronts" and to giving international aid to the Republic of Spain.

Currently the CPSU is thoroughly analyzing the past, which was not void of errors and failures which took place in a country which, for a long time, was subject to blockade and isolation, living under a state of siege laid by the capitalist world. This situation was worsened by deviations from the Leninist line, related to the cult of Stalin's personality, including the tragic "purges" of those years. The distortions which took place at that time affected various areas of life, casting a shadow on the image of real socialism and weakening its attractiveness.

In World War II the Soviet Union played a decisive role in the struggle against man-hating fascism, in defeating the Hitlerite Reich and its allies, and in rescuing and liberating the enslaved nations.

At the time when the chimneys of crematoriums were smoking in concentration camps and when it seemed that there would be no end to fascist crimes, the eyes of those who fought or who were tortured were turned to the land of the soviets. It is an unquestionable fact that at the cost of the greatest possible sacrifices the Soviet Union made a decisive contribution to the victory of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

This marked the historical, material and moral triumph of the socialist system. It became obvious that despite all difficulties socialism was able to create a sufficient potential for the defeat of the massive war machine which had used in the war the resources of almost all of capitalist Europe. The heroic struggle waged by the Red Army and the gigantic efforts made in the Soviet rear were proofs of the unity of the people, who had confirmed their ideological-moral power so expressively.

This time the victory was not reduced to the destruction of the aggressor's forces. It had a profound humanistic and progressive impact on the course of universal history and accelerated the process of reorganization of the world.

Socialism went beyond the borders of the first state of a new type. A world socialist system was established. Despite differences in historical destinies and levels of development of individual countries and the problems which arose in their reciprocal relations, this meant the appearance of a qualitatively new factor in the class struggle in the world arena and in the entire international situation.

The course and outcome of the war and the role which the Soviet Union played in it gave a powerful impetus to the national-liberation movements and marked the beginning of the breakdown of the colonial system. Many of the liberated

countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa chose a noncapitalist way of development. The peace movement--one of the profound and influential trends in our time--assumed qualitatively new features and scale.

Therefore, the implementation of the ideas of the October Revolution predetermined the new correlation of forces on earth.

II

The individual parties and countries look at the October Revolution through the lens of their own domestic history. The revolution plays a particular role in the history of our own country.

The Great October Revolution which, as was the case with the 1905 revolution, included the land of tsarist Russia, was also to a large extent a Polish revolution. That is why the Poles so actively participated in it, including Polish formations within the Red Army. Many revolutionary Poles were members of the leadership of the Leninist party and the new Soviet state. The influence of the October Revolution on the destinies of our people was comprehensive and profound. Above all, it changed age-old Polish-Russian relations.

These relations were exceptionally complex. Naturally, our peoples were close to each other by virtue of their common Slavic ancestry, similarity of languages and interpenetration of national cultures. Equally obvious was a sporadic coincidence of political interests: such as, in the 16th and 17th centuries, the need to oppose the pressure of the Ottoman Empire or the Swedish invasion in the Baltic area. Nonetheless, such relations were marred by mistrust and ill will and occasionally developed into grave conflicts. This created more than one tragedy and left a mark on the national self-awareness of both countries.

There were two main reasons for Polish-Russian, Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-Belorussian antagonisms. The first was the division of Poland and depriving the country of its independence for more than a century, and the suppression of the national-liberation uprisings of the Polish people. This was aptly characterized by Lenin in 1917, when he said that "in the hands of the tsars the Russian people were the executioners of Polish freedom" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 432). The second was the age-old class exploitation of the Ukrainian and Belorussian population by the Polish magnates, paralleled by national oppression and Poland's periodical political rule over parts of the Ukraine and Belorussia.

The removal of these barriers was a mandatory prerequisite for the development of relations between our peoples, based on the principles of friendship and internationalism. Belief in the need for new relations increased in the 19th century among the Polish and Russian revolutionary democrats, in the ranks of the Polish rebels in 1863 and among the fighters for the cause of the working class by the turn of the 20th century. However, prior to the October Revolution it had still not penetrated the awareness of the world masses and was making its way with difficulty through the obstacles of the mutual prejudices which provided fertile grounds for chauvinism and nationalism.

The participation of 200,000 of our compatriots in the struggle for the victory of the October Revolution was a response worthy of the progressive and revolutionary traditions of the Polish people to the policy pursued by Lenin's party on the question of the independence of our homeland. Even people who had nothing to do with the revolution emphasized the key significance of this policy.

In June 1917 Simon Askenazi, the noted Polish historian, compared documents of the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet of Worker and Soldier Deputies on the possibility of Polish statehood. In the former case it was related to preserving dependence on Russia; in the second, no conditions were stipulated. This proved that it was only the victory of the working class and the revolutionary forces that could put an end to aggressive aspirations toward our country.

"Of all Russian parties of today, it is only Lenin's party, i.e., the so-called Bolshevik Party, that unquestionably and sincerely supports Polish independence, without any stipulations whatsoever.... Lenin wants independence for Poland without any kind of 'conditions' on the part of Russia," the Krakow newspaper NAPSZUD, the printed organ of the reformist Polish Social Democratic Party, wrote in November 1917.

Lenin's ideas and activities and his inflexible internationalist positions opened historical opportunities for a continuing national liberation struggle waged by our people, an opportunity which was unavailable to previous generations. The October Revolution was the most important foreign political prerequisite for the restoration of an independent Polish state. The military defeat of Germany and Austria-Hungary, which had also been parties to the division of Poland, as well as the position held by the Western powers, which in fact was largely influenced by the decrees of the October Revolution, proved to be additional factors.

Naturally, after 123 years of lack of national independence, in the face of the need to create a single state organism, the national problem assumed priority in the minds of the Poles. The nationalistic forces hostile to the revolution used this situation to their advantage.

Although the ruling circles of the reborn Polish state were aware of the danger created by the efforts of Kolchak, Denikin and Vrangel to restore "White Russia," and the territorial integrity of the former empire of the Romanovs, an orientation toward re-establishing their domination over Ukrainian, Belorussian and Lithuanian lands gained the upper hand in the policy of the Polish rich classes. It was this that in 1920 made Pilsudski wage the unfortunate war on Soviet Russia.

The circumstances of this war, which included the seizure of Kiev by Polish ulans and the Red Army's retaliatory march on Warsaw had fatal consequences which had a sharply negative impact on subsequent Polish-Soviet relations. The process of surmounting vestiges of the past and the promotion of a rapprochement between our peoples were hindered. The Riga Treaty preserved the class and political domination of the Polish landowners and police on part of Ukrainian, Belorussian and Lithuanian lands. The bourgeois-landowning

governments of the period between the wars convulsively held on to an anti-Soviet doctrine.

The burden of mutual mistrust, the reliance of the Polish authorities on territorially distant allies and, consequently, the lack of joint ways of countering the Hitlerite threat, left their mark on the first period of World War II in that part of Europe. The situation was also affected by the erroneous assessment of Poland's defensive war against Hitlerite aggression as being "imperialist on both sides." The military-political steps taken by the then leadership, motivated by the existing situation, were accompanied by anti-Leninist phraseology which conflicted with the rights of Polish independence. Thousands of Poles were subjected to repressive measures and transported deep within the USSR. However, the majority of them returned to the homeland after the war as a rule with feelings of respect for the patriotism and dedication of the Soviet people, remembering the numerous manifestations of human warmth and sympathy expressed toward them.

The 1939 defeat of Poland, which fought the aggressor alone, faced our people with the threat not only of losing its independence but of its physical annihilation as well. More than 6 million Polish citizens perished during the Hitlerite occupation. With their firmness and heroic struggle within the country and on all fronts of World War II, the Polish people made a worthy contribution to the common victory over Hitlerism. In the decisive period of the struggle, it was headed by the Polish Workers Party (PPR), allied with other left-wing forces.

Let us not forget that on the eve of the war the Polish communists found themselves in particularly difficult conditions. The Polish Communist Party was disbanded by the Comintern in 1938 as a result of groundless provocative charges. Its leading cadres were severely damaged. The Polish government in exile in London and its supporters in the occupied country professed anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. The Hitlerite authorities persecuted the supporters of left-wing forces with particular cruelty.

This situation demanded of the Polish communists firm ideological tempering and political daring. They displayed these qualities by creating a party for the new historical stage--the Polish Workers Party. This was followed by the establishment of the Guard and the People's Army. The PPR announced an alliance with the land of the soviets and engaged in armed struggle against the occupation forces, in support of the eastern front where the outcome of the war was being decided. The members of the Polish Workers Party, fearing no slanderous accusations of being the "agents of Moscow," gradually earned the trust and support of the working class, the peasantry, the democratic intelligentsia and the youth. They proved their loyalty to patriotism and internationalism and their wisdom and far-sightedness.

The Union of Polish Patriots in the USSR, which was the organizer of the Polish Army on Soviet soil, played a major role in opening the way to a new Poland.

The Polish-Soviet alliance which was made by the communists of both countries, after the tie with the London government in exile was broken, radically

changed relations between our peoples. The people's democratic forces took in their hands the fate of the homeland, liberated by the Red Army and the Polish Army which fought shoulder to shoulder with it.

Polish-Soviet friendship and alliance, strengthened by the jointly shed blood, made possible the restoration of a sovereign state in its just borders and under the conditions of the new socialist system and the return to Poland of its age-old Western and Northern lands. Soviet aid helped the country to survive even the most difficult periods.

Our party is continuing the tradition which was started during the first years of people's Poland. It is implementing the programmatic ideas of the Polish Workers Party to the development and implementation of which Wladislaw Gomulka made a special contribution. Inherent in that period was a combination of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and the laws of building socialism with traditions and national features. It was also distinguished by the ideological and political combativeness of the party, aimed at gaining a wide circle of allies and developing a patriotic accord. There was a great deal of truth in the realistic and rational economic concepts of 1944-1948. The alliance between the two class parties--the Polish Workers and the Polish Socialist--opened possibilities of their unification. Poland made a major contribution to the theory and practice of people's democracy. Many of its typical features have remained relevant in the transitional period in which our country still remains.

A qualitative shift in laying the foundations of socialism was noted in the 1950s. This was a time of industrialization, socialist gains for the people's masses and the blossoming of education, science and culture. However, both the consequences of the cold war and, above all, doctrinairism, distortions and errors had a strong negative influence on the progress achieved by the socialist countries and their reciprocal relationships. After the 20th CPSU Congress, thanks to the creative forces of our party, the former shortcuts were condemned; a sharp political turn was made in 1956. Unfortunately, we were unable subsequently to secure the accurate and harmonious development of society.

Repeatedly foreign and domestic class enemies tried to use the specific situation of Poland, historically developed contradictions, and our weaknesses and errors. However, socialism had become so deeply ingrained in the awareness of the people that all the hopes of the counterrevolution failed. We endured our trials by relying on our own strength and decisions.

Despite the errors, blunders and failures, the achievements of the people's regime over the past 42 postwar years have been tremendous and unquestionable. The Polish People's Republic became a firm link in the socialist community. Allied with the USSR, it acquired guarantees for the integrity of its territory and a foundation for its national security and development.

III

The PZPR and our people related the present and future of the homeland with socialism. The 27th CPSU Congress earmarked daring and innovative trends in

the development of socialism. We accept the present strategy and course of Lenin's party as a revolutionary impetus of historical significance. The revolution does not end with the seizure of power. Essentially it is only then that it begins. Its advance requires willpower, daring, and the ability to reject what is obsolete and steadily to update the content and forms of its development.

It is not in the nature of a Marxist-Leninist party to be satisfied even with its greatest accomplishments. It must constantly preserve its revolutionism at all stages and new historical situations. This is the essence of the line charted by the 27th Congress and the April 1985 and January and June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenums.

As the extension of the ideals and experience of the October revolution and the ideas of Leninism, the new style of thinking offers broad scope for socialist activeness. It is based on deep faith in the creative possibilities of man and creates conditions for their fuller and more efficient application.

The main features inherent in the contemporary period are the unity between continuity and change, consolidating achievements and changes, and the solidity of the profound foundations and scope of new developments.

Although Poland is at an earlier stage in building socialism and although we are functioning under significantly more difficult conditions, our approach, political thinking and philosophy of activities, as formulated at the 9th and 10th PZPR Congresses, are consistent with the course of the CPSU.

The PZPR experienced the dramatic consequences of the violation of the dialectical laws governing the building of socialism. Neglect of problems and contradictions which had accumulated, conservatism, complacency and bureaucratism distanced the party's and state's leadership from the realities of life and weakened ties with the working class and the broad masses.

We paid a stiff price for being slow with reforms for which conditions had already ripened, and for deviating from our initial projects, for conservatism, sluggishness of form and narrowness of methods applied in managing the national economy and developing democracy.

The very nature of socialism encourages the creativity of masses and individuals and their initiative and innovative spirit. However, these opportunities are not realized automatically. The party must act promptly whenever a new style and the need for harmony between methods of economic management and levels of development of production forces and forms of management and the growing democratization of society become necessary. Otherwise prerequisites for critical phenomena appear; extensive social discontent is manifested, which may be used by the class enemy.

This is confirmed by our bitter and painful experience. At the start of 1980, in the course of preparations for the 8th PZPR Congress, the voices of the aktiv and the party masses, demanding changes in the old PZPR course, were heard loudly. The congress ignored these demands, which led to a loss of faith on the part of the working people in the party and increased

disappointment and discontent. The familiar events of August 1980 were the result. Domestic and foreign antisocialist forces became more active and a wave of anarchy spread throughout the country. A revision of the PZPR course and the implementation of reforms had to take place under extremely adverse political, economic and sociopsychological conditions, under enemy fire.

Our experience confirms the accuracy of the words of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on the need for change, demanded by life. If not we, then who? If not now, when? In the socialist world there are some trains for which one must not be late.

Reforms in various areas of life have become an objective need. At one point the word "reform" was considered by us suspiciously. It was associated with the concept of "reformism," which means the opportunistic unwillingness to solve the contradiction between labor and capital in a revolutionary manner.

In our present understanding, reform has nothing in common with the reformism of the past. Basic difference in their class content separate the two.

The identification of shortcomings should not turn into a political front to be used by our class enemies. The party must act not only as the headquarters and motive force in shaping socialist reality but also as its main, its strictest critic. This applies less to the past than to the present, for the most dangerous of all errors or of identified shortcomings and faults are those which could show up today or tomorrow unless prompt measures are taken.

Socialist renovation is a continuing process. It is a continuing search for the most suitable ways of implementing the principles and characteristic features of the new system. This is what determines the importance of a return to dialectics and, above all, of the law of unity and struggle between opposites and its proper role in the study and transformation of reality. Its interpretation as conflict-free proved to be theoretically erroneous and brought about great harm in practical work. Contradictions are the motive force of all development. In order to solve them, it is important not to tolerate the negative aspects of reality but to change them persistently, in a revolutionary spirit.

The CPSU's elimination of dogmatic stagnation in theory and openness and democratization of social life, new dynamism in the areas of economics, sciences and technology and in the satisfaction of the total needs of the people, changes in social policy and major peace initiatives are the mandatory prerequisites for the increased influence of socialist ideas and practices in the contemporary world.

The program of the 10th PZPR Congress and the steady enrichment of our party's strategy and line are based on the need to struggle on two fronts: against conservatism and adventurism and against the bureaucratic obstruction of change, and against the application of destructive and anarchic concepts. In order to advance we must defend the process of reform from the subversive actions of the class enemy. We must restrict and eliminate the influence of anti-socialist slogans and concepts.

Lenin's party emphasizes today with new strength the particular importance of the connection between general laws and national specifics. The general cannot coexist and develop outside specific conditions, place and time. That which is inherent in one of the countries could be successfully used by others only if it is entirely consistent with the objectives and principles of socialism. Variety is our advantage and unity our weapon.

Today the fraternal parties in the socialist countries are searching for new and efficient means of production and economic organization and upgrading the scientific and technical activeness of the working people. This demands the systematic observance of the law of value, cost accounting, commodity-monetary relations and market mechanisms. It has nothing in common with so-called convergence or the hopes of imperialist strategists for gradual "interpenetration" of opposite systems, manifested most specifically in the "erosion" of socialism.

It is true that many of the economic categories of value to us were created under capitalism, such as the invention of parliament, the electric battery, the subway, the steam engine and the automobile. Socialism cannot avoid the use of all that is available to human civilization. However, it gives technical inventions and economic categories a new meaning. It is only the use to which they are put that gives them their class content and ideological slant. A microscope can be used both in bacteriological warfare and in the struggle against deadly epidemics. Profit can be a synonym for exploitation or an indicator of the successful work of a socialized enterprise.

Although we rely on thrifty economic management, we have no intention of reproducing the capitalist mechanism in which money decides everything. Social justice is the programmatic objective of a Marxist-Leninist party. It involves a set of tasks which not only pursue the elimination of exploitation but also go beyond the framework of purely economic material relations. The fundamental principle of socialism is to ensure true starting equality in life and equal opportunity in everything: in the eyes of the law, in education, culture and cadre policy and in social and civic activeness.

Today we have a new attitude toward our domestic market as a structural component in the implementation of the principles of socialist justice. The absence of market balance provides favorable grounds for abuses and profiteering, specific ways of advancing at the expense of society and difficulties in the daily life of the people. The proper solution of the problem of price setting and income, and achieving a balance on the domestic market, the condition of which is controlled by sensibly determined laws of supply and demand, lead to the fact that the market becomes a stimulating factor in the development of production forces, on the one hand, bringing to light the laws which govern developing processes and, on the other, a prerequisite for equal opportunity for all people. An organized domestic market not only does not conflict with the principle of planning but also helps the socialist planner to correct plans, eliminate shortcomings and omissions and accurately define development trends.

The consequences of voluntarism which developed in the past decade, the economic decline of 1980-1981 and the imperialist policy of embargo, boycott

and discriminatory measures became encrusted in the Polish national economy. This neuralgic area is the arena of the political struggle for the future of socialism in Poland. It is precisely in the course confronting economic difficulties, which are numerous and difficult to surmount, that the accuracy of our decisions, efficiency of actions and ability accurately to answer the questions of the present and meet the challenges of the future are tested.

The economic reform focuses within itself our main problems. It is easy to speak of "something new," or "in a new way," and considerably more difficult to act in a new way, to gain an understanding of unpopular measures and ensure their support, and to eliminate durable customs. We continue to come across obstacles, both objective and subjective, which could be defined as the "resistance of materials," and which are essentially a stubborn support for old forms, methods and habits.

Our course is aimed at upgrading the efficiency of strategic planning and converting to management with the help of economic instruments, broadening the autonomy, self-government and self-financing of enterprises, and strengthening the economic mechanisms. This means a stable balance in the national economy and, in particular, in the market; it means the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, structural changes, which are expressed in the faster development of sectors which ensure economic progress and efficiency. It means encouraging enterprise and innovation, enhancing requirements concerning the quality of output and, at the same time, observing social justice and applying efficient steps to protect the least secure population groups.

Social protection, however, has nothing in common with paying equal wages for good or bad work. So-called equalization conflicts with the socialist principles of social life. It is a concealed form of parasitism according to which unconscientious workers appropriate funds earned by others, by the working class, by the entire society.

The strategy of acceleration is an objective need at the present socialist stage, as confirmed by the variety of specific decisions made in the individual countries. The ideas of restructuring become international and the main general line becomes enriched with a variety of forms used in its implementation. This is another law of the present stage.

Our party began by renovating itself. While remaining Marxist-Leninist, it is gradually changing from the viewpoint of upgrading the Leninist quality of its ideological and moral criteria concerning its members and perfecting the methods for the implementation of its purpose.

It has become clear to us today that the formulation of accurate slogans is insufficient. We must convince others of their rightness and prove that our words match our actions. Society considers this with absolute justification as the prime condition for our authority.

The main conclusion from the Great October Revolution and the entire experience of socialism is that the three functions of the party are indivisible: official--in terms of the working class and the people; social leadership; and guiding the state.

The first stems from ideological-moral and class duty and responsibility to society. The second consists of gaining the trust of the working people, strengthening ties with them and consolidating the authority of the party in the eyes of the people. The third is a historical law and a vital need governing the development of socialism. They cannot be achieved separately. They are interrelated and must be applied as a set.

A creative attitude toward reality and strengthening the party's ideological and moral force are not different but essentially one and the same task. However, it cannot be implemented simply, for this requires the elimination of the stagnation which prevailed for a long time in ideological life.

The "propaganda of success," efforts artificially to maintain a good feeling and "sticking one's head in the sand" in an effort to avoid crucial problems undermined the authority of the PZPR. The "taboo" imposed on certain topics and concealing problems gave sustenance to the enemy. That is why we have taken as our weapons truth and openness, which enable us more successfully to implement the party's course, to enhance confidence and to restrict the enemy's maneuverability.

Eliminating verbosity, stereotype and mediocrity are major prerequisites for maintaining efficient daily contacts and ties with the working class and society. Today the Leninist style is being restored in propaganda and in the entire information system: the logic of arguments, and the ability to excite the imagination with apt and inspiring words and clear visions.

We fully share the concepts of the 27th Congress of the Leninist party to the effect that the depth of socialist changes should be measured not only through the level of socialization of the ownership of means of production and material indicators of development but also with the development of democracy and the extent to which the toiling masses are the true owners.

This will greatly determine what socialism will show to the world in the area not of officially declared but real rights in the approaching 200th anniversary of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen proclaimed by the French revolution.

Past experience and present tasks confirm the important theses of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum: more democracy means more socialism. Its developing and strengthening means upgrading the activeness of the masses and greater contribution by people who think creatively and with initiative, people who think in a new fashion and have developed a feeling of high responsibility. We must include more such people in our ranks. We must cooperate with them more extensively and, regardless of their party affiliation, more boldly promote them to responsible positions. This is the way we conceive of the basic approach to cadre policy and to the entire set of relations between party and society.

After the 9th PZPR Congress, on the party's initiative we significantly broadened the legal and organizational possibilities of developing socialist democracy, so that the working people could express their views and

expectations more directly. The 10th Congress set new landmarks on this way, emphasizing the unity of rights and obligations, of democracy and discipline.

The party ascribes particular importance to the Patriotic Movement for National Revival (PDNV), which is the main forum and partner in the process of unifying the efforts of society. Under Polish conditions it also includes the alliance between the PZPR and the United Peasant and Democratic Parties.

One of the trends in the party's course is that of strengthening the positions of the PZPR in the state and social life. This trend can be described as socialist pluralism, conceived as the variety of interests of the different social groups which exist in our society and which demand comprehensive consideration by the party. This pluralism, which has nothing in common with the bourgeois concept of so-called "free play of political forces," rejects antagonism. Its essence is the preservation and strengthening of the leading role of the PZPR along with the radical expansion of socialist democracy. This presumes the enhancement of the role and activeness of the Sejm and the people's councils, the PDNV, the trade unions, the self-governing authorities and the various social organizations, which are the absolutely irreplaceable form of real manifestation of citizens' interests and initiatives.

This also means broadening the platform for expressing a variety of opinions, systematically holding regional and national consultations and surveys of public opinion. We consider this mechanism as an advance alert and prompt warning against potentially conflicting situations.

Socialist pluralism, understood in this sense, serves the creative and constructive manifestation and implementation of a variety of ideas, views, assessments and suggestions, resting on the fundamental principles of the socialist system.

In intensifying democracy and self-government and making more extensive use of dialogue and accords, the PZPR actually ensures the strengthening of the socialist system in Poland, continuity in the development of the revolutionary process in Polish society and loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Democracy is itself a humanistic value. Above all, however, it must efficiently "work" for the good of society and contribute to the fuller identification of its potential, the upsurge of the country and progress in all areas. The active use of the instruments of democracy requires the acquisition and dissemination of political knowledge. Such knowledge and skills cannot be mastered with a single leap, declaration or appeal. They must be mastered on a daily basis, in the course of practical activities, by participating in decision making and economic activities and being responsible for one's job, from the highest to the lowest.

Democracy must be learned both by the authorities and society.

The past period has left a mark on the consciousness of many people who believe that "the state will ensure," "the state must" and "the state is obligated." Naturally, our system can have nothing in common with social Darwinism. It must efficiently help people, show concern for them, and react

to each human pain. However, paternalistic exaggerations and petty supervision reduce individual initiative to naught.

History is made by the masses. However, the masses are the sum of individuals with their individual past, wishes, aspirations and particles of truth. Our duty is to assist every individual.

It is difficult for the new to open a path for itself as it surmounts many obstacles which have developed in economic and social life. This becomes even harder considering that we are acting in an atmosphere worsened by the consequences of a profound economic and social crisis. A number of obstacles stand in our way: inertia, passiveness, frequently related to lack of experience, and the consequences of the appeals of the enemy to abstain from social activeness.

Also manifested here is the "critical mass" of bureaucratic opposition, the occasional revival of the arrogance of power, efforts to avoid social control and support of the old and now compromised management methods. Essentially, we are dealing with the conservatism of habits, which are inevitable and most widespread, a conservatism of convictions, which requires above all persuasion and arguments and, finally, the conservatism of interests. The last is the most dangerous, for it encourages people actively to oppose the new.

As a rule, conservative views become intertwined with bureaucratism. The 10th PZPR Congress called for mounting a major effort aimed at the uprooting of bureaucracy--a critical evaluation of the functionality of party and state structure--ranging from central authorities to basic cells, in economic and social life, and the satisfaction of social needs and comprehensive certification of jobs. The experience which was gained indicates the need to surmount opposition by modernizing the management system. This includes the elimination of unnecessary levels, leading positions and administrative units.

Observing the laws is the behest of the Great October Revolution and an always relevant Leninist instruction. In the past we were not always on the level of such requirements. This led to the still existing mistrust in authorities and institutions whose purpose is to stand guard over legality. At the same time, encroachments on its principles have been committed by political opponents and antisocial elements.

The socialist law must be mandatory to all citizens without exception. Based on the new legal stipulations, we are broadening the social front of the struggle against anything which undermines law and justice, weakens public morality and violates the principles of socialism, with the help of control institutions and instruments.

Today there is no shortage of new and good concepts and decisions in Polish sociopolitical and economic life. The main thing is to give them a specific content and to make full and comprehensive use of them and achieve their comprehensive and efficient application. This will determine the scope and quality of our contribution to the process of building, which is increasingly spreading in real socialism.

IV

The new opportunities in the development of socialism also mean the opening of new horizons for a stable peace. A close interconnection and interdependence exist between the internal restructuring initiated by the CPSU and the growth of Soviet foreign policy activities. This was reemphasized by M.S. Gorbachev in his noteworthy speech at the international Moscow forum of February 1987 "For a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Mankind."

The new philosophy of peace suggested by the Soviet Union to mankind has deep roots. It reaches back to the ideas of the October Revolution, the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and humanistic social and political thinking; at the same time, it is their creative enrichment, as it applies to our time.

The central question of this philosophy, which determines the trend of activities of the Soviet Union, is to protect mankind from nuclear annihilation and to lift the threat hanging over the modern world. The Soviet proposals formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress and in Reykjavik, and the latest initiatives, include the concept of a historical compromise for the sake of peace. Today this is the most important problem. The class struggle was, is and will remain the "locomotive" of history. However, the "Communist Party Manifesto" itself mentions a situation in which it could cause the death of both opposing sides.

Lenin most strongly emphasized the need for reciprocal rejection of solving problems of rivalry between the two opposite social systems by military means. This is a mandatory condition for the survival of mankind and, therefore, of both systems.

The most important historical task of the forces born of the October Revolution, the Soviet Union, the socialist community, and all forces of socialism and progress and the freedom of the peoples and democracy is to protect their nations and all people on earth from a new world war.

Aggressive wars, waged under dynastic, religious, racial or nationalistic slogans, for the sake of the redivision of possessions in one's area or throughout the world, and brief alliances and protracted conflicts run through world history.

The international relations developed by imperialism are countered by the socialist community with a new type of relations, relations of a community of sovereign countries based on similar social and ideological principles, implemented jointly, on the basis of the state interests and historical conditions of the life of individual nations. Within our community relations develop, on the one hand, in a state of interconnection with the stages in the development and strengthening of the community itself and, on the other, by taking the international situation as a whole into consideration.

Today, inspired by the course set at the 27th CPSU Congress and relying on decisions made in Moscow by the heads of the fraternal parties, we are enhancing our cooperation to a higher level and ascribing it a new quality.

Relations based on equality are being comprehensively strengthened among the members of the community. Their inviolable principles are reciprocal trust, respect for national dignity, and independence in the choice of ways and decisions. The responsibility of each party to its people is inseparably related by us to concern for the good, unity and cohesion of the entire socialist community and solidarity in the international arena.

We are entering a new stage of cooperation among fraternal countries. Economic integration and reciprocal rapprochement among nations will be particularly important. This process will demand restructuring of extant or formulation of new mechanisms of relations, and daring in the formulation and solution of problems. We are fully resolved firmly to follow this course and to do everything possible for the maximal utilization of its possibilities.

The homeland of the October Revolution plays the main role in the development of the socialist community and the strengthening of its international reputation. It is precisely the Soviet Union, at the cost of great sacrifices, that provides the basic conditions for the security of our countries and peoples. It would be naive to assume that without the defense shield of the USSR any one of our countries would have continued to be a socialist state. The mania of national greatness leads to the loss of a feeling of reality. True sovereignty and security have nothing in common with dismantling the mechanisms which guarantee them.

The point is that imperialism has never agreed to tolerate the existence of the socialist community. At different times it was guided in its relations to it by different doctrines without, however, any change in objectives. Invariably, imperialism has tried to use the domestic problems in our countries to encourage the counterrevolutionary forces to act and has given them its support. This is confirmed by the events in the GDR in 1953, Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in 1981.

There is also growing understanding that our world is being shaken up not only by class conflicts but also by global problems and contradictions related to contemporary civilization and to growing disparities in levels of development. This applies, above all, to problems of environmental protection, foreign debts, health care and protection of national cultures. Socialism is offering a concept of active influence on the course of history in order to ensure their solution. It points out, in its rejection of fettering fatalism, the need to solve the problems of global civilization raised by life through the joint efforts of all mankind.

This precisely is the target of the peace-loving policy of the CPSU, which calls for replacing mutual threats and armed confrontation with equal cooperation based on respect for the interests of security and ascribing a constructive nature to the legitimate rivalry between the two systems.

The PZPR fully agrees with the present course charted by the CPSU. We interpret the ideological unity between our fraternal parties and alliance between our countries and cooperation between our peoples as the steady development and enrichment of reciprocal relations. We cannot stop along this

way. On the contrary, the present and the future will require daring in solving the new problems.

In the past few years we have entered a new and higher stage of Polish-Soviet cooperation. The expansion of integration forms and mechanisms is manifested in direct relations between enterprises and scientific and research institutes, the creation of joint economic units, the launching of collective initiatives with a view to accelerating development, and the restructuring of the national economies in accordance with contemporary revolutionary processes in science, equipment and technology.

We realize that merely the first steps have been taken along this way and that incomparably more remains to be done, helped by the reforms taking place in both countries, the objectives, trends and methods of which coincide.

The development of relations in ideology, science and culture are also structural components in strengthening our relations with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community. Our party ascribes great importance to the joint declaration signed by the PZPR and the CPSU on cooperation in such areas. The declaration and the principles of extensive and specific program based on its principles open a new area for interaction by both parties in an exceptionally important sphere. In the area of ideological education we wish jointly to eliminate that which separated us historically and return to that which united our peoples in the past and which links them today. We are increasing our concern for our common heritage and have considerably expanded exchanges of cultural values. We are engaging in joint undertakings in the field of the social sciences. The most important thing is to look ahead, to the future, and widely to open all doors for the reciprocal rapprochement between our peoples, the young generation in particular, as we strengthen our ties of inviolable friendship.

Millions of people are already involved in the process of rapprochement in both countries. We want for this climate to be felt by every individual. The restructuring in the USSR and renovation in Poland create optimal conditions to this effect.

The shaping and development of Soviet-Polish relations embody the behests of the October Revolution which, 70 years later, is an inexhaustible and live treasury of ideological inspiration for the communists and for all forces of progress, freedom and peace.

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REJECTION OF CLICHES AND ELIMINATION OF STEREOTYPES

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[Article by Oleg Nikolayevich Yanitskiy, leading scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers Movement, doctor of philosophical sciences]

[Text] As we restructure the economic mechanism and make a great deal of changes in other areas of social life, we must pay very close attention to the immediate and more distant consequences of our decisions. We believe that today one of the most important tasks in sociology is to "follow" the real changes in the awareness and behavior of the people. Naturally, the restructuring of existing sociological approaches and concepts is also necessary. Two years of restructuring is an extremely short term for detailed work. Nonetheless, food for thought already exists, even in terms of the means of enhancing the human factors, as suggested at the beginning of restructuring.

Groups and Interests

At the time that restructuring was only beginning, there were many who assumed that human activities can be stimulated directly, according to the system of "decision from above and activeness from below." It was believed that if good (above all material) incentives would be provided and if working and living conditions would improve, the people would begin to work at full capacity. There were differences only as to the nature and power of the steps taken for such enhancement. The general idea was that good workers must be given scope for action and careless workers must be urged on.

The overall situation proved to be more complex. It became obvious that the "bearers" of restructuring as well as the opposition to it consisted not only (and perhaps not exclusively) of individuals but also groups of individuals as well as systems of intergroup relations and interactions.

In this case it is not a question of a socioclass or organizational (enterprise, establishment, department) social structure but of the base on which small groups' interests rest. Their detailed analysis deserves a separate discussion. However, as was noted at the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the main watershed separates the bearers of self-seeking,

egotistical and immediate interests and the long-term interests of society as a whole. For purposes of our discussion, what is essential is the existence of a tremendous variety of groups and shades of interests between these two "poles" of opponents and active supporters of restructuring.

So far, proper attention has not been paid to this structure and its role in social change. The social structure of society, as recent party documents have emphasized, would depict it schematically, as deprived of contradictions and dynamism or of the variety of interests of its different strata and groups. In particular, sociology ignored the circumstance that a small (but by no means always weak) group may be an important element in the functional structure of socialist society. The microgroup approach to its problems was considered almost as an almost exclusive bourgeois sociological feature. For that reason the real study of such structures used only the "intrasectorial approach"—family, age and leisure time sociology--which was necessary but insufficient. The fact that groups and group relationships could run through and have a substantial influence on the entire social organism or its most important functional elements (industrial, managerial) was not taken into consideration.

Why is it that precisely today it is important to see and understand such formations?

The reason, above all, is that the small group, whether it is a family or a primary labor collective, is the environment where human qualities, both positive and negative, are shaped. Once again the plenum drew attention to the need for the creation of a system of incentives and motivations which would encourage the person to engage in active and fruitful toil. The problem is that all steps in this direction will be taken by people who will look at them through the lens of their group interests and standards. Like the latest computers, social life is based on "microcircuits" and "weak interactions." The true self-organization of this life begins with the individual and the group.

As a rule, the system of stimulating social activeness is mediated by processes of intergroup comparisons. It is precisely they that largely develop in the person concepts on the extent to which his labor contribution is equitably rewarded, the distribution of goods, social promotion, etc., the more so since traditional methods for regulating social behavior ("I do this because my father did it") become weaker. Not only in major social systems (country, town) but also in individual enterprises today the person must perform a variety of obligations and social roles. Life itself becomes so dynamic that by no means can everyone assess the consistency between a reward and his labor and social contribution. It is here that mechanisms of intergroup comparison become important.

Such comparisons are particularly essential to those who hesitate, who have still not found their place in restructuring. What is the correlation of forces between honest and greedy people, between innovators and conservatives, and "is there justice on earth?" Not only their views but also changes in society as a whole are determined by such assessments made by those who hesitate. The party comprehensively supports those who lead in the

renovation, who implement the new principles of economic and social life. However, in order for technical and social innovations to become not sporadic but a standard of restructuring, new organizational forms are needed. Generally speaking, our own experience (suffice it to recall A.S. Makarenko's collectives) irrefutably proves that the generators of such innovations in society are small united collectives and groups. However, their activities are greatly hindered by the stereotype of progress which prevails among many leaders, according to which it is achieved in the "streamlined ranks" of huge organizations. Yet the real competitiveness, the need for which was mentioned at the plenum, will be ensured above all through the activities of small and, therefore, mobile and flexible production, research and other collectives.

Now as to the conservative groups. The moment restructuring began truly to affect the interests of those whose social advantages had been provided not through honest toil but through the use of their official position, or "business" or blood relations, entailing access to goods in short supply, group structures opposing restructuring began to appear. These structures are not local in the least but quite widespread. They have their own "rules of the game," which rally in their "ecological niches" people of different professions, age groups and social position. Therefore, the struggle between the new and the old is a conflict not simply between "frontrankers" and "conservatives," but between two types of group structures in which the second, the conservative type, frequently has a better organization and, consequently, is stronger, among others because of its pursuit of self-seeking and, sometimes, criminal interests.

Actually, the leaders in restructuring work "not on the basis of fear but of conscience" for the good of the entire society, intensively using their forces, whereas the conservatives accumulate (by no means always honestly) material goods and features of prestige; a leader greatly bases his activities on the brittle foundations of personal relations and risk; the conservative also "operates" on the basis of personal connections, but based on the principle of "you scratch my back and I scratch yours," using for self-protection the barriers of obsolete instructions and insufficient openness. In the final account, the conservatives frequently paralyze the activism of leaders in restructuring.

The main difficulty is that the conservative groups are "built-in," i.e., they are found within the existing sociofunctional structure of society. Had they been clearly localized and, furthermore, had they displayed a clearly negative social aspect, the struggle against them would have been much simpler. When we find out about thefts, account padding, and so on, it always turns out that indirectly involved in them are decent people, who have acted "according to instruction." It is clear that it is not possible simply to neutralize or cut off such groups. We must determine the entire complexity of the conditions which create them.

The problem of "group hindrance" is complex and multilayered. However, one of its aspects should be particularly singled out. Simulating restructuring is essentially a "group act." Even those who simply blabber about restructuring could not do so unless they have an audience which may be silent but nonetheless encourages such blabbering. I do not refer even to figure padding

or similar manipulations which are simply impossible without reciprocal support: some people write, others conceal, others again claim, others report "to the top" and all of them then share the bonuses.

The burden of such an economic and morally destructive phenomenon has been repeatedly emphasized. We believe that today, in the century of scientific and technical progress and universal development of computerization and the information industry, the elimination of the gap between words and actions and identifying and eliminating the roots of a behavior which simulates restructuring are among the key tasks in sociology.

The essence of the problem rests in the dialectical duplicity of the phenomenon of the symbolic (demonstrative) behavior. All social activities (economic and managerial above all) use symbols which must be correlated with the socially accepted value standards and, in the final account, with culture. Work, training, recreation, education and self-education are all influenced by this. So far, our sociologists have not taken into consideration in their elaborations the relative autonomy of the symbolic behavior of organizations and groups. Nonetheless, in the course of years and even decades such symbolism may operate independently of end production results precisely because it acts in social life as a "substitute" of such output, in the course of which people and organizations obtain entirely tangible goods and honors.

The more complex a society becomes, and the more it advances on the path of progress, the more we operate with the help of symbol "substitutes" of objects. Today all of us not only live the lives of characters in books, shows and motion pictures but also reports of the Central Statistical Administration, plans and projects, decrees, orders and most ordinary information. However, this necessary exchange of signs and symbols we experience also contains the potential threat of becoming self-seeking and depicting fictional reality, which is what happened not so long ago and was symptomatic of pre-crisis phenomena.

Such transformation takes place under certain circumstances. We mentioned one of them--the priority of "one's own" (group) objectives over the objectives of society. Individuals and even large collectives earned bonuses and gained a status (yes, a status, prestige and not authority which is created through action) for "depicting" and simulating activities which, thus being one of the reasons of this phenomenon, are in themselves socially approved. Therefore, the alternative of "being or appearing to be" is not a psychological but a general social and grave political problem.

The time has come to put an end to customarily ascribing the prestige-symbolic standards of behavior, which were widespread in the recent past, exclusively to the influence of bourgeois propaganda. The aspiration "to seem" rather than "to be" greatly stemmed from the outlay principle of the economy and the economic management methods based on directives, and the overall decline in the quality of work and lack of attention to its end results (the main thing was to report), and subordinating initiative to the gross output plan, and departmental privileges and the existence of "forbidden zones" in society. Bureaucratic methods--excessive organization, discussion of matters on the

basis of predetermined scenarios, dosed-out criticism, and trusting papers rather than people, made their own contribution to this situation.

Another circumstance was excessive centralization and the lack of democracy and feedback between decisions and specific performers. The greater the distance between the "top" (ministry or any other leading organization) and the "bottom," the performer, the more frequent became attempts to claim exclusivity and to belong to the "top" on the part of such groups which simulated restructuring (characteristically, in amateur creative collectives ostentatiousness and padding are very rare phenomena, for they are opposed to such them by their very nature). That is why democratization and giving greater independence to enterprises and individual collectives, the strict implementation of contractual obligations, job certification and the absence of "restricted zones" in the structure of society weaken the "vertical" orientations and correspondingly strengthen "horizontal" relations based on the principles of equivalent exchange and social justice. Above all, this means the implementation of the key principle of socialism: reward according to one's labor and real contribution and end results. The main criterion in assessing the activities of an organization or a person is the quality of the end result, tested by reality--whether it is a material, an object, information or a human quality. The more urgent the need for the latter becomes, the less scope remains for prestige-symbolic maneuvering.

In speaking of the adoption of restructuring on the personal, the individual level, we must single out three problems: "the burden of the past," the real deployment of forces and the readiness of the person for the next stage in restructuring.

"The Burden of the Past"

The burden which hinders the development of labor and social activeness of the individual is clearly demarcated: it involves inertia, conservatism, total permissiveness, mutual insurance, equalization, militant consumerism and many others. The people are tired but not because of intensive work but as a result of the exhausting struggle against "circumstances" which they are unable to change, and the fact that even a most ordinary matter requires extra efforts and "double bookkeeping," and a split in life, caused by ostentatiousness, figure padding and the "second economy."

Incidentally, our sociology has excluded totally without reason from its "systemic concepts" a most important one, the human resource. If we read many of Lenin's works written after the October Revolution, we can see that here the most crucial and broad economic or political tasks are correlated with the availability of human resources, the "human material," the extent of the stress of human forces, fatigue, and professional possibilities.

The "burden of the past" is not a simple unwillingness to change or engage in active efforts. Any external influence becomes a motivation for human activities when it becomes an element of a "personality situation," i.e., something which is of specific significance to the individual. Today this burden is felt particularly strongly, because of the double, the transitional situation. Here is an example: a production frontrunner who has been

steadily overfulfilling his plan has become accustomed to his bonuses. However, this has been an overfulfillment of "gross output," i.e., the customary orientation toward a reward not for quality or the content of his labor. In order for the latter to be given priority, changes must be made in the incentive principles and the mentality of the workers as well as their direct surrounding and actual habitat. Such changes, however, so far remain small. Procurements have improved little, the situation with housing remains stressed, and the harsh winter highlighted the old features of indifference and irresponsibility. Finally, which is quite essential, in frequent cases it is either considered impossible or unnecessary to explain to the individual how his personal situation will change in the brigade, shop or entire enterprise. Many managers have become involved in restructuring technology and plan but not people. They simply "have no time" to talk with them and to establish the nature of their views and problems. Furthermore, there is no habit to engage in such contacts. This is the result of long years of use of directives as a management method.

Yet another element in the personality situation exists which, although not a barrier in the direct sense, could nevertheless play a hindering role. Let us compare two trends which became particularly apparent at the beginning of the 1980s: reduced activeness at work, decline of interest in the nature of labor and increased activeness in the nonproduction area, in recreation, and so on. After accumulating mountains of publications on the comprehensive development of the individual, divided by disciplinary and departmental barriers, sociology lost the unity of its main target of knowledge. Nonetheless, it is obvious that a man at work and outside of work is one and the same. His motivational nucleus and vital needs remain unchanged. This is particularly true if we take into consideration changes in the mass consciousness in which, unlike the situation in the 1920s and 1930s, a value orientation of living "now" has assumed a prime role.

Furthermore, a comparison between the labor and environmental motivations of the worker indicates their similarity. The possibility of choosing a profession and the type of recreation, self-realization in production and social activities, professional advancement and territorial mobility, variety in labor and household affairs, the prestige of the job and area of residence are parallels which could be extended (naturally, it is a question of the trend of human aspirations although the methods of achieving them may differ).

Essentially, the task is clear: life at work and at home should not compete with each other but reciprocally stimulate each other. A profound interest and creative approach must be inherent in both.

In practical terms this means and emphasizes the need for comprehensive restructuring. A great deal is already being done to accelerate housing construction and the building of cultural projects. However, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the increase in their quantity should be paralleled by changes on the quality level. The person needs not simply so many square meters of clubs but a meaningful life, the satisfaction of the requirements of a social existence, found in communicating with other people and nature, in creative work and self-expression, mutual support and in finding a meaning to his life. Whereas in terms of the planning authorities the "commissioning" of

a club solves the problem, to the people it only begins: What kind of activities will it encourage and who will guide and give them meaning?

Finally, the burden of the past consists of relying on purely material means of enhancing the human factor, essentially based on the model of the "economic man." Sociologists have repeatedly proved that interest may be created not only by material goods but also through a variety of means of social approval and moral incentive which contain tremendous reserves for acceleration. In this case it is mandatory to take into consideration the mechanism of social comparison we mentioned. Otherwise "surprises" will continue to appear, in the transfer of people from one enterprise to another or from one place to another, despite obvious improvements in labor conditions. Man is both the beginning and the end result of any social change. If we expect of him interest and activeness in restructuring we must take into consideration the entire set of his "final" needs (i.e., needs which cannot be eliminated or replaced).

Reaction to Restructuring

The differentiation among human reactions to restructuring is essential and being manifested with increasing clarity. This is no temporary phenomenon. It is a process which is explained both by the intensification of restructuring itself as well as its realization and the difference among individual and group interests and possibilities.

According to the power with which it affects the individual, the "restructuring impetus" can be conventionally classified into weak, medium and strong. The first pertain to those who must master new tangible (information) conditions for labor activity (while the remaining elements of the situation of the individual remain the same). This applies above all to technological changes and professional retraining. The medium-strong impetus affects no longer exclusively material but also socio-organizational conditions of labor activity of the worker and his socioeconomic status as a whole (wage system, interpersonality relations, criteria governing professional advancement). Finally, the strong impetus is the one which leads to changes in the entire living environment, including determining value concepts. We are currently at the threshold which, in the final account, should bring about precisely this kind of profound changes in the individual and group consciousness, a restructuring of the entire way of life or, in theoretical terms, a change in the type of social reproduction.

However, even if we consider exclusively the technological innovations, here as well we find an entire array of reactions; those who are enthusiastic and who are actively promoting new developments; those who are "calm," who, generally speaking, do not oppose new developments but tend, above all, to engage in their customary performing activities and in routine operations. There also are "observers," who are still waiting in order to be able to select the most advantageous position at work and in society. And there also are those who resist. However, they too vary: some are opposed passively, by transferring to other shops and departments unaffected by restructuring; others are in active opposition, particularly if the professional requirements they must meet are increased sharply; others again (the most dangerous) are

those who verbally support new developments but in fact try to discredit them as strongly as they can.

The leaders in restructuring have not been ignored by the press. Less, however, has been written about the "rank-and-file." Yet a secondary study of results of sociological investigations and of the press and the letters of working people enable us to depict (although for some industrial sectors only) at least three different types of workers, whose human qualities are a combination of motivations, professional positions, social status and interrelationship with their immediate environment. The first will be described conventionally as the "cadre worker." His motivation is mostly legal ("I was instructed, I have to do it"). Usually, this applies to a worker or brigade leader in his middle years, who has worked a long time at a given enterprise and considers it "his own." At work he is reliable ("he will always deliver"). He is well-familiar with the enterprise's technology and social possibilities and is known and has a good reputation in the city. The second, let us describe him as the "technician," is a person operating on a different level. His motivation in terms of life is that of "achievement," in which material-prestige motivations predominate. He is a skillful worker, has "golden hands," but evaluates any change through the lens of his personal interests, which frequently exceed the boundaries of the enterprise. Usually, he is young, with secondary technical training, a worker who has returned to the city after his discharge from the Armed Forces. He too is "rooted" in the enterprise and the city. However his "ecological niche" is different. The main motivation governing the activities of the third, conventionally described as the "engineer," is target-oriented. In suggesting new developments he proceeds less from the needs of the specific enterprise than his own idea of scientific and technical progress. He is stimulated by the atmosphere of restructuring and the opportunities it creates for self-realization. His reliability and initiative-mindedness as a worker are related precisely to such opportunities. He has joined this enterprise recently (usually assigned there after VUZ graduation) which creates additional difficulties for him.

Although this description seems to include a number of nonessential details, sociology turned out largely unprepared for restructuring, particularly because it studied social types outside of their life environment, i.e., outside the complex dynamic relations between them and conditions "of their life situation" (Lenin). Yes, as he develops, the individual "carries" his qualities wherever he is. However, restructuring is a process of changing them. Consequently, the dynamics of the relationship between "man and environment" is an important aspect in the shaping and reproduction of human qualities.

In this connection, let us try to assess the reaction to state inspection, which has actually become one of the initial factors of serious changes in the immediate living environment. Both the local and central press offers excellent material for consideration. A considerable percentage of workers want and can work better, "more technologically." So far, however, they have not done so because of the pressure of the environment and the atmosphere of reduced exigency. The people acknowledge freely that they could see the shortcomings but worked "with slackness," following the principle that "they

had always lived this way and that they had even obtained bonuses." A direct "enhancement of the human factor" in this circle occurred after the system of state inspection was introduced. However, let us emphasize this, the system was generated on the outside.

Another percentage of workers continue to work as in the past. The reasons for this are several. The state inspection system demanded of them much more than the daily observance of technological discipline. It became clear that the technical support of the production process was quite faulty and that correcting the situation depended not only on them but also on all related units--related shops, suppliers, etc. Furthermore, responsibility was increased sharply with virtually no increase in rights. They are also idle because they see that restructuring has only begun and "it is as yet unclear how it will turn out" and therefore one must save one's strength. Finally, this position can be explained by the personal assessment of the changes and the "projected model" of one's own life. By no means is everyone certain that he will be able to meet the requirements demanded by scientific and technical progress. He is also concerned with what will happen to him if with the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the updating of technology make his job or skill unnecessary.

There also is a group of workers who, it turns out, are obviously unable to meet the new requirements for a variety of reasons, such as insufficient technological knowledge and general education; the habit to "manage," without truly understanding anything, which has become second nature; finally, alcoholism and other forms of individual degradation. Such people are no longer able to restructure their way of thinking and way of life. Some of them may find employment in "auxiliary" jobs in terms of restructuring. As a whole, however, their situation is a major social problem and a hindrance to restructuring.

In looking at these types of people let us emphasize that, in the final account, everything depends on the depth of the changes which will affect the "personality nucleus," and will change the concepts and beliefs which an entire generation developed in the course of its life. The "human factor" is, above all, the human mind which is exceptionally capable of developing means of self-defense. There actually are many means which are (which can be seen only within the collective) aimed at preserving one's advantageous social position.

For example, there is a category of workers who, on the basis of all official standards, had been considered "beacons" until now. They are indeed talented and industrious. They systematically overfulfill their norms. Nonetheless, in their own environment they are described as "clandestine innovators." The secret is simple: they create and make use of strictly individual and varied technological adaptations and new developments which are concealed in the "collective report."

The "behavior" of conservative and criminal groups is an important indicator of restructuring. This is a subject for a separate discussion. At this point, let us merely note the changes which have already become apparent. The main among them is a differentiation in the environment within which said

groups exist and on which they sponge. Some of them start openly to criticize abuses; others consider themselves standards of an honest way of life; others again hesitate and ponder. As a reaction to various steps, the leaders of such groups apply a variety of means: they disparage "innovators," describe them as "bawlers," misrepresent the nature of their criticism, accuse others of their own errors while trying to conceal "their own," and threaten others with reprisals. Efforts are made to legalize the by then existing unspoken behavioral standards and morality such as "we must not steal among ourselves," "the aim justifies the means" and so on. We must develop a real idea of the fact that a certain mobilization of criminal infrastructures and reciprocal insurance will accompany the process of the assertion of the real and increasingly attractive conditions for honest and, at the same time, dynamic and initiative-minded life.

Readiness for Change

The most difficult thing to remember with all the changes and reorganizations which are taking place today, is that restructuring presumes, above all, intensive mental efforts with all the necessary skills, the ability independently to formulate tasks, to find the necessary information, to understand the changing situation rapidly, critically to evaluate one's own decisions and actions, to engage in dialogues and discussions, i.e., to be able to listen to and understand someone else.

We justly note the simplistic nature of the psychological concept of human interrelations based on the principle of "stimulus-reaction." In management practice and in daily contacts with people, however, we frequently follow this principle. Practices of strict bureaucratic administration reduced the Leninist idea of democratic centralism to a primitive system: "a single decision made at the top—a single action at the bottom," where there is no place for discussion, choices, initiative from below, with the exception of the possible "unconditional support" of departmental directives. Now, however, restructuring is beginning literally to clash with the opposition presented by such methods and style of human contacts. To learn restructuring also means to respect professional competence, to learn how to think, to develop the skill of intellectual work, to learn how to be a principled person, a person in all respects. The fact that we must not simply enhance the human factor but also shape it socially and morally, sparing no efforts, is by no means understood by everyone. Meanwhile, such shaping is taking place above all in the stream of life, in practical action, combined with intelligent educational efforts.

One of the most difficult tasks in this case is to plan one's own life. What a large number of plans have been drafted for the people and on their behalf! The dominant was the traditional type of regulating individual behavior: follow the model ("do what I do"). Today, however, the main regulator of labor activity is the target. There is a target, it must be reached. However, the model, the pattern to be followed does not exist. Therefore, both the habit and the standards of individual planning of activities, i.e., the ability to convert the target into a sequence of actions, to make independent decisions and to regulate them become absolutely necessary in the development of true independence.

What is required in order to stimulate restructuring on the group and individual levels? The processes we considered unexpectedly come closer to the problem of standards. Actually, the gap between words and actions, an orientation exclusively toward instructions "from above," as well as the various cliches of mass consciousness, such as "do not stand out," and "this too shall pass," are various means through which the standards operate. The standards we discuss, however, are not a museum which one could ignore for years. It has the real power of influencing the individual, for it is carried by social groups. Consequently, restructuring is the interrelated change in both.

With the support of the tremendous majority of the population, the party has irreversibly initiated restructuring and the initial steps along this path have been taken. Social development guidelines have been earmarked and a set of the necessary decisions has been made. We are now beginning the long and difficult path of mastering these principles by the mass consciousness and their transformation into fundamental values and standards of the daily behavior of different social strata and groups. The revolutionary nature (and tremendous difficulty) of restructuring includes the need to change the type of standards, according to which the orientation toward development and self-organization becomes dominant.

The first step, which has already been taken, was the establishment of a new moral atmosphere in society, which would change the mood of the people. So far, however, it has been largely created "from above," through the energetic efforts of the party and the state. Unquestionably, such an atmosphere is supported by the healthy forces within the society. Social activeness is increasing, the attitude toward the work is changing and greater autonomy is being displayed. It is equally clear, however, that in order to have real support, the local people are turning to the central authorities. We are facing a lengthy stage in the course of which the new principles and standards of culture will be strengthened and the autonomy of labor collectives and other social communities will be duplicated.

This task can be described as the strengthening and development of the "ecology of restructuring," i.e., shaping and comprehensively supporting all types of social communities, which are the bearers of and leaders in restructuring. In this connection, the party's stipulation of the need to restructure the work of CPSU raykoms and gorkoms, which are the direct link between the party and its primary units, is of essential significance, for the city, the rayon and the settlement are the social entities, the real human "ecosystems," the restructuring of which directly depends on the principles and standards of activities of their leading unit. For the time being, in the local areas and the more remote parts of the country, where the need for frames which would "support restructuring" is the most crucial, in frequent cases such units--initiative groups and their leaders in production, science, education and recreation--find it quite difficult to function.

Naturally, in this case we must be able also to identify the various types of demagogues and extremists who speculate on real and fictitious problems and, furthermore, who conceal their antisocial activities by raising the banner of restructuring high.

One of the hindrances of restructuring, precisely, is the fact that initiative, which today is urgently needed by society, is frequently blocked on the local level as either "unnecessary" or conflicting with the principles of economic management and social life which had developed in the past. That is why the task of ensuring the comprehensive and ubiquitous support of the leaders of restructuring remains topical. As was emphasized at the plenum, anyone who supports restructuring must benefit from the "active support and attention on the part of the party authorities." It is time to eliminate once and for all the obsolete stereotype of the bureaucratic understanding of initiative as an activity aimed at "survival." The additional responsibilities and obligations voluntarily assumed by the people must be supported by certain guarantees on the part of society. Restructuring is twice as difficult for leaders, for "worker organizers." They must not only surmount opposition from the outside and take risks but also restructure their own way of thinking. Actually, under the new circumstances, the need for pretending disappears. However, new difficulties related to the need to eliminate the passiveness which took years to accumulate and to destroy the psychological stereotype of "doing something" must be eliminated. It is particularly intolerable when the existing system of evaluating the work of a collective, petty supervision and denigrating control "from above" become obstacles in solving the innovative problems raised by the people themselves.

In addition to the current problems, strategic problems appear in their full magnitude. The deeper restructuring becomes, the more clearly the cadre problem will become not a task of "research" but of reproduction. This will mean not only controlled reproduction (training, retraining) but also the organization of all aspects of life on the type of foundations which would contribute to shaping the qualities needed by the individual. Sociology and related disciplines will face the relevant research task of developing a theory of social reproduction, with its premises, resources and mechanisms, applicable to present-day conditions. In short, it will be a question of the normal functioning of all primary cells of acceleration, rather than of activity based on "sheer enthusiasm."

In general, the concept of standards, which is so essential in medicine, psychology and other sciences related to sociology, has been clearly underestimated by the latter. Nonetheless, the party emphasizes, haste and thoughtlessness are as harmful to acceleration as conservatism and inertia.

A very complex problem is that of the regional and ethnocultural features in the pace of restructuring. The time required for internal restructuring (even if it promises significant improvements in living standards), the forms of organization of initiative groups and the nature of their relations with the local environment will be different in the different parts of the country. From these viewpoints the question of the pace of change and the pace of acceleration, by which we mean the stable ability of the individual and the group systematically to reproduce the professional and human qualities demanded of them by society, is one of the topical problems. In the final account, the acceleration and the principles and standards which support it must, to use Lenin's words, become part of the "culture, way of life and custom" (op cit., vol 45, p 390).

"Coming down" to the level of the individual, here as well we find, although in a different form, the need for similar prerequisites which would remove the barriers of resistance.

Above all, this applies to the existence of strong points, of a certain organized entity which will provide the innovator with "rear support" and with physical and moral resources. Most frequently, it is precisely the small group that provides such support. It is no accident, therefore, that today the family ("family contract"), the well-united brigade, and the collective of like-minded scientists, become the active promoters of the new.

The second strong point is moral. It involves the feeling of confidence that restructuring is irreversible and that, in the final account, it will take care of any supporter of routine, however strong the barriers he has erected around himself, reaching the enterprise, settlement or rayon, even the most distant from the capital. It means confidence that the principle-minded decisions of the party and the government will acquire flesh and blood in just as decisive and innovative actions and steps and will thus firmly become part of our daily life; the fact that all the steps taken in the future, affecting the life of the individual working person, will be taken openly and with his participation.

The third strong point is the future, which will affect everyone and all of us. Restructuring will affect everyone but differently. Not everyone can be a production innovator and even "ordinary" work will take many years to develop. However, every honest working person must be confident that the renovated society will have a place consistent with his capabilities and possibilities.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT U.S. INTERVENTION IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 87 (signed to press 14 Jul 87) pp 85-94

[Article by Viktor Leonidovich Malkov, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] Many serious works have been written about the U.S. intervention in Soviet Russia. Such works have been published in the United States as well. As a rule, however, such recollections in that country were soon blown away by the drafts of the cold war or covered by the weeds of forgetfulness. They remained unknown to the general public. Even without any special public opinion surveys we would be quite accurate in saying that Americans know little or most likely nothing about this shameful page in the chronicles of their country's foreign policy, written with the bayonets of the invasion forces, such as those of the "Polar Bears" Regiment and other subunits of the 85th Division on the Arkhangelsk Front in 1918-1919. It is hard to believe that the owners of ABC would have made the decision to produce a "horror" movie, such as "Amerika," which was so greatly damaging to the network's reputation, had they not been inspired by the ignorance of their compatriots as regards the history of Soviet-American relations. It would be natural in this connection to ask why is it that no one in Hollywood has thought of making a movie about a "superpatriotic" Rambo committing tireless "exploits" in the search for Red partisans in the Far Eastern tayga?

However, it would be as wrong to judge America on the basis of "Amerika" as it would be to put the entire blame for the decision to interfere in the internal affairs of the peoples of Russia, with a view to imposing upon them by force the restoration of the exploiting classes to power, on the American people without making a distinction between proponents and opponents of the intervention and between its organizers and its blind executors. Let us also say that this watershed does not necessarily follow the line dividing classes and strata. Even at the very top of the social pyramid, in the ruling circles and in the U.S. government no unanimity existed in formulating a course related to "the Russian question," not to mention the existence of a small but influential group of politicians who sharply opposed U.S. intervention in the Russian civil war (which included Republican Senators H. Johnson and W. Borah,

R. Robbins, the noted public figure, and N. Baker, the secretary of defense). Documentary proof exists of hesitating views (at least verbal) displayed on this topic in the initial stages by President Wilson and his closest advisor E. House (see "The Papers of Woodrow Wilson," Arthus S. Link, editor. Vol 45, Princeton, 1984, pp 151, 222).

One of the first messages which firmly demanded the invasion of Russia for the sake of crushing the revolution was received by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson as early as 9 November 1917. Its author was Frank Clark, a democratic congressman from Florida (see *ibid.*, p 39). Essentially this marked the opening of extremely sharp debates within the country's ruling circles on the "Russian question." Echoes of this internal conflict even reached European capitals. Seriously concerned by the irresponsible statements published in the American "big press" about the Russian Revolution, on 28 November 1917 Colonel House cabled Wilson and Robert Lansing from Paris that "Statements made in the American press in the sense that Russia must be treated like an enemy were cabled and published here. It is extremely important to stop such criticism" (*ibid.*, pp 151-152). Another message which Wilson received at the beginning of December 1917 indicates that House's advice was ignored. Its author, L. Colchord, pointed out that the nature and objectives of the bolshevik revolution continue to be deliberately distorted by the American press, depicting it as wild chaos the spreading of which could be stopped only "with iron and blood." "Bolshevik domestic policy," he wrote, "should be no concern of ours. It is based on a radical program, but Russia is ready to adopt it. That country is thirsting for peace and the majority of its people do not share the belief that the principle of private property is sacred. This fundamental difference between them and us should be taken into consideration. Although I am not a socialist I cannot fail to note the essentially cynical fact that it is precisely this difference in real life that frightens the Allies as they follow the events in Russia. No other explanation exists for the unconscious exaggeration of the threat allegedly stemming from Russian radicalism" (*ibid.*, p 192). The author of the letter firmly called for recognizing the Soviet government, stating that if "America and its allies" would continue to "revile" it, this could only expose their imperialistic aims. Wilson answered with the polite message that Colchord's thoughts were similar to his own (see *ibid.*, p 222).

In the first weeks after the revolution, expecting the imminent failure of the bolsheviks or their absorption by the petit bourgeois element, the U.S. government adopted the tactic of expectation and refusal to establish official contact with the Soviet government. Secretary of State Robert Lansing informed D. Frances, the American ambassador to Petrograd and the U.S. diplomatic missions in Western Europe and the Far East of this position. On 4 December 1917 the Secretary of State drafted a governmental statement on the nonrecognition of the Soviet government. Although he approved of this declaration in principle, at the very last moment President Wilson decided to wait, for such a statement could have triggered the objections of a significant segment of the democratic public and damaged his reputation as a

liberal and peace-maker. In a letter to the President, dated 10 December 1917, Lansing called for putting an end to "do-nothingness" and reiterated his suggestion that the United States support the counterrevolution in Russia and the establishment of a "military dictatorship in that country, backed by disciplined troops loyal to it" (see "The Papers of Woodrow Wilson," vol 45, pp 205-207, 263-265).

The word "intervention" began to appear in the U.S. bourgeois press, in secret government documents and in presidential correspondence as early as December 1917. The main reason for it was by no means the fictitious "aggressiveness" of the bolsheviks or even the fear of Russia's "betrayal" and its pulling out of the war. The United States and its allies had all the necessary proofs of the desire of the Soviet government to maintain and develop normal relations with them in all areas. Classifying Soviet Russia as "hostile country" with all the consequences this entailed was related to all of the categorical rejection of the fundamental principles of the socialist revolution: the social ownership of means of production, social equality and justice. As Lansing's 2 January 1918 letter to Wilson indicated, the Soviet's overthrow of the institution of private ownership, sacred to the capitalists, created a totally unacceptable situation, regardless of whether Russia would continue to wage war on the Germans or not. A working class in power and in control of national resources was, in his view, the root of "the most essential real threat, bearing in mind the state of social rebelliousness felt throughout the world" ("The Papers of Woodrow Wilson," vol 45, p 429).

Despite the extremely strong pressure coming from within and from the outside--from London, Paris and Tokyo--Woodrow Wilson nonetheless still hesitated. He questioned the success of the planned "expedition" and, above all, feared the insurmountable opposition of the revolutionary people of Russia and the growing opposition of the Americans themselves, based on his personal experience and available information. The March 1918 ratification of the Brest Peace Treaty with Germany at the 4th Extraordinary All-Russian Congress of Soviets were used by the U.S. propaganda machinery to fan anti-Sovietism. The decision in principle to intervene, however, was made at the beginning of 1918, i.e., even before the counterrevolutionary mutiny of the Czechoslovak corps broke out in Siberia, in the preparations for which the United States played a substantial role (see I.I. Mints, "God 1918-y" [The Year 1918], Moscow, 1982, p 499). For understandable reasons everything in this case was carried out in deep secrecy, hidden from the public, for even in the Department of State there were many sensibly thinking people who believed that the intervention was an exceptionally risky undertaking which could turn into a gigantic moral and political catastrophe. Soon afterwards, however, Washington's "Russian policy" adopted a definitively anti-Soviet course. The consolidation of the Soviet system encouraged Wilson to accept the viewpoint of circles which saw no way of fighting the Russian Revolution other than its defeat by the forces of the domestic counterrevolution and with foreign support.

Intensive discussions took place on intervening in "Russian affairs", in terms of both their essence and form, in the various departments in Washington and in the White House. Views were compared and the suggestions of experts, the military, and secret agents were analyzed. Such covert and strictly confidential activities requested by the secretary of state were manifested in the analysis which A. Coolidge, the noted foreign policy expert, made in May 1918. Today the readers, aware of the consequences of the decision of the U.S. government to invade Soviet Russia, can properly appreciate the assertions of the author of that document concerning Washington's "lofty motivations" manifested in the course of taking this decision. Even if some could have been misled by the verbal declarations concerning the objectives of U.S. policy relative to the "Russian question," Secretary of State Lansing himself admitted its immoral nature after the intervention had failed.

All documents cited here were found by us in U.S. archives, hitherto unpublished.

Document No 1

Report on U.S. Policy Toward Russia After the Assumption of Power by the Bolsheviks

It must be remembered that I was given a very short deadline to complete this project and with no more than 2 weeks in which to study our official documents at my disposal, my views are preliminary rather than the result of a thorough analysis.

I. The Mechanism

a. From the point of view of our needs in Washington, it seems inadequate. This question is so important, the material received so abundant and the daily portion of our work so excessive that Mr Miles (head of the Russian desk at the State Department--V.M.) is unable to handle it properly in such a way as to ensure the assembling of all available information. I have realized that valuable data can be found also in the files of other departments and agencies and that no rules whatsoever ensure that such important political information be given to the State Department. Determining which information is of real political value is not always easy, and it is important to have someone permanently assigned to do this. An official must be assigned to follow steadily secret British and French reports, current German political publications, the most important articles published in British and French periodicals and in our domestic press, books, etc. All of this must be analyzed in detail and its essence presented in a manner which would make such information accessible to State Department and other officials. It is very important for the person in charge of all this, related to the Russian question, to be able to understand Russian.

b. The work of our officials abroad is insufficiently coordinated, a situation which is understandable although frustrating. In circumstances of fast changes and grave and recurring crises, when fast action is needed, nothing should be able to stop us from strengthening centralized management, with the exception of cases in which communication facilities themselves make this impossible. Under the conditions which currently prevail in Russia, it is inevitable for all of our representatives to formulate their own judgments concerning the developing situation and it is very important for such judgments to be freely shared with their superiors. Nonetheless, although the somewhat observed rule exists that political recommendations must originate from the heads of missions, I have not developed the impression that in this matter the principle of consensus and of formulation of a coordinated opinion is observed.

II. The Political Line

Finding errors in the policy which the United States has been pursuing toward Russia over the last 6 months and criticizing some details in the behavior of some of our representatives would be very easy. I am not convinced, however, that any major errors have been made, and am even less certain that any other among the previously suggested policies could have guaranteed success. Everything seems to indicate that we were not only motivated by lofty reasons but also that we remained true to our principles despite failures.

III. The General Situation and Our Future Policy

In this section I shall simply note cases we come across, not daring to formulate any suggestions on how to resolve the problems.

The Russian Revolution has a triple objective--political, national and social. The entire process of its development has been complicated and determined by the World War which has brought incalculable disasters to the country. This complex interweaving of problems facilitated the destructive work done by Germany and made exceptionally difficult the task of Russia's allies, the United States in particular. Thus, the American people and the U.S. government are very pleased and supportive of the freedoms granted in Russia. They also sympathize with the expectations of the Poles, Finns and other nations and believe in the principle of self-determination of nations. On the other hand, they consider as the main task that of keeping Russia in the war and do not wish to see it weakened.

We must not ignore the fact that the people's masses in Russia are thirsting for peace at virtually any cost and the fact that setting up several independent countries on Russian territory threatens to consolidate its division and exceptionally increase the threat of German influence. A bolshevik triumph would make it possible to put most of Russia, temporarily at

least, under the control of a party which openly supports the principles of an international movement. These principles are based on a theory (shared by a minority of Americans) which rejects the right of the United States to consider itself a land of freedom, classifying it as the fatherland of bourgeois capitalists (as written--V.M.) who, proceeding from their purely selfish interests, are trying to keep Russia in the war. Under such circumstances it becomes quite difficult for the United States to chart the right policy, a difficulty which worsens if Russia, the Ukraine or Siberia, not to mention other areas, are considered separate communities, frequently requiring a different attitude toward them.

The most crucial and pressing problem of all is whether we should recognize, in some manner at least, the bolshevik government. Those who insist on adopting such a course claim that the bolsheviks are motivated by lofty (albeit perhaps false) ideals and that their views have been distorted and misrepresented by their enemies;

That they are the only party in Russia which knows clearly what it wants and is firmly resolved to achieve its objectives;
That they are the only bulwark in the struggle against reaction, on the one hand, and anarchy, on the other;

That to ostracize the bolsheviks would mean to throw them at the mercy of fate, which would alienate them from the Americans;

That it is only through the bolsheviks that we can be of use to Russia or simply to maintain business relations with it;

That in time they may become wiser and more conservative;

And that they will steadily consolidate their positions and become increasingly stronger.

There is also the opinion that the bolsheviks will collapse imminently, and that they are wrecking their country, for the difficulties of which they are mainly to blame;

That they have established an unbearable order based on crime and terror;

That they are hated by the majority of the population, particularly its best segment, who will never forgive us if we assist in any way the bolsheviks in strengthening their positions;

That the bolsheviks represent ideas and practices unacceptable to the Americans and that they openly reject all that we consider sacred;

That their leaders were bought by the Germans and that the Russian masses have become the blind instrument of German policy.

Americans who found themselves in Russia at the time of the revolution and who enjoyed equal access to information hold entirely divergent views. Should the bolshevik system collapse for purely internal reasons this fact may relieve us of the need to make a decision. If not, sooner or later, and the sooner the better, we shall have to make a choice.

Another question waiting for an answer is the following: How can we help Russia to stand again on its two feet, how to protect it from German influence and how to ensure its help to the Allies in winning the war? Although we would like to pursue them, these objectives are not necessarily the same. The following suggestions have been made:

1. Japanese intervention in Eastern Siberia. The extent of the danger of German penetration into Eastern Siberia is unclear. It is clear, however, that a possible Japanese invasion is causing a great deal of fear among the Russians, who would consider Japan's intervention a step aimed at the division of their territory by a country they fear more than the Germans. Could a true friend of Russia sympathize with such an idea? This is the reason for which the United States has already rejected it.

2. Intervention by all the Allies, including Japan. Such a step would worry the Russians less but could throw them in Germany's arms. In itself this would be a very cumbersome operation which would not yield expected results for a long period of time. A fighting advance to the west could result in the destruction of railway bridges, something which the Germans would not be slow in using.

3. Intervention without large-scale force, if possible, by the United States alone. This would be entirely admissible if we had the necessary manpower, ordnance and ships (in such a case the Czechoslovak army in Siberia could become part of our armed forces). One may expect that the Americans would be welcomed as friends and protectors.

A friendly act on our part would mean not only the restoration of order but also the repairing of rail tracks and aid in all respects. However, such an operation would be very delicate and the question which arises immediately is what would be the Japanese reaction to it?

4. There are those who insist that we immediately ship a great deal of various commodities to Russia, needed by the Russians, against the right to purchase from it goods which we ourselves need and which Germany is trying to obtain. In order to ensure a successful economic penetration we should, along with goods, sent to Russia a large number of experts (their current number in that country is very small), who would supervise the allocation of the goods and direct purchases, study the needs of the country and in general try to make themselves useful. In theory none of this could cause objections. However obvious difficulties would arise in the practical implementation of

such policy. Would we be able to ship to Russia sufficient quantities of goods? Would this not force us to recognize the bolshevik government? Is it not too late to undertake such a project now that the Germans control the Ukraine, which is the country's main farming and raw-material area? What guarantees do we have that anything that we ship to Russia would not fall into German hands? Nonetheless, such policy appears advantageous, so that if we want to do something for Russia, and do so immediately, we should not reject it without serious consideration.

5. We should follow the British and French example and increase our purchases of Russian goods, regardless of whether or not we could export them, merely for the sake of preventing their falling into German hands. Even the major cost of such an experiment would prove to be a trifle compared to what a single week of war is costing us. This proposal should be considered as part of what was already discussed and the considerations we mentioned should be applied to it as well.

These are a few points for consideration which, I presume, should be clearly remembered in making a choice in such an exceptionally confusing and difficult matter.

Archibald Carrie Coolidge

20 May 1918

While agreeing with the idea of intervention, initially President Wilson and his closest advisors contemplated sending a relatively small number of troops and auxiliary units, believing that they would be sufficient to carry out their assignment--assisting the counterrevolution. Their intention triggered violent objections on the part of supporters of mass actions and "full-scale operations." The question of the quantitative composition of the invasion forces and the correlation within them of American, Japanese, British and French contingents also found itself in the center of the debates. Those who favored extreme measures called for the occupation of the Far East and Eastern Siberia by a huge Japanese army. The following documents indicate the mood of this segment of American "hawks." The interventionist lobby consisted of a variety of influential forces, from former President T. Roosevelt to right-wing socialists such as J. Spargo and conservative members of academic circles, guided by George Kennan, the noted bourgeois ethnographer. His correspondence with Secretary of State Lansing and other supporter of intervention in the Russian civil war focused on substantiating the need for U.S. participation in the forceful strangling of the October Revolution.

Document No 2

A. Sack(2) to George Kennan, 8 June 1918(3)

I spoke out in favor of an allied military intervention in Russia many months ago. The allied forces should have invaded Russia and had all the required and other reasons to do so immediately following the ratification of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty by the bolshevik congress in Moscow. Technically this could have been possible, for at that time, when I advocated the use of an allied army I did not object to 75 percent of it being Japanese.

Document No 3

George Kennan to Robert Lansing, 28 June 1918(4)

I see no way of preventing clashes with the bolsheviks, and any kind of organization for aid to Russia, not relying on physical force, would be as helpless as the Provisional government the time it clashed with the Petrograd Soviet of Worker Deputies... If a commission you set up would go to Eastern Siberia without military support, or is assigned such support but not given the right to use it, results would be none.

The final decision to intervene (together with Japan) in Siberia was made at a White House meeting on 6 July (see G.N. Tsvetkov, "Shestnadtsat Let Nepriznaniya" [Sixteen Years of Nonrecognition], Kiev, 1971, p 37). On 3 August 1918 the U.S. declaration on the objectives of the invasion was made public. This was followed by the landing of the main forces of the American-Japanese Expeditionary Corps in Vladivostok under the pretext of helping the White Czechs and protecting military depots and began to fight their way inside Soviet territory. Somewhat later additional contingents of American forces joined units which were already deployed in the Arkhangelsk area. The growling of the "Polar Bears" was echoed painfully and bloodily in the northern parts of Soviet Russia where Americans took part in several punitive actions against communists, soviet personnel and the population which sympathized with the Red partisans. Soviets in areas occupied by Anglo-American troops were disbanded and in frequent cases their leaders were executed by firing squads. Tens of thousands of detainees, many of whom were executed by firing squads, tortured or died of hunger, passed through the prisons of Arkhangelsk, Murmansk, Mudyug Island and Iokanga.

Had it been exclusively a question of guarding military depots and similar auxiliary operations (as stated in official declarations), the U.S. Department of State would not have had to seek a pretext to justify the participation of large Japanese forces in the intervention in the Far East together with the Americans, not restricted to officially set lines. This is made obvious from the letter by Secretary Lansing, dated 3 August 1918, to his deputy Frank Polk. The letter of Deputy Secretary of State W. Phillips, dated 1 November

1919, proves that the United States did not limit itself to participating in the armed intervention in Soviet Russia, but also subjected the country to a strict economic and diplomatic blockade under the seemly pretext of "punishing" the bolsheviks for their attempt to "export the revolution." Citing the "desire" of the bolsheviks to overthrow the U.S. "form of government," Washington took it upon itself to organize conspiracies against the Soviet system. Systematically pursuing its set course, the U.S. government rejected the repeated offers of the Soviet government to establish permanent and broad economic and other relations. The failure of the intervention hit its sponsors most painfully and, as Lansing's 22 January 1920 letter indicates, although not one of them expressed regrets, there are indications of sober assessments of the existing situation, both in Russia and at home. Thus, for instance (quite indicatively), Lansing rejected suggestions which called for violating Russia's territorial integrity, considering unnatural granting independent country status to Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia and Armenia. He was counting on the suppression of the revolution and the revolutionary forces in the center and the peripheral areas by force and the comprehensive restoration of the old order, based on the reactionary elements of the exploiting classes and armed dictatorship.

Document No 4

Robert Lansing to Frank Polk, 3 August 1918(5)

I received your letter about progress or, more accurately, insufficient progress made in talks with Japan on the situation in Siberia and am greatly indebted to you for such information. I have reached the conclusion that the political situation in Japan has made an agreement difficult. It also seems to me that a formula could be found, which would satisfy the chauvinists in Japan (who insisted on the use of an unlimited amount of intervention troops--V.M.) but which would also be consistent with the spirit of your suggestion. I have always felt that in the final account there would be more Japanese than American troops, but that at the start the same number of Japanese and American soldiers should land in order not to trigger opposition on the part of the Russians.

I deem regretful the British and French aspiration to participate in this action, for in that case this would assume the nature of a joint intervention. No sort of declaration could soften such a view, for in the various parts of Russia we are secretly giving aid and support to the rebels. The participation of these two governments would turn our entire undertaking into direct intervention in Russian domestic affairs and create the impression that its real objective is the formation of a pro-Entente government in Siberia if not in all of Russia. It is very regrettable that London and Paris cannot understand this and are unwilling to let the United States and Japan to settle this matter alone.

Document No 5

William Phillips to Senator Wadsworth, 1 November 1919(6)

In response to your letter of 20 October 1919 concerning the so-called blockade of Petrograd, I have the honor to report the following: As far as the United States is concerned, there is no blockade whatsoever. However, the United States government refuses to grant export licenses for shipping freight to Russian territory under bolshevik control and refuses to issue documents needed for the sailing of American ships to Petrograd, which is the only port remaining in bolshevik hands....

The policy of abstaining from business or any other relations with areas under bolshevik control is dictated essentially by two considerations. The Russian bolsheviks have proclaimed as their objective to export the revolution to the entire world. They are using all opportunities to disseminate subversive propaganda in the United States in order to achieve the violent overthrow of the system of government which exists in our country.... The second consideration is related to bolshevik control over the allocation of necessities. All foreign trade in Soviet Russia has been "nationalized"...

Document No 6

Robert Lansing to Charles Valentine, 22 January 1920(7)

The fighting between Kolchak's forces and the bolsheviks continued with fluctuating success from the autumn of 1918 to October 1919, after which it was generally believed that Kolchak would be able to hold on to his positions and even to mount a successful attack in a westerly direction. Reports were so encouraging that every single one of my advisers in the Department of State, the Russian ambassador (Bakhmetyev--V.M.) and many others, unrelated to government circles, insisted that he (Kolchak--V.M.) be extended the recognition of the United States government.

The study of available data and received information has convinced me that the Czechoslovak army (the White Czechs--V.M.) is the only force that Kolchak's government has and that this government has not enjoyed the broad support of the Russian people because of the corruption and inaction of its civilian administration. That is the reason for which I refused to recognize Kolchak until he had established a stable government with the support of the zemstvos and the cooperative societies (political groups in Siberian areas controlled by Kolchak's forces and essentially pro-bourgeois--V.M.). My decision provoked a great deal of discontent and, I admit, I fear having erred, taking the unanimous view of everyone else into consideration....

We cannot send to Russia troops sufficient to maintain the lines of communication and at the same time fight the bolsheviks at the front. This would necessitate between 75,000 and 200,000 soldiers. But even if we had

that many troops and all the required equipment and were ready to send them to fight in Russia, you know that the American people would be opposed and, in truth, I would not blame them for this.

I am against supporting the conversion of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, Georgia, etc. into independent countries. Siberia could possibly be separated from Russia but I fail to see the sense of turning such a sparsely populated huge territory into a sovereign country.

Document No 7

Robert Lansing to John Davis, 7 May 1920(8)

Without trade with the outside world the bolshevik regime will be unable to hold out. International boycott will hasten its end, forcing the Russian people, in a flare of indignation, to overthrow the power of a handful of criminal elements....

The movement of members of a great variety of strata within American society against intervention and for immediate recognition of the Soviet government and establishing normal good neighborly relations with it is a different subject. It rallied workers, their organizations, and many influential members of both bourgeois parties. Despite obstacles erected on its way, the "Hands Off of Soviet Russia" movement kept expanding. Many leaders of the socialist movement and, starting with the autumn of 1919, the Communist Party, played an important role in it. John Reed, who was one of its founders, was an ardent propagandist of the Great October Revolution. Eugene Debs, the popular leader of the American socialists, proclaimed his solidarity with the young Soviet republic from the very first days of the victory of the socialist revolution.

One of the major reasons which forced the Wilson administration to abandon the idea of wide-scale intervention was the restlessness of the U.S. expeditionary forces in Siberia and in the north of Soviet Russia. They also included some who zealously obeyed orders on instilling "democracy" in the occupied areas by force. In his work on the history of the 339th Infantry Regiment, which fought on the Arkhangelsk front, based on archival data, American researcher R. Doolen cites an excerpt from the diary of one of them. Ordered in November 1918 to destroy a village near Arkhangelsk as a "preventive" measure of "protection" from partisan snipers, he fulfilled this assignment in full. "My heart," the soldier wrote, "ached at the sight of women who fell at my feet, clutching them, kissing my hands, begging me not to do it. But an order is an order... I did my duty" (R.M. Doolen. "Michigan's Polar Bears," Ann Arbor, 1985, p 10). Gradually, however, awareness that they had been tricked and used to fight a war on a people motivated by patriotism and dedicated to the ideals of justice, made the boys from Michigan to reflect on the reason for which American units had been brought to Russia under the Stars and Stripes, and Washington's reasons for this.

Document No 8

Eugene Debs to James O'Neal, 28 September 1918(9)

Let me especially note your statement on Sisson's shameful forgeries (a version spread by official U.S. propaganda to the effect that the October Revolution was the work of "German agents"--V.M.), related to the equally shameful conspiracy aimed at suppressing the noble bolsheviks under the pretext of rescuing the Russian people. I cannot believe that this criminal clique will achieve its objective through blasphemous fraud and forgeries. If nonetheless it succeeds in committing this crime against mankind, i.e., if it succeeds in defeating the Russian Revolution, this will mean that the overall end is consistent with the unseemly means used to achieve it.

Document No 9

Appeal by the Soldiers of the 339th Infantry Regiment to the Commanders of Units in the Arkhangelsk Region(10)

We, the undersigned, firmly state that we demand to be withdrawn from the zone of operations by no later than 15 March 1919. Past that day we shall firmly refuse to remain in the advanced positions and fight with the bolsheviks, including participating in patrol operations.

Taking into consideration the fact that our task in Russia has been carried out and that our stay here has lost its significance, we deem ourselves free from carrying out our service. We reached this conclusion after 6 months of constant and uncomplaining self-sacrifice and serious discussions. All of this must not be interpreted as an unpatriotic act.

On this basis we state that the interests and honor of the United States are by no means threatened and that we have fulfilled our mission--fighting the Germans. Our further presence here will mean interfering in the internal affairs of the Russian people with whom we have no quarrel.

We have read this appeal which we support, declaring that we shall terminate all military actions after the date mentioned.

Signed by soldiers of the second platoon, Company B, 339th Regiment (about 70 signatures)

Document No 10

Appeal by the Soldiers of the 339th Regiment 'To the Bolshevik Soldiers'(11)

We have been told officially that our President has ordered our evacuation from Russia. However, until 17 May we shall be under hated British control.

We fail to understand this. We are not essentially fighting only for our lives. There are no longer any British soldiers at the front. We would rather join forces with you to bring down the crowned heads for the sake of the well-being of most people. The American soldiers have heard enough stories about "bolo" (bolshevik--V.M.) atrocities, but we trust none of that. Our families and dear wives are waiting for us as yours are waiting for you. We do not wish to fight you. If you would wait 2.5 months we shall be gone from Russia.

American soldiers

Document No 11

W. Chamberlin to Hiram Johnson, 24 January 1919(12)

Allow me to express my admiration at the bold and sensible step you have taken by speaking out against the intervention in Russia. I am a recently demobilized college graduate, for which reason no one could consider me a "German agent" or apply to me the reactionary label of "anti-Americanism."

The reason for which I, like millions of other young Americans, risked my life for the overthrow of German tyranny, makes us oppose even more firmly the continuation of military operations aimed against Russian democracy. I consider the activities of our forces in Russia, which are fighting for the interests of a handful of generals and bureaucrats, who would like to restore in Russia an even more tyrannical and undemocratic system than the one which was destroyed in Germany, a sinister grotesque and insane anomaly.

Document No 12

Arthur Aldrich to Hiram Johnson, 1 February 1919(13)

I am very interested in knowing what you are doing and what your ideas are in connection with the suggestion concerning Russia. My concern is shared by hundreds of other Americans. My brother is with the 339th Infantry, fighting the bolsheviks in the north of Russia. However, neither we nor the boys of the 339th know what they are fighting for.

Document No 13

From a Resolution of Lodge No 82, International Association of Machinists, 10 February 1919(14)

Bearing in mind that the United States has never declared war on Russia and that it entered that country under the seemly pretext of assisting the Czechoslovaks in their proceeding to the French front and the protection of our property from the Germans, and taking into consideration that the reason for such intervention no longer exists, that in his Senate speech Senator

Johnson stated that false information about Russia was being disseminated, with the help of which efforts were being made to provoke a conflict between the governments of the United States and Soviet Russia, and that the Soviet government had repeatedly and unsuccessfully tried to establish cooperation with us against the German government, we asked the Department of State to explain the reason for the nonwithdrawal of the troops from Russia.

Whereas no answer to this question was received from the Department of State, which is what forced Senator Johnson and other senators to demand the withdrawal of our forces, and whereas the Soviet government is currently preparing to hold the 7th Congress of Soviets, thus proving its stability and the mass support it enjoys, and even assuming that this cannot be considered a guiding principle for our country, as President Wilson declared, but considering that each nation has the right to decide for itself the type of government it prefers and what it considers to be the road to its salvation, we hereby resolve:

To demand that American troops be immediately withdrawn from Russia and that the American government use its full influence for the withdrawal of the other allied forces and for lifting the censorship imposed on mail, telegraph and other communications between Russia and the United States;

To send copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to Senators Johnson and La Follette, the leadership of the AFL, the Russian government and the representatives of the British, French and Italian labor movements.

Notes:

1. Princeton University. Mudd Library. Robert Lansing Papers. Box 4. A.C. Coolidge to Lansing. May 20, 1918.
2. Director of the influential "Russian Information Office," which rallied numerous supporters of solving the "Russian problem" with force.
3. Princeton University. Mudd Library. Robert Lansing Papers. Box 4. A.J. Sack to George Kennan. June 8, 1918.
4. Princeton University. Mudd Library. Robert Lansing Papers. Box 4. George Kennan to Lansing. June 28, 1918.
5. Library of Congress. Robert Lansing Papers. Vol 37. Lansing to Frank L. Polk. August 3, 1918.

6. Georgetown University Library. Robert F. Kelley Papers. Box 3. William Phillips to Senator Wadsworth. November 1, 1919.
7. Princeton University. Mudd Library. R. Lansing Papers. Box 5. Lansing to Charles W. Valentine. January 22, 1920.
8. Ibid. Box 5. Lansing to John W. Davis. May 7, 1920.
9. New York State University. Bobst Library. E.V. Debs Collection. Box 3. James O'Neal Papers. Debs to James O'Neal. September 28, 1918.
10. Bentley Historical Library (Ann Arbor, Michigan). Silver Parrish Diary (July 14, 1918-June 1919).
11. Ibid. Kenneth A. Skellenger Diary. Petition to the Bolshevik soldiers. March 9, 1919.
12. Bancroft Library. Hiram W. Johnson Papers. Part III. Box 12. Folder: Russia (1918-1919). W.H. Chamberlin to Johnson. January 24, 1919.
13. Ibid. Box 12. Folder: Russia (1918-1919). Arthur J. Aldrich to Johnson. February 1, 1919.
14. Ibid. Box 12. International Association of Machinists Lodge No 82 (Detroit). Resolution. February 10, 1919.

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COMPATRIOTS FROM NGHE TINH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 87 (signed to press 14 Jul 87) pp 95-101

[Article by Yevgeniy Vasilyevich Kobelev, member of the Soviet Committee for Support to the Peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, candidate of historical sciences, and Nikolay Nikolayevich Solntsev, deputy chairman of the Central Board, Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship Society]

[Text] Nghe Tinh Province is located in the central part of Vietnam. Although indistinguishable on the surface, this area has played a special role in the age-old history of the Vietnamese nation. From way back its people have been known as proud, ardent and freedom loving. In the Middle Ages they were the first to respond to the calls of legendary military leaders and to rally under their banners to liberate their native soil from foreign enslavers. During the period of French colonialism it was here that many national patriotic movements of the Vietnamese people originated. In 1930 Nghe Tinh Province became the birthplace of the first agencies of people's power in Vietnam--the soviets of worker and peasant deputies.

This province has given Vietnam a galaxy of national heroes--ancient military leaders, great poets and outstanding revolutionaries. Clearly, it was no accident that it was precisely here that Ho Chi Minh, the great son of Vietnam, and the first Vietnamese communists, his closest fellow-workers Le Hong Phong, Chan Phu, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai and others, were born and spent their childhood and adolescent years.

They were ardent patriots, who thirsted for the liberation of their homeland, but also true internationalists. It is not astounding that their lives and revolutionary activities were profoundly linked with the Comintern and with our party and country.

A great deal has been said about Ho Chi Minh's stay in our country, in articles, books and documentaries. Less familiar to the Soviet readers are other Vietnamese revolutionaries who, like Ho Chi Minh, lived and worked in the land of the soviets in the 1920s and 1930s and were at the origins of the founding of the party of Vietnamese communists and of Vietnamese-Soviet friendship. It is noteworthy that many of them were Ho Chi Minh's compatriots from Nghe Tinh Province and some even from the same municipality.

Le Hong Phong was accepted for postgraduate studies but was unable to defend his dissertation, for in 1932 the Comintern Executive assigned him to return to Vietnam, where police terrorism was raging, to re-establish ties among the routed party organizations.

Le Hong Phong returned to Moscow 3 years later as head of the delegation of the ICP to the 7th Comintern Congress. The envoy of the Indochinese communists was elected member of the Comintern Executive Committee.

To Le Hong Phong this second trip to Moscow brought double happiness...

"I do not remember my parents at all," recalls Hong Minh, Le Hong Phong's daughter, now an official with the Ho Chi Minh City party committee. "I was born in jail and was separated from them. I found out what had happened to my mother and father, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai and Le Hong Phong, only later, after I had grown up. Although they had grown up in neighboring villages, they got to know each-other really well only in the spring of 1935, in the train which was taking them from Vladivostok to Moscow. They must have talked a great deal and realized how similar they were. My parents married in Moscow. My mother was known as Dawn and my father as Red Wind, which was the translation of their names from the Vietnamese. They lived the lives of clandestine revolutionaries. We have kept at home photocopies of their certificates as delegates to the 7th Comintern Congress."

At that congress that the Indochinese Communist Party, represented by Le Hong Phong and Minh Khai, was officially accepted in the Comintern. At the congress Le Hong Phong read a report in which he said, among others, that "Despite the bloody terror unleashed by the colonizers the Indochinese Communist Party is fully resolved...to overthrow imperialist and feudal power, achieve national liberation and initiate the building of socialism..."

Minh Khai, the youngest delegate, who was assigned to speak on behalf of the women of the Orient, said at the congress that "The Indochinese communists will always march in the leading ranks of the fighters for the liberation of the working people in their country and in defense of the Soviet Union." In the break between sessions she was warmly greeted by N.K. Krupskaya. This touching meeting was recorded in a documentary film.

In the spring of 1936 a very successful merchant showed up in Saigon. He was impeccably dressed and was acquainted with French manufacturers, Chinese bankers and Vietnamese merchants. All indications were that his business was prospering. Colonial security had no inkling that this successful businessman, who wore an elegant straw hat, was the secretary of the Indochinese Communist Party Central Committee, recently back from Moscow. Under this convenient cover, Le Hong Phong worked actively to strengthen the party organizations and to increase the party's ranks. Together with his wife Minh Khai, who was the secretary of the clandestine Saigon city party committee of the ICP, he addressed secret worker meetings and rural rallies. They spoke about the land of the soviets and disseminated Lenin's doctrine at meetings of peasants, rubber plantation workers, textile and metallurgical workers, longshoremen, sailors and ricksha pullers.

Dawn and Red Wind

A short, smart-looking youngster showed up at the Borisoglebsk Flying School in 1928.

"Litvinov," was the way he introduced himself.

The students were puzzled. The name was Russian, but the comrade looked Asiatic. The more curious tried to find out where he was from, and were his parents living? But the new student either answered with a joke or turned the discussion to something else.

A small biplane appeared from behind the trees and landed on the green square which marked the airfield. The pilot gave his parachute to the mechanic and threw his gloves on the ground, jumped lightly off the wing and walked to the black and white "mushroom" under which stood the flight instructor.

"Well done," the flight instructor said.

Soon afterwards the students were told that Litvinov had been reassigned to another school. Many of them felt hurt, feeling that he should have said good bye. They did not know that their comrade was Le Hong Phong, a Vietnamese revolutionary who had come clandestinely to the Soviet Union. Naturally they were unaware of the most important fact: on the recommendation of the Comintern Executive Committee, he had been assigned to attend the Communist University for Working People from the Orient.

Today the photograph of Le Hong Phong is among those of famous graduates in the museum of the Borisoglebsk school, where documents from that time are kept. It was here, in this small Soviet city, that nearly 60 years ago Le Hong Phong became the first Vietnamese pilot. His dream was to fly over free Vietnam from North to South, after the victory of the revolution. Today hundreds of his compatriots--Nghe Tinh boys--have earned their wings and are combat pilots. They defended their homeland from the American air pirates and are securely protecting the freedom earned by their fathers and grandfathers, and Pham Tuan, the first Vietnamese cosmonaut, has flown around the earth...

Le Hong Phong spent 4 years at the KUTV, where revolutionary cadres for colonial and dependent countries were being trained. Here he mastered the theory of scientific communism and it is here that he became a convinced Marxist-Leninist. Le Hong Phong studied Marxist-Leninist science on the basis of the development of the sociopolitical situation in colonial Vietnam. His work notebooks of that time are filled with thoughts on the possible ways of development of the Vietnamese revolution.

A major event took place in Le Hong Phong's life in 1929: he became member of the VKP(b). In their recommendations S.V. Strul and A.B. Pirumov, university students, described him as a "thoughtful, serious and mature comrade, worthy of the title of member of the VKP(b)." The communist-students' meeting unanimously voted to grant Le Hong Phong party membership.

Le Hong Phong's most important action was holding the July 1936 ICP Central Committee Plenum, at which a decision to change the party's tactics was made. A course to the establishment of a broad anti-imperialist popular front was charted. The plenum called upon the communists to make broader use of legal and semilegal forms of work among the masses, in order to involve in the political struggle all classes, parties, political organizations, and religious and ethnic groups which wanted democracy and national liberation. Vietnamese historians rate the July 1936 ICP Central Committee Plenum as an exceptionally important event, which marked the start of a new age in the Vietnamese revolution, for which Le Hong Phong deserves tremendous credit.

"A provocateur was able to penetrate the strictly conspiratorial organization which was set up by my parents," Hong Minh recalls. Le Hong Phong and Minh Khai was seized by the secret police and sent to Saigon's political prison. During the investigations they claimed that they did not know one-another. They kept their silence despite the tortures. The authorities did not dare to have an open trial. The sentence of the special tribunal was brief: "Minh Khai will be executed by firing squad!" Unable to gather sufficient proof against Le Hong Phong, the gendarmes took him to Kondao, the "Isle of Death. He died there on 6 September 1942 from tortures and hunger. His last words were to his cellmate: "Comrade, tell the party that to my last breath I believed that the hour of victory of our revolutionary cause will strike."

Teacher

At the turn of the 1930s the owner of a luxurious house on 90 Red Cotton Street in Hanoi was known to everyone: he held the most influential position of financial inspector in the government of "French Indochina."

Whenever Monsieur Duillot drove his Renault convertible through the wide-open forged-iron gates of his home the policeman on duty at the crossroads subserviently saluted. He knew that the Hanoi chief of police was a frequent guest of the inspector.

The inspector's family--himself, his wife and his daughter--occupied the ground floor and the upper stories. All service and servants quarters were in the basement.

On one occasion, after receiving his instructions for the lunch and dinner menu, Tah Van Banh, the cook-major domo made an unusual request: could his relative, a poor rural teacher, who had come to Hanoi in search of employment, stay for a while in the servants' quarters?

That same evening, a quiet young man showed up in the small room next to the kitchen. As befitted a poor but self-respecting rural teacher, he wore a white shirt and wide cotton trousers. He carried a big black umbrella under his arm and a woven basket from which hung an inkwell, in his hand.

The guest almost never left his room. Whoever looked in on him always saw the same sight: the rural teacher was writing something, sitting on his knees in front of a case which served as a bed and writing table. The cook explained to the other servants that his relative was practicing calligraphy...

One could only imagine how upset the inspector would have been had he learned that Chan Phu, one of the heads of the Vietnamese communist movement, sentenced to death in absentia by the colonial tribunal, was living under his roof, and that his cook was a member of the ICP....

Prior to his clandestine move to Hanoi, Chan Phu had lived in Moscow, where he had been sent by Ho Chi Minh with the second group of Vietnamese revolutionaries, after Le Hong Phong and, like him, had attended the KUTV. The Museum of the Revolution in Hanoi keeps in its archives a letter by Ho Chi Minh to the KUTV party organization, dated 25 June 1927, in which he reports on the founding of the first communist cell of Vietnamese students, and suggests that "Comrade Le Quy" (Chan Phu's party name) be made its secretary. The members of the cell, which initially consisted of five people, unanimously chose Chan Phu as their leader.

Ho Chi Minh had an excellent feel for people. He saw in the cheerful boy from Nghe Tinh Province the talent of a convinced and firm revolutionary leader.

Chan Phu loved Moscow, with its active rhythm of life and its people, among whom he made many friends. As Ho Chi Minh recalls, at that time Moscow instilled in the foreign communists tremendous revolutionary thrust. The same applied to Chan Phu.

On the recommendation of the Comintern Executive Committee, Chan Phu represented the Indochinese revolutionary movement at the 6th Comintern Congress in 1928. One of the congress' important items was the discussion of the national-colonial problem, to which Chan Phu made a contribution.

During his stay in Moscow, Chan Phu developed as one of the acknowledged leaders of the Vietnamese communists.

In the home of the inspector of finance Chan Phu was not only hiding from the gendarmes but also worked on the political theses of the program of the ICP. Stored in the small case were articles by V.I. Lenin and Comintern documents. Tah Van Banh said later that, in the morning, on his way to the market he carried at the bottom of his basket the writings of his "relative."

Chan Phu was able to complete his work without a hitch, for it never occurred to the police to suspect the respectable house. Having completed the program theses, Chan Phu left Hanoi for Hong Kong, where the ICP Central Committee held its first clandestine plenum, in October 1930. The plenum approved the political theses which determined the nature of the Vietnamese revolution as being national and people's democratic and aimed, above all, against the power of the colonizers and the local feudal rulers. One of the important items in the program was the following: "Let Us Defend the Soviet Union--the Homeland of the Proletarian Revolution!" It was precisely as of that moment that this slogan became one of the principal manifestations of the proletarian internationalism of the Vietnamese communists. The plenum elected Chan Phu secretary general of the ICP Central Committee.

Toward the end of that year Chan Phu arrived in Saigon where he mounted extensive work for the establishment of local party organizations. However,

he was not destined to complete this project. On the evening of 18 April 1931 Chan Phu was caught by the colonial secret police and thrown in jail. He was tortured to death and died in Saigon's prison on 6 September 1931.

He became immortal with the words addressed to the Vietnamese communists in his final note: "Keep up the struggle."

They Fought at Moscow

In November 1967, during one of the rare evenings when no air-raid alarm had sounded in Hanoi, Ton Duc Thang, vice president of the DRV told one of the authors of this essay the following: "At the beginning of 1942 I was in the colonial hard-labor prison in Poulo-Condor Island (Kondao). The news of the historical victory of the Red Army at Moscow reached us from the mainland. The comrades said that several Vietnamese had taken part in that battle..."

Several years later Ivan Vinarov, a BCP veteran, confirmed this fact in his book "Boytsy Tikhogo Fronta" [Fighters on the Silent Front]. When the German-fascist hordes had already reached the approaches to Moscow, on G. Dimitrov's call, an International Regiment was raised, made up of the foreign communists who were in the Soviet capital at that time. The regiment became part of the Separate Special Purpose Motorized Infantry Brigade (OMSBON). The brigade particularly distinguished itself in the heavy fighting for Moscow. It was in its ranks that Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya accomplished her immortal exploit. According to Ivan Vinarov, who was the commissar of the International Regiment, there were six Vietnamese communists along with the German, Austrian, Spanish and Bulgarian antifascists--the backbone of the regiment.

The study of personnel files of the OMSBON provided no answer. Not a single Vietnamese name was found. According to I. Vinarov the explanation is that the Vietnamese members of the Comintern had used false names. Nor were there photographs of them. Many of their Soviet comrades were unaware of their true nationality, thinking that they came from the Soviet Central Asian republics.

In its broadcasts in Vietnamese, Radio Moscow frequently appealed for information about these heroes. Other active participants in the search were PRAVDA, NAN THAN, the newspaper of the VCP Central Committee, the Museum of the Revolution in Hanoi and the Nghe Tinh Soviets Museum in Vinh.

The USSR Gosteleradio received its first response from the Vinh museum in the year of the 40th anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic war: One of the participants in the defense of the Soviet capital in 1941 was Viong Duc Tinh, a noted Vietnamese communist, compatriot of Ho Chi Minh and son of his first school teacher. Radio Moscow prepared a special broadcast about Viong Duc Tinh. Soviet fellow-members of his regiment spoke on the radio and the badge of OMSBON veteran, posthumously awarded to Tinh, was presented to Maj Gen Nguyen Don Tui, SRV military attache in the USSR, to be delivered to the Vietnamese People's Army Museum in Hanoi.

Last autumn a Soviet television filming crew went to Vietnam to work on a movie on the first Vietnamese communists. The authors of the film met with Tinh's widow and son. They were able to identify three other OMSBON

vietnamese veterans: Viong Duc Doai (Le Duc Tat's pseudonym as a clandestine fighter), Nguyen Shinh Than (Le Nam Than) and Hoang Fan Tui (Le Anh Tao).

What had brought these Vietnamese communists to wartime Moscow?

In July 1926 the Central Council of the All-Union Pioneer Organization in Moscow received a letter from Canton, signed by Le Thui (one of Ho Chi Minh's party names). It read: "Dear comrades: We have a small group of Vietnamese children aged between 12 and 15. They are the first young communists of Vietnam, which is oppressed by the French imperialists. They are very young but have already suffered a great deal... We tell them about the Russian Revolution and Lenin, they express their ardent desire to go to your country to live and study and to become true students of Lenin, like you... We hope that you will not refuse to accept these Vietnamese youngsters as students..."

Further investigations revealed that eight Vietnamese boys and girls from families of professional revolutionaries had attended political study courses for Vietnamese revolutionaries, organized by Ho Chi Minh in Canton in 1925. The day they arrived in Canton they were given new names for conspiratorial purposes, with Le as the common family name. From that day on they were all considered Le Thui's "nieces and nephews."

The fate of these Vietnamese children was unusual. Particularly noteworthy among them was Le Tui Chong, the first Vietnamese member of the Komsomol. He was only 12 years old when he joined the revolution. Ho Chi Minh spent a great deal of time with him in turning him into a true revolutionary fighter. In 1931, when a wave of strikes and meetings spread throughout Vietnam, Le Tui Chong was a member of the combat unit which guarded party leaders at mass actions. In one such meeting workers were attacked by colonial police. Le Tui Chong shot the secret police officer, was captured and sentenced to death. The executioners even ignored the fact that the young patriot was a minor. Allowed to make a final statement in court, he boldly told the enemy:

"I do not repent for anything. I knew what I was doing for the sake of the revolution. Although I am still under 18, I have realized that the only road open to our young people is that of the revolution."

The young Le Tui Chong went to the guillotine with his head raised high and the words of the International, the proletarian anthem, on his lips.

The history of the Vietnamese revolution has preserved yet another name from the glorious eight initial Vietnamese Pioneers. In June 1931 the British police in Hong Kong conducted a surprise raid on the house at 186 Street of the Three Dragons and arrested a stranger who gave his name as Sun Manchuo (name Ho Chi Minh used in his political work in Southern China). The report of the officer in charge of the raid indicated that another detainee was Le Tam, a 17-year old Vietnamese girl. Both were tried for "revolutionary activities." However, the charge was very weak, for despite a lengthy search conducted during the raid the police were unable to find even a single proof that the detainees were members of the Indochinese Communist Party. Furthermore, the Vietnamese patriots in trouble were helped by the Comintern Executive Committee and the MOPR (International Society for Assistance to

Fighters for the Revolution). In the final account Le Tam was found innocent and released. One year later, after a long and hard struggle for his life, Ho Chi Minh, whom the British authorities wanted to deliver to the French secret police, was able to obtain a not-guilty verdict.

Therefore, it is quite certain that after the Komsomol Central Committee had responded favorably to Ho Chi Minh's letter not all eight children left for Moscow. There were apparently only six. So far, however, only the three names we mentioned have been identified. As to Tinh, it was established that he accompanied the children.

The way to Moscow was long for Tinh and the children. It took them several years to reach the Soviet capital. They entered school but the war interrupted their studies.

The Soviet fighters from Nghe Tinh fought their final battle somewhere in the approaches to Moscow. "Remember those who fell in the battle for Moscow"... These words from the familiar Soviet song also apply to the young heroes from distant Vietnam.

Soon after the participation of the Nghe Tinh communists in the defense of Moscow had become common knowledge, NAN THAN reported the name of another Vietnamese member of the Comintern, who had worked in a Moscow hospital during the war: Le Phan Tan (clandestine name Le Phu Shan). On the very first day of the war he requested to be sent to the front, but was assigned to a Moscow hospital because of poor health. He welcomed Victory Day in the land of the Soviets and was awarded the medal "For Valorous Work in the 1941-1945 Great Patriotic War." After his return to the homeland, following his exile imposed by the colonizers, he enjoyed the profound love and respect of his compatriots and his Soviet friends. Le Phan Tanh died in Hanoi in 1980 at the age of 80.

Thus, long efforts led to the identification of the five Vietnamese internationalists and defenders of Moscow. On 1 December 1986, on the eve of the 45th anniversary of the launching of the Soviet counteroffensive at Moscow, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium posthumously awarded the medal "Forty Years of the Victory in the 1941-1945 Great Patriotic War" to Biong Duc Tinh, Le Duc Tat, Le Nam Thanh, Le Anh Tao and Le Phu Shan; by USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium ukase, dated 14 December, the five Vietnamese who participated in the battle for Moscow were awarded the Order of the Patriotic War first class.

This was one more exciting line in the chronicle of Soviet-Vietnamese brotherhood.

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SCHOOL OF CREATIVE THOUGHT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 87 (signed to press 14 Jul 87) pp 102-109

[Text] The first volume of the "Philosophical Legacy" series was published nearly one-quarter of a century ago. The series now exceeds 100 volumes. In connection with this event, the editors of this journal turned to the members of the editorial collegium of "Philosophical Legacy," scientists, teachers and publishing workers, with a request to express their views on this multiple-volume series, to describe its role in the development of philosophical culture in our society and in shaping the new man and to outline the plans and prospects for future work in the publication of subsequent volumes and the problems which appear in this connection.

V. Sokolov, deputy chairman of the editorial collegium of the "Philosophical Legacy" series, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor:

We keep talking of the need to teach history, the inadmissibility of "rewriting" history and its subjectivistic interpretation or of its cleanup, so to say. This also applies to the history of philosophy, for there is no more efficient means with which to oppose any "corrections" of the past than the publication of philosophical works written by philosophers of the past, each one of which reflects its own age. We are quite familiar with Engels' words to the effect that "theoretical thinking is an innate feature manifested only as a capability. This capability must be developed and improved. However, no instrument to this effect other than the study of all previous philosophy exists in achieving this" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 20, p 366).

At the start of the 1960s, the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy decided to broaden and systematize the publication of the philosophical classics. The "Philosophical Legacy" series was established especially for this purpose. The plan for this series calls for covering all basic stages in the history of philosophy, as represented by the works of its main creators.

We can already point out today that the planned program for this tremendous project has remained unfulfilled in a number of very important areas. Thus, although the works of Hegel have been published a number of times (12 volumes

have been reprinted), so far the reader has not obtained works of his, such as "Lectures on the History of Philosophy" and "Philosophy of History," which were summarized by V.I. Lenin in his "Philosophical Notebooks," as well as his "Philosophy of the Law." These works, which were published in imperfect translations at the beginning of the 1930s, have long become bibliographic rarities. Nor do we find the principal works written by Fichte and Schelling. The series does not include also the works of Feuerbach, in which he describes his concepts of anthropological materialism ("Nature of Christianity," and others), which played such an important role in the philosophical establishment of Marxism (although a two-volume publication of such works came out, published by Gospolitizdat in 1955. However, finding this edition today is quite difficult).

So far the series has not included the works of universally acknowledged philosophical classics, such as Descartes, Bruno, or Spinoza.

Few works have been published in this series by philosophers of the peoples of union republics. All that has been published in addition to the one-volume works of David Anakht, the Armenian philosopher, and Ioan Petrits, the Georgian philosopher, has been a two-volume edition of the works of G.S. Skovoroda, the outstanding Ukrainian 18th-century philosopher.

The question of the upper chronological limit of the works included in the series has not been solved.

Although the publication of the works of philosophical classics is by no means completed, we need reprints of many of some volumes already published in the series relatively a long time ago and in small editions.

V. Vodolagin, director of Izdatelstvo Mysl:

The overall plan of the series includes about 200 personalities and the publication of approximately 500 volumes. As planned by the publishing house, this series must become a specific example of the dialectical-materialistic mastery of the legacy of the past and its creative Marxist interpretation. The series is aimed above all at researchers in the history of philosophy, teachers, and graduate and undergraduate students. However, practical experience has indicated that the philosophical standards of Soviet readers are rising steadily and that not only specialists-philosophers are interested in the development of philosophical thinking in our country. The initial works in the series came out in small editions (6,000 to 10,000 copies). As early as 1967-1968, however, they doubled and tripled; in the 1970s several editions passed the 100,000 and even the 200,000 mark. The average edition today is 80,000 copies. With increasing frequency we receive from our readers letters with requests and wishes to reprint one work or another. To the extent of its possibilities, the publishing house is responding to such wishes. We have begun work on a second edition of Plato's works.

Nonetheless, the main task of the "Philosophical Legacy" series is the preparation and publication of philosophical works previously unpublished in a Russian translation or else have become bibliographic rarities. The publication of the works of Locke, Leibnitz and Diderot will be completed in

1988-1990. We are preparing for publication the two-volume collected works of Descartes, Spinoza, Bruno, Fichte and Schelling, Hegel's "Lectures on the History of Philosophy" and "Philosophy of the Law," and a three-volume edition of the works of Feuerbach. Our long-term plans include the publication of the works of Rousseau, Radishchev, Pisarev, Dobrolyubov, Ibn Sina, Ibn Rushd, Al-Farabi, Ibn Haldun, Montesquieu, Vico, Roger Bacon, Lessing, Herder and other classics of world philosophy. We believe that the interest shown by the readers in the publication of the series will increase. The experience acquired by Izdatelstvo Mysl and the editors of this series allows us to look at its future optimistically.

Y. Narskiy, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences:

The "Philosophical Legacy" series has laid a historical-philosophical foundation for university and higher party training in our country. The actual significance of the series is even greater: it is contributing to the growth of the conceptual standards of the Soviet people.

The works which have been published include not only those of the classics of Russian philosophy and the philosophies of other nations in the Soviet Union and the works of the classics of pre-Marxist foreign philosophy (mostly Western European) but also anthologies and collections (the latter applies to parts of the world such as India, China, and North and Latin America). Therefore, we should acknowledge that the regional scope is quite extensive. We should add here that outside the series, in recent decades Izdatelstvo Mysl has published anthologies of works from the history of Polish, Bulgarian, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian and Romanian philosophy (however, Yugoslav 19th-century thinking has been virtually ignored).

However, the truly universal nature of the historical-philosophical process has been by no means yet fully covered with the works already published. No works have been published as yet of a large number of quite important philosophers, without whom it would be difficult to acquire a precise idea of the global historical-philosophical process, including the process of development of materialism and the establishment of dialectics, which would be difficult or impossible. The publication itself of the classics of pre-Marxist philosophy was unjustifiably delayed for many years. Despite the difficulties caused by the recent crisis in Poland, the Polish state publishing house has substantially caught up with our own Mysl in the publication of a series on philosophy classics.

One of the obvious manifestations of dogmatism and reinsurance in our country is that the "Philosophical Legacy" series published nothing on the period of development of bourgeois philosophy after Feuerbach. An inadmissible gap developed in the publication of philosophical prime sources between Mysl and Progress—a gap of more than 1 century. These two publishing houses did not coordinate their work. For the same reason, the "Anthology of World Philosophy" stops with the 1870s-1880s. However, the publication of selected works by Husserl, Cassirer, N. Hartman, Pierce, Bergson and Russell is obviously necessary (and not only stopping with the fifth and sixth, i.e., the future volumes, to be published within the "Anthology..."): the publication

of such works would unquestionably contribute to enhancing the theoretical standard of our critical and research activities. Another consideration is that so far no selected works have been published in the Russian language of the Young Hegelians, without which a profound understanding of the shaping of Marxist philosophy is inconceivable.

A. Subbotin, doctor of philosophical sciences and leading scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy:

The publication plans for the Philosophical Legacy series are formulated for a period of 10 years. We are currently working on the plan through 1993. A number of problems exist in connection with the publication of the series. Let me merely mention some of the most important ones. Very few associates of the Institute of Philosophy take the trouble to work on the publication of the classics. The institute employs more than 300 people and less than 10 of them are involved with Philosophical Legacy. We are short of skilled translators. There are virtually no cadres to work on the publication of works on oriental philosophy (Arab, Indian, Chinese, Japanese) and of European Medieval philosophy. That is why few publications from these areas and that period have come out. The unsolved problem remains of publishing philosophical works written during the second half of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century.

A. Gulyga, doctor of philosophical sciences and leading scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy:

No arrangement or textbook can replace the study of prime sources. Philosophy is created by its respective age but is always ahead of its time. The most crucial problems of our time were largely anticipated by the greatest minds of the past and already then some ways for their solution were earmarked. That is why we care so much for our philosophical legacy and that is why the books within this series are so popular among the readers.

Our best specialists are involved in such publications. This ensures the high theoretical standard of the books which come out. For example, scientific guidance in the publication of the works of Plato was provided by the most competent experts of ancient times and laureates of the USSR State Prize V.F. Asmus (1894-1975) and A.F. Losev. The importance of publishing the works of D.L.-M. Dechamp, the French materialist, has spread beyond our borders. French historians of philosophy have raised the question of reprinting this Soviet edition in its original language.

The main weakness of the library is the poor attention paid to domestic philosophical tradition. Volume No 100 contains the works of N.G. Chernyshevskiy. This is both good and bad. What is good is the continuing interest in Russian revolutionary-democratic tradition. What is bad is that this edition provides nothing new from the scientific viewpoint: the works of Chernyshevskiy have been published in our country in sufficient editions and have been closely studied. Meanwhile, Izdatelstvo Mysl is preparing (not as part of the series) the publication of the works of M.A. Bakunin, which will include some of his works never before published in the Russian language. This edition will be small. Yet Philosophical Legacy promised a long time ago a three-volume edition of the works of V.L. Solovyev. This event was written

up in newspapers and journals which informed readers of the nature of this publication and the names of the compilers. Nonetheless, the publication of this three-volume work was held back under the pretext that the works of this philosopher had a religious trend.

Let me mention yet another unsolved problem which hinders the skilled compilation of translated works: the unfairly low wages paid to translators. Philosophical translations are considered the equivalent of scientific works. Nonetheless, it is clear that no comparison is possible between a mathematical text, the vocabulary of which is limited, and the most difficult style of masters of writings on philosophy. However, translators who sweat over the works of Hegel and Kant earn much less than translators of mystery novels. This problem must be solved without delay.

Now as to reprints. To a publishing house this is the easiest way of fulfilling their plan: the text is ready, and, in any case, the work will be sold out. I believe that I am right by saying that no single reprint produced in recent years has been dictated by scientific necessity. It would be expedient to reissue works which were published a long time ago and in small editions and the need for which is great.

P. Apryshko, candidate of philosophical sciences, senior editor, editorial board of literature for Marxist-Leninist philosophy, Politizdat; A. Golubev, senior editor, editorial board of literature for Marxist-Leninist philosophy, Politizdat; and M. Maslin, candidate of philosophical sciences, senior scientific associate, philosophy department, Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov:

The Philosophical Legacy series clearly proves the international nature of Soviet philosophy and the broad historical geography of its contacts. It proves that Marxist-Leninist philosophy does not include anything that is "sectarian," ossified or alienated from the development of world civilization. The choice of the works themselves, which are part of this series, indicates that it is aimed both against Western and Eastern centrism or against any variety of cultural and philosophical isolationism.

One of the shortcomings of the series is the total absence of translations of works by 20th century foreign philosophers, who have had a great influence on contemporary bourgeois awareness (representatives of existentialism, phenomenology, philosophical hermeneutics, postpositivism, etc.). In our view, the publication of the works of noted foreign philosophers is important not only to the specialists but also to a wide circle of social scientists, men of culture, etc.

The "Anthology of World Philosophy" series could hardly be considered a success, for it provides no more than a partial and very scant concept of the universal historical-philosophical process. The anthology is not addressed at a specific audience: it is too brief and fragmentary for specialists and even students; it is inaccessible to a broader range of readers, for a popular edition requires an incomparably broader referential and methodical apparatus (including detailed comments, explanation of terminology, etc.). The only

work which has the right to exist is one which is thoughtful and meets strict cultural requirements.

The press has already noted that insufficient attention paid to domestic philosophy, which is a major omission in the publications included in the Philosophical Legacy series. The situation in this case reflects the neglect shown in the study of the history of Russian culture as a whole. This situation can be corrected with a publication of works by Russian philosophers not only in the materialistic area (M.V. Lomonosov, A.N. Radishchev, the revolutionary democrats, I.M. Sechenov, I.P. Pavlov and K.A. Timiryazev), but also those pursuing an idealistic trend. Otherwise, our concepts on the struggle between materialism and idealism would be extremely impoverished.

The scarcity of scientific publications of the philosophical works of major Russian idealists (P.Ya. Chaadayev, L.N. Tolstoy, V.L. Solovyev and others) has led to amateurish and philistine views about them and laid grounds for the misinterpretation of their ideas. The specific historical study of the profound contradictions in the works of said philosophers, and the consideration of their ideological development, which reflected the complex social and ideological clashes of their time and changes in the deployment of class forces in the country, would efficiently counteract such an unscientific and antihistorical approach. Examples of this principled methodological approach may be found in V.I. Lenin's works such as "In Memory of Herten," "On VEKHI," "Materialism and Empiricocriticism," "On the Importance of Militant Materialism" and the cycle of articles on L.N. Tolstoy.

A. Yakovlev, candidate of philosophical sciences, scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy:

Sometimes it becomes necessary to provide a number of arguments in favor of the necessity and usefulness of the publication of world philosophical classics before one can convince publishing houses, editors and heads of scientific and other institutions of the need for such publications for our philosophy and, in broader terms, all social sciences and, in even broader terms, our entire people. In my view, this state of affairs is caused by two main reasons: theoretical and economic. To begin with, there still exists a certain mistrust in classical literature which is considered as something alien to socialist culture. The best situation is that of the authors of antiquity, for they are quite distant from our age. However, the closer we come to the 20th century the more ideas become "suspect." This state of affairs is not normal, for we should not confuse two different things: whether Marxism agrees or disagrees with the ideas of its predecessors or contemporaries and the extent to which it takes the valuable features of some and opposes essentially different approaches to other is one thing; it is something entirely different to determine whether or not the publication of non-Marxist philosophers is worth doing. Unquestionably, they should be published and, furthermore, their publication is simply necessary if we want philosophical thinking in our country to surmount a lag which was the result of years of stagnation and allow it to emerge in the leading ranks of world philosophy in terms of the standard of philosophical thinking, proof, and clarity and convincing nature of presentations, professional information, maximally scientific standards, and essential nonauthoritarianism and

antidogmatism. Marxism is a progressive theory not only in the practical-political but also in the theoretical sense. Its main advantage is that it simply must, by virtue of its very existence, master the best possible achievements of world culture so that it can justifiably march in the vanguard of spirituality, civilization and culture, and embody the brightest and most imports ideals of mankind. Marxism will be able to implement its leading spiritual, moral and theoretical role in the contemporary world only if it is in a state of constant development, which presumes not only self-development but also enrichment with the best features which have been acquired and are being acquired in world civilization.

Incidentally, these are classical concepts of Marxism itself, with which everyone seems to agree in words but which are still being implemented extremely insufficiently. We would like to pose the question more sharply: as long as the problem of the publication of the classics of world philosophy of old times and nations, including the latest stage, has not been practically solved, we would come across the growing lag in old philosophy and by no means in historical-philosophical research only; the publication of 100 volumes of Philosophical Legacy over one-quarter of a century is more an occasion for sadness than celebration. There is no systematic work in the country, organized on the level of state assignments, in this most important matter which is based on the enthusiasm of very few people. At the current pace one could work for another 100 years. However, time does not stand still, it goes forth and the volume of information today is increasing not in geometric progression but explosively.

The second aspect is economic. We must point out that the share of publications of all classical works--above all fiction--is very small in the country, accounting for approximately 20 percent of the total. Who needs such "ratios?" I believe that not the reader or, incidentally, not the publishing houses, when we consider the great demand for classical works. If such is the case, has the time not come to revise such "percentages?" As to classical philosophical publications, they are urgently needed by no means by specialists only (many of whom may be found in the country) but also by the readership at large. Why not change the policy of nonpublication with a policy of printing large editions?

V. Burov, doctor of philosophical sciences, leading scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy:

There is tremendous need for serious and intelligent books, which are advisors of our hearts and minds, in our tempestuous and rapidly changing world. Hence the attraction felt for the works of writers and journalists whose works are full of civic courage and philosophy; hence also the profound interest in the Philosophical Legacy series, which largely meets the hunger for good philosophical works. Frankly, in recent years interest in philosophy publications in the country has diminished. Many contemporary works of philosophy are compilations of elementary truths presented in dry and inexpressive language; they are not only stylistically but also intellectually monotonous.

Metaphorically speaking, it is against this background that the works of philosophical classics shine. Aristotle will not be confused with Plato, Locke with Descartes, Hegel with Kant or Hertz with Chernyshevskiy. The classics of world philosophy open to the readers the beautiful world of the human spirit, the amazing process of the search for the foundations of our existence and the conflicting history of learning the laws governing the development of nature and society.

The work on publishing books within the Philosophical Legacy series is very labor intensive. It requires not only knowledge of philosophy and mastery of the language of the prime sources but also a certain involvement, for frequently the preparations of the text for its publication takes more time than it took to write the work.

The publication of monuments of oriental philosophy is of major scientific and practical significance. The Asian countries are the neighbors of the Soviet Union and play an increasing role in world politics. All philosophy textbooks mention the fact that the first philosophical systems appeared not only in Ancient Greece and Rome but also in China and India, and that Arab philosophy had a major impact on the development of Medieval philosophy in Europe. So far, however, the Soviet scientific public has had a rather poor idea concerning the historical-philosophical process which developed in Oriental countries. The specific nature of the development of philosophical knowledge in these countries is that by virtue of certain socioeconomic reasons, traditionalism in the formulation and solution of social and ideological problems plays here an immeasurably greater role than in European countries. The Afro-Asian countries entered the 20th century with forms of social life, spiritual ideas and philosophical systems which were rooted to a tremendous extent in deep antiquity. Philosophical ideas played an important role in shaping the stereotypes of thinking, moral standards and principles of social life in China, India and the Arab countries. The question of spiritual philosophical traditions is today a subject of sharp ideological struggle.

One could say that eastern philosophy, as represented in the series, was "unlucky." The 100 volumes already published include only two dedicated to it: "Ancient Indian Philosophy" and "Ancient Chinese Philosophy." There is an urgent need to acquaint the broad scientific public with the classics of eastern philosophy and the works of philosophers of the middle ages and modern and most modern times in China, India, the Arab world, Japan, Korea, Vietnam and Mongolia.

Since the 1950s, Soviet oriental sciences began gradually to lose one of the best traditions of Russian oriental studies--brilliant mastery of ancient languages. Carried away by contemporary problems of the study of history in all of its aspects--culture and literature--philosophy was given not even second but third-rank status. The writing of works dealing with the distant past, under the pretext of addressing ourselves to contemporary times, was not particularly encouraged. The result was a weakening of the "rear lines" of oriental studies and the appearance of scientists who were not fluent masters of oriental languages. When events in an entire number of countries in Asia and Africa (including Iran, for example) began to develop not the way they should have according to the forecast of "specialists," it immediately became

apparent how damaging was the lack of attention paid to traditions of Russian oriental studies, for in discussing modern developments we must not forget ancient times. In recent years the situation has begun to change for the better but so far still all too slowly.

B. Shakhmatov, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences:

A hundred volumes may seem a lot but looking at their titles, we would see that there are no more than 43. Even that may seem substantial but, if we consider that they were published in the course of almost a quarter of a century, this means less than two new titles per year.... Even if we turn to the list of the candidate minimum on the history of philosophy, we would easily see that by no means have all the works included in this list seen the light. Currently some of these works are not to be found even in an oblast library or the library of a VUZ, particularly if the VUZ is young. The complete set of volumes in the Philosophical Legacy series may be found only in the few libraries in the country which mandatorily receive a copy. It is simply impossible to have a full collection of the series without tremendous efforts of enthusiasts, because of the inept and even erroneous policy of distribution and sales, for there were no subscriptions for single volumes in the series, although many of the works came out in single volumes. Why not, for example, offer the public the possibility of subscribing to all the volumes published in Philosophical Legacy, starting with any desired number (since now the volumes are numbered)? However, this is only one of the immediate and mainly organizational tasks. Unless it wishes to stop at the point it has reached, the Philosophical Legacy series must inevitably rise to a new quality plateau.

We should give some thought to a second (i.e., new, corrected, expanded and improved) edition of the entire Philosophical Legacy series. This can be achieved as two relatively independent series: works of world (or foreign) and of domestic philosophy. The autonomy of the latter could help us to surmount the unforgivable lag of decades in the publication of the works of domestic philosophers. Finally, it would be desirable to organize the production of a philosophical legacy almanac, which would include individual interesting works by past philosophers, taken from files, translations, rough drafts, memoirs, bibliographic materials, research and reports on texts, comments on some works, and so on, borrowed from the work of authors of Philosophical Legacy works and other researchers, both Soviet and foreign.

The publication in mass editions of individual classical works by philosophers of the past, perhaps based on the list for candidate minimums and VUZ programs, could become yet another companion to Philosophical Legacy.

Let me mention yet another problem, a most urgent one: the need to improve material (as well as moral) incentive for the work of the authorship aktiv of Philosophical Legacy (if we could describe as such compilers, translators and commentators). Currently this aktiv is quite small. This is due not only to the lack of skilled specialists (who, indeed, are very few) but also the exceptionally miserable pay for their painstaking and even exhaustive labor. A compiler who has earned 200 or 300 rubles for several years of work (it is

precisely the compiler who most frequently assumes the main burden in preparing a work for publication) will exceptionally rarely undertake such work a second time (although by then he has already acquired both experience and skill).

V. Pustarnakov, doctor of philosophical sciences, leading scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy:

We cannot fail to acknowledge that, compared with the actual need, the publication of 100 volumes in the Philosophical Legacy series in almost one-quarter of a century is naturally not very much. Particularly few have been works by domestic philosophers. Furthermore, it is extremely aggravating that some zealous sectarian pseudoscientists were able to promote major conflicts even on what has already been published in this area. This obviously makes publishers unwilling to undertake such "risky" projects.

It is unlikely that within a foreseeable future Izdatelstvo Mysl would undertake to make a radical change in the material, organizational and cadre prerequisites needed for increasing the volume of work by domestic philosophers published within the Philosophical Legacy series.

I believe that under these circumstances the publication of anthologies which would cover all areas of philosophical thinking in Russia during a specific period may be the palliative answer to this situation.

A. Volodin, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences:

It is hardly necessary to speak here of the tremendous disparity between reading publications about philosophers (even if well-written) and reading the works of the philosopher themselves. In addition to everything else, the importance of the works already published in the Philosophical Legacy series is that they offer the serious reader the possibility of comparing "stupid lithographs" (as A.I. Hertzen described the works of a historian of philosophy) which, incidentally, are quite frequent in our historical-philosophical literature, with the original. With this alone the Philosophical Legacy series makes the atmosphere in this area of knowledge (and, in broader terms, in the area of historical awareness) healthier and richer in the oxygen of science and accuracy.

Fourteen of the 100 volumes deal with domestic philosophers. One may argue about whether this is too much or too little. What is much more important is something else: there has been a certain haphazardness, a clear lack of thought, the lack of a plan in the choice and sequence of publications. Actually, we should be grateful for this randomness, for without it today we would not have had Lavrov (the publication of his two-volume work "Philosophy and Sociology" for which I.S. Knizhnik-Vetrov and A.F. Okulov deserve great credit), Tkachev or Skovoroda!....

In an effort to correct the situation, in the past few years the editors and the publishing house have made some corrections in the publication of domestic philosophers but...at this point we should have several "buts." Let us say

only this: the publication of works of philosophy by Russian authors involves a great deal of difficulty.

The reason for one of them is the objective situation in which philosophy exists in Russia.

By virtue of a series of circumstances, work on philosophical problems here took place primarily not in the "academic" form which is typical of the West--substantive books, treatises and "essays"-- but essentially in the form of so to say current literature--publicism, literary criticism, and articles on historical, aesthetic or fictional works. "Russian philosophy," a noted Soviet historian of philosophy recently said, "is embodied in art. Our philosophical patrons are Pushkin, Dostoyevskiy and Tolstoy." This may not be a very original saying but, nonetheless, it is quite well put. The main trouble is precisely that this is a one-sided and therefore mistaken view according to which virtually all Russian philosophy has been dissolved in poetry and fiction, as though the national language of Russian philosophy was not the language of science but that of art. We are unwilling even seriously to argue with this view. However, the real fact cannot be avoided: I am referring here to the considerable blending, and in frequent cases indivisibility, between philosophical, fictional, moral and journalistic principles prevalent in Russian culture.

Naturally, anyone who so wishes could classify as "great philosophers" just about all "great scientists" in Russia and its great writers. However, this would hardly contribute to enhancing the reputation of "Russian philosophizing" and, above all, an understanding of its true originality.

There is yet another side to this. The unwillingness or inability to take into consideration the fact that under the conditions of the domination of religion in the spiritual life of society it is only religious philosophy (furthermore, many of its supporters were persecuted for heresy and deviationism from "pure" Eastern christianity) that was allowed "free circulation" in Russia. This is an inability or unwillingness, willy-nilly to cite anyone who had a scornful or even a nihilistic attitude toward domestic philosophers who supported revolutionary and liberation traditions of Russian culture and who, having "resigned" from religion and broken with it, developed their own rationalistic and antireligious philosophical ideas in the pages of periodical literary publications accessible to the general public and in journalistic and other nonphilosophical works. This was philosophy, for the content of their works was "shaped," as Hertzén said, by no means outside "the philosophical method."

The result is that unlike, let us say, a historian of Western European philosophy, the contemporary researcher in the history of domestic philosophy and, in particular, the compiler of a volume in the Philosophical Legacy series faces a problem which is sometimes quite difficult to solve: How to "single out," how to select precisely texts which are philosophical or essentially philosophical in the works of one or another thinker? And then, how to comment on them accurately, thoroughly and carefully?

At this point, however, we come across yet another sad circumstance related not only to the history of philosophy in the USSR in general but specifically to Russian philosophy. There are few specialists in the history of Russian philosophy, particularly by vocation rather than avocation, who love and know how to work with texts.

Here is an example from personal experience: in preparing for publication Herten's philosophical works written in the 1830s-1840s, which made up the 95th volume in the Philosophical Legacy series, we found out that although mountains of books and articles, text studies and thorough comments on his works had been written, few of them were precisely on the historical-philosophical level. Many of the questions which a curious writer may or eventually would ask in the study of Herten's works today have remained undiscussed in the commentaries, although we were nonetheless able to find something (in particular the fact that in writing his "Letters on the Study of Nature," Herten relied on Feuerbach's "History of Modern Philosophy from Bacon to Spinoza" to a much greater extent than we had previously thought).

Let us hope that the Philosophical Legacy series will publish many more works by Russian philosophers. These should be specifically philosophical texts, thoroughly culled from their literary and epistolary legacy, with suitable commentaries.

I would even say that today it would be better not to publish any domestic philosophical works at all than to have poor publications.

Editorial Note:

Gradually, in recent decades a stereotype developed of considering historical-philosophical research as secondary and untopical. Unquestionably, we cannot agree with such views. Lenin's idea on the need for a close connection between the further development of Marxist philosophy and the entire historical experience in the role of thinking and practical work remains a fundamental principle governing our social science. The history of philosophy is an important part of the history of human thought and no true progress along the tried scientific way is possible without the profound mastery of the world philosophical legacy. That is precisely why turning to the history of world philosophy and its instructive lessons and best achievements must become the rule in philosophical science.

In this connection, the publication of the classics of world philosophy is a particularly important task. In the postwar years this problem was solved not only with the Philosophical Legacy series, produced by Izdatelstvo Mysl, but also with the help of other series and publications issued by Progress, Nauka, Politizdat, Khudozhestvennaya Literatura and Iskusstvo. Excerpts from the works of the classics of world philosophy have been also published in the country's scientific, sociopolitical and art journals. The contribution made by such organizations and individuals is no less significant than that of the publishers of the series we discussed in this article. It is not a question of work on a single specific series, but of the overall area of publications of philosophical classics. Is everything as it should be here? Such precisely is the question which must be of interest to us today.

While giving proper credit for the labor invested in works produced in the past 15 to 20 years, we must nonetheless point out that during that time a trend toward slowing down the pace of the work, increasing the number of unjustified reprints and, sometimes, failure to publish works already prepared for publishing, appeared as well. The problem of publishing the works of the philosophical predecessors of Marxism--the representatives of German classical philosophy--was not entirely solved, although it was precisely this task that was considered a priority at the time when the Philosophical Legacy series was only in the planning stage. The reprinting of already existing prewar and prerevolutionary translations, as was to be expected, proved to be insufficient. Naturally, there were objective difficulties as well: the low capacity of the editorial boards of publishing houses, the shortage of skilled translators or compilers and commentators, and the low pay for translations. We believe, however, that such difficulties can be entirely solved with proper persistence and will. For example, in 25 years that same USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy could have developed a special sector in charge of such publications, recruit a broader circle of scientists and contribute to the training of translation cadres. We must emphasize that to this day virtually no decisive steps have been taken to improve the work on the publication of the classics of world philosophy. The unwitting conclusion is that someone seems to find this situation suitable. The decisions recently made by the Institute of Philosophy are, for the time being, strictly on "paper" and are not supported by practical and actual steps. Essentially matters have remained on the old level and the work is being done during the time left after the main work has been finished. Is it impossible for this institute, with its large collective of associates, to organize a truly systematic and productive work, for the publication of classics is, unquestionably, above all a scientific and scientific-organizational activity?

We believe that the publishing houses' position is all too passive. It is precisely their policies, plans, possibilities and editorial staffs consisting of experienced and skilled personnel that will determine to a decisive extent the success of this entire project. The editors could recruit more actively specialists in the publication of world philosophy classics and help to solve this problem with the adoption of specific organizational steps, particularly in publishing the classics of domestic philosophy and adding detailed commentaries to the individually produced volumes, competent prefaces, and introductory articles, truthfully presenting the history of philosophical thinking in its great contradictoriness and clash of ideas. Such publications must not be limited to the philosophers of antiquity, the Renaissance or modern times. They must also include modern philosophers, both Marxist and non-Marxist, and cover all ages and areas. We must also produce modern works on sociophilosophical problems. Our time demands more active work in their critical interpretation, formulation of alternatives and mastery of positive aspects. Naturally, a number of publications will be of purely scientific historical-philosophical interest. Some of the books, however, are bound to attract the interest of a wide circle of readers. The size of editions of both types must be determined respectively.

The publication of 100 volumes of Philosophical Legacy should not be the occasion for "anniversary" moods; most specific and decisive steps must be taken to improve all works in this area, which is one of the most important structural components in restructuring philosophical science and restoring its prestige and active social role and, consequently, its influence on all aspects of life.

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BUREAUCRATISM--ANTIPODE OF DEMOCRACY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 87 (signed to press 14 Jul 87) pp 110-119

[Article by Vladimir Semenovich Markov, KOMMUNIST political commentator]

[Text] In the survey of letters to the editors, which we published in No 7 of this journal, we promised the readers that these efforts will be continued and that from time to time we shall be concentrating on individual most important topics which are the center of attention of the readers. In the past few months the editors have received a number of articles and letters on problems of bureaucratism and the tasks of the struggle against it, and descriptions of the reasons for its durability in contemporary socialist society and of ways and means for uprooting this phenomenon which is alien to the nature of socialism. This fully proves the conclusion drawn at the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum that processes of democratization and enhancement of public opinion are taking place and so is "an onslaught on bureaucratism."

Most of the editorial mail is a reaction to the editorial in No 18 for 1986 "Leninist Lessons in the Struggle Against Bureaucratism." By the general admission of the readers, this is an exceptionally topical problem which deserves and even demands comprehensive discussion. Therefore, the topic of our next survey was self-evident. We deemed it expedient to present different views, including "extreme" (i.e., at least arguable). We believe that the editorial mail depicts quite accurately the extent of the public interest in a given problem as well as the standard on which public opinion is "operating" and the nature of public considerations of this matter which is of major practical significance and political urgency but which has been obviously neglected on the scientific level and is being solved in daily life with the same absence of active efforts.

Time to Take a Close Look at a 'Sensitive' Problem

The evaluation of the significance of the struggle against bureaucratism, as formulated in the party's post-April documents, offers the readers a reliable starting point for exercising their independent judgment on such an important topic. The readers most frequently refer to the Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress and the materials of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: the party's declaration of decisive and merciless

war on bureaucratism, which remains a major obstacle on the way to solving our main problem: the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and the related radical restructuring of the economic management mechanism.

V.S. Lyubchenko, docent, department of philosophy, Novocherkassk Polytechnical Institute, writes: "In the past as well there was talk of the hindrance mechanism, meaning above all the increased complexity of economic life and the increased scale of output which, allegedly by itself slows down development; it was a question of changed conditions in the extraction of fuel, raw materials, energy and so on. The question today has been reformulated differently: the hindrance mechanism is, above all, the existing system of social relations which triggers inertia and stagnation. At some stage in our development, the existing system of relations in production and other areas became impermeable to initiative and creativity. Bureaucratism struck at various levels of organizational and administrative activities, from top to bottom. According to some of our sociologists, the elimination of bureaucratism today is as much a global and vitally important problem as is the prevention of nuclear war or solving the ecological problem. Today a great deal is being written about bureaucratism. Nonetheless, the study of it is only beginning. A conversion is taking place from the moral condemnation of bureaucratism to real social research."

Based on their personal experience and publications in the press, the readers have a clear idea of the tremendous harm caused by bureaucrats to restructuring. They restrain it, suppress the initiative of the working people, hinder the democratization of social life and the economy, and obstruct anything that is new and progressive or even simple human destinies and normal life. That is why the timeliness of the journal's articles on this problem is noted in all articles and letters, including those which have voiced objections to the editorial we mentioned.

We believe that such objections should be presented to the readers.

The authors of a number of letters object to the expression "vestiges of bureaucratism." Obviously, there is a reason for this: indeed, we must not create the impression that we have already put an end to bureaucratism and all that we need now is to sweep off the "vestiges." This term was used to emphasize the fact that bureaucratism is alien to socialism in terms of origin and nature. It appeared prior to socialism. It was not born of socialism but came to the socialist system from the past. Marx and Lenin repeatedly spoke of the bourgeois origin and nature of bureaucracy as a special stratum and bureaucratism as a style of state management. Does that link socialism with capitalism? Perhaps only in the sense that not everything in the new system is absolutely new, for history is not written every time "from scratch," and that bureaucratic distortions remain (naturally, in a different aspect) for a long period of time. They are nurtured and revived not only by vestiges of the past but also by our own "Soviet stereotypes" (Lenin's expression), serious functional shortcomings in the work of the state and economic apparatus, which frequently bypasses elective authorities, and the underdeveloped nature of democratic forms and, above all, of people's self-government on different levels. These and other circumstances demand a most serious theoretical interpretation and the drawing of efficient practical

conclusions. Unquestionably, the readers are right by raising the question of bureaucracy in the actual socioeconomic and sociopolitical context of daily life. A.A. Rudin, CPSU member since 1960, Balashikhinskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast) even believes that "a hint of justification of cases of bureaucratism" may be sensed in the article. The same view is held by pensioner N.I. Timofeyev (Reftinskiy Settlement, Sverdlovsk Oblast) and teacher N.K. Kozyrev from Krasnyy Luch, Voroshilovgrad Oblast.

V.I. Pasternak (p-o Tomilino-2, Moscow Oblast) writes that now it would be unrealistic to undertake the study "of precisely the problem of full and definitive elimination of bureaucratism." One can hardly agree with such a pessimistic view.

I hope that the readers will not object to the fact that we are not providing here a detailed analysis of each of the remarks which were made, for the purpose of a survey is above all to present a wide range of views and, together with the readers, to move a little bit forward in interpreting a phenomenon of interest to all of us and in substantiating suitable means of fighting bureaucratism. The period of restructuring and broad democratization makes it incumbent upon us to change a great deal in the overall tonality of spiritual life and methods of polemics. We do not need a fierce "hacking" of various viewpoints, particularly if, after taking a close look, we see that such viewpoints are not related to principles. What we need, first of all, is a comprehensive discussion of the problems which are of significant social interest; second, the determination of the truth and, on its basis, the unification of all progressive social forces; third, the formulation of decisions which are most accurate from the scientific viewpoint and most efficient from the practical one. In this case, we need a clear assessment of bureaucratism as a social phenomenon and a determination of the reasons for its durability, scale and manners in which it is harmful and a substantiation of the possibility of limiting its negative consequences and eliminating the reasons for it and, subsequently, eliminating it entirely.

Need we mention the fact that the editorial mail is virtually free from any positive assessments of bureaucratism as a social phenomenon and the bureaucrat as its bearer, or of letters in support of bureaucratism? Despite the entire difference in approaches and viewpoints (for example, many people insist that we must not reduce the struggle against bureaucratism to that against individual bureaucrats), inherent in all letters to the editors is, so to say, an anti-bureaucratic mood.

The materials received by the editors extensively discuss the harm caused to our society by bureaucrats, the bureaucratic work style and method of working. In frequent cases the authors formulate their views and suggestions based on their personal experience of clashes with bureaucratism.

Thus, construction engineer V.I. Antonov, Samarkand, in describing the sad fate of many of his suggestions (including such which, according to his computations, could save the state or bring profits in the millions of rubles) describes the bureaucratic obstacles encountered in receiving and evaluating suggestions submitted by inventors. The reason for the slowness of restructuring, he writes, is that "the set of still extant negative phenomena,

guided by that same unfortunate rooted bureaucratism, continues to 'put spikes in the wheels' of our governmental machinery and economy." He no longer believes that the existing institutions can radically improve work with inventions and suggestions submitted by Soviet citizens and calls for the creation of an entirely new organizational structure--an All-Union Scientific-Experimental Production Invention Center (VNEPITs) which would include a scientific research institute, experimental plants and workshops; an All-Union Council for the Consideration and Application of Suggestions (VSVP), with local committees in republics, krays and oblasts, should be set to assess suggestions of a nontechnical nature.

In the view of N.A. Gromov, CPSU member since 1957, propagandist and teacher at a motor vehicle school in Kiev, "initiative-minded and socially useful suggestions and their implementation at the present stage in the development of socialist society are the most accessible form of participation of the working people in management." He suggests the formulation and application of a uniform system for accountability and control for the implementation of suggestions. Clearly, like V.I. Antonov, he does not believe that existing agencies and establishments can improve things. How to achieve this is unclear but the overall motif formulated in the letter reads as follows: "We need a state anti-bureaucratic system." "Bureaucratism," writes N.A. Gromov, "is the most refined, concealed and most frequently encountered form of misuse of power. Total independence from 'lower strata' one way or another creates a feeling of infallibility and unquestionable authority, followed by irresponsibility and arbitrariness and all other phenomena, including the suppression of initiative and the creative activeness of the masses, which are the main motive forces in the development of our society."

The essence of the contradictory concept of manifestations of bureaucratism in our society and the ways of uprooting it is captured in the heading ("Democracy and Bureaucratism Cannot Coexist") of a note written by R.S. Urudzhev, CPSU member since 1945, Great Patriotic War veteran and candidate of technical sciences (Makhachkala), who describes several bureaucratic situations he has experienced. Here is one: more than 2 years ago, the newspaper SOVETSKAYA TORGOVLYA published his suggestion on transferring the system of receiving consumer goods based on quality from the area of trade to enterprise shops. This was not done. Today, as we know, there is state inspection and a special apparatus for its implementation has been created. As a rule, however, specialists in trade are not part of the system. Another one of his stories is simpler, more common and more frequently encountered: Comrade Urudzhev's letter on the improper activities of the rector of Dagestan State University, addressed to the obkom party committee secretary via the department of science and educational institutions, was directed... to the university, i.e., to the person against whom the complaint was filed. This is a typical and already hackneyed bureaucratic step!

R.S. Urudzhev sums up his experience of clashes with bureaucratism as follows: "Bureaucrats are not born and not trained. Sometimes, even good people become bureaucrats, given proper conditions. The first prerequisite for the transformation of a normal person into a bureaucrat is his job incompetence."

"Bureaucratism," writes S.G. Senchenko, CPSU member and member of the Union of USSR Journalists (Novosibirsk), in his manuscript entitled "On the Nature of Bureaucratism," "is a deviation from optimal forms or, in other words, of 'systems' for solving problems, and the distortion of such 'systems,' which results in a lowering of labor productivity." He divides bureaucrats into three sorts: bureaucrats-dodgers, unwilling bureaucrats and ignorant bureaucrats. "The process of bureaucratization," we read in his manuscript, "obviously begins with ignorance, with the inability to solve problems accurately. The ignorant bureaucrat creates conditions for the appearance of the unwilling bureaucrat. After the latter has become accustomed to work under circumstances governed by stupid 'schemes' he gradually begins to dodge, enjoying his own benefits. In other words, he becomes a bureaucrat-dodger. Frontranking dodgers go even farther, turning from simple bureaucrats into criminal delinquents."

It is thus that gradually, brick by brick and line by line, the picture of the manifestations of bureaucratism and of the bureaucrat emerges through the experience, knowledge and thoughts of our readers. They discuss a number of aspects of this not only ripe but overripe problem to which much greater attention must be paid than in the past and for which extensive efforts aimed at its elimination must be made.

Problems of surmounting bureaucratism in our society are numerous and all of them must be seriously interpreted in order for the struggle to be waged knowledgeably and efficiently. For when we speak of uprooting bureaucratism we speak of intensifying the processes of the initiated extensive democratization of social life, revolutionary restructuring, the social atmosphere, efficiency in the activities of state and economic authorities, restricting, as stipulated in the June Central Committee Plenum, administrative-command methods and replacing them with economic methods, the responsibility of managers, the style of work of party organizations, the initiative of the people and the activeness of the masses, the all-round development of relations of socialist comradeship and collectivism, the fictitious "eternal life" of bureaucratism, the "inevitability" of its manifestation as long as there is a state and, perhaps, as long as there is any kind of management, the conditions and deadlines for eliminating extremes of bureaucratism and, subsequently, its total elimination from social life, and many, many other problems of varying significance and scale. However varied the approaches of the authors of the materials received by the editors may be, they by no means extend to all aspects of the problem of bureaucratism. A great deal more remains to be considered, studied and discussed. To this effect, the readers' articles and letters provide instructive information and enable us, at least as far as some aspects of the problem are concerned, to sum up the content of such considerations.

Class-Political Evaluation of Bureaucratism

Bureaucratism is alien to the principles of socialism. Everyone agrees on this. However, the conclusions stemming from this vary. The simplest and most direct is to consider bureaucrats class enemies. This has been suggested.

Accurately noting that in the period of the initiated revolutionary restructuring in the country mass initiative "from below" is needed and that "the people themselves must show initiative rather than wait for democracy to develop by itself," reader I.I. Sak (Chernigov) writes that "someone must rouse, revolutionize, the working people." However, in his search for an answer to this question he has taken an original path. In his view, it is necessary to set up a "revolutionary press organ, a new Marxist-Leninist organization and an extraordinary commission for the struggle against the counterrevolution." Let us note that this is a unique approach. It would be quite regrettable if businesslike, energetic and radical efforts to renovate society and ensure its revolutionary restructuring would be replaced by a "revolutionary" stir, for serious and creative analysis of unsolved problems to be replaced by garish triteness and democratization by anarchic sallies. In our time, to think in past terms of the "aggravation of the class struggle" is, to say the least, inappropriate and even harmful.

Other writers also make efforts to suggest and even somehow to substantiate a class approach to the problem of bureaucratism. P.P. Baranov (Lukhovitsy, Moscow Oblast) writes: "Restructuring will sink... unless the bureaucratic class and its powerful Administrative System are destroyed.... The total destruction of the Administrative System (without which the bureaucratic class will no longer exist) is the supreme meaning of today's revolutionary restructuring." On the surface, everything here is "revolutionary:" a "class" must be eliminated and a system destroyed to its foundations... However, let us admit, these are hasty summations which are not based on the specific study of socioeconomic phenomena.

Docent L.V. Kulikov (Kovrov, Vladimir Oblast) as well makes an effort to substantiate a class approach to the problem. He reports that he has formulated a Marxist-Leninist concept of the state under socialism. The concept is based on V.I. Lenin's statement on the existence of a "bourgeois state without a bourgeoisie" during the first phase of the communist system. The author writes that "the socialist revolution destroys the state of the bourgeoisie without destroying the bourgeois state as a form of organization of society." Drawing the attention to this nonetheless all too general concept, which is not specifically defined, L.V. Kulikov draws the conclusion that a "permanent right-wing threat (corruption, bribery, favoritism and violations of Soviet laws)" exists in society. He believes that there exists a class struggle waged against that same "bourgeois state." Although this concept, with such far-reaching conclusions, is essentially erroneous, let us point out that the very effort of considering a problem which social scientists usually avoid is worthy of approval.

Another obviously interesting suggestion is that of restoring the type of soviets which prevailed until 1936, deprived of the features of parliamentarianism. This is an interesting aspiration to turn to the experience of original soviet democracy and the use of this experience in setting up a system of socialist self-government by the people. Self-government, L.V. Kulikov notes, deprives of its reasons for existence the gigantic administrative apparatus for, in his view, opposition to restructuring will continue to grow. The bureaucrats will struggle for a "place in the sun." "The arsenal of means here is quite substantial and

varied, from discrediting initiators and supporters of restructuring to direct sabotage and the creation of new bureaucratic systems to replace those which were abolished."

Where do we think that the author is wrong in his interpretation of Lenin's statement? Unfortunately, it is quite common for some formula developed by the classics of Marxism-Leninism to be taken out of its most general aspect, out of the context in which it was used, unrelated to the specific problems which led to its creation for the purpose of their more accurate interpretation, and the formulation of a concept based on such a rather abstract foundation.

Let us recall the connection in which V.I. Lenin mentioned the "bourgeois state." "In its first phase, its first level," we read in "The State and Revolution," "communism cannot as yet be economically entirely mature and totally free of the traditions or traces of capitalism. Hence the interesting phenomenon of the retention of the 'narrow horizon of bourgeois law' under communism in its first phase. Bourgeois law in terms of the distribution of goods for consumption presumes, naturally and inevitably a bourgeois state, for a law is nothing without an apparatus which can force the observance of the law" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 33, pp 98-99). In the preceding section of that same fifth chapter, entitled "The First Phase of Communist Society," V.I. Lenin explains in detail why the implementation of the socialist principle of distribution according to labor could be described as "bourgeois law." Nor can we ignore the fact that the nature of the state born of the October revolution, its objectives, its social foundations and ways of activities were precisely described with terms such as "proletarian state," "worker-peasant state," "state of the working people" and "socialist state." This Leninist statement merely confirms the basic fact that the principle of distribution inherent in socialism (which bears features of "bourgeois law" but which is the only one acceptable to socialism and the only one which can stimulate its development) must be preserved and steadily implemented by the state with its apparatus and that in this aspect the proletarian, the socialist state is "bourgeois." Without making such dialectics clear we cannot accurately understand why the all-round strengthening and development of distribution according to labor and its quantity and quality are the main guarantees for the systematic implementation of the principles of socialism and tools in building and developing socialist society. Yet our 70-year old history is an essential confirmation of this precise fact.

Such efforts to apply a class approach to the problem of bureaucratism in relation to the development of our society and state indicate mainly the complexity of the problem. It is necessary to note and, if possible, to support any serious attempt at analyzing facts and phenomena related to this problem, from this viewpoint. In Marxist-Leninist theory the class approach is of fundamental significance and any class-political evaluation of social phenomena will be necessary and important for as long as the universal historical mission of the working class has not been accomplished in its entirety. However, a class approach is not a master key fitting all cases in life and eliminating the need for a specific study of specific phenomena. At each qualitatively different stage in the development of the socialist system

we must find the new forms of class approach and class-political evaluations consistent with that specific stage. However, as we already saw, to this day we come across the tendency to "revive" the class approach in its old and by now obsolete aspects.

In substantiating the waging of class war on bureaucratism and bureaucrats, some readers quote Lenin's words: "Our worst internal enemy is the bureaucrat." But let us not put a period where the text calls for a comma, and read what V.I. Lenin said further, in his speech at the meeting of the communist faction of the All-Russian Congress of Metal Workers, in March 1922: "...We have here a communist who holds a responsible (and, subsequently, not so responsible) Soviet position and enjoys universal respect as a conscientious person. He is moderate. He has not learned how to fight red tape, he conceals it. It is this enemy that we must purge ourselves from and, with the help of all conscientious workers and peasants, we shall get to this enemy. It is against this enemy and against this muddle-headedness and Oblomovism that the entire non-party worker-peasant mass will advance, led by the progressive detachment of the Communist Party. There should be no doubt whatsoever on this account" (op cit., vol 45, p 15). In other words, the struggle for upgrading organization and against red tape and muddle-headedness, which is of tremendous political significance, also includes the re-education of those who hold "responsible (and then not so responsible) Soviet positions," in order to teach them, to force them to learn how to maintain proper standards in their work. Socialist control by the masses, development of self-government by the people and upgrading the political standards of the working people are the most important means for solving such problems and defeating bureaucratism.

Another effort to give a political slant to the question of bureaucratism is found in the letter by G.S. Baboshkin, CPSU member, candidate of agricultural sciences and scientific associate at the Ryazan Agricultural Experimental Station. He believes that the bearers of a bureaucratic style in the work and of bureaucratic behavior toward people should be classified as a type of opportunists "who have simply found a comfortable niche in life and are unwilling to change anything... They refute nothing; simply they adapt Marxism-Leninism and its bright idea--communism--to their own requirements.... The neo-opportunists try to emasculate the ideological content of restructuring at all cost, and to lower it to the level of a customary, even an ordinary measure."

This is worth thinking about, for if a communist, a party member does nothing to promote restructuring but, conversely, hinders it, and if in his case conservatism, inertia and passiveness are not a temporary condition caused by some circumstances, but a long-held view, expressed in his actions and work style, all of this deserves a blunt assessment. "We must not fear political terminology," G.S. Baboshkin writes. "This is not the 1940s. Once and for all we must accurately define this negative phenomenon which is still preventing us from living a full life. We, who grew up under socialism, find it strange that some of us are accused of supporting a petit-bourgeois ideology. But what does careerism, attachment to things and philistinism mean?" Let me also add: and what are violations of Soviet laws if motivated by greed? In such cases the accurate class-political assessment of such

people is the following: they are guided by bourgeois and petit-bourgeois views and mores. They have accepted class values which are alien to socialism and have become degenerates.

In noting the class, the politically alien nature of bureaucratism as a socialist social phenomenon, the authors of the letters suggest strengthening the role of the state and the law in the struggle against it. V.I. Solovyev (Leningrad) suggests that criminal legislation include the words "bureaucrat" and "bureaucratism." According to his information, there has been no single trial of a case involving bureaucratism in the country since 1960; he suggests that both legislative and judicial practices be improved in this area.

A different view on the possibilities of legislation is expressed by Yu.A. Komarov (Moscow): in the struggle against bureaucratism we must use the articles of the Criminal Code which stipulate punishment for abuse of power or official position and arbitrariness.

Let us go back to N.K. Kozyrev's letter, in which he reminds us that V.I. Lenin considered as the most important feature of bureaucratism the transformation of an official position into a "cozy place." The author of this letter demands the implementation of the principles of equalizing the "salary of an official" with the average wage of the worker (suffice it to look at manuals of the Central Statistical Administration to see that the average wage of "officials," i.e., the personnel of the apparatus of state and public organizations is substantially lower); he is interested also in the possibility of power abuse which violates the requirements of social justice. We believe that the aspiration of many people who want power and various undeserved and illegal "benefits" has been accurately noted: they seek and find "loopholes for enrichment." "Today, when the ground under their feet has become shaky," N.K. Kozyrev writes, "union bureaucrats have joined ranks to defend it with the zeal of the doomed, equaling that of Vrangeli in defending the Turetskiy rampart. That is why restructuring is spinning its wheels." In other words, a class-political evaluation is useful and necessary when bureaucratism comes closer to violating the principles of social justice and Soviet laws and the interests of the working people.

In a modern socialist society, where there are no exploiting classes and, respectively, class antagonisms in the foundations of social development, the forms of class approach and political evaluations must proceed from general long-term interests of the developing socialist system and the working people. Without undertaking a detailed analysis of this important problem (which is worthy of a separate consideration), let us briefly outline a situation which would require such an approach and evaluation and depict the foundation of a contemporary class approach, of a class-political evaluation. Such situations arise in violating the main sociopolitical requirements: 1. the unconditional priority of national and state interests as opposed to departmental and parochial ones; 2. consistent and comprehensive implementation of the basic principle of socialism "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work," which expresses the requirements of social justice at the present stage; 3. the strict observance of Soviet laws and socialist legality (the law must not make exceptions for anyone); 4. comprehensive help in asserting in all areas of life in our

society democratic standards, socialist comradeship and collectivism. Any one of these requirements is of essential importance and all of them are "anti-bureaucratic."

That is precisely why means of struggle against bureaucratism and of implementing said requirements are also of a sociopolitical nature: the broad democratization of all aspects of life in socialist society, a radical revolutionary restructuring, which enhances the initiative and energy and strengthens the decisive role of the people's masses with the help of openness, criticism and self-criticism, and increased political awareness and political standards of the Soviet people.

Theory and Practice of the Struggle Against Bureaucratism

Tremendous interest in the problem of surmounting bureaucratism is manifested not only in thoughts triggered by its emotional and moral condemnation. A tangible need exists to develop theoretical problems and to clarify the long-term development of the struggle against bureaucratism and to increase its efficiency. Yu.A. Pavlov from Izmail (Odessa Oblast) believes that in order to strengthen social optimism the development of the theory of socialism must be speeded up. In general, he proceeds from accurate considerations when he writes that "we must systematically, starting with the lower strata, undertake to promote true democratization," while at the same time to strengthen one-man command.

Everyone acknowledges the existence of gaps in social science in terms of the struggle against bureaucratism, and everyone tries in his own way to assess or fill it. For example, V.I. Belousov (Kuybyshev) sent to the editors the pamphlet "Philosophy of 'Shade' or Shade of Philosophy," on the occasion of the article published by a noted social scientist in one of the central newspapers. In principle, the reader accurately believes that it is insufficient to speak of organization in general without analyzing the social aspect of the matter. The author he criticizes avoids being concrete, according to V.I. Belousov, because otherwise "he would have to discuss not organizational bureaucracy in general but the bureaucratization of the Soviet state machinery under developed socialist conditions. And if the critique of bureaucracy in general is to the author a kind of easy excursion and to the specific bureaucrat a slight tickling, the critique of administrative-economic bureaucracy in the Soviet state apparatus, which is the main instrument of political power, demands of the researcher civic courage, on the one hand, and a certain ability for thinking in theoretical terms, on the other." The existence of a bureaucratic apparatus, V.I. Belousov writes, cannot be explained by the difficulty of the problem of managing: under communism social life will become even more complex.

Not waiting for the social scientists, V.P. Beloborodov, a mechanical engineer from Novosibirsk, reports that he has started to write (he has already written 40 pages) an article entitled "On the Invisible School for the Training of the Bureaucrat," and asks whether it is worth completing and submitting it. In our previous survey we already pointed out to the readers the need to present their thoughts whenever possible concisely: manuscripts sent to the editors must not exceed 20-25 pages. This request, naturally, applies to V.P.

Beloborodov as well. We find it difficult to agree with one of the main theses in his letter (and, obviously, his article): the author objects to the use words "owner," "like an owner" and "to be the owner!" In his view, "with a general state of stagnation, they have created the bureaucrat, the thief or the 'parasite,' the grubber, the drunk, etc." We fail to understand the logic of this. The appeal is not addressed to swindlers and truants, and such expressions do not entitle in the least the "bureaucrat to feel himself the master of the situation." Every honest working person and conscientious citizen must feel that he is the master of the situation and of the production process and of social life. Under those circumstances thievery, truancy, hooliganism and bureaucracy are inconceivable.

The social scientists themselves note the lag in social science. P.K. Sytnik, Kiev State University docent and candidate of philosophical sciences, believes that so far no answer has been given to the following questions: 1. "What is it that triggers bureaucratism in our country? 2. Who should destroy this social evil? Punishment only increases the number of malcontents; 3. What ways, means, methods and forms of struggle are the most efficient?" In his view, "we need the type of means which would not only expose bureaucratism and destroy it but would erect a perfect obstacle which would exclude the possibility of its appearance and spreading, not to mention prospering."

It is necessary to formulate the theory of the problem. The materials received by the editors enable us to judge to a certain extent the manner in which social scientists (and not only they alone) are answering this obvious and urgent need. Let us point out that some articles written not so long ago could have been published; they knowledgeably define the significance of the problem, provide proper sources, include proper views on the harm of bureaucratism and, as a whole, provide good quality quite analytical description of bureaucratism as a social phenomenon and of the bureaucrat as a social type; they contain well-reasoned but general assumptions as to the means and people who must deal with eliminating manifestations of bureaucratism. Alas, now, after the January and June Central Committee Plenums, this is no longer sufficient for a serious theoretical publication. Even the best of the materials we have received show a general similarity and its is difficult to give preference to any one of the manuscripts, having decided that yes, this is what we need. But no, all of them agree that something is needed. Yet we would very much like to say the following: here is a high theoretical standard with which typical situations are analyzed, and here is the type of rich factual data used to make theoretical summations convincing and essential--vivid, firing the readers with the passion to struggle, and arming the party organizations and management authorities with clear rather than speculative, with practical recommendations which help them to upgrade the efficiency of all organizational and management activities on different levels.

Are such works being written? We hope that they are. Possibly, they may be written by the authors of letters and manuscripts we have received. Unquestionably, the work by V.F. Romanov, doctor of philosophical sciences and professor at the Magnitogorsk Pedagogical Institute, entitled "The Human Factor in the Struggle Against Bureaucratism," should be extended and developed, emphasizing the study of the specific actual foundations of the

problem under consideration. The author notes absolutely accurately that "the bureaucrat in the guise of a responsible worker, causes serious moral and political damage to society, for in his position he discredits the ideas and policies of the party, not to mention the damage he causes to specific projects. He creates a certain alienation among part of the working people from socially significant interests and objectives." This applies not only to officials or managers. "The treachery of bureaucratism," the author writes, "is that it has sunk roots also among rank and file performers in management, services and other areas. The 'petty officials,' performers with bureaucratic manners, cause a great deal of harm." In order to struggle efficiently against such phenomena we must see that the base, the reason for bureaucratism in the activities of some cadres and personnel of the administrative apparatus "and in other areas," is their attitude to the work, to the cause; it means indifference concerning its results and concern for one's own well-being. The author is interested in bureaucratism and the bureaucratic style of work and behavior and relations with other people precisely from this aspect--the motivations which govern relations to the work and the attitude toward people.

His assumption that the predominance of command-arbitrary and administrative methods in management is rooted in the period of building socialism, when new cadres of the developing administrative apparatus were inevitably unequal to the task, in particular because of insufficient general educational and cultural standards, should be noted.

Even more important (but, unfortunately, barely touched upon) is tracing the link between bureaucratism and extensive economic management methods. Their rejection and conversion to economic intensification are a reliable base in defeating bureaucratism.

The materials entirely accurately emphasize the need for a more energetic and efficient and politically sharp reaction to manifestations of bureaucratism. "Today," V.F. Romanov writes, "we are precisely short of Lenin's combative intolerance and aggressiveness in the struggle against bureaucratism." There is a great deal of tolerance and views such as 'it could happen to anyone'." Bureaucratic behavior, such as suppression of criticism and persecution for criticism, according to the author, should be rated as anti-party.

In speaking of the need for the all-round development of control "from below," he notes that so far the inability to work in a new way and fear of democracy are quite widespread among cadres.

The aspiration to clarify better the position and appearance of the bureaucrat motivates the author to provide a kind of combined moral and psychological features of the bureaucrat and characteristics of his behavior.

The already mentioned Muscovite Yu.A. Komarov sets himself a similar task. He singles out the following features of the bureaucrat: lust for power ("the actions of a discontented individual are described or ascribed as illegal and rebellious"); boastfulness ("arrogance and self-confidence, thirst for privileges 'at all cost,' disrespect for the people, rejection of obligations, insincerity"); shallow culture, lack of intelligence, manifested in speech (abuse), voluntarism, ignorance of the scientific organization of labor; the

bureaucrat is an unskilled worker with a superficial judgment; he does not feel the need for professional growth; he lacks self-criticism and self-restraint but does have the aspiration to achieve a state of material and spiritual saturation, lordly condescension and callousness; he is cunning, obsequious and cowardly. He seeks and finds like-minded people and sets up separate classes and groups for collective guarantees.

The manuscript by V.S. Lyubchenko, the first of our readers we named, seems worthy of publication. It is entitled "What Hinders Restructuring. Some Characteristics of Bureaucracy." It is interesting from the viewpoint of the structure of the problems (varied) and the formulation of many of them (such as the fact that a prerequisite for the elimination of bureaucratism is the elimination of extensive economic development methods), and the use of extensive factual data.

Gaps in theoretical work on the problem of bureaucratism result in efforts to fill the vacuum with models of social phenomena, which were tried many years ago in other areas of the social sciences and which revealed their inadequacy although, naturally, we must not reject them out of hand, for their possibilities could be rechecked.

In suggesting an approach to the study of the problem of bureaucratism from the viewpoint of cybernetics, senior assistant S.A. Zagrubskiy, candidate of philosophical sciences (Leningrad), proceeds from a very good postulate: in his view, the slogan of the struggle against bureaucratism, which is unclear, should be replaced by something else: instead of "forceful" management methods, apply "scientific" methods everywhere. Equally accurate is his idea that the masses themselves "must take up" the process of democratization, i.e., they must participate in it with initiative. However, this is immediately followed by contradictions: it turns out that restructuring "cannot advance faster than the advancement of the awareness of the masses; such advancement must be averaged." But how to coordinate, for example, the fact of the insufficient "advancement of the awareness of the masses" with the requirement that the masses "take up" the process of democratization? Another contradiction which stems from this semi-accurate thesis: "One must struggle for restructuring but not report about or plan it." The fact that one must not be hasty in reporting its successes is accurate. But why "not plan?" Why not single out the various areas of restructuring, earmark specific targets and formulate just as specifically outlined tasks with a clear indication of the deployment of forces which must implement them and specific deadlines, desirably short? Obviously, in this case the concept of "planning" is interpreted in some kind of nontraditional meaning. How else can we interpret the claim by S.A. Zagrubskiy that "any planning in society contributes to the strengthening of bureaucracy, as does any centralization?"

Metallurgical engineer V.M. Sorochan, from Kirovsk (Voroshilovgrad Oblast) is another one who tries to consider this problem from the cybernetic viewpoint. In his view, a systemic approach would enable us "to eliminate possible ways of taking the socioecological environment to a state of entropy." We must "support a nonentropic condition and stable progress. Anything which hinders the implementation of this process is bureaucratism." Nonetheless, not everything is all that abstract in this letter. The author describes

distortions in the meaning of party and government resolutions in their implementation by ministries and departments: they are implemented "as suits bureaucratism." Intermediary cadres (between ministries and enterprises) are "parasitical units introduced by the respective ministries." This trick may be eliminated by reducing the size of the administrative apparatus by the "mandatory additional reducing the number of enterprise personnel."

The position taken by mathematical engineer V.M. Nikonov, employed within the Bryanskenergo system, comes much closer to the specific sociopolitical problems. He calls for developing the type of new theoretical concepts which would enable us "to create an organization of a new type, without bureaucratic features." In his view, "the measures taken today in the struggle against bureaucratism (by influencing bureaucrats through public opinion, laws and all kinds of supervision and penalties) suffer from at least two major shortcomings. First, they are sporadic whereas the features of organizational structures are something permanent and continuing. Second, all such measures are of a strictly punitive nature, i.e., they punish people for improper actions but do not teach how to work efficiently," whereas "the level of knowledge and practical skills in this area in our country is exceptionally low, as is the standard of business contacts; tasks are not sufficiently clear and detailed; managers are rarely asked to be able to 'fire up the masses'." On the basis of such considerations, the author formulates his own definitions of bureaucracy and the bureaucrat. "Bureaucracy is an organizational structure lacking a mechanism for the solution of organizational problems," replaced by "measures." Another impressive formula is "if a blacksmith assumes that a manager must manage he is considered a bureaucrat, although he rarely has to deal with any paperwork."

Such a concept of democratization--the main way of surmounting bureaucratism and upgrading the awareness and initiative of all people--is a prerequisite for the disappearance of the bureaucrat as a social type in his various manifestations; to different extents of clarity the same idea runs through virtually all articles and letters dealing with the struggle against this phenomenon. It is obvious that the ideas of restructuring and of extensive democratization of social life have already been basically accepted and are becoming the pivot of contemporary social awareness.

The people submit suggestions aimed at developing self-government and strengthening democratization. In a manuscript entitled "Democracy in Restructuring," K.F. Fedyukin, CPSU member since 1942, retired colonel and candidate of philosophical sciences (Leningrad), concentrates essentially on changes in the electoral system and on problems of the number of candidates and the procedure for their nomination. Docent P.K. Sytnik writes that we must "ensure universal control by the people over the activities of all units within the political system without exception, over the entire economic mechanism and all aspects of spiritual life. All, without exception! The CPSU must be the basic organizing and guiding force in the implementation of such universal control." To this suggestion he adds one on the organization of reciprocal control between party and soviet authorities. In his view, at that point "abuses of power, whitewashing, and figure-padding would disappear and, therefore, so would the unprecedented inflation of the administrative apparatus and the snowballing growth of this entire stratum which today is

even difficult to qualify. By this, I mean the huge mass of so-called 'auxiliary' personnel, whose salary, although small, is steady and whose existence may be theoretically justified but is, in fact, only damaging the social mechanism."

Most of the authors are aware of the need for the existence of the state and of a separate administrative apparatus which, according to A.A. Luzan (candidate of philosophical sciences, department head at the Slavic Pedagogical Institute, Donetsk Oblast) "is the foundation for the mechanism which administers the general affairs of society," which is inevitably "determined by the division of labor:" this apparatus is essentially responsible for the implementation of decisions.

Letters and articles raise the question of organizing openness and democratic control over the activities of the apparatus in the struggle against bureaucratism and formalism.

Also needed are "improvement in the quality of the management apparatus itself and ensuring an optimal combination of professional with social principles in management, from the social and administrative viewpoints" (A.A. Luzan). "The essence of restructuring (I am referring above all to managerial authorities)," writes pensioner M.T. Berezin from Chelyabinsk, "should be the radical change in workstyle and methods."

In this connection, let us recall an essentially important Leninist instruction. Lenin insisted on organizing the work in a model fashion initially only in a few institutions, which would be basic, so to say, in terms of future progress. "Work methods and means of upgrading its productivity and control methods developed in such few but truly model establishments should be then gradually introduced in all Soviet establishments" (op cit., vol 45, p 154). The following leads us to pay attention yet once again to this Leninist idea (which may be found in V.I. Lenin's earlier works, particularly in his "Great Initiative"). There have been frequent cases in the past of "ideological figure-padding," in the course of which the word "model" was used without sufficient grounds or was even totally inapplicable. Although this did occur, it does not give us a reason to reject the term "model," taken in its true, its Leninist meaning. We need model production, model quality of output, and model labor and social discipline. Model discipline in management and model control by the masses over it are among the best guarantees for the elimination of bureaucratism.

It is important to link the upsurge in the initiative of the masses and the development of the processes of democratization of social life with efforts to improve, reduce the cost and curtail the apparatus. By attacking this problem from two sides we shall squeeze bureaucratism and eliminate initially all of its extremes and, subsequently, the rest of its manifestations in practical life. Here as well this will be the result of growing mass initiative. "Even today," A.A. Luzan writes, "the reason our country and entire system of legal and other regulations which enable us, if implemented, substantially to enhance the level of our democracy. The entire trouble is that they are either not applied or applied on a strictly formal basis. Not only exclusively the bureaucracy but we ourselves are to be blamed for this

situation. We have still poorly mastered the basic truth of political life under socialism--socialist democracy, its principles and its forms will operate only if everyone participates in their exercise. In themselves, the principles and forms offer the possibility of democracy and self-government. In order for this possibility to become reality, its principles and forms must be given life and implemented. In this area we ourselves, all working people must have a say and prove this through our actions."

In his report to the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, M.S. Gorbachev underlined that "revolutionary changes in society have emphasized the contradiction between demand for renovation, creativity and a constructive initiative, on the one hand, and conservatism, inertia and selfish interests, on the other. One of the manifestations of this real contradiction is the disparity between the growing activeness of the masses and the still extant bureaucratic style of activities in a great variety of areas and efforts to stop restructuring. The elimination of this contradiction will require fast and decisive steps in cadre policy and in the assertion of new approaches and standards in party, state and social life."

We must restructure the mentality of lack of initiative ("permitted initiative") in all members of the administrative apparatus and the leading cadres. This is a widespread disease. These people expect instructions "from above" and are always extremely amazed to discover that some kind of initiative is taking place "in the lower strata," on the subject of which no instructions and indications have been issued. That is where the hindrance lies! How many malicious statements are being made on the subject of those who have initiated something which the official finds unusual! They range from "not serious" and "not properly worked out" to "tries to show off," "engages in self-advertising," and "behaves immodestly." There are some sharper variants as well. The source, however, is only one: dullness, unwillingness publicly to acknowledge such live initiative, creativity and vivid talent. There are many such depressing and dull organizers and administrators, the "production" of many of whom was extensive during the years of stagnation. They believe that the establishments where they work were created for their convenience and consider any "troublesome" citizen almost as the enemy.

It is above all such individuals who must be removed from the administrative apparatus and it is unquestionable that this alone would improve its efficiency. However, a reduction is necessary for other reasons as well. To begin with, the fact that more than 18 million people are employed in the administrative apparatus confirms the extensive nature of semi-feudal work methods in which problems are solved "by numbers rather than skills." This is an obstruction to scientific and technical progress in the management area, the inefficiency of the ASU and idling of expensive computers. Meanwhile, to put it bluntly, life goes on, whether one opposes it or not. Second, the fact that so many people are taken away from productive work (let us stipulate that it would be more accurate to consider as members of the working class engineering and technical workers in production) is a heavy burden for the national economy and no proof whatsoever exists that such an army of people is necessary; let us remember the important remark made by V.I. Lenin to the effect that the people (to be more specific, the peasantry) "is thirsting for

an 'inexpensive' government" (see op cit., vol 33, p 45). Third, a reduction of the administrative apparatus (especially the public organizations the very meaning of which conflicts with the growth of officialdom!) would substantially improve the social structure of society and would be a noticeable step forward in the renovation of social relations.

Letters received by the editors deal with other problems as well. Most frequently, conflicting opinions are expressed on the correlation in the solution of three problems: the development of democracy, the enhancement of the political standards of the masses and the elimination of bureaucratism. Any one of them is given priority in solving the other two. We shall not undertake a detailed discussion of such problems. It would be more accurate for all of them to be solved together, on an interrelated basis, through organizational and ideological-political work. This is a key to the success of restructuring and democratization, a key to victory over bureaucratism and to the creation of an efficient system of socialist self-government on all levels and in all social units.

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[Article by Yuliya Geogiyevna Khoritskaya, journalist, honored worker in culture of the RSFSR, Stavropol Kray]

[Text] Something unusual happened. The widow of a party member refused to obey the mandatory rule of surrendering her husband's party card. The party organization secretary, who came to collect the card, stood at the door (Antonina Vasilyevna did not let him in) and then left, trying to figure out what would happen next. For the past 3 weeks the party card of Dmitriy Ivanovich Minayev should have been filed in the raykom. Failure to observe the regulation meant difficulties for the secretary. He assumed, however, that it was still possible to make the widow change her opinion. Her son could be approached: Yuriy Dmitriyevich Minayev was, after all, a militia officer, a person whose duty it was to obey the rules.

Actually, satisfaction could be obtained from the widow herself, for Antonina Vasilyevna Minayeva held three positions: she worked at the city communications center. She should realize (let us say prompted by her superiors) that there are some views and actions which are allowed and others which are not. Nonetheless, one circumstance was worrisome. When the doorbell rang and she opened the door and was told what was the matter, widow Minayeva shouted:

"I do not have the card! I wrote about this entire matter to KOMMUNIST."

"She is threatening me," the secretary thought and somehow became less worried... Nonetheless, he took some steps in connection with his worry. He found someone to talk to Yuriy Dmitriyevich Minayev. He also found someone in the management of the communications center. In his own collective, he shared with a few people considerations on how to react to widow Minayeva's action.

In short, Aleksandr Petrovich Duyunov did everything possible to ensure himself against possible difficulties, such as an anticipated discussion at the party raykom as to why the document of party member Minayev had not been submitted where it should have been within the stipulated time. Incidentally, all the indications were that the party secretary did not expect to discuss

anything else in his talk at the raykom. In fact, he could have been blamed for other failures involving Minayev, for which he could have been summoned to account 6 months earlier and also 2 months earlier than that....

Thus, the widow of a working person did not agree with the view of the management of the enterprise where her husband had worked slightly less than 25 years. But before addressing ourselves to the sources of this situation, let us hear from the person whose actions were the starting point for my assignment to Neftekumsk.

In a letter to the journal, A.V. Minayeva wrote the following (I am quoting it slightly abridged):

"Hello, dear comrades. Forgive me for turning to you with our concerns but I wish to speak out."

"I shall describe my situation. My husband, Dmitriy Ivanovich Minayev, died on 4 March 1987. My husband was a bus driver first class. Considering the difficulty of summer travel (taking people on trips to the mountains), the ATP administration entrusted Dmitriy Ivanovich with the job. My husband was not a drunk. His workday was from 4 AM to 8 PM. He worked on the bus on his days off and even during holidays..."

"Eight years ago my husband had an infarct and became disabled. He cried when he had to leave the bus. Dmitriy Ivanovich was made line controller at the motor vehicle enterprise, in which position he worked until June 1986. Off and on he was unwell but he kept working. He went on leave in June and I talked him into going to a hospital for treatment. He died in the hospital."

"I have had a great deal of difficulties since! I had to turn to the automotive enterprise (which is 30 kilometers out of the city) to receive his sick pay and pension. My efforts were useless. Finally, last December I had to go in person to receive the money, which had been waiting since June."

"I begged on the telephone for someone to come to attend the funeral of their own worker. Where was the party organization secretary? Dmitriy Ivanovich paid his party dues. In 8 months no one came or telephoned..."

"Dmitriy Ivanovich died. Neither the party organization secretary nor the ATP director came to inquire what I needed, how they could help. Not one of them said a single word at the cemetery. Not one of them was there."

"Three weeks after the burial they remembered their party member. They came to collect his party card. I hope you will understand why I did not surrender it..."

"Excuse me once again for turning to you with my pain and resentment."

At the automotive enterprise (350 employees, 35 of them party members) not much time was spent in explanations on the questions raised in this letter.

"Resentment?" ATP director Nikolay Fotiyevich Galdzhev asked, amazed. "We did all we could for the Minayev. We provided transportation for the funeral. We purchased two wreaths. The fact that no one spoke at the funeral? This was circumstantial. Both I and the party buro secretary were out of town..."

"I believe that Minayeva has no reason to be insulted. One must have a peculiar viewpoint to react this way," added party buro secretary Aleksandr Petrovich Duyunov. He significantly added: "I had found out, I know what kind of person widow Minayeva is."

Unanimously, both managers advised: "Talk to the people."

In the small trailer of the Neftekumsk Motor Vehicle Column I met with several drivers, either returning or preparing for a trip.

"Tell me about Dmitriy Ivanovich Minayev," I asked.

"What is there to tell? It is said that one must not speak ill of the dead... But briefly said, he could not communicate with people. We knew that he was in the hospital but no one wanted to go see him. He was not liked."

"Why not?"

"Because of his character..."

I pursued this conversation at the bus station. This is where Minayev worked as controller.

"Dmitriy Ivanovich...", the person hesitated, seeking the proper words. "He was a difficult person. He would not yield even on petty matters. Nonetheless, in his final hours attention was paid to him: we collected money for a wreath, and published an obituary in the paper. What is there to be insulted about?"

I followed this with several meetings at the Achikulak Settlement, which is the main "headquarters" of the automotive enterprise. I obtained similar information, with the only difference that my interlocutors were trusted people, from the party or the trade union. The view was unanimous: had Minayev been different things would have been different.

I caught myself thinking that I was almost ready to share the view so confidently expressed by Minayev's fellow workers. Actually, what was the family of Dmitriy Ivanovich complaining about? He had few friends and was a difficult person. One cannot force someone to visit a person in the hospital or even less so to attend his funeral. This is done voluntarily. One cannot issue an order for a funeral speech, it must come from the heart.

The conclusion was that Nikolay Fotiyevich Galdzhev and Aleksandr Petrovich Duyunov and drivers, cashiers, engineers and planning workers with whom I spoke were right. This was a natural development of events. Even had the chief of the ATP been available, little change would have been made. Perhaps

he may have been obliged by his position to say a few suitable words about Dmitriy Ivanovich.

It appeared that Antonina Vasilyevna Minayeva had no reason to feel insulted. She was doubly wrong, first of all because there was no reason to be hurt and, secondly, because her hurt forced the people to stir up talk about her husband and forced them to talk about things that should better be left unsaid. The logic of this seemed convincing. Something, however, prevented me from accepting this. My initially confused thoughts and feelings were developing into a following train of thought:

There are some basic and absolutely normal concepts with which every Soviet person goes through life since his youth. Such as, for example, that our honor and dignity are determined above all by our attitude toward labor and our assignments; the fact that this is a mandatory criterion not subject to any allowance based on character features of someone who is conscientiously fulfilling his duty to society. There are moral standards which we master since childhood (the very thing which showed up in my interlocutors, forcing them to choose their words before speaking about Minayev), which are a basic respect for the person as such, for one of us, with the uniqueness of his fate, thoughts and feelings and the uniqueness of a life which was lived and has ended.

Something else bothered me. I wanted to understand what specifically was it that made Minayev difficult to deal with? Could it be that it was some kind of opposition to something he saw in his fellow citizens and colleagues that bothered an old Neftekumsk resident, that he found "hard" to accept? Could it be a hurt which had developed within him in his long months of illness, and previously, during the 8 years during which, from driver he became a line controller?... Another thing that prevented me from agreeing with the logic of Minayev's fellow workers was a detail which I shall relate in the words of Antonina Vasilyevna's letter.

"...Dmitriy Ivanovich died at 6:15 AM. At 7:30 my manager, the chief of the communications center (who knew my husband well) reported the fact to the ATP. The same morning he gathered our collective. They helped my financially and did everything that was necessary.

"Aid and support came from my daughter's collective--she is a teacher at the music school, and also from the militia department, where my son is employed..."

There was another noteworthy line. On the day of the funeral it was raining. The parting with Dmitriy Ivanovich took place in the yard, under a tarpaulin, for there were many people. The Minayevs asked Dmitriy Ivanovich's colleague to throw sand on the ground under the tarpaulin. They waited in vain. The problem was solved again by Antonina Vasilyevna's colleagues who brought from the post office and spread on the ground unnecessary papers, so that the people would not be standing in water. They also brought from the communications center felt boots worn by mailmen, for the people to keep their feet warm...

The truck with sand came after it was all over. It was followed by a passenger car full of ATP personnel. Someone came out of the truck and saw that they were late. He loudly shouted to the driver: "Turn back!" So did the passenger car. No one went to the grave....

Let me clarify something: I tried to understand the reason for the views of the ATP management and of all those with whom I had the occasion to talk. As a rule, these were young and educated people, such as Galdzhev and Duyunov. They were engineers and both of them were pleasant people. To a certain extent they resemble the young and contemporary city in which they live. Both of them are energetic people, not time-clock punchers. Nikolay Fotiyevich Galdzhev tours the ATP area early in the morning to see whether the territory is clean, how many trees have been planted, have the bushes been trimmed. There is a "manager's memorandum" on his desk, cut out of an economics journal. These are orders which the young manager (he is 35) tries to observe: not to be boastful, to be able to listen to subordinates and to remember that the main feature of the work is professional competence.

Aleksandr Petrovich Duyunov is 30 years old. He was elected party bureau secretary less than a year ago. Clearly, he tries to master the new and very difficult work and to learn the most difficult science of managing people. Both are energetic and support one another. They are engaged in reorganizing the work of the enterprise, with a view to intensifying transport operations and applying real cost accounting.

But here is a strange contradiction: these are young people, in step with the requirements of reality yet, at the same time, ...amazingly old fashioned. How, for example, to combine an active attitude toward restructuring and participation in it while, at the same time, retaining the old habit of hindering, blocking critics, investigate, and cast aspersions on such people... Obviously, the old style of work with people is deeply rooted and affects even those who were still in school not so long ago and who very recently became managers.

In an effort to answer my question, Tatyana Alekseyevna Aleshina, Neftekumskiy Party Raykom secretary, said: "Yes, we have neglected social affairs." She said this sincerely, willingly acknowledging that a certain share of responsibility for the affair of the "not surrendered party card" is also with the party raykom. Unwittingly, I noted the careless way with which the term "social affairs" was mentioned. This implied comprehensive and very difficult work concentrated on the individual, with his needs, concerns and worries. No, I am not clinging to the term but considering its nature. I can see that it expresses with amazing accuracy the importance which we have become accustomed to ascribe to concern for the individual, along with that which we consider the most important thing: concern for the job. The secondary importance (and sometimes the nonmandatory nature) of attention to man has sunk deep in the mind, become part of our awareness. Is that not the reason why a veteran who is retired or become disabled somehow loses his value and significance to society. Paying attention to such a person becomes a matter of individual initiative on the part of his well-wishers. It is not society but he himself who turns out to be "guilty" if in his declining years or if sick he is no longer surrounded by proper concern: he has few friends and

that is all. Is this not upside down logic, which resulted in the way D.I. Minayev spent the final months of his life?

Furthermore, by no means does the now almost legitimized formula (a difficult character) contain the entire truth although its purpose is to explain why thus and such happened. At the ATP I was told that "we are guilty in the Minayev case." This was said by elderly people. They regretted that on the day of the funeral they were on the road and had learned of the event too late. "No time for sadness," one said. "We forget about the people," someone else said. The oldest workers at the enterprise did not agree with the description of Dmitriy Ivanovich Minayev by his fellow workers. "He was strict and that is all," Leon Dmitriyevich Zhukovtsev said. "He did his job well," Petr Grigoryevich Mashchenko added. This was summed up by Anatoliy Andreyevich Shugarev as follows: "Minayev was a positive person."

I am quoting these words not for the sake of deleting one opinion with another. The views of veteran drivers are important for another reason: they indicate that the same facts could be considered from different viewpoints. And that it is very important, in looking at a person, his actions and his life, to have a point of reckoning known as principle-mindedness. Obviously, this alone allows us to separate what matters from what does not, the essential from the accidental.

The building of Neftekumsk was started in 1958. However, 1 year before that driver Minayev was already working here, for the Neftestroy SMU. It was in that enterprise that he became a party member in 1961. Lyudmila Dmitriyevna, Dmitry Ivanovich's daughter, showed to me the little "islands" of new construction which was undertaken at the place where now the city stands. When the Minayev family moved here many people voluntarily worked Saturdays and Sundays on improving the city, always with the participation of Dmitry Ivanovich. The trees and shrubs he planted are alive and growing to this day. This is no small thing. I copied some of Dmitriy Ivanovich's documents which look like the landmarks of a human life. I recalled Tvardovskiy's "Water carrier, young man, take me there, home..."

Here is his work record: three job entries. In 1956 he enrolled as a student observer at the Severokavkazskaya Hydrogeological Station. In 1957 he started as a driver at the Neftestroy SMU (which later developed into the ATP). In 1978 he became line controller.

There were 22 entries of rewards. A separate addition had to be made to the booklet to include all of them. There were reports on certificates, cash awards and valuable gifts. Their number declined as he grew older: the man was sick.

I looked at the next document which identifies him as a communist labor shock worker. Minayev tried to be ahead of his time. The next is a certificate of driver first class. This was earned by Minayev as a mature person, father of two children.

There was a delegate mandate for the First Neftekumsk Rayon Party Organization. Dmitry Ivanovich was given voting rights at the conference. His

mandate for the 6th Neftekumsk Rayon Party Conference identified Dmitry Ivanovich as representative of the ATP party members.

What kind of a person was he away from his job? He passionately loved music. He could play several instruments, from accordion to piano. He loved children very much. These two passions were combined in his habit of giving to children musical instruments as gifts in the hope that they will learn to play. In his last days he concentrated his concern on his granddaughter Nastenka. He considered himself her support and was planning to work until she could stand on her two feet...

As to his difficult character... Partially it could be explained by the fact that since the 1960s, after a severe accident, he suffered from headaches which he carefully concealed. A convinced teetotaler, in all likelihood Dmitry Ivanovich lost many opportunities of being understood and accepted by that segment of the collective where in the recent past candor usually began with a drinking bout. Clearly, here as well Minayev could not change his character. From an early age he was known by those close to him as a "chekist" because of his sharp feeling of justice. He did not change this outlook whatever the circumstances, for which reason he made no compromises in his work as a controller and found it difficult to stand the hostility of the drivers...

Little by little, these facts came out of the scant entries in the documents, the stories of Minayev's relatives and colleagues and neighbors. It occurred to me that for many years journalists, writers, psychologists and sociologists have bemoaned the indifference of people toward others and the ignorance of much of what makes the "individual" person in a given community or in a collective, settlement, city or the country, making his moral principles and behavioral motivations understandable. The sources of this phenomenon are complex. No prescription can be followed here which would make all of us immediately sincerely attentive to those around us. However, the fact that changes have taken place in this delicate area of human relations is unquestionable. The human factor is by no means a technological concept. Who must be the first to find out about it? Naturally, those who, by virtue of their activities, have been entrusted with working with people and whose actions and behavior affect one way or another the moods, awareness and views of a person. The first among them is the party secretary.

"I had little contact with Minayev," says Aleksandr Petrovich Duyunov. "I could not understand what he wanted, for our enterprise is not among the worst in the city and its people are good. But he always tended to criticize..."

It is true that such a feature in a person is not easy to take. But is party leadership in general an easy job? Could it be mastered without tireless efforts and without determining what lies behind ordinary, customary and, therefore, comfortable ideas? As a "production unit," Minayev did not puzzle the party organizer. He worked honestly. He always spoke out at party meetings. Therefore, what erected a barrier was some concerns shown by Dmitry Ivanovich. Concerns which the old communist considered significant but which the young one could not understand. I think that this had something to do

with the moral atmosphere in the collective, with categories such as conscience, principle-mindedness and decency.

The fact that a new party secretary is avoiding such difficult problems for the time being is nothing to worry about. He will learn, for one does not become an educator in one year. What is much worse is that to this day A.P. Duyunov tends to consider anything which is related to this "unsurrendered party card" an annoying accident rather than a pattern dictated by the essence of our time. All indications are that the Neftekumskiy CPSU Raykom is not concerned in the least by the event, considering it the act of an unrestrained person, nothing more.

In parting, Antonina Vasilyevna Minayeva said:

"Why I wrote to the editors? So that the same may not be repeated either in our city or elsewhere..."

What could one add to this?

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TO BE SMARTER AND STRONGER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 87 (signed to press 14 Jul 87) pp 124-128

[Review by N. Tyurin of books and pamphlets on party work]

[Text] The June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum described as an explosion of spiritual activity the phenomenon which we have witnessed and in which we have been participating in the last 2 years, a coiled spring of interwoven concepts of "restructuring" and "acceleration." The signs of the outburst of intellectual and emotional energy are visible and varied: the multi-million increase in the number of copies of newspapers and periodicals; the openly critical and vividly instructive tonality of party and other meetings, and the lines of people waiting to see, paying close attention and following them with heated debates, films and performances, novels and journalistic articles in which even the most sensitive and vital problems of development of our society are discussed; the drastic increase in the flood of letters addressed to party and state authorities, in which the people share their personal experiences on organizing life in our socialist home better and eliminating the hindrance mechanism wherever it may be and whatever respectable garb its bearers may wear.

What matters most, however, is that today all of us have started to think more deeply about the common problems, to be better aware of the "sensitive areas" in daily practical life, to see more clearly the reasons and their consequences in all areas of social reality and to draw and interpret lessons and practical experience from working in a new manner more energetically. Naturally restructuring is influenced by numerous factors. Its success, however, is determined above all by the way in which the party itself is restructuring, from the primary organizations to the leading authorities in the center and the local areas. "Today," the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum stated, "it is particularly necessary to intensify the party's influence in all areas of our work, to ensure the skillful management of social processes and the formulation of new creative approaches." In the course of our further progress the experience which the party, which each party organization has acquired in its political, organizational and ideological and educational activities, provides unique support.

Naturally, more people today than yesterday are approaching the book shelves in search of advice, new knowledge and fresh impressions, seeking works which reflect to some extent the experience acquired since April 1985, when the party charted the course of acceleration and renovation. Laying no claim to comprehensive coverage, let us look at some books and pamphlets in which this important subject is discussed.

Let us look at a series of works in the "Party Worker Library" published by Politizdat. The pamphlets "Important Factor in the Acceleration of Technical Progress" by V.I. Lukyanenko, and "Party Work Under the New Conditions of Economic Management" by G.F. Khatsenkov deal with the party's guidance of the economy; V.Ye. Titov's "The Power of Ideological Influence" and A.V. Myalovitskiy's "On the Authority of the Party Worker" discuss ideological problems. In our view, these four publications of roughly similar size and published in the same number of copies, similarly printed, signed to press between June 1986 and April 1987, are quite disparate in terms of meaningfulness. How are they different from each other?

Khatsenkov's work deals with the experience of the party organizations in the Ukraine, Belorussia and Lithuania, which is of interest to many. Here enterprises and associations in many industrial sectors were among the first to increase the rights of labor collectives and their responsibility for the results of economic activities. We believe that as a whole the author has fulfilled his intention, above all from the viewpoint of the study of the economic and practical work of the party organizations, important and valuable today, particularly after the January and June plenums. The pamphlet includes many facts and figures which demand consideration. It describes new aspects in the work of enterprise party committees and party buros which are learning the difficult science of independent work. In some aspects, however, the pamphlet seems obsolete, above all because of enumerations and insufficient analytical approach in the consideration of successes and errors in the course of the economic experimentation and the lessons learned from restructuring.

The study of reality has been formalized to an even greater extent in Lukyanenko's pamphlet. This work, which deals with the activities of the party organizations in industrial enterprises aimed at optimizing the work of engineering and technical workers, abounds in special data, names of plants, factories, combines, NII and KB and documents issued by various authorities. The author uses the linear formula of "we planned-resolved-implemented" in describing the changes in working conditions of engineers and technicians and their increased involvement in the acceleration of technical progress, usually in no more than two or three paragraphs. Unquestionably, this makes sense if the purpose is primarily descriptive and a recording of facts rather than creative work. But should this be the only purpose of a pamphlet within the "Party Worker Library" series? What are the features of party efforts to accelerate scientific and technical progress? What could the party organizations do to accelerate the output of engineers in the country, the sector or the enterprise? Such questions, which are basic to a party worker, are set aside or mentioned briefly. Today people who are interested and who can think seek in books studies of the real deployment of forces in restructuring, the reasons for management decisions and their social

consequences and the motivations for a given situation in a labor collective. Unfortunately, they are rarely to be found.

Differences between the pamphlets by Myalovitskiy and Titov in the approach to the topic are clear to the naked eye. The former discusses the authority of the party worker in brief and convincing terms. The somewhat forced breakdown of such a complex concept as authority is justified by the careful study of its components, such as principle-mindedness, responsibility, party-mindedness, self-criticism, competence, a feel for the new, democracy, sincere respect for others and ability to attract people. Not the least quality of this work are its language and style, which are clear and expressive. In short, this makes for useful reading, something which, unfortunately, cannot be said of "The Power of Ideological Influence."

I believe that this work largely reflects the influence of yesterday's stereotypes governing the perception of ideological activities as some kind of self-seeking and closed work area with its own methods, evaluations and results unrelated to surrounding reality. The author has attempted to describe the practices of the party organizations in Smolensk Oblast in providing ideological support for economic tasks. On the surface both economic tasks and ideological support appear to have been described. But what about in terms of their essence? It is common knowledge that many problems have accumulated in the Smolensk economy. Not all of the oblast's party committees are displaying initiative in their work or the necessary degree of maturity, which is so greatly necessary under present circumstances. The impression gained from the pamphlet is one of complacency, meaningless declarations and standard formulas, used as a screen behind which we cannot see the real activities of the oblast's party members. Here are but a few random examples:

"In agriculture, on the initiative of frontranking mechanized links at the Krasnyy Dobrovolets and imeni Pushkin kolkhozes and the Rassvet livestock breeding farm, a mass movement has developed under the slogans of 'Guaranteed High yields' and 'Emblem of Quality for Each Field.' Special commissions were set up in the various rayons to assess the results of this competition."

"Patriotic initiatives, such as 'Engineering Support for Worker Initiatives,' 'No laggards in the work,' etc. have become widespread in the oblast."

"To serve society, guided by a feeling of duty and conscience and making a substantial contribution to the common cause is a life stance which is taking shape with the help of our entire way of life and purposeful ideological and political education work. Applying all of its ways and means, the oblast's party organizations are comprehensively promoting the social activeness of individuals."

As we can see, those are right words and the purpose of their use is unquestionable. But what specifically does the party worker reading this pamphlet learn from such statements, what does he gain from such axiomatic repetitions? Furthermore, is the competition in the oblast all that "mass?" What is the economic content of said initiatives? How precisely do the "special commissions" work? Can we speak today so confidently about "all ways

and means" of ideological work, "comprehensively" applied in oblast practices? The indications are that the author has extensive experience and considerable data at his disposal and some of his thoughts and observations are not without interest. The first task of the publishers should have been to bring this potential in the open. Alas, no such co-authorship has been achieved.

It may not be entirely fair to blame the publishers for the great disparities in the standards of the booklets which came out last year and at the beginning of 1987, for restructuring is not a short process and during the transitional period there is a natural combination of elements of the "new" and the "old" in all areas of practical work and in the people's minds. Furthermore, today the country's sociopolitical life is so fast that even the periodicals are not always able to keep pace with it, and the situation with publishing houses, whose production cycle takes several months, is even more difficult. But will the reader always "try to put himself in the difficult situation" of publishing workers? No, he would most likely set aside a book which will teach him nothing new. The time has come, therefore, maximally to shorten the time needed for the publication of books and pamphlets dealing with the most topical subjects, with party work above all, in the rapidly changing conditions of restructuring in which the party organizations, their committees and their aktivs must work. This demand is dictated by life and practical experience and equally applies to central and local publishing houses. Today we are mastering the innovative "technology" of the revolutionary renovation of everything that surrounds us, as we move along. That is what makes so relevant now every bit of experience gained along this way, any line of a new approach to party work and any example of the efficient solution of a problem.

We believe that it is precisely from this point of view that the readers will find a great deal of useful information in the book "Energhichneye, Tovarishch Partorg!" [More Energetically, Comrade Party Organizer!] by A.K. Akulik (Belarus, Minsk, 1986). What are its most noteworthy features? First, the topic: the primary party organizations in the agroindustrial complex, which are rarely discussed by scientists and journalists. Second, the tonality of the thoughtful and quite specific, "down-to-earth" approach in the discussion on restructuring the activities of the primary party organizations in the countryside and on how to make their life richer and creative and to surmount the many-faceted and very durable formalism, a tonality typical of the entire book. Each advice and recommendation, many of which are to be found in this book, is based on a specific situation, revealing that the author's analysis is original and the result of direct observations and exposure to reality.

Another good work is the book "Istoki Aktivnosti" [Sources of Activeness] by G.S. Volnyanskiy (Promin, Dnepropetrovsk, 1986). Its author who worked for many years as party committee secretary at the Dnepropetrovsk Electric Locomotives Manufacturing Plant, decided to share his considered experience and has done a truly good job, not only because of his great familiarity with the work. Justifiably and therefore successfully he has used a method which could be described as a microscopic examination of the practices of a plant party organization: with scrupulous thoroughness he has analyzed the "technology" of the work of the party committee, its tactical and strategic choices, and decision making and implementation. The large number of facts, figures and names found in the book do not tire out the reader for their are

connected with lively and energetic thoughts the main aspect of which is to realize and understand the interests of the people, their life stance, in order properly to rally around a worthy purpose and free the creative potential of every individual. This is a small illustration of major problems. We know how greatly V.I. Lenin valued such books.

Yes, a regional experience, whatever its framework, which has always been interesting and significant, today becomes not "local" at all but general, for reconstruction is all-embracing and irreversible. Its "laboratories," "testing grounds" and "construction sites" are for us a single process, a school and a major political test. Obviously, it would be useful to consider the reprinting (after proper rewriting and updating) by the central publishing houses and in mass editions, books which vividly and convincingly depict the restructuring of party work and the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of individual regions, industrial enterprises and agroindustrial complexes. Naturally this would require serious research and strict selection, which would prevent publication on a union scale of works written to meet the requirements of temporary situations (unfortunately, many such works continue to be printed by local publishing houses and, worse, become part of series on disseminating the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress. A typical feature of such pamphlets is a detailed retelling of the congress' documents, virtually unrelated to the specific tasks of a union or autonomous republic, kray or oblast, with "sterilized" examples of party work, freed from real contradictions and only formally showing a "geographic linkage"). It is to be hoped that the organizational efforts made by the central publishing houses will result in an influx of fresh authors and books impatiently awaited by the mass readership.

Today's formula which brings together the daily concerns of big and small, urban and rural party organizations is that of facing people and activities. How is the moral and psychological climate developing within the elective authority and its apparatus? No one will undertake to deny that this precisely is the "tuning fork" which sets the tone in the party collective. That is what determines today the particularly important role of party committees and their secretaries in elaborating the style and method of activities of the leading party agencies on different levels, increasingly encompassing the very delicate elements of human interrelationships and perceptions. The force of the moral example set by the party leader increases noticeably. All of this, under the conditions of the strengthening and development of socialist democracy and extensive openness presumes the publication of books which would describe convincingly and truthfully the nature and inspiration of the work of the contemporary party worker and his professional and human features. One of the "harbingers" on this most interesting topic is the book "Dragotsennyye Rossypi" [Precious Deposits] by I.F. Denisyuk, recently published by Politizdat.

The book's subtitle is "On Party Work and Party Workers: Observations From 'Within'." This sounds like a commitment which, as a whole has been kept in the book's 28 chapters-episodes. The author, who until recently was a party worker with long past experience, is thoroughly familiar not only with the daily work of the buro, secretariat and departments of the oblast party committee but also with the way the people here work and with the specific

features of their complex work today. It is this type of competence that gives this work its accuracy despite the fact that Denisyuk has written the work as a novel, for which reason all of his characters, including the main one, Vasilii Nikolayevich Mikhaylov, first secretary of the Prirechenskaya Oblast party committee. The conventionality of this approach is redeemed by the food for the mind and the heart we obtain from the greater part of this work. It is interesting to observe the manner in which Mikhaylov thinks and acts in the field, at a meeting with the personnel and with candidates for promotion and at an obkom buro session... It is interesting, alongside the author, to analyze the components of the fabric of the work, the "output" of which is decisions which directly affect the feelings, interests and destinies of many people. Nonetheless, there is a "but" to this narration, which we would like to share with the readers without anticipating in the least their possible impressions from this book.

In one event after another questions arise, to which the book gives no answer. Why, namely, is it that Vasilii Nikolayevich Mikhaylov never experiences doubts or makes errors? Could a leader who does not analyze his own actions self-critically develop true authority? Finally, to what extent does the documentary base of this novel help (or hinder) the depiction of the dimensionality which the life and personality of this outstanding main character must have? These are by no means idle questions, for it seems as though the author stops short at a certain point before the April period, when the rule was that a party worker on the obkom secretary level must be "cleansed" from inner conflicts, moral quests and struggle. This is regrettable, for in the opposite case the qualities of this book (which, we repeat, are numerous) could be even greater.

It is true that nothing attracts today the attention of the reader more than the full truth, free from protective devices or "significant" omissions. This is the moral core of restructuring, the guarantee of renovation, the restoration of the best features of the socialist way of life and the consolidation of the Leninist principles in all areas of party work. What guarantees are there against conscious or subconscious errors and recurrences of past situations, when the wish was frequently depicted as the reality? Not the least important here are common sense, practical experience, a kind of "feel for the truth" inherent in the working people who are party workers by vocation and talent. However, priority in the persistent and daily search for the truth and protecting it from all distortions goes to the democratization of all aspects of our sociopolitical practices armed with precise and scientific knowledge of the problems which face the party and society at each stage in the movement which is gathering scope. That is the reason for which the importance of honest and substantiated scientific works which concretize the integral concept of restructuring and the meaning and objective of party work under contemporary conditions is growing so quickly.

For the time being such works are few. However, they are showing up and swelling their number is the prime task of publishers. Meanwhile, we sincerely recommend two books which could help party workers a great deal: V.A. Yatskov's monograph "Kadrovaya Politika KPSS: Opyt i Problemy" [CPSU Cadre Policy: Experience and Problems] (Mysl, 1986), and the first of its kind in our country "Slovar po Partiynomu Stroitelstvu" [Party Building

Dictionary] (Politizdat, Moscow, 1987) by a group of party workers and scientists specializing in party building.

The monograph on cadre policy covers a wide range of theoretical and practical problems raised by our time in this most important area of party activities. The book is rich in a variety of factual information and materials of sociological studies conducted by social scientists in party committees on different levels. The conclusions and suggestions contained in the monograph are of interest above all because they are based on the scientific study of the practices of party organizations in solving key problems of cadre selection, placement and training. As to the dictionary, its publication provides party workers, activists and anyone interested in such problems with a scientific work which describes quite fully the conceptual meaning of hundreds of words and terms in daily use by party workers. An outstanding feature of many of the entries is their brevity, clarity of presentation and study of the specific use of a given term during different stages in party history. Unquestionably, both works deserve a much more detailed study. However, let us grant the reader the sovereign right of assessing their merits for himself. As we know, V.I. Lenin considered books a tremendous force. Seeking and finding it and skillfully using the bits of new experience it contains is today the interesting and extremely important task of every party member and conscious participant in restructuring.

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CHRONICLE. MEETINGS WITH THE EDITORS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 87 (signed to press 14 Jul 87) p 128

KOMMUNIST editors met with a group of students from the historical-philological department of Patrice Lumumba Friendship of the Peoples University. Representatives from the journal described to students from Asian, African and Latin American countries the structure of the journal and its work in implementing the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST," and answered numerous questions on problems of USSR foreign policy and domestic life.

On 13 July a meeting was held by the editors and correspondents of the communist press accredited to Moscow. The journalists from the fraternal newspapers were acquainted with the work of the journal in covering restructuring which is taking place in the party and the country and the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST." A thorough discussion on topical problems related to the life of Soviet society and CPSU activities at the contemporary stage was held.

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