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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Soviet Union**

***KOMMUNIST***

No 5, March 1988

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**KOMMUNIST**  
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CONTENTS

5 JULY 1988

[Translation of the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow 18 times per year.]

Editorial: Ideology of Revolutionary Thought and Action [pp 3-11] .....	1
Priority Direction in Social Policy; Solving the Problem of Saturating the Market with Consumer Goods [A.P. Biryukova; pp 12-27] .....	6
Intraparty Life. Documents of the Central Party Archives of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism [pp 28-33] .....	16
Mikhail Bachurin's Breakthrough [V.I. Kovalenko; pp 34-40] .....	21
Democratization of the Party Means Democratization of Society; KOMMUNIST Roundtable Discussion by Correspondence [pp 41-45] .....	26
Watching Over Law and Order [A.V. Vlasov, pp46-59] .....	30
Who Will Evaluate Talent? Journalist's Notes [Ye.A. Temchin; pp 60-68] .....	39
Economic Theory and Practice of Perestroika; Reactions and Views [pp 69-77] .....	45
Economic Cooperation: Prospects and Problems. [U. Agnelli, pp 78-81] .....	53
A Teacher for All Times [I.A. Zyazyun; pp 82-90] .....	56
Plekhanov: Greatness of A Scholar and Tragedy of A Revolutionary [S.V. Tyutyukin; pp 91-100] .....	62
The Road of Reforms [O.R. Latsis; pp 101-108]] .....	68
Facing A Choice..... [G.A. Arbatov; pp 109-119] .....	73
In the Vanguard of the Struggle of the French Working People .....	81
Velikopisarevskiy Rayon Passions [S. Koshel; pp 125-126] .....	86
Short Book Reviews .....	87
Chronicle. Meetings with the Editors .....	88
Publication Data .....	89

## KOMMUNIST

### Editorial: Ideology of Revolutionary Thought and Action

18020011a Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 88 (signed to press 17 Mar 88) pp 3-11

[Text] The strength of socialism lies in the consciousness of the masses. This Leninist idea accurately reflects a most essential feature of the new system which is established by the will, work, and reason of people motivated by the noble aspiration to create a "genuinely human life with all its conditions and requirements." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 2, p 554). Now, at a time when the restructuring processes are taking place in the country and a complicated transition is taking place to a qualitatively new condition of society, the significance of the factor of consciousness and the role of ideology are especially great. After all, everything that is done in society passes through the consciousness of man, who is playing the main role in the current renewal of socialism.

The restructuring process is revealing the humanistic potential of socialist society increasingly clearly and fully. This means that all facets of the human personality are being displayed with greater clarity and diversity, and that people's individuality is being revealed more fully. It means that there is increasing confidence in and respect for man, his creative powers and abilities, and his dignity. At the same time, each person has growing responsibility for his actions and work, for everything that happens around him, for the fate of renewal, and for the country's future. The most important components in the restructuring process and the indispensable conditions for accomplishing the tasks which face us are people's political and moral image, their education and ideological convictions, their Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, organization and discipline, and their professional and social culture.

The fundamental ideological aspects of restructuring and problems of society's spiritual life were at the center of attention of the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The plenum noted that the entire ideological activity of party organizations must be subordinated to the task of mobilizing working people and labor collectives to achieve the main goals of restructuring—the implementation of radical economic reform, the democratization of all of social life, and the education and upbringing of the rising generation and of all Soviet people.

It is now 3 years since that memorable April of 1985, and 2 years have passed since the 27th CPSU Congress outlined the future areas of our work. The restructuring process has reached new frontiers and we have entered the stage of practical implementation of the course which the party adopted. From this perspective, it is easier to see what has been done, what remains to be done, and what must be redone. Our ideas about the society in which we live, about its past and present, and about the

essence of the production processes are deepening and developing and the picture of the new condition of socialism toward which the restructuring process is leading is acquiring clearer outlines.

It is clear that, without the sharp activation of man himself and without the conscious participation of millions of people, the changes which are being carried out may slow down or even become choked. The activeness and participation of millions of people are possible only through the democratization of all aspects of social life and implementation of a radical economic reform. These problems were elaborated by the January and June Plenums last year. The documents of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution examined restructuring issues within a broad social and historical context, and this promoted a deeper understanding of the roots of many of our present difficulties, of ways of correcting the deformations which have arisen, and of the prospects for strengthening socialism in practice.

Today we are very aware that the restructuring process does not only need democratization and an effective economy. As the February Plenum stressed, it needs an **ideology of renewal**. This is the ideology of developing Marxism-Leninism, a revolutionary critical ideology which is based on the dialectical method, which opposes dogmatism and scholasticism, and which rejects fatalism and authoritarianism. It is an ideology which is alien to utopianism, which is based on a sober analysis of realities both within the country and in the world arena, which takes people's social experience into account, and which relies on their consciousness. It is an ideology of energetic action aimed at accomplishing practical everyday tasks and, at the same time, oriented toward the future, and an ideology which augments the socialist values nurtured by generations of Soviet people.

The ideology of renewal rejects sectarian narrow-mindedness and dogmatic ossification. It provides a spiritual basis for the maximum broad and deep integration of all our society's creative forces, on Marxist-Leninist positions which organically combine the bold quest, discussion, competing ideas, and diversity of opinions, with a responsible approach to the most urgent issues of life and an aspiration to find a scientific answer to them, to acquire the truth so that it can serve people and socialist society. It is precisely such an approach that can be called a class and party approach in the profound sense which was given to this concept by the founders of Marxism-Leninism, who saw it as a synonym of truthfulness, the scientific approach, humaneness, and the defense of socialism's interests. The party which is at the head of the restructuring process and is directing the formation process of a socialist consciousness must possess precisely such an ideology, combining fearless thought with energetic action.

The present historically mature and objectively necessary stage of socialist construction, as well as the newness of the tasks which are arising, urgently call for a new level

of theoretical interpretation of the restructuring process and for deeper knowledge of the laws, principles, and values of socialism. Only the ideology of creativity, only a scientifically substantiated strategy can ensure profound changes in productive forces and production relations, the revolutionary renewal of social and political structures, and the growth of society's spiritual and intellectual wealth. The party has set the goal of reviving the Leninist face of the new system under contemporary conditions, cleansing it of all kinds of extraneous features and deformations, and getting rid of all that has restrained society and prevented it from fully realizing its enormous potential.

We regard socialism as a developing and dynamic society. Consequently, we also see the restructuring process as a relatively prolonged process of **revolutionary transition** from extensive (above all of the economy) to intensive development, a process which has its own logic and stages. A realistic view of contemporary society demands a recognition of that coexistence, interaction and a struggle between different interests are all present in this society, a fact which makes it possible better to understand existing contradictions of social development including contradictions which have only appeared in the course of restructuring, in order to construct a more effective policy on the basis of this knowledge at a later date.

Contemporary practice is engendering a considerable number of previously unknown problems, including ideological ones. The dialectically contradictory correlation of social justice and economic effectiveness calls for a great deal of attention and nonstandard approaches by science and management, in particular. Any one-sidedness is unacceptable here, while artificially "divorcing" these concepts or, worse, setting them in opposition to each other harms the interests of socialism's progress and the precise and consistent implementation of its main principles: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." In resolving these and similar issues, as indeed in developing the theory of socialism as a whole, it is necessary to analyze the building of the new society from the point of view of revolutionary dialectics, following the methodology of Marxism-Leninism. This means seeing it as a process whereby contradictions mature and are resolved, a process of qualitative changes which is far from moving along a straight ascending line. Fundamentally new problems are arising along the way, old problems are taking on a qualitatively new form, for which reason they must be formulated and resolved in a new way.

Take, for example, such a classic problem of Marxism as alienation. Developed by the founders of our revolutionary teaching on the basis of capitalist society and in application to the realities of class confrontation between proletariat and bourgeoisie, this problem faces socialism today on a new basis and in a new form. It stands to reason that today's "socialist" alienation, if one can call it that, has concrete historical causes and roots.

It is impossible to ignore the fact that the formation of an administrative-command system has gradually instilled the mentality of a hired laborer in the working man (even in his own workers' and peasants' state), and has frequently substituted ritual action for the citizen's real participation in managing social affairs. Of course, lack of culture—general, political, and professional—has also had an effect here, a fact which prevented the majority of people from feeling themselves to be proprietors of the production process and the country. The restructuring process is expected to carry out the profoundly humanist task of socialism: to put an end to social alienation, to alienation from authority, from the means of production, from the results of one's work, and from spiritual values. This will make it possible to overcome the layers of apathy and indifference and to increase people's interest in social affairs. One cannot get by with "verbal" education alone here: Increasing steps are needed to democratize social life in practice, to develop the individual's creative forces, and to create favorable economic, social, cultural, spiritual, and legal conditions for expanding initiative, emancipating consciousness, and asserting man's freedom and responsibility.

Much is being done to achieve this today, above all in economics. The conversion of enterprises to the principles of economic accountability, self-recoupment, self-financing, and self-management helps better to coordinate the interests of society, the collective, and the individual, and makes it possible to give everyone an interest in the final results of production. This is, of course, a complex matter which calls for both thought and practical action. Even today, however, one senses an aspiration to work in the old way in the activities of many ministries and departments and various management sectors. How many losses—financial, material, social, and moral—could have been prevented if only the bulk of production issues had been resolved by people themselves, in the labor collectives. The party's measures are aimed at creating a strong economic base for deepening democracy and overcoming the vestiges of people's alienation from social ownership, economic management, and its results.

The key task of all of the party's ideological work in the course of the restructuring process is to unfetter people's initiative, creativity, enterprise, and independence. Literally everything is being held up by this today. No social system in history has had such an urgent need for creative and enterprising people as socialism. It is for this reason that it is so important to create conditions everywhere for activity by innovators, inventors and for those who actively seek ways and means of improving matters in all areas, be it science, technology, or the organization of social life, education, upbringing and culture. We suffer from an obvious lack of such conditions and such a custom of unconditionally supporting the innovator, the person who boldly breaks obsolete patterns and stereotypes. After all, the people's confidence in the ongoing transformations, as well as their

successful accomplishment largely depend on how "comfortable" these people—literally the "gold reserves" of restructuring—will feel.

This task has a more distant goal, a deeper meaning. The fact is that some of the younger generation perceives the deviations and distortions which society owes to the personality cult, to bureaucratic, dogmatic, and voluntarist distortions, and to ossified phenomena, as the "norm," as the essential features of socialism. Thus, for example, the mentality of social passivity and of following the rule of "not sticking out." "doublethink," cynical behavior, and so on, are precisely the inheritance from which those affected must be helped to escape. The main point is not to allow these relapses into the past, which have been so clearly highlighted by glasnost and democratization, to be revived in society and in educational work. While, in recent years, these attitudes have frequently engendered conformism and an aspiration to move away from social affairs into a confined world of limited interests and dubious pleasures, the social activeness which has been bottled up for a long time without an effective outlet is today being realized in an impetuous and sometimes unexpected manner, frequently accompanied by excesses, deviations and, sometimes, extremist outbursts. All of this exists in reality, in the already complicated contemporary ideological situation which is characterized not only by glasnost, openness, and a diversity of opinions and standpoints being expressed in sharp discussions, but also by a struggle between different trends, group interests and attitudes, and ambitions.

This situation is a fundamentally new phenomenon in ideological practice, which remained essentially stagnant for a long time and has been "enlivened" only by numerous anniversary campaigns. This explains a certain amount of dismay among some ideological workers, who are facing for the first time the need to conduct discussions on topical political problems, for example, where a monologue alone is not enough: what is needed here is an ability to hear out a different opinion that is sometimes directly opposite to a one's own, to be capable of substantiating one's own point of view, and to convince the person one is talking to (or, conversely, accept his arguments), avoiding labels and an authoritarian tone. The atmosphere of democracy and glasnost created by the restructuring process makes serious demands on ideological and political educational work, and on the content, tone, and organization of all propaganda and agitation work.

What are the new elements which real life is introducing to this most important area of party activity, and what changes must be made in the forms and methods of ideological work among the masses? Practice has long confirmed the theoretical truth of Marxism: The shaping of a socialist consciousness in the individual takes place largely through personal experience, through the combination of this social experience with the progressive ideas of the period. The party proceeds from the Marxist tenet according to which material and spiritual processes

in society are interconnected, and the foundations of consciousness lie in people's real lives and in their entire existence. Consequently, ideological work today must be addressed not only to man's consciousness, but also to the entire complex of factors and conditions of his life, because it is absolutely necessary to view the individual primarily as an active and interested participant in the transformations taking place in the country.

For this reason, when one is talking about ideologically ensuring the tasks of restructuring, one means ensuring that the necessary material, social, and cultural preconditions exist for the entire process of shaping consciousness, of educating and instructing people. This means creating working and living conditions which are worthy of man, fulfilling the housing and food programs, developing health care and social security, and providing rigorous guarantees that constitutional human rights will be implemented. It is precisely here that a correct ideological and educational orientation begins. Otherwise even the truest words will remain mere words without being transformed into energetic actions. Only in this way can the task set by the plenum be fulfilled: to fully restore the immense significance of socialist values in everyone's eyes, to remove the rust of bureaucratism and indifference to man from the ideals and principles of socialism, to release the best creative powers of every member of society, and to promote the spiritual flourishing of the individual.

This approach predetermines the need for a new level of discussion with people, which presupposes a high degree of confidence in each person's reason and feelings. This also applies to the work style of propagandists, agitators, and lecturers, and to the operation of the political and economic educational system, where it is necessary to finally put an end to formalism which kills the living spirit of socialist ideology. Much depends today on the ideological atmosphere being created by the mass information media, which play a leading role in the shaping and development of social consciousness, in the accumulation of diverse opinions, and in the organization of people for practical tasks. Its great positive contribution to the development of the restructuring process was noted at the plenum. This obliges the press, television, and radio not to surrender positions which have been won, and to constantly be up to the demands of the times.

Today's clashes of opinions on the pages of newspapers and journals, on the radio and on television reflect the intense search and the changes taking place in people's perception of the world and in their consciousness, changes which are related to a different perception and understanding of the restructuring process, its goals, and its essence. This is a natural process which must not be feared. Nor should attempts be made to curtail it. Heterogeneous tendencies and attitudes are, of course, appearing against the general background of approval of the restructuring process. Perhaps some people still hope for a reversal, that one can "wait out" the changes, and

that everything will turn out to be all right and return to the old rut. Some people are already coming out directly against the changes which are taking place, trying to seek out a "weakening" of socialism's foundations and of our ideology. They gain malicious pleasure when something does not turn out right. There is also a particular kind of "defender" of the restructuring process in words alone, who uses the glasnost situation to swim to the surface of public opinion, and to bask in the rays of momentary popularity. Excessively high expectations, impatience, and a desire to achieve changes at a stroke continue to exist in some people's consciousness. This is just a short step away from disappointment and apathy if what is desired does not come immediately. There are also survivals of an authoritarian consciousness, a reliance on the "bosses" and a lack of desire to do anything for the restructuring process by oneself.

Such a contradictory and stratified picture of conflicting opinions, struggles between views, and contradictory projections is also reflected in the press. Are there objective limits to this "dissonance," if we are talking about our Communist Party press? Or are the press organs today merely a kind of stockpile for different opinions from which the reader is free to choose any one he likes? It is clear that the sole criteria here are the interests of the restructuring process, the interests of socialism. "Speaking the truth," M. Gorkiy wrote, "is the most difficult of all arts." Indeed, everyone has the right to say what he thinks, but the press also has the duty to help people come to grips with the struggle between opinions which is taking place, and not to shy away from dialogue, polemics and argument, especially with those who attempt to resurrect obsolete stereotypes and dogmatic ideas in a new form (or else in the old one). Socialist pluralism is called socialist because discussion and scientific quest are conducted within the framework of our socialist choice, which the peoples of our country made for all time in October 1917. This choice rules out borrowed views alien to socialism.

Ideological activity means work with people, which can be effective when it rests on a profound knowledge of social attitudes and social psychology. Sociology as a science is expected to have an authoritative say here. Party organizations must rely on the sum total of knowledge and on their own observations, and conduct the entire educational process in such a way as to make communists assimilate events rather than tag along behind them. (See V.I. Lenin, "*Poln. Sobr. Soch.*" [Complete Collected Works], vol 9, p 302). Returning to this idea repeatedly, Lenin emphasized that "...The party's firm line and unbending resolve are also a factor of mood, especially at the most acute revolutionary moments...." (op cit., vol 34, pp 411-412). At the contemporary stage, this unbending resolve and firm line are reflected in the policy of restructuring. This must be implemented everywhere, in all social areas and at all levels, in order for the results of the ongoing changes to exert an increasingly tangible influence on people's attitudes, to increase their confidence in their own strengths, and to reinforce their sense of justice and optimism.

The revolutionary restructuring process is creating a new cultural layer which is growing on previous achievements of spiritual progress, on the very rich foundations of Soviet, domestic and world culture and its humanist traditions. Understanding culture in the broad Leninist sense, the party concerns itself with increasing the people's general culture, which also includes political, moral, and spiritual culture, the culture of inter-nationality relations; and what we have become accustomed to associate directly with the activities of schools, education, and upbringing. Having examined the state of affairs within the system of national education, the February Plenum included the problems of preparing the rising generations for life and work and of developing society's intellectual potential in the general context of restructuring, and showed their interconnection with everything that is being accomplished in the country today. The school, whether secondary, higher, or vocational, is a mirror of society, reflecting its problems, concerns, and anxieties.

The fate of the restructuring process largely depends on the resolution of issues which are moving into the foreground: how to inculcate activeness, initiative, and flexible thinking; how to activate the full potential of man's intellect, and how to achieve unity of knowledge, conviction, and action. It is evident that the rudiments of all this are laid down in the school and family, at the earliest stages of personality development. That is why there is such urgency in the question of contemporary methods of organizing the teaching and educational process, so that the young citizen is not the passive recipient of education and upbringing, and so that unity in diversity and the pedagogy of cooperation become ever more firmly established in Soviet schools. The success of the education reform primarily depends on the teacher—on the quality of his professional training and human characteristics and, last but not least, on his material situation.

An inseparable part of this general cultural upsurge in the course of the restructuring process is the shaping of a culture of democracy. It is no accident that the concept of "learning democracy" has gained currency in recent times. The prevalence of bureaucratism, subservience and abuse of power is, after all, connected with a lack of political and legal knowledge. Legal nihilism is particularly intolerable. The inculcation of respect for law and order and the restoration of the high authority in courts and judicial authorities are today becoming important tasks of ideological work. The other aspect of the matter is raising standards in the activity of law enforcement agencies, elimination of the omnipotence of instructions and sublegal acts and of the "Kaluga" and "Kazan" (to use Lenin's expressions) variants of departmental and local "legality," and the need to improve legislation. In particular, evidence of this has been provided by the discussions published in KOMMUNIST on problems of legal science and practice. We have yet to master the art of genuinely democratic elections of people's deputies and leaders of various ranks. The experience of elections

to local soviets, which were held last year, showed something of the near future of our life under the conditions of deepening democracy, including the possibility of real competition among candidates, the need to restructure the customary forms of agitation work, and much else. Whereas, in past years, we had insufficient political standards and experience in democratically resolving many issues of social life, and paid no attention to this under the conditions of stagnation, such standards and experience are now being intensively acquired, and are expected to become important factors in the restructuring process and in the development of socialism.

A democratic culture presupposes maximum sensitivity and constant attention on questions of national relations, as well as the inculcation of a high level of culture in inter-nationality contact. "True internationalism, true friendship between peoples are possible only when there is a deep respect for the dignity, honor, culture, language, and history of each people, and extensive relations among them," M.S. Gorbachev noted at the plenum. "We ought to facilitate in all ways the further broadening of contacts among national cultures, their mutual enrichment, their development and flourishing."

Experience confirms that none of the problems of restructuring can be resolved without the consideration of national relations. Progress in the restructuring process requires concerted, stubborn, and united work by all working people and by representatives of all the Soviet Union's nationalities. A democratic solution to the national question means not only respect for each people's rights, but also a deep understanding of the history of national state building and of established socioeconomic and cultural ties, careful consideration of the vital interests of all nations and ethnic groups and, even more important, the absence of one-sidedness and the prevention of any extremism in evaluation or action. Our peoples are linked by a common historical destiny; behind us lie common victories, great work, misfortunes and losses; we all have a single destiny, one road, one goal and one homeland; and a person of any nationality must feel at home everywhere, south, east, north, or west. Rash judgments or actions, not to mention extremist outbursts, can only harm friendship between peoples and inter-nationality relations. One must also bear in mind that the virus of nationalism and chauvinism find fertile soil wherever the attitude to the development of national language and culture is wrong or the history of a particular people is tendentiously distorted. Attitudes of national exclusivity and a harmed sense of justice make themselves felt on this soil.

The meaning of the Leninist national policy lies in enabling every person and every nation to develop freely, in order for every people to be able to satisfy its own needs in all areas of sociopolitical life, in native language and culture, and in its best customs and traditions. Inciting quarrels and distrust between peoples runs contrary to our socialist principles and our morality, and to

the traditions of fraternity between Soviet people. Any exacerbation of the situation can throw us back from those great achievements of friendship between peoples which our country has gained in the 7 decades of its existence. Complex issues of inter-nationality relations can only be resolved within the framework of the democratic process and legality, without allowing the slightest harming of the internationalist cohesion of Soviet peoples, and without entrusting very serious matters of the people's destiny to some spontaneous element. Diversity, genuine democratism, respect for the individual and support for all talents among the people is the Leninist approach to developing culture, including the standards of inter-nationality relations. This is the path along which we shall continue to move.

The ideology of renewal is impossible without setting high methodological standards in social science research, a standard of thought in the broadest sense of the word. In the public consciousness the restructuring process is legitimately linked to an honest and complete concept of the past and a sober view of the future. Historical research is acquiring particular significance. The party has laid the foundation for a creative quest here, and it is now up to the sciences. What is necessary is an objective, courageous and conscientious analysis of the past, without which there is neither a present nor a future, as we well know. Work is now starting on the creation of "Studies in the CPSU History," and archives are being opened. At the same time, it is necessary to have a precise concept of the pioneering path traversed by the country of the October Revolution, a concept based on Marxist-Leninist methodology. The foundations of such a concept are laid down in the documents of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and in the materials of the February Central Committee Plenum.

After all, matters are not brought to an end by naming names, and by giving those who have been undeservedly forgotten their due. The truth about these people is now being revived. However, the issue has proved to be a deeper and a more dialectical one: how to write history so that it is not the history of ideas and resolutions, nor the history of several decades of even the most brilliant figures, but rather the history of the life and struggle of the entire party and people.

The real life and work of millions of people, together with all happy or tragic events and the multifaceted experience of the activities of the people's masses, must become the subject of historical research. Emotional impatience, as well as an aspiration to put everything into neat pigeonholes right away and to draw hasty conclusions without proper research and analytical work are not always reliable advisors. For this reason, it is necessary to be especially painstaking in verifying the real extent of positive and negative assessments, to examine each phenomenon against a broad historical background, and to be guided by the principles of dialectics and the methodology of historicism, truth and

justice. In our eyes, our efforts are forming a qualitatively new state of socialism—a society which turns its face toward man. In deeds rather than words, we are rejecting everything that contradicts the principles of socialism and the new morality. We are resolutely rejecting all that pulls us backward, slows society's development, fetters intelligence and devalues man's honor and conscience. In this context, however, it is necessary to keep firmly in mind the fact that we do not and will not retreat from socialism, Marxism-Leninism and the glorious deeds of the people.

The party and the Soviet people are preparing for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. A debate is being conducted about what roads to follow in restructuring the political system and how to increase the role of the people's authorities, social associations, and the legal system. At the center of the discussion is the new interpretation of the Communist Party's place and significance in society, and its methods and forms of influence over the processes taking place in the economy and in the political, social, and spiritual spheres. These debates are founded on the concept of socialist democracy as a diversity of forms of social life on the basis of our socialist principles and values. It is necessary to restore all of their strength and attractiveness and to completely revive the Leninist conception and practice of socialism. We are directly mastering the science of democracy, the science of restructuring, in order to advance further and further.

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**Priority Direction in Social Policy; Solving the Problem of Saturating the Market with Consumer Goods**

18020011b Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 5, Mar 88 (signed to press 17 Mar 88) pp 12-27

[Article by Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary]

[Text] The party has entered the stage of active preparations for its 19th All-Union Conference. Today each party organization and every party member are taking a political test on the main subject: perestroika. The test will be rated by life itself. It will indicate the specific results of the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee Plenums which the party will take to the conference.

All that has been accomplished and all that remains to be done is rated by the party from the viewpoint of the interests of the Soviet person. Satisfying the populations' demand for goods and services was described at the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum as one of the priority trends in our party's social policy. The solution

of this problem directly determines the true living standard of the people and the balancing of the people's monetary income with expenditures and, therefore, the stimulating role of the earned ruble.

To a large extent the masses judge of perestroika on the basis of the positive changes achieved in this and other sectors of the sociocultural area. "...The way these problems will be solved," noted M.S. Gorbachev at the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "will greatly determine the feelings and awareness of our people and their moods and attitude toward the project, party policy and restructuring."

**I**

In the period between the 9th and 11th 5-Year Plans the production of consumer goods and retail trade doubled. Consumption of fabrics, knitted goods, clothing and other light industry goods increased substantially. Today virtually every Soviet family has a refrigerator, a television set, a radio and many other types of household appliances.

Therefore, at the beginning of the 1980s we completed the stage of the basic satisfaction of the needs of the population for goods, after the majority of families had acquired the basic set of durable and other consumer objects which, put together, indicate a certain standard of well-being and comfort. Unquestionably, this is a major landmark in the country's socioeconomic progress and an important level reached in upgrading the living standard of the people.

Nonetheless, it was during that period that a slowdown occurred in the growth of the people's well-being. Our achievements are inconsistent with the possibilities of our economy and the reasonable expectations of the Soviet people, as well as the objective requirements ensuring the country's progress and the progress of the socialist system.

Taking into consideration the gravity of the existing situation, the party firmly charted a course toward the accelerated increase in the production of goods and services in order not only quickly to eliminate the stress which had developed in this area and correct the situation, but also to ensure by the year 2000 the enhancement of the material well-being of the people to a qualitatively new level. The accelerated development of production cannot be achieved without substantially upgrading the living standards of the Soviet people and, on this basis, energizing the human factor. Addressing ourselves to the needs of man is both the objective and prerequisite for achieving a qualitatively new status in Soviet society.

The party ascribes to economic and organizational factors a leading role in satisfying steady demand for durable goods: converting enterprises to the principles of full cost accounting and self-financing, increasing the

rights and enhancing the responsibility of labor collectives and restructuring economic management. At the same time great importance is ascribed to the further development of the material and technical foundations for the production of goods and the efficient utilization of existing production potential.

The course earmarked by the party was concretized in recent decrees passed by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers and the tasks of the 5-year plan. Let us list above all the comprehensive program for the development of the production of consumer goods and services, which binds together the activities of all economic sectors for the purpose of satisfying the growing needs of the Soviet people.

The social trend of the 12th 5-Year Plan has been strengthened. The production of durable goods during the 5-year period should increase by 33 percent. This is substantially higher than the growth of overall industrial output.

Light industry and a number of group "A" sectors, the enterprises of which also produce consumer goods, have been converted to full cost accounting and self-financing.

A comprehensive system of machinery has been developed for the purpose of raising light industry to a contemporary technological standard. Enterprises and scientific and design organizations of the USSR Ministry of Machine Building, USSR Ministry of Aviation Industry, USSR Ministry of Defense Industry and USSR Ministry of Machine Tool Building and Instrument Manufacturing Industry have become involved in their production. This covers virtually all sectors in machine building, which plays a leading role in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Extensive use is also being made of cooperation within CEMA in the production of the necessary equipment. Specific steps have been taken to increase the contribution of chemistry to the development of light industry.

The implementation of the planned measures has resulted in certain positive changes. In 1986 and 1987 the production of durable goods increased at a higher pace compared to industrial output as a whole. The production of such items increased by 9.4 percent, which is substantially higher than the growth rates in the last 2 years of the preceding 5-year period. For example, during that period 0.8 billion rubles' worth of cultural and household goods were produced compared to the figures stipulated in the comprehensive program for goods and services. The conversion to the new economic management conditions led to certain changes for the better in the work of light industry. Last year the production of fabrics increased by 393 million square meters; of knitted goods, by 58 million; and of shoes, by 8.4 million pair.

In other words, starting with the beginning of the 5-year plan a line has been followed of developing the production of consumer goods at a faster pace.

Nonetheless, there is a shortage of goods. In 1986-1987 the population was unable to buy durable goods it needed, worth some 33 billion rubles. Within that period the plan for retail trade was underfulfilled by 22.5 billion rubles.

The large number of letters which the working people sent to the CPSU Central Committee, the local party authorities, the soviet people's deputies and the press indicate unsatisfied demand for commodities and the low quality of the goods. The citizens justifiably criticize the fact that for weeks and, sometimes, months on end they are unable to buy not some particularly fashionable item but ordinary goods; that long lines are formed for buying shoes and clothing; that year after year one item or another would disappear, such as toothpaste, cosmetics, pantyhose and blank cassettes. The scarcity of goods and their low quality are a topic of justifiably sharp articles in the mass information media.

Why is it that despite an increase in the production of consumer goods their scarcity is felt so sharply?

Above all, we are continuing to experience the consequences of the negative trends of the 1970s and even 1960s, when for many years the most important economic ratios between the increased output of means of production and consumer goods, the development of the production and nonproduction spheres and increased labor productivity and wages, and monetary income and its back-up with commodities and paid services were violated. For decades on end the share of funds allocated for the development of the production of consumer goods steadily declined within the overall volume of capital investments in industry. In the preceding 15 years plans for the increased monetary income of the population were virtually always implemented whereas procurements of durable goods fell short of the planned amounts. The result was an accelerated accumulation of unused funds. Whereas in 1970 the sum total of population deposits in savings banks was 47 billion, it reached 267 billion rubles in 1987, i.e., a nearly sixfold increase.

The consumption structure is obviously lagging behind our times. It proved misshapen, for approximately three-quarter of the family budget goes to the purchasing of goods. Meanwhile, the share of paid services remained unchanged for 20 years, accounting for some 10 percent of total population expenditures.

Naturally, these processes have had an adverse effect on commodity back-up of the currency. The scarcity of goods and services provides nutritive grounds for the growth of the black market, bribery, theft and other social ills.

Reduced imports of consumer goods, not compensated for by domestic production, has been an important factor in this matter.

In recent years production of alcoholic beverages has been reduced significantly, which has had a favorable impact on industry and daily life and on our entire social atmosphere. Nonetheless, comprehensive support of this party line is by no means always paralleled by specific concern for compensating for the reduced sale of alcohol with the production of goods needed by the people and the offering of paid services.

The tension which exists in meeting solvent demand for consumer goods is also the result of major shortcomings in the work of industry and the nonfulfillment by many enterprises and associations of the assignments of the comprehensive program and the 5-year plan. In 1986 almost one-half of the 1,200 types of goods included in the comprehensive program were not produced. This lag was not eliminated in 1987. Goods produced on a modern technical level and possessing high consumer qualities account for a substantial share of such non-produced items.

A similar situation prevails in the availability of light industry goods. In 1986-1987 the enterprises in this sector did not fulfill the assignments of the 5-year plan and the comprehensive program for the production of basic types of shoes, fabrics, clothing and knitwear as well as recreation and sports items. There is a scarcity of overcoats, raincoats, and man's jackets. All in all, in 2 years of the 5-year plan enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry produced consumer goods worth nearly 3.5 billion rubles less than the stipulated assignments of the USSR Gosplan.

Therefore, although compared with previous years in the first 2 years of the 12th 5-year period industry made some progress in the production of consumer goods, said progress did not meet the demands triggered by a strong social policy and is not ensuring a turn for the better in saturating the market with consumer goods.

As was noted at the meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, which considered the course of the implementation of the comprehensive program, and at the May 1987 Central Committee Conference on Problems of Developing the Production of Goods and Services, so far there has been no true perestroika in this area of development of the people's well-being. Not all party, soviet and economic managers have truly realized that meeting the needs of the people for commodities is the most important party objective. Manifestations of a technocratic mentality and the habit of approaching social problems, including the production of consumer goods, from the positions of the residual principle, have not been entirely eliminated.

The circumstances demand not only to catch up with but also to outstrip the assignments of the comprehensive program and the 5-year plan for the production of durable goods. That is how the Central Committee has set the task to party, soviet and economic authorities in the center and the local areas, and to the trade union and Komsomol organizations and labor collectives in all enterprises and associations engaged in the manufacturing of consumer goods.

## II

Without relieving the sectorial ministries from their responsibilities, a radical restructuring in the management of the country's economy and the strengthening of the democratic principle in planning, are shifting the center of gravity of all practical work to meeting the needs of the population for goods to union republics, krays and oblasts. The old centralized sectorial approach, in which assignments for the production of consumer goods were set only by the ministries, did not make rational and efficient use of the capacities of all enterprises for such purposes possible. Now the attention of the Councils of Ministers of Union and Autonomous Republics and republic and local management authorities is being concentrated on solving problems related to the direct satisfaction of the needs of the population, above all for consumer goods.

The managements of enterprises and associations in the respective sectors are concentrated, as a rule, in the hands of republic and local authorities. The councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and the executive committees of the local soviets have been given the right to include in the production of commodities all enterprises and associations regardless of departmental affiliation. They have been entrusted with the responsibility of achieving a balance between the population's income and expenditures in their areas. The amount of revenue of the local budgets has been linked more closely to the scale of production of commodities and to providing paid services. The main factor in the activities of the soviets today is specific work with enterprises aimed at making maximal utilization of production capacities and extensively including in economic circulation local raw material sources, and harnessing the possibilities of the consumer cooperatives and the auxiliary production facilities of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the artisans and the cooperatives in increasing the volumes of commodity resources.

In republics, krays and oblasts where party and soviet authorities are displaying initiative and practicality in the use of the new management and financial-economic mechanisms the results have not been slow in coming. This is clearly confirmed, for example, by the experience of the LiSSR. The republic is successfully fulfilling and overfulfilling its annual plans for the production of consumer goods, the assignments of the comprehensive program and the plan for retail trade.

On what are these results based? Above all, on the efficient system of managing anything related to ensuring the population with consumer goods. The Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers of the LiSSR regularly hear reports submitted by the heads of republic ministries, departments, associations and enterprises, including those under union jurisdiction, on the course of the implementation of the annual plans and the assignments set in the comprehensive program. A republic commission on the quality of consumer goods has been set up and the production of their best prototypes is organized on the basis of assignments issued by the Lithuanian SSR Gosplan.

Lithuania is persistently seeing to it that the manufacturing of consumer goods is economically profitable to any enterprises and association, regardless of its specialization. One of the ways to achieve this is a well-planned cooperation in the production of consumer goods. The republic believes that the contribution of enterprises to increasing commodity resources should not be something like a quit-rent consisting of finished goods. In other cases, it is more profitable from all viewpoints for an enterprise or an association to participate in the production of a commodity by supplying fittings, accessories and complementing items to enterprises manufacturing finished products for the population.

The Leningrad CPSU Obkom and Leningrad Oblast and City Executive Committee of Soviets of People's Deputies are reorganizing their work for the development of the production of commodities actively and on a planned basis. Particular attention is being paid to the technical retooling of enterprises, shops and production lines manufacturing consumer goods, light industry enterprises above all. Actively participating in this work are enterprises and scientific and design organizations of group "A" sectors. Production-technological complexes for developing and producing consumer goods have been set up at very large associations, such as Kirovskiy Zavod, the Leningrad Optical-Machine Association and some others.

The Belorussian SSR, Ulyanov, Irkutsk and Lvov Oblasts and many other areas are solving the problem of meeting the needs of the people for consumer goods in a party style, with a high feeling of responsibility.

Nonetheless, many party and soviet authorities in republics, krais and oblasts have been unable fully to surmount inertia and dependency in approaching problems of saturating the market with goods. Assertions and promises are given and decisions are made with no real results. Instead of acting independently and displaying initiative, a number of managers prefer to turn to the center with requests for additional commodity resources out of Union stocks in order to have something to sell in the stores, and for additional funds to meet the payroll, lacking sufficient funds because of nonfulfillment of the sales plan, etc.

The party committees must decisively uproot such a mentality and practices. The main way to meet the needs of the population for commodities is the maximal utilization of existing scientific and technical and production potential, raw materials and manpower resources available in the area. Such reserves are found everywhere but by no means are they put to use.

Let us consider, for example, the way the needs of the Uzbek population for commodities are met. Domestic production accounts for no more than 40 percent of goods in mass demand. One of the reasons for this situation is that enterprises under union jurisdiction working in this republic are not included in this project. Such enterprises account for nearly one-third of the overall volume of industrial output produced in Uzbekistan but for no more than 12 percent of durable goods produced in the republic. As a rule, such enterprises manufacture simple items although they have modern equipment and skilled designer, engineering and worker cadres.

The question is, what is preventing the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers from exercising its rights in organizing at such enterprises the extensive production of goods needed by the population? Nothing other than the power of inertia and the habit of waiting for instructions from above.

A similar situation prevails in the Turkmen SSR. This republic is in last place among Union republics in per capita production of consumer goods. Despite this situation, the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers and Gosplan formulated in 1986 and 1987 plans for the production of durable goods lower than the assignments stipulated in the comprehensive program. The same trend was continued this year as well. Yet the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have made it incumbent upon the republic and local soviet and economic authorities to consider the assignments of the comprehensive program as minimal and to reject as inadmissible any downward violations.

Substantial additions to commodity resources could be obtained with the better utilization of the production potential of the local and light industries. In a number of areas and, above all, in the republics of Central Asia such reserves are left unused by many enterprises and associations. Here labor productivity is growing more slowly than the capital-labor ratio; deadlines for the completion of new projects and violated and installed capacities are completed after significant delays. The level of utilization of existing capacities is low. Thus, whereas the national level of utilization of capacities for the production of cotton fabrics is 90.6 percent, it is 76 percent in the Kirghiz SSR and 70 percent in the Uzbek SSR.

All Central Asian republics have available manpower and the task of involving it in the national economy is being solved unsatisfactorily. Meanwhile, many enterprises, shops and sectors are operating in one or one-and-a-half shifts and frequently highly productive machines purchased with foreign currency remain idle.

The population is justifiably complaining of shortage of clothing. The drop in the production of clothes, which was allowed to occur at the beginning of the 1980s, is being eliminated sluggishly. One of the main reasons for this is the low level of utilization of the capacities of clothing enterprises and associations in a number of Union republics, the Russian Federation above all. Thus, whereas on a national average installed production capacities in this subsector are used on the 82.5 percent level, the respective figures are 98.3 for the Belorussian SSR, 98.1 for the Moldavian SSR but only 76.3 percent for the RSFSR.

The USSR Ministry of Light Industry, the councils of ministers of union republics and the local soviets must ensure the thrifty and efficient utilization of available equipment and technology at each enterprise. This is particularly important now, when the development of production, the renovation of equipment and capital construction are being financed with funds earned by the collectives.

Local industry must play a more noticeable role in meeting consumer demand. For the time being it accounts for no more than 7 percent of all durable goods produced in the country, which is below the possibilities of this sector.

One of the reasons for this situation is the attitude which is quite prevalent among some party and soviet managers, who consider local industry as being the poor relative, the needs and concerns of which are considered last of all. The sector is being poorly directed toward the more extensive utilization of local raw material resources; here and there production facilities in local industry are being strengthened extremely slowly and installed capacities are being poorly mastered. This turns into hundreds of millions of rubles of shortfalls in the production of commodities needed by the people.

Thus, the plan for metal goods has been under construction in Tula Oblast since 1974. Had this enterprise been completed within the stipulated deadline, it would have produced goods worth 39 million rubles. A factory equipped with modern imported equipment was built in Ashkhabad, for the production of high-quality wool yarn. According to the document signed by the state commission which accepted the enterprise, starting with 1984 the enterprise should have reached its planned capacity and operated on a two-shift basis. However, the factory is still working with a single shift. Losses of output in terms of retail prices have totaled so far 56 million rubles, which exceeds by 60 percent the annual volume of output of the entire industry of the Turkmen SSR Ministry of Local Industry.

Long years of neglect on the part of many party and soviet authorities in developing the production of consumer goods have led to the fact that some areas are

importing significant amounts of even the simplest possible items which are in daily demand. Let us reemphasize that meeting the needs of the population for commodities is possible only by paying prime attention to the efficient utilization of domestic resources for their production in the individual republics, krais and oblasts.

In practical terms, however, this approach is being established with a great deal of difficulty, as clearly confirmed by the state orders for the production of durable goods by labor collectives in 1988. Citing a variety of objective reasons, many enterprises refuse to accept the full plan. They include the Kharkov Tractors Plant, the Yakutskles and Irkutsklesprom associations, the plant for rubber footwear in Astrakhan and many other enterprises and associations. They are frequently supported by the local party and soviet authorities. Requests for lowering the state orders for goods have been filed by more than 30 executive committees of oblast soviets of people's deputies in the RSFSR and the Bryansk, Vladimir, Vologoda and several other party obkoms. Similar cases have taken place in the Ukraine, Kirghizia, Latvia and many other Union republics.

This is an unacceptable view. The new economic mechanism and the Law on the State Enterprise not only grant the labor collectives the right independently to formulate and approve their 5-year and annual plans but also make them responsible for satisfying social needs, as expressed in the state order, and fulfilling direct orders placed by consumers. The demands of the consumer, the law emphasizes, are mandatory to the enterprise and their full and prompt satisfaction is the highest purpose and standard of activities of each labor collective. It is the duty of the primary party organizations and the councils of labor collectives to bring into action all possibilities for upgrading the production of consumer goods which are so greatly needed by the people. It is precisely in this spirit that the central committees of communist parties of Union republics and the party kraykoms and obkoms must conduct their organizational and ideological education work.

In turn, ministries, departments and councils of ministers of Union republics must support state order assignments with the necessary material and raw material resources and help the enterprises in accelerating technical retooling and organizing work on 2 or 3 shifts as well as solving cadre and social problems.

Favorable prospects for the development of production of consumer goods are provided by the conversion to the new general management systems. The search for an efficient combination of large, medium-sized and small enterprises producing consumer goods and determining the optimal variants for production, scientific-production and state associations and developing more flexible forms for interaction between industry and trade become particularly relevant.

Practical experience has indicated that good opportunities for an efficient organization of the production and sale of commodities enjoying greater demand among the population may be found in industrial-trade associations. So far 8 such associations have been set up in light industry but, judging by all available information, associations of this type should be developed more energetically although, naturally, without any haste and only after thorough preparations.

They include, for example, the Zarya Industrial-Trade Footwear Association in Moscow. It consists of eight shoe manufacturing factories, a commercial outlet and six company stores. Last year the association fulfilled all indicators of its plan and 100 percent of contract deliveries. The shoes produced by the association are sold out quickly for each model is produced after a thorough study of market demand.

The experiment in light industry management conducted in the Estonian SSR is noteworthy. Essentially it means that the republic's Ministry of Light Industry has assumed the functions of wholesale and company trade of goods produced by sectorial enterprises, including sales on foreign markets. The republic has created a unified industrial-trade complex for light industry goods, which combines 22 production associations and enterprises, three wholesale bases for the sale of clothing, shoes and fabrics and 14 company stores. The sector does stable work and its growth rates have increased compared to the level which preceded the restructuring of the management system. Foreign trade cooperation with the socialist countries is expanding and the volume of goods for export has increased.

The local party and soviet authorities must more actively master the progressive experience in organizing the management and production of consumer goods. They must more daringly undertake the practical application of such experience.

The cooperative movement and individual labor activity are gathering strength. The draft Law on the Cooperative in the USSR, which has been submitted for nation-wide discussion, provides effective legal, organization and financial-economic prerequisites for their development. At the beginning of this year some 2,900 cooperatives were engaged in the production of consumer goods the output of which so far has totaled 83 million rubles. Their share in the overall volume of commodity output remains low, 0.03 percent. Nonetheless, the appearance of cooperatives on the consumer market helps to develop an atmosphere of competitiveness which encourages state enterprises as well to display greater initiative and activeness.

Naturally, the organization of cooperative and individual labor activities must be perfected, particularly in the area of protecting the interests of consumers of goods and services and preventing the unsanctioned price increases for goods produced by the cooperatives or

unfair taxation. Specific steps in this area are already being taken. However, life has already answered the main question: this is a useful project, needed by the people. The soviet authorities must provide comprehensive support to cooperatives and individual labor activities.

### III

Enterprises and ministries in group "A" sectors have still not truly undertaken the production of consumer goods. Many managers continue to consider this work a secondary matter, and party and soviet authorities do not always provide a principle-minded assessment of such moods.

In visiting virtually any plant one is stricken by the significant difference and even the contrast between shops and sections engaged in the production of specialized goods and those which produce consumer goods, goods for general use, as they are sometimes referred to in such sectors, with a hint of scorn. As a rule, these are adapted premises equipped with physically and morally obsolete equipment and providing the worst labor conditions. Here labor productivity is several hundred percent lower than in the main production shops and the technical standards and consumer qualities of the goods are low.

Yet both world-wide and domestic experience have irrefutably confirmed that today no radical changes in the production of consumer goods, particularly complex household equipment, can be achieved without the organization of specialized production facilities, equipped with highly efficient tools and using modern technologies. The production of consumer goods demands the same thorough approach and responsible attitude as that of means of production.

Substantial capital investments are needed for the development of specialized capacities. However, for a number of years many ministries have allocated for such purposes obviously inadequate funds. Thus, the share of consumer goods in the overall volume of output of enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry equals 5 percent of the total, and the ministry allocated no more than 0.2 percent of the overall volume of capital investments to this sector for the development of the production of such goods. If under the conditions of the new economic mechanism the enterprises would continue to apply the same type of investment policy, they would start the 13th 5-year period as well with a production potential which would not ensure the accelerated growth of production of consumer goods.

The party committees and primary party organizations at the enterprises must more actively promote a line of developing specialized capacities for the manufacturing of such commodities and encourage the labor collectives to allocate the necessary funds for such purposes out of

their production development assets. Today this is the key to solving the problem of increasing the output and upgrading the quality of consumer goods at enterprises in group "A" sectors.

Many enterprises prefer to take the easier way by fulfilling the planned volumes of output of goods for the population with the simplest possible items the manufacturing of which does not require special production facilities. Such items account for more than one-half of the consumer goods produced by the enterprises of the USSR Minselkhovmash, USSR Minchermet, USSR Minkhimmash, USSR Minaviaprom and several others.

A situation has developed according to which the share of the simplest items in the overall volume of output of consumer and household goods is increasing significantly faster than that of complex household appliances. And all this is regardless of the fact that in terms of washing and sewing machines, refrigerators and freezers, the availability of such items per 100 families is below the efficient consumption standards by a factor of 1.2-1.3 and that the scarcity of such items is one of long duration.

Unquestionably, the simplest possible items are needed by the people and demand for some of them is not satisfied. Most of them, however, could be quite easily produced by local industry enterprises. The powerful scientific and technical and production potential of group "A" sectors should be used above all for increasing the production of technologically complex consumer products.

The problem of the extremely slow updating of variety and improving the technical standard of household items has been on the agenda for many years. The share of new commodities in the overall volume of output does not exceed 8-10 percent. For the time being no changes in this situation are apparent. Industry is only beginning to master in small quantities the production of video recorders, laser turntables, ironing and washing machines, more powerful vacuum cleaners and other household appliances which had been produced abroad for many years on a mass scale. Many types of complex household appliances have been produced for 10-15 and, in some cases, even more years, whereas in world-wide practices new models appear each 3 to 4 years.

As a result, so far very few domestically made refrigerators, vacuum cleaners and washing machines meet world standards. According to specialists the level of mechanization of household chores in our country is lower by a factor of 3-5 compared to a number of socialist and capitalist countries.

In order to achieve a real breakthrough in this area, both in terms of the technical standards of produced household appliances and the quality of manufacturing and scale of output, the manufacturing enterprises and the

respective ministries must drastically enhance their participation in the development and mastery of the production of new items by scientific and design organizations concentrated in the machine building, metallurgical, chemical-timber, construction and other national economic complexes in the country. We cannot consider normal the fact that such subdivisions specializing in the development of consumer goods, do not exist in the majority of sectors, or else, wherever they exist, as a rule, there is a shortage of highly skilled cadres and a lack of contemporary experimental testing facilities.

Serious blame should be addressed to the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology which pays little attention to coordinating and rallying the efforts of scientific, design and technological organizations in various economic sectors for purposes of accelerating scientific and technical progress in the production of consumer goods. The GKNT comprehensive target scientific and technical programs are aimed essentially not at organizing an essentially new domestic household appliances industry but modernizing the existing one. The development and production of most types of items have been postponed for the next 5-year period although a related CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree mandates that this work be done during the current 5-year period.

The time has come to include within the new economic mechanism elements which would intensify the interest of labor collectives in developing the production of consumer goods. This applies above all to enterprises and associations which have not specialized in such production. To many of them the production of such commodities is either underprofitable or losing. There are no efficient economic instruments which would encourage such enterprises to enhance the technical standard and quality of the goods, expand their variety and increase their volume. As was emphasized at the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum, such problems must be solved quickly and not delayed indefinitely.

#### IV

We should not rely on radical changes in terms of saturating the market with consumer goods without substantially improving the activities of light industry enterprises and associations, for they account for more than 40 percent of the production of all durable consumer goods.

The conversion of the light industry sector to the principles of full cost accounting and self-financing, starting with 1 January 1987, opened extensive opportunities in this area. The new economic mechanism directs the enterprises to the production of goods needed by specific consumers and specific social groups.

Now the plan for enterprise output is based on state orders for the most important types of commodities in terms of physical indicators and on orders placed by commercial organizations. The role of wholesale fairs has increased significantly, as areas in which, through the wholesale organizations, the enterprise can inform industry of its needs and formulate demands concerning the type, variety and quality of goods. What is particularly important is that the previous practice of rigidly attaching enterprises to trade organizations has been abolished. Today purchasers can choose their own suppliers of items and sign contracts with enterprises for goods which they need, and have the right to expand their long-term direct economic relations.

The experience of 1 year of work under the new conditions confirms the efficiency of such steps. The role of trade has increased significantly in determining the variety of goods; demands concerning quality and consistency with contemporary fashion have increased and the discipline of contractual procurements has improved somewhat.

Nonetheless, such achievements cannot satisfy the Soviet people who justifiably expect of light industry an end to the scarcity of a large number of items and a substantial increase in the production and enrichment of the variety and the manufacturing of contemporary high-quality goods. Real opportunities for much more efficient activities exist within the sector.

What is hindering the intensification of this work? Above all it is the dragged-out process of eliminating the "gross output" mentality and an orientation toward some kind of averaged consumer, a leaning toward command-administrative management methods and the lack in a large number of leading cadres and specialists of a taste for and habit to study the requirements of specific population groups. As in the past, in frequent cases in formulating their production plans many enterprises proceed not from what the people need and what is in demand on the consumer market but from what is more convenient and simpler to produce. Unwilling to burden themselves with frequent changes in the variety and models of clothing, shoes, knitwear, and so on, some labor collectives do not update their output for years.

It is thus that the work is done, in the old fashion, at the Kalinin clothing production association. Here modern highly productive equipment has been installed, which would allow the enterprise rapidly to convert to the production of new complex types of clothing. However, for several consecutive years the association has been producing essentially jeans although demand for them has dropped. It is precisely here in Kalinin, that the House of Fashion has developed contemporary types of clothing from the same type fabric, popular among young people. Why would the Kalinin people not master its production? This is hindered by inertia in thought and action, and the hope of the enterprise managers that

once customers begin to refuse obsolete goods and the inevitable economic and financial difficulties arise the collective will be helped and pulled out of trouble.

The party committees and primary party organizations of enterprises and associations, together with soviet authorities and ministries, must firmly struggle against such moods and promote a profound understanding on the part of everyone, ranging from enterprise and association managers to workers, that under the conditions of cost accounting and self-financing the labor collectives must solve all of their production and social problems through their own efforts, and with funds they have earned themselves. This requires the steady updating of output and improving its quality and mastering the art of financial and economic analysis and the ability efficiently to use economic management instruments.

The aspiration of a substantial number of enterprises to avoid, under all possible pretexts, the adoption of stressed plans and to make use of their rights in order to obtain an easier plan and more advantageous rates deserves a sharp and principle-minded party assessment. Such an approach has nothing in common with true democratization. It clashes with the spirit of the new economic mechanism and the Law on the State Enterprise and can only discredit the economic reform.

At the same time, however, an increasing number of collectives are clearly realizing that the adoption of stressed but realistic plans is consistent both with the interests of the state as well as their own interests, for the production of additional goods needed by the people enables them successfully to solve their own production and social problems. Such enterprises include the Vostok Clothing Production Association in Khabarovsk, the hosiery-knitted goods factory in Cheboksary, the Pribolzhskaya Kommuna Cotton Pillow-Case Combine in Ivanovo Oblast and many other enterprises and associations.

The current 5-year period is of a transitional nature, in the course of which the old administrative methods are eliminated while the new economic management system is undergoing its development stage. Obviously, it would be erroneously to consider the new economic mechanism as ideal. It is being tested through practical experience and elements become apparent which need refining and further improvements. It would be useful, from all viewpoints, for such work extensively to involve economists; managers of enterprises and associations and specialists should submit their suggestions and considerations.

Nonetheless, a comprehensive study reveals that raising light industry to the level of contemporary requirements would be impossible without its radical technical retooling. An excessive number of problems accumulated here in the past.

Suffice it to say that in the last 15 years less than 4 percent of all capital investments allocated for industry as a whole went to light industry which accounts for 14 percent of the total industrial output. This share kept declining from one 5-year period to another. As a result the wear out of basic production capital increased significantly. For a long time the needs of the sector for equipment was met 70 percent in terms of volume and variety of machinery. Only 20 percent of domestic machines produced for light industry are consistent with contemporary technical standards.

More than any other, light industry depends on the quantity, quality and variety of natural and man-made raw materials it receives. Here as well a number of problems have piled up. By no means are the needs of the sector fully satisfied for some types of cotton, flax and wool, and their quality is worsening. The chemical industry is delaying the increased production of mixed fabrics and items made of them, raincoats, jackets, youth two-piece suits and fashionable leather and jogging shoes and many other modern types of goods. For the same reason, i.e., the shortage of modern dyes, our fabrics frequently lack brightness, the range of colors is poor, design is not expressive and they repel the customers with their dark and faded colors. In our country the level of chemicalization of the raw material base is lower compared to many socialist and capitalist countries by a factor of 2-3. However, the decisions made on developing the output and expanding the variety of high-quality dyes for consumer goods are being unsatisfactorily implemented by the USSR Minkhimprom.

Taking into consideration the urgency of the need for the accelerated solution of problems related to satisfying the needs of the population for commodities, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed a decree stipulating steps to be taken for the technical retooling of light industry between 1988 and 1995. This marks, essentially, a new stage in its development.

The key task is the drastic increase in output and the enhancement of the technical standard and quality of equipment for light industry. Compared with the 11th 5-year period, the amount of work for the development of new equipment should triple or quadruple.

The decree earmarks a broad program for the technical retooling of existing and the establishment of new production capacities, the elimination of bottlenecks and intrasectorial disproportions. Priority will be given to the development of the shoemaking, clothing and knitted goods industries, and to finishing production facilities in the textile industry.

In order to implement the plans, during the 13th 5-year period nearly double the funds compared with the current 5-year period will be channeled into capital construction.

The implementation of the decree will enable us to reach efficient consumption standards or else to come closer to them in terms of the basic types of fabrics, hosiery, and leather shoes, and substantially to increase the output and the variety of other items produced by the sector. Above all, it will enable us to set up a scientific and production potential which will make it possible dynamically to satisfy the population's demand for light industry goods.

Together with the USSR GKNT and the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Ministry of Light Industry has been instructed to concentrate the activities of scientific research and engineering-design organizations and academic institutes and VUZs on the solution of key problems of scientific and technical progress in the sector and the development of essentially new technologies.

Under the new economic management conditions the labor collectives assume major responsibility for the implementation of the plans for technical reconstruction. Above all they must concern themselves with earning the necessary funds. They must thoroughly plan the type of equipment and amounts of such equipment to purchase and, finally, ensure the fast mastery of the new capacities.

The modeling organizations should also work more efficiently. Some changes have been noticed here. An all-Union center for the development of the variety of light industry goods, fashion and standards of clothing, and a fashion center of the RSFSR Ministry of Light Industry, with its proper production base, have been created. Assigning houses of fashion to small enterprises and giving all sectorial enterprises the right to develop their own fashions have had a positive impact. However, these are merely the initial steps. We must continue to improve the cooperation between fashion organizations and production enterprises. We must increase the role and activeness of pattern makers, artists, color experts and designers who work in modeling organizations or directly at enterprises.

The problem of cadres is an urgent one for the sector and the outflow of manpower has not declined. The main reason for this is the unsatisfactory solution of housing and other social problems.

Unquestionably, in this case today the labor collectives could do and are doing a great deal. Nonetheless, frequently difficulties arise which truly require the aid of the local party and soviet authorities, an aid which should be made available.

## V

Meeting the needs of the people for commodities is not a matter merely of quantity but, above all, of the quality of produced goods. The functional and consumer qualities of items, their design, reliability and durability are all of decisive significance when a customer decides to buy a given item.

The implementation of steps for radically upgrading the quality of output and the introduction of state inspection are yielding certain positive results. However, we are still far from a turn for the better. The flow of rejects or substandard quality has still not been blocked. The share of television sets, tape recorders, washing machines, wrist watches and other consumer items requiring repairs during the period covered by the guarantee, and of faulty clothing and knitted goods and shoes remains high.

In some parts of the country the low quality of consumer goods has become calamitous and one of the main reasons for unsatisfied consumer demand. Thus, in the first 9 months of 1987, nearly 30 percent of goods which were checked were returned to industry for failure to meet the requirements of state standards in Georgia. The commercial organizations no longer accept 67 different types and articles of items produced by 48 republic enterprises. In other words, raw materials, and energy and human labor are being wasted on the production of rejects on a mass scale.

We are concerned by the fact that of late substandard goods are coming out of enterprises subject to state inspection. "I bought a Sadko-Ts-280 television set," writes Comrade Khosnullin in Kazan, "which came in a box stamped state inspection." However, the clarity of the picture worsened on the third day of use and the image became distorted. Workers from the television repair shop came on several occasions but nothing helped. The quality of an item costing 755 rubles should be better."

Enterprise and association managers should become even more persistent in promoting the strengthening of labor and technological discipline and introducing order comprehensively. They must take strictly to task the specific culprits for faulty goods both administratively and with the use of corresponding economic sanctions. They have both the right and possibility of doing this. The primary party organizations and party committees must more actively engage in organizational and ideological education work aimed at upgrading the quality of output.

High consumer and aesthetic qualities cannot be achieved without proper design. A resolution was passed by the USSR Council of Ministers stipulating measures for the development of design; a union of USSR designers has been created. Now it becomes a question of developing an interested attitude in the part of ministries, departments, enterprises and associations.

The ever stricter requirements formulated by the population concerning the technical standards and quality of goods put on the agenda the question of perfecting the steps aimed at protecting consumer interests. In particular, such a function must be performed by the testing centers which determine the level of consumer qualities and the quality of manufacturing of consumer goods.

Today such centers are managed by the ministries which produce the corresponding items, which influences the objective nature of their evaluations and conclusions. The legal status of the centers has not been defined and their material and technical facilities are poor.

Specialists as well as the public at large believe that in order to upgrade the exigency and objectiveness in the assessment of new items it would be obviously more appropriate to take the centers out of the jurisdiction of the manufacturers of the goods they check. This thought is worthy of attention and of specific work by the corresponding departments.

We must support the aspiration of the citizens themselves to participate more actively in defending their interests as commodity consumers by directly participating in evaluating the quality of the goods. Unquestionably, this would contribute to the fuller and more accurate consideration of population demand which would influence the activities of soviet and economic authorities, enterprises and associations.

Under the conditions of the new economic mechanism the role of the study of current and long-term trends on the consumer-goods market and the constant study of consumer demand increases sharply. This task is facing in its entire magnitude the direct producers of commodities—industrial enterprises and associations—for it is only on this basis that they can have an efficient policy concerning variety. The focal point in this work must be the creation, directly at enterprises and associations, of subdivisions whose obligation would be to study systematically and comprehensively the needs of the market and population demand for goods produced and to provide proper information and issue recommendations to the developers of consumer goods, the production and financial-economic management services. In short, this means the development of marketing.

At the same time, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, together with the USSR Mintorg and many other ministries and departments, should accelerate the efforts to create a state-wide system for the study and shaping the needs and demands of the population for goods and services. Its gradual introduction should have been started last year.

The USSR Minlegprom and Mintorg are extremely sluggishly formulating long-term concepts for the development of variety of light industry goods. Yet, as the experience gained by Bulgaria, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia indicates, this would be useful.

In recent years demand for fashionable high-quality and, therefore, more expensive items has been rapidly increasing in the country. This is natural. Our current per capita income of approximately 25 percent of all families has reached 175 rubles or more and such families should have the possibility of spending their money

for the purchasing of such commodities. The production of such commodities would increase for demand for them is by no means satisfied.

Nonetheless, we should not allow any interruption in the production of inexpensive items which must be manufactured in a volume and variety which would meet the needs of the less prosperous population strata interested in them, such as students, young people, the retired or large families. This is a firm party line and industry, trade, financing and planning authorities, enterprises and associations must be strictly guided by it.

Last year the trade system ordered and light industry produced a significantly higher number of clothing, shoes, knitted goods in inexpensive varieties compared to previous years. Thus, in the overall volume of output of children's goods reached 49-68 percent for clothing, more than 48 percent for shoes, 60 percent for knitted goods, and 36 percent for hosiery. State subsidies granted for maintaining low prices of goods for children totaled 1.6 billion rubles. Yet in terms of labor intensiveness and cost many of them are equal to goods produced for adults.

Nonetheless, within the framework of the new economic mechanism, we have been unable so far to find the necessary economic instruments which would make the enterprises equally interested in the production of goods of any variety, expensive and inexpensive, and highly profitable or of low profitability. Understandably, without economic incentive it would be difficult to rely on the initiative and activeness of labor collectives to increase the production of inexpensive goods. The national economy expects of scientists and specialists specific and scientific developments and suggestions on the solution of this important problem.

The soviet and economic authorities and enterprises and associations must make much better use of a potentially factor such as international economic cooperation in saturating the market with goods. Perestroyka which is taking place in this area opens extensive scope for initiative and enterprise. It enables the labor collectives to increase, on a mutually profitable basis, together with their partners, the production of goods needed by the people while, at the same time, solving problems of their own production and social development. A certain amount of experience has been acquired in this area above all in the utilization of progressive forms of foreign economic relations with socialist countries, which proves that this trend is fruitful and promising.

The satisfaction of the needs of the people for goods and services is one of the main tasks of the CPSU's economic and social policy. The party organizations and committees have the duty of persistently promoting restructuring in depth in the entire work on saturating the market

with goods and services. This is required by the basic interests and objectives of the building of socialism and directly influences the labor and social activeness of the Soviet people.

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**Intraparty Life. Documents of the Central Party Archives of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism**  
*18020011c Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 88 (signed to press 17 Mar 88) pp 28-33*

[Text] At the present time the interpretation of the historical experience of the CPSU in the area of democratization of intraparty life becomes particularly important. The critical mastery of the lessons of the past is a most important condition for the revival of the party's revolutionary spirit and for deliberate progress. From this viewpoint the experience of the 1920s is of special interest. Problems of intraparty democracy were a steady focal point of sharp discussions and ideological and organizational struggle during that period.

The documents published below provide interesting information on steps taken by the party organizations to introduce democratic principles in the work of the elective authorities, to upgrade the activities and autonomy of the individual cells and to broaden the initiative of party members. References and surveys compiled between 1925 and 1928 by the organizational-distribution and information departments of the party's Central Committee (1), based on the summation of materials of studies conducted by the local organizations, included a number of observations and conclusions which remain relevant to this day.

The materials were prepared for publication by S. Yakushev, CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism associate.

**From the Letter by RKP(b) Member A. Binov to the Organization-Distribution Department of the RKP(b) Central Committee (2)**

November 1925

Where and when is it still possible for a rank-and-file party member to speak out better and more efficiently and to try to influence the work of his organization and, through it the entire party, if not at the time when the accountability report submitted by the raykom or the ukom and candidacies are being discussed and criticized?....

How is it possible for a rank-and-file party member to feel that the authorities he has elected assume full responsibility to the masses if this party member is not granted the possibility of exercising his right to approve

or to disapprove of the work of his raykom or ukom in discussing its accountability report or in accepting or rejecting one comrade or another?....

I emphasize the word "possibility," for the right exists and it is of this right, as an obligation, that the highest party organizations speak.

Accountability. This word must imply responsibility on the part of both the person who submits a report and the one to whom it is presented.

Activeness. It would seem that there is no better occasion to display it than in the course of a discussion, criticism, approval or disapproval of the accountability report submitted by the raykom or the ukom and, above all, the possibility of formulating one suggestion for another in relation to and on the subject of the report.

But does this actually happen? Do reports provide maximal results which the party is entitled to expect?

The answer to such questions can be only in the negative. Accountability reports follow a stereotype: they are "favorable," and yield little. Strange and insulting though it might seem, the reason for this sad fact is the poor technical aspects of the matter, namely:

1. The members of the cell are not familiar with the materials of the report prior to its presentation.

The consequence is that they are deprived of the possibility to consider in depth the work of the raykom or ukom and to formulate their suggestions and prepare themselves for active participation in the discussion of the report....

2. Usually the report on the entire work of the raykom or ukom is presented, discussed and approved within a single meeting (this is in the best of cases) or else a single question is put on the agenda for the meeting.

The consequence is that after hearing a tremendous amount of materials with abundant facts and figures presented in 1 hour or 90 minutes, the rank-and-file party member will skip a great deal, will lose a sense of the overall worth of the work and will try to remember something which he has accidentally retained or which has triggered a need to respond.

3. Because of insufficient time debates are conducted hastily and cut off after a few statements have been heard.

The consequence is that it is only those who have become accustomed to speaking in public, the most active boys, manage to speak out, turning the less decisive comrades into slouches which, naturally, does not contribute to the increased activeness of the party mass.

4. The slate of candidates for the raykom or ukom is not published in advance, which frequently results in their automatic approval.

5. The content and structure of the reports are not always consistent with their purpose, which is to provide a precise description of the raykom itself and to bring to light the most interesting aspects in rayon political life as well as the line which has been followed by the raykom....

The following suggestions pertain to the problem discussed here of how to organize with a maximum discussions the accountability reports and structure of raykoms and ukoms:

1. The raykom or ukom must distribute among the cells its report in advance in such a way that at least the shop collectives could become familiar with it.

2. The report must be divided into two or even three sections, such as economic problems, party-professional problems, cultural problems, etc. Each section should be presented at a separate meeting....

3. The slates of candidates must be distributed among the cells in advance.

4. In order for a given cell to formulate specific suggestions based on the raykom report it is absolutely necessary to set up a small but active commission to which each member of the cell would submit his considerations in writing.

Such a system of preparations for the report and its discussion would be the best way for training the party masses, determining their activeness and singling out among them new cadres of party workers....

TsPA IML, f.17, op. 68, d. 105, ll. 162-164

**From the Report of the Organizational-Distribution Department of the VKP(b) Central Committee Department on the Results of Investigating the Implementation by the Party Organizations of the Resolutions of Congresses and Conferences on the Development of Intraparty Democracy**

1926

As the study of the control commissions has indicated, in the tremendous majority of organizations which were surveyed all types of criticism could be voiced entirely freely, the claims of the opposition notwithstanding.... Conversely, in a number of organizations efforts were noted of doing everything possible to involve the party masses in criticizing the work of their elected authorities. The fact that such reports are not embellishing reality can be confirmed by reading the minutes of party conferences and cell meetings, the most typical features of which are the predominance of statements of a primarily critical nature compared to any other. Considerations of cases of prevention of criticism or repressions or cases

such as all kinds of silencing and efforts of exerting, so to say, a psychological influence, show quite clearly that such cases are minimal in the work of the party apparatus and that most such cases are noticed in the activities of the administrations of establishments and enterprises....

A number of studies of guberniyas and oblasts have indicated that occasionally party members fear to criticize even whenever no repressive measures of criticism or efforts to suppress criticism have taken place. Such fear is the result of a number of aspects. For example, an essential role in this case is played by tactless statements made by activists and an insufficiently thoughtful and careful attitude toward statements made by rank-and-file comrades who frequently are unable properly to formulate their thoughts but, at the same time, react quite sensitively to any suppression or mockery. Unquestionably, some party members are also affected by a certain feeling of mental depression, related to the difficult material situation and the unemployment surrounding them, making such comrades to develop a painful suspicion of pressure and threat even where no such things exist.

The legacy of the past is also significant, such as the vestiges of denigration and neglect under the conditions of which the mass of the party members of this generation grew up.

Finally, existing organizational disorders, such as full preparations for meetings, inept classification of problems in open and closed party meetings, insufficiently active agendas for cell meetings, excessively heavy agendas which lead to glossing over important problems of interest to the workers, cases of bureaucratically optimistic structuring of important reports, inability to take up and refract in practical terms the suggestions and remarks formulated by rank-and-file party members, the lack of proper assistance to such members in formulating their wishes and many other features, 90 percent of which are the result of clumsy and poor work methods. This contributes to the fact that to a certain extent the party masses still have the impression that statements are discouraged, something which is easily converted into ideas of insufficient freedom of criticism.

Therefore, the question of allowing freedom of criticism in party ranks is quite complex. The essence of the matter here lies not only in whether or not the party apparatus allows free criticism but, above all, whether the entire party mass actively participates in criticism. The way to truly involving in criticism the broadest and even the most backward party mass runs not only through the purely formal granting to the party member the right to make a statement and to ensure the thorough protection of such rights by the party authorities but, above all and more than anything else, through work to educate the masses and to provide them organizational and any other type of aid in the display and development of their activeness under the current circumstances.

TsPA IML. f. 17, op. 68, d. 105, ll. 17-20

**From a Review of the Work of the Local Organizations for the Development of Intraparty Democracy, Drafted by the Organizational-Distribution VKP(b) Central Committee Department (3)**

(January) 1927

The question of the activeness of the masses is central in terms of intraparty democracy. The party congresses have always considered the extensive electiveness of all leading party organs, from top to bottom, the foundation for an organizational method for a manifestation of the activeness of the masses.... Such electiveness in terms of higher party authorities, according to the statutes, is carried out by the masses through delegates which they sent to the conferences. In most organizations, party conferences are not the only agency concerned with shaping the new structure of the party committee. Virtually always summons to conferences are preceded by a certain preparatory process of discussion of candidacies by party committees outside conferences, a process the most important developments of which are the following:

1. Some party committees try to involve the broad masses in the discussion of candidacies by transferring the preliminary process of discussions to the primary organizations. In this case, sometimes it is only the aktiv or the secretaries of the primary party authorities that become involved in such discussions.... Occasionally the question is raised at rayon or volost conferences. In some cases discussions are held directly in the cell..., and the slate of candidates is drawn up in advance in the cells with no participation whatsoever by the raykoms, and after that they are used as materials to be discussed at the conferences.

There even are some organizations in which the procedure for discussing the membership of the party committee in the cells is applied not only in the selection of primary party committees but of superior party committees as well....

With all such seemingly extensive democracy of this method, it cannot fail to trigger major doubts concerning its expediency, for the fact that the party mass has expressed a certain desire is inevitably related to a certain extent to the will of the delegates. Thereby, in the final account, it harms that same intraparty democracy.

2. The diametrical opposite of this procedure for drafting slates of candidates is the drafting of the slates by superior authorities, by the old party committee membership which recommends such candidates at conferences either in their own name or after submitting the names in advance for discussion by a senoren-konvent (4). This method, which is quite popular in uyezd and rayon organizations, could also result in a certain limitation of the freedom of expression in conferences,

making it necessary, should they disagree with the slate of candidates, indirectly to express their lack of confidence to the party committee submitting its report.

Therefore, the procedure of concentrating the entire process of discussion within the conference itself after preliminary work by its senoren-konvent (which predominates in guberniya conferences) appears to be the least objectionable....

In its time the system of concentrating discussions of topical problems within the aktiv, for the latter demanded hasty preparations and submission of the problem to the masses, unquestionably had a positive significance and denying the expediency of the use of such practices in some cases, even in the future, would be unsuitable. However, as it happens quite frequently among us, some organizations have begun to exaggerate. Occasional cases of using the aktiv instead of the party organization makes us raise the question of certain restrictions imposed on said meetings and the need to convert in terms of discussing topical political problems to different, more democratic methods which would be of greater educational value to the masses. Such forms do not have to be invented: they are already extant in the practical work of some organizations. They are suitable in developing topical problems and are equally useful in summoning extraordinary meetings as regular meetings of the aktiv. We are referring here to party delegate meetings (5)....

The term "aktiv" itself, strictly speaking, is quite objectionable. Item 1 of the party statutes read as follows: "Anyone who accepts the party program and works within one of its organizations is considered a party member." Consequently, nonactivists cannot be party members. Characteristically, this term has already triggered the logically entirely natural opposite term of "passive" in reference to the rank-and-file masses.... It is obvious that classifying as "passive" or at least as inactive the majority of our party, the machine-tool workers in particular, is not only erroneous in its essence but creates the danger of developing a serious confusion in the minds of the broad party masses.

In itself, active participation in the discussion of a problem which has been endlessly under consideration cannot be deemed an entirely satisfactory criterion in assessing the activeness of the masses in general. As we know, such activeness can sometimes coexist quite well with the absence of initiative and a passive attitude toward the work....

TsPA IML, f. 17, op. 69, d. 269, ll. 54, 55, 125-127

**From a Report by the VKP(b) Central Committee  
Information Department on the Development of  
Grass-Roots Criticism and Self-Criticism**

11 July 1928

The Central Committee appeal (6) met with broad response among the party organizations. Some party committees have earmarked specific practical steps for the development of self-criticism. Thus, for example, in connection with the study of the Dnepropetrovsk organization by a VKP(b) Central Committee senior instructor, the Dnepropetrovsk Obkom published in the newspaper ZVEZDA an appeal to all party members and workers calling upon them to convert the efforts in the study of the organizations into a broad campaign of self-investigation and self-criticism and "with the active help of party member workers and nonparty proletarians to expose mercilessly and to the end all of our ills, ulcers and omissions and indicate the way for correcting our shortcomings."...

In a confidential letter to the cells and party committees, the Leningrad Obkom suggested the following: "Immediately identify all cases of 'pressure,' and persecution for self-criticism. Such cases must be held up to shame and, if necessary, the culprits must be held answerable to the party (to the control commissions) or, should repressive measures for self-criticism be proven, they should be prosecuted in court."...

Characteristically, whenever a party committee is sluggish, the primary organizations and the press manage to whip them up and force them to march in step with the entire organization. Thus, for example, in the Kuznetsk organization (Siberia) where, on the one hand, unethical actions and the alienation of a number of senior personnel from the masses were detected and, on the other, there have been cases of suppression of self-criticism "many comrades, including members of the okruzhkom buro, believing that self-criticism means undermining the authority," the primary cells have sharply condemned the okrug committee. The cell in the Tsentralnaya mine issued a resolution on convening an extraordinary okrug party conference and the coke cell issued a resolution demanding a report to be submitted by the okruzhkom....

Of late there has been a significant increase in the exposure-critical activities of the press. The most widespread form of participation of the press in the development of self-criticism is the dissemination of special leaflets by the newspapers. Such leaflets, bearing different titles ("RKI Leaflet," "Under the Control of the Masses," "In the Struggle Against the Specific Bearers of Evil," "Regardless of the Personality," etc.) have been published by virtually all newspapers....

In addition to engaging in expository-critical activities, in order to draw the attention of the toiling masses to identified errors and urge managers of establishments or enterprises to correct such shortcomings, some newspapers promote the holding of broad conferences attended by workers, members of the administrations and worker correspondents. Such conferences usually deal with

shortcomings in the work of establishments or enterprises which are identified most frequently in worker correspondent contributions....

The development of self-criticism and expository work in the Smolensk party organization significantly enhanced the authority of the party among nonparty workers. This was manifested in the fact that at their meetings workers have announced their wish to join the party in order to help it cure all ulcers and diseases.

In Bryansk Guberniya the discussion at open party meetings of the Central Committee appeal to all party members and all workers contributed to enhancing the party's authority. In answer to the appeal a number of workers at the Klintsov factories submitted petitions expressing their desire to join the party with a view to helping it heal painful phenomena and called upon other workers to follow their example. Here is what stated in his petition the worker Ostanenko, employed at the Factory imeni Dzerzhinskiy, a person with 23-year production seniority: "In answer to the Central Committee appeal, wishing to help the party with all my forces, for the VKP is the party of the working class, it is our party, I beg the cell to accept me within its ranks as an old worker and call upon all honest workers to follow my example."... Ostanenko's example was followed by a number of workers at other factories in Klintsovskiy Rayon....

It is necessary to point out that so far self-criticism is taking place despite a number of cases of pressure, abuse, labeling and persecution for expository work. Repressions for criticism of shortcomings and, particularly, the use of material pressure (demotions, transfers to more difficult work, firing, etc.) are frequently the reason for the insecurity displayed by the rank-and-file party and nonparty masses as to the viability and duration of the self-criticism slogan formulated by the party. The materials of a number of party organizations (Moscow, Leningrad, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Tula, Lugansk, Dnepropetrovsk, Yaroslavl, Tver, Vladimir, Kostroma, Zaporozhe, Ryazan, and Don Okrug) reveal the fear of rank-and-file members and nonparty workers to criticize shortcomings. Thus, the Leningrad Oblast Committee notes that at meetings to discuss the Central Committee appeal "the main attention in the debates and in the interpellations was the question of providing guarantees for the successful development of self-criticism"....

TsPA IML, f. 17, op. 69, d. 556, ll. 48-50, 52, 56 and 57

**From the Report of the Information Department of the VKP(b) Central Committee on the Results of the Factory-Plant Cell Reelections Bureau**

10 December 1928

A characteristic feature of the latest reelections for the bureau of the cells is the fact that total electiveness was achieved, with rare exceptions. Cases of violations of

intraparty democracy in the reelections were isolated. The party committees are aware of them. For example, in its report "On the Results of the Reelections of Shop Cells," which covered 634 out of 1,049 shop cells, the Leningrad Obkom wrote: "There were two cases of direct imposition...."

The elimination (as a rule) in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and several other cities of the preliminary convention of activists to draw up candidacies for cell bureaus was welcomed by the party masses with great satisfaction.... The elimination of the convention of such activists enhanced the role of the general meetings of cells and contributed to the growth of the activeness of rank-and-file party members at reelection meetings (for example, in Leningrad's Petrogradskiy Rayon, machine tool workers accounted for 75.7 percent of those who took the floor).

Candidacies for the new members of cell bureaus at large enterprises included as many as 50 or more candidates (Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and others). A member of the Transcaucasian Kraykom, who had attended the reelections in Groznyy, in the mines, noted in a letter that "the reelection meeting was open, something which had never happened here before; those attending the meeting nominated candidates for the cell bureau. The bureau was to consist of five members and two candidate members; 17 candidacies were submitted."

In many large cells in the Kiev organization candidacies for cell bureaus were listed and made public in advance. The number of candidacies everywhere exceeded the necessary number of candidates by a factor of 5 or 6....

Despite the large number of candidates nominated at the meetings, their selection was based on strictly practical considerations. The party masses formulated strict demands toward the newly elected bureau members, "sifting carefully" each candidacy and choosing "the truly strong and proven comrades"....

The increased exigency toward leading cadres and the strict criticism of weak candidates led to a great number of voluntary nomination withdrawals which, in some cases, were double the number of rejected candidates (Leningrad).

Not having sufficient data for final conclusions on the renovated membership of cell bureaus, we shall provide some preliminary figures for individual organizations. In Leningrad the renovation was 54.2 percent for 82 shop cells in Moskovskiy-Narvskiy Rayon; it was 63.3 percent in Petrogradskiy Rayon (in a number of cells the renovation was 100 percent); based on materials of the North Caucasian Kraykom the renovated membership of bureaus of shop cells ranged between 66 and 70 percent in worker cells; in Armavir it reached 64 percent and so on....

TsPA IML, f. 17, op. 69, d. 556, ll. 93-95

Notes

1. One of the tasks of the party's Central Committee Organizational-Distribution and Information Departments was to study and sum up the practical experience of the local party organizations. Based on the study of a large amount of materials the departments drew up reports and notes and surveys covering various aspects of party activities and, in particular, the status of intraparty democracy. Thus, in preparing its survey for January 1927, the Organization-Distribution Department of the Central Committee used the reports of Central Committee instructors, reference materials provided by the information and statistical department of the Central Committee and data of the studies of 106 party committees and 306 party cells in many parts of the country, made by the control commissions on the basis of an extensive program consisting of 112 questions (excerpts of this review were published).
2. The October 1925 RKP(b) Central Committee Plenum called upon all party members actively to participate in the preparations for the 14th Party Congress in discussing problems of the democratization of party life (see "KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh Sezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums]. Ninth edition, vol 3, pp 422-423). Letters sent by party members to party authorities became one form of such participation. The letter published here, sent to the RKP(b) Central Committee by Gosbank associate A. Binov deals with organizational-technical aspects of the efforts to develop democracy.
3. See note 1.
4. Senoren-Konvent is, in this sense, a meeting of representatives of delegations or groups of delegates meeting to solve a variety of organizational problems.
5. Delegate meetings are mentioned in the resolutions of the All-Russian Conference of the RKP(b) of September 1920. The resolution "On the Forthcoming Tasks in Party Building" dealt with the composition, tasks and deadlines for holding delegate meetings (see "KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh....", vol 2, pp 297-298).
6. This refers to the appeal of the VKP(b) Central Committee to all party members and all workers to promote self-criticism, dated 2 June 1928. The party called upon the working people "to engage in strict self-criticism so that this self-criticism become an instrument in the struggle for truly straightening out the entire apparatus and for real rather than paper struggle against bureaucratism...." The VKP(b) Central Committee linked the development of criticism with the subsequent promotion of intraparty democracy. Without democracy "slogan of criticism and self-criticism will become a piece

of paper, which can only compromise in the eyes of the masses both the slogans, the party's leadership and the party itself," the appeal read (see op cit., vol 4, pp 339-340).

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**Mikhail Bachurin's Breakthrough**

*18020011d Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 88 (signed to press 17 Mar 88) pp 34-40*

[Article by Vladimir Ivanovich Kovalenko, journalist]

[Text] At a meeting of the rayon aktiv, to sum up the results of 1986, Mikhail Mikhaylovich Bachurin, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov briefly reported that the farm had overfulfilled its plans for the sale of meat, milk, wool, grain, potatoes and flax to the state.

"This," the chairman emphasized, "was accomplished by our collective only thanks to the fact that we planted potatoes and flax on nearly half of the surface stipulated by the RAPO. The areas which were thus freed were put under highly nutritive protein-rich pea-oat mix, thanks to which we harvested 3,000 tons of excellent quality feed grain...."

Bachurin's speech was one of several and triggered no particular emotion on the part of the presidium, neither positive nor negative. Bachurin, chairman for the past 3 years, barely turned 30, felt quite hurt both on his own account and on account of the kolkhoz members at such an attitude toward a great success achieved by the farm. He felt justifiably insulted.

Before Bachurin became chairman, for some 10 years, year after year, the kolkhoz was either last in the rayon's report or second or third from the end. Under Bachurin grain yields doubled. The kolkhoz members fulfilled their assignment for the 11th 5-year period which had been written off as hopeless by his predecessor. In 1986 the kolkhoz left behind all other farms in Koverninskiy Rayon in terms of the pace of growth of output and increased productivity of crops and livestock farms, although the rayon is among the first in Gorkiy Oblast in agricultural output. Why was it that such an extraordinary success achieved by the farm seemed to have been ignored?

In the winter of 1986, initially at a joint meeting of the board and the party buro and, subsequently, at a general kolkhoz-members meeting, Bachurin submitted for public discussion the new structure of the areas in crop which, in his profound conviction, made it possible to put an end once and for all to the thoughtless or, to be absolutely accurate, fatal use of the land in terms of end results. Such senselessness or loss was manifested in the fact that for a number of years potato crops were lost

under the snow or only partially harvested and so was the flax. The reason was that the areas under such crops were based on plans issued by the rayon and which were beyond the farm's capacity. The kolkhoz members were unable to care for and harvest them properly. Every spring they would have to burn some of the straw from the flax they had been unable to harvest and plow the crop under, turning over tons of already rotten potatoes.

The kolkhoz members adopted as a firm manual for action the party and government resolution of 1986 which granted sovkhozes and kolkhozes the right to decide by themselves what and how much to plant on their fields. It is true that before submitting the question of the new structure of the crops to the kolkhoz members, Bachurin went to the rayon center. He was bluntly asked at the RAPO: "Have you gone mad, boy? Who would allow you to reduce the area under potatoes and flax by almost 50 percent? Furthermore, the decree will become effective as of next year. Do not try to be smarter than anyone else."

However, Bachurin is a man of strong character: once something has been decided, he does not retreat. He went to see the first secretary of the raykom Lavrentiy Kirillovich Voronov who, after hearing his sensible arguments in favor of the new structure of the crops, said: "Do as you think best. However, if you fail to fulfill the plan you will be held most strictly responsible. At that point you must not count on any protection from me."

Although the raykom secretary accepted the reasoning of the kolkhoz chairman he was unwilling to expose the rayon to danger. On the oblast level, where each hectare had already been planned for each rayon, such an arbitrary behavior would not have been tolerated. One commission after another would come and would "prove", like two and two equal four, that Bachurin is an adventurer and that he, the raykom secretary, is willing to indulge an adventurer. It was the kolkhoz chairman who, at his own risk and peril, had to put in his report that some of the area which was actually under a mixture of peas and oats, was officially considered to be under flax and potatoes.

Naturally, the situation would have been entirely different had such an "arbitrary behavior" been displayed by Mikhail Grigorevich Vagin, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin, where Bachurin had worked and who had recommended Bachurin as chairman of the Kirov Kolkhoz. However, Vagin did not have to do this: a sensible crop structure, which had taken years to develop and had been accepted by superior farm authorities, ensured him annually 18 months worth of fodder, which initially he shared with the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov, under Bachurin, and with other rayon farms. It was precisely the same type of sensible structure that Bachurin wanted to apply, following the example of his teacher.

The general meeting unanimously approved the daring plan of the young chairman. This was not an act of pure formality, as is still frequently the case in some kolkhozes. Under Bachurin the Kirov people began to recapture the feeling of owners of the kolkhoz land, which they had lost after many years of piece-rate daily work. Neglected, exhausted, barely yielding 8 to 9 quintals of grain per hectare, which in a thin stream was poured into the bunkers along with weeds, this land was crying for help. It was the young chairman who heard this silent scream louder than others.

In a few months Bachurin became as familiar with each field as the old-timers. He gained his knowledge by seeking the advice and arguing with brigade leaders and mechanizers. In the very first year of joint work the best among them became, in the expression of Bachurin himself, his "co-chairmen."

For the first time in many years the manure which had piled up at the livestock farms was moved to the fields. For the first time, mixed with peat, ripened in compost piles, like a bridgehead for fertility, the manure was spread on the fields and plowed under in the fallow areas thus giving fertility to the exhausted land. This applied initially to fields close to the livestock farms and, as the war on roadlessness progressed, converting into kilometers of new paved or graveled roads, the distant fields as well were supplied with a good amount of manure. The auxiliary industry shop which, under the new chairman, started working twice as hard, provided the necessary funds to finance road construction. The sole reason for all these good changes was the fact that the kolkhoz members had concentrated on the public farm. Whereas until recently, when there was work on the fields, the equipment would reach the fields at 8-9 am, the Kirov people were the first in the rayon to begin work.

An elderly mechanizer whom I asked why they were putting in 15 to 16 hours daily during the season, the present chairman, answered:

"Here is what happens: first of all, we have stronger support. What was the situation previously? Going to the fields in spring, the only thing one could think of was how to take care of one's own plot. So one would get up before sunrise and work one's lot and only then would go to pick up the kolkhoz machinery. The same happened in the evening, the people were hastening to go home to hoe and plant their potatoes. Bachurin, however, made the private plots equal to the kolkhoz fields. At the peak of the sowing campaign he gave the people 2 free days with the necessary equipment to cultivate their own plots. We were the first in the rayon to complete the sowing, for we worked the kolkhoz fields from dawn to dusk.

"The same happened with the hay mowing. In the past the kolkhoz members would mow everything they could. Now, in our plots which were planted in timothy grass in such a way that the grass is waist high, all available

mowing and baling equipment is put at our disposal. By St Peter's Day all the kolkhoz hay is under a roof and the kolkhoz members have plenty of hay. How not to work heartily?

"Let me say this as well: in olden times we believe that God will take care of those who get up early. The good farmer was always the first to get up in the morning. Our Mikhailo Mikhailovich observes that rule: he is the first to be up in the kolkhoz and the last to go to bed. We too, work like the peasants of old. And the land has become generous...."

This conversation took place in the cabin of the Niva combine. The combine was parked on the side of a rich wheat field. A slight rain had been falling since the morning and the old combine operator Ivan Alekseyevich Abramov, trained by the MTS, was waiting for a fresh wind to drive the rain away.

"Furthermore," Ivan Alekseyevich continued slowly, "now our fields have doubled their fertility and our farm women have tripled theirs. At the meeting the chairman reported that 10 children had been born in 1983 compared to 30 last year. That is why the kindergarten can no longer accommodate all the children and has had to be expanded, which was done. This means that we will have replacements. There will be a good addition of people...."

I asked the combine operator how does he explain the fact that now the flax and potatoes planted in the kolkhoz cover slightly over half of the area on which they were planted previously and yet the plans are being even overfulfilled. Why was it that this was not accomplished previously, in 1984 or 1985?

Ivan Alekseyevich explained to me that such things do not happen all of a sudden. The young chairman had to begin by convincing the rayon leadership before he was convinced of his own strength and before the land was as fertile as it is now. The land had to be cared for and improved properly. What happened in the kolkhoz is what is known in the military as a breakthrough. A breakthrough leading to a better life. Yet, such a breakthrough had to be prepared. All efforts had to be concentrated. Preparations for such a breakthrough were initiated by Bachurin by luring the specialists who had scattered among other farms under the previous chairman to come back. This started with Chief Agronomist Aleksandr Grigorevich Larin, followed by Chief Zootechnician Yevdokiya Vladimirovna Bobyleva and her husband, Vasiliy Andreyevich. He is deputy chairman in charge of auxiliary industries. The general view is that these people are independently minded and true assistants and advisors of the chairman. Mechanizers, such as my acquaintance Ivan Alekseyevich, had an impact as well. At the meeting everyone unanimously voted for planting less flax and potatoes. They realized that if the plans for that same flax and potatoes remain unfulfilled

their chairman could be punished severely and perhaps even lose his job. That is why the people went to work at the kolkhoz fields as they would their own.

I saw personally their good work. For a whole month there was no rain, not a drop throughout the month of June yet the wheat harvest was good: it averaged 20 quintals per hectare in the autumn whereas in the past, even in a good year, the average did not exceed 10. Good oat, flax and potato crops were harvested as well. Under Bachurin milking per cow increased by 1,000 liters and weight increases almost doubled.

On that day, together with Mikhail Mikhailovich I visited the fields, and learned about the short but packed biography of the chairman.

Both his mother and father were kolkhoz members. He grew up like all other children. At the age of 6 he started helping out at home. At the age of 10 he started mowing and drove the horses. He went through the entire cycle of peasant work and, after graduating from the 10th grade at the Gorkiy Agricultural Institute, entered the zootechnical department. His practical training was under Vagin, in the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin. It was Vagin who trained him. After graduating from the institute he worked for 1 year as head of the MTF. Here as well he was lucky: his instructor was Chief Zootechnician Yuriy Fedorovich Zhokhov, who was an excellent specialist and an exigent and even strict organizer. He would get angry noticing a handful of hay on the ground or manure not collected promptly. His favorite saying was that dirt under the feet meant dirt in work. Subsequently, Bachurin was trained by Mikhail Grigorevich Vagin. He appointed Bachurin chief dispatcher which is actually the equivalent of deputy chairman in charge of production. If the chairman is absent from the kolkhoz, the chief dispatcher runs the fields and livestock farms. This was a training even harder than that provided by Zhokhov.

"Whenever he would return from a trip he would ask for a debriefing like in the army after an exercise," Bachurin recalls. "He would point out all your failures but calmly, and would explain what to do. That is the way my father taught me in childhood. Without training by Vagin I would have accomplished nothing here."

We stopped at a field planted in potatoes which, judging by everything, pleased the chairman.

"We hope that both potatoes and flax will be more bountiful than last year," said Bachurin anticipating my question. He suddenly asked: "How long do we have to lie? By now we are not concealing anything, as we did last year, in 1986, and have planted almost half of what the plan called for. The plan for sales to the state will be fulfilled not by listing the number of hectares in the report but by showing the harvest. Yet we are forced to think about the report so that there, at the oblast agroprom, God forbid, they will not find out a shortage

of hectares planted in potatoes. But how can I look the kolkhoz members in the eyes if I start forging figures for the sake of the rayon? On the bulletin board one can read clearly how much and what we have planted and how much output we pledge to produce. As far as I concerned, I have firmly resolved and was supported in this both by the party buro and the board: no "faking." But what has affected me the worst? The fact that some of my colleagues have started arguing with me: forget about such disparities, show an area as the RAPO wants, and that will be the end of the matter. We show them something but we do it our own way. Had this been before the April Plenum and even before the congress, I would have agreed with those people. At that time many people, particularly chairmen of strong farms, occasionally engaged in open fraud for the sake of the interest of their project. One could say that they gambled with their own lives. Today, why do we have to lie? So that the farm bureaucrats holding high positions will not worry? All this is senseless! Here is what is characteristic: both at the RAPO and the raykom everyone seems to understand everything and even to become indignant but no one is able to assume a firm position when it comes to the plan which is issued from above. It is true that the 1987 plan called for several hundred hectares less in flax and potatoes in the rayon. These, however, are only half-measures."

Several days later Lavrentiy Kirillovich Voronov and I visited Novyy Put, which is the most distant and most backward kolkhoz in the rayon. The raykom first secretary is in his early 40s. He was born here, in Koverninskiy Rayon, in the family of simple kolkhoz members. He has taken up party work relatively recently: he was elected for the first time in 1985. He is a construction engineer by training. He was chief engineer at the inter-kolkhoz construction organization and then its manager. I asked what is it that concerns him the most now, as raykom secretary. He answered without thinking:

"To surmount ossified stereotypes. Stereotype is the most terrible and rarely durable phenomenon. You have asked me several times about the structure of areas in crops. Bachurin is bothering you. He is bothering me too! I have no idea how much more the rayon would obtain if all chairmen had followed Bachurin's example. I am profoundly convinced that most of our chairmen are ready for this. It is not merely a question of courage. Our Koverninskiy flax processing plant has today a 3-year backlog of unprocessed flax. It does not have enough capacities. However, we keep sowing as we did in the past, 1,800 hectares in flax. Now consider potatoes. For the past 10 years our potatoes are being shipped to Uzbekistan. And every year we get them back, for by the time the potatoes have reached Uzbekistan they have rotten. As a result, the procurement office and the kolkhozes nearly every year 'divide' among them a loss of at least half-a-million rubles! For a number of years we have raised the question of building a potato processing plant in the rayon, with no results. Meanwhile, year after year, the kolkhozes are issued the same figures for areas to be planted under flax and potatoes."

"What about Bachurin?"

"Following Bachurin other chairmen planted 200 hectares in flax and potatoes," Lavrentiy Kirillovich said, sighing. "Therefore, the RAPO was able to report plan fulfillment to the oblast. Everything appeared in order!"

"This bureaucratic well-being is achieved with the help of the technology of centralized planning, which has long been condemned as faulty. The oblast receives from its superiors a plan for the crop distribution in the area. The RAPO chairman instructs the planning workers in the oblast and, on the basis of the requests of the farms, issues them a plan for the structure for the areas in crops, based on a level of yields needed in order to fulfill all assignments for the sale of goods to the state; however, all of his figures are rejected and he is ordered to enter in his reports figures prepared in advance, thus distorting by order the very essence and meaning of the stipulations issued by the party and the government. What is this if not a direct distortion of the very idea of perestroika, an evil mockery of elementary common sense! And after all this, the rayon managers call upon chairmen, specialists and kolkhoz members to promote perestroika more actively. What can they think of such appeals?"

I had yet another difficult talk which took place in the office of Aleksandr Pavlovich Tarakanov, chairman of the Novyy Put Kolkhoz. This farm has 7,500 hectares of land, 4,500 of which arable. It is both the largest and the most backward in the rayon. Year after year it receives a plan for planting 250 hectares in potatoes and 200 hectares in flax. In 1986 not a single hectare in flax was harvested. The entire flax crop perished because of faulty use of herbicides; only 100 hectares in potatoes could be harvested while the remaining 150 were buried under the snow, for the water which had covered the fields made it impossible to harvest the potato crop. Let the failure with the flax weigh on the conscience of the agrochemists but what about the potatoes? This is not the first year that the plans call for such crops which the farm cannot meet on a land which is essentially bottom land and on which equipment becomes worthless even in a year of average moisture. This is beyond the efforts of the kolkhoz, for there is a shortage of manpower and equipment, as the result of which one-half of the land remains, as a rule, unharvested.

Yet the kolkhoz members can see and understand all of this. Arbitrary and stereotype planning creates mistrust in the people in the usefulness of their own labor and is an insult to their dignity.

"What is it that has made the Russian impressive since ancient times?" the chairman asked. "Boldness in the work and skill. He combines within himself the feelings of the owner and the worker. Now, however, he is nothing but a piece-rate worker. This is another 'merit' of our planning officials! These are also the roots of drunkenness and pilfering and, if you wish, political passiveness. Look at what it cost that same Bachurin

who we blamed, based on rumor, for arbitrary behavior, to assume a principle-minded position and how this made the people feel better! The people felt like masters of the land. They elected him rayon deputy enthusiastically. No one dares say a bad word about Bachurin. What is striking, however, is that the experience of the Kirov people should be spread yet we keep silent about it even after the June Central Committee Plenum."

Nonetheless, I left the Novyy Put Kolkhoz without a feeling of despondency. The new chairman, who until recently was the head of the Koverninskiy Flax Processing Plant, had confidently taken over this neglected farm. In order to acquire a stable financial position he not only used the reserves of the land and the livestock farm, making them profitable, but expanded auxiliary industries, as a result of which he increased profits by nearly 500,000 rubles, compared with 1986. His plan for 1988 is to double the profits which, in his words, will solve the problem of purchasing equipment, building housing and building industrial premises which the kolkhoz needs the most. His computations are extremely specific and, as I found out later, turned out to be absolutely accurate. The chairman knew precisely how to find the necessary manpower, construction materials and practical designs. Each one of his words and movements revealed a clear skill, wizened by experience, that of an energetic economic manager and skillful organizer.

I thought to myself: Do today's chairmen need petty supervision? Do they need planning of each hectare of crops? All they need is material and scientific support for normally managing their work on a modern basis. However, if we look from this viewpoint at the work of the new agricultural management authorities, we do not see any particular changes in this respect. Compared with the past, the farm managers find their work even more difficult: in the past that same chairman knew what he was facing and he had greater freedom and possibility to look around. Now, whatever his need may be he is told: ask the RAPO. Anything that you need, demand of the RAPO. It has all the cash. Essentially, however, the RAPO is simply an office which passes on to superiors the requests of the farms, requests which turn in an infinite bureaucratic carousel for a much longer time than in the past. A RAPO manager must have the signature of a senior comrade from the oblast agroprom on a matter which may cost a few kopeks. What kind of efficient management and what kind of help could there be a question of?

What is needed is a qualitatively different kind of management and production planning. This is what I discussed with Voronov on my way back.

"The current and still largely administrative-command management system," I was told by the first secretary of the raykom, "frequently reminds us of Borzov from Ovechkin's 'Rayon Daily Life.' It is true that I do not order everyone around like Ovechkin's character. However, nor can I oppose any incompetent pressure from

superiors. I am forced to yield to it. I have no strong backing like Bachurin, who can support anything that is sensible and practical, relying on the board and the general kolkhoz meeting."

Listening to this confession, which was hard on Lavrentiy Kirillovich, I remembered rural meetings held in recent years. I recalled a story I heard, told by the chairman of the kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Zernogradskiy Rayon, Rostov Oblast, Boris Alekseyevich Zinchenko, member of the Union Council of Kolkhozes. The problem of democratizing farm management in the rayon was solved by the people of Zernogradskiy Rayon as follows: the RAPO Council, managed by colleagues who are farm managers and rayon enterprises, gave their trust to Zinchenko who firmly took over the association's apparatus. Whereas previously the RAPO chief could order farm managers and, in turn, obeyed orders from the oblast, after the creation of the council the situation changed radically. The council's decisions, which are passed by simple majority, became the law for all farms and agricultural enterprises in the rayon. Zinchenko did not recall of a case of the oblast agroprom to void such a collective decision. The party raykom was relieved of a tremendous burden after this new development! This is because the raykom personnel was literally drowning in current economic affairs. Now they have the opportunity to engage in political work and the possibility appeared for choosing cadres more thoughtfully and thoroughly, study more profoundly problems of ideological and moral upbringing, education and culture. In short, they were able fully to dedicate themselves to strictly party work.

"We are leaning toward the same type of solution!" lively responded Lavrentiy Kirillovich. "The moment this is possible we shall visit Zernogradskiy Rayon and look at the way they are acting and apply their system...."

It is precisely the type of council found in Zernogradskiy Rayon, consisting of the number of people deemed necessary, the secretary believes, that should manage production affairs, the socioeconomic development of the farms and the enterprises servicing them. The council could be in charge of the equitable distribution of all financial funds and stocks allocated to the rayon. It should become a full juridical person, responsible for the implementation of the plans for selling agricultural commodities to the state.

The raykom personnel and the farm managers are convinced that a competent solution of pressing problems of the further development of the rayon cannot be achieved either by the RAPO, as it stands today, or by the rayon executive committee, given present planning practices. For example, everyone in the rayon can perfectly well see that the time has come seriously to undertake a more extensive specialization in agricultural production. That same flax and potatoes could be grown in several farms where they would yield the highest crops and best economic results. Uniting forces and funds would make

realistic the task of setting up a base for potato processing, which would include not only a plant but also a modern potato storing facility. The people in the rayon also dream of developing seed production and building their own small meat combine and mixed feed plant. All of this would enable them greatly to increase end farming results. The way to this goes through the democratic management of the economy, which would be open and public. Bureaucrats would not dare to oppose the logic of precise economic computations and the collective will of the RAPO Council.

The rayon people, who are drafting plans for the creation of such a council are convinced that their initiative is entirely consistent with the spirit and meaning of perestroika.

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**Democratization of the Party Means  
Democratization of Society; KOMMUNIST  
Roundtable Discussion by Correspondence**

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[Text] **Following is the publication of letters on problems of party building and further democratization of the party and society (see KOMMUNIST No 18, 1987; Nos 2, 3, and 4, 1988).**

**K. Kholikov**, candidate of historical sciences, docent, Tajik State University imeni V.I. Lenin: "Obligation and Duty"

One of the basic tasks of restructuring, the solution of which will determine the fastest possible renovation of our society is for all sectors of party, state and economic building to be headed by managers who think and act in a new style, who are competent and energetic and able to assume responsibility. It was no accident that the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum deemed the further democratization of the process of establishing elective authorities one of the important prerequisites for upgrading the activities of the party and ensuring the influx within it of fresh forces, and to enhance the work of the party organizations. In the past 2 or 3 years the party has energetically gotten rid of unsuitable managers who have headed party committees on different levels. As a whole, nearly 40 percent of the first and nearly 40 percent of all secretaries of central committees of communist parties of Union republics and party kraykoms and obkoms have been replaced in 1985-1986, and so have almost one-half of raykom and gorkom secretaries. It is noteworthy that many of those who had lost the right to lead people had held the same jobs over long periods of time. The result had been a developed confidence in one's own infallibility and irreplaceability. Long stays in

power led to the fact that leading workers stopped growing and learning, and became accustomed to shortcomings and lost their feeling for the new.

The party has long been familiar with this disease. It is no accident that the statutes which were adopted at the 22nd CPSU Congress included the stipulation that the principle of systematic renovation of their structure and continuity of leadership must be observed in the election of party authorities. The statutes specifically stipulated that no less than one quarter of the CPSU Central Committee membership and its Presidium (today the Politburo) must be renovated and that as a rule members of the Presidium can be elected for no more than three consecutive terms. A similar procedure was applied to elections in party committees on all levels (see "KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh..." [The CPSU in Resolutions...], vol 10, p 192). However, this stipulation was dropped by decision of the 23rd CPSU Congress and it was only the thought of the systematic renovation of party committees and continuity of leadership that was retained (see *ibid.*, vol 11, p 28). Therefore, party democracy was actually deprived of the possibility of further development and was thereby restricted.

Deleting Item 25 of the party statutes was justified by the fact that allegedly it had led to excessive replaceability of cadres and forced good and capable organizers to leave elective party positions for formal considerations. A major circumstance which we faced so sharply subsequently was totally ignored: by holding leading positions within the party organizations for long periods of time a large number of officials lost their feeling for the new and some of them degenerated. This was first. Second, excessive replaceability of party cadres was more a consequence of the then existing practice according to which elections in primary party organizations were held on an annual basis. The upper levels of the party echelons, according to said paragraph, remained essentially unaffected. Should we not restore, in one form or another, this statutory standard?

The 27th CPSU Congress introduced in its statutes the stipulation that the party organizations must implement cadre policy. However, this requirement is still being poorly implemented. Many cadre problems are still being solved within a small circle of personnel of the apparatus, bypassing the views of the members of the primary party organization. Party and nonparty members do not always have sufficient political willpower to engage in the extensive discussion within the labor collective of the practical, political and moral qualities of nominated candidates. In my view, one of the reasons for this is that this requirement has not been formulated sufficiently categorically. The statutes must strengthen the concept according to which the superior party organizations will adopt resolutions on the promotion of a person only after a comprehensive discussion by his comrades in the organization with which he is registered has been held.

It is also necessary to democratize the procedure for appointing members of the party apparatus, instructors and party committee inspectors. In developing this category of leading party organs as well we must be oriented more strongly toward public opinion and seek more frequently the advice of the people. All of us must always remember that our party is judged above all by the authority of its leading bodies.

**E. Panikas**, honored kolkhoz member, Peschanokopskoye Village Rostov Oblast: "The Cost of Nomenclature"

I am writing to you on what seems to me an essential problem: In recent decades a nonparty member could not become a manager even on a very low level. Even in the case of a rank-and-file party member this is difficult because of shortcomings related to the organization of the so-called "nomenclature." Yet it is precisely such people who account for the majority of the active population in the country, the producers of material values. Many of them are talented and initiative-minded, with great practical experience and knowledge, and possessors of a sharp feeling for social justice, politically mature and people loyal to the party cause.

The "closed" nature of the nomenclature and the retained secrecy in establishing it trigger unhealthy moods in some leading cadres of elitism and of being the selected few.

It became clear with perestroika that some clever people had made their way within the nomenclature during the years of stagnation, attracted not by ideological considerations but by the possibility of making a career. In frequent cases, even after committing unseemly actions or even obvious crimes, such people remained virtually unpunished. One finds in virtually every daily newspaper reports that some party authorities are essentially defending obvious degenerates, swindlers, bribe takers and thieves. The reason is that they are part of their "nomenclature!" It is those party authorities who gave them their positions so that willy-nilly they must be supported. In extreme cases, matters are limited to a reprimand (which is quickly deleted) or a "horizontal" transfer and, in particularly obvious cases, such people are retired and granted a good special pension. Let us remember the indignation with which V.I. Lenin described cases of covering up for party members guilty of abuses: "This is the peak of shame and scandal: The party in power is defending its own scoundrels!" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 53).

The word "self-seeker" has today virtually disappeared from our political vocabulary and can be found in dictionaries only. For example, the 1968 edition of Ozhegov's dictionary explains the term self-seeker as a person who is concerned only for his own well-being to the detriment of the interests of society. An accurate stylistic remark accompanies this word: "scornful." It

was that precise interpretation that prevailed in the 1920s when the party mercilessly expelled from its ranks anyone who had committed an unseemly and selfish action. Today, however, we tolerantly comment on a self-seeker as someone who has "displayed lack of modesty." Is this not too soft an evaluation of a party member who has illegally taken over an apartment for his own use or for his relatives, who has built himself a dacha or garage for very little or for free, who has resold passenger cars, who has concealed from the party some of his earnings, etc.?

We must have the type of order in which the only criterion for assuming a leading position in production or in party, soviet and economic agencies and for holding the position of chief specialist would be only personal political, practical and moral qualities. It is only then that perestroika would win. A "natural selection" of the worthiest people must be practiced for appointments to leading positions.

**A. Guseynov**, head of sector, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, doctor of philosophical sciences: "The Moral Aspect of the Party Member"

What makes it necessary for us to address ourselves today to problems of party ethics? Above all it is concern for the moral authority of the party in society, the strengthening of which was not contributed by the years of stagnation. The party mores included the characteristic faults of the social mores as a whole. Among the numerous negative phenomena which became apparent in the atmosphere of glasnost not a single one which, one way or another, in one aspect or another, failed to affect party circles or find support within them. The CPSU Central Committee general secretary report to the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted the following: "The principle of equality among party members is frequently violated. Many party members holding leading positions have proved to be impervious to control and criticism. This led to failures in the work and severe violations of party ethics.

"Nor should we keep silent about the just indignation of the working people caused by the behavior of leading personnel who were given trust and rights and called upon to watch over the interests of the state and the citizens but who themselves misused their power, suppressed criticism, became rich and, in the case of some of them, even became accomplices or even organizers of criminal actions."

It is common knowledge that the Bolshevik Party came across such moral deformations (careerism, communist boastfulness, bureaucratism, intrigues, and so on) after it became a ruling party, things from which previously it had been largely protected by the harsh conditions of clandestinity, war and other extreme situations. With a view to fighting negative processes, by decision of the Ninth All-Russian Conference of the RKP(b) in 1920 a control commission was set up and granted extensive

rights. It functioned alongside the Central Committee and was autonomous in terms of resolutions and actions. Its task was to alleviate the seriousness of the problem "of so-called upper levels' and lower levels' within our party," to become "an authority in the struggle against bureaucratism and abuse of position by some groups of party personnel," and to consider cases (and only them) "related to violations by party members of **communist ethics.**" Similar commissions were set up also by oblast and guberniya party organizations. It soon became apparent that the various control commissions were setting different demands concerning the party members. At that point the question arose of establishing uniform moral criteria in assessing their actions and on what a party member can and cannot do. In this connection, in 1924 a discussion on party ethics was initiated on the suggestion of N.K. Krupskaya.

The most typical sociomoral ills which were amazingly similarly to those which are concerning the party today were named in the course of the debates (leanings toward privilege and enrichment, reciprocal scheming based on careeristic motivations, drunkenness, etc.). The exceptionally important conclusion was also drawn to the effect that these ills are the inevitable although side product of the activities of a ruling party. This was most sharply formulated by one of the most active participants in the discussion, I.A. Solts, member of the Central Control Commission Presidium: "We know that in the interest of the working class we, as a healthy struggling party, must have the power. We know, as Marxists, that power corrupts...."

To rule is necessary yet power corrupts! What is the solution? The suggestion formulated by the participants in the discussion was to assume direct control over the behavior of party members and, with the help of special commissions and systematic purges, to eliminate that which is being constantly reproduced by objective circumstances. Unquestionably, this view was imbued with a heroic enthusiasm. However, it also was rather Quixotic and contained a substantial amount of ethical coercion of reality.

Although the participants in the discussion opposed petty moral supervision and the efforts to provide a party assessment of the behavior of party members on the basis of the standards of some kind of abstract sanctity, they nonetheless largely remained on abstract grounds. Guided by the requirements and behavioral criteria of the period of clandestinity, the participants in the discussion extended them to the new conditions of activities. Meanwhile, however, conditions had changed radically. To begin with, the party had increased numerically. "Superb spiritual qualities," V.I. Lenin noted, "may be found in a small number of people..." (op. cit., vol 45, p 94). When it is a question of a mass party, of the activities of hundreds or millions of people, to rely on such people exclusively is no longer possible. Secondly,

which is most important, the status of the party in society has changed. From a party struggling for power it has become a party which holds this power totally and undividedly.

Political power in general is faced with two basic moral threats: The trend toward asceticism, and manifestations of moral cynicism. Despite the entire contradictoriness between asceticism and cynicism they resemble each other in the fact that they weaken and even subvert the power although, true, in different ways. The concept of asceticism lead to the fact that the authorities makes excessive demands on the people, exceeding the limits of normal human possibilities and if such demands are not met (or in general cannot be met) a variety of repressive measures are adopted. Power rigidifies and its hostility toward society reaches dimensions which are fatal to the authority itself. Cynicism and moral corruption among the holders of the power are dangerous because the latter become dependent on those whom they must control. As a result the power is weakened and loses its energy and internal strength.

These considerations on the moral foundations of political power, confirmed by general historical observation, are also supported by the experience in post-October revolution developments. In the 1930s and 1940s aesthetic standards prevailed in party mores: personal modesty, harsh exigency toward oneself and others, and self-denial for the sake of the common cause were considered praiseworthy and mandatory qualities in a manager. The 1970s and 1980s were characterized by an unquestionable revival of cynicism and selfish and hedonistic motivations.

What conclusions may be drawn from this brief historical excursion? Problems of party ethics cannot be reduced to a problem of psychological characteristics and personal qualities of party members: they cannot be solved directly through immediate control exerted by some individuals over others. They substantially depend on the historically specific and precise formulation of educational tasks; measures taken to democratize intra-party life and relations between party "upper" and "lower" strata; and the nature of the ties between the party and society and the extent to which the latter is under party control.

On the moral level, what is it that distinguishes the party member from all other citizens? This problem is not so simple as it may seem. In my view, an important practical task in the area of party ethics is that of persistently molding a new moral character of the party member, consistent with a contemporary level reached in the spiritual and moral development of soviet people and the actual role which the party plays in social life. The old disease of making practice fit ideological imperatives has never been detected so clearly as in the area of ethics. Our social consciousness is still dominated by idealized and schematized concepts of what a communist should be. That is precisely why it is so important, in

accordance with the line said by the 27th CPSU Congress, to make ideology consistent with real life, with social practice. We need the type of moral character of the member of the Leninist Party which would be consistent not only with the literary characters or heroic personalities of the past but also the real party members of the present. We must shorten the distance between model and reality by realistically refining the model itself. The following three aspects seem to be the most important in this respect.

First of all we must abandon the archaic ideological cliché according to which communists are people of a "special mold," lacking personal interests, thinking only of the common good, etc. No, they are people like all other people, made of that same type of flesh and having the same type of weaknesses. Let us recall Marx's favorite statement: "Nothing that is human is alien to me" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "*Soch.*" [Works], vol 31, p 492). Second, we must clearly determine what is that separates party members, party workers above all, from all other citizens (what is it that must separate the ones from the others!) from the moral viewpoint: The fact that they assume responsibility for the overall state of affairs in society and make their own well-being directly dependent on the success achieved in this matter. Third, it must be realized that the standards of human decency are absolutely mandatory and unconditional for the party member and no violation of such standards can be ethically justified.

Many party documents, including the CPSU Program, stipulate that the party assesses cadres on the basis of their political, practical and moral qualities. The means of the objective assessment of practical and political qualities are more or less clear and in this area the party organizations have acquired substantial experience. But how to define the moral qualities of the worker? To the best of our understanding, it is at this point that the area of subjectivism and intuition begins, for there are no universally accepted criteria or tested procedures with which to assess such qualities and the experience gained by some party organizations has been poorly summed up.

In order for moral requirements to be elevated to the necessary level in cadre policy, we need a democratization of intraparty life and a "technology" for cadre dynamics. This is a decisive factor. In particular, we must see to it that any promotion of a party worker to a higher position depend equally on the superior manager and on his own colleagues and his subordinates. Since today the party career of a communist is determined to a decisive extent by the opinion which those "above" have of him, we must see to it that in such cases an evaluation "from below" is at least equal to that opinion. In particular, for such purposes it would be expedient to codify a procedure according to which the recommendation of the primary party organization and of the party committee of which this official is a part should be a mandatory prerequisite for his promotion.

The moral health of the party directly depends on the nature of its relations with society and on the extent to which it is accountable to society. The mandate for playing a leading role must be continuously reasserted both politically and morally. This is a major and a separate problem which, naturally does not end with the moral aspect alone. However, the moral aspect in this case is very important.

Ability to engage in self-criticism and renovation are today important important features of moral health. The CPSU has repeatedly demonstrated this ability. It is brilliantly demonstrating it to this day. The entire restructuring process is proof of this. Nonetheless, however clearly the power of self-criticism may be manifested, the party must remain open to criticism from the outside, on the part of society. This obvious truth has been mastered by us poorly. The channels for criticizing party activities from the outside and from below have still not been organized. Thus, for example, everyone acknowledges and the party documents have pointed out that in the promotion of party members to leading positions and in assessing their activities, the opinion of the labor collectives and the public at large must be taken into consideration. However, the question of the specific mechanism for such consideration has largely remained so far a field for practical quests.

It is very important, from the viewpoint of ensuring the moral improvement of relations between the party and society to reduce the dependency of the material and social well-being of a person and his official career on party membership. The main way here lies through the tangible increase in the number of positions which could be held by nonparty people as well and, in the broader sense, the serious and practical organization in all areas of life of an alliance (a bloc) between communists and nonparty people. The promotion to leading positions of nonparty comrades was described at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum as an essential problem, a major trend in the democratization of social life.

The party organization cannot (nor should it!) engage in the petty moral supervision of its members and demand of them "absolute sanctity." However, this does not mean in the least that it should be indifferent to their moral features. Approaching the matter not abstractly but entirely concretely, from the viewpoint of the implementation of the party's vanguard role in society, it becomes entirely obvious that there are moral qualities which are mandatory to the party member and the party leader, or at least preferable, and there are features which are entirely inadmissible in their case. Let us recall the high political plateau on which V.I. Lenin classified qualities of the party leader, such as tolerance and loyalty, in the familiar "Letter to the Congress!" Naturally, it is important not simply to establish desirable qualities, although this too is necessary, but practically to encourage their development. For example, everyone

agrees that a party member-manager must be distinguished by personal modesty and that it is very important in terms of the moral authority enjoyed by the party in society for such managers to possess such a quality. However, this cannot be achieved by appeals or reliance on good will. Entirely specific measures are necessary (limitations in terms of material aspirations and thirst for glory, and so on) which would keep the behavior and way of life of a manager who is a party member within proper limits of modesty; entirely clear and democratic procedures are needed which would bring to order or replace any manager who has gone too far.

The strengthening of the moral authority of the party in society and the struggle, as was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, for a pure and honest image of the party member is a vital task, one of the most important conditions for the successful implementation by the party of all other tasks. Understandably, this objective cannot be achieved in one fell swoop or as a result of some special measures. It is only many years of proper policy and honest and dedicated work that could replenish and correct that which became lost or deformed during some periods in party history. Nonetheless, in my view there is one organizational measure which could prove to be useful as of now: Setting up a commission on party ethics which would deal not with private cases but engage primarily in research: it would analyze the condition and trends of development of party mores and determine, with the help of sociological and other scientific methods, the level of party authority in various social strata and in society at large. The work of such a commission could be summed up in an annual report which would be made public. It would be expedient for such a commission to be considered a high party authority and to operate autonomously. The commission should be granted access to the necessary information and independence in its activities and judgments.

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### Watching Over Law and Order

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[Article by Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov, USSR Minister of Internal Affairs]

[Text] The activities of internal affairs authorities are closely related to the political, economic, social and moral aspects of perestroika. The determining task, as was noted at the 27th Party Congress, is the use of the entire power of Soviet laws in the struggle against delinquencies. The people, wherever they may live, must feel the concern of the state for their tranquillity and inviolability and remain confident that no violator of the law will escape deserved punishment. In his speech at the

CPSU Central Committee February Plenum M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that "the line of further intensification of the democratization of society presumes the systematic strengthening of socialist legality. The power of the people means the full and indivisible triumph of the laws which express the people's will."

The restructuring of MVD activities is taking place under the circumstances of an exigent and daily party guidance. Problems of strengthening law and order and accountability on the reports of internal affairs authorities at meetings of the party aktiv and plenums and bureaus of republic, kray, oblast, city and rayon party committees and at sessions and meetings of the executive committees of soviets of people's deputies and deputy commissions are considered in a business-like, specific and strict way.

Radical perestroika is possible only by strengthening cadres centrally and locally, and ensuring their full consistency with the increased ideological-political, moral and professional criteria which were clearly defined at the 27th Party Congress and the January 1987 Central Committee Plenum, along the channel of broad democratization and glasnost and with the firm support of working people and labor collectives.

### I.

Today cadre policy becomes particularly important to internal affairs authorities. We have no right to forget the political essence of the past, when the absence of the proper level of democracy in Soviet society triggered the cult of personality, gross violations of legality and the arbitrariness and repressions of the 1930s and 1940s. Political adventurers in the leadership of the NKVD-MVD central and local authorities were also to be blamed for crimes committed by abusing their power.

The stagnation phenomena of the 1970s and 1980s also led to distorted and negative processes, including some in the MVD, which were kept immune to criticism. The sharp and just assessment of the developing situation provided at the January Plenum, makes it incumbent upon us always to remember the failures and major errors in cadre work. They include violations of the Leninist principles of cadre policy, violations of state and party discipline and low level of ideological and political education.

Unquestionably, honest workers have always dedicatedly carried out their official duties. However, as time passed there was increased corruption and degeneration among some members of the leadership and the rank and file personnel and an erosion of honesty and conscience. A gap appeared between lofty words and by no means always seemly actions. The efficiency of the struggle against crime dropped, the wave of misrepresentation of matters, fraud and white-washing and concealing crime rose. Violations of legality and cases of violating the

rights of citizens became more frequent. Many violations remained unpunished and developed into a system. The reputation of MVD authorities among the people declined sharply.

Steps to instill order were taken starting with the end of 1982. Between 1983 and 1985 161,000 employees were fired for failure to meet official standards and for violations of legality and discipline. However, this was merely the beginning of extensive work with cadres, the more so since the help of the local party authorities and the public were not used to a proper extent in the selection, placement and upbringing of the personnel. In some areas their views on essential cadre problems were openly neglected. There were cases of unjustified reshufflings, triggered by the lack of collegial loyalty, and faulty practices of arbitrary and one-man solutions of cadre problems. All of these phenomena were suitably assessed by the party.

Major organizational efforts on the part of the party and soviet authorities were needed to purge the cadre corps of personnel who had compromised themselves and were unworthy of trust, and to strengthen all MVD services and units. The internal affairs authorities were reinforced with a large detachment of party members and skilled specialists. The party-Komsomol nucleus of subunits and services today accounts for more than 60 percent of the total personnel. Staffing is based essentially on the recommendations of party and Komsomol organizations. Two thirds of the new reinforcements are people recommended by labor collectives. The opportunity has appeared of converting to the competitive choice of applicants. Prime attention is being paid to the development of young associates, to professional training and to ideological-political and moral upbringing.

Based on the stipulations of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the collegium and the political administration of the ministry are implementing a set of steps aimed at radically improving all levels of cadre policy. Appointments and transfers are being decided openly, taking into consideration the views of political authorities and party and Komsomol organizations. The entire personnel is being subject to certification. The certification of the personnel, sectorial militia inspectors and inspectors in charge of juvenile problems and GAI personnel presume their submission of reports to the population and labor collectives.

A process of renovation of the leading unit is under way. An active reserve for promotion is being created. Unjustified centralization in the appointment of cadres has been eliminated and the USSR MVD nomenclature has been reduced by one half. The average age of the newly appointed ministers in republics and UVD chiefs and leading USSR MVD personnel has been lowered from 50 to 46. The national structure of the population of the individual republics, krays and oblasts is taken into consideration in staffing positions. Practical training

within the central apparatus for personnel of union and autonomous republics has already been completed by 200 managers, 100 of them trained at the USSR MVD Academy.

In accordance with the resolutions of the February Central Committee Plenum, programs are being drafted for perfecting the system of cadre training and retraining. The reorganization of the Academy made it possible to concentrate within it the training and upgrading of skills of the higher level of leading and scientific-pedagogical cadres. The technical and training-method reorganization of our higher and secondary schools and colleges is taking place.

Nonetheless, improving the quality structure of cadres remains a relevant problem. The consequences of the phenomena of stagnation and neglect of ideological-moral upbringing are still making themselves felt. The negative processes related to the spoiling of cadres and violations of legality in Uzbekistan, Kirghizia and Turkmenia, and Belgorod, Vitebsk, Volgograd, Dnepropetrovsk, Mogilev, Tambov, Tselinograd and Chimkent Oblasts are manifested in extremely distorted forms. In the last 2 years, based on results of certification, 70 members of the USSR MVD nomenclature have been dismissed.

The processes of renovation, which have extensively developed throughout the country, urgently called for improving the system of upbringing of the personnel. In particular, the uncoordinated work of the ministry's political department, the political department for corrective labor institutions and the political department of forest ITU triggered parallelism and discoordination in practical actions and led to the separation of the political authorities of the ITU from the local party committees. In connection with the CPSU Central Committee resolution, currently an efficient unified organizational structure of political authorities is being set up within the MVD system which includes the political authorities of corrective labor institutions. This will enable us to strengthen the unity of organizational and ideological efforts of political agencies and to upgrade the standard of party-political support of the militia in performing its official obligations, of the corrective-labor institutions, the fire prevention authorities and other subunits.

Establishing the most efficient ways and means of management of urban and rayon internal affairs authorities is a major trend in the reorganization of the work. It is precisely they that constitute the main, the decisive link in strengthening law and order and legality. However, the management of these authorities contained a large number of elements of formalism, bureaucratism and red tape. Their collectives found themselves hampered by a number of instructions, orders and bureaucratic reports.

The recently drafted comprehensive program for upgrading the role of city and rayon authorities will enable us clearly to codify their the legal status, to broaden their rights and autonomy and streamline their structure, based on the volume and difficulty of the work. A regulation on urban and rayon internal affairs authorities has already been drafted. About 1,500 obsolete orders and instructions have been deleted. As a result, the city and rayon authorities will be able to solve their problems more independently.

The management units of operative and investigation services and militia services in charge of maintaining public order are being strengthened centrally and locally. This will help to surmount the existing discoordination in their actions. Proposals are being drafted on changing the affiliation of investigative subunits of MVD authorities with a view to excluding the possibility of imposing any restrictions on the procedural autonomy of investigators or exerting any kind of administrative pressure on them or else illegally interfere in their investigation of specific cases. The same type of experiment is being conducted in all union republics.

New requirements are formulated today concerning the service of section inspectors, who constitute the largest detachment of militia officers and are closest to the daily activities of the population and labor collectives. Their work still suffers from a great deal of red tape, far-fetched paper-shuffling and unnecessary reports. Many of them have "settled down" in their centers and rarely make rounds. For example, more than half of the surveyed population of a number of oblasts in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenia do not know who their section inspectors are and assess their activities as unsatisfactory. In this connection, the USSR MVD is taking steps to correct the situation.

Today many mature specialists with legal training, members of the party and the Komsomol, are entering this service. As a result of reducing the size of the administrative apparatus, the size of this service will increase for the country as a whole by 20 percent. A possibility is being sought of having a sectorial militia inspector in each rural soviet. The training of such personnel at the higher militia school in Tyumen and the MVD Department of the Kiev Higher School and the higher courses in Stavropol has been undertaken. Material and living conditions governing their activities are being improved (availability of official premises, housing, transportation vehicles, etc.).

Strengthening legality plays a special role in cadre policy and in the training and instruction of the personnel. We must acknowledge that cases of unsubstantiated detentions and arrests, manhandling and other grossest violations and even crimes still occur. In order to prevent and exclude them, a set of organizational, political and training-educational measures has been formulated. Commissions in charge of supervising the observance of legality have been set up in the central MVD apparatus

of union and autonomous republics and internal affairs administrations. Each violation is now considered an exceptional crime with all stemming consequences. Last year alone more than 9,000 people were fired for this reason.

Individuals unworthy of the trust of the people have no place in MVD authorities. Legality and morality, honor and conscience, duty and the highest possible responsibility are inseparable concepts. V.I. Lenin ascribed exceptional importance to these qualities. Those who protect the law and fight crime must use morally impeccable means.

Under the conditions of democratization of our life the party formulates greater requirements concerning the political and legal standards of MVD personnel. We must persistently and creatively master the standards of socialist democracy and work methods under conditions of expanded glasnost. Restructuring opens the broadest possible opportunities for giving people experience in practical participation in social changes and in the implementation of the humanistic objectives of socialism.

Increased glasnost in the activities of MVD authorities enhances the reputation of the militia in the eyes of the working people. Last year managers and personnel of militia authorities submitted 266,000 reports at enterprises and to the population. However, these are merely the initial steps. Situations related to organized marches and demonstrations, meetings, debates dealing with the ecology, urban construction or others, in the interests of society, must be allowed on a sensible basis, in a considered and democratic manner, in the spirit of the time and in accordance with the law. Attention must also be paid to the activities on informal associations and groups, particularly in youth circles.

Life and renovation, which is revolutionary in its essence, make it mandatory, step by step, to advance toward the democratization of society and to acquire experience in the exercise and guarantee of constitutional political rights and freedoms. In order to settle in its details the mechanism of implementation of initiatives which appear in the exercise of such constitutional rights, work is currently under way on draft laws on glasnost and voluntary associations.

## II.

Perestroyka and democratization and the assertion of the principles of socialist justice have improved the moral and political climate in the country and have had a direct impact on the crime rate. It is entirely natural that it is precisely in the past 2 years that tangible positive changes have taken place in the dynamics, structure and nature of crime. A decline in the crime rate on such a level has not been noticed since 1967, from which year on the crime rate had been steadily growing.

Table 1 shows the dynamics of the crime rate for 1985-1987.

Table 1

	In Percent of Previous Year (+;-)		
	1985	1986	1987
Total crime	+2.6	-4.6	-9.5
Severe crime	-6.6	-15.5	-14.6
Murders	-8.7	-20.7	-1.2
Severe bodily harm	-13.5	-24.3	-2.9
Rape	-10.0	-4.7	-9.5
Murderous attacks	-8.0	-25.3	-0.3
Robberies	-11.7	-25.6	+2.1
Theft of state and public property	+2.0	-22.3	-10.2
Theft of private property	+7.7	-13.1	+1.9
Hooliganism	-5.5	-14.7	-19.6

As the data show, in 1986 and 1987 the total number of registered crimes declined. A reduction in the number of severe crimes was particularly significant, including murders and hooliganism. The number of cases of causing bodily harm, robberies and theft of state and public property declined.

The study of the nature of crime also indicates an increased share of less dangerous crimes for which the law stipulates a punishment not to exceed 1 year of deprivation of freedom, as well as an increase of so-called situational crimes, i.e., unpremeditated crimes, essentially resulting from alcohol abuse.

Changes in the state of crime are determined, above all and to a decisive extent, by general political and socio-moral factors and the atmosphere of exigency and strictness, truthfulness, glasnost and moral renovation, created by the party.

Nonetheless, the widespread nature of criminal manifestations and their gravity, danger and harmfulness are a cause of concern. Let us note that so far the organization of the work of MVD authorities and the efficiency of preventive, operative-investigative and corrective measures taken in the struggle against crime remain low. The professional standards of some personnel and their overall and legal standards are still below the required standards.

The crime level in a number of parts of the country remains high. Fluctuations in this area are quite substantial. For example, crimes average more than 1,000 in the Far East and Siberia and 250 in the Transcaucasus per 100,000 population. Republic, kray and oblast centers account for one third of all reported crimes and as many crimes are committed in rural areas.

Among criminals the percentage of individuals not engaged in any kind of work has somewhat declined. Group crime has dropped by 19 percent. However, the increased crime level among women is a matter of concern. Whereas 10 years ago women accounted for 12 percent of the overall number of committed crimes, the figure has now risen to 22 percent. Women account for nearly one half of all malfeasance crimes and crimes related to the economy; their percentage is even higher—60 percent—in cases of brewing moonshine.

Table 2 shows basic changes in the crime structure.

Table 2

	Share of the Overall Crime Structure		
	1967	1977	1987
1. Crimes against the individual (severe) of these:	4.9	6.3	3.3
premeditated murders	1.5	1.6	0.8
severe bodily harm	2.0	3.3	1.6
2. Mercenary crimes of these:	37.0	42.1	44.5
larcenies	21.9	25.2	29.7
thefts	5.7	5.0	5.4
robberies and plunders	3.3	4.3	3.1
black marketeering	1.9	1.9	2.4
3. Other crimes of these:	58.1	51.6	52.2
hooliganism	28.5	12.1	7.4
moonshine	3.7	1.3	6.5
traffic violations	5.1	7.8	6.5

These data indicate the widespread nature of larcenies. In 1987 three quarters of them (401,000) were related to thefts of personal property (including 136,000 apartment break-ins). There have been a number of larcenies committed in trade enterprises and pilfering of transported goods. Although last year such types of thefts declined, respectively, by 7 and 25 percent, the steps which were taken remain insufficient. That is why one of the main tasks of the militia is drastically to upgrade the efficiency of preventive-prophylactic steps in the struggle against pilfering, crimes of cupidity and unearned income as a whole.

The 27th CPSU Congress called for decisively applying the laws against bribe takers and money grubbers, who have taken a path alien to the labor nature of our system. The struggle against unearned income and of the second economy is assuming a tremendous socioeconomic and legal significance at the present stage. This includes the struggle against criminal attempts against the people's property and taking measure to ensure its thrifty and concerned utilization.

The number of crimes in the economic area has increased by 39 percent over the past 10 years. The amount of noncriminal losses increased as well during

that period. Shortfalls and losses of commodity-material values in the national economy have caused damages running into the billions of rubles. This greatly stimulates economic crimes and prevents their elimination. We must formulate a uniform methodology and a standard method for detecting, recording, analyzing and establishing control over losses in the national economy and, on this basis, establish a system of information on the losses and condition for the protection of socialist property as a whole and for each economic project individually. Together with the prosecutor's office and the people's control authorities, the MVD authorities have somewhat increased their struggle against theft, bribery and profiteering. In 1987 97,000 cases of pilfering, 7,800 cases of bribery and 43,000 cases of profiteering were detected. Cash, valuables and property of thieves, worth almost half a billion rubles, have been confiscated. However, a significant number of crimes committed for reasons of greed, although characterizing the activeness of the BKhSS service, nonetheless confirm the extremely low efficiency of its preventive work. The damage caused as a result of pilfering, shortfalls and irresponsibility has not been reduced.

The work done by the MVD authorities in protecting the economy from crime is still, figuratively speaking, one of periodical weeding rather than uprooting theft. Many groups of thieves operate on an average of up to 2 or more years until exposed. In 1986 a total of 12,600 facts of major and particularly major thefts were exposed; last year their number declined to 10,800 but the figures are declining too slowly.

The amount of losses and the value of stolen property have been increasing in the course of decades. The strictness of repression of crime actually missed the mark and one thief was replaced by another. In the period of stagnation not simply nests but an entire system of thievery, bribery, both horizontal and vertical, in a number of production, procurement, marketing and trade sectors developed.

In 1986-1987 1.6 million thieves taking property out of enterprises were apprehended. The pilfering of products at a number of meat combines in Samarkand, Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Vilnius and Gorkiy assumed a mass nature. At the Vladimir Meat Combine, employing 600 people, 500 of them were detained in 1986 for taking products out of the combine and one out of six of them, for repeated offenses. In Volgograd thieves were protected by nondepartmental guards and a number of former oblast UVD managers were guilty of accepting cash and goods. The criminals were exposed and sentenced with the help of the USSR MVD.

Without delving into the details of the reasons for economic crime, we can assert, however, that it is related also to the general situation of our economy in which the producer, the worker had become essentially alienated from state and cooperative ownership and lost his status as interested proprietor.

The struggle against petty theft does not as yet take into consideration its mass nature. Preventing and blocking such theft is being unsystematic and conducted through amateurish methods. That is precisely why a governmental resolution was passed on restructuring the system of nondepartmental guards by MVD authorities. Centralized control panels will be installed in all cities and many rayon centers in order to establish an integral system for the protection of economic projects.

Each labor collective must have a set of social, economic and educational-legal measures which should reliably prevent irresponsibility and waste. Extensive possibilities are offered by concluding contracts on collective (brigade) material responsibility.

The introduction of economic management instruments and broadening the rights of enterprises and updating economic legislation, despite their entire importance, will not in themselves uproot pilfering. Effective struggle against it is possible only by mastering new political and professional ways of thinking and making substantial changes in militia work. Above all, the MVD authorities need general economic training. It is of essential importance to develop comprehensive programs for the protection of socialist ownership and the struggle against unearned income, based on conditions prevailing in the specific areas. The implementation of such a program, developed on the initiative of the USSR MVD and the Amur CPSU Obkom proves that this form of joint efforts is quite efficient. Today such programs have been drafted in Altay Krai and other areas.

Restructuring the activities of the BKhSS service is of major importance in the course of the economic reform. This operative apparatus was set up within the militia more than 50 years ago, under the conditions of the administrative-arbitrary economic management methods. Today the situation is changing radically. In connection with the conversion of enterprises to cost-accounting and self-financing, the BKhSS work style, methods and structure cannot remain unchanged. Comprehensively, methods of economic-legal analysis are being applied. One can no longer rate the work of the BKhSS on the basis of quantitative (gross) indicators of exposed already committed cases of malfeasance and economic crimes. The problem of the struggle against economic crimes must be solved comprehensively, ensuring uniformity in the exposure and prevention of crime. Prevention must become the active leading function of the BKhSS: in the struggle against crimes of cupidity and unearned income, the efforts of the BKhSS, criminal investigation and other MVD services must be combined.

Substantial corrections are being introduced in the practice of our work with the laws on cooperative and individual labor activeness. In this case any excesses and efforts to interfere in the legitimate activities of citizens and cooperatives are as inadmissible as is even the

slightest weakening of the struggle against any encroachments on socialist property. Nonetheless, in a number of areas such excesses concerning individual and cooperative labor and market trade have been repeatedly noted. Here and there the militia has become involved in hasty and illegal prohibitions and restrictive actions. At the same time, we must firmly block within individual and cooperative activities manifestations related to extracting unearned income, violations of the laws and the commission of crimes.

We must take into consideration that cooperative activities are still being developed poorly. Meanwhile, millions of people are operating in the second economy and the area of services, who are not in hurry to legalize their work. Last year more than 38,000 people were held administratively liable for violating procedures governing individual labor activity; 18,000 people were prosecuted for engaging in prohibited industries and 10,000 for failure to declare income. Furthermore, criminal indictment charges were filed against 796 people.

The problem of the struggle against economic crime is difficult. That is why every member of the internal affairs authorities must clearly realize the nature of the tasks involved in protecting the economic interests of society and the state and the legitimate rights of the citizens. In the light of the strict requirements which the party has now set in the area of legal practices, the USSR MVD is assessing on a principle-minded basis procedural and other violations which have been committed previously in cases involving some economic, so-called victimless crimes, in which managers who, concerned with the interest of their work, had displayed initiative and socialist enterprise and taken justifiable production risks, were groundlessly charged. The purpose of perestroika is to give us in this and other areas of the struggle against crime clear guidelines based on concern for the dynamic development of society and the public interest.

The characteristic features of the dynamics and structure of crime should be taken more fully into consideration in the organization of educational and preventive work conducted by the state authorities and public organizations and, particularly, in streamlining the daily official activities of internal affairs authorities. Recently the system of informing party, soviet and economic authorities on such problems has been improved. It would be expedient to introduce regular reports submitted by MVD authorities to the soviets on problems of the condition of law and order and legality. We know that such reports were submitted in the past to the VTsIKh. At the same time, there is an urgent need to formulate a strategy for the struggle against crime for a relatively lengthy period, which could be reflected in a general state plan for comprehensive measures, covering a 10-15-year span.

Ensuring the inevitability of indictment is assigned a special role in the system for measures for crime prevention. V.I. Lenin emphasized that "...the preventive value

of punishment is determined by no means by its strictness but by its inevitability. What matters is not for a crime to entail a severe punishment but for no single crime to remain undetected" ("*Poln. Sobr. Soch.*" [Complete Collected Works], vol 4, p 412). The prompt and total exposure of a crime is the most important area of operative-service activities of the MVD authorities. The successful solution of this problem is determined by the efforts of all services. However, particular responsibility is assigned to the criminal investigation system and the BKhSS, the investigators and the crime experts.

Today 83 percent of crimes are detected, something which cannot be considered satisfactory. For example, the authors of one third of all house robberies remain undetected. The failure to apprehend those who commit severe crimes has triggered a sharp social response. Such was the case with the murders committed in Moscow, Rostov, Dnepropetrovsk and Tambov Oblasts. Many operative personnel, investigators and their superiors proved to be poorly trained for work under conditions of increased prosecutor's and judicial control and democratization of law enforcement activities.

Demands concerning the professional standards of criminal investigations, inquests and units on duty have become stricter. Subunits in charge of particularly important cases are being established centrally and locally. Criteria for evaluating crime investigations and exposures have been revised and a comprehensive program for their improvement has been developed on the basis of the application of progressive experience, scientific and technical achievements and automated retrieval-information systems. Cases of irresponsibility in reacting to reports of crimes are being assessed on a principle-minded basis.

The strengthening of legality in the work of the militia and the investigative systems is a dual process, the purpose of which is for no single innocent person be charged with administrative or criminal activities and for no criminal to escape responsibility and punishment. It is of essential importance for this process to take place without any kind of distortions in either direction.

### III.

The results of the struggle against drunkenness confirm the realistic nature of the task of uprooting this evil, set by the party. Crimes committed in a state of intoxication have declined by 40 percent over the past 3 years (although such crimes increased by 1.7 percent in 1987). The number of people prosecuted for violations of alcohol laws dropped by 4.8 million in 1986 (by one third) and by yet another million last year.

However, the CPSU Central Committee has noted that some positive results achieved in this work have triggered in the militia and among the public complacency and a decline in activities and aggressive efforts. The rate of drunkenness remains high. Suffice it to point out that

the health authorities and the militia have more than 4 million registered alcoholics. However, instead of engaging in extensive preventative work, in a number of areas the struggle against drunkenness is reduced to administrative-prohibition measures and fines. However, even fines are levied on no more than one out of seven delinquents. Legal steps are not backed by skillful preventative work with specific individuals. No more than 25 percent of data on violations of the law are submitted for consideration by the public.

Moonshine has become the most dangerous area of drunkenness and crimes committed for reasons of greed not only in the countryside but in the towns as well. More than half a million individuals were penalized for delinquencies related to this evil in 1987. The number of thefts of alcoholic beverages, alcohol and sugar has increased. In 1 year 10,000 cases of theft of alcohol-containing products, worth more than 9 million rubles, were detected. Major thefts were exposed in Azerbaijan, Moldavia and Uzbekistan and in Gorkiy Oblast. Cases of profiteering involving alcohol have not declined, for which reason nearly 34,000 people were prosecuted last year; 30,000 trade workers were punished for violating trade regulations.

The party line of waging an uncompromising struggle against drunkenness and moonshine remains unchanged. Nonetheless, today we must solve a number of important organizational problems as quickly as possible. For example, organizing help to drug addicts must be radically improved. Today the treatment-labor preventative authorities of the MVD are by no means able to accept for treatment all those who need it. Furthermore, the quality of such treatment remains low. Jointly with the USSR Ministry of Health, the MVD is drafting proposals aimed at improving their work. The procedure for assigning alcoholics to LTP will be made simpler and the number of places in such establishments will be increased. Treatment and production facilities will be strengthened. However, voluntary treatment in detoxification centers and departments of large enterprises would be much more effective.

A survey has indicated that the absolute majority of the population approves the use of stricter measures taken against alcohol abusers. Nonetheless, 80 percent of those surveyed have spoken out in favor of a more energetic use of measures of a socioeconomic, cultural-educational and treatment nature in the struggle against drunkenness: the creation of better working and living conditions, sensible recreation, improving the anti-alcohol upbringing of young people and active propaganda for a sober way of life. The letters received by the MVD also confirm the urgent need for streamlining the trade in alcoholic beverages in order to eliminate ugly waiting lines.

The problem of drug addiction remains equally pressing. At the present time there are 130,000 registered drug users, 52,000 of them confirmed drug addicts. Furthermore, 22,000 people addicted to toxic substances have

been identified. Addiction to drugs and toxic substances is primarily a youth problem; 62 percent of registered drug addicts are under 30; 12 percent are women and 77 percent of drug addicts have undergone a voluntary therapy course; one out of 12 has been cured.

The laws have increased administrative and criminal liability for some violations related to drug addiction, thus providing additional opportunities for its elimination. The planting and cultivation of opium poppy by citizens has been forbidden. In order to eliminate illegal sowing, harvesting and processing drug-containing raw materials, special militia subunits have been strengthened. As a result of the steps which were taken last year, 42 tons of drugs and narcotic raw substances were seized. One hundred thirty hectares of illegal plantings of opium poppies and more than 140 hectares of marijuana have been destroyed.

As agrotechnical and protective steps are being strengthened, the base for the traditional plant sources from which illegal raw drugs can be obtained must be steadily reduced. However, this requires persistent organizational steps. Although there will be no series of hemp-harvesting combines (the manufacturing of no more than 10,000 such combines is planned for 1988), and no more than 200-300 instead of 700 harvesters will be completed. This slows down the harvest and a great percentage of the crop remains in the fields. We must also take into consideration the cunning with which drug addicts react to steps which are being taken; toxic substitutes are being illegally developed. Negligence and lack of control in the medical and industrial areas are being put to use; that is precisely why the number of larcenies and thefts committed by drug addicts has increased.

The main shortcoming in struggle against drug addiction is the fact that the MVD authorities are still waging this struggle on a narrow-departmental basis, uncoordinated and without proper reliance on drug addiction experts and labor and training-pedagogical collectives and the public. The main factor for success is the concern which each family and each collective, however successful it may be, and society at large must display. A social evil, such as drug addiction, cannot be eliminated merely with the efforts of the militia or the health care authorities. It is clear today that this is a task facing the entire society.

#### IV.

Delinquency prevention has been assigned a priority role in the CPSU program and the party decisions on problems of strengthening law and order. This is the purpose of the system of political, ideological, economic, social and legal measures implemented under the guidance of the party committees and the soviets of people's deputies, the state authorities, public organizations and labor collectives. The task of the MVD authorities is to increase their efforts in all areas of their official activities

and to upgrade the efficiency of preventative measures. All internal affairs services, the sectorial militia inspectors above all, must include such preventative activities among their tasks.

Considering the particular social importance of preventative and educational-preventative work, it must be comprehensively planned and closely related to programs for territorial economic and social development. We cannot fail to take into consideration the fact that humanizing the principles of the policy of dealing with crime and strengthening the guarantees of the legality and rights of the individual narrow the realm of criminal punishment and upgrade the role of social influence and of labor collectives. In the past 2 years the share of people sentenced to deprivation of freedom already dropped substantially. This trend will continue as the new foundations for criminal legislation are being laid, and the volume of preventative activities will increase respectively. There is an urgent need to codify legislatively the state system for the prevention of antisocial phenomena within a Union-wide Law on the Prevention of Delinquency.

The role of the labor collectives in shaping a conscious attitude toward labor and the ideological and moral activeness of the Soviet people and ensuring the high level of organization and discipline is enhanced under the conditions of democratization. However, the opportunities of labor collectives are by no means used fully. A large number of legal violations are being committed by workers and employees in the agroprom, the petroleum, timber and timber-processing industries, transportation and trade. Crime in these sectors is higher than the average for the national economy by a factor of 1.2-2. So far, the public condemnation of delinquency is poorly applied in this area and no atmosphere of intolerance of it has been generated. In a number of areas no more than 50-60 percent of cases of hooliganism and drunkenness are submitted to labor collectives for discussion, while cases of poor upbringing of children in the family and immoral behavior are discussed even less frequently.

Nonetheless, in the view of the delinquents themselves the most efficient means is, precisely, the public discussion of antisocial actions at meetings of brigades, sections or shops. As we know, the CPSU Central Committee approved the system of collective moral and material responsibility for the condition of labor and social discipline applied at the Seversk Pipes Plant, Sverdlovsk Oblast. This movement has been developed among the labor collectives of Krasnoyarsk, and Kaluga, Kyubyshev and Chelyabinsk Oblasts and is yielding positive results. The experience of the Seversk people and their followers should become much more widespread.

The voluntary centers for maintaining order, the labor collective preventative councils, the voluntary people's units, the Society for the Struggle for Sobriety and other

social organizations have significant preventative possibilities. Unfortunately, the MVD authorities still frequently restrict their own activities within a narrow professional range and not always skillfully and, to a large extent, make only formal use for such purposes of the great opportunities of our democratic institutions. For example, the number of social order-maintaining centers has decreased substantially as a result of weakened interaction with voluntary groups. It hardly makes any sense to lose the positions gained in this area, particularly in the areas of daily life and recreation, which demand greater attention. The activeness of many people's units in Uzbekistan, the Komi ASSR and Vladimir, Kalinin and Tambov Oblasts have declined. As in the past, the lack of coordination remains the crucial problem in the preventative activities of social groups at work and in residential areas. Such coordination could be provided by the executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies which could instruct to this effect their socialist legality commissions.

One of the most important preventative tasks is that of preventing juvenile delinquency. We cannot remain indifferent to the fact that in the past 20 years juvenile delinquency has increased by a factor of 1.5 and that of adolescents has nearly doubled. Last year, minors alone committed 165,000 crimes, one third of them by PTU students, 28 percent by secondary school students and 20 percent by working adolescents.

Let us particularly single out among the reasons for this situation the question of the "problem" adolescent. This problem is not new. Although a great deal has been done in this respect, it continues to make itself felt. Every year more than 100,000 families whose influence on their children is extremely adverse are identified. One out of three juvenile delinquents is the offspring of a broken family. A great deal of irresponsibility and lack of understanding, pedagogical excesses, indifference or the desire to deal with "problem" adolescents by shifting responsibility for them to other collectives or departments are involved in the treatment of such cases.

A.S. Makarenko pointed out that "our family is not a closed collective... It is an organic part of Soviet society and any attempt to develop its own experience, regardless of the moral demands of society mandatorily leads to disproportion which may sound like an alarm signal" ("*Soch.*" [Works], vol 5, p 32). Such signals, however, are not frequently heard in secondary schools, PTUs, enterprises or even the militia. Teaching staffs and parent aktivs in schools may be familiar with no more than one out of five or six troubled families.

The militia inspectorates alone have files on nearly half a million children. As a whole, juvenile delinquency prevention has largely become a militia problem rather than one of specialized education. Even commissions in charge of minors of the local soviets, who consider more cases than people's courts by a factor of 3-4, have turned

primarily into punitive authorities rather than organizations which encourage proper upbringing. Frequently the adolescent finds himself in a difficult or simply tragic situation, is tried in court and sent to a colony. As a whole, administrative-criminal practices relied for a long period of time on instilling fear and increased penalties and the number of colonies increased. What was forgotten was Lenin's programmatic stipulation to the effect that a prison is not the best place to educate someone.

We realize our own serious shortfalls in the sum total of youth problems, in areas where educational work by the family, the school and the labor collectives meet. Ties between MVD authorities and schools and the public remain weak in the area of crime prevention. There is a great deal of formality and administrative distortions and violations of legality in the work of inspectorates, reception and assignment stations and guard units and sectorial inspectors. Correction and re-education in colonies have been organized unsatisfactorily.

Many social workers have dealt with "problem" adolescents. However, a great deal of formalism exists here as well. The problem, however, goes beyond that. According to MVD data, no less than 300,000 social educators, recruited among frontranking production workers, students in higher pedagogical and other educational institutions, athletes and members of creative associations should be additionally recruited to work with delinquents. Circles, sections and clubs should find a place for at least 150,000 juvenile delinquents who still remain outside organized forms of useful recreation. All of this proves the great importance of backing preventative efforts with economic, social and organizational steps.

The resolutions of the February Central Committee Plenum mandate the search for efficient ways of shaping a harmoniously developed personality, a person of high moral standings, a citizen and patriot. Ideological, moral, patriotic and internationalist upbringing are the most important components of this process. The legal training system should be considered equally important. Practical experience indicates that most juvenile crimes and delinquencies are related precisely to ignorance of the law and nihilism and moral and spiritual callousness. A good half of delinquents have never considered their acts as illegal.

All of this is no accident, for the organization of legal education and upbringing has fallen considerably behind present-day requirements and is frequently a set of uncoordinated steps taken by different departments. For example, schools and colleges allocate no more than 25-30 hours for the study of the foundations of legal knowledge. The VUZ course is equally scant. Furthermore, the quality of textbooks and legal publications and the size of their editions by no means meet demand. Law code books are in short supply even among law enforcement personnel.

Therefore, the time has come to formulate an efficiently planned system for developing awareness of the law, within a uniform comprehensive governmental program. It would be desirable to include in it the experience gained in the organization of party, political and economic training. The country's perestroyka indeed needs economic and universal legal training, as was noted in the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum resolution. V.I. Lenin wrote that "one must know the law....," one must learn "to fight for one's rights in accordance with all legal regulations... waging a war for one's rights" (op. cit., vol 50, p 266; vol 53, p 149).

The party's resolutions call for the further humanizing of penal policy. In the new political and moral atmosphere which is being established in the country, penal repressive measures and their extreme aspect, such as deprivation of freedom, must be used with greater restraint. The question of the expediency of the death penalty assumes essential significance. One of the weighty arguments in favor of abolishing it is the irreversibility of its consequences to the culprit. Yet judicial errors have taken place (and are not excluded in the future) in court practices, the correction of which, for understandable reasons, is impossible. Nor can we accept the prevailing view that real success in the struggle against crime can be achieved through the use of capital punishment. History confirms the opposite.

In this light, correction and re-education of felons assume important political and social significance, the more so since chronic negative phenomena may be noted in the activities of corrective labor institutions. Year after year the system applied in these institutions became increasingly more complex and cumbersome, distinguished by a variety of types of regimes and the random nature of the labor performed by the inmates. There have been many violations of the principles of justice and legality. There have been improper interpretations of the requirement of strictness and harshness of penal-educational measures.

The durability of recidivist crime is largely related to shortcomings in the work of these institutions. Former felons account for 20 percent of all crimes and one third of recidivists commit a new crime the first year after their release. Problems of the social adaptation of individuals who have served their penalty are being solved poorly. Yet the proper organization of their life and work is the most important prerequisite for their return to an honest life. In the past year, enterprises have unjustifiably refused to hire 11,000 people released from corrective labor colonies. One may assume that such refusals to hire will not diminish with the conversion of enterprises to self-financing and cost-accounting or the development of collective contracting methods.

Legislative and other steps aimed at improving the activities of ITU have been drafted with the participation of the USSR MVD, the purpose of which is to solve their main problem more efficiently, that of correcting

and re-educating felons, and returning them to honest labor and a normal way of life. The plan is to ensure full employment for the felons in productive types of labor and make better use of the educational factors of the regimen and of vocational and general educational training. The procedure of the treatment of recidivists will become stricter. Stricter requirements will also be formulated concerning the professional-legal, pedagogical and psychological training of ITU cadres.

The implementation of such measures should radically change the aspect of corrective-labor institutions and make the corrective process more efficient and humane. Naturally, corrective labor colonies will solve the problem of isolating malicious criminals. However, they should not be a place where human dignity is denigrated. Regardless of the severity of the crime and the restrictions imposed by virtue of the penalty, the inmate is a citizen of the USSR and a guarantee of the strictest possible legality and the full exercise of his rights is the prime obligation and professional duty of the personnel of corrective-labor institutions.

Restructuring the activities of MVD authorities is neither easy nor painless. The main criteria of the efficiency of our work today are to achieve a tangible change in specific areas and the desire and ability to work in a new style, based on the collective creative potential, scientific methods, progressive experience and the help of the people. Today the role of the scientists in scientific research institutes and ministry VUZs becomes greater.

The political authorities, the party and Komsomol organizations and internal affairs agencies are being entrusted with special responsibility for the skillful implementation of the tasks set by the party and the people. Together with the MVD leadership, they are systematically following a line of restructuring and improving their work style and methods, developing initiative and upgrading responsibility, efficiency and practicality, and creating an atmosphere of self-critical evaluation of achievements and a high and principled-minded exigency toward cadres. We have all the necessary prerequisites firmly to implement the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and make a worthy contribution to the processes of democratization and renovation of Soviet society and of strengthening socialist legality and law and order.

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**Who Will Evaluate Talent? Journalist's Notes**  
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[Article by Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Temchin, political  
journalist]

[Text] A great deal of difficult problems face our health care system! They deal with moral-ethical, economic, scientific, strictly technical, legal and organizational

matters. Many of them have been discussed in the publications of the problem group (see KOMMUNIST, No 1, 1988). This essay will deal with one specific clinic.

After looking at the x-ray photographs, the doctor shook her head:

"Why did you not come to us earlier? You must be urgently hospitalized. My advice to you is the following: look for a good clinic. The surgery will be difficult and," she stopped and thought a while, "go to the 1st Medical Institute, see Professor Pytel. The amenities there are not outstanding but the specialists are skilled."

She instructed me how to get there. A referral for consultation is needed. It can be issued by the rayon polyclinic. I would be examined by Pytel and, if urgent surgical intervention is necessary, I will be sent to a hospital. No one is refused in such matters. However, practical experience indicated that there would be problems. They indeed appeared, but not precisely where I expected them.

The point is that hospitals and clinics each have their own districts. Such a "territorial order" was established long ago. Without it chaos would develop in our health care system, for some hospitals would be besieged by crowds while beds would remain empty elsewhere. Such was the explanation that the lady surgeon gave me at the rayon polyclinic.

However, I had a counter-argument. Our legislation does not forbid a person to turn to a medical institution where the person hopes to obtain the best possible help. The surgeon, however, had a different viewpoint:

"This is demagogy. I shall simply not issue you a referral. And that is all! Go complain to the minister. For God's sake, go to our rayon hospital."

I was familiar with the rayon hospital. My mother had died there and I personally could not conceive of any worse medical institution.

"So, you do not like our hospital," sarcastically noted my interlocutor. "Actually, there have been thousands of people who have been given medical help there. By the way, why do you absolutely want to go to the 1st Medical Institute? Do you have a connection there?"

Any further discussion was senseless. I, however, decided to fight. A complex surgery is a rather risky matter to rely on luck or the procedure which someone had set. I went to the second floor, to the deputy chief physician in charge of treatment. No, naturally, there was no official ban on asking for a consultation wherever the patient would wish, no such prohibition exists. I was told on the second floor. However, there is an order of the rayon health department concerning territorial distribution.

"Try to understand us," the deputy chief physician kept arguing. "Investigators will come from that same rayon health department or else, almost immediately, members of the investigative authorities, and will ask why have you sent this and such to a clinic which does not serve your rayon?"

In short, this was another refusal. However... but if I were to see Pytel and start an inquiry, at some point this inquiry would have to take place...

I spent two hours waiting in the reception department of the clinic. I must admit I had never seen such a reception ward. It was located in a cubicle by the staircase. There, at the door behind which the consultant received the patients, there were a few worn-out chairs. There were some 20 people waiting in line, sufferers like me but they had referrals and I realized the hopelessness of my own situation. The conversations, however, made it clear that here the specialists were good and one should do everything possible to be treated by them.

My turn finally came. The registering nurse shrugged her shoulders: the clinic does not issue any requests and those who had sent me here ought to have known this.

"They knew this, everyone knows it!" she said, shaking her head. "Why are they making people waste their time? Go back and demand a referral!"

Nonetheless, I was given a referral after it was noted in the history of the disease that this had been done by request of the patient. In my understanding, this was in case they would be investigated and therefore "not become suspect."

Subsequently, everything in the clinic where Yuriy Antonovich Pytel worked, went smoothly. Several days later a polite voice on the telephone suggested to me to take my toothbrush, soap and other personal effects and come.

What a dump! This was an old building, built in the 19th century. The wards were crowded and there were no conveniences. Yet this was a urology ward, for the treatment of kidneys, gallbladders, glands... Such patients need, above all, normal hygienic conditions. One of the rooms in our ward had a sink. Others did not have even that. There was only one room with a bathtub for the entire clinic (100 patients). Occasionally puddles would form in the hall, from the old leaking pipes.

The physicians, however, were excellent. I realized this immediately. They were very knowledgeable, attentive and diligent. Our ward physician, Aleksandr Anatolevich Slavinskiy, was quite young. He had come from Kishinev and this was his first year as a resident under Professor Pytel. He was totally unaccustomed to his new status and to the local procedures. In Kishinev, the resident is somebody... All the necessary conditions for training are available. Here there are no conditions but only strict demands. "I do not know whether I would be

able to endure this?" He lived in a poor hostel as comfortable as the clinic and the only time he could study was evenings, in the institute's library.

I liked this young doctor. He was very thorough and thoughtful and, furthermore, very patient which, under our circumstances, was not easy. An obnoxious old man was in our room, finding fault with everything: he did not like the physicians, the nurses were slovenly, the chief of the ward was careless and the professor himself he did not like, since he had not examined him even once. Such type of people do exist, angry at one and all and our Slavinskiy caught it as well. We, the other patients, unanimously criticized the grumbler. Why did he choose this precise clinic? His only answer was that the other clinics were even worse. He had already had surgery in a hospital and it had been unsuccessful. He had come here so that other people's errors could be corrected. Once out of the hospital, he intended to write to the proper authorities about the scandals here and let them then try to justify themselves. Generally speaking, everything related to our health care system should be restructured. This was one thing with which we agreed.

The ward was headed by Teymuraz Davidovich Datuashvili, candidate of medical sciences. He was a veteran of the clinic. He came to work under Professor Pytel as a surgeon in 1972. He was a very experienced surgeon.

Professor Pytel himself occasionally came to visit us. People were shy and mumbling in his presence. He, however, demanded clear answers. His voice thundered in such a way that the entire hall was aware of his presence. He would rush like a storm into the ward, leading with his chin, with a white tail behind him of docents, assistants, residents, post-graduate students and nurses. They were all tense and worried. I subsequently found out why. Apparently, the professor comes to the clinic 1 hour or one and half hours earlier than anyone else. By 8:00 he had already gone over the trouble spots, he had talked with the interns on duty and was perfectly informed of any error...

He would come to see us when something went wrong, when standards were violated. He did not examine me a single time. Obviously, Dr. Slavinskiy and the head of the ward, Datuashvili, had done everything properly. However, one week passed and he summoned me to his office.

"Do not be offended but our situation with beds is difficult. It is a question of waiting in turn," he said, stroking his beard and, as it seemed to me, somewhat embarrassed. "It makes no sense to operate on you. We have taken care of the aggravated condition and a conservative treatment would be better provided at home, under normal daily conditions. We shall try a drug and give you pills, providing, naturally, that you agree.

Try and then we shall see. It may be possible to avoid surgery or, at worst, to postpone it for as long as possible. Such things should not be done in a hurry."

It is thus that I left the clinic. However, I left with the firm intention of delving into its life more profoundly.

Ever since I was discharged my situation became quite enviable. With an editorial assignment in my pocket, I was able to go anywhere I wanted and talk to any member of the personnel. Everyone was very polite and willingly answered questions and showed me whatever I wanted to see. I brought from home a change of shoes and I was given a white smock. I went to the clinic as though going to work. Pytel took me along in his rounds, I attended conferences and was present at short consultations he gave. I am pleased with the democratic nature of relations here. Anyone can enter the office of the professor at any time: "Chief, could you take a look at a patient." He would stand up immediately, unless there was something more urgent: "Let's go!" He would be frequently visited by entire groups. Here is one of them. A young staff physician switches on the x-ray film viewer and the picture of someone's kidneys come up on the screen.

"Well, well, what have we here?" Pytel concentrates on the screen. His eyes look sharply, shining like two scalpels.

The senior, the leader of the group, begins his slow explanation.

"Do not dawdle!" Pytel orders. "I can see the stone myself! But what kind of stone? Think! Think!"

Someone uses a latin term.

"You are getting warm," the professor encourages him. "Sooo, secondary stone, is it? What should be done about it?"

This is followed again by medical terminology. The professor listens, grins to himself, agrees while his eyes remain piercing, sharp.

"Listen, children, did you think of this?" followed by a new portion of medical terminology.

"Chief," the senior says, clearly embarrassed. "I withdraw my question. Indeed, we did not think it through..."

"So," Pytel notes, "you do not wish to think! You are dealing here with a living person, with a sick person who has entrusted you with his life!" There is a snarl in his voice. "Back to work! And remember, one should always look not for the consequence but the reason."

After they had left, he starts laughing: "Smart rogues! They would have figured it out by themselves but pretended to come for advice, for the sake of reassurance."

The first group has barely left when another comes in. Once again someone's kidney lights up on the screen. This time, however, it is not a stone but something worse. My understanding is that someone does not dare to operate, claiming that it is too late. Pytel answers sharply:

"If even a single chance to save the patient exists we must operate." Everyone falls silent, and he goes on: "The surgeon, however, must be emotionally prepared for surgery. If he is not ready, he must be honest about it. A surgeon must run in his mind through all possible alternatives, otherwise he has no right to approach the operating table!" He suddenly explodes, almost shouting: "Here, let me perform the operation myself! Let me show this crybaby how it is done!"

"No, chief, I will do it," the leader of the group calmly answers, his gray eyes staring coldly at Pytel.

"Very well, Yura. You should be able to manage..."

I attend so-called conferences. Surgery days at the clinic are Monday through Friday. Those days, at 8:30 AM, everyone gathers in the small assembly hall. Physicians on record "report" the patients who have been prepared for surgery. Pytel sits behind a long table, facing the hall. Behind him is a blackboard and a screen, and on the side, the screen for x-ray pictures. All that happens here is roughly as in his office, with the only difference that the entire group participates in the discussion of the planned surgery tactics and everyone is free to ask the speaker questions. The atmosphere in the hall is quite critical. "Why have you chosen this precise tactic?" someone may ask. The professor nods with satisfaction: "Indeed, why? What are its advantages? Explain!"

On several occasions I witnessed the "dumping" of the speaker. Everything begins with someone asking a question, and then comes the follow-up... And, finally, Pytel passes the sentence:

"You are not ready for surgery. You have planned it poorly and, technically speaking, intend to carry it out on the lowest possible level. The lowest possible!"

This is a public failure not only for the speaker but for the entire ward, for it is the entire ward that discusses each such case before going to the conference. Such is the procedure.

My conclusion, after having seen a number of groups, was the following: whether a collective works well or poorly depends, if not 100 percent at least close to it, on

the personality of the leader. Alas, formal and informal leadership are rarely combined within a single person, in the personality of the head of the group.

A young staff physician told me at one point:

"Everything here originates from the chief. It is he who keeps the clinic going."

"Why he alone? You have excellent surgeons here, such as Aslamazov, Alyayev or Kazimirov. Is the prestige of your establishment not supported by them? The chief too is a very fine surgeon but in recent years he has done less surgery."

"You have not understood the main point," my interlocutor frowned. "Today he does not have to operate. What matters is his presence, his head. Did you read Granin's *"Bison?"* The chief is our bison."

Later, someone else, a universally acknowledged skeptic, said:

"To me communicating with the chief is a great source of joy. I left this clinic but came back. This is my third clinic and I am able to make comparisons. The chief is a profoundly decent man and has a powerful mind."

I have had the opportunity to write on the development of scientific schools. This is always related to a major personality, to a leader. It is he who formulates a new idea which finds supporters who try to develop it through their research and practical results. I asked Teymuraz Davidovich Datuashvili whether, in his view, Professor Pytel had developed a school. He nodded: yes, naturally. He asked to be given a day to consider the matter and be able to formulate its nature more accurately. On the next day, when we met, he said: "Please take down my thoughts." I wrote: "Pytel has created an institution of relations within a collective and attitude toward patients. He is teaching us the quality of mercy and profound thinking. These are the main features of his school."

That same day, Aleksandr Anatolevich Slavinskiy added: "He teaches us how to think broadly. He is pleased when someone is able to refute any actually accepted dogma and find his original way of solving a problem. Few people can master the type of surgery done here... In that sense, this clinic meets the highest world standards..." This is true. The clinic has been able not only to develop new methods of functional diagnosis but also to solve many problems of pathogenesis of pyelonephritis and to develop essentially new treatment methods and use them extensively in practical work.

Today we frequently think of the restoration of social justice and the fact that the time has come to put an end to equalization in all its possible aspects and in all areas, and that man should be rewarded in accordance with the social usefulness of his toil. In short, it is a question of

setting priorities. In this connection, let us consider the following: Here is a clinic headed by Professor Pytel. Not only Muscovites but patients from other parts of the country try to come to it, surmounting in the course of their efforts a great deal of difficulties and ignoring the uncomfortable conditions. They hope that the help they will receive here will be more skilled than wherever they live and where they should go for treatment. However, in a number of cases the institutions which are avoided by the patients are frequently more comfortable and equipped equally well and have their own docents, professors and assistants.

In our country health care is free. The state finances the building and equipping of all medical institutions without favoritism. A great deal depends on the spirit of enterprise and the social status of the leadership: some are able to extract money and equipment while others cannot. Other variants have existed in the past: the successful treatment of a highly placed patient led to the building of hospitals and clinics excellently equipped for their time. Today as well they remain active and useful.

I recently visited a friend in a Moscow hospital, recovering from a car accident. That hospital has been headed, at different times, by outstanding persons, heads of schools and of new trends. The hospital is ancient, consisting of low and long buildings, like barracks, with a level of comfort and equipment similar to that of Pytel's clinic. Then, among them, a modern, multiple-storied stylish building arose, made of concrete and marble, bricks and plastic materials. Both the building and the fact that it was equipped with the latest facilities, a great deal of them purchased with foreign currency, cost a great deal. This hospital is functioning and, to a certain extent, is useful. The question is that of the efficiency of its work.

I heard a great deal in this new building about its lack of order, the low skill of the medical personnel, and the lack of attention to the patients. My friend was brought in on a Friday and it was only on the following Tuesday that he was eventually seen by the ward chief. For 4 days this man lay on a hospital bed with an undetermined diagnosis and without treatment. Could such a thing happen in Pytel's clinic?

It is an old truth that it is people who make their surroundings and not vice versa. This truth should not be forgotten particularly now, when we have decided radically to restructure our health care system. Reading a variety of documents which describe what will be built and where and how much of the people's money must be invested, one feels both satisfaction and concern. In whose hands will all of this end? The essence in solving the problem is not to build and spend a great deal but to build less and spend less but with the greatest possible benefits. In this connection I question quite seriously the claim by Ye.I. Chazov, the minister of public health, to the effect that we have many talented people in our country who can head major medical institutions and

manage matters as well as our noted ophthalmologist Dr. Svyatoslav Nikolayevich Fedorov, who is general director of the Eye Microsurgery MNTK.

If such were to be the case, all would be well. Nonetheless, we have only one Fedorov and only one Dr. G.A. Ilizarov, in Kurgan. They have both developed their own trends in medicine and their own schools and trained students. The funds invested by the state in building and equipping their clinics and the branches of these clinics following their methods are funds which, naturally, are being used most efficiently. Yet how many new modern medical projects have been built in recent years, which cost millions, without either scientific schools or trends?

The structure of scientific and technical progress is assembled of individual blocks, each one of which is an invention or a discovery. Medicine is no exception. New methods, new instruments and equipment and a new understanding of the reasons for diseases and their consequences are all the result of the creative efforts of movers, of talented people. Fedorov and Ilizarov are outstanding inventors. Several years ago the State Committee for Inventions began to set up a gallery of portraits of those awarded the high and so far rare title of "Honored Inventor of the USSR" by ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. S.N. Fedorov and G.A. Ilizarov were among the first. These are only two of thousands of medical workers.

Dozens of inventions have been made in Pytel's clinic as well. This is the initial feature of the creative activeness of the collective.

I have not visited G.A. Ilizarov's clinic but have seen the one headed by S.N. Fedorov. The building is both beautiful and comfortable. Next to it is a plant which will produce instruments. A hotel complex for incoming patients will be built here. This is a noteworthy and justified project. However, we know how painful and difficult was Dr. Fedorov's progress toward this present splendor. He went through the motions, he was able to achieve this in the course of a desperate and fierce struggle against opponents and indifferent people who, alas, to this day live quite well. He was unable to defeat them. All he was able to do was beat them off. He is a fighter and a builder, talented and fearless.

But what about Pytel? In his clinic he thunders and is irrepressible but outside of it he is listened to and seen only by those who have an interest in him. Outside he speaks quietly and does not know how to fight. I do not know, perhaps people such as Yu.A. Pytel were the type of people the minister had in mind when he spoke of the many talented people in health care. However, such people must be first found, seen and heard... Does talent always have to act as a boxer in the ring?

Actually, we have finally started to put our house in order and are trying to reward everyone according to his merits, according to his deeds. For the time being, being

popular with patients is bringing the same type of difficulties to Fedorov's and Pytel's clinics. They are, as the saying goes, constantly in the public eye. They are being endlessly investigated: have they been bribed to operate on someone, or have they accepted a patient through some kind of pull? It is possible that grounds may exist for such suspicions. Many people work in the clinics and it is impossible to watch everyone.

Professor Pytel is cautious when accepting out-of-town people, even with a ministerial reference. However, once in a while this does happen. During a period of calm he told me:

"In the final account, what business is it of mine where the sick kidney comes from, whether it is from Tbilisi or Vologda?"

At other times the speech changes:

"The hell with it! There was yet another investigation of what percentage of out-of-towners have come here, how they came to us, and from what republics mainly..."

Places which patients try to avoid do not suffer from such unpleasantness.

But let us consider the situation from another aspect. It is perfect when your output is in tremendous demand and people are willing to pay anything to get it. That means that deserves it and, therefore, it should be promoted. That is precisely the way we address Fedorov's and Ilizarov's cases. Initially they were subsidized by the state only. Now both clinics earn their own foreign currency and do a great deal with it in their development. Meanwhile, Pytel's clinic does not earn foreign exchange. It does not, although here there are excellent masters who perform most delicate and difficult surgery using their own methods with which world medicine is familiar. But what foreign "prince of the blood" would agree to lie down in a bed with a "luxury" consisting of a sink? From time to time Pytel himself seeks such "princes" and consults their physicians. Had he had suites and proper equipment, people would have been running from abroad to his clinic, for which both the state and the clinic would earn good money and a project the value of which has been universally recognized, would develop faster. As things stand now... in all respects Pytel's clinic is being supported by the state like any other clinic, ignoring both talent and credits. Meanwhile, investigations are frequent.

In this connection, it would be far more sensible, as we are beginning to reorganize the health care system, to think seriously about the allocation of priorities. We have collectives which have earned a splendid reputation, as well as indifferent ones, which have shown no distinction whatsoever. Let us avoid egalitarianism here as well. Let some be such as to develop and improve and let others keep on living as they have in the past, if that

is the type of life they prefer. Actually, they as well should not be left in peace as in the past... However, priority should go to the best.

On one occasion I visited the cubicle of docent Yuriy Gennadiyevich Alyayev for a talk. This normally smart-looking and energetic person did not look well. Clearly, something was bothering him.

"I have a big day tomorrow. A very difficult surgery. We shall be saving a kidney. How to do it?..." He showed me the x-ray photograph. A huge cancerous growth covered the virtually entire kidney.

The following day, slightly before 8:00 AM, he went into surgery. I saw him later. This was no longer the same Alyayev but someone entirely different, a rather elderly and weak person, uptight, his tie askew, blabbering tiredly as he waved his arms. What had happened was that he had been trying to correct an error made by a colleague from another clinic who, 2 years previously, had made a wrong diagnosis of the disease and then had operated by no means successfully.

"I did everything possible to save that kidney," he said sadly. "Now everything will depend on the body."

This was one of the most unique types of surgery made by Alyayev, as I was told later. I thought of the same type of surgeons working in the clinic, people such as Eduard Gurgenovitch Aslamazov, a superb master in gallbladder surgeries, or Viktor Grigorevitch Kazimirov, a master of reconstructive surgery. These were members of that old guard, repeatedly tested, headed by Professor Pytel. The youngest of them was Yuriy Gennadiyevich Alyayev. He is 45. He was the first post-graduate student trained by Professor Pytel to defend a dissertation. A younger generation works at the clinic as well, 30-year olds, who are considered very hopeful and who are the next generation to grow up and strengthen. People are different. T.D. Datuashvili told me that A.A. Slavinskiy shows a promise to become a very good physician: "His examinations are very thorough and thoughtful." Yu.G. Alyayev said of another post-graduate: "He is not one of ours. I saw him once walk by a nurse who was trying to put a patient on a gurney. Any one of us would not have hesitated to help her. I went and helped."

However, I also saw that same Slavinskiy confused and depressed after a discussion with Datuashvili on some kind of error made in the history of the disease. It was minor, as I understood it, but had been noted by the ward chief and elevated to the rank of inadmissible.

"Demands are extremely strict here," sadly said Slavinskiy. "I was lucky, however, to be part of this school. It is only now that I understand how lucky I was..."

Today he is in the ward headed by Alyayev. The procedure here is that a post-graduate student must spend some time working in all wards.

Of late some categories of health care workers have had wage increases. Unquestionably, compared with the problems which medical workers must solve, wages are not high. Naturally, they must be raised. However, is everyone deserving of such raises? The intention is to control wages through certifications. This is due to a number of reasons but also there is an equal number of doubts. Whatever they may be saying, on the one hand certification is a formal affair; on the other, it is frequently subjective, as indicated by abundant examples. I am convinced that both Alyayev and the docent who had messed up a sick kidney and whose defective work was being corrected by Alyayev would go through such certification with equal success and would receive identical salaries. That docent, as I found out, is doing quite decent work according to the standards of his clinic. Does that mean that they are equally skilled surgeons?

At one point Yuriy Antonovich Pytel said that he had personally observed the very sad process of the "moral corruption of surgeons." Why, what was the reason? The point was that it was simpler and safer to remove a growth on a finger than on a kidney or a gallbladder. There was no incentive to progress from simple to more difficult other than the desire to improve oneself in one's chosen profession. However, would everyone adopt such a selfless incentive? Many are those who do not strive to achieve anything, claiming that a moral compensation is by no means consistent with the risk and invested effort, both of which are inevitable in complex surgeries. Such people prefer tranquil positions handling instruments and apparatus in diagnostic offices. However, this is not a matter of a cowardly "sober thinking" alone. It is simply that not everyone can plunge his hands in blood, covered with cold sweat, seeing how life may ebb out on the operating table, trying to save it, developing the worst possible stress from which it takes a long time to recover. However, the wages of those who are doing the surgery and those who sit behind diagnostic equipment are based on position and scientific degree. Furthermore, it is easier, when handling instruments, to gather statistics for future articles, dissertations, and so on. Without belittling in any way the importance of diagnostic work, without which treatment is impossible, the work of a surgeon, nonetheless, is of a different nature.

Value criteria of medical work different from our country may be found in the rest of the world. It is not a question that in the West the patient must pay for everything and pay a great deal. I am discussing something else. Everything in the West has its price: the price of opening an abscess on a finger is different from that of removing an appendix, removing a growth from a kidney or having a sick tooth filled. Hospital stay as well has its separate price for each case. Let us consider also the very principle governing such an evaluation of medical work, which is based on difficulty, quality and final results. No, it is not the patient who must pay for all this for, as has been the case for the past 70 years, it is the state that pays. However, it should pay more for difficult work and less for simpler work.

In the past the wages of scientific associates were raised. Did the state benefit? Today we openly say that a great deal of waste has accumulated in science and there are entire institutes yielding few results. In medicine as well there is a great deal of what, in all justification, should be properly graded. Certification in this case is a poor assistant.

A piece-rate worker also undergoes some kind of certification: he is assigned a grade. However, it is not the grade alone which determines his earnings. There also are rates per type of job, based on its complexity and other factors. The earnings of a turner or a pastry chef are directly related to the results of his specific work and he too must pay for faulty products. Why not adopt this same principle in the restructuring of health care? It would be totally unsuitable for brilliant surgeons such as Alyayev and Aslamazov to continue to earn for their art as much as less gifted colleagues who have earned the same degree or title. What distinguishes them is a "petty" matter: people try to be treated by some, avoiding others, trusting some and mistrusting others. The social evaluation of the labor of either is clear. What about the rating of the state? Incidentally, V.G. Kazimirov, who is also one of the best surgeons in Pytel's clinic, cannot be certified as a surgeon at all according to the current regulations, for his position is that of senior scientific associate. Yet it is this same person who has saved hundreds of lives...

I am attracted to the old house on Pirogovka. I go there and each time look at another building, a huge structure which, several years ago, was scheduled for repairs and is still empty. It is right next door to the clinic. Several years ago one of the departments of the 1st Medical Institute, together with its clinic, abandoned it in favor of a new comfortable premise. I asked Pytel why not ask to be transferred to this now-empty building. This would make possible also the creation of both a diagnostic and a prophylactic center, of which he dreams. The patients would be seen by his associates, would be kept under observation and, if necessary, would be hospitalized in their clinic. This would be both sensible and inexpensive and would shorten the time of in-hospital treatment. There is no reason for occupying an expensive and scarce hospital bed while one is subject to a variety of tests and diagnoses, thus repeating the work already done by the rayon hospital or polyclinic.

"Why not submit a request for all of these reasons?" I insisted. "Look at how useful it would be!"

"What is the matter with you!" the professor said, waving his arms. "Who would give it to us?"

Actually, I thought, it would given by those who display initiative and would tell the respected professor, who developed his own scientific school: "You deserve all kinds of priorities and now we shall give you this building. We shall complete its repairs faster, we shall do everything the way you want it, and you can work there

to your heart's desire." It may seem difficult not to reach such a simple truth indicated by common sense. However, the institute's leadership and the ministry remain silent, although the time should have already come for the assertion of elementary truths, without any struggle or many months of arguments.

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### **Economic Theory and Practice of Perestroyka; Reactions and Views**

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[Text] V. Mau and I. Starodubrovskaya, candidates of economic sciences:

The concept of the free and comprehensive development of the individual as a prerequisite for the harmonious development of the association of working people and the indivisibility of social justice and freedom of the individual is an inseparable component of the Marxist-Leninist projection of a socialist society. This concept is so universally used that we frequently forget the fact that these ideas were shaped and asserted themselves in the struggle against gross egalitarian, barracks-type models of the future society, in which equality was interpreted as equal needs, economic incentives were replaced by detailed regulation and control over the activities of the individual in the areas of production, consumption and personal life; economic coercion was actually replaced by administrative one. The ideal of happiness was imposed from above, for which reason it had a superficial value to the members of society. A strict division was preserved between managers (the most intelligent, most fair and knowledgeable as to what was needed for universal happiness) and managed, whose main obligation was to implement decisions formulated "from above." This perpetuated the hierarchical management system. The interests of the individual were suppressed and equalized for the sake of the superior objectives of the association. Essentially the alienation of the working people from the means of production and, in the final account, from the implementation of the social process were retained and reproduced. The coarse equalizing model cannot be reduced to "equalization" in distribution but covers all stages in the reproduction process and the entire socio-economic life of society. The concept on which human freedom is based was conceived as communism being equal to real humanism which eliminates all forms of alienation. These two opposites, between which socialist thinking fluctuated, were described as early as the 1920s as "Babeuf's socialism" and "Fourier's socialism."

In our country, "Babeuf's socialism" had a noticeable deforming influence on the theory and practice of building socialism. Whereas the leading segment of the working class, headed by the Bolshevik Party, was the bearer

of a systematic Marxist ideology, primitive egalitarian aspirations, which contained within themselves the ideal of coarse-equalizing communism, were widespread among the peasant masses.

The need for a drastic restructuring of national economic proportions and the low level of the vocational and general educational training of the bulk of the population stimulated the concentration of the overwhelming portion of resources into the hands of the "center," and decisionmaking on most problems on the upper echelons of management. Under those circumstances the state began to be conceived as the only subject of production relations. The interests of all participants in economic life seemed to dissolve in the national economic interest and were reduced to and limited by it; the national economic interest itself turned out inseparable from the interest of the administrative apparatus. The fetishizing role of the state led to the theoretical justification of the gap between the interests of the managers and those of the managed, legalizing the bureaucratic management system. The basic features of the state-bureaucratic economic management system, such as a hierarchical management structure, administrative methods for influencing the economy etc., were interpreted as the inseparable features of the communist production method, even at a stage at which the state withers away, and were related to the nature of direct social relations.

The prevalence of vulgar concepts of socialism in science predetermined the vulgar metaphysical approach to the study of reality. Since the egalitarian ideal was based on the low level of development of production forces, it was actually turned toward the past rather than the future and any development invariably led to its undermining. It is no accident that the coarse-equalization models did not stipulate any kind of progress; life followed a system established once and for all. Despite the formal support of the dialectical method, the works of many social scientists reproduced that same logic based on the prevalence of the static as compared to the dynamic approach and a defense of reality as compared to critical analysis.

It is not astounding that under these circumstances the strengthening of planning was related not to any strengthening of the deliberate management of the dynamics of public production but the expansion of the realm of action of specific targeted planned assignments; the increased level of maturity of ownership by the whole people was not related to the process of converting the working people into the true owners of the production process but to the correlation among state, cooperative and individual ownership.

Practice, as a criterion of truth and a source of knowledge, was identified with the totality of existing specific forms, the defense of which replaced the study of the actual economic development trend. Thus, gross empiricism turned out to be the opposite of scholastic theorizing. Political economy combined within itself primitive objectivism in the assessment of the economic situation

(absolutizing everything extant as the simple consequence of objective economic laws) with a justification of the full freedom of action for any arbitrary moves (each economic decision made by the central authorities is a consequence of their consideration of the objective requirements of social progress).

Since the most abstract postulates reflected neither the essence nor the actual dialectics of the dynamics of production relations, it was the most conservative views in economic management that were given the most "fundamental" political-economic substantiation. In as much as any shortcoming was acknowledged in this area, it was related to the subjective features of individual economic managers, the limited nature of technical possibilities in the organization of planned computations and the imperfection of applied indicators. Correspondingly, the strengthening of planning was reduced to steps involving legal and educational influence, the replacement of some indicators with other and the development of the technical foundation for planning. Particularly harmful were concepts on the priority of physical over value indicators or mandatory assignments compared to indirect control methods, considered as indicating the advantage of direct social relations under socialism as compared to commodity-monetary relations. Suggestions aimed at abandoning the assessment of enterprise activities aimed at observing mandatory planned assignments were equated to efforts to undermine the principles of planning.

A different understanding of socialist political economy could appear only on the basis of a new understanding of practical experience, not as the sum total of forms but as an interaction among a variety of economic interests. For a long time the embryos of the new approach to economic theory took shape in works dealing with the economic mechanism outside the initial framework of political economy and in opposition to it.

The supporters of this trend proceeded in their views from the fact that in order to achieve social objectives a coordination is needed among the actually existing economic interests. Unlike the concept of the primacy of direct administrative control over the activities of economic subjects, they formulated the idea that "that which is good for society should be advantageous to the enterprise and the individual worker." The enterprises should be interested not simply in implementing planned assignments but also independently formulating stressed plans which would ensure the satisfaction of actual needs. Improving the management system, in their views, was related to abandoning any assessment of enterprise work "for the sake of the plan," replaced with a development of indirect control methods and upgrading the role of labor collectives in economic activities.

The new approach to the study of economic processes was clearly manifested for the first time in the debate between "commodity supporters" and "anticommodity supporters." The real struggle here was not merely

related to problems of commodity production but the matter of understanding the very essence of socialism, the perception of one model or another of the communist ideal stemming from the logic of the positions held.

Today socialist political economy cannot meet the demands formulated by reality without eliminating recurrences of gross egalitarian views on socialism and without turning to man and studying the conditions governing the all-round development of the free individual.

**A. Buzgalin and A. Kolganov**, candidates of economic sciences:

Starting with the 1960s, many economists undertook a detailed study of problems of development of the economic autonomy of enterprises on the basis of the utilization of commodity production laws. A concept of external economic conditions was formulated as well: the rejection of command-decree methods of plant management, conversion to wholesale trade in means of production, orientation of price-setting toward market balancing, strengthening the economic role of actual monetary circulation, etc. However, the problem of changing the methods of centralized planned management remains a "blank spot." It was conceived in rather abstract terms: a conversion from administrative to economic management methods, and reducing the prerogatives of central and sectorial economic management authorities.

The point, in our view, is that the covert prejudice to the effect that all problems are reduced, in the final account, to broadening the economic autonomy of enterprises and restricting the functions of superior management authorities, dominated among economic circles which had made the greatest contribution to the formulation of the theoretical foundations of the economic reform.

This approach is explainable, for the foundations of the critical trends in the national economy as well as the reason for the failure of the economic reform of the mid-1960s indeed represent the bureaucratic ossification of the centralized management mechanism and its conversion into a mechanism obstructing socioeconomic development. It seemed natural to crush, to reject or, in any case, substantially to limit the possibilities of this mechanism for the road to increased economic efficiency to open.

The new concept of centralism is the as yet unpaid due to economic theory. We believe that it can be developed only by creatively reinterpreting a number of essential concepts of socialist political economy.

A great deal has been said and written about the general communist principles of socialism. However, whereas the "anticommodity people" sometimes unwittingly erred in their aspiration to identify general communist principles with the existing forms of organization of the

socialist economy, the origin of which can be traced to the specific conditions of the 1930s, their opponents, concentrating their critical emphasis on deformations within the economic socialist system, questioned the communist nature of the socialist phase as well. In recent years many economists refused to discuss general communist problems. They considered them either as obsolete dogma or as an accurate but abstract idea, far removed from the current economic realities of socialism.

Efforts to suggest that they could be used in the practice of centralized management and that democratic centralism, for instance, means not democracy alongside with centralism, as a supplement to socialism or as its substitution, but that centralized management itself would have a democratic nature were not even criticized but answered simply with an ironical smile. An identical reaction appeared also in mentioning self-management on the national economic level, despite the fact that without this prerequisite ownership by the whole people is simply a formal screen. Without the acknowledgment and the study of national economic self-government, in economics the concepts of full cost accounting remains one of the preservation of bureaucratic arbitrariness, albeit limited. It is very important to lay centralism on a new economic base which would protect it from bureaucratic distortion.

Enhancing self-government to the level of centralized planned management requires a drastic expansion of democratic principles in the activities of the superior state authorities, for it is they that are also the superior economic management powers. Electiveness, organized in such a way that the working people would have a choice in selecting senior economic managers and replaceability are the simplest steps of such democratization. Full control from below would be their supplement. The possibilities of public organizations closely related to economic activities such as, for example, trade and consumer unions, could be substantially broadened. The trade unions could participate more actively in controlling employment, dealing with problems of planning the distribution of manpower (which entails the pursuit of a corresponding policy in the development of the social area), the establishment of a permanent system for cadre training and retraining and ensuring their structural dynamics, professional and territorial mobility and so on. The consumer cooperative could play a significant role. Some of its units (such as house-building cooperatives) are virtually rightless when facing producers. The conversion of the consumer cooperative into a large wholesale customer of consumer goods, which would be expediently distributed precisely through it, and the creation, to this effect, of cooperative unions on a national scale, and the growth of their economic and legal authority would enable the system of soviets to rely on a mass aktiv which could competently formulate and defend the interests of the working people as consumers and, together with the trade unions, of workers as well.

The main link in the true democratization of centralism is conversion from "planned development" to "planned deals" (arguments concerning ceilings, orders, standards) and to a "planning dialogue," based on the joint formulation of plan-orders and standards, democratically made decisions, mandatory for the "upper" and "lower" strata. The purposes of the plan, the public formulation of which could precede the actual drafting, would be concretized in a number of target programs which, in turn, would be converted into a system of state orders and indirect regulatory instruments. In order to ensure the democratic decisionmaking procedure at each of these stages, discussions, referenda and public expanded fora could be held and a procedure developed for the public defense of plans.

No socialism is possible without essentially new decisions based on a realistic view on the type of real communism without which socialism stops being socialism and we would risk, albeit despite our best wishes, to remain locked within the task of making our economy almost as efficient as that of the West.

**A. Ulyukayev, candidate of economic sciences:**

Political economy provided a simple answer to the question of the possibility of the appearance under socialism of transformed types of production relations: "Essentially, no transformed forms of production relations and their laws are basically possible in our system.... Under socialism all individual varieties of transformed economic forms disappear, including all forms of fetishism" (EKONOMICHESKIYE NAUKI, No 8, 1984, p 19). Is such a categorical approach justified?

The hope that the socialist economy would be simple and clear and that "the social attitude of the people toward their labor and the products of their labor would remain here crystal clear both in the production and the distribution process" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "*Soch.*" [Works], vol 23, p 89) has not been realized so far. The point here is that it is not only under the conditions of commodity-monetary relations that elements of a commodity fetishism remain, although substantially weakened. The elimination of the omnipotence of the market brought about not a disappearance of fetishistic forms as such but that some forms of fetishism were curtailed at the expense of other.

The appearance of new forms of fetishism is related to the development itself of the process of production socialization which, under certain circumstances, triggers the reproduction of uncontrolled elements. The most important among these conditions is the extant departmental-hierarchical system of economic organization. It has exaggerated vertical ties, the main content of which is cosubordination, mandatory orders, delegating competence and responsibilities to higher powers, and aspiration toward standardization and monotony in the various aspects of economic life. Horizontal links, which

presume reciprocal agreement and a consideration of the entire variety of economic management conditions, and scope for the self-expression of individuals, are obviously underdeveloped. Since plans are formulated on levels which are separate from the realities of economic management on the grass-roots level, with the help of many intermediary steps, the very concept of planning becomes misshaped. Economic responsibility for the formulation and execution of resolutions is virtually absent. It is replaced by administrative responsibility. However, bearing in mind that the majority of levels in the hierarchical management system play nothing but a transmission role, responsibility becomes eroded.

The units which constitute the national economy are substantially different in terms of technological, financial, and cadre standards, development of production relations, integration within broader structures, and influence exerted on reproduction processes. The departmental-hierarchical decisionmaking method presumes approaching them on the basis of an identical yardstick. In practice this is too narrow a gate for some and too wide for others. That is why the decisions which are made frequently trigger a reaction entirely different from the one hoped for.

The complexity of the socialist economy is manifested not only in the technological heterogeneity of the production process but also in the close and conflicting interweaving among social, departmental, local, collective and personal interests. Motivations for activities largely depend on the social status held by one individual or group of individuals or another. Such positions vary. We are well-familiar with the dual position held by the manager of an economic unit who, on the one hand, is the representative of the center to which he is accountable and, on the other, expresses the specific departmental or collective interest. A worker in the departmental apparatus is a representative of the interests of the public and that of the department as a sector as well as the interest of the departmental apparatus and, finally, his own individual interest. Nor are the rank-and-file working people an exception. They display the views of co-owner of the public property, elements of the mentality of the hired worker and features of affiliation with a specific economic structure, the interests of which they share to some extent.

Departmental structures actively influence national economic conditions for reproduction, which are external to them. Since each one of them has its own interest, as they interact they frequently pursue mutually exclusive objectives. This is manifested in the formulation of unrealistic or unstressed plans, their amending, each amendment of which entails a chain reaction of amendments in the plans of related enterprises. Shortages are reproduced to a considerable extent through departmental structures which aspire toward maximal resource availability (in terms of raw material, equipment, capital investments and manpower) and, at the same time, stimulate the development of a concealed resource turnover expressed in physical terms.

Economic relations assume a personalized nature. Availability of means of production and the creation of favorable conditions for economic management and the adoption of important production-economic decisions are frequently accomplished through pushers or pressure groups. The impact of one enterprise or department clashes with that of another. The plan, price, standards, funds, ceilings and appropriations become items of trade among departmental and central structures.

The individual units within the departmental structures are oriented toward reporting good accountability indicators. This intensifies the attractiveness of "reportable" steps and of prestige-oriented and frequently technically and economically unsubstantiated initiatives, stimulating ostentation and distorting economic information. This also hinders the making of realistic and substantiated decisions by directive-issuing authorities.

Excessive supervision by superior managements develops an unexpected feature: it reduces the level of manageability. An enterprise which is issued several dozen or even hundreds of stipulations in a directive has the right, within certain limits, to select among them those it finds most advantageous. Although superficially subordinated to higher authorities, enterprises have greater opportunities within the directives to avoid a systematic regulation and control of their activities.

The planned and conscious organization within this entirely real economic turnover is expanded by semi-legal or illegal informal relations. The bartering among enterprises and the various forms of ensuring their self-support, and until recently not legalized individual labor activity become an essential means of satisfying the vital needs of the people.

Transformed fetishistic forms of production relations have still not disappeared. As in the past, essentially they mean that the social force created by socialization and joint economic practice begins to dominate the people's minds and actions while specific social relations are conceived as the social properties of objects, positions, documents, etc.

Bureaucratic fetishism is one such form. Since the "mystery of the commodity form is simply that it is the mirror which reflects the social nature of the work of the people as the object nature of the product of labor itself, as the social properties of objects inherent in their nature...." (K. Marx and F. Engels, op cit., vol 23, p 82), the power-economic functions of society (essentially in terms of production organizations, planning and management) are presented in the awareness of the people as an inseparable part of a certain unit within the hierarchic management system. The separate social force of socialized production and management is concentrated in these units, becoming as though clusters of economic power.

Bureaucratic fetishism has not only a subjective but also an objective foundation: the economic separation of departmental structures and the existence of special economic interest which is precisely expressed by departmental bureaucracy. Its consequences are lack of control in management and lack of initiative among the working people. Relations of equality, community of interests and unity of actions by working people and co-owners are replaced by unequal relations between "chief and subordinate." Officially the manager, whatever his rank, performs a functional role in handling the public property in the name of and as assigned by society. Actually, within this situation the economic power which in principle must stem from the working people opposes him as an outside force.

Intercoordination among different types of production activities and the fact that they are directly based on social needs are the result of ideal planning forms which remain outside production realities and outside the real economy with all its relations, ties and trends acting only as an "external planning idea." The social feature of joint activities in which socialist producers engage becomes the natural attribute of an omnipotent planning document. The concept which becomes instilled is that the main thing is to include a request or suggestion within a plan, which would miraculously turn into resources, technology, cadres and production relations. A tremendous quantity of goods produced in accordance with the plan but totally unsuited to the customers is the material result of planning fetishism.

Our economy is a complex system which is still not entirely familiar to and controlled by society and which contains the elements of spontaneity and distorted forms of production relations which this creates. In order to study them we must surmount the "anonymity" of political economy. The study of specific subjects of economic management and of interconnections and predictions presumes a serious study of motivational foundations for the real actions and relations which characterize them. Thus, bureaucratic fetishism cannot be truly understood without analyzing the motivations which develop in the various administrative structures—the primary economic unit, the departmental apparatus and the general economic authorities.

The study of socioeconomic motivations enables us to understand the "typical economic masks" which are precisely the "embodiment of economic relations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op cit., vol 23, p 95) in the specific reproduction process and without which socialist reproduction is merely a model for "resource-product," which is extremely abstract and very distant from the specific nature of actual socialist economic management.

**S. Sirotkin**, professor:

In socialist political economy socialist ownership is frequently presented as a divine benefit bestowed upon us by the revolution, which in itself determines the

historical advantages of socialism. What has been ignored has been the economic immaturity and internal contradiction of the situation of workers and peasants as owners and proprietors of the production process. Meanwhile, in real life the flood of irresponsibility, money-grubbing and theft increased. Even the words of the well-familiar song "everything around us belongs to the kolkhoz, and everything around us is mine," began to be conceived as praising the fact that both national and collective property belonged to no one and that everyone had the right to squander it. It was a historical irony that Prudhon's profiteering formula according to which "ownership means theft" assumed, to a certain extent, a literal meaning.

This situation was explained by the ideological opponents of socialism by the fact that social ownership was considered to mean ownership by the bureaucratic apparatus. Of late similar statements have begun to be encountered in the Soviet press as well. This position cannot withstand criticism. However influential the bureaucratic apparatus may be, real ownership relations do not allow its agents to achieve a stability of power and a permanency of income. This is confirmed by a no means voluntary resignation from high positions. Bureaucratic power by individuals and its abuse and bribery do not proceed from the monopoly of ownership by individuals or groups but are based on the immature nature of socialist ownership. Essentially, however, it is possible to refute the views of those who reject the social nature of the existing forms of ownership only by restructuring them radically and making them consistent with their socialist content.

The **cooperation among free workers** is a specific form of socialist production. Socialism inherits the cooperation among workers on the scale of individual production sectors and on the basis of the reorganization of ownership relations, converts them into production labor collectives. A cooperation among workers on the scale of the entire society, inaccessible to capitalism, develops on the basis of the socialization of the means of production on the scale of the entire society, which is the foundation for the development of a unified production collective. Socialism is characterized by two levels of cooperation among producers and collectives—social and group. It is at that point that relations involved in the appropriation of means of production and of the product reach their limit. They originate on the lower level, on the level of the collective of producers.

The concept of the level and forms of cooperation among workers and their collectives under socialism enables us to avoid extremes in the interpretation of the concept of nationwide ownership, according to which it is presented either as the property of the state or of individual collectives. That which we describe as ownership by the whole people is a historically transitional form of ownership by the whole people which combines the features of the appropriation of the means of production and the

products generated by society and the production collectives and, through them, by the individual members of society. In terms of its form, this is a nationwide-collective ownership with a content corresponding to its nature.

The view that the features of the ownership by the whole people are manifested automatically is erroneous. The associated producers cannot be equated to private owners, relations among which develop spontaneously. Nonetheless, the objective evaluation of our history enables us to single out only two periods during which the development of relations of ownership was seriously considered a national task. This occurred during the first years of building socialism and the period which followed the 27th CPSU Congress.

In his work "The Forthcoming Tasks of the Soviet System," V.I. Lenin pointed out that the main difficulty lies in the economic area: developing the strictest possible comprehensive accountability and control of the production process and the distribution of products and the actual socialization of production. The essence of the process consists of organizing, with the participation of the workers themselves, a complex and fine system of relations of socialist social ownership. The nationalization of capitalist ownership does not provide such relations. What is needed is a "new organization of the most profound, of the economic foundations of life of tens and tens of millions of people" (op cit., vol 36, pp 171-173). This applied to the revolutionary restructuring of age-old relations of ownership and distribution, aimed at making the rank-and-file workers masters not only of their own production but of the entire country. The Leninist concept of the organization of the economic foundations of socialism combined the revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad toiling masses with involving them in daily painstaking work in production management and organizing accountability and control over this process. This was a historical process of shaping as well as achieving public ownership.

A scientific approach to ownership requires that we see in it two inseparable principles: relations in production and management. This dual nature was broken by the administrative-command system of party-state management, which arose at the end of the 1920s and during the 1930s, with its specific structure of management and planning methods. The process of ownership as the living flesh of human relations was essentially halted.

The destruction of ownership relations was reflected in the praise of "authorities," "tools" and "cogs." The labor collectives actually disappeared from theoretical circulation and were replaced by the concepts of the enterprise as the agency of the state, which entirely determined its fate. The conversion of the working people and their collectives into instruments and organs for obeying orders turned into eliminating the inner content of public ownership.

Like nature, economics does not tolerate a vacuum. The vessel of ownership could contain both the fire of high justice of equal relations shared by all people toward the means of production and the combination of the producer with the owner, as well as the smoldering and smoke of petit-bourgeois dependency, consumerism and alienation from overall production conditions and results. A fresh wind of perestroyka is needed to fan the fire which is smoldering in this vessel.

**L. Orlenko, docent:**

As we know, the essence of many categories used in socialist political economy has been emasculated. This applies above all to the law of value and commodity-monetary relations and value categories, such as prices, production costs and socially necessary labor outlays. The concepts justifying the orientation of prices toward the level of planned or actual outlay under average production conditions became widespread. Meanwhile, goods are sold and purchased at prices consistent with the socially necessary labor outlays only if there is total consistency between consumption and production in terms of volume and structure (see K. Marx and F. Engels, *op cit.*, vol 25, part II, p 185).

Defining the socially necessary labor outlays is the same as defining the nature of a balanced and proportional economy. A real economy cannot be ideally balanced. It always includes disproportions. That is why the price is defined as the size of outlays and the efficiency of a commodity in the consumption area, i.e., it is a dialectical unity between production cost and consumer value. In the consumption area efficiency depends on the quality of the goods, their technical standard and level of coordination between the need for a given type of commodity and its volume of output. It makes no sense to determine prices in a real economy with the help of planned or actual outlays.

According to a view which has been established in socialist political economy, functionally heterogeneous products (such as computers and butter, shoes and delicatessen) are not comparable in terms of their social usefulness. A correlation between useful effects is acknowledged only in the case of functionally homogeneous and interchangeable products. Indeed, there are no practical means of directly correlating different goods in terms of their social usefulness and nor are there measurement units for determining usefulness. However, in a commodity production this problem is solved with the help of prices which balance solvent demand and production on the basis of a competitive market.

A socialist market with its specific laws must be created in order to make use of the law of value alongside the other economic laws, taking into consideration the combination among social, collective and private interests on which economic management methods are based. The initial data for planning (control figures, state orders, economic rates and ceilings), enterprise plans and prices

must be defined in the iterative process of the formulation of annual and 5-year plans. In this case contractual prices are an instrument used in the formulation of the plan. They express the preferences of solvent consumers (the population and cost accounting collective), coordinated with production possibilities. It is a question of a plan, of a controlled socialist market where, on the basis of the law of value, plans are coordinated for meeting the solvent demand of the population and the production collectives, while the state authorities, which represent the interests of society at large, take into consideration in formulating their plan the social needs and the overall requirements of economic laws using standards and competitive state orders.

The experience of converting enterprises to full cost accounting without combining it with a restructuring in the price-setting mechanism and the creation of a controlled market has already brought serious contradictions to light. The absence of flexible mechanisms for coordinating the conflicting interests of suppliers and consumers leads to the fact that as the rights of enterprises are increased they begin to eliminate the production of unprofitable goods. In order to prevent this process the superior authorities make greater use of state orders which frequently end up by covering the entire production program. As a result the effectiveness of the new economic mechanism could find itself undermined.

It is no longer possible to postpone the reform of wholesale prices and finances. It must be completed prior to the draft plan for the next 5-year period. Without it it would be impossible to coordinate cash and material flows in the national economy and to create normal conditions for the utilization of economic management mechanisms.

**V. Shironin, candidate of physical-mathematical sciences:**

Difficulties are being encountered in the implementation of the radical economic reform. We inherited from the old economic management system a noncompetitive economic structure in which large monopoly enterprises predominated. Adapting it to the requirements of the new economic mechanism is a lengthy project.

It would be hardly justified to expect that the institutional structure of the economy, which includes the sum total of organizational structures and laws, could be rapidly adapted to the new requirements. Self-support and the orientation of enterprises toward maximal profits presume the existence of a universal equivalent: an adequate universal currency. So far we have no such equivalence, for in addition to numerous types of currency (cash, cashless, appropriations for capital construction), there also exists a tremendous number of other "valuables," such as funds, lists of projects, capital investment ceilings, etc. Although it may be possible to

reduce their number, this variety reflects the role which departments and the essential features of the existing planning methodology plays in our management system.

The creation of an economic mechanism which would ensure the efficiency of economic management methods will demand a certain period of time, the characteristic feature of which will be a combination of administrative with economic methods and the dual dependency of enterprises—horizontal and vertical.

Under circumstances in which the "sum total" of responsibilities assumed by the procurement enterprises will be shared by the consumers and the administrative authorities to which the procurement enterprise is subordinated may lead to a "scarcity" of responsibility to consumers and, therefore, ensure the prevalent position which the producer holds on the market. The inadequate effectiveness of the market and the inevitability of the involvement of superior authorities in horizontal relations (and, conversely, of involving horizontal within vertical relations) should be taken into consideration in the restructuring of the economic mechanism.

It is important for the interference of the administrative authorities, which is needed because of the impossibility of rapidly reaching the high efficiency of the system of direct relations among enterprises, to be accomplished through methods which would not undermine the development of the system. To secure and control commodity turnover should be, obviously, primarily the duty of intersectorial departments which would be responsible, on the national economic level, not for the production of a specific commodity but for the overall balancing of the economy. Such departments should, in particular, formulate material balances and forecasts of market circumstances and concern themselves with the creation of reserves. Organizational changes are merely a prerequisite for the creation of the type of system of economic relations which would ensure the liquidity of cash and the actual and fast possibility of converting a ruble into any specific commodity or any consumer value. Such possibility could be achieved only in the presence of an economic sector the task of which would be not the production of a specific range of goods but earning profits, i.e., the "production of money," so to say. This must include small enterprises based on different forms of ownership, capable of flexibly reorganizing their production structure reacting to changes in solvent demand. Capital investments within this sector would be made only if they can be clearly profitable.

Nor is a conversion to economic methods possible without the aspiration to maximize profits at the remaining enterprises. In this case it should be a question not only of the profitability of current activities but also of investment processes. The widespread view is that decisions concerning capital investment, exceeding the range of simple renovation, could be made only on a centralized planned basis. We believe that in our economy such

a system would be unable to ensure the necessary coordination between supply and demand. Unlike many other socialist countries, our economic management system will inevitably retain the use of the sectorial level (the subsectorial level) and the oblast (kray) level. The specific objectives and interests inherent in this "second rung" of the administrative ladder do not coincide with the tasks of the national economic center. In this case the manifestation of departmentalism and parochialism may be possible to one extent or another. With an exceptionally "centralized," i.e., administrative management of the capital investment process, such phenomena are manifested also in the structure of production assets. An imbalance develops, weakening the orientation toward the consumer. This can be avoided if decisions concerning capital investments (other than the largest ones) are made in the course of the direct interaction among the main interested parties—scientific research organizations, enterprises and financial-crediting establishments. This will mean the establishment of a decentralized investment decisionmaking system which would presume the existence of a sufficiently free transfer of funds. The management of such a system with the help of economic methods, bypassing the "second rung," should be provided directly by the central economic authorities. It is only thus that under the present circumstances we could mobilize our available scientific and technical and creative potential.

For a long time the place and role of commodity-monetary relations under socialism were underestimated. Now, when their development has become a practical task, manifestations of "market idealism" could become more dangerous. A conversion to economic management methods requires a serious scientific study of the manifestations of the inevitable contradictions and the search of ways to resolve them.

#### Editorial Note

The answers provided by economists to the questions asked by the journal and the discussion articles on economic theory and practice of restructuring have triggered the readers' response. We have received hundreds of letters and articles of which we were able to publish only those which were considered most typical. This discussion will be continued and the summation of its results now would be premature. Nonetheless, the articles already published and the editorial mail enable us to draw a number of preliminary conclusions.

In the first stage of restructuring the science of economics made a definite contribution to the elaboration of the concept of a radical reform and to a clarification of the guidelines of the new structural and investment policy. This was largely the result of studies conducted in previous years but which, at that time, did not meet with any support. However, we can no longer continue to function with the old baggage. The development of science should not fall behind fast changes as they occur in real life.

Nonetheless, for the time being economic practice raises new questions faster than economic theory is able to answer them. Today the criticism of existing economic management forms becomes insufficient unless combined with a serious analysis of problems and contradictions which arise in the course of restructuring, of the reasons for the durability of the obstruction mechanism and the search of ways which would ensure fastest possible progress. Also greatly needed is to develop more concrete ideas on the ways and objectives leading to the acceleration of socioeconomic programs.

In this situation, unfinished projects in the science of economics, above all the lack of attention to the study of the real mechanisms governing the functioning of the socialist economy, and the poor connection between political economy and specific economic discipline, have become clearly visible. Political economy, harmed by schematism, and largely converted to "quotation mongering," was unable to surmount its alienation from the study of economic practice. Progress in specific economic subjects is being restrained by the insufficient development of the methodological base for research and by the apparatus of categories.

The spreading of economic nihilism, manifested in many of the materials received by the editors, is a subject of major concern. Disappointment in "official" science encourages the serious discussion of suggestions while ignoring the experience of economic development acquired by mankind and the results of its theoretical interpretation. The authors of such materials claim to have prescriptions for the fast and painless solution of most difficult socioeconomic problems. Occasionally the defense of such suggestions turns into frank demagoguery and shamanism.

The level of economic standards can be enhanced only by making active use of all the achievements of science, both domestic and foreign. In discussing the current status of economics and the harm caused by the fact that live creative thinking has been largely eliminated from it, we must not forget the great harm which was caused to it during the period of the cult of personality. The level of discussion of economic problems drastically declined as early as the turn of the 1930s. Today we are planning to reissue the most interesting works published in the 1920s. Unquestionably, the study of such works by the broad public will contribute to the development of economic research.

The rich experience in economic development acquired by the socialist countries is being insufficiently used. Many interesting ideas of economists in those countries have still not been put in wide scientific circulation. However, today we cannot meaningfully discuss problems of the functioning of the socialist economy without an analysis of international practices.

We must seriously rethink our attitude toward Western economic concepts, including non-Marxist ones. It is important in this connection clearly to distinguish between the defense of capitalism and the study of actual economic processes and the formulation of a corresponding set of tools. The question now is one of making active use of the socialist market. Naturally, this does not mean that we agree with the ideologues who argue that the market is the only efficient means of regulating economic life. However, to learn how to study the socialist market, and even more so to control it, without having mastered the specific methods for the study of supply and demand and the factors which influence them, as well as the consequences of market monopoly is, naturally, impossible.

Restructuring is introducing serious changes in the existing concepts of socialist society. The erroneous identification of command-administrative system of economic management with the essential features of socialism is being eliminated. Taking one for the other had a major impact on economic science. The entire system of categories and laws of socialist political economy must be seriously reinterpreted today. Obviously, we shall have to review the existing concepts of socialist ownership which are being developed currently, and closely relate them to all-round democratization of the economy. It is time to convert from arguments on the existence of commodity-monetary relations under socialism to a serious study of the mechanism governing their functioning. No one is calling for yet another means of justifying decisionmaking with a set of quotations. It is important to free Marxist economic theory, which is deeply humanistic in nature, from simplifications and purge it from all extraneous elements.

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**Economic Cooperation: Prospects and Problems.**  
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*Mar 88 (signed to press 17 Mar 88) pp 78-81*

[Text] Soviet foreign trade organizations maintain fruitful business relations with the largest capitalist companies. Today, in the new round in the development of foreign economic relations and under the conditions of restructuring all work in this area, it is considered useful to learn the views of our partners concerning the problems and prospects of development of economic cooperation. V. Ivanovskiy, KOMMUNIST correspondent, turned with a series of questions to the management of a company which has long and successfully cooperated with our country, the concern FIAT (Italy). The questions were answered by Umberto Agnelli, FIAT vice president.

[Question] How do you assess the prospects for the development in the contemporary world of closer economic relations between capitalist and socialist countries?

[Answer] Let me above all make the following clarifications. The answers to the questions you have asked me will apply above all to the current situation in the USSR. I am doing this for two reasons. First, because I find it difficult to discuss each socialist country separately; second, because in terms of change today, in my view, the USSR is the leading detachment in the entire group of socialist countries. We are indeed widely familiar with the current restructuring which, thanks to its innovative reforms, could lead to radical changes in economic relations between the USSR and the Western countries. There is no doubt whatsoever that the other socialist countries as well will engage in their own restructuring although, it is true, to a different extent and with the use of different methods, taking their own requirements into consideration. Having stipulated all this, I can answer your question as follows: taking the overall situation into consideration, one could already now offer a clear positive assessment. I am referring not only to the steps aimed at creating new forms of cooperation (such as mixed companies with the participation of foreign firms) but also the entire way of action, in the economic area. Thus, in speaking of efficiency, quality, material incentive, legitimate profits and so on, you use terms based on principles which obviously contradict excessive bureaucratism in all its types, and earnings obtained as a result of a position held or other faults inherited from the past.

Another problem which deserves careful consideration is that of the development of Soviet exports which so far have consisted to a large extent of raw material goods. Obviously, the Soviet Union is one of the richest countries in the world in terms of natural resources. However, it cannot allow itself an endless expenditure of such resources, which are tremendous but nonrecoverable, in order to pay for imports of consumer goods and industrial equipment it needs. In the future, unquestionably, this trend will decline. Slowly the share of raw material goods in Soviet exports will be reduced while that of new items will increase, such as industrial commodities in general, which are goods with a high added value. This is consistent with the potential of a great industrial power such as the USSR. This will radically change economic relations between East and West. Their stimulating role, based on peaceful competition of both sides in production and new developments will increase. The optimism I have expressed earlier is based precisely on such development prospects.

[Question] What do you consider as the most difficult problems in the development of industry in the next few years? Could you share with us your experience in the solution of such problems?

[Answer] Let me begin with the second part of your question, i.e., by describing our experience in this respect.

In order to come out of the crisis, Western industry decided to rely essentially on the following five factors: promotion of research and development, automation of industrial production, the consequent retraining of manpower, standardization and decentralization of industrial management. Indeed, after the 1950-1960 boom in the West, a crisis broke out in the first half of the 1970s, which caught us at a time when the size of the personnel at our enterprises was inflated and equipment had become technically obsolete. This demanded the use of all available resources for the promotion of research and development and the automation of production processes. All of this led to a drastic reduction in manpower. Many enterprises, including FIAT and other big companies, were able to reduce their personnel without not only not reducing the volume of output but, conversely, achieving a significant growth. This was explained above all with the application of new technological processes based on automation, more extensive use of robotics, etc. The problem of the personnel, released in the course of such activities, was solved partially by the state and partially by the private entrepreneurs.

The state contributed to the solution precisely by providing all kinds of social guarantees, such as our integration bank, which enabled the working people to retain a considerable percentage of their income while being retrained and placed in other jobs in other industrial sectors.

The entrepreneurs contributed to the extent to which, having no longer to support surplus manpower, they were able to allocate the thus released funds for new initiatives and new ways of development and to create new jobs. This made it possible gradually to reemploy some of the working people laid off in enterprises within the traditional sectors. The service industry began to develop as well. Particular attention was paid to retraining workers previously doing unskilled work which involved a great deal of manual labor and monotonous operations. Now, having specialized, the personnel was given more complex and more mentally oriented work such as, for example, technological control of the production process. Statistical data available to the Western countries which went through the difficult 1979-1980 period indicate the following: whereas in the first half of the period unemployment increased, we noted subsequently a gradual decrease.

For that reason we have reasons to hope that should this development process be extended on a long-term basis, I believe that total employment would be achieved with a more efficient allocation of manpower. Unquestionably, the Soviet Union as well will have to face this problem along with the other socialist countries, as they advance in their restructuring, making use of means which, in their view, are most adequate to their economies but which, as a whole, in my view, would be aimed at achieving technologically the same objectives to which the Western countries aspire.

For example, the service sector is still underdeveloped in the USSR. Let us take tourism as an example. The Soviet Union is an amazingly beautiful country with tremendous cultural, artistic and other resources. However, all of these resources are used minimally for tourist purposes. You have more to show than Moscow and Leningrad. However, most of your priceless cultural and artistic legacy is so far unknown to the Western tourists. Naturally, this is related not to some basic prohibitions but to the old scarcity of facilities in the service: many monuments and museums have been closed down for restoration work; there is a shortage of good hotels, highways, skilled personnel, and so on.

Or else let us consider the problem of standardization. When the West addressed itself to automation, another equally important problem immediately arose: that of ensuring the type of volume of output which would justify the tremendous capital investments needed for the creation of new production systems. Individual enterprises are not always able to cope alone with developing the necessary volume of output. That is why they began to seek partners (frequently among their own competitors) interested in the mass manufacturing of certain components (parts, assemblies) common to their type of production. FIAT repeatedly sought such cooperation. It is precisely thus that we were able to ensure increased output which enabled us to recover capital investments jointly with our partners.

In the Soviet Union, it seems to me, as a result of the influence of the bureaucratic apparatus and the vertical production system on the part of ministries (which hinder the development of horizontal relations among enterprises) they have been unable to make full use of the advantages of the socialist system. Let us consider the automotive industry, such as trucks, passenger cars, tractors, and so on. Each plant develops its own models and tries to do everything independently and to depend as little as possible on other even similar enterprises. This is an obsolete concept. As we already said, in the West a number of joint enterprises were created involving even the participation of competing companies from different countries, with a view to standardizing output, assemblies and parts in particular.

The Soviet Union has currently a new law which allows the creation of joint enterprises with Western companies. In this connection we are bound to ask why is there no cooperation in your country among joint enterprises involving, above all, the participation of Soviet plants which, although operating under the jurisdiction of different ministries, produce commodities, parts and assemblies which could be standardized.

Let me note the importance of the process of management decentralization. For example, FIAT has already been restructured from a pyramidal to a decentralized multisectorial system. Obviously, a similar process is

taking place in the USSR for, starting with 1988, enterprises and associations have been operating on the basis of self-financing, which is entirely consistent with the concept of decentralization I am referring to.

[Question] A restructuring is taking place in the Soviet Union in the area of economic relations with foreign countries. New various forms of economic cooperation are being developed. Which of them, in your view, could be of the greatest interest to entrepreneurs in the capitalist world?

[Answer] An unquestionable innovation in your country, among the new forms of organization of cooperation in which Western entrepreneurs can participate thanks to restructuring in the USSR, is that of the joint enterprises I already mentioned. It is a question not only of a new method of economic cooperation but also of acknowledging in principle the possibility of developing in your country such companies which are partially owned and managed by Western entrepreneurs. All of this is of major significance, political above all, for it brings closer to each other the conditions under which the two systems operate and lays, one would like to hope, a base for acknowledging the fact that the market (in other words, the consumers) is the basic factor which determines the success or failure of any enterprise. This new initiative will enable Soviet industry not only to import new technological and highly efficient equipment but also to solve the problem of the initial foreign exchange outlays which, to a certain extent, would be assumed by the Western partner. At a time of a difficult situation experienced by the Soviet Union, above all as a result of the drop in the prices of petroleum products (which has substantially influenced the Soviet foreign trade balance) this new variant of cooperation is of great interest and justifies the attention paid to it by the Soviet government and the efforts aimed at its extensive development.

With all of this, as a businessman, I would not dare to say which specific type of joint enterprise should be preferred, whether one based on compensation deals, joint production, agreement on technical cooperation, etc. As I have repeatedly pointed out, the Soviet government has decided to offer all of these choices to foreign business circles in order to facilitate and increase economic exchanges. In my view, every entrepreneur should, from time to time, and based on his targets, choose among them the form which meets his requirements the best. In a number of cases it will be a question precisely of a mixed enterprise, which is quite adequate. However, let us not forget that the old forms of cooperation as well made it possible to implement the tremendous projects in the past, when there was not even a question of establishing mixed enterprises. That is why it would be expedient, for each specific case, to determine which precise variant should be chosen in achieving the planned target and, based on mutual agreement, make a far-sighted choice.

[Question] In your view, what hinders a more extensive development of mutually profitable economic cooperation between capitalist and socialist countries?

[Answers] An entire series of factors is still hindering the more extensive development of East-West relations. That is why all the steps which are being taken should have as their objective that of bringing of the two systems closer to each other taking, naturally, differences into consideration. In order for this to be successful, new leading economic cadres must be urgently trained, people who are well-familiar with the Western system and which are able to cope with the new problems they will be facing. These specialists (I am referring to senior, middle-level and lower-level managers) must be aware, for example, of the need for commodity updating: this is a steady process occurring in the West but the need for it is felt substantially less in the Soviet Union, for your market had been closed to competition and, consequently, to the effect of incentives related to it. The new cadres must become familiar with financial systems and economic management methods prevailing in the West. They must learn methods of decentralized management, the question of the use of which is quite urgent in the USSR, and so on. All of this must be accomplished within a short time. In terms of medium-term and long-term prospects, the problem arises of opening the markets in your country and many other socialist countries. Let me explain this in greater detail.

Today we are following the efforts being made to facilitate economic relations between the USSR and the West and, as a whole, between East and West, with a great deal of interest. This will lead the West to a gradual transfer to the Soviet side of economic management technologies and methods, thanks to which Soviet enterprises will become increasingly efficient and competitive. Such changes could benefit the West as well. Indeed, if were to ask ourselves what would be more desirable in the future: an economic stagnation in the USSR or the existence of enterprises with which efficient business relations may be developed and new initiatives and forms of cooperation achieved, unquestionably the answer would be in favor of the existence of an active rather than a passive partner. However, as time goes on an essential problem will arise: in the West trade is backed by the free exchange of goods beyond national borders as well. Thus, we export our automobiles and our competitors import their automobiles in Italy. Such a freedom of exchange does not exist in the socialist world. All that exists is the aspiration to produce goods for export. However, this does not open in the least any market for importing finished products from the West. In time, such restrictions will become intolerable as they will trigger an imbalance in East-West economic relations. Therefore, it would be desirable to ensure a reciprocal opening of markets which would allow for real competitiveness. Naturally, this process must take place gradually which, however, will require the lifting of the existing barrier. Unless this takes place one can easily predict that the West will lose any interest in exporting its technology

which will not be balanced and paralleled by free trade. Naturally, new agreements and more efficient control of relations between CEMA and the various economic centers, such as the Common Market, the European Free Trade Association, the United States, Japan, and others, will be required for the implementation of such programs.

This requirement is already becoming apparent now and enables us to predict yet another basic problem. Freedom of trade is inseparably related to the convertibility of currency. Naturally, this is a major problem which the Soviet Union is hardly likely to be able to solve within a short time.

The steps taken so far in the USSR economy, such as double prices, assistance to economic sectors with lower profitability, and so on—are natural for countries which are developing their own industrial base. The time will come, however, when the USSR and the CEMA as a whole will have to think of the free conversion of their monetary units and to implement it. Bearing this forecast into consideration, and thanks to the fact that the Eastern and Western groups of countries or, even better, the two "superpowers"—the USSR and the United States—will gradually reach an agreement on the problem of armaments and conclude an agreement which will ensure a lasting peace, we should hope for a more extensive liberalization of economic relations and for a revision of COMECON lists which call for an embargo of some types of technologies and goods. Such type of liberalization will substantially contribute to the improvement of economic relations.

Let me say in conclusion that if I were to be asked if I believe in the possibility that this could happen I would answer yes, providing that both sides show good will. This, however, will demand time, at least a sufficient time needed to change the way of thinking of many economic leaders in the socialist countries, who are still frequently attached to the old systems which prevailed before perestroika.

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#### **A Teacher for All Times**

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[Article by Ivan Andreyevich Zyazyun, rector, Poltava Pedagogical Institute imeni V.G. Korolenko, doctor of philosophical sciences]

[Text] Thirty kilometers from Poltava, on the edge of a pine forest among the flowering meadows on the left bank of the the Kolomak River spring, lies the noted

ancient Ukrainian village, Kovalevka. Today, it is well known to many teachers throughout the world. A phenomenal pedagogical experiment on the strength, stability and invincibility of the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution was started here back in the 1920s, at the former Trepke landowners' estate. The experiment concerned the upbringing of children within a socialist collective. Its creator was Anton Semenovich Makarenko.

As of November 1922, the Kovalevka school-commune for deprived children (70 boys, 9 girls and a staff of 33: 11 teachers, 1 medical worker, 6 trade-skill teachers and 15 technical personnel) had the following work schedule: wake-up—7:00, breakfast—7:30, start of classes—8:00, end of classes—11:00, lunch—12:00, work in the shops—13:00 to 14:00, dinner—17:00, bedtime—21:00. A short note on the Poltava Labor Colony imeni M. Gorkiy questionnaire stated: "This is the winter schedule. In summer, they get up earlier and sometimes the workday ends later in the evening. Time is usually set aside after dinner for recreation." (A.S. Makarenko. "Ped. Soch." [Pedagogical Works]. In 8 volumes. Pedagogika, Moscow, 1983-1986, vol 1, p 15. Further references to this publication will indicate volume and page number only).

Surprisingly, 100 years after Anton Makarenko's birthday (13 March 1888) he is beginning a new life—as an ideologue of restructuring, as its defender and a fighter for its implementation. Even in economics—cost accounting, self-support and self-financing—everything, which today we must put into practice through labor, had already been done back then in the children's labor collective at the Commune imeni Maksim Gorkiy, and later—at the Commune imeni F.E. Dzerzhinskiy. On the whole, Makarenko's creative legacy comprises an important and relevant part of Soviet society's spiritual potential which, as emphasized at the February 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "needs citizens who are educated, convinced of and devoted to socialism and, moreover, who are active and knowledgeable, who know how to live and work under the conditions of democracy and the economic independence of collectives, in a situation of growing economic and social responsibility for oneself and the country."

Makarenko knew from the very first days of his work in the children's colony that a proper person could be brought up only through labor. He consciously, firmly and fully asserted in practice the idea of the new socialist school, originated by Lenin, Krupskaya and Lunacharskiy.

It was precisely Makarenko, one of the first in Soviet pedagogy, who performed the task of implementing the principles of the unified labor school, above all, the close ties between instruction and socioproductive labor. His school-commune rejected state financing. It met all expenses for maintaining the communards itself, right up to their graduation, while part of the wages was

transferred into their savings accounts every month. Yet there were also trips to the theater and excursions throughout the Union. Moreover, the production organized at the Commune imeni F.E. Dzerzhinskiy, modern for its time, annually yielded millions in profits to the state.

Furthermore, Makarenko was the first to put the integral Leninist concept of the new type of school into practice, incorporating the features of socialist society. He proved its vital significance and, furthermore, in fact, proved the accuracy and future prospects of Marxist-Leninist ideas in the upbringing and training of the growing generation. In Soviet pedagogy, it was precisely Makarenko who most comprehensively, consistently, interestingly and extensively applied the "Basic Principles of the Unified Labor School" in life. No other Soviet teacher has ever achieved such a brilliant result. True, it is possible to explain the uniqueness of Makarenko's achievements by the fact that Soviet teaching through most of its long years was unaware of this remarkable document: essentially, access to the mass reader in the postwar decades was achieved only in 1987 (KOMMUNIST, No 16). Perhaps, in general, this document should be discussed without further ado at the teachers' congress, now that it is known to every teacher?

I shall be bold enough to assert that the leading ideas of A.S. Makarenko were also unknown, in all of their specific details, by the majority of our teachers, even though the significance of his theoretical and methodological legacy in the upbringing of the socialist collective and the socialist type personality is unparalleled. One cannot say that Makarenko's ideas had been forgotten or were never used in contemporary schools. His pedagogical works and the files reflecting his work, as well as scientific works by Soviet Makarenko students, have been published. To one or another extent, Makarenko's legacy is being studied in VUZ pedagogical courses, and museums in Kremenchug, Poltava, Belopolye, Brovary and Moscow are propagandizing and popularizing it. Faculties at a number of schools are trying to educate children according to Makarenko's system. They are creating mixed-age school detachments and school-farms, and are introducing school self-management and the organization of schoolchildren's lives according to the "Communard" method.

All of this, unfortunately, hardly ensures the functional use of Makarenko's ideas in the practice of the general educational and vocational school and in training teachers at VUZs. One reason for this is the overly vague familiarity of teachers and students with the ideas of Makarenko's pedagogy, with the experience of his social and pedagogical work. In order to practice Soviet upbringing, it is insufficient, to put it lightly, to understand the social significance of Makarenko's legacy on the whole. As a result, on the one hand, many groundlessly reject the relevance of this legacy under the premise that the contemporary school is developing under different conditions than it did in Makarenko's

day, ignoring the fact that his basic ideas formed an aggregate of the methodology of socialist and communist upbringing and the theory of the development of the person in a collective. On the other hand, an alarming tendency toward a simplified, dogmatic understanding of Makarenko's experience has been noted: isolated, purely external forms of organizing the pupils' life are being adopted, filled with a different content, sometimes distorted and even contradicting his teachings. It also so happens that all forms and methods of upbringing practiced in the schools are being arbitrarily interpreted as an implementation of Makarenko's pedagogical behests. In actual fact, this is the lot of only a few school collectives at the present time.

The development of the theoretical legacy of Makarenko, who was not merely a talented practicing teacher with a unique and independent outlook upon the problems of upbringing, but also a great social thinker, demands particular attention. In Makarenko's works, ideas of his pedagogical theory are expressed which are important for the Soviet system of upbringing, for he relies, on the one hand, on the conclusions of Marxist-Leninist science and, on the other, on a profound understanding of the requirements and tasks of building a new society. Therefore, his study of upbringing in the collective covers the foundations of the theory of the socialist collective in general. In "Essay on the Work of the Poltava Colony imeni M. Gorkiy" Makarenko formulated one of the principles of the pedagogical system of parallel action, which he developed, thus: "It is not the educator himself who does the upbringing, but the environment" (vol. 1, p 47)—and also because the process of organizing this environment, of its practical transformation, particularly of social relations, serves as its foundation. The spirit of building socialism and the close connection of schools in the 1920s and early 1930s with life and with the social environment both gave rise to a conviction in the accessibility of this goal. It is precisely lofty social goals which motivated Makarenko in his careful study of large sociopedagogical problems, such as the organization and structure of the socialist collective, the principles of management and self-management, the correlation between discipline and regime, the role of small (contact) groups, the molding of social opinion and the upbringing of an individual and unique personality under group conditions.

Today, at a time of democratic transformations in our society, teachers once again are beginning to view the "Communard" upbringing methodology which sprang from Makarenko's work as the embodiment and stimulant of collective social creativity, as a superpowerful method for struggle against the authoritarian-conservative structure of the contemporary school and the egotism and lack of spirituality within it. On this path, the creators of the Frunze Commune (1959) I. Ivanov, L. Borisova and F. Shapiro in Leningrad, the organizers of "Iskatel" in Tula, "Karavella"—in Sverdlovsk, "Brigantina" in Chita, and "Pilgrim" in Tuapse, etc., have achieved good results.

In order to exchange experience in organizing such work, communard gatherings are being held—one has already taken place near Moscow. One would not wish these gatherings to become little more than dramatized shows. In creating new communes and holding meetings on their basis, one must also study the difficulties and successes of their organization and life, summarizing experience and developing a pedagogical platform for their activity under contemporary conditions. Such a methodology is effective not only in the general educational school, but also particularly in children's homes and boarding schools and in colonies for juvenile delinquents.

Evidently fearing the transformation of creative ideas and methods into bureaucratized standards of instruction, A. Mudrik, doctor of pedagogical sciences, wrote in UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA that Communard ideas have been disseminated, but have not been applied in principle. They have not been applied because the Communard association requires a leader and such people are always scarce. They have been disseminated because young people always have a highly developed need to be needed, and Communardism gives an outlet to this need.

True, there are never enough leaders. However, it is impossible to say "scarce" and resign oneself to this. We should seek out leaders, train and promote them. A creative person with the talent of a teacher, an organizer for the school-upbringing process, is of great value. It is time to get rid of preconceived bureaucratic attitudes toward talent and pedagogical innovation and of those methods with which, in their day, the leaders of the "pedagogical Olympics" suppressed the talent of Makarenko himself with their passion for testing and punishing. It is necessary, I repeat, to seek out and promote talented people, to trust them and help them to find genuine independence and responsibility.

"...The pedagogical skill of a principal," Makarenko writes, "does not lie within mere administration. Skill in this lies precisely in giving broad scope to the social strengths of the school, to social opinion, to the faculty, to the scholastic press, to the initiative of individual persons and to the comprehensive system of school self-management, while maintaining strict coordination and responsibility" (vol 4, p 206).

In this matter Makarenko himself cites a shining example—an example of how to teach an organizer, a leader for a collective. "At first there was a tendency to promote to the head... of the primary collective the most capable, most "influential," the most strong-willed boy or girl, the ataman, capable of handling everything: commanding, persisting and applying pressure."

"Here, in the course of 16 years I have observed how this tendency of selecting the strongest personality as the commander was gradually changed and how, towards the end, the senior heading such a primary collective... had become ordinary, in no way differing from any other."

"In the course of these 16 years, virtually unnoticed by me and almost independently of my upbringing goals, such a change took place until the senior at the head of the detachment had become ordinary."

"In recent years I have won a teacher's great fortune, in that I could designate any communard in any collective as the senior and could be certain that he would lead brilliantly" (*ibid.*, p 253).

In this connection, Makarenko employed a principle which he has recommended to all Soviet teachers: "...As much exigency toward a person as possible, but also as much respect toward him as possible" (*ibid.*, p 232).

Let us examine our contemporary school through A.S. Makarenko's eyes. Its faults lie, above all, in the fact that interrelations within the school and relations between the school and the management system are not democratized. The system of "chiefs" at all levels generates passiveness, irresponsibility and careerism in the schoolchildren's environment and such negative phenomena are aggravated by the pursuit of formal indicators—high or simply overstated grades, since secondary education is mandatory... Administrative supervision, petty guardianship and paper-shuffling are flourishing—everything which Makarenko adamantly opposed. However, like any genius, he defined his time. The more deformations and elements of stagnation accumulated in various spheres of social life, the narrower the field of application and development of his ideas became. Today, when our society has started down the path of revolutionary restructuring, the path of revitalization of the Leninist concept of socialism, of comprehensive democratization and assertion of the principles of social justice, we see Makarenko in the front ranks of the fighters for the renovation of our society and are obligated to take from his teachings everything consistent with our time.

Makarenko's ideas are modern and relevant even today, thanks to the fact that he structured the entire practical daily activity of the children's collective and upbringing based on his understanding of the essence of socialist social relations and the long-term prospects for their development. His understanding of these things, fundamental for the organization of social upbringing and even for social life on the whole, was unusually profound in that it was fully verified by experience and tested by time. Suffice it to recall just what great attention Makarenko devoted to matters of style and the tenor of collective life, in order to plainly see how keenly this answers the tasks of restructuring—the urgent need, which has been maturing for a long time, to establish in all spheres and in all areas of our society a state of genuine democracy, openness, glasnost, trust and an exigent socialist comradeship. For the upbringing of the new person to be truly successful, we must improve the entire social environment and eliminate everything which is inert and gloomy, which deforms the personality and damages its harmonious development. An upbringing which is humanistic in its goals and methods

presupposes persistent and consistent work in humanizing all links of the social environment which have a formative influence on the personality from the most, so to speak, tender age.

In Makarenko's commune the main issue—the goal of upbringing—was clearly defined. "As the goal of upbringing, I envision a program for the human personality, a program for the human character, and within the concept of character I include the entire content of the personality, i.e., both the nature of external manifestations and internal convictions, as well as political upbringing and knowledge, of absolutely the entire picture of the human personality; I believe that we, teachers, should have such a program for the human personality, towards which we should strive" (*ibid.*, p 129).

Basing his study on the Marxist principle: "The environment creates people to the very same extent to which people create their environment," Makarenko was establishing a scientifically substantiated system for the organization of the pupils' daily activity. Diverse means were used as stimuli. The first was explaining the state and political significance of practical matters, in the implementation of which they will be engaged, to the children. The second was granting the pupils independence, a possibility to display initiative in organizing their activity: to act on their own in planning their work and assigning duties among those involved, in controlling the performance and evaluation of the results. Each was able to express his suggestion and prove its expediency, to select the most rational ways and means of carrying out the matter at hand. Of course, the third means was the joy of activity, its beauty, loftiness and romanticism, i.e., an aesthetic beginning.

Genuine upbringing and creative work is preceded by an introductory period of upbringing, the so-called minimum program, which defines the closest real goals, the achievement of which is urgently needed by our country; discipline, industriousness, honesty and political consciousness are formed (see vol 1, p 43).

This is a minimum without which a person cannot become a personality within contemporary society. Studying the patterns of shaping these qualities and forming special methods for their development in schools are the urgent tasks of the contemporary pedagogy and psychology, consistent with the thesis of the 27th CPSU Congress on specific details in the matter of upbringing.

Makarenko valued individuality, the uniqueness of each colonist, and categorically rejected the possibility of depersonalization of his pupils, of reducing them to the role of mere cogs. Understanding the settlement's collective as a complex integral system, he emphasized the importance of forming special, individual collective qualities within each pupil. The entire collective develops and improves, depending on the degree of development of these qualities.

A clear trend is observed toward rejection of "linear determinism," of simplified concepts of the cause-effect connection of upbringing influence, which signifies a rejection of rigid determinism in pedagogical work, of universal pedagogical cliché-type methods. Only the sum total of all conditions under which the upbringing process is accomplished and the interaction between teacher and pupil takes place can determine one result or another. In other words, Makarenko considered pedagogical interaction to be a comprehensive education, the component parts of which are: the teacher, pupil, goals of upbringing, means for achieving said goals and the conditions for their implementation. The result in this case is an integrated indicator of the interaction of these components, each of which could have its own unique nature, its own development tendency.

The experience of the Poltava period had already given Makarenko a firm belief in the efficacy of the most important upbringing method for forming a collective, collective motivations, interests and needs of the pupils—labor productivity. In practice this proves the truth of one of the assumptions in the "Basic Principles of the Unified Labor School:" "A truly intelligent and experienced teacher cannot help but notice that to all three questions: how to teach strength of will, how to form character and how to develop spiritual solidarity, the answer is one magic word—labor."

Study of the influence of physical labor on the upbringing process led Makarenko to conclude that children are not properly influenced by just any type of labor under just any conditions, that "labor in and of itself, unaccompanied by stress, by social and collective concern, turns out to be a factor of little influence upon the upbringing of new behavioral motivations" (vol 3, p 453).

Having organized the colonists' labor according to self-service and achieved its conscientious implementation and significant successes, Anton Semenovich, however, did not find the necessary upbringing effect—improvements in their moral consciousness and behavior. The cause of this is, in his opinion, the unattractiveness of self-service, "the insignificant motivational meaning of self-serving work" (ibid., p 454).

With the intent of strengthening interest in labor, labor in blacksmith's, joiner's, shoemaking, wheel-wright and basket-making shops was chosen as the basic type. "Work in the shops has turned out to be a more active factor in teaching new behavioral motivations... However, the average type of motivational effect resulting from trade skills instruction has turned out to be somewhat negative. We have seen that a narrow area of trade yields... that which we do not need at all. The pupils' leaning tended toward... becoming a fairly unattractive type of artisan" (ibid.).

The organization of the colonists' labor was structured in such a way that its specific results became a collective concern: it is not so much the process of labor itself, as much as the organizational striving to ensure through their labor an improvement in the collective economy, an increase in its profitability, indicating success in the overall matter, that yields the educational effect. Thus, a feeling of ownership and an awareness of one's own responsibility for the overall matter was developed. Agricultural labor as "the basic background for the pedagogical work of the colony" became the main ground for asserting such an attitude toward the interests of the collective (vol 1, p 45).

Having established ties with the Poltava experimental agricultural station and armed with the most advanced economic methods for the time, in 1926 the Kovalevka Commune had already attained economic indicators such that the agricultural sector had become profitable. The successes in animal husbandry, as agronomist N. Fere recalls, had a major impact far beyond the limits of Kovalevka. The upbringing effect of the colonists' agricultural labor had increased significantly. It exceeded the upbringing influence of vocational work in the shops. Anton Semenovich remarked that the pupils who were "performing... agricultural work surpassed the 'shop workers' in terms of social and moral attitude" (vol 3, p 454).

Makarenko fully recognized the advantages of industrial over agricultural production at a time in which socialist industry was developing and, above all, in granting the pupils the greatest possibilities not only for professional careers but also for moral upbringing and general development. During the Poltava period Anton Semenovich had no opportunity to implement these views. He carried them out, as we know, later, during the Kharkov period of his work. He was bestowed the great fortune of the innovator and creator—to check his views through practice, to become convinced of their truth and social necessity, and to see their embodiment in life, despite all difficulties and even persecution.

A.S. Makarenko's practical implementation of the principles of Marxist-Leninist pedagogy occurred under conditions of the most rigid struggle against opponents of collectivistic labor upbringing, of the colonists' self-managing activity. A number of journals responded to "Pedagogicheskaya Poema" with sharply negative reviews. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA criticized Makarenko for idealizing spontaneity, for a cult of intuition in upbringing and underestimation of pedagogical theory. The author of the article "On Bourgeois Prison Pedagogy in 'Pedagogical Poem'" (KOMMUNISTICHESKOYE PROSVESHCHENIYE) portrayed Makarenko as a "proletarian cultist," a proponent of "command pedagogy" who disregards scientific upbringing methods. "*Kniga Dlya Roditeley*" was given a hostile reception in SOVETSKAYA PEDAGOGIKA. It goes without saying that these are only a few examples of the lack of acceptance of Makarenko's ideas and work.

However, all the same, life confirmed the accuracy of the theory and practice of this teacher and innovator. They took hold of the teaching masses. When PRAVDA printed Makarenko's article "Problems of Upbringing in the Soviet School" in March 1983, over 2,000 teachers, parents and party workers responded to it, agreeing with its author. By this time, A.S. Makarenko has already become famous abroad, above all because of "Pedagogical Poem."

This year, when the world is noting the anniversary of Makarenko's birth in accordance with a UNESCO resolution, it would be hard to find a country on earth in which the creative genius of the Poltava humanist would not have been a subject of discussion among teachers and parents, scientists and men of art.

In the socialist countries, beginning with the first post-war years, the study and application of A.S. Makarenko's ideas underwent three basic stages. The first was the translation and dissemination of his works. His basic ideas earned practical approbation in the schools.

The second stage was the development of the foundations of socialist pedagogy and its methodology, taking the specific nature of each country into account. The decisive and consistent distinction between his pedagogical ideas and those of the late-bourgeois pedagogical reforms continued. Precisely at that time, a large number of scientific studies devoted to Makarenko's work and his activity as the organizer of the Communes imeni Gorkiy and Dzerzhinskiy appeared in the socialist countries.

The third stage involved attempts to apply the theory of collectivistic pedagogy in various types of schools, to apply the methodology of parallel pedagogical action as a basis for creating a collective. This period was experimental. Cases of inclusion in the experiment of training collectives were observed not in the socialist countries alone.

H. Drewelow, F. Muller and P. Schmeltzer in the GDR; A. Levin and L. Hmay in the Polish People's Republic; A. Kiselinchev, A. Genov and N. Chakurov in Bulgarian; L. Pekha and O. Hlup in Czechoslovakia; F. Pataki and M. Illes in Hungary; and A. Dannuli, T. Mures and D. Saladi in Romania have done a great deal to popularize and propagandize the theory and practice of A.S. Makarenko. Makarenko's ideas are widely known and are being put into practice in Vietnam, Cuba, Yugoslavia and China.

Makarenko's ideas also enjoy authority among teachers in capitalist and third world countries. Makarenko's works have been published in England, the Netherlands, Greece, Denmark, Iceland, Spain, Italy, Norway, Finland, France, the FRG and Sweden. In Asia, they have been put out by publishing houses in Burma, India, Syria and Japan, and on the American continents—in Argentina, Peru, the United States and Uruguay. Moreover, in

European, Asian, African and American countries and in Australia several publications of Makarenko's basic works have been put out in English, French, Spanish, Arabic and other languages by the Moscow Progress Publishers.

Abroad, books and articles by researchers of various orientations and political convictions have been devoted to the work of this distinguished Soviet teacher.

Progressive teachers are trying comprehensively to interpret both the creative legacy of A.S. Makarenko on the whole, as well as the development by him of various trends of the theory and practice of upbringing. They highly value the progressive purposefulness and humanism of his ideas and emphasize their significance for mutual understanding among the peoples of our world. For example, Iren Lesin of France, Anna Poleva of Canada, Tokumitsu Yagava of Japan, W. Goodman of England and G. Nool of the FRG take such positions in their approaches to evaluating Makarenko.

Reactionary bourgeois educators express dissatisfaction with Makarenko's ideas, primarily because these ideas have an obvious communistic orientation. Lack of acceptance of his work on the whole, particularly in those parts in which the goals and tasks of communistic upbringing are discussed, is typical of West German Makarenko experts L. Freze, I. Ruttenauer, E. Blochman, W. Hennigsen and others. While ignoring the social content of Makarenko's studies, many bourgeois scientists are trying to prove that this is a phenomenon which could only have occurred in the Soviet Union by accident, that the true place of his theory is, allegedly, within the system of so-called Western humanism or, on the contrary, that our teachers drew the model for the upbringing of a socialist personality from "terrorist organizations." In trying to conceal the fundamental differences between the purposes of upbringing in bourgeois and in socialist pedagogy, clinging to their prejudice against the collective, many bourgeois Makarenko experts are trying to show that, once stripped of its ideological nature, Soviet pedagogy ends up following the same path as bourgeois. Such a conclusion is dictated by their attempts to isolate Makarenko's pedagogical views from the ideas of communism, from the vital activity of building socialism.

Life itself refutes similar versions. A.S. Makarenko succeeded precisely under conditions of intensifying socialist transformations in accomplishing a true pedagogical feat—in educating and making happy about 3,000 persons. The basic decisive principle behind the successes of this teacher and innovator lies in the fact that he began with one main purpose—the shaping of a new socialist person—and on this basis he developed a unique and highly effective method of upbringing, unprecedented to this day in world pedagogy. Creatively interpreted Marxism-Leninism and the principle-minded solution of the

problems of personality and the collective on the path of creating socialist social relations and transformations in all human interrelations served as its foundation.

Scientists and practicing teachers from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have done a great deal both for the popularization of Makarenko's ideas, as well as for their application in the practice of communist upbringing. However, the task of more thoroughly interpreting these ideas and their development still lies ahead. This is particularly topical in light of the resolutions of the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Many of Makarenko's ideas indicate the means for present-day scientific research: theories of the collective and the personality, conditions for their establishment and development at the contemporary stage; concepts of long-term lines in the life of the personality; "uplifting" pedagogy, which has some things in common with the pedagogy of cooperation; harmonious correlation among types of activity (labor, educational, recreational, instructional, independent) within different age groups; the correlation between creativity and routine in various types of the educators' and pupils' activity; and the ratio of physical and mental labor needed for harmonious development of the personality. The time is long past to write a scientific biography of A.S. Makarenko and to create and publish a complete bibliographical index of his works, both those in the USSR and abroad, beginning with 1922—the time of his first publications. The scientific editing and publication of his manuscripts, which are of great scientific value, is needed. In general, the question of the archive fund of A.S. Makarenko's documents requires an independent solution—they are dispersed throughout the entire country and there is no full description of them.

Much remains to be done at the practical level as well. Through the efforts of scientists, VUZ teachers and workers from national education agencies, we must help practicing teachers better to interpret A.S. Makarenko's pedagogy, to accept it as having general theoretical and methodological significance and as a basis for a practical guideline and for the activity of contemporary training collectives. Emphasis on matters such as the organization of children's collectives, harmony of freedom and discipline in the upbringing of schoolchildren, the training of the young generation for independent life (including preparation for marriage and family life), the teaching of resistance to harmful influences and the formation of social optimism, is important.

Many of these questions were developed and put into practice at the Kovalevka Colony imeni M. Gorkiy near Poltava. To commemorate the 100th year since A.S. Makarenko's birthday, construction workers from Poltava and the oblast, with active participation by party and state agencies, by student youth and by schoolchildren, a museum-memorial complex has been built here. The red and white buildings and a wing along with a

secondary school, became the training base for the pedagogical institute—the very same institute at which Anton Makarenko received his teacher's diploma with a gold medal in 1917.

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**Plekhanov: Greatness of A Scholar and Tragedy of A Revolutionary**

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[Article by Stanislav Vasilevich Tyutyukin, leading scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of USSR History, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] On the eve of the first anniversary of the October Revolution, on V.I. Lenin's suggestion, an obelisk was carved on the wall of the Kremlin in honor of the outstanding philosophers and fighters for freedom. Nineteen names were inscribed on a simple gray stone, ranging from the great English Utopian Thomas Moore, and Tommaso Campanella, the author of "City of the Sun," to Karl Marx and his students. The last name on the list was that of Georgiy Valentinovich Plekhanov, the first Russian Marxist, one of the founders of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party, outstanding scientist and political journalist.

Plekhanov's life (1856-1918) coincided with a tempestuous age, a turning point in world and domestic history. During that period Russia had gone through two formative upheavals, three revolutions and several wars, including a world war. The Raznochintsy revolutionaries had yielded the main role in the liberation movement to the workers and the revolutionary Marxist intelligentsia, and Marxism had become the leading revolutionary ideology in Russia.

These sharp turns were reflected, one way or another, in Plekhanov's life, the life of one of the significant, outstanding and yet controversial and somewhat tragic figures in the history of the Russian Revolution. He was the first in Russia to convert from Narodnichestvo to Marxism and firmly to link his life to the working class and dedicate himself to the cause of the revolution. With his brilliant theoretical works Plekhanov raised an entire generation of social democrats, including Lenin. It was no accident that Lenin deeply believed that "one cannot become a conscious, a true communist without studying, yes, precisely studying, everything that Plekhanov had written in the field of philosophy, for this was the best in the entire Marxist international literature" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 42, p 290).

However, we are familiar with yet another Plekhanov as well, Plekhanov the menshevik, the internally "fading" man, alienated from the live practice of revolutionary

struggle, dogmatically clinging to obsolete theoretical formulas; a man who had seen in the Great October victory of 1917 not the logical completion of the struggle for the happiness of the people, he had initiated more than 40 years previously, but only a bolshevik military coup, not the dictatorship of the proletariat but the "dictatorship of the Smolnyy Institute."

However, Plekhanov's political errors did not strike out his outstanding contribution to the Russian revolutionary liberation movement, the theory of Marxism and Russian and world culture. In the best traditions of revolutionary education started by Belinskiy, Herten and Chernyshevskiy, he tried to spread among the people the light of knowledge, seeing this as the greatest and noblest task of a thinking man. "Light, more light! That is what we need more than anything else." That is what Plekhanov wrote in his best Marxist work "*On the Question of Developing a Monistic View on History*," in quoting Goethe's words, which had become the slogan of his sociopolitical and scientific activities.

Who was Plekhanov? We have already become accustomed to a figure elevated to the Marxist Olympus, a revolutionary "aristocrat," sated with glory and universal reverence, masterly depicted by M. Gorkiy. Also widely familiar are the words of the young worker-bolshevik: "Plekhanov is our teacher, our lord, and Lenin is our leader and our comrade." Although Gorkiy himself admitted a possible one-sidedness in his judgment of Plekhanov, it was canonized and, in the final account, became one of those worn-out clichés with which our historical awareness is so rich. The proud and respectful word "teacher," which was entirely consistent with the true role which G.V. Plekhanov played at the initial stage of the social democratic movement in Russia, somehow imperceptibly took second place while Plekhanov's "lordship," not so much in the sense of his noble origin, material prosperity and mannerisms but also as the embodiment of arrogance, love of power and capriciousness, became the virtually determining feature of his complex and contradictory nature.

While giving due credit to Gorkiy's original talent, let us try, nonetheless, to add to and refine somewhat the portrait he painted of the first Russian Marxist. Let us begin with the fact that he seemed to have left out many dramatic pages in Plekhanov's biography: a long, exhausting and severe illness, which led sometimes to material poverty (he suffered from tuberculosis for more than 30 years), the death of two small daughters, wandering from one country to another in search of political asylum, and yearning for a homeland which he did not see for 37 long years....

Nor should we forget the fact that this "lord" was a great worker. Although essentially self-educated (Plekhanov attended the Mining Institute in Petersburg for no more than 2 years, after which, for a short while, he attended lectures at Geneva University and the Sorbonne), he became an encyclopaedically educated person. It would

be no exaggeration to say that at the turn of the 20th century Plekhanov had mastered the latest developments in world science. It would be difficult to name another Russian Marxist of that time who could find his way in philosophy, history, aesthetics, literature and art and problems of the natural sciences as confidently as Plekhanov. He knew French and German perfectly and even wrote theoretical work in those languages; he could read quite fluently works in English and in a number of Slavic languages. Plekhanov's working day was absolutely packed and he continued to work even while sick: despite a high fever he read poetry and fiction; when his fever was moderate, he read books on art and ethnography and when it was low, he not only read but wrote, granting no concession to his poor state of health.

Plekhanov's character was much more complex than has been described by biographers. Its core consisted of splendid human qualities such as courage, independence, purposefulness and strictest possible self-discipline, which were suitably by spiritual delicacy, refinement and artistic sense. This was a proud, courageous and quite emotional character of the fighting person, the born leader who was able to fight for his convictions and, if necessary, swim against the current. However, there was also in his character, particularly toward the end of this life, a great deal of what was petty, influenced from the outside and unworthy of the intellectual heights to which this outstanding person could rise.

There were sharp changes, twists, flights and falls.... Many such occurred in Plekhanov's life! His path to revolution began in the populist underground, which he joined as a 19-year old student, sharing the passionate thrust of the progressive Russian democratic intelligentsia. "A populist to the tip of my fingers," was the way he subsequently described the views he held at that time, a warm supporter of Bakunin and his "rebel" ideas. However, Plekhanov immediately took in the course of his practical revolutionary work a somewhat different way, carried away in his propaganda work among workers in Petersburg. He frequently visited their circles, participated in the preparations and mounting of the first major strikes of 1878-1879, and wrote and edited leaflets. In December 1876 Plekhanov received his first "baptism of fire," by delivering an outstanding revolutionary speech at a political demonstration of Petersburg students and workers at the Kazan Cathedral.

It is true that at that time Plekhanov was still far from understanding the historical role of the proletariat (at that time that very class was merely taking shape in Russia). However, he had already seen in the urban workers the most mobile, the most inflammable population stratum, the most capable of becoming revolutionized.

In 1879, after the split of "Land and Will," two new populist organizations appeared: "People's Will," which took the path of revolutionary terrorism, and "Black Redistribution," headed by Plekhanov, the task of which

was to continue propaganda and agitation work among the people. In January 1880, threatened with detention, Plekhanov was forced to emigrate, returning to the homeland only in 1917.

Familiarity with Western European workers and the socialist movement, and a profound study of the works of Marx and Engels accelerated the transformation of his world outlook. The events of 1 March 1881, when the Narodovolsy succeeded in killing Tsar Alexander II, clearly proved the unpromising nature of terrorism, something which Plekhanov had warned against long before that. The populist concept that Russia would attain socialism while bypassing capitalist as well could not withstand any serious critical analysis. A decisive change of priorities and guidelines were needed, making revolutionary theory consistent with the realities of post-reform Russia. In Plekhanov's figurative expression, Marxism became Ariadne's thread, which helped the Russian socialists to find their way out of the labyrinth of political and practical contradictions.

The difficulty of the situation, however, was that the sympathies of the Russian revolutionary youth were at that time still entirely on the side of the populists, whose clandestine work bore the halo of romanticism, self-sacrifice and moral purity. The criticism of populist ideals seemed to many to be a case of open treachery and a slide toward trite philistine reformism and rejection of socialism. That is why the ideological break with his former fellow-fighters demanded of Plekhanov not only tremendous theoretical work but also a great deal of personal courage, firmness and self-control.

Having exhausted all possibilities of reaching an agreement with the Narodovolsy, G.V. Plekhanov and his supporters—V.I. Zasulich, P.B. Akselrod, L.G. Deych and V.N. Ignatov—founded, in September, 1883, in Switzerland, the Marxist group "Liberation of Labor." The two main tasks of the groups were the following: translation and dissemination in Russia of Marxist publications and criticism of populism, combined with the development of the most important problems of Russian social life "from the viewpoint of scientific socialism and the interest of the toiling population of Russia." Plekhanov's contribution to this was particularly outstanding. He translated into Russian several of Marx's and Engels' works, published the books "*Socialism and the Political Struggle*," "*Our Differences*," "*On the Question of the Development of a Monistic View on History*," the pamphlet "*On the Tasks of Socialists in the Struggle Against Hunger in Russia*," two drafts of the program of the "Liberation of Labor" group and many other works.

The 20-year period between 1883 and 1903 became the most outstanding and fruitful period in Plekhanov's sociopolitical and scientific activities. He successfully worked on many important problems of dialectical and historical materialism, the history of philosophical and economic theories, social thinking and problems of aesthetics. In this he acted not only as a propagandist and

popularizer but also as a major original researcher, turning to a number of acute debatable topics such as, for example, the question of the role of the individual in history. Let us note that Plekhanov's article on this topic remains to this day the best Marxist work describing the mechanism of the appearance of major historical personalities and their impact on the process of social development. Like Carlyle, the British historian, Plekhanov described great people as "initiators." "The great man," he wrote, "is precisely an initiator, for he can see **farther** than others and his desires are **stronger** than those of others. He solves scientific problems which come up as a result of the previous course of the intellectual development of society; he indicates the new social needs created by the previous development of social relations; he takes the initiative of satisfying such needs. He is a hero. He is not a hero in the sense that he could stop or change the natural course of things but in the sense that his activities are the deliberate and free manifestations of this necessary and subconscious course. It is there that we find his full significance and strength."

Plekhanov brilliantly brought to light the prehistory of dialectical materialism. He proved the way concepts on the role of the class struggle in the life of society, which had appeared even in pre-Marxist sociology, had led Marx and Engels to the conclusion of the need for a proletarian revolution and for establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, Plekhanov undertook a profound study of Russian social philosophy, invariably emphasizing that its best representatives, above all the great revolutionary democrats of the 19th century, despite the conditions of a backward serfdom Russia, had taken a tremendous step forward in accurately interpreting the laws governing the development of nature and society, thus preparing the grounds for a subsequent acceptance of Marxist ideas.

Plekhanov's philosophical works entice us with the simplicity of presentation (never, however, becoming simplistic), strict logic, literary refinement and imagistic style. Plekhanov wrote as a convinced and flexible follower of Marxist theory, happily combining within himself brilliant erudition, the greatest possible conscientiousness and accuracy in the study of the facts with passionate party-mindedness.

The time ruled by the "*Short Course*" is long gone. However, the underestimating of Plekhanov's theoretical legacy is still occasionally being felt. It would be pertinent to recall in this connection that to this day there has been no publication of the full academically collected works of Plekhanov, including his entire political journalistic works, letters and a variety of preparatory materials, although the need for such a publication has long existed. Naturally, the fault-finding look of the specialist will find today in Plekhanov's philosophical works shortcomings and errors. However, to this day his best works are part of the Marxist philosophical classics.

The main contribution of the "Liberation of Labor" group, which was the Marxist analysis of the socio-economic and political situation in Russia, was of truly tremendous significance in the establishment of the Russian social democratic movements as an ideological trend. In his arguments with the populists, Plekhanov convincingly proved that capitalism had already become a fact in Russia and that the proletariat will be the main revolutionary force which would put an end to rightlessness and exploitation. In this area he ascribes particular importance to the participation of the working class in the process of **Europeanization**, the course of which, in Plekhanov's view, would determine "the very existence of Russia as a civilized country." Initiated by the iron will of Peter the Great, "from above," it would be completed "from below," with the liberation movement of the proletariat. This was Plekhanov's deepest conviction, which became one of the cornerstones of his overall concept of our country's history.

Plekhanov was the first to raise the question of the need for the creation of a revolutionary Marxist party in Russia. It would be equally difficult to overestimate the significance of the fact that in Plekhanov's first Marxist work "*Socialism and the Political Struggle*," he clearly formulated the radical Marxist stipulation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Having mocked the populist plans for the seizure of power, aimed at the immediate "introduction of socialism," Plekhanov deemed it necessary to make a clear distinction in terms of time between a bourgeois-democratic and a socialist stage in the revolution and to emphasize the significance of the struggle for political freedom. At that time he still accepted the fact that the gap between these two stages in the revolution in Russia would be short and that the proletariat would put an end to capitalism before the latter would be able to "blossom."

Plekhanov has the unquestionable distinction of having formulated the problem of the interrelationship between the Russian proletariat and the other social forces. However, his forecasts were influenced also by the low social activeness of the nonproletarian strata under circumstances of political reaction in Russia and the "cost" of surmounting the old populist views, in the criticism of which Plekhanov occasionally "turned around" adopting opposite views. Thus, whereas to the populists the peasantry was the innate carrier of socialist ideals, gradually Plekhanov changed his thinking to the effect that Russia had the same system as that of an Oriental despotism and that the peasantry in general and as a whole is the opposite of the proletariat and is the support of the autocratic system. The adverse attitude which the revolutionary populists had toward the liberals, conversely, was transformed within Plekhanov into illusory hopes of the possibility of their decisive opposition to tsarism. However, we must not forget something else as well: "Repeatedly and **most decisively** Plekhanov emphasized the tremendous importance of the peasant problem in Russia" (V.I. Lenin, op cit., vol 12, p 242). His

statement to the effect that "the revolutionary movement which has been initiated among the workers will involve a significant part of the poorest peasantry, at which point an end will be put to the disgusting order which is the misfortune of the Russian land..." is truly prophetic.

Plekhanov formulated some other views in which one can clearly see the outlines of the future concepts of the hegemony of the proletariat in the liberation struggle. However, Plekhanov conceived of the leading role of the proletariat quite one-sidedly, as the fact that the workers would outstrip all other social classes in terms of consciousness and social activeness and that the social democratic party would become a center toward which all the sympathies of the democratic strata would gravitate and out of which "would come the greatest revolutionary protests."

In summing up Plekhanov's activities between the 1880s and the first half of the 1890s, one could say that he was, unquestionably, at that time the acknowledged leader of the Russian Marxists and the most prestigious and influential theoretician of the developing Russian social democratic movement. Plekhanov repeatedly met and talked with Engels, who highly valued Plekhanov's talent. In the 1890s Plekhanov was already a noted theoretician of the Second International. His name became particularly popular after a brilliant campaign mounted against Bernstein's revisionistic activities.

A new proletarian stage in the liberation movement began in the mid-1890s in Russia, which we legitimately link to Lenin, although Plekhanov continued to play a noted role in the Russian and international labor movements at that time. The attitude of the young Lenin toward Plekhanov, as was manifested during their first meetings in Switzerland, in May and June of 1885, was based on the tremendous respect which all young Marxists felt in Russia for their ideological mentor. The young Vladimir Ulyanov in turn favorably impressed the members of the "Liberation of Labor" group: his attitude was one of a practical person, he behaved with dignity. He was energetic and erudite yet modest. In a letter to his wife, R.M. Bograd-Plekhanova, Plekhanov wrote at that time that "a comrade has come here, very intelligent, educated and gifted with the talent of speech. How lucky we are that such young people may be found in our revolutionary movement."

In the course of the meetings in Switzerland in 1885 some differences appeared between Lenin and the members of the "Liberation of Labor" group ("you turn your back to the liberals while we face them," Plekhanov joked on this occasion). As a whole, however, these meetings were successful and ended with an agreement to the effect that the "Liberation of Labor" group would publish the periodical collection "*Rabotnik*," especially for distribution in Russia. We also know that in the subsequent period Lenin warmly supported Plekhanov's

opposition to Bernstein and to the Russian "economists," particularly emphasizing that he himself was not only an orthodox Marxist but also a "Plekhanovite."

In the summer of the year 1900, returning from Siberian exile, Lenin once again went to Switzerland to coordinate with Plekhanov the joint publication abroad of the newspaper ISKRA and the theoretical journal ZARYA. The talks this time were quite heated. The rigid and occasionally simply intolerable position held by Plekhanov was determined not only by considerations of principle (without any proof whatsoever he suspected Lenin of being too "soft" on the opportunists), but also by strictly personal reasons, the desire to become the unchallenged editor of the new Marxist organ. In recalling this event, Lenin noted: "Never, never in my life had I shown any single person such sincere respect and veneration...and in front of no one had I behaved with such 'humility,' and had never been so rudely 'kicked'" (op cit., vol 4, p 343). The ISKRA period (1900-1903) took place all in all under the sign of a practical cooperation between the "old men" (Plekhanov, Zasulich, Akselrod) and the "young" editors (Lenin, Martov, Potresov). Plekhanov was an active contributor to ISKRA and ZARYA, the heart and leader of which was Lenin. Plekhanov engaged in editorial work as well. The topics of the basic journalistic articles written by Plekhanov during the first years of the 20th century were a critique of "economism," "legal Marxism" and Bersteinianism, as well as a discussion of some vital problems of the revolutionary movement in Russia.

Rather sharp comradesly debates took place among the ISKRA editors. Thus, Lenin accused Plekhanov of providing a rather abstract characterization of Russian capitalism and of a certain underestimating of the level of its development. Once again Plekhanov demanded of Lenin to soften his criticism of liberalism and to delete from the commentary to the agrarian part of the draft RSDWP program the item on the nationalization of the land.

Now, when we are familiar with the nature of subsequent debates between bolsheviks and mensheviks and the arguments brought forth by either side, we can easily see in the 1901-1902 ISKRA debates the embryos of subsequent differences. Lenin's idea, frequently not as yet framed in its clear and finished formulations, was already structuring an interrelated logical sequence: a new historical age (which would be later described as the age of imperialism)—a new type of revolutionary liberation movement with the leading role of the proletariat—a new type of proletarian party—and a new type of democratic revolution. Conversely, Plekhanov's thinking turned around traditional concepts typical of the orthodox views of the Second International. However, in terms of that period one cannot as yet detect any withdrawal by Plekhanov from revolutionary Marxism. So far all one could see was a certain fear of the new, an

orientation toward the classical systems of European bourgeois revolutions and poor familiarity with the specific situation of the homeland.

Quite interesting in this connection is an observation made by N.K. Krupskaya. "Plekhanov's fate is tragic," she wrote. "In the field of theory his merits to the labor movement are exceptionally great. However, the years of exile have extracted a price: they have alienated him from Russian reality. A broad mass worker movement appeared while he was already abroad. He met with representatives of different parties, writers, students and individual workers. However, he did not see the Russian labor mass, he did not work with it, he did not feel it.... When we moved to Geneva I tried to show to Plekhanov correspondence and letters and I was amazed at his reaction: it was precisely the grounds that he was losing under his feet, and a sort of mistrust would appear in his expression: he never subsequently mentioned these letters and correspondences."

The lengthy exile indeed played an extremely adverse role in Plekhanov's life. It is no accident that by the end of 1905, at the peak of the first Russian revolution, he so painfully aspired to go to the homeland, drowning in the accursed distant exile (at that time his illness prevented him from returning to Russia). To a certain extent, this isolation from the homeland could have been compensated by maintaining close ties with the party organizations which were operating within Russia itself. However, Plekhanov had no such strong ties.

Despite differences, the ISKRA editors were able to draft a coordinated platform on time for the party congress and to present it as a united group. At the second RSDWP Congress which, quite symbolically, was assigned to Plekhanov to open, he supported Lenin on all items. His splendid gift as a public speaker was displayed here to its fullest extent. The delegates were tremendously impressed by his speech in support of Lenin's book "*What Is to Be Done?*" and the first paragraph of Lenin's draft party statutes, and his outstanding speech in defense of the principle that "the good of the revolution is the supreme law." It was no accident that Lenin subsequently wrote that at that time Plekhanov actively fought the opportunism of the mensheviks (see op cit., vol 25, pp 133, 222).

This situation continued until the end of October 1903 when a sharp turn took place in Plekhanov's views. Fearing the possibility of "civil war" within the party, initiated by the mensheviks, he took the positions of conciliation, after which he converted to an open and entirely deliberate defense of menshevism. The alliance between Plekhanov and Lenin, which could have become an additional source of strength and creative inspiration for both and which could have brought tremendous benefits to the revolutionary movement as a whole, was destroyed.

Today, obviously, there is no sense in guessing whether Plekhanov's abandonment of the bolsheviks was fatally inevitable or whether he could have remained for awhile in their ranks, assuming within bolshevism that same "special position" which he assumed in the camp of the mensheviks. One way or another, had he wished it, Plekhanov had repeated opportunities of returning to the bolsheviks. Suffice it to recall that by the end of October 1905, in a detailed letter Lenin had invited him to cooperate with the bolshevik newspaper NOVAYA ZHIZN. "I know perfectly," he wrote, "that all bolsheviks have always considered differences with you as something temporary, caused by exceptional circumstances. Unquestionably, the struggle frequently led us to take steps or to make statements or speeches which unfailingly hindered any further unity. However, the readiness to unite and the awareness of the **extreme abnormality** of the fact that the best force of the Russian social democrats is remaining idle, the awareness of the **extreme necessity** of your leading, involved and immediate participation in terms of the entire movement, has always existed among us. We firmly believe that if not today then tomorrow, and if not tomorrow then the day after, our unification with you will nonetheless take place, despite all difficulties and obstacles" (op cit., vol 47, pp 103-104).

However, Lenin's letter remained unanswered, although by then Plekhanov had no obligations whatsoever concerning the mensheviks, having left in the summer of 1905 the editorial board of the "new" ISKRA. In the spring of 1906, when the official unification of bolsheviks with mensheviks took place at the Fourth RSDWP Congress, Plekhanov once again supported the latter. He criticized the bolsheviks for an excessive, it seemed to him, haste and aspiration to "skip" several degrees of revolution immediately, and efforts "artificially" to link the proletariat with the petite bourgeoisie, the peasantry in particular, and for underestimating the legal methods of struggle, as well as for "conspiracy," which did not prevent him, after the 1905-1907 revolution, for a while to come once again closer to them in the struggle against the liquidationist mensheviks.

Plekhanov never considered himself an orthodox menshevik and, in turn, they were quite suspicious of him. Nonetheless, they were linked by the deep conviction that socialism in a "semi-Asiatic" Russia was a matter of the distant future. They shared the aspiration of following always and in everything the tried European models, underestimating the revolutionary possibilities of the proletariat, the peasantry in particular, and placing unjustified hopes on the liberals. With the outbreak of the World War, like many other mensheviks, Plekhanov took the positions of social "patriotism."

Plekhanov and the mensheviks shared the widespread view within the Second International to the effect that mandatorily the prerequisites for a proletarian revolution will be manifested with a high level of development

of economics and culture, firm democratic traditions and the transformation of the working class into the majority of the nation.

Life proved, however, that despite the general European revolutionary situation, which arose during World War I, it was precisely the highly developed capitalist countries which were unable to take this final step which separated them from a socialist revolution. This was the effect of an entire set of interrelated factors, such as successes in state-monopoly regulation of the economy, extensive dissemination of pseudopatriotic and chauvinistic moods among the masses, the reformist orientation taken by the social democratic and trade union leadership, and others.

The situation in an averagely developed capitalist country such as Russia was different. Brought to a state of despair by the horrors of the war, dislocation and total confusion in the ruling circles, the popular masses refused to obey the tsarist and, after its overthrow, the bourgeois Provisional Government.

After the collapse of autocracy, the Russian social democrats faced the choice of either "obstructing" the revolution and "keeping" the people in favor of an interpretation of Marxism which had developed within the Second International and which "forbid" Russia to take the path of socialism, or else make theory consistent with the new historical conditions of the age of imperialism, characterized by a particular unevenness in social development, a drastic increase in the role of the subjective factor and the enhanced "impatience" of the masses, which were unwilling to wait for the total exhaustion of the entire potential of the bourgeois system.

The dramatic nature of the situation in 1917 was that a choice between these two ways ought to be made immediately, under the conditions of an exhausting war and economic crisis, which rapidly dulled the initial happiness of the people with the freedom which they had gained. Hence the tremendous stress of the struggle, the rising of passions, and the sharp almost raving arguments into which Plekhanov plunged after his return to Petrograd on 31 March 1917. It was noteworthy that one of his first articles, published in the newspaper YEDINSTVO, was an analysis of Lenin's April theses. Plekhanov's sentence was harsh: madness! By calling for class cooperation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and full support of the Provisional Government, Plekhanov emphasized that "...Russian history has still not milled the flour from which the wheat bread of socialism will be baked," and until it would be able to mill such a flour the participation of the bourgeoisie in the management of the state was necessary in the interest of the working people themselves. It was thus that Plekhanov reached the most vulgar social reformism against which he had brilliantly fought during the best period of his revolutionary activities. It was thus that he

engaged in an unworthy slandering of Lenin, describing him as the incomparable master in rallying under his banner the "unbridled mob of unskilled labor."

Plekhanov condemned not only the October armed uprising in Petrograd but also the disbanding of the Constituent Assembly (the possibility of which he had theoretically acknowledged at the Second RSDWP Congress), and the conclusion of the Brest Peace Treaty. However, he sharply refused to participate in an active struggle against the Soviet system, a suggestion which had been made to him via the SR B. Savinkov. To save Russia from Russia or to issue the order of shooting at workers and peasants and make a career at the cost of shame and dishonor? This Plekhanov could not accept.

The final months of his life were spent in a small sanatorium on Finnish territory. Once again separated from the homeland, forgotten and sick.... He was buried in June 1918 in Petrograd, an event which was turned by mensheviks and the bourgeois intelligentsia into an anti-Soviet demonstration in which the bolsheviks did not participate. However, they gave Plekhanov-the Marxist his due. On 4 June the participants in the joint session of the VTsIK, the Moscow Soviet and the Moscow Trade Union and Worker Organizations, in the presence of V.I. Lenin, honored Plekhanov's memory with a minute of silence. L.D. Trotskiy delivered a brief speech. PRAVDA published an obituary written by G.Ye. Zinovev. On 9 June the Petrograd bolsheviks met at a solemn commemorative meeting, called by the Petrograd Soviet. Speakers included Zinovev, Lunacharskiy, Kalinin, Ryazanov and others.

Heartfelt words were spoken by M.I. Kalinin, who had begun his path to the revolution by the end of the previous century, when the prestige of Plekhanov as a Marxist had been inordinately high. "In a period of dark reaction, at a time when the rank-and-file worker had to display tremendous efforts and work in order to acquire even basic literacy, clandestine publications written by Georgiy Valentinovich were already making the rounds in worker circles. These works opened a new world to the working class. They called on it to fight for a better future. In a clear form, accessible to all, they taught the fundamentals of Marxism.... What N.G. Chernyshevskiy was to the Russian Raznochintsy of the 1860s, Georgiy Valentinovich was to the working class of our own generation...." Kalinin said.

Long separation from the homeland, the working class and the proletarian party deprived Plekhanov the politician of his strength. He was no longer able profoundly to interpret the laws governing the development of the age of imperialism and the anti-imperialist revolutions, with their complex and contradictory trends and the disturbance of the habitual order in the progress made by individual countries and nations and the abundance of intermediary steps and transitional forms. Here is a

characteristic feature: while Lenin was creating the scientific theory of imperialism, which became the foundation for the revolutionary strategy and tactics of the Bolshevik Party, Plekhanov dedicated the virtually entire last decade of his life to a multiple-volume work on the history of Russian social thought, starting with the times of Kiev Rus. While giving today its proper due to this truly grandiose scientific project, one unwittingly thinks that here we have no longer a political leader but a scientist living not on the threshold of a proletarian revolution but somewhere in the very distant past.

Nor should we be astounded by the precipitous loss of Plekhanov's popularity among the worker masses and the revolutionary intelligentsia. Whereas Lenin came to the October Revolution as the leader of 350,000-strong proletarian party, in 1917 Plekhanov was supported only by a handful of defense-oriented mensheviks belonging to the Yedinstvo group. The further development of Marxism was related to Lenin, as the student of Marx and Engels and, during the period of the birth of the Russian social democratic movement, of Plekhanov as well. However, the best of what Plekhanov created will forever remain an inseparable part of the great revolutionary theory which is transforming the world.

Plekhanov is precious to us with his impassionate defense of Marxism (which he described as "**the highest social truth of our time**") and the struggle for the interests of the working class and socialism. The communists will always respectfully say **our** Plekhanov when speaking of Plekhanov the revolutionary, Plekhanov the Marxist.

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### The Road of Reforms

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[Article by Otto Rudolfovich Latsis, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] A rather large group of Soviet journalists were accredited to cover the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of China, which was held in October 1987. For the first time in the last 30 years the Chinese side agreed to accept also representatives of party publications: correspondents for PRAVDA and KOMMUNIST. Although so far interparty relations between the CPC and the CPSU have not been restored, this is a step in a positive direction. Our press covered extensively the proceedings of the congress. It reported the resolutions it passed and the results of the election of leading party authorities. The accountability report submitted at the congress by Comrade Zhao Ziyang (see KOMMUNIST, No 1, 1988) was published. In addition to documents, however, there also are the live impressions about the country.

The last time I visited China was in 1959, which was an entirely different age in the life of the country. The changes which have taken place, even in the external appearance of Beijing and other cities, are striking. Entire streets have now been built consisting of high modern structures. Wide thoroughfares have appeared, in which a growing stream of automobiles is trying to press to the sides the customary ocean of cyclists. The people no longer wear the same cut of blue worker overalls. Their clothing is more varied and its colors are brighter. Trade has been revived and many commodities, until recently beyond the reach of the ordinary Chinese, have made their appearance. In the homes a television set and a washing machine have become commonplace. An increasing number of families are purchasing refrigerators, although their price remains high for people of average income: the cost of a refrigerator equals the earnings of a worker for 1 year or more. Finally, the most important thing is that the huge population of this country has been essentially secured with food and clothing. It is true that grain and vegetable oil are still rationed but the market price at which they are sold freely is, in general, accessible. Meat has also found a place in the daily food rations of many families.

The following question may be asked: After all, has all that much been accomplished? A full 30 years have passed since the period of initial socialist changes. The entire point, however, is that changes for the better in the country's economy and in the life of the simple people were achieved essentially only in the last 9 years, after the road to reforms was opened in December 1978 at the 3rd CPC Central Committee Plenum, 11th Convocation. The preceding 20 years, which included the "great leap" and the "cultural revolution" did not result in any substantial economic and social progress and, in some areas, even pushed the country back. Let us also add that after 1978 the reform was initiated immediately in agriculture but came to industry later. Several years had to pass in seeking ways, studying the experience of other countries, and developing a specific concept of the reform, which would take China's features into consideration. The discussions which took place also involved a struggle against "bourgeois liberalization." As a result, the firmly established political course for the foreseeable future was the following: "yes" to reforms and "no" to efforts to turn the country away from the path of socialism. The 13th CPC Congress completed the formulation of the theoretical foundations of contemporary party policy by providing a detailed characterization of the current historical stage in China's development. It has been defined as the initial stage of socialism which, counting from the end of the 1950s, and would take no less than a century. During that period the socialist modernization of the country must be completed in its essential lines. The scale of changes in the social mentality itself becomes particularly clear if we compare the present concept of 100 years of systematic efforts and the standard 3-year time limit of the "great leap" period (when the slogan of "Three Years of Intensive Labor and

10,000 Years of Happiness" was popular). China's public acknowledged as the most important event the concept formulated at the 13th CPC Congress of the initial stage of socialism, which strengthens the rejection of leftist errors which did the country a great deal of harm in the 1960s and 1970s.

How is restructuring manifested in actual economic practice? Foreign journalists who visit the country are interested in the coastal special zones where extensive opportunities have been provided for the use of foreign capital. The PRC leadership ascribes particular importance to the policy of expanding foreign relations and is actively engaged in explaining it. In frequent cases the Western press totally identifies the economic reform with the new policy of foreign economic relations and ascribes all past and future achievements in the economy to technological imports. Actually, two separate although interrelated processes are occurring in political life, which the CPC documents classify as equally important: a radical reform in internal economic life and extensive development of foreign economic relations.

I was able to see some of the results of the reform in Honan Province. This is not a coastal but, conversely, one of the central provinces, located along the banks of the great Hwang Ho River. Honan, with its 78-million population, is the cradle of Chinese civilization. In terms of economic development it is average and totally ordinary. I shall describe three of the events I witnessed.

### The Countryside

The Hwang Ho River must be crossed in traveling from Chengchow, the provincial capital, to Liuchwan Village. An excellent highway took us to a new bridge. It was a grandiose site—5.5 kilometers long, completed in 1986. The car stopped at the entrance to the bridge: the toll fee was 5 yuan (trucks must pay 10 yuan). We were told that the building of the bridge was financed jointly by the central and provincial governments and individual enterprises and loans were provided by the bank. The toll fee would make it possible rapidly to recover the investment. It is being said that the country has toll highways as well. Five yuan is a substantial sum for the average Chinese, bearing in mind that the average wage of workers and employees is some 100 yuan monthly. However, to begin with, workers and employees cannot afford automobiles as yet in China and the owners of automobiles are usually enterprises and organizations or else foreigners. Second, had there not been a toll charge, to this day no money would have been available to finance the construction of the bridge.

Today such examples of new economic relations and a new approach are encountered in China at every step of the way.

We were honestly warned that Liuchwan is not an ordinary village but more of a display project. Here the progress achieved during the reform, compared with the

old standards, considered high in local terms, is more impressive. Here is what we were told by Xiu Zheng, deputy secretary of the local party organization:

The village has 256 farmsteads with a population of 1,364, 636 of which able-bodied. They are organized in 36 links working in 7 different sectors: crop growing, animal husbandry, industry, construction, trade, timber farming and repairs. The village has 14 enterprises including a plant for the production of automobile signaling devices, a timber processing, paper-making, dairy, bread baking, chemical and pharmaceutical plants and a plant for refreshing drinks. Industrial production accounts for 85 percent of the total agricultural and industrial output.

All basic cycles of farm work have been mechanized. The village has 32 trucks, 10 tractors, two grain and two cotton harvesters, two excavators, three mechanized cranes and one dusting aircraft. The industrial enterprises have in excess of 500 installed machine units and mechanisms. The entire land is irrigated. Electric power is provided by 7 diesel generators and, if needed, manually operated generators as well.

Per capita income averaged 298 yuan in 1978 and more than 1,500 yuan in 1986. This is the result of greater autonomy and material incentives. After the village was given the right to independent planning of production, the working people actively shifted from agriculture to industrial production. The volume of agricultural commodities increased as well thanks to the use of the collective contracting order. However, the processing of agricultural raw materials and other types of industrial activities developed with particular speed. Since there is a great deal of work, well-paid, in the village, the people are not leaving for the city and there have even been cases of moving back to the village from the city.

Directive-ordered planning, we were told, does not exist. The village is not issued even a mandatory grain delivery plan. All deliveries are based on contracts with state organizations and any surplus after the contracts have been fulfilled goes to the free market. The prices of agricultural commodities on that market are higher than the state contracting prices but the commodities which the countryside purchases on the free market are more expensive as well. Meanwhile, items based on fixed state prices may be purchased with the money earned from grain and cotton sold by contract.

The peasants become more prosperous with the increase in production. The best workers may earn as much as 300 yuan monthly and the best farmsteads as much as 16,000 annually. Today, as we were told, virtually each family has its television set, radio, and washing machine, an average of four electric fans and as many as five wardrobes. Three farmsteads have each a refrigerator, an electric cooking range and a motorcycle or scooter.

Medical services and education are free. There is a polyclinic with a small in-patient hospital and a 10th-grade school. Also free in that village are movies and laundering (there are one movie theater and two public laundries). There is free food based on a 600-jing (300 kilograms) per person per year. This norm includes essentially vegetables and rice. Meat averages 18 jing (9 kilograms) per capita annually. The cost of all free services is met by the cooperative which spends annually more than 100 yuan per person. The private auxiliary plots raise hogs and chickens, the income of which exceeds 100 yuan per person annually.

We were able to visit three rural industrial enterprises. The first was the paper-making factory. The raw material used is the straw from the fields surrounding the village. The equipment was purchased secondhand: old machinery written off by an urban factory. The paper manufactured here is of the simplest, wrapping quality, but demand for it is high. The second was a plant for the production of soybean curd and other products made of liquefied soy beans. The third was a plant for canned meat products. In all three enterprises most of the workers are engaged in manual labor and the technological level here is lower than at large urban plants. On the other hand, however, the average output per person and average earnings here are higher than in farming. The most important factor is that the land cannot provide employment to the entire rural population. The alternative for the development of rural industry was hidden or open (in the city) unemployment. Let us consider the figures: in recent years 80 million peasants in the country have switched entirely or partially to nonagricultural production without leaving their villages. Another 70 million have obtained jobs in the cities thanks to the revival of state industry and construction and the development of cooperatives and individual labor activity. All in all, this totaled 150 million people! Without a reform policy, in all likelihood most of them would have been jobless.

The general results of the contemporary economic policy pursued in the Chinese countryside are known. The main one is that the gross grain harvest which, by the end of the 1970s was on the level of some 300 million tons annually, is 400 million today. From a grain importer China has turned into an exporter and within the country food supplies have improved noticeably. It is true that in recent years grain production has not been increasing. Obviously, the effect of harnessing the labor activeness of the people, related to the elimination of equalization and the introduction of pay based on end results is essentially exhausted. Now is the turn of the profound growth factors related to major capital investments. This makes even more relevant the development of agriculture with a relatively high profitability and possibility of creating accumulations for the development of the agrarian sector. This would benefit the city as well, for rural enterprises work directly for the free market and produce only that which enjoys consumer demand.

## The Plant

The ancient city of Loyang, which was once the capital of China, is famous for being located in the vicinity of the world-famous caves with 100,000 images of Buddha sculpted on the rocks and now famous also as a major industrial center. It includes the largest tractors plant in China.

The owners welcomed us at the main entrance, near which hangs a huge—at least five-story high—figure of Mao Zedong carved in stone. We were immediately invited to see the production process. "Where would they take us?" I asked myself. Naturally, to the main assembly line, where all visitors of a machine building plant are always taken. Everywhere such facilities look the same and if the technical standard of output is low this hardly affects the main assembly line. What could we see there? It was quite clean. There were a large number of lifting mechanisms, so that heavy parts and assemblies did not have to be held manually. There were manual mechanized tools, for bolts are not secured manually. There were a large number of workers and the work pace was low; it was obvious that the rhythm was clearly not one of a sweatshop. That was all. Now as to the procurement shops.... But then such shops even at home are not displayed quite willingly, for they are hot and noisy and what has been done (or not done) to improve production and labor conditions becomes immediately clear.

Traveling along the richly landscaped territory, the car took us to the plant's administration for a final talk.

"Could we see the casting shop?" I asked, certain in advance of a refusal. However, it turns out that it was possible. We went to the large castings shop, which is a difficult shop to work in at many plants. In all likelihood, it was equally difficult at the Loyang Tractors Plant. However, its reconstruction had been completed recently. We saw an automated line the machine units of which, linked within a coordinated transportation system, performed all basic operations: molding, casting, knocking out and trimming. The new system was the product of Chinese enterprises. We were told that in the course of the reconstruction 70 percent of the new equipment was procured by domestic plants and the balance had been imported. Unfortunately, no Soviet enterprises were among suppliers of equipment of the Loyang Tractors Plant although, in its time, this plant was built with Soviet technical assistance and, to this day, the caterpillar tractor, 1966 model, greatly resembles our old familiar DT-75. Let us point out that China is willingly developing trade relations with the Soviet Union and purchases good equipment wherever it can. And if today supplies of Soviet equipment to this vast market are insufficient even to update a plant built in the past with our aid, and at one point equipped with Soviet machines, the only reason is that our machine building industry is offering very few competitive items.

Naturally, it was annoying to see that the information film on the plant (for the guests), its past and present, made no mention of the participation of the Soviet people in its construction. We also noted that the text was delivered in English, a variant of the Russian text which, obviously, not being deemed all that necessary. However, it is not publicity pictures that create the reputation of Soviet industry abroad. Had people in Loyang been seriously interested in purchasing our equipment, in all likelihood the film would have been accompanied by a Russian text as well.

We later learned that the Loyang plant itself had responded to the demands of the market at the beginning of the reform. As early as 1980 the only item produced here was the caterpillar tractor. With the conversion from people's communes to family contracting agriculture's need for this tractor dropped sharply. Its annual output quickly dropped from 25,000 to 10,000. The model was modified in such a way as to be usable in industry and construction.

The Loyang designers (200 people work in the plant's design bureau) quickly developed a model of 15-horsepower wheel tractor, the production of which reached 40,000 annually. A new model of caterpillar tractor has now been developed. Based on a license purchased from the Italian company FIAT, preparations are being made for the production of a set of more powerful wheel tractors, ranging from 40 to 100 horsepower. The production of trucks has been started. Taking into consideration tremendous demand for consumer goods, additions were made to the shops and the production of bicycle parts was organized: as much as 800,000 sets per year, which are shipped for assembling at a bicycles plant.

The plant's schedule for renovation of output is as follows: the production of bulldozers was mastered in 1981; the production of bicycle parts, in 1982; and that of wheel tractors, in 1983. A bank loan was obtained to organize the production of bicycles. The plant's reconstruction is being financed with enterprise funds and a loan. In the course of the reorganization the cost of production did not decline but gradually increased.

As we were told at the plant, the pivot of the reform was conversion from centralized management to a planned commodity economy. In the past all production resources came out of state funds and the entire output went to the state. In terms of its economic status, the plant was actually nothing but a big shop interested in production only. It had no interest in marketing. It did not depend on the actual efficiency of output and was virtually unable to influence its own plan, development and material well-being. The plant today is a self-managing and self-financing unit which operates on the basis of contract responsibilities. The state levies a tax: a percentage of the profit. State withholdings have been set, with annual increases (from the base 1985 level), for the entire 5-year period. A percentage rate of growth of

the wage fund, based on increased profit and tax withholdings, is scheduled, regardless of the number of workers. As a result, the size of the personnel is growing more slowly than the volume of output. Wages (with bonuses) currently average some 100 yuan monthly per person, compared to 70 yuan in 1978.

### Wholesale Trade Center

The reform would not have been successful had it been limited to the break up of the old administrative-bureaucratic relations. The more important and more difficult task was that of creating a system of new economic relations among enterprises, based on their own interests. The abandonment (to one extent or another) of planning, prices, procurements and cooperation based on directives demanded the development of methods of independent planning, control of contractual and free prices, and the creation of a wholesale trade and voluntary cooperation system.

In Honan alone today there are some 4,000 free markets, something like outlets (entirely and reliably controlled) for the sale of agricultural commodities and industrial goods produced by individual, cooperative and rural enterprises. It is these picturesque and popular markets, which stay open until late in the evening, added to private and cooperative stores and restaurants, that offer a picture of the reform for the man on the street or, in other words, for every resident of China. The reform offers the peasant, the worker or the employee in a state enterprise the opportunity of working better, displaying initiative and, therefore, earn a better living.

There is another face to the reform, seen by enterprises, their managers and production and trade organizers, which pertains to the new economic forms of mutual relations. Thus, in Honan there are today some 3,000 contract associations involving 30,000 to 40,000 enterprises. One such association could be a consortium in which several enterprises invest their funds in reconstruction, expansion or organization of new facilities in any one them. The participants receive as payment a share of profits from the thus organized production, or else goods they may need.

One of the most difficult tasks of the reform is the organization of wholesale trade in means of production, thus replacing the previous procurements from centralized stocks. The first thing to be solved was a basic theoretical problem, for until the beginning of the 1980s a mandatory rule here was Stalin's concept according to which means of production cannot be considered a commodity. This problem was solved and it was established that they could be treated as a commodity. The preceding 12th CPC Congress set the task of creating a wholesale trade system. Theoretical problems were tackled on a practical basis. Many such problems appeared, and ways to solve them are being found in the course of the reform.

The first difficulty is the scarcity of many items. How, while eliminating administrative centralism, to retain a planned order in the allocation of scarce commodities. How to ensure priority supplies to priority production facilities? Abstracting ourselves from the social consequences of economic decisions, the simplest answer to the question is to allow a "purely" market price setting. Let prices rise freely until they are balanced by demand and there would be no shortage. However, it is precisely the social consequences that a socialist country cannot ignore, for with such "freedom" the price of virtually all an enterprise may need would go up. At that point, in order to maintain profitability, the prices of all finished goods and, subsequently, retail prices would have to be increased. Meanwhile, a certain increase in retail prices had already taken place and should not be encouraged to go any further.

A shock absorber was found: a transitional mechanism consisting of a dual price system. Enterprises are issued mandatory state assignments for some of the most important types of commodities. Such production makes possible procurements from centrally distributed stocks at governmental prices. Any other commodity produced on the basis of contracts with customers or at one's own risk and peril and offered on the free market is ensured on the basis of procurements based on contractual and market prices and is sold on the same basis.

The territorial wholesale trade centers, which have become widespread in the past 3 to 4 years, deal, under the new conditions, with the practical organization of the turnover of material resources. One of them is in Loyang. The commercial premises on the first floor of a large building deal in goods produced by the machine building industry. Exhibited under glass or even simply set on the floor are models of goods offered for sale: tools, metal goods, parts, assemblies and small machinery, such as pumps, electric motors, etc. Large items are not brought here but listed in catalogues. A similar premise on the second floor displays samples of construction materials, while the third floor deals in metals. Here the personnel from the center, sitting behind their desks, fill up orders and receive information on available commodities or requests for same. The variety of goods traded here involves some 10,000 different items. The Loyang center is linked through a computer information system with 14 similar centers in other provinces. It not only provides commission services but also has a commodity warehouse for its own trade. The center operates on the basis of full cost accounting and its earnings are based on the quantity and quality of services. The salaries of its personnel, some 100 of them, depend on the size of the earnings. The center was established by the territorial administration for material and technical supplies.

What services are provided by the center? The first is the marketing of state centralized procurement stocks. The second, if the enterprise has obtained funds for commodities it does not need, it has the right to pass on such commodities to the center and receive in exchange cash

at market prices in order to purchase more-needed goods, also at market prices. The third is that the enterprise can give to the center surplus materials (which the center will put in circulation), while retaining the right to recall such items should they become necessary. If no such goods are available at that time, the center is bound to replace them with cash at market prices, so that the enterprise could purchase such goods wherever it can find them. The fourth is that with the help of the center the enterprises sell (at market prices) their own goods produced over and above the state plan and contractual obligations. The fifth is that the center is used for selling or trading at market prices surplus or written-off equipment and other "unsalable" products.

A new experiment was initiated in 1988. It was decided to abandon the dual price system, which is gradually losing its usefulness, and to convert to a single—market—price. Conditions for this have been prepared and sales at market prices have already reached approximately one half of the entire volume of trade in means of production. The same old problem remains: How to avoid a jump in prices if state procurements are terminated?

A method was found. The enterprises which obtain state stocks henceforth will not "unload" them but will give them to the wholesale trade center and be paid for such goods at market prices. The money will be used for the free purchasing of any commodity needed by the enterprise, also at market prices. Therefore, wholesale trade based on a price established centrally by the state authorities will be abolished entirely. However, enterprises obtaining commodities at such prices will continue to receive some subsidies for a while. This will enable them to abstain from increasing the prices of finished goods. Obviously, such subsidies will be gradually eliminated but the enterprises will be able to lower production costs.

In pursuing a policy of cooperation through new methods, the state is granting the center tax advantages. This enables it, in turn, to charge a very modest commission for its work with the enterprises, 3 yuan per 1,000 yuan turnover. However, together with payments for a variety of services provided to the clients, and payments for the leasing of areas in the commercial premises and profits from its own trade, this enables the center to develop accumulations with the help of which it can play its new role. From strictly trade, it can convert to financial operations. The accumulated funds are invested in the production of commodities which are in the greatest demand or used for increasing the production of scarce types of metal at the Uhan Combine. In exchange, the combine would receive metal which it can sell.

Having heard all of this I could not abstain from making a historical analogy. In the 1920s, with the conversion to the new economic policy, trade industrial organizations—syndicates—appeared in the Soviet Union. Their legal and economic foundations were entirely different from the current wholesale trade centers in China. These

were voluntary shareholding associations created by the enterprises themselves, to which they were accountable. However, their functions were the same. Furthermore, the first steps in this development are similar: capital accumulations are channeled into financing goods needed by industry. Would subsequent steps coincide? Life will be the judge.

I asked the Loyang economists engaged in developing the wholesale trade center whether they had heard of this Soviet experience of the 1920s. They had not. In my talks at enterprises in Chengchow and Loyang on several occasions I heard something else: China is abandoning the system of Soviet-type management which was adopted in the 1950s. This is indeed the case. We too are abandoning this system. However, we now know that this is not the only variant of a socialist economic system known to our history. In the 1950s, however, we did not remember our own experience of the 1920s, were poorly familiar with it and assessed it simplistically. Nor did we tell about it our friends who were only taking their first steps in building socialism. Subsequently our friendship with China was interrupted. The search for new ways, initiated 9 years ago, no longer involved our participation.

My purpose in these notes, unwittingly fragmented, was not to present a full picture of Chinese economic life. I did not describe difficulties, many of which exist. For example, one can see with the naked eye the lag in the areas of transportation and power industry; the development of external economic relations and of enterprises set up jointly with other countries is creating a number of problems; the overall living standard of the country is still quite low. What matters, however, is the dynamics: the country is advancing rapidly, developing the reform confidently, strengthening the material foundations for socialism and intensifying socialist awareness. Furthermore, interesting in any country is, above all, progressive experience and that which one could learn from it. There is something to learn from modern China. There is also a real possibility for our countries to adopt a more attentive attitude toward their reciprocal experience compared with previous decades.

Beijing-Chengchow-Loyang-Moscow

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#### **Facing A Choice.....**

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[Article by Georgiy Arkadyevich Arbatov, academician, director of the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] It seems to me that this—the need to make a choice—is the most characteristic feature of the current stage of development of the United States. In talking

about a choice, I am in no way referring to the upcoming presidential elections. Far more important things are involved, issues concerning the foundations of American life—its economy, its domestic and foreign policy, and even its moral image.

As it turns out, the need for a new and in-depth reinterpretation of the realities of the American life has become powerfully apparent as the Reagan administration is drawing to an end. Could this be a coincidence? The answer to this question is not simple.

The main problems that the course of events has placed on the agenda are deeper, more significant, and generally "older" than the Reagan administration, its ideology, and its policies. "Reaganism" itself, one might say, was an attempt to answer them. It was a conservative reply and, moreover, one that expressed the views of the extreme right wing of America's ruling class. The problems were primarily engendered by a change in the internal and external conditions of the existence of American capitalism. This made it increasingly imperative for the United States to adapt its behavior and policy to the new realities. There is nothing unusual in the fact that history poses such issues to each country from time to time. It is even natural. Anything unusual here might have been the scale. It was the scale of everything—the country, the changed conditions, and the need for changes in thinking and politics. If we reduce things to their most basic level, the essential point is that the era of America's exclusive position (partly imagined, partly real) was drawing to a close, and that the time had come to step into "new clothes."

Let me emphasize that I am not talking about the strength or merits of America and the Americans, or whether the United States will remain a great power, but rather the question of its exclusivity. This is largely the exclusivity that one could put in quotation marks—an imaginary type, built on myths and illusions that have existed in the American mind for a long time, possibly since the first settlers landed in the New World. Many of them and their descendants see American society as the Biblical "shining city on a hill." It was only a short step from there to the notion of "predestination," that is, of America's special mission and rights in the world.

However, there was also a real American exclusivity. Initially, there was the fact that Americans were far less vulnerable to upheavals and danger from outside than any other country, and that they were independent of events in the rest of the world. After World War II this was supplemented by an incomparable military strength (nuclear monopoly!) and economic strength, which offered unprecedented opportunities and a free hand in international economics and politics. At that time, many Americans seriously believed that an "American age" and an "American world" was coming.

However, the situation began to change starting with the second half of the 60s. Still a great and mighty power, the United States started to convert into an essentially conventional power, so to speak. It not only lost the chance to achieve global hegemony, but entered into relations of **mutual** dependence with other countries. It proved to be just as vulnerable to many threats as all other countries.

The Americans reacted painfully to these changes, and for a long time refused to reconcile themselves to them. And even after they had started to adapt to the new circumstances (forced by real life), the policymakers (and a considerable portion of the population) kept measuring and weighing things to see if a backward feint would be possible, and return to that so very pleasant order, which had been a natural one in many people's eyes. The end of the 70s and the 1980 electoral campaign were a time when this measuring and weighing process became especially intense. In addition to economic difficulties and the unaccustomed situation of military parity with the USSR, national humiliation played a considerable role as a catalyst for such attitudes. The humiliation lay in the holding of the entire U.S. Embassy staff in Iran as hostages for more than a year, and the failed attempts to free the U.S. diplomats.

This combination of circumstances created well-prepared ground for demagogy by extreme right wingers, who came out with slogans such as "making America strong again," making the outside world "reckon with" it again, and regaining military supremacy over the USSR. Of course, there was also a return to the old "values" within the country—cutting government spending on the social issues to a minimum, granting corporations new benefits, and reducing state control over private enterprise.

This was essentially a sort of "counterreformation," a rejection of the reforms that capitalism had tried to use to preserve and consolidate its social base after the first great tremors and the start of its general crisis, and a return to "pure" capitalism with its "social Darwinist" morality, which asserts that might is right in both domestic and foreign policy. In 1980, America chose this extremely conservative platform.

If today, 8 years later, the United States again faces a choice, it is precisely because the "counterreformation" failed. Not only did it fail to solve most of the past problems, but it created new ones.

To avoid being accused of a lack of objectivity, I let the Americans themselves speak. First of all, there are the assessments intended for the general public, those provided by the mass media. As an example, I will cite the comprehensive review in the first issued of NEWS-WEEK for 1988, entitled: "The Eighties Have Ended." While stressing its method of counting the decades

according to their historical meaning and not by the calendar, the magazine offered 19 October 1987, the day of the New York stock market crash, as the specific date for this "end."

It may be impossible to conceive of a more eloquent symbol than the stock market crash. Conservatives in Reagan's wing, who had assiduously preached the religion of "pure" capitalism, could not fail to worship the idol of the stock market. The rapid rise of the market, and then the crash—can one define the evolution of the Reagan era more accurately?

We are, however, talking about a symbol. The substance of what is happening is far more complicated. It is no coincidence that, in addition to the stock market crash, the weekly listed the loss of the Republican majority in the Senate and the "Irangate" scandal and, of course, the need for summit meetings and even agreements with the Soviet Union, with the U.S. President had quite recently cursed as the "evil empire." Then there were the changes in America's morals: the end of the orgy of greed and the fashion of boasting of one's wealth and not shying away from corruption, with the most important virtue considered the ability to make money (not only on the stock market, but also in politics and everything else, even religion) and then to spend it in a provocative and visible way, all of which had started with the republican victory in the 1980 elections. There was something provocative and outmoded, too, in this explosion of the money "culture," or rather cult. It virtually became America's official ideology and morality in the 80s. (It was soon realized once again that it was not entirely gratuitously that capitalism had tried long and hard to conceal the most unattractive facets of bourgeois life and ethics). As the cult of money fell, so did many of its "heroes"—stock market swindlers like Ivan Boesky, who is now in jail, but who quite recently symbolized a new generation of big names on Wall Street. Or take the television preachers and millionaires Jimmy and Tammy Bakker, found guilty of simple cheating and debauchery. Add a whole throng (about 120, by some estimates) of embezzlers and administration workers who misused their official positions and were brought to account. This group included some individuals quite close to the President....

However, all this is just the outside. In essence, the Americans, who suffered disappointments toward the end of the 70s, were promised prosperity and the renaissance of America's power and might. This was done by playing on the chauvinist feelings of the petit bourgeois, who wanted this passionately and believed in it. But soon, very soon, he had to wake up with a bad hangover. Much of what had been promised proved unattainable (military superiority over the USSR, the possibility of dictating one's will to other countries, not to mention "Reaganomics"—a program for the magical solution of all economic problems by freeing capital from an oppressive "big government"). The rest, such as the marked rise in consumption and the economic upsurge (since 1982), which has been unusually long for peacetime, had been acquired largely on credit.

Indeed, on credit, in the literal sense of the word. Today's prosperity has come through investments and foreign loans, and at the expense of future generations of Americans, who will have to foot the bill. (The total debt—state, corporative, and consumption—doubled under Reagan's Presidency, reaching a total of \$8 trillion). This has been accompanied by the increasing polarization of society and a worsening of the problems of poverty and the poor, which President Reagan's successor will also inherit.

Hence NEWSWEEK's pessimistic assessment of the state of affairs: "At the end of 1987, Reagan's Presidency was in profound decline. All two-term presidencies have suffered the same fate—a 'lame duck' situation toward the end of the second term. However, in this case, something else is involved—the end of an entire era has taken shape."

It is difficult to disagree with that. A "counterreformation" had been launched, and had not worked. They have not succeeded in remaking foreign and domestic conditions to their own tastes and wishes, and the question of how to adapt to them has arisen forcefully once again. But that is my conclusion—the magazine did not go that far....

I would like to present one more piece of evidence—not the work of the anonymous authors of a popular American weekly, but that of a recognized specialist, someone who in every sense belongs to America's economic, political, and intellectual elite: Peter Peterson, a leading financier and banker, who served as secretary of commerce in the Nixon administration. Now, in addition to everything else, he has been elected president of the New York Foreign Relations Council, a well-known foreign policy research and educational organization linked to America's ruling circles.

In the October 1987 issue of ATLANTIC magazine (which, ironically, appeared a few days before the stock market crash), Peterson published an article entitled "The Morning After," which drew a wide response. (The following explanation of the title appeared on the cover: "America is about to wake up to the painful economic reality that is the consequence of the greatest borrowing and spending orgy in the nation's history.")

In one of the most eloquent parts of his article, Peterson, with the facts at his fingertips, compares the people's hopes and the administration's promises and intentions with the real results of the latter's activity. I shall cite the most important of these comparisons.

There were promises of economic prosperity based on higher labor productivity. The figures indicate a decrease in the growth of labor productivity from the insignificant annual rate of 0.6 percent in the 70s to 0.4 in the years 1979 to 1986. <sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, general poverty has surpassed all indexes.

There were promises to end the low level of private capital investment (6.9 percent of GNP) and the steady deterioration of the social infrastructure (transportation, communications, and so on), which had worried Americans for a long time. As it turned out, between 1980 and 1986 capital investments fell to their lowest postwar level (an annual average of 4.7 percent of GNP), and the deterioration of the infrastructure worsened.

There were promises to trim the governmental machinery and federal spending. In fact, government spending rose from 20.5 percent of the GNP in 1979 to 23.8 percent in 1986. The government apparatus grew as well.

There were promises of a radical break in the tendency for federal spending to exceed federal income (in other words, in the budget deficit, which reached an annual average of 1.7 percent of GNP). In fact, the deficit rose to an average of 4.1 percent between the 1980 and 1986. The figure for 1986 was 4.9 percent (which amounts to 90 percent of private sector accumulation); the federal debt has trebled since 1980.

There were promises to increase America's competitiveness in the world and ensure freer international trade. In fact, instead of the \$65 billion trade surplus promised for 1984, there was a \$123 billion trade deficit (which has increased even further since 1984). The United States has gone from the world's greatest creditor to the world's greatest debtor. America's import quotas, which limit free trade, more than trebled, and there was a rise in protectionist attitudes.

There were promises to increase America's military power and to give the country a greater potential to effectively "project" its strength abroad. In fact, support for high levels of military spending eroded due to the budget deficit, which put increasingly tight restrictions on freedom of movement in the military sphere. (In recent years, Congress has obstructed the growth in military appropriations and has made significant cuts in spending on a number of programs). This, Peterson writes, has once again shown the world America's inability to carry out "stable long-term defense planning." I myself would add that the immense amount of military spending, which has worsened the increase in the budget deficit and the international situation, has at the same time offered the United States no opportunity to shift the military balance in its favor to any noticeable degree. Nor has it broadened the scope for using military force to political ends.

There were promises to conduct a firmer and more purposeful "unilateral" foreign policy (that is, a one-sided policy implemented on the basis of one's own will and arbitrary judgment instead of international law, negotiations, and agreements). There were also promises to "stand tall again and play the leading part in the free world." In fact, due to growing indebtedness toward other developed countries, the main thrust of diplomatic activity is directed at foreign central banks. The goal

here is to make them sign agreements on the dollar rate that favor the United States. At the same time, attempts are being made to compel other countries to buy American goods, and subterfuge is being used as a means of freeing the United States from the negative consequences of the indebtedness of developing countries. There is also "a crisis in the funding of foreign affairs," which may mean "the end of America's global domination." Again, there has been a rise in isolationist sentiments. With bitter irony, Peterson writes that "we are witnessing attempts to stand tall while remaining on our knees."

It was promised that, on the basis of renewed military might, there would be a renewal of cultural and ideological strength—"we wanted to replace a sense of sickness with a confident sense of forward motion." The result was the loss of these hopes, too, as economic realities gradually undermined ideological enthusiasm.

Like many specialists, however, Peterson sees the main dangers as still lying ahead. They assert that it is possible, probable, and indeed even inevitable that there will be serious upheavals if proper measures are not taken, measures which embrace both domestic and foreign U.S. policy.

The changes now taking shape in the perception Americans have of the world and in their attitudes have very important international dimensions as well. One of these is the very revealing, complex, and paradoxical interconnection between the pursuit of military supremacy and the real power of the state. It turns out that the former can increase while the latter suffers a decline because of this, even if one is talking about such an economic giant as the United States, the richest country in the world.

A curious minor point is the fact that a voluminous work (almost 700 pages) by history professor Paul Kennedy entitled "*The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict (From 1500—2000)*" has become a bestseller. It is entirely devoted to proving that the great powers have entered a decline due to the excessive economic strain caused by military preparations and the aspiration to maintain and expand their empires. This includes present-day America.

A book by another academic is also being widely discussed in the United States: "*Fatal Luxury: The Fate of the American Empire*," by Walter Meade. His subject is largely the same, but the author focuses on contemporary problems, especially those of the United States, a power which in his opinion is experiencing a decline largely as a result of its imperial policy. Meade calls America (together with its allies) a "cold war empire" rather than "the free world." And there is profound meaning in this: the "cold war" and the struggle against communism and the "Soviet threat" have truly become not just a political religion, but also the most important determining factor in the economics, politics and spiritual life of the West, and above all, of course, the United States.

The traditional imperial policy, the policy of force, has been challenged by the very economic realities of our day, which have imposed serious limitations on the arms race, and indeed on "cold war" politics generally. Cosmetic measures provide no answer to this challenge. But what radical measure can be proposed?

One way out, which is proposed from time to time in the United States, is that of using the fact that American debts will have to be repaid in American currency, and of setting the printing presses to work to print dollars for debt repayments. Simple? Yes; but extremely risky, because following this recipe would lead to inflation and the undermining of creditors' confidence in the United States. They are increasingly preferring to buy American real estate and to invest in American industry rather than assume American government debts.

Another recipe which has become popular in America is that of shifting the burden of the arms race and "cold war" onto the allies. A great deal is said on this subject in the United States, intimidating the NATO countries and Japan with the idea that Washington would stop "defending" them. First of all, though, if all links in the "cold war empire," rather than just one link, are economically weakened, this would hardly make the chain of America's allies stronger. Second, the allies have yet to agree to a "redistribution of the burden." There is no such agreement so far, and it will not be easy to obtain it. Major expenditure is involved, which may result in onerous and dangerous economic, social, and political consequences. This is in conditions where the public can see grounds for new hopes of disarmament, detente and cooperation in the world arena, rather than a rise in tension.

This is the right point to move on to another powerful factor in the changes which have also confronted the United States with the need to reinterpret political realities: the restructuring process in the USSR, the changes in our country's policy, and its foreign policy initiatives. But logic demands that we start with something else—the role which the difficulties and stagnation experienced by the USSR played in the worsening of the international situation and in the undermining of the detente processes toward the end of the 70s.

At one time, capitalism far from welcomed the very idea of coexistence with socialism and with the Soviet Union. On the contrary, for a long time it did not want to reconcile itself to that historical fact. Coexistence was only accepted by world capitalism when, and to the extent to which, socialism had to be accepted as historically inevitable. But wherever the West developed hopes that everything is reversible and that history can be replayed, the attitude to socialism changed too. In this respect, the stagnation and economic difficulties in our country's economy, and in its political and spiritual life could not fail to give a segment of the ruling class in the United States and allied countries illusory hopes that

socialism had entered an era of decline, that it was going downhill, and that it only needed a little push for the problem to be solved once and for all.

Much of the Reagan administration's foreign policy in its first term may be explained by these very hopes, starting with the policy of "competing strategies" in the arms race, a policy designed to exhaust the Soviet Union economically by making "its previous capital investment in defense obsolete," as was officially stated. There were also plans to force military rivalry in areas where it would be most expensive, make foreign policy more ideological, and engage in subversive propaganda and "psychological warfare."

But there was more. The partner, the other side, and his conduct and policy always play a role in the aggravation of the international situation, just as they do in detente. His policy can be either effective or weak in preventing this aggravation, or it can, at other times, contribute to it willingly or unwillingly.

Looking back in this light, how can we assess Soviet foreign policy in those years? Obviously, its goals and principles have remained the same—peace, detente, and disarmament. However, in more than one respect, the understanding of what was going on in international relations and the world around us did not correspond to reality. If one moves from goals to means and methods, to the question of political skill, it is all the more difficult to provide an unambiguous assessment. A detailed examination of this problem is troublesome for many reasons, including the fact that one must not harm today's policy by criticizing yesterday's.

Nevertheless, we must admit that we were moving slowly, very slowly, toward a recognition of the new military and political realities. There was a lack of initiative. Too often there was improvisation and oversimplified reactions to various moves by the West. In some respects, the other side was even allowed to impose its own "rules of the game" and to fight battles on bridgeheads of its choice.

One example is the fact that for a long time, we accepted protracted, unpromising, and fruitless negotiations. To some extent, they were even harmful, as the other side used them to try—with some success—to fool the Western public, lift the pressure applied by the antiwar forces, and give the people a false sense of security. The Vienna talks on reductions in arms and armed forces in Central Europe provide the clearest evidence of this. They opened in 1973, and have yet to produce anything at all. They began under peculiar conditions, in which the U.S. Senate was moving toward the adoption of the "Mansfield amendments," according to which a considerable percentage of American troops would be withdrawn from Europe. The U.S. Government started these talks to tie the Senate's hands. Of course, we could not reject them. Most likely, though, there was no need to let them degenerate into 14 years of empty talk. Indeed, the

"mothballed collection" on the table at other negotiations, which M.S. Gorbachev mentioned in Reykjavik, could not have accumulated without our tolerance or at least ineptness, if not participation.

The fact that the Americans were able to impose their "rules of the game" on us has been manifested elsewhere as well. We saw it in the urge to respond in kind to virtually every American military program. We did so without paying any particular attention to the differences in economic potential, strategic and political realities, or, on occasion, to common sense. The very possibility of an "asymmetrical" response or of refusing to compete with the West in each specific type of weapon took its place in our military-political views only recently, when a great many things were subjected to an in-depth reinterpretation. The same goes for the concept of "reasonable sufficiency."

At some stage, we began to partially "borrow," if not copy, several elements of American military concepts that were alien to our approach. One may refer specifically here to elements relative to "nuclear deterrence" and nuclear war. Naturally, there were a fair number of explanations for this: we were lagging behind, and were forced to catch up. And then there was our chronic "inferiority complex," augmented by prolonged adherence to the experience of the Great Patriotic War without proper consideration of changed conditions. This dictated its own logic of behavior and prompted a policy of "cutting edge against cutting edge" (sometimes in propaganda, too) even when this was unjustified. While we rightly considered ourselves a great power, this logic tended to make us fail to take full account (again, it is means and methods rather than goals that are involved) of the fact that we are a **socialist** great power. As such, we have our own principles and sources of strength, which were discovered by V.I. Lenin and have brought us success more than once. That was true even in the first years of the October Revolution, when, as Lenin stressed, we were "immeasurably weak" militarily. The return to Leninist values, which is taking place before our eyes, is all the more effective, for a mature socialist policy must be supplemented, not replaced, by military and economic might.

These points could not fail to influence the international situation. They made the turn from detente to "cold war" easier and prevented the erection of obstacles to the development of militarist campaigns in the United States and its allies in the late 70s and early 80s.

That is why the changes in our country became such an important milestone and a true watershed from the point of view of world politics, too.

More than anything else, this applies to our country's processes of restructuring and renewal, which are helping to destroy the established anti-Soviet stereotypes and revive the attractive force and prestige of socialism. The rapid, bold and decisive development of the USSR's

foreign policy exerts a growing influence of the international situation. The political initiative was taken and used energetically in the interests of peace, international security and disarmament. The initial results are evident: the signing of a treaty with the United States on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles; the improvement of the Soviet Union's relations with the PRC, a number of West European states and many developing countries; and the bold steps taken to settle the regional conflict in and around Afghanistan. This, by itself, is considerable for a period of less than 3 years.

However, there are other results that are no less important. Speaking in Paris in autumn of 1985, M.S. Gorbachev talked about "the danger of our awareness lagging behind the rapid changes in life," and about our aspiration to overcome this gap. Those were not simply promises. In 3 years, Soviet policy has made serious progress in evolving a new form of political thought, and has put forward a number of bold ideas: having a nuclear-free, demilitarized, nonviolent world, the concept of an all-embracing system of international security, and others. These are major, long-term ideas and concepts which are beginning to gain effective strength and show promise. It is precisely these ideas which embody the choice which the Soviet Union has already made, and made finally and irrevocably.

It is difficult to overestimate the significance of everything that is happening, taken as a whole—restructuring and glasnost, the new political thinking, and the foreign policy initiatives which have already been implemented. Something very serious seems to be happening, and the supporting framework and entire infrastructure of the "cold war" are starting to break up. This is because the "face of the enemy," which has been not only customary but also absolutely necessary for the entire foreign and military policy of the United States and its allies in the postwar period, is being eroded. The Western press has already started talking about the destruction of the "enemy" stereotype as "Gorbachev's secret weapon." It is no secret, of course. This "weapon" does, of course, possess immense power—the arms race, the policy of force in the world of developing states, and military blocs are all unthinkable without an "enemy," without the "Soviet threat." This is all the more true under the conditions of those real economic and political problems which the United States and many of its allies are now forced to face up. These stereotypes are as necessary as air for the "cold war" and the arms race. It is impossible to conduct either of these without an enemy, a plausible one at that, who can be used to intimidate one's own people. Meanwhile, serious and, one would think, long-term changes have already taken place here. The front-line troops of the "cold war" will no longer be able to abuse the credulity of their public (and let me add that we were the ones who displayed a "secretive taciturnity" on some issues, and awkwardness and inarticulacy on others, whether it was our own policy and intentions that were involved, or the other sides and its policy, which

were often depicted in such a way that our people were not convinced, and this merely provided the West with grounds for speculation).

What is the choice, then, that awaits the Americans in the new economic and political situation?

In order not to mislead the reader, I would like to say first of all that the problems facing America have not yet become the subject of broad nationwide discussion in that country. Even in the course of the developing electoral campaign, they are talking about individual aspects of the problem (the budget deficit and debt; liberal democrats talk about the situation of poor Americans, and so on), rather than the problem in its entirety. So far, only some specialists have started seriously to think about it and they are the only ones arguing about whether or not the time of "imperial greatness" has ended for the United States, and about whether the United States is capable of determining the fate of the world or whether the world and the socioeconomic realities in the country will determine the fate of America and American politics.

One way or another, however, any specific issue which is already beginning to concern the American public will lead to an awareness of the need to make a choice on how the United States is to structure its mutual relations with the surrounding world. Two trends have already taken shape here.

The first, which perhaps cannot be called new thinking, but can already be described as a trend of realism—is derived from the fact that economic and political realities and the country's domestic and international position require drastic changes. The choice is obvious in economic matters: either consume less, invest more, or produce more. This is not a simple choice at all. In order to produce more, it is necessary to invest more. According to the Americans' own assessments, gigantic investments are needed because of the neglected conditions in many areas. Where are they to come from? This is now the hottest political question in America. It has made people rack their brains about all the available reserves in the economy, including the reduction of military expenditure. This view is that a drop in the Americans' consumption is concerned, it is considered inevitable. But what will the political consequences of these measures be, especially since in recent years the gulf between rich and poor has deepened and the number of poor has increased? In short, a considerable number of very difficult problems await Reagan's successors.

They will have to make a definite choice in foreign policy, too. The supporters of a realistic trend consider that U.S. foreign policy must promote the solution of domestic, specifically economic problems, including through cuts in military appropriations. However, although this is an important issue, it is not the only one which calls for change in foreign policy.

Increased interdependence with other countries, and the interdependence and—all differences and contradictions notwithstanding—the integrality and unity of the world dictate the need for new thinking and new approaches not only in the military-political sphere.

Let us consider such an acute economic problem of the United States as its undermined competitiveness. In conditions where the production potential of developed capitalist countries is growing more rapidly than solvent demand (countries which are both major producers and major customers), the competitive struggle between them will constantly intensify. Up until now, the United States and its allies have solved the problems which arise from this by constantly reshaping their own restricted markets. In this context, American has intensified its pressure aimed at cutting down its partners' exports to the United States and forcing them to buy more American goods.

Obviously, this method does not provide for a long-term solution to world economic problems, for sooner or later everything will come to a standstill, and may end up with very serious upheavals. A real solution inevitably suggests itself: instead of repeatedly reshaping the existing restricted market, it must be radically expanded and turned into a world market, in fact rather than words.

In such a case, however, the United States and the global community would be faced with completely new economic tasks (many of which are, incidentally, outlined in the Soviet Union's proposals for the creation of a comprehensive system of international security, and its economic area in particular). What is primarily involved is the accelerated development of countries liberated from the colonial yoke (including aid provided for them from the diversion of some of the funds which are swallowed up by the arms race today), a just and far-sighted solution to the problem of their foreign debts, and their inclusion, on an equal basis, within the system of a mutually advantageous international division of labor. Also involved are a decisive expansion of economic contacts with socialist countries, the abandonment of discriminatory measures, and the development of new forms of cooperation. Such an approach would radically improve world economic relations, promote prosperity in the West and East, north and south, and strengthen economic security and world economic and political stability.

This is extremely important, for under contemporary conditions there is a sharp increase in the significance of economic factors and aspects of international relations (and social, cultural, humanitarian, and moral factors as well). This increase is taking place because of a marked reduction in the possibilities of using military power (at least, using it "rationally" and thus achieving set political goals). Military power, which used to dominate international relations, is increasingly graphically demonstrating its inability to solve any major political problem. This, too, is a new reality of our time.

The consequences of the American armada's appearance in the Persian Gulf in 1987 provide a clear example of these changes. An immense force was assembled there—the value of the U.S. Naval Forces in the Gulf is estimated at about \$500 billion, and every day of their stay costs millions. Naval vessels of U.S. allies were also “drawn in.” Under the conditions which have developed, however, the effectiveness of the operation has been insignificant, if not the opposite of what was planned (since the arrival of the U.S. Navy, the amount of oil shipping has been reduced many times over and the general political situation in the region, already explosive because of the Iran-Iraq war, has worsened).

There are a considerable number of such examples of the “impotence” of military power even on a regional scale, whether in the Near East, Central America, or other seats of conflict (not to mention the impossibility of winning a nuclear war, which has been set out at Soviet-American summit meetings). History never ceases to provide lessons; it is time to draw practical conclusions from them.

The supporters of the realistic trend evidently understand this. This trend is making progress and becoming a noticeable force. Its representatives include a considerable number of sober-minded U.S. politicians and business circles of the general public.

This realistic trend is, however, opposed by a different one, I would call traditionalist. The supporters of this trend oppose change and favor the preservation of old policies, old approaches, and the old order in international relations, in one form or another.

The extreme right-wingers are the most vociferous of those openly in favor of the “cold war.” They are now accusing Reagan of “betrayal” and of almost “selling himself out to the bolsheviks,” and have concentrated their efforts on attempts to undermine the significance of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. The extreme right-wingers are not alone in this camp, however. Change is also opposed by a significant segment of the reputedly moderate (or moderate-conservative) two-party traditional foreign policy “establishment,” by a considerable number of political and public figures, and by specialists on military and international affairs, who were brought up in the “cold war” years, educated in the “cold war,” and who are evidently incapable of grasping or accepting any foreign policy which lies outside its concepts. There are a considerable number of big names among the adherents of this line. No less important is the fact that important political and economic interests and the influence of the military-industrial complex are on its side. All this makes the opponents of change a serious political force.

A complex and sharp struggle lies ahead. It would be premature to try to predict its outcome, although the correlation of forces between the “ar party” and the “peace party,” which M.S. Gorbachev recently spoke

about with respect to the whole of monopoly capitalism, is changing in the United States, too. It can be said that the problem of choice or, to be more precise, the problem of a need for change, has never faced America so urgently. This problem has been posed by the real changes within the United States and throughout the world. Of course, historical experience shows that politics can lag behind the requirements of real life, or even run contrary to them, for a long time. These requirements cannot, however, be brushed aside or ignored ad infinitum, although a choice which presupposes drastic changes is always a difficult one. We know this for ourselves. Sometimes it seems to me that America will not be able to avoid some sort of “restructuring” and “glasnost” of its own.

Glasnost is needed because it is absolutely necessary for that country to have real and serious discussion, for which 30-second pre-election television clips are no substitute; while restructuring is needed because so much has really changed that the old thinking and old policies are threatening to bring the country to an impasse and to exert a most destructive influence on the entire international situation.

I frequently hear the following question: If changes do come, how long will they last? This is in reference to the lesson of the 70s, when detente initially gathered strength, but was then replaced by a new spell of “cold war.” Perhaps such changes in the temperature of international relations are just as inevitable as the ocean's tides and the seasons of the year?

No, such zigzags and swings of the pendulum in world politics are not inevitable. They are now simply inadmissible and lethally dangerous. But are there grounds for the conclusion that stable, long-term positive shifts are possible in international relations? It would seem that there are. Many of them have already been mentioned: decline in the role of military power as an instrument of world policy; increased interdependence which makes it possible to ensure security only in conjunction with the other side, rather than at its expense; and, very importantly, the restructuring process in our country, and the Soviet Union's new political thinking and new initiatives.

I would like to add another point to all of this—the significant worsening of the internal problems of countries and societies which is typical of our time. This is true of all countries—great and small, rich and poor, industrially developed and developing. Problems of economic development are becoming more complicated, social conflicts are acquiring new dimensions, ecological threats are becoming more acute, national problems are again coming to the fore in many countries, and so on. Clearly in itself this phenomenon is a natural one—contemporary society is becoming increasingly complicated, multifaceted, and contradictory, and the pace of change is accelerating. There are certainly other reasons, too, which have yet to be studied.

What conclusions can be drawn from all this?

First the conclusion that the creation of the most favorable opportunities for successfully solving domestic problems and successfully moving forward in the economic, social, spiritual, and other areas, is today becoming the main foreign policy interest of any state. This applies in full to both the USSR and the United States. This means that, in addition to the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, another common strategic interest is appearing in their foreign policy: that foreign policy matters should at least not hinder the solution of domestic problems, and should even facilitate if possible.

Another conclusion is that in the contemporary interdependent world it is impossible to accomplish tasks related to domestic development (even for such large countries as the USSR and the United States) by simply "fencing oneself off" from other countries and their problems or, worse still, from global problems which concern all mankind. Consequently, the question is not one of whether to participate in world affairs or not, but rather how to ensure that such participation in turn promote the solution of both international and domestic problems. This creates another common interest for the two great powers—cooperation (together with other countries, of course) in solving major international problems, including through the diversion of some of the funds which are today being devoured by military rivalry.

It would, of course, be naive to think that the existence of common interests will instill peace and quite or an idyll into the relations between the USSR and the United States. No, the differences in interests and the contradictions, serious ones at that, will remain. It follows that competition and rivalry will also remain. However, objective conditions authoritatively dictate the need to renounce dangerous forms of rivalry which undermine the domestic potential of the individual countries.

I think that the problem of competition must also be approached in a more cautious and selective manner than in the past. Yes, we must and we will compete in creating a more attractive "model" of social development, in ensuring the best conditions for the self-fulfillment of the individual, and in solving numerous problems of society's material and spiritual progress. Such competition does not undermine or destroy, but rather strengthens and stimulates both societies, and makes them take a more critical look not only at the other side, but also at themselves.

There are, however, areas in which competition between the USSR and the United States is as senseless as it is dangerous. It would be inept to accept the grounds for rivalry which certain American politicians try to palm off on us. For instance, we do not want to and we will not compete with the United States on the creation of SDI. We do not want to and will not compete with it in the creation of military bases and "spheres of influence." If

some actions by the United States confront us with the need for a response, we shall try to make this response a rational and, where necessary, "asymmetric" one, and to make it consistent with the supreme interests of our country, its friends and allies, and the entire global community.

This approach to coexistence and to competition between the two systems, as well as the idea of a need to "humanize" East-West relations, is not new. From the very beginning of the Soviet state's existence, peaceful cohabitation with capitalist countries, to use Lenin's words, was our preferred model of international relations. However, the history of the 20th century has proved to be exceptionally harsh, and common sense arguments have all too often given way to brute force. The special feature of the present moment would seem to be that common sense is increasingly becoming a material force, reinforced by economic and political necessity and by the interests of self-preservation. Herein, perhaps, lie important grounds for looking into the future with greater optimism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. One explanation is that more than 70 percent of the government allocations for scientific research and development go to meet the Pentagon's needs.

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#### **In the Vanguard of the Struggle of the French Working People**

*1802001In Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 88 (signed to press 17 Mar 88) pp 120-124*

[Text] **The 26th Congress of the FCP was held from 2 to 6 December 1987. The congress discussed the topical problems facing French communists at the present stage: confrontation with the policy of strict economy pursued by the ruling circles, a search for a solution to the profound and protracted economic crisis experienced by the country, and uniting the majority of the people in the struggle for democratic change and social progress. The party forum dealt to a considerable extent with problems of international policy and the struggle for peace, nuclear disarmament, an independent French foreign policy and friendship among nations.**

**Following are excerpts from the concluding resolution adopted at the congress and the section of the political program of the FCP dealing with international affairs.**

#### **From the Concluding Resolutions of the 26th Congress of the French Communist Party**

#### **We Support the Changes and Improvements Taking Place in the Socialist Countries**

The Soviet Union is experiencing a period of accelerated historical development. It is a true "revolution within the revolution." It is of prime importance both to the

Soviet people and to the supporters of socialism throughout the world. To different degrees the other socialist countries have also entered a new phase in their development.

The unquestionable successes achieved in the economic, social, political, and scientific areas were emphasized in M.S. Gorbachev's report to the 27th CPSU Congress and, subsequently, in his speech on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. The CPSU analyzed the reasons for the difficulties which had accumulated and for the lagging in a number of areas and the reasons for the errors which were made, and took the decision to undertake a thorough study of the history of the Soviet Union. It is on this basis that the party undertook a profound and comprehensive restructuring, the purpose of which is to have more rather than less socialism by releasing the entire material and human potential of socialist society. Priority will be given to meeting the needs of the individual. Means of achieving this objective were defined: economic reform and intensification of socialist democracy.

The great importance of social policy has been restored. The state, labor collectives and enterprises are paying great attention to problems of housing, education, health care, recreation and the family. The review of the wage system is aimed at a more fairer labor wages. The interests of consumers, of individuals, and problems of environmental protection and living conditions and ecology are being taken more fully into consideration.

The pace of economic development is growing. This is manifested in additional capital investments in scientific research and education, strengthening ties among science, basic research and production, a new approach to management and planning, the growing autonomy of enterprises, the purpose of which is to free them from administrative and bureaucratic ways, increased attention to the quality of output, improving distribution, adopting a new approach to problems of foreign trade, establishing a new correlation among all forms of social ownership (state, cooperative, etc.) and acceptance of the individual sector. The new economic growth is already assuming a specific shape.

The main prerequisite for the success of these changes is that the people themselves play the main role in their implementation. We are witnessing a noticeable development of socialist democracy, which is a way and a means of the initiated changes. Everywhere, in establishments and plant shops, the principles of self-government are beginning to be asserted. The new structures allow young people, women and all citizens to participate in decisionmaking more actively. Political life is being revived, and priority is being given to the task of upgrading the activeness of the party itself so that it can truly play its vanguard role. The specific nature of mass public organizations has been acknowledged.

The mass information media play an important role in increasing openness in social life. The pluralism of views is becoming legitimized. This approach is already being manifested in the deep changes taking place in the field of culture. Freedom of creativity has been proclaimed and a variety of creative areas are being asserted and innovative quests in art are being encouraged. New positive regulations on the freedom of movement (including foreign travel), immigration, justice and humanitarian problems, have been adopted.

Therefore, socialism is now developing on its own foundations, freeing itself from the difficult legacy caused by the particular conditions of building socialism in the Soviet Union. The CPSU is considering this matter realistically and is trying to define the reasons for the appearance of the obstruction mechanism in order better to implement the necessary changes and to develop Soviet society in all areas.

The scale of such changes is significant. Their codification and intensification require and will continue to require a certain amount of time and great efforts. The obstacles which exist are real. However, the initial process of perestroika was triggered by the actual state of affairs in Soviet society, which has acquired a great potential in all areas, a potential which is awaiting its full utilization. The Soviet Union urgently needs such changes, the necessity for which became apparent a long time ago. The Soviet communists deem the new course irreversible, for it is based on the democratization of society and the participation of Soviet people in all areas of activities.

The other socialist countries, each one of which has its own specific situation and specific problems, are encountering similar problems.

The need for social renovation, economic growth and revival of democracy are felt everywhere. Naturally, the choice of answers to such problems is a matter for the individual nations.

In the past we gave a positive assessment to the achievements of the socialist countries while noting, at the same time, the existence of lags and shortcomings. Starting with 1978, at all of our congresses our party continued to analyze the following questions: rejection of the very idea of "models" of socialism; irrevocable condemnation of Stalinism, which is entirely alien to our concept of socialism; rejection of the easy way of following in the fairway and the temptation of a break; exposure of existing contradictions and the possibilities of progress they contain; the existence of a triple challenge: in economic efficiency, continuing social progress and democratic participation, and the need to meet this challenge. The 25th FCP Congress noted that some changes were becoming apparent (although in truth, as we said, all too slowly). In this connection, it was

reemphasized that, in our view, many of the problems were related to the "continuing underestimating of the universal requirements of democracy, the bearer of which is socialism."

That is why we welcome the CPSU declaration to the effect that the time has come to realize that there can be no socialism without true democracy and are pleased by the fact that these words are followed by specific actions.

In recent years we have frequently stated that we have what we described as major differences "with some communist parties in power" on the problem of the democratic content of socialism. Nonetheless, we always emphasized that the solution of arising problems demands not the elimination of the system itself but bringing all of its potential to light. Today the Soviet communists are clearly formulating the fundamental idea of the inseparable link between socialism and democracy and socialism and the development of all freedoms. They define the socialism they are building as "a society for man." We fully support the process of change occurring in the Soviet Union. As in the past, we look at events with our eyes wide open. We realize that there are obstacles but also, at the same time, there are tremendous opportunities for their elimination. At a time when the initial results of this process of change are being summed up, a process which is entering its decisive stage, we are following the changes which are taking place with the closest possible attention.

The very nature of socialist society demands such changes. Life proved that we were right. It refuted both those who for long years claimed that by its very nature socialist society leads to a real hell as well as those who believed that the development of this society had been blocked.

We note the positive changes with a feeling of deep satisfaction. This strengthens our aspiration to clarify more broadly the real changes. For that reason we also welcome the other changes occurring in the policies of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries: the new approach to problems of disarmament and to the settlement of regional conflicts, and suggestions on the creation of a new international economic order.

It is thus that, whereas capitalism everywhere is becoming mired in crisis, socialism is entering a new period in its history. The antagonism between capitalism and socialism is beginning to be manifested in new forms. Socialism is securing for itself means which are proving that it is a social organization of a superior type. This is a new and an exceptionally important factor which contributes to strengthening the struggle for peace, independence and socialism.

#### **Our Struggle Is Consistent with the Historical Peace Movement**

Despite all of its efforts, imperialism has been unable to turn the wheel of history back.

Naturally, the counteroffensive it mounted in the 1970s did not vanish without consequences.

Many nations, which fell into the net of dependency, continue to live under the conditions of underdevelopment. Bloodshedding conflicts continue uninterrupted, although the possibility exists for their political settlement. The policy of diktat, interference in internal affairs and intensification of tension is harming the peoples fighting for their liberation or for the preservation of their independence. The arms race is threatening the very existence of mankind and is consuming funds which, as it were, are in short supply in waging the struggle against hunger and poverty.

At the same time an ideological struggle of a fantastic scale is being waged against the socialist and nonaligned countries and against liberation movements. Everything possible is being done to deprive the peoples of the hope of even the slightest possibility of change. The retention of tension is creating nutritive grounds for terrorism with its terrible crimes. Imperialism is making use of the indignation and anger caused by such crimes to discredit the struggle of the peoples and to justify its aggressive policy. It is similarly using for its own purposes the fear and legitimate condemnation of the intrigues of fundamentalist movements, in the Middle East in particular.

However, this imperialist counteroffensive has failed to achieve its objectives. It encountered major difficulties in connection with the new realities arising in the socialist countries, realized by the international public. The effort of the imperialist leadership to resume the counteroffensive are also being opposed by the will and the struggle of the peoples for peace. The development of the international situation is creating favorable conditions for the frustration of such attempts.

A variety of popular movements are growing in the capitalist countries, contributing to an awareness of the ways of resolving the crisis, although the forces of capitalism have achieved certain results here as well.

In South Africa, South Korea and other countries, in the course of a powerful struggle the working class is asserting its right to exist and its will to organize, and is defending its rights.

The struggle waged by the peoples for the recognition and gain of national rights is continuing on all continents.

A powerful and varied movement for peace is developing throughout the planet. It is playing an increasingly important role.

The resolve of the peoples of Third World countries to achieve true independence and the fuller satisfaction of their tremendous needs is leading them to engage in decisive actions against neocolonialist diktat and domination, as manifested by the nonaligned movement. The

idea of refusal to settle debts is making its way. The demand for the establishment of a new international economic order could also become a foundation for a rapprochement between the peoples of these and the capitalist countries. Therefore, the changes occurring in the world are having a great influence on the development of our planet toward peace, the liberation of the peoples and socialism.

It is precisely within the framework of these changes that our struggle for the reorganization of French society is developing.

### **Program of the Communist Party**

Our struggle is inspired by our ideal—communism.

It is developing within a certain perspective, on the basis of the program for building a new society—socialism with a French face—founded on justice, freedom and fraternity, under the conditions of peace on earth, free from all types of nuclear weapons. This will be a society created democratically, through the defense and steady broadening of all freedoms, in accordance with the pace which will be determined by the will of the majority of our people.

Such a future is not Utopia. Naturally, we have not as yet achieved a condition in which the majority of French people would favor socialism in our country. Nonetheless, socialist society is the answer to the basic problems of the present as they are, as they face our country.

Not one of these problems, whatever area we may select, is insoluble. No single difficulty encountered by our people, whatever its nature, is fatal. The present situation arose as a result of decisions made by the big bourgeoisie. However, other decisions could be made as well.

This pertains to all areas of social life. The forces of capitalism are imposing their choice everywhere. Everywhere they wish to pursue further the path of intensified social inequality, authoritarianism and the arms race. However, their policy is not the only possible one.

Other ways of acting are possible as well. A new policy could be pursued in France, breaking with the one which all French governments have followed over the past 15 years.

The communists are not satisfied with promoting such a different policy merely through appeals, a policy the purpose of which is to serve the interests of the tremendous majority of the population and the entire nation. They indicate its specific nature. This is the sense of the program which they submit for the people's consideration and discussion.

This program does not claim to provide an answer to all problems raised in all areas. It is not aimed at being adopted or rejected in its entirety. Formulated after a discussion by all party members in the course of the preparations for the congress, they could be enriched even further by the contribution of anyone who, like us, is seeking a real solution to the crisis.

Nonetheless, in its present aspect its purpose is specifically to indicate what a truly new policy could and should be; to propose objectives for the struggle; to provide thereby a foundation for the unification of popular and national forces which are striving toward change.

These forces are heterogeneous. Not all of them are affected by capitalist policy to an identical extent. Some live in profound poverty to which they see no solution. Others are "on the brink:" should they be hit by unemployment or illness, they would be unable to avoid a collapse. Others again, although not encountering such difficulties, see the way in which their purchasing power is declining and are forced to limit their needs. Not all of them share the same concerns. To some concerns involve unemployment which threaten them or their families. To others it is a matter of the family budget and social security. To others again it is a question of the education of their children, housing, the environment, restrictions, total elimination from participation in enterprise affairs, problems of the future of France and the nuclear threat hanging over the world. To many they are all of them combined.

Formulating for the sake of justice, freedom and peace, an entire set of specific and innovative proposals for the formulation of the country's overall policy, the program of the Communist Party aims, while reflecting the various concerns and worries of the French people, to prove that they are not only not conflicting with each other but that, conversely, their solution requires the joint struggle for change.

### **From the Program of the FCP**

#### **We Want Peace**

The signing of the first nuclear armament reduction treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States is an event of great importance. Today a historical opportunity for disarmament has appeared.

The prospect for creating a world free from weapons and wars is no longer Utopia, for the two largest superpowers have decided, for the first time in history, to eliminate some of their most advanced armaments.

However, in order for this possibility to become reality as soon as possible, the peoples must double their efforts. In the nuclear age it is a question of the very survival of mankind.

Reality rejects the so far universally accepted concepts of problems of war and peace. Millions of supporters of peace are demanding ever more energetically an end to the arms race and the establishment of peace. This is the result of the fact that an increasing number of people are realizing the need for such steps.

We are participating in this struggle. In the tradition of Jean Jaures, our party was born in the struggle for a world without weapons and wars. It has continuously waged this struggle. However, this has never led us to rejecting the need to defend French sovereignty and independence. The struggle for peace, balanced disarmament and elimination of nuclear weapons on a global scale is today the most important aspect of our security. We want to make our contribution to the creation of a powerful association for peace and disarmament.

We wish for France to favor the establishment of a new international economic order and struggle for the tremendous resources consumed by the arms race to be directed toward meeting the needs for economic and social progress and the development of all nations. We are struggling for a new world.

#### **For a France Actively Supporting Disarmament**

France must use all of its influence to promote the cause of peace and disarmament.

#### **For Total Elimination of Nuclear Weapons by the Year 2000**

**The law on the military program must be reviewed.** According to this law 500 billion francs are being appropriated for superarmaments (the production of new missiles, neutron bombs, chemical weapons and militarization of outer space), the purpose of which is to include France in a "European Defense System" subordinated to the United States. The French military budget must be gradually and, as of the present, substantially curtailed.

**France must support any possible progress on the way to disarmament** while observing the principle of equal security for all and at all stages of this process, and support all talks currently under way. It must participate in all talks directly affecting its interests.

**France must decisively take the path of the elimination of all types of nuclear weapons.** Today priority is assigned to the development of new and ever more monstrous types of armaments, the creation of which is not triggered by the interest of national defense. A real nuclear arms race is being pursued. Therefore, at the present stage our country must strictly support the principle of the preservation of its existing nuclear potential, the most essential part of which consists of missile-carrying submarines, which are the foundation of a true strategy "in all directions."

This means that France must immediately halt nuclear tests and stop the development and production of new types of nuclear weapons, neutron bombs and chemical and bacteriological weapons. It must not build new submarines and nuclear missiles. An end must be put to the production of tactical short-range missiles and their dismantling must be undertaken. The rapid deployment must be disbanded.

As progress is made in the course of the talks, France must be decidedly guided toward a gradual reduction of its nuclear weapons in order to be free from them by the year 2000.

#### **Our country must favor comprehensive and multilateral control over disarmament under the aegis of the United Nations.**

**A decisive "no" to the "star wars" plan must be voiced.** France must proclaim its total disagreement with the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI); French companies must be forbidden to participate in its implementation or to share any technology leading to the implementation of this plan; the INF Treaty must be observed and strengthened; we must abandon participation in any European plan for the militarization of outer space or any military projects within the framework of the Eureka Program; we must strictly observe the treaty banning the deployment of weapons in space.

#### **Structuring New International Relations**

In our time mankind is encountering a number of major problems, such as hunger and development; mastery of scientific and technical progress; changes in information and communications; peaceful development of space and the oceans; mastering natural resources and environmental protection; protecting and securing the rights of man and mankind.

The world has unprecedented means for solving and eliminating such problems in the universal interest. This presumes that everyone must adopt a new attitude toward these problems and promote changes in the nature and forms of development of international relations. This also presumes a struggle for the simultaneous disbanding of military blocs and for replacing conflicts and tension with the search for new ways of cooperation and trade, opposing discrimination and relations founded on inequality, which imperialism intends to preserve and strengthen. Under such circumstances, the participation of France in the Atlantic Alliance and the role which it has played in it for many long years cannot fail to cause problems. Instead of being in the front ranks in the arms race and trying to create a European support for the Atlantic Alliance, France could greatly benefit by actively encouraging disarmament, a new world economic order and the building of a new world.

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**Velikopisarevskiy Rayon Passions**

*180200110 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5,  
Mar 88 (signed to press 17 Mar 88) pp 125-126*

[Letter to the editors by S. Koshel]

[Text] Dear editors:

The new situation in the country allows me to address myself to KOMMUNIST in the hope of obtaining its support or, perhaps, simply understanding, despite essential differences in our world outlooks. It seems to me that such differences are not so deep as to prevent a similarity in views on legality and humanism. I, Sergey Yevgenevich Koshel, a clergyman at the Sumy parish of the Russian Orthodox Church, am turning to you. I am 35 years old and have been a clergyman for the past 6 years at the Syvato-Nikolayevskaya Church, in Ryabino village and Arkhangelo-Mikhaylovskiy prayer home in Kirikovka settlement, Velikopisarevskiy Rayon, Sumy Oblast. I live in Ryabino, in a small house next to the wooden church. I am assisted by a young sexton. Our farm is small: 6 hundredths of garden, a few head of small livestock and some chickens. Our income is small (an annual income of 8,000-10,000 rubles), and we pay our taxes regularly. Our communities contributed to the Chernobyl Fund and we make our annual contributions to the Peace Fund. We contribute funds for the restoration of architectural monuments and participate in the recently established Cultural Foundation. Naturally, we are doing this voluntarily, in accordance with a Church tradition which developed in Soviet times, although the chairman of the Ryabino village soviet has claimed that someone who had refused to pay the church had been expelled. We maintain good relations with parishioners and executive authorities of both temples.

As to the local authorities, the situation is somewhat more complex.

There have been many bitter moments. I recall an occasion when, together with our parishioners, we were preparing to lay wreaths on Victory Day in 1983 at the monument to the dead in Kirikovka settlement. This was the second day of Easter, which filled us with a special sentiment of thanks and reverence. How sad and humiliated we felt when the chairman of the Kirikovka village soviet described this action as "scandalous." I can still hear her shout that our intention was against the law and her indignant question of how did a priest dare to march on the street wearing a white cassock and how he had allowed the people to rally around his unworthy person. The elder, a simple old woman, was also told that I was an "agent of world imperialism which must be watched closely." Prohibitions, humiliating fault-finding and threats became intolerable. During Easter services in 1987 a group of young people, headed by the Komsomol raykom secretary and the principal of the local school, blocked the entrance to the church; they particularly attacked the younger people: "A Komsomol congress is taking place, you have no business going to church!"

They mocked them: "You are subsidizing the priest's automobile!" Because of the din the parishioners were unable to continue with the service and I came out on the church porch and reminded them not of the holy scriptures, naturally, but of the USSR Constitution. The answer I received was the following: "We are standing of Soviet soil and on what soil are you standing?" I repeat, dear editors, this occurred recently, on 19 April 1987.

However, it was not even this that made me turn to you. In September of last year, a 19-year old youngster named Sergey came to me to discuss the requirements for entering a seminary. I explained to him (he was graduating from a medical school) that to qualify he should be familiar with religious services and the church books. He began to visit the church in his free time, to participate in the choir and to look us over in our "cloister," and on a few occasions stayed over for the night. Serezha was liked by the parishioners. They were pleased with his reading and good manners.

Sergey's mother is a party member. She holds a managing position in the kolkhoz, as head of the livestock farm. It was this, according to what I understand her to say, that inspired her to mount a struggle for her son who had decided to choose the profession of clergyman, considered prejudicial in the eyes of many, fighting us and him. In my entire life I have never heard so many filthy words as I did during the one visit she paid to me. The struggle was joined by I.A. Nikolayenko, chairman of the Ryabino village soviet, K.K. Shebed, chief zootechnician at the Chervona Ukraina Kolkhoz, and others. A letter was drafted demanding that I be removed from that village on the grounds that I was a drug addict and was involving young people in my criminal group. The letter was signed by more than 50 people and taken to the rayon center. May God forgive their ignorance: I suffer from a severe case of asthma and I must always use an inhalator which, apparently, was the reason for their conclusion. God will forgive them, but a slander remains a slander.

The moment I tried to seek protection at the rayon court, the slanderous document immediately disappeared. My request was denied, although the fact that a letter had been drafted and signatures collected, i.e., that rumors defaming a Soviet citizen had been disseminated, could have been easily established by interrogating witnesses. An end was put to my previously peaceful life. I was summoned from the church by four people: the village soviet chairman, R.I. Konoz, rayon executive committee secretary, the kolkhoz party organizer and the section militiaman, who ordered me to refuse to receive in the home a person of legal age, who was "guilty" only for having chosen a way of life they considered unsuitable. "We shall remove you with the militia!" I was threatened by the chairman of the village soviet. He told me that my home will be watched so that I can be properly isolated

from the people. The case of the youngster was particularly regrettable. "I swear on my party card," the village soviet chairman said, "that I shall expel you from the medical school!" On another occasion he said: "You will not be issued a medical school diploma!"

Well-wishers have advised me to yield to the managers, to change parishes voluntarily before they have fabricated against me other most serious charges as has been frequently the case, and not with me alone, of late and is still happening. Let illegality prevail, if this is God's will. I, however, am not certain that that is precisely what God wishes. Humiliation can be survived and forgiven but any further silence, it seems to me, would harm not only the church but also the authority of our laws.

This does not apply to my case alone. We are being exhausted by petty fault-findings: all of a sudden they start measuring the truck garden to see if the "priest" is receiving unearned income from his row of onions; or else questions are being asked as to the dinners he cooks for the old women who have come from afar to attend services; the owner of the Zhiguli has been threatened, for having driven me to the railroad station a few times; my coal ticket is withdrawn with the words: "let prayers warm you up." Efforts are being made to lower the actual number of so-called ceremonies (the number of baptisms, marriages and burial services). On some occasions the church elders have themselves discouraged church marriages to avoid unpleasantness.

It is an open secret that the real power which the local authorities have over the church is far in excess of the legitimate one. "We shall give you another priest," the rayispolkom chairman said when my parishioners came to intercede for me. "We shall give you" is not a slip of the tongue, as can be confirmed by anyone unwilling to sin against a clergyman. These words precisely express the extent of interference in church affairs, which is so customary that in some places, as you can see, no effort is even made to conceal it.

I have not sought the protection of my elders in the cloth who passed on to me the wish of the authorities to get rid as soon as possible "of the priest who dared to complain." I merely said that I would like to serve until Easter: actually, where can I go, a sick man in the middle of winter? I do not conceal, however, that I feel no guilt in the eyes of the Church or society and that I would like to continue to serve in my own church in an atmosphere worthy of a society which has taken the path of renovation. Although such a wish would be unlikely to trigger a great deal of compassion among the editors of KOMMUNIST, I hope that they would share my purely civic feelings and concerns.

**From the editors:**

We believe that, like the author of this letter, the readers will clearly understand that this is not a question of the defense of religion. It is a question of the defense of the

law which guarantees the rights of all citizens, believers as well as nonbelievers. In publishing this letter, the editors were not guided exclusively by this unquestionable concept. Those who are responsible for ideological and educational work in Velikopisarevskiy Rayon should also consider the defense of atheism, the protection of the scientific and communist convictions of Soviet people from bureaucratic zeal which cannot fail to harm the propaganda of a truly atheistic world outlook and the actions of which conflict with the democratization of our society.

Democracy is inconceivable without the responsibility of everyone for his actions and words. As an investigation conducted on the spot by the correspondent of KOMMUNIST, jointly with a representative of the Council on Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers, indeed signatures were collected in Ryabino village, with the agreement and by recommendation of some local officials. The signatures were put on a blank sheet of paper and the letter was drafted only afterwards. It is obviously quite difficult today to determine what the population of the village was told and what arguments were brought forth. One thing is clear: those 50 or more people who signed their names on a blank sheet of paper, failing to think of the possible consequences, did not present themselves in the best of lights. Without their assistance this conflict, most likely, would not have assumed such a grave aspect.

Naturally, we do not support in the least the wish of a 19-year old youngster to become a priest. We consider such a life choice an error and hope that Sergey will as yet reach another decision. What matters is something else: the fact that this wish itself appeared and was strengthened within the type of psychological atmosphere in which a young person on the threshold of adult life, encountering difficulties, found moral support and understanding only in a priest. What the arsenal of the atheists contained turned out to be bureaucratic administration, threats and hostility. Such methods, however, are always a confirmation not of strength but of the weakness of ideological influence. Our laws are the same for all. The party and soviet officials in Velikopisarevskiy Rayon must remember that.

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**Short Book Reviews**

18020011p Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 88 (signed to press 17 Mar 88) pp 127-128

[Text] B.V. Rakitskiy and A.N. Shokhin. "Zakonomernosti Formirovaniya i Realizatsii Trudovykh Dokhodov pri Sotsializme" [Laws Governing the Establishment and

Utilization of Labor Income Under Socialism]. Nauka, Moscow, 1987, 317 pp. Reviewed by Academician T. Zaslavskaya and A. Shaposhnikov, candidate of economic sciences.

It is unnecessary to prove the important role which distribution relations play in socioeconomic life. Nonetheless, there is a clear disproportion between scientific forces engaged in work on this topic and the actual significance of the area of distribution under socialism. For that reason one can only welcome the appearance of a new serious work which contains a comprehensive study of all basic elements in the income distribution system under socialism. Such a comprehensive coverage of the problems is more frequently noted in monographs written by large groups of authors. However, the scope of the problem in such cases is frequently achieved at the cost of inconsistency and lack of coordination of views. The authors of the monograph under review develop an integral system of use with a rarely encountered logic.

The depth and thoroughness of the study of income obtained by the population from social consumption funds is noteworthy. The political economic analysis of shaping the wage funds of enterprises is important and interesting. The authors accurately characterize the features of the specific, regulatory and residual principles governing the establishment of wage funds and consider and substantiate conditions for their efficient utilization.

The chapter on income derived from the private auxiliary farm appears very weak against the background of the thorough study of such problems. From our viewpoint, it was erroneously interpreted by the authors as an "appendage of the type of public socialist farm which, for one reason or another, is developing at the cost of great stress of efforts and has experienced a lengthy scarcity of funds" (pp 146-147). We believe that it is time for our science of economics to abandon a consideration of the private auxiliary plot as an "appendage" of public production; furthermore, deriving the need for its existence from the scarcity of resources experienced by state enterprises is an obvious simplification. The private plot is an inseparable part of the family economy. At the present time labor outlays on the part of the USSR population are approximately equally shared by public and family economies. With the development of public production the private auxiliary farm will not only not vanish but will even become more important to the population strata at large.

In the majority of developed countries, despite the fast progress in the area of services and the growth of income and consumption, the family economy has not lost its significance as an additional source of food products and income, a realm of labor socialization of children, etc. In the immediate future as well we should expect in the USSR an increased role for the private auxiliary plots rather than their decline, as the authors assume. The result of our studies refute the concept formulated without any kind of empirical proof that "as a rule, there is

no economic need on the part of urban residents to have a private auxiliary plot. The need remains for the peasants without, however, being as urgent as in the past" (p 149).

In our view, the most interesting is the section dedicated to the relatively unstudied processes of redistribution and utilization of population income. The authors have been able to structure the foundations of the theory of the redistribution of income under socialism, which is presented as a process of dynamics of the necessary product from its monetary aspect to its consumer content. This formulation of the problem enables us to develop on a new basis problems of the theory of population savings (the political-economic study of which is provided for the first time in our literature), and make a profound study of the role of the taxation system in the process of the systematic redistribution of income and consider some aspects of the policy of retail prices from the viewpoint of the shaping of the population's real income. Another very interesting study is that of the problem of unearned population income, interpreted from the positions of the deviation of the actual ratios and forms of redistribution of income from the most rational ones.

Another success by the authors is the fact that, not limited by the political-economic analysis of existing relations, they have tried to formulate constructive suggestions aimed at perfecting the realm of income distribution (the wage reform in industry, improvements in the retail price system, reorganization of the tax system, elimination of unearned income, etc.).

Unfortunately, they have been unable to avoid editorial errors and inept formulations which, in a number of cases detract from the convincing nature of the reviews. Here is one such statement: "Socially useful labor and its results define the status of the individual in society" (p 18). If such is the case, why are we talking so much today about the need for the quick elimination of egalitarianism and derived wages? However, such inaccuracies by no means define the aspect of the work under discussion.

As a whole, we warmly welcome the appearance of such a political-economic study which contains a new, profound and comprehensive interpretation of basic elements of distribution relations in socialist society.

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#### **Chronicle. Meetings with the Editors**

*18020011q Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 88 (signed to press 17 Mar 88) p 128*

[Text] Roundtable meetings on "Restructuring and Renovation of Socialism: Surmounting the Obstruction Factors," took place on 9-10 March in Moscow, sponsored by KOMMUNIST and the journal NOWE

DROGI, the theoretical and political organ of the PZPR Central Committee, together with the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Institute for the Exchange of Experience in Building Socialism. The Polish delegation, which included practical workers, scientists, and journalists was headed by L. Krasucki, NOWE DROGI deputy editor in chief. The Soviet side was represented, in addition to KOMMUNIST associates, by scientists from the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and the Academy of Social Sciences, and the USSR Academy of Social Sciences Institute of Sociological Research.

A discussion with the Polish guests was also held in the editorial premises of KOMMUNIST.

A meeting was held between representatives of this journal with propagandists from Mosmetrostroy. The exchange of views was focused on problems of the development of the Soviet economy, science and education.

Problems of the democratization of party and society were discussed at a meeting between KOMMUNIST editors and the ideological aktiv of the Novosti News Agency.

During a meeting held by the editors with journalists from the socialist countries accredited to Moscow, the guests were informed on the work of KOMMUNIST on ideological support of the restructuring under way in the country.

The editors were visited by a delegation of the German Communist Party, headed by Rolf Primer, member of the GCP Board Presidium and Secretariat. The West German communists were interested in problems of the conversion of enterprises to full cost accounting and self-financing, the role of mass information media in the life of Soviet society and the new approach of the USSR

to the problems of disarmament and strengthening international security. The members of the delegation described the activities of FRG communists after the 8th Party Congress.

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