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I. VAJDA

ECONOMIC SCIENCE IN HUNGARY AND THE "ACTA OECONOMICA"

Main trends of economic research in Hungary. From the great variety of the problems investigated, the author underlines, among others, the following. Problems of the transformation of the traditional structure in agriculture. The relation of micro- and macro-economics under capitalism and socialism. The problems of monopoly in a socialist economy. Hungary in the world economy. Economic co-operation within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Problems of East-West trade. Research into the problems of the developing countries.

The new quarterly publication of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, destined to inform brother institutes, economists and workers of the related social disciplines about our results achieved and the ideas occupying us, starts at a time significant for Hungarian economic science. This year, our economists, irrespective of the branch of science where they are working and the orientation they are following, are united by a single great endeavour aimed at the revision and re-drafting of the principles and practice applied hitherto in Hungarian economic development. This vast task requires the complete mobilization of our forces. After a somewhat difficult start when its advocates were but few, this widening and intensifying movement begins now to embrace every branch of economic science, compelling them to revaluate their experience and theorems. Under its influence, a bustling intellectual activity has been started even in such fields where a few years ago inclination towards innovations was but moderate.

The Committee for Economic Science of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, in a resolution taken in October, 1965, summarized the questions of current interest to which economic research work should be concentrated in two main groups:

1. researches serving to establish such an optimal pattern of the Hungarian national economy as can be reasonably envisaged;

2. researches aimed at improving the system applied in the management and control of the national economy.

This resolution was rather a sanctioning of an already existing and growing process of concentration than an initiative.

It seems necessary to clarify, partly for ourselves and partly for the readers and future friends of our quarterly, our notion of concentration in this respect. First, we have to stress that, evidently, it would be anti-scientific to

try to impose some "central" conception on the workers of economic science, to put obstacles on the path designed by their independent interest and to force them to researches outside the scope of their interest. Scientific research may flourish only in an atmosphere of complete intellectual freedom. There is no intention of coercion or restriction, we only want that some economic phenomena and problems having aroused the interest of all our economists should be analysed in common, amidst of discussion and mutual assistance. These new phenomena seem to grow in importance everywhere in the world but our chief interest in them is connected with the future development of the Hungarian national economy. As it can be followed from the extremely vivid interest, most of our economists seem to have recognized "the responsibility of the clerks" for the direct practical application of their discipline, and they are ready to act in accordance with this responsibility. It frequently occurs in the history of sciences, that a discipline gets into a wave-trough, a period of half-hearted interest and limited performance; but then, resuscitated by a new impulse from within or from without, it starts feverishly with new, bold creations for another crest. Economic science has also known such significant periods of upheaval, and if these periods are often labelled with the name of a great master, it can be hardly doubted that beside the influence of productive thinkers also the occurrence of new phenomena contributed to such upswings.

It would be impossible to enumerate exhaustively all the new phenomena that at present have a mobilizing influence on our minds. Surely they are acting in all fields of our life, in almost all sectors of our socialist economy and society, as well as in the Western capitalist economies and in the absolutely new sphere of the developing countries commanding our permanent attention. It is, however, obvious that they are interrelated and have some influence on our closer field.

I can only mention some of these phenomena that, in my opinion, seem most important.

When the social sciences have stated that human creative genius was the decisive factor in the formation of social relations, they foresaw the age when man would free himself from his Promethean chains of Nature-bound constraints. In our days, the spectacular progress of applied sciences made this possibility almost tangible, but our minds are somewhat slow to react on it. It is the task of the economic science to reveal the shortest and most practicable path of realizing this urging possibility. In the light of this new task, many a traditional concept look obsolete, and new ones are emerging. In our country, the recognition of new possibilities, their mind-forming effects, the process of revaluating and re-ranking the tasks of economic science has begun but a decade ago. No wonder that we still have to struggle with difficulties.

*

In *agriculture*, age-old traditions are in the state of disintegration, but the heredity of a millennium does not get dissolved without defending itself. The industrialization of agriculture, the formation of a new scale of values conforming to the requirements of market production, the reorganization of the rural communities according to their new tasks (but in a way that must, for a rather long transition period, in many respects differ from the organization of industrial communities): all these objectives involve economic and social problems requiring intense scientific activity. Agriculture, under its revolutionized surface, still hides deep layers almost unmoved. And if we are perplexed by the multitude and variety of its visible problems, there are many others on which we have only a guessing but we are no more permitted to turn a blind eye on them. It is quite obvious that agriculture, once the dominating sector of Hungarian economy, will continue to have an enormous importance in the life of this country.

Partly in connection with agriculture arise the problems of a *new consumption pattern*, a changing order of consumers' preferences. In recent years, new experience began to get accumulated also in these fields. It was only recently that the spontaneous action of income elasticity could be observed by us on a national scale, as a mass phenomenon. Formerly, direct evidence was obscured by two main factors. The first of them was caused by the vast number of small peasant farms being almost on the level of subsistence economy and representing but a negligible quantity as producers or consumers of marketed commodities. And in the decade when their number gradually went down, it was exactly the transitional character of the situation that obscured observation. As a second factor, the very low wage level prevailing up to the mid-fifties restricted income elasticity to almost nil or, as doctors would say, "unsuitable for palpation". Now in this field of economic science it is not possible to profit from the research results obtained in other countries. Income elasticity is very different in countries where most of the population is already more or less provided with up-to-date facilities, requiring only replacement and modernization, and in those where such facilities have to be created anew. In the Hungarian economy, an additional problem was caused by the contradiction between the behaviour of the consumers who, under the influence of rising incomes, would be ready to change consumption patterns elastically, and of production, that, up to recently, has been hardly disposed to changes. In other words, we still have to create the mechanism for transmitting demand impulses to production decisions. In addition, in a socialist economy it is not enough to register spontaneous changes in consumption; there exist important "social preferences" that have to be asserted in the re-shuffling of consumption patterns. That, on the other hand, such ambitions must observe their limits, belongs also to the body of experience recently gained.

All this has raised and continues to hold in the focus of attention the

problem connected with the revaluation of the *role and importance of agriculture* in the national economy. In this respect, a certain cyclicality of changing opinions may be observed. Between the two World Wars, it was generally held that the particular features of the Hungarian economy postulate the central role of agriculture. Later on, the dogmatic concept of industrialization grossly underestimated the importance of agriculture and neglected its development. We still suffer the consequences of this policy. Accordingly, in the last ten years economic theory and practice were inclined to "rehabilitate" agriculture. And even, as a reaction against its former neglection, opinions may be heard again demanding a dominant role for agriculture.

*

Among all our problems, the most comprehensive and most exigent in respect of scientific endeavour is that connected with *the relation between macro- and micro-economics*. It is known that the practice and the theory of capitalism were formed in the field of micro-economics. It was only later that macro-economic concepts appeared, and even then only in the form of summarizing micro-economic phenomena. In classical capitalism, only the micro-economic units had an active role. It is an unperishable merit of Marx to have discovered and analysed in a world of micro-units, the role of "aggregate capital" that asserted itself through the acts of individuals without their knowing or even against their will. He also discovered the class contents and inherent antagonism of the macro-economic processes that take place beyond the minds of the acting individuals. The economics of socialism was, from its beginnings, dominated by macro-economic concepts. After Lenin's death, and especially under the influence of Stalin, there was born a tendency that almost completely negated the justification of micro-economics, urged the elimination of every influence of micro-economic units on the national economy, and believed that this will come about automatically with central economic planning. One of the most exciting chapters of the history of economic theory will be the one rendering account, on the one hand, of the collapse of the liberalist micro-economical theory of capitalism in the World Economic Crisis of the nineteen-thirties and, on the other, of the great successes and the rapid, crisis-free growth attained at the same time by a socialist economy built principially upon the primacy of macro-economy.

During the last decade, also this picture has completely changed. In most of the capitalist countries, if with different grades of intensity, macro-economic tendencies have asserted themselves. Governments are widely applying measures of economic policy in order to influence the course of economic cycles, to check the unfolding of major crises in large sectors or in the whole of the national economy, in short, pursuing "anti-cyclical" policy. In many countries,

whole industrial branches or big individual enterprises, banks, as well most of the railways and of aerial communication got nationalized. The state budget as the factor redistributing an important part of the national income, is being deliberately applied as a tool of macro-economic control. In addition, in many countries the so-called "indicative planning" was introduced, meaning essentially an endeavour to embrace the movements of the national economy as a whole, to envisage the rate of its growth and to ensure it by proposing various measures of economic policy. The contradictions arising in this process result not only from the clashes of interest between macro- and micro-economy, that is, from the antagonism between the "parts" and the "whole", nor only from the fact that some of the "parts" are giant monopolies which may prove stronger than the whole. The main source of contradictions is that the "whole" itself is but a class society, burdened with inherent class antagonisms. The capitalist notion of macro-economy represents but the class of capitalists and not the nation, it is an abstract notion rather obscuring than explaining economic reality. And still another source of contradictions is the revolting absurdity that armament, this terrific waste of producing capacity and human creativeness is also considered as an anticyclical tool of economic policy, contrary to all economic reason.

It is doubtless, however, that the penetration of macro-economic concepts into the capitalist world, irrespective of its possible causes, has triggered important changes in the economic system. In the two decades since the war, there were no general overproduction crises in the capitalist world, and actually, with the exception of the United States, there is no mass unemployment in any of the advanced industrial countries. The rates of economic growth and technical progress are generally high (it is rather the low rate of growth that is exceptional), and, in general, standards of living have considerably risen. To analyse these phenomena is one of our scientific tasks, the more so because any endeavour aimed at the optimization of our economic structure has to take into account the possible future changes on our foreign markets and in world economy as a whole. A biassed, un-scientific analysis might lead to false conclusions, and we have had enough experience to warn from similar mistakes.

Contrary to recent tendencies of capitalism, the socialist countries, after having been almost exclusively macro-economically oriented, began recently to pay increased interest to micro-economics. Also Hungarian economists began to evaluate, sporadically at first and more frequently after 1957 experience that was showing, in contradiction to the dominating theorems, that the neglect of micro-economy in the early fifties led to the low efficiency of the planned economy in spite of spectacular quantitative growth. It limited, namely, initiative, adaptation to changing conditions, put a brake on the dynamism of the economy and society, and concentrated decisions in the hands of such agencies as were not provided with adequate information. In the framework of macro-

economy, contradictions emerged between the neglected but none the less existing interests of individuals, groups and enterprises and between the assumed interests of the national economy, often misinterpreted in the centrally issued directives. On the ground of experience generalized by our economists with scientific claim and responsibility, also economic policy made endeavours in order to bring macro- and micro-economic interests into harmony. This process was rather successful at the beginning. It soon turned out, however, that a more comprehensive reform of our economic management would be needed in order to realize the most important advantages inherent to the macro-economic concept of planned economy. All our analyses have shown, namely, that neither the harmony between modern productive forces and production relations nor the high ambitions of a modern society as expressed in socialism can be satisfied without macro-economic planning and an attitude consistently comprising the whole of the national economy. But the victory of macro-economics, this great achievement of twentieth-century socialism, will be rather strengthened than weakened if we rely also on the resources that may be obtained exclusively from the micro-economical sphere.

Of course, the subject matter of micro-economics is somewhat different under capitalist and socialist ownership. In capitalism, its subjects are the privately owned, profit-oriented economic units whose interests are often opposed to those of the community, and the market mechanism somehow regulating their activity. In socialism, the means of production are in public ownership and are allocated to organized units (enterprises or co-operatives). But it is none the less necessary to recognize that individual and group (enterprise) interests have not ceased to exist even when we try to negate or neglect their existence and that, for a rational functioning of the macro-economy, adequate initiatives and actions induced by these micro-spheres of interest are also indispensable. A common element, however, in both capitalist and socialist micro-economics is the behaviour of the consumer. Now, the consumer's decisions and preferences become more and more independent with the growth of his income. Hence the necessity, also under socialist conditions, of a market resting on commodity production and money relations. This market, in its turn, is partly a macro-economic phenomenon and partly the terrain where effects derived from the micro-economy are asserted and brought into equilibrium.

Economic science and related social disciplines had and still have to display vast intellectual and moral efforts in order (a) to eliminate the tension between experience reflecting our economic reality and a theory lagging behind such experience or even opposed to the conclusions to be drawn from it (partly because of originally mistaken theorems); (b) to develop theory and combat eventual harmful views; (c) to establish the outlines of a new economic model for the socialist economy. Our work was helped and our persistence strengthened when we learned that the contradictions revealed by us were, at least in

part, occurring and becoming revealed also in other socialist countries. Therefore, we consider as our most urgent and important task to continue our work in order to bring about a practicable synthesis of macro- and micro-economy, the co-ordination of decisions and actions taken in both spheres, to designate their surfaces of contact and demarcation line. The task of the "Acta Oeconomica" will be, in this field, to contribute to the international exchange of experience and notions, to radiate the best of what Hungarian economists may produce on this most important terrain of their scientific work, in the field of the central problem of our age.

*

In respect of economic organization, it is the various phenomena of *centralization* that merit most intensive attention. The most exciting of these phenomena are to be observed in the organization of the biggest, mainly industrial enterprises. The apparition of oligopolies beside the former monopolies is of a more than terminological concern. It represents a combination of monopoly and competition, resulting in the modification of some properties of the monopoly but not curtailing its power. I will later return to its effect on international relations.

In our days, monopoly or oligopoly do not, by definition, hinder innovation and technical change; in most cases they are rather promoters. It may be proven that, under present capitalistic conditions, the elaboration of the most important discoveries of our time would not have been possible without the vast concentration of capital embodied in monopolies. (I am abstracting now from the role and methods of financing the war industries and the related scientific research.) The creation of synthetic materials, of petrochemistry and modern chemical industry in general may serve as illustrations. The monopolies brought about such high-grade organizational forms of production and marketing as are uniquely adequate to meet the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution of our age. The old discussion whether the horizontal or vertical monopoly is more rational from the economic angle became antiquated. The contemporary monopoly must by necessity have a vertical construction, but within its framework very different organizational principles may be applied, such as: united management, trust, limited autonomy of the units, contractual co-operation of independent enterprises and so on. It seems that contemporary computer techniques may afford si gnificant advantage to horizontal monopoly organizations uniting similar plants over an isolated enterprise; but even here, programming will be really effective when it embraces, besides the capacities serving the same purpose, also some vertical co-operation.

It would be difficult to support that the tension between monopoly and market was completely dissolved by the apparition of oligopoly. Oligopolistic competition is all the same a restricted, that is, imperfect competition, offering

more advantage to the seller than to the buyer, though wide possibilities of ousting, through innovation, the product of one firm by that of another, as well as the attraction new products and new forms have on the buyer, may limit the advantage of each seller participating in oligopolistic competition.

Our socialist economy attained the level of monopolistic organization several years ago. Monopolistic concentration tended to be mainly horizontal; the vertical co-operation was supposed to be ensured by the controling activity of the competent ministries. Moreover, for many primary materials, the system of central allocation continued to prevail. This form of organization was justly criticized in several respects. It turned out that three different types of management could not successfully be combined. The newly created big enterprises took over, from the ministry departments they were expected to substitute, little of their competence or authority and pretty much of their red tape. On the other hand, under our conditions where horizontal monopoly is complete for practically every commodity, the advantage of even the most powerful monopoly *as a seller* is being set off by the fact that *as a buyer* he is faced with sellers who are also in a perfect monopoly position. (This is true even if there exists only *one* buyer for some commodity.) This position of a defenceless dependency they are in as buyers has its obvious effects on the monopolies' activity as producers and sellers. The lack of reliable relations towards the lower layers of the verticum has often forced the enterprises to "do-it-yourself" methods, that is to cover their needs in what it seemed possible by small-scale home patchwork in improvised workshops, with a considerable waste of labour, material and equipment. This is one widespread form of spontaneous micro-economic reaction, although it is evidently unable to substitute either a vertical enterprise organization or reasonable market relations, and even so in the majority of cases it is not practicable.

Thus, we have the task to elaborate, on the basis of experience gained in recent years, the most reasonable organizational schemes for big enterprises. Evident requirements of such schemes are that they should be able to concentrate resources and thus to enhance technological progress; that they should represent optimal combinations of vertical organization (embracing all processes from applied research through projecting of new products up to manufacturing) and of horizontal programming; that monopoly power should be counterbalanced by market forces and economico-political measures that would reasonably constraint its position as a seller, and retaliate for eventual abuses. All this, evidently, cannot be ensured by a uniform scheme of organization. Several schemes have to be elaborated according to the peculiarities of the different productive branches, technologies, etc. Again, problems connected with the international division of labour will arise, especially in respect of vertical relations; to these, we shall return later.

*

Our activity as economic theorists and analysts of the phenomena and functioning of socialist economy has to stand one of the severest trials when facing the *price problem*. Obviously, it is an enormous task to determine the "centre of prices", to assert the value concept, to set reasonable limits to price oscillations, to co-ordinate the justified, but in many respects, opposed requirements of stability and dynamism. When I am writing these lines, the optimal harmonization of these requirements cannot by far be considered as settled. I feel, however, that we have already succeeded in overcoming the schematic concepts of the past and at least approached our targets. Also here, some recent phenomena have to be mentioned. While our efforts are directed towards creating a realistic relation between prices and values and ensuring that domestic and foreign supply and demand have adequate effect on prices, two new or formerly neglected elements are being added to the factors influencing prices. These are: the transformation of consumption patterns and the increasingly rapid technological change. Both enrich the concept of utility (or use value) with a new feature: in the first case it is the time factor embodied in a novel product, in the second the role of the quality factor as superior to the cost factor in the decisions regarding the choice of a productive equipment.

The time factor consists of the time monopoly enjoyed by the producer who is first to bring a new product to the market (of course I mean some important, relevant novelty, not mere superficial difference) against those who come later. During a certain period this first producer enjoys a monopoly enabling him to dictate prices (but this period will be substantially shortened under the conditions of oligopolistic competition) and get compensated through them for his costs of research and development. Moreover, this extra-profit may enable him also to sell his product *under its value* when, later on, the competitors begin to appear on the market, and still ensure a profit margin over the whole "lifetime" of his product.

The quality factor, on the other hand, appears in such cases when a new machine can be sold at a substantially higher price than its predecessor because even a high price difference is considered to be irrelevant against the advantages the new type offers by its bigger, more reliable or economically more efficient performance.

Although both these factors assert themselves mainly on the world market, we should make sure that they affect also the domestic economy, by introducing a new set of values and new ways leading to quicker progress.

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In the Acta Oeconomica, due space will be devoted to researches analysing economic functions with the aid of *mathematical methods and models*. In this field, the co-operation of our mathematicians and economists attained

remarkable, internationally recognized results. The further development of these techniques opens new ways for our scientific researches. We are still beginners in the macro-economic application of these researches, but they have already enriched our knowledge on economic processes and flows in many fields.

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In this paper, I repeatedly mentioned among the new phenomena inspiring our researches and vision such as were reaching over to the field of *international economy* but I have postponed their discussion. May I now touch upon these problems. The horizon of the world economy with its new and manyfold aspects deserves, indeed, a comprehensive evaluation. Although many of our research workers are acting in this field and publications are rather numerous, the intensity of this kind of work has still to be increased in the years to come. Under our special conditions the establishment of a practicable optimum structure for the Hungarian national economy, that is, the first of the two main research objectives I mentioned in my introduction, requires a very cautious weighing of world economic relations. The assessing of expected development tendencies and the establishment of their projection as a basis for future economic policy is seemingly a single venture. In reality, it requires also the continuous following-up and analysis of the proceedings, as well as a quick transplantation of new impulses and changes into the projection itself. In this field, our activities have led to some major orientating recognitions. From these, the most important is that, for our country, an orientation on world economy is indispensable. We can successfully develop our national economy in the long run only if we consider it as a part of the world economy, and insert it adequately into the system of the international division of labour. Another important realization was that, in the last decades, the bulk of international division of labour developed *within* the frames of industry. The character of the international division of labour is substantially different in the trade relations of the industrially advanced countries between themselves (this is the most dynamic field), and in the trade between countries being at different stages of economic development. In the first sector, having a decisive importance also for Hungary, the mutual exchange of commodities is increasing year by year. The trade transacted between the industrially advanced countries consists mainly of industrial goods, including processed food. The scope of industrial articles participating in this trade is continuously expanding, and the volume of their exchange is growing faster than their production.

The necessity of an orientation on world economy and the fact that the centre of international division of labour has shifted on the industrial products are, however, too wide generalizations. Economic policy requires from us, and we also require from ourselves, a more detailed and articulated analysis.

In the foreground of our research work is the development of our economic relations with the socialist countries belonging to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). These are our most important markets, our principal resources of raw materials and imported equipment. We have concluded long-term economic agreements with them, co-ordinate our long-term economic plans with theirs and in the special commissions of the CMEA discuss with them the various aspects of all-important economic problems, socialist world market prices, methods of mutual payments and their further development, mutual specialization of production, etc. We take part in the foundation of common institutes and enterprises serving the progress of the international division of labour.

In recent years, also in this field of economic research the formerly over-generalized and all too convenient theorems (as, e.g., the unfounded view about the automatic equalization of different national economic levels) has given place to sounder views, criticism, and an analytical assessment of how the targets should be ranked according to possibilities. Instead of a uniform planning that would embrace all CMEA countries, we have restricted ourselves to co-ordinating national economic plans bilaterally, that is, separately between each pair of countries, thus involving a smaller but more clearly delimitable sphere of tasks. We have recognized that under the Stalinistic concept of "two parallel world markets" lay the idea of a self-sufficient socialist world economy, and we have refuted that. But no sound spirit of however justified criticism can dim the unalterable fact that the markets represented by the CMEA countries are of eminent importance for Hungary. It is indisputable that trade with them, and especially with the Soviet Union, was decisive for our industrial development, and no reasonable economic argumentation could deny the equally important future role of these economic relations.

In order to ensure and accelerate future development, scientific work has to find practical solutions for many an important foreign trade problem. Up to now, economic relations within the CMEA have been rooted mainly in the sphere of macro-economy. They rest on inter-state agreements; the enterprises are rather their executors than independently acting partners. The micro-economical driving force of enterprise interests and the desired corrective effects of practical life on these inter-state agreements are almost completely lacking. This often leads to discontinuities and jerks in development. The endeavours aimed at bringing each of the annual trade balances into equilibrium enjoy priority over economic considerations, and the enterprises have no power to assert the latter. The exchange of information is more or less restricted to meetings and negotiations of top organs. The interested enterprises, in lack of adequate market research (being also a result of underestimating the "market" !), do not sufficiently know the capacities and possibilities of co-operation present in the partner countries. Neither is there any economic incentive that would

induce them to clear up the situation more thoroughly. In this field, i.e. in the mutual economic relations of socialist countries, the lack of coordination between long-term and short-term plans, between macro- and micro-economic processes is being felt even more acutely than in the domestic economy. It is also to be feared that, when at last the contradictions resulting from the lack of co-ordination will become eliminated in the domestic economy, the international relations will lag behind this process. This lagging, however, would react also on the national economies, by restricting the efficiency of international division of labour and, together with that, also the growth rates at least of such countries as are most strongly interested in foreign trade. Such phenomena may already be observed.

Hungarian economists have recognized the importance of these problems relatively recently, but even so they have preceded practical life with their analytical-critical activity and concrete proposals. The neglect of our warnings may lead to new contradictions that will be rather difficult to eliminate. As such may be mentioned: the creation and maintenance of parallel productive capacities on sub-optimum scale in several countries; the parallel activities in research and technical development; the harmful effects resulting from the lack of co-operation in the supply of spare parts and the lack of organized large-scale output of certain standardizable semi-finished products or parts; the lack of inter-country competition; and the uncleared legal bearings regarding the mutual take-over of licences and technological know-how. All this leads to the splitting-up and inadequate efficiency of resources available for investment and development, as well as in a slow and uneven technological progress. Therefore, we have substantially to increase our efforts in this field of economic research, and to expand them on further details. The Acta Oeconomica may, by transmitting our experiences and proposals to the economists of the brother countries, contribute to the re-animation of discussion and, in the final analysis, to directing development into the desired channels.

Our orientation on world economy evidently applies also to the relations with the countries outside the CMEA, the industrially advanced capitalist countries and the developing world overseas. These relations can by far not be considered as secondary or "marginal". Almost two fifths of our foreign trade are transacted within their framework. The high import- and export-sensitivity of our national economy is being felt also in these relations, and the patterns and perspectives of commodity exchange involve many a serious problem. It is a fact that 50 to 60 per cent of our exports destined to the Western capitalist countries consist of agricultural products and processed food while in our imports from there raw materials, agricultural products and semi-finished industrial goods play an important role. The analysis and evaluation of this trade pattern has led to different opinions. Some of our economists believe that we should maintain the agricultural character of our exports going West, and

assert that such a policy is dictated by the natural endowments of our country. They refer to the undoubted fact that the productivity and exporting capacity of Hungarian agriculture could be substantially increased. In contrast, other economists including the author of these lines, see in the present pattern of our Western exports but the result of the relatively low technical level of our industry, the low competitive value of its products. On the other hand, they stress the obvious elements of agricultural protectionism in the economic policy of West European countries, elements that only gained strength through recent processes of their economic integration. It is also obvious that whenever the Western European countries will be inclined to make import concessions in the field of agriculture, these will tend to be turned to the benefit of their former colonies, in the endeavour to strengthen their influence overseas in the spirit of neo-colonialism. Thus, it would seem that the perspectives of expanding our agricultural exports to Western Europe are rather limited. At the same time, the development of industrial exports, in particular of machines, instruments, transport equipment and chemical products does not meet with insurmountable institutional hindrances. This proposed tendency of export development would, moreover, comply better with the recent tendencies in the international division of labour. Finally, it would produce useful micro-economic incentives for entrepreneurial initiative, that is, for improving our industry's technological progress and economic efficiency.

In the field of "East-West trade", we have again to face some new phenomena very attractive for research, analysis and experimentation. Let us start from the fact (hardly accessible for statistical assessment but well-known to everybody dealing with world economic phenomena) that a substantial part of the present world trade is in the hands of large international enterprises, monopolies or oligopolies and that, in this framework, again a considerable share of the commodity flows is no "trade" in the proper sense of the word that assumes the presence of a seller and a buyer economically independent of each other. Within this sector of the world trade, materials, manufactured goods, parts and ingredients embodying high levels of technological know-how are being delivered by mother enterprises to subsidiaries or the other way, between subsidiaries. All these flows appear in the statistics as "foreign trade". This is however, not the only form of industrial co-operation transgressing national frontiers. Very frequently, independent enterprises are taking substantial part in the production processes of others. From many signs we may conclude that exactly this is the most widespread basic form of contemporary specialization and large-scale manufacturing, at least between the West European countries or between them and the United States, especially in industries where the costs of research and technical development are highest. Our economic researches should cover the effects of integration, the intrusion of American capital to Western Europe and, last but not least, the possibilities for and practicable

forms of an East-West industrial co-operation. The assumption seems fairly probable that from such co-operation may some time grow out the most flourishing branch of East-West economic relations, and that the impulses radiating from it would be extremely useful for accelerating the growth and technological progress in the CMEA countries. Assuming free initiative on part of our industrial enterprises, we might even conceive such forms of East-West co-operation where several capitalist and socialist countries combine their resources to the realization of common projects. The pre-conditions of such co-operation do not substantially differ from those generally required for a sound coordination of macro- and micro-economy. They are, in the main: realistic market, value and credit relations inclusive of realistic foreign exchange rates; the right of enterprises to enter into international agreements; institutional frames establishing economic incentives that would induce them to take responsibility and to expand their international transactions; and, of course, a very consistent economic policy permitting to develop long-term entrepreneurial plans. A large-scale East-West co-operation would tend to stabilize import patterns and to oust improvised "solutions" dictated by the necessity of the moment, and it would thus liquidate the occasional character of our relations with Western Europe.

An independent, and already internationally recognized branch of our economic research has been formed in recent years for dealing with the social and economic situation, world economic role and trends of progress of the developing countries, as well as with the possible part our country might play in promoting their further progress. A sample of the work performed in this field appears in the present issue of the Acta Oeconomica; others will follow.

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I began this article by saying that I would hardly succeed in enumerating all new phenomena inspiring our economic research work. Now, before concluding, I must confess that I could not even cover the theoretically and practically most important fields of research. This does not mean that I underestimate the fields not mentioned, it only means that my scope is limited and I, like anybody engaged in scientific research, have my own preferences. I am sure, that the field to be covered by the Acta Oeconomica will be much wider and will include every direction of our researches.

All this said, I would still believe that the *main* directions of economic research as they have recently been developed in our country are in direct connection with the economic policy and principal objectives of this country. My review too, was mainly concerned with economic policy and I hope, that, despite its gaps, it truly reflects the main directions of our researches. I am glad to say that the top organs responsible for economic policy unmistakeably

call for a direct contact with the students of economic science, and that they agree with the concentration of our work on the most urgent research objectives I enumerated here. Hungarian economists do not want to retire to the ivory tower of "pure economics", they do not seek forced over-simplifications and abstractions foreign to practice; they want to live in and fight for economic reality. They know that no science whatever can neglect abstraction, that wonderful product of human thought. But they consider it, in their concrete field of work, as a tool that may and should be applied in order to find the optimum way of developing our national economy and society. The deliberate, purposeful use of the results produced by scientific research for orientating economic policy is characteristic for our actual scientific work. It may be hoped that this feature will prevail also in the future, and that our Acta Oeconomica will be a constant witness of this endeavour.

The efficiency of our research will be enhanced by closely following-up of foreign economic literature, both Marxist and non-Marxist. We shall also analyse the economic situation of the socialist, capitalist and developing countries, in order to confront their economic development with ours and to utilize their experience. At the same time, we do not conceal that we shall not neglect to propagate, in the best sense of the word, the ideology of socialism, its humanistic attitude to economics, its performances and future ambitions. We want, however, to remain on the grounds of reality, avoid to mix up the future with the present, the plans with the facts.

We want an active, militant periodical, one that will fight for the expansion of our body of knowledge, fight with scientific arguments, in the best tradition of Marxian political economy, against every form of oppression, exploitation and misinformation; fight for our future, for the truths of socialism.

ВЕНГЕРСКАЯ ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКАЯ НАУКА И »ACTA OECONOMICA«

И. ВАЙДА

Автор по случаю выхода первого номера „Acta Oeconomica" обозревает основные адачи экономической науки в Венгрии. Из числа текущих тем научных исследований Экономическая комиссия Венгерской Академии Наук выделила в качестве важнейших следующие:

1. Исследования, направленные на создание оптимальной структуры, реально планируемой в венгерском народном хозяйстве.

2. Исследования по совершенствованию системы народнохозяйственного управления.

В рамках этих двух проблем научное исследование должно решить целый ряд вопросов. Автор не берется полностью перечислить все исследуемые вопросы, а лишь выделяет важнейшие проблемы, а также указывает на некоторые новые развиваемые направления исследований. Большое значение он придает экономическим проблемам, связанным с развертыванием социалистического сельского хозяйства. Он подчеркивает также важность исследований, направленных на изучение закономерностей потребления и спроса.

Одной из наиболее общих проблем автор считает установление правильного отношения между макроэкономией и микроэкономией в социалистическом плановом хозяйстве. При капитализме долгое время господствовал микроэкономический подход, но,

с одной стороны, мировой экономический кризис 1929—33 гг., а с другой стороны, параллельно с этим необычайные успехи строительства социализма в Советском Союзе открыли глаза экономистам капиталистических стран на недостаточность такого подхода. В условиях социалистического хозяйства развернулось движение противоположного направления. На основании опыта ведения социалистического планового хозяйства наряду с ранее чуть ли не исключительно господствующей макроэкономической ориентацией на передний план все более выдвигалось признание важности микроэкономических явлений. В то же время различия в отношении между микро- и макроэкономией в двух общественно-экономических формациях проявляются не только в их удельном весе, но и в их содержании.

В связи с единицей наблюдения в микроэкономических анализах в новом освещении стал являться в частности, вопрос о монополиях. Исследование монополий, имеющих в социалистическом хозяйстве совершенно иное содержание, чем в капиталистическом, имеет весьма большое значение, особенно учитывая проблему создания целесообразных организационных форм крупных монополистических предприятий.

Исследование вопросов ценообразования уже несколько лет занимает центральное место в проводимых в Венгрии экономических исследованиях. В этой области нами достигнуты немаловажные результаты. Одной из важнейших задач дальнейших исследований является создание системы цен, отвечающей требованиям быстрого технического прогресса.

Важной областью научных исследований является применение математики в экономике, где творческое сотрудничество математиков и экономистов обещает дать дальнейшие результаты.

Важным направлением экономических исследований является анализ международных экономических отношений. На основании полученных до сих пор результатов становится все более ясным, что ориентация нашего экономического развития на мировую экономику является обязательным требованием экономической политики, которое особенно следует учитывать при развитии промышленности. Внутри этой проблематики выдающееся место занимают исследования, связанные с СЭВ. Из их числа большое значение имеют исследования, распространяющиеся помимо сферы межгосударственных отношений и на сферу сотрудничества между предприятиями. Хотя проводимые в этой области исследования еще и не созрели и лишь в небольшой мере были осуществлены на практике, все же их благоприятное влияние бесспорно.

Нельзя недооценивать и такую сторону ориентации на мировую экономику как отношения с развитыми капиталистическими странами. Важной областью исследований является раскрытие возможностей промышленного экспорта в северо- и западно-европейские страны, а также кооперации с предприятиями этих стран. В последние годы мы все более занимаемся проблемами развивающихся стран, сложились также и организационные формы проводимой в этом направлении научно-исследовательской работы.

В „Acta Oeconomica" предусматрвается отразить все эти — а также выходящие за их пределы — направления исследований и этим способствовать решению экономических проблем на базе творческого марксизма, часто требующему немалых международных усилий.

R. NYERS

THE COMPREHENSIVE REFORM OF MANAGING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY IN HUNGARY

The reform of the system of economic management will unfold in the Hungarian economy in 1967—68. The article investigates the causes and objectives of the reform. It reviews in detail the proposal for the functioning of economic management as elaborated by a panel of economic experts. The proposal has been accepted in its outlines by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The article is based essentially on the author's report to the Central Committee.

The concrete system of management of the socialist economy is not everlasting: it is subject to change and development. Last time it was in 1957 that the problems of economic management were dealt with intensively. The decisions taken at that time in accordance with prevailing conditions, orientated the system of management in the right direction.

Thus, for instance, the compulsory delivery of agricultural products was terminated, the role of the household plots has changed in the proper direction, and income distribution schemes in co-operative farms were better linked up with the final product, became easier to understand, their incentive power increased. The system of national economic planning has improved in several respects; the number of obligatory plan indicators has been reduced and the independence of the enterprises increased. The system of state regulation of wages has become more flexible and more effective, and the enterprises have been given the opportunity freely to choose the most suitable forms of wage payment. We have modified the system of bonuses and introduced profit-sharing. State enterprises are now charged for the fixed and circulating assets they employ in production, and the price-system has been improved to a certain degree. The industrial reorganization has created better possibilities for a more rational concentration of the productive forces. These measures were proper at that time and have stood the test in practice.

Despite the afore-mentioned measures, however, the high degree of centralization of economic decisions and the limited independence of the enterprises have continued to exist as characteristic features of our system of economic management. Running parallel with these are the strict and direct state regulation of economic processes, mainly through obligatory plan indicators, and the too great restriction of the active role to be played by commodity and money relations and market influences. The system of planning is extremely

administrative and inadequate in accounting for the variable elements of the economy. The financial and credit system is bureaucratic and sluggish. Our entire economic mechanism does not contribute sufficiently to the optimum utilization of advantages to be attained by the extension of the international division of labour.

Now the comprehensive review of our entire system of economic management is again placed on the order of the day in consideration of present-day requirements.

In accordance with the resolution of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party taken in December 1964, a large group of experts has made a comprehensive survey of our system of economic management. They examined the experiences, analysed the interrelations of economic phenomena, and probed the direct and the deeper causes of major problems. In the course of this analysis which has been going on for more than one year we have come to the conclusion that fundamental, essential changes are needed.

Two facts make the reform especially timely and historically necessary as well. One is the radical transformation of our society's structure, the laying down of the foundations of socialism. This has done away — among others — with the political necessity of the prevailing high degree of centralization in the economy. Parallel with this, during the past two decades the scope of our economy has been considerably extended; it has become more complex and complicated. New branches of industry have developed, the economy has become specialized to a great extent, the number of vertical stages has increased. It has become practically impossible to review exhaustively the economic processes in their natural form; detailed administrative regulation under such circumstances is impracticable.

Consumption by the population since 1949 has risen almost to two and a half-fold; this has a correspondingly increasing effect on production. Owing to rising living standards, consumer demands have risen as to the type, choice and quality of the products. The pattern of demand has changed swiftly and considerably.

Another factor stressing the need for reform is the ever-growing contact of our economy with scientific technical progress, and its dependence thereon. The scientific and technological revolution of our age rapidly makes the installations, manufacturing processes and products obsolete, the ratio of materials to equipment used for producing the commodities is changing.

Our foreign trade playing of necessity an increasing part in the country's economy, realizes at present approximately 35 per cent of the national income. The export structure is changing and our exported products face increasing competition, not only on the capitalist, but also on the socialist world market. The requirements concerning up-to-dateness, quality, dates of delivery, etc. are also growing.

During the growth of our national economy, so far mainly of an extensive character, there has been a marked rise in employment; a large new labour force has entered industry, commerce and other branches of the economy. The ratio of active wage earners (excluding pensioners) has reached 81 per cent of the population of working age; almost twice as many people are employed by industry than in 1949. The reserves for development of an extensive character are facing today depletion on a national scale; in some areas they have been already exhausted. We must switch over increasingly to an intensive development, that is, to a type of economic growth which is primarily realized through technological progress, better organization of labour and production, growing skill and productivity of the workers, more effective utilization of productive resources, in other words, through a rise in the efficiency of social labour.

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Deep-going discussions have been going on during the last decade among the economists of the socialist countries regarding the role of *commodity and money relations* in a socialist economy. The overwhelming majority of the participants in the discussion have rejected the views which considered commodity relations incompatible with socialism and regarded them as a sort of necessary evil, the further restriction and elimination of which would constitute an immediate task awaiting solution. The view has become predominant that commodity relations and the law of value must continue to prevail and act even in a socialist economy, and they must be utilized to the best advantage as levers of development. It must be made possible for commodity relations and the economic categories related with them, such as the market, the prices, production costs, profit, credit, etc., to play an active part in socialist economy, a much greater part than heretofore. Socialist planning is not incompatible with commodity relations nor the law of value. In fact, the organic linking of socialist planning with the active role played by commodity and money relations is historically unavoidable.

The market cannot be considered under any circumstances as something alien to, or contradictory with socialism. After all, it is by the utilization of the market, that the socialist countries have been satisfying and will continue to satisfy the population's needs and organize the turnover of consumers' goods. The utilization of the market, as planned in the reform, does not only differ from capitalist market conditions in so far as market categories will act in a planned manner rather than spontaneously. The decisive difference is that in our system labour cannot become a commodity either in the future, and that the decisive role in expanded reproduction, in investments, will not be played by market relations, but by conscious and planned state direction.

Our notions about the *national economic plan*, about its essentials, have

changed in many respects in recent years and are still changing both internationally and at home. The mainsprings of this change are growing practical experiences and the higher level of development of socialist economy. Earlier we endeavoured to subject the possible greatest proportion of production, turnover and consumption to central planning, performed in most instances in natural units of measurement. Today we are rejecting this view and attribute an increasing importance to the role of the national economic plan as an instrument of economic-political guidance. Previously we considered the plan essentially as the sum total of tasks (plan indicators) to be issued as directives through administrative channels; at present, however, we include the application of indirect means of regulation (regarding, e.g. the use of the enterprise's income, prices, credit terms, etc.) to advance the implementation of plan objectives. Earlier the obligatory character of the plan was interpreted to mean that the realization of the *individual* plan targets or indicators was obligatory, in themselves, while recently we are taking the position that the complex *entirety* of the national economic plan is the obligatory directive of economic action.

The national economy cannot be directed as if it were a single gigantic enterprise, with a number of divisions of very limited independence operating therein. It is incorrect to conceive the socialist planned direction of the national economy in such a way that the central bodies plan and determine the activities of the enterprises down to every detail so that the task of the enterprises would essentially consist only in the best possible fulfilment of the plan directives.

The main objectives of the national economic development, the ways of their implementation and the principal economic proportions must be centrally determined and their implementation ensured by the most effective combination of the means of direction. Much greater independence than at present must, however, be given to the enterprises within the framework of centralized planning. This is a better way to ensure adequate economic effectiveness, and a flexible adjustment of the enterprises to changing conditions and requirements.

In the earlier stages of socialist economic development the conception prevailed for a long time that, in consequence of the substance of the socialist economic system, solvent demand must, to a certain degree, surpass supply. This view was opposed to the concept of a balanced economic growth. It has been rejected by Marxist political economy for some time. At present it is generally accepted that, at a more advanced stage of socialist economy, shortages can be done away with, and that the transition to a development of intensive character necessitates a balanced economic growth.

In elaborating the reform we consider our domestic conditions and experiences together with the international experience of socialist construction as guiding principles. We are paying special attention to the actual or planned measures of this kind in every socialist country. Of course, when utilizing inter-

national experiences it is not feasible simply to transplant the system of any other socialist country into ours, because differences in economic conditions of our countries cannot be overlooked. Yet we consider the economic system of every socialist country a source of much useful experience. Our independent reform program must be elaborated by weighing both domestic conditions and international experiences and circumstances.

The basic principle we must continue to adhere to is that the state enterprises are in public ownership and the national economy is centrally directed. It would be mistaken to combine the extension of independence of enterprises with the system of "self-administration" by workers, because from this measure we could not expect either the increase of economic efficiency or the advancement of socialist democracy. Our starting point has to be the fact that, in the case of state enterprises, the state is the owner and the manager (director) is the representative of the state. At the same time, it is reasonable to give far-reaching recognition and application to the principle of self-administration in the co-operatives where the state has no ownership rights.

Our economic policy is the aggregate expression of our endeavour to make far better use of the advantages of socialist planned economy. From this objective follows our obligation to continue to consolidate socialist ownership as the foundation of planned economy. Our planned economy rests upon the simultaneous development of both forms of socialist property: the state and co-operative forms of ownership (the latter includes also the household plot farming in the framework of co-operative farms).

In the Hungarian national economy, besides the socialist sector having decisive superiority, the private sector will have to be maintained even in the future in its present supplementary role.

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The *system of national economic planning* is incomparably sounder and better grounded today than it was ten years ago. Still, the shortcomings of planning, both as regards system and method, are still subject to a considerable amount of justified criticism.

The drafting of the annual plans is given excessively high priority, while the elaboration of the five-year plans and those of longer range is relegated to the background and suffers from a shortage of time. Since the major problems of long-term development of the national economic branches and of future changes in national economic proportions cover more than a one-year period, they are not paid adequate attention. The choice of the economically most efficient ways of development is not assured institutionally because top decision-makers are not being provided in proper time with alternative drafts of plan variants. Planning is unduly lost in the details of directly regulating economic processes, and makes insufficient use of the economic means of control.

The relations between the central bodies and the enterprises are not satisfactory in planning. The present methods of central planning leave too little leeway for decisions by the enterprises; the enterprises are not properly stimulated to strive to increase economic efficiency and better to satisfy market requirements. Under such conditions, planning in the enterprises is often of limited outlook and low standard.

All this can be changed by making the five-year planning more resolutely than before the basis of our planned economy, and by devoting greater effort and energy to its proper preparation. Long-range planning has to be improved simultaneously. Planning has to be more scientifically founded, especially by a more reliable calculation and projection of the "variable factors" of development. It is necessary, for instance, to take more precisely into consideration the changing needs resulting from technological development as it may be foreseen for a period of five years ahead and even longer, the anticipated modification of the structure of consumption and the changes in efficiency factors over time. These are the "stumbling blocks" in the actual practice of our planning; their incorrect assesment can lead to the establishing of either too low or too high plan targets.

The objective factors of uncertainty must be considered in future to a much greater extent in planning than at present. Among these, especially weather and natural factors play a considerable role, because their possible negative effect strikes not only at agriculture, but may influence other, practically all, branches of economy, slowing down the wheels of the entire national economy. Changes in the capitalist market conditions, the development of selling and buying possibilities, and the contingencies of price trends are likewise important factors of uncertainty. These factors must be taken into consideration in planning as well, and counterbalanced with the building up of reserves, both at national and enterprise levels. It is important to know in what amounts and proportions reserves of material, money, foreign exchange and, in some cases, production capacity should be built up. Beyond that, in the future we shall endeavour better to size up the mutual effects and interrelations of domestic development and the international division of labour.

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A fundamental problem of the reform is that of *the independence and responsibility of state enterprises* at the present stage of development of socialist economic planning. This question should be clarified also in principle, since that would greatly contribute to its adequate practical solution.

It would be utterly schematic and incorrect to formulate such a conception about the division of labour between central bodies and the enterprises, according to which the state organs would be charged with making the decisions

and the enterprises with carrying them out. There has to be a decision-making and an executing function on both levels and in a more rational association than at present. The central bodies have to take decisions from the viewpoint of the national economic global process, and this can only be done by them. The enterprises, on the other hand, must take decisions concerning their own tasks, because they are the only ones to really know their situation.

The present narrow limits of the enterprises' independence is linked up in practice with the ministries' present methods of control, with the fact that the ministries act as if they were "trusts", thus assuming exactly that part of the responsibility which should be borne by the enterprises. They are carrying on their work of direction with too much paper and red tape. This work consist mainly in "breaking down" by enterprises the so-called obligatory plan-indicators, of issuing instructions concerning the production and marketing of certain products, of allocation of investments, materials, machinery and foreign exchange. The breakdown of obligatory plan indicators, this method of directing the implementation of the plan, cannot be accepted as something necessary and indispensable in socialist planned economy, although it was necessary in the past. Still, we cannot do away immediately with this practice, because a number of constituents of the economic mechanism do not make it possible as yet. All we can do during the coming year or two is to cut down the number of obligatory plan indicators for the enterprises. It is, however, correct, to lay down a more far-reaching objective. With the all-round setting up of the new system of economic management we have to put an end to the practice of breaking down the obligatory plan indicators for the individual enterprises.

The question arises as to what role the central state organs and the ministries will have in this case. We can define the essence, the main content of their activity, as the economic-political guidance of the economic branches assigned to their competence. They have to practice their control authority as bodies of state administration, direct technical development, supervise and control the economic efficiency of the enterprises, and stimulate domestic and international co-operation. This would involve less detailed responsibility than at present, though, in the final analysis, their tasks and responsibility would not be smaller, but much greater.

The independence of the enterprises has to be expressed primarily in the independent drafting of their own annual plans, and those covering a period of several years, within the framework of the new management system. They have to determine independently their own program of production and the most expedient utilization of the means at their disposal. Two tasks should be designated centrally as the general objective of their activity:

1. the best satisfaction of the customers' requirements regarding quantity, quality and delivery schedule;
2. the constant increase of rentability.

This broadening of the enterprises' autonomy does not at all mean that from now on they can act arbitrarily, disregarding public interest. What will actually happen is that administrative constraints will be replaced by economic means of influence; these will be primarily the factors prompting the enterprises to adequate actions. Economic means, such as state collection of accumulation, rules regulating the use of foreign exchange, the price and wage policy, and the credit policy are the actual means for transmitting the national economy's objectives to the enterprises. One of the major tasks in the course of the reform's continued elaboration is to work out ways and means for the application of these principal devices of economic control by the central organs. Obviously, the elimination of excessive administrative constraints and the introduction of guidance through economic devices do not mean an automatism that will settle everything; they rather signify that greater scope for action will be ensured for initiative by the enterprises, for calculation and the optimal combination of various factors of production. The correct assessment of the situation by the executives and their correct action will be of decisive importance.

The development of the remuneration system shall be based on the principle that the good or bad work of the enterprise depends, on the one hand, to a great extent on the management, and on the other, quite considerably on the co-operation and efficiency of the enterprise collective as a whole. Consequently, it will be proper to develop a system where primarily the personal income of the executives, but to a certain extent also the earnings of the workers, will depend on the development of the enterprise's net income (gain). When the net income of the enterprise increases, the workers should benefit primarily in a greater share of the gain, but in case of a lasting, well-grounded additional net income, wages may also be raised within proper limits.

The system of material incentives for state enterprises should be properly solved on the basis of the principle of cost accounting (khozraschet), and in such manner that it shall be applied more consistently than at present. The guiding principle shall be that enterprises functioning more efficiently should be able to give more to their workers and allocate more for the building up of enterprise funds than those that are functioning less efficiently.

In the *co-operative sector* of the national economy the working collective is at present interested in increasing the *gross* income, and this incentive will continue to exist in the future. It must be combined with stimuli working for the rise in rentability. To achieve this, the co-operatives have to manage their remuneration fund and calculate production costs just like enterprises, and give their members a supplementary share from the profits.

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The formation of a correct *price system* makes up the other fundamental part of the reform. A general adjustment of the producers' prices must be carried out, following thorough preparations in 1968 (it cannot be done any sooner). In the sphere of consumers' prices it will equally be necessary to work in the future for gradually establishing more appropriate and more correct relative prices.

Our present system of producers' prices has a number of shortcomings and negative effects we have been trying to counteract up to now with not quite successfully taxation, state subsidies and an additional turnover tax.

The characteristic shortcoming of our entire price system lies in the fact that the prices of products diverge to a great extent, and without economic reason, from the socially necessary inputs. Moreover, because of the exaggerated use of the fixed price system, prices are exceedingly rigid and unsuitable for harmonizing supply and demand. The extremely wide range of state price fixing — affecting almost one million of products — makes impossible the formation of correct relative prices.

It is a shortcoming of our producers' price system that the prices fail to reflect divergences in capital requirements (fixed and circulating assets), moreover they reflect the cost relations having prevailed 8 or 9 years ago, and the fluctuation of profits between the various products are economically unwarranted. The price level of agricultural products is considerably lower and that of industrial products higher than justified by social inputs.

The too rigid separation of domestic and foreign trade prices corresponds to an inordinate "protectionist" (in essence, autarkic) economic policy and is contradictory to our present economic concepts. The present state of affairs does not stimulate exports and imports in the right direction, distorts and hampers the calculation of economic efficiency and even deprives the producing enterprises of the possibility of orientation.

Our present consumers' price system is unsuitable from several points of view. Prices differ largely and without justification from the socially necessary inputs, and often do not work toward the realization of a harmony between demand and supply; in fact, they have the very opposite effect in some cases.

It is desirable to work out a price system which would more reliably orientate through relative prices and rentability both producers and consumers in making their economic decisions. This will better contribute to adjusting supply to demand, to the speedier introduction of new products and to the formation of a more economic consumption pattern.

We can implement the afore-mentioned considerations in pricing if we take a more realistic account of the social inputs connected with production. For this reason it will be expedient in the coming price reform to evolve, both in industry and in agriculture the system of the producer-price type, i.e. prices which take properly into consideration, over and above the current expendi-

ture, the amount of fixed and circulating assets used in production. The enterprises have been paying now for two years charges to the state on the amount of their fixed and circulating assets, but this charge is not yet reflected in the prices.

Another principal instrument for asserting the real social inputs is a more realistic conversion of foreign trade prices, and a corresponding charging of the domestic enterprises for them. The actual prices formed and realized in exports and imports deals have to exert in future a direct influence on the expenditures and income of the producing and trading enterprises.

It is justified and necessary to discontinue the present, rather bureaucratic system of the price mechanism. The prices of a multitude of articles can be centrally reviewed and readjusted only at intervals of several years and even this entails a tremendous amount of work for the apparatus and extra expenses for the state. Price control under such circumstances can only be formal. If prices remain unchanged for 5 to 6 years, while production costs have changed, large gains can be realized from some products even if demand declines, while the manufacture of new products is often detrimental to the rentability of the enterprise. This problem can only be solved by narrowing down the scope of state-fixed prices. It will be necessary to continue to establish state-fixed prices on basic raw materials, staple foods and some important consumer goods. It will be advisable to set a maximum price or a directive price on a considerable part of the other products. The prices of the third group of products could be free; that is, they may be made a matter of agreement between the purchasing and selling socialist enterprises.

It is expedient to set fixed and maximum prices primarily for finished products, while within the framework of co-operation between enterprises it is justified to give wider scope to the third category of free agreed-upon prices.

The system of more flexible pricing does not mean the abandonment of the principle of state price policy. The state will be able to direct the trend of prices with measures of price policy, with calculation schemes, price control, the setting of fixed prices for certain basic products; but price trends will also be controlled through means of general economic policy.

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In the planning, preparation and realization of *investments* we have not succeeded satisfactorily in carrying out the central objectives, although investments are the most important new elements from the point of view of economic development.

Investments determine the production pattern and the development of the national economy as a whole for a longer period, and in this respect the medium and long-range investment plans play a particularly important role. These, however, are mostly not sufficiently elaborated yet. In the course of

planning investments we have failed to give due consideration to the correlation between the development of the various economic branches, or the differentiation in their economic efficiency. Thus, we have not always been able to ensure the economic optimum of development. When making decisions on investments, the one-sided interest of the bodies controling the particular branches has prevailed to an undue degree.

The investment means are allocated to the enterprises centrally, free of charge. The proper obligation, responsibility and incentive of the enterprises towards the national economic interest are not adequately ensured at present either by the system of allocation and management in investment goods or by the procedure of individually approving investment projects. On the contrary, they facilitate the raising of unwarranted demands, and often lead to a waste of investment goods. This investment system also suffers from the shortcoming that the complex co-ordination of projects is not properly asserted. The tension between demand and supply on the market of investment goods has become permanent. This is the major cause contributing to the excessive splitting up of investment activity, to large delays in starting and finishing the constructions and to overspending.

In investment planning and practice the realization of new projects and the quantitative enlargement of the existing ones continue unduly to predominate; on the other hand, the possibilities of modernization through reconstruction are often relegated to the background. Because of this, technological development is rapid only in relatively narrow sectors of the economy, while large areas cannot keep abreast with technological advance for lack of means for minor investments.

In the enterprises the level of maintenance and utilization of fixed assets is low. The enterprises lack sufficient authority and are not properly interested in their efficient management. The gross values of fixed assets differ substantially from the new purchase values, and our rates of depreciation allowances fail sufficiently to consider economic obsolescence. Even a part of the amortization serving simple replacement is being withdrawn from the enterprises.

Investments and the management of fixed assets in the co-operative farms are handled in a way different from what prevails in industrial enterprises, but they suffer from the same shortcomings in many respects.

To improve substantially the efficiency of investments it is necessary, first of all, to establish at all times a proper balance between the demand and supply of investment goods. This can be achieved by forming reserves from the material and technical capacity in the course of planning, to be used in order to speed up implementation and for other purposes. Authority to make decisions regarding investments has to be more rationally distributed between the central bodies, the enterprises and the banks; and investment bureaucracy has to be decisively reduced.

Outstanding productive investments of national importance, moreover the major investments in the non-productive sphere, have to be decided upon centrally even in the future and financed directly out of the state budget. The sphere of centrally decided projects could, however, be narrowed. Investments, serving modernization purposes should be given preference, because they are the most effective promoters of technological progress. It is proper centrally to determine by groups of objectives the total amount of the allocations for modernization and accessory investments to prescribe for each the minimum of efficiency, and to turn over the total amount of allocations from the state financial funds to the banks. They, in turn, should finance the enterprises, in the form of repayable credits, under proper conditions of economic efficiency. On the other hand, the enterprises should be free to determine their investments serving simple replacement or minor development, and finance them out of their own means (value of depreciation allowances, sale of used fixed assets, a part of their net gain, etc.).

Decisions on investments have to be reached in time at all levels and their implementation be made more flexible. Wherever it is economically advantageous, implementation by the investing enterprise itself should be made possible.

We propose to introduce the formation of amortization funds for the fixed assets of agriculture as well. These funds should be utilized by the co-operative farms according to their own decisions for the renewal or expansion of their fixed assets. In these cases, the availability of materials and machinery for such renewals and investments should be warranted by the state.

In the sphere of communal, social and cultural investments the national economic plan shall determine only the development targets to be co-ordinated with the national location policy (the order of magnitude of the development of secondary and higher education, hospitals, housing, etc.). The ways of utilizing the investment allocation will be entrusted to the ministries and local councils who will take the concrete decisions.

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The enterprises dealing with *domestic and foreign trade* are not yet equal partners of the industrial enterprises, since the latter as suppliers are enjoying unwarranted advantages. This is also reflected by our present system of delivery contracts. Moreover, under the present system, the producing enterprises are insufficiently affected by international market developments and this featherbedding often leads to an occasional feeling of excessive security and the lack of mobility. Material incentive in production and in foreign trade are not properly linked. Their activities are too much separated economically, and often also organizationally.

Retail trade suffers from excessive internal administrative work, from not enough incentive for good service and for retaining customers. Owing to their monopolistic situation many retail enterprises and shops are indifferent towards the consumers. On the other hand, the retail trade does not enjoy proper rights in its relations with wholesale trade.

In selling means of production (stockpiling and supply enterprises) commercial methods prevail only in a small sphere as yet. The system of administrative allocation results in enormous bureaucracy, hampers rational and economical management, and upsets the smooth flow of production.

The trend of development of the commercial mechanism should be such that the producers strive for the fullest quantitative and qualitative satisfaction of the consumers' solvent demand, and that the possible conflict between the interest of sellers and buyers should lead to the assertion of the interests of society as a whole. Methods of administrative allocation should be gradually replaced in all economic spheres by more flexible and more efficient trading methods. Foreign trade has to be centrally directed, primarily by means of foreign exchange control. The fundamental principle has to be the economic co-ordination of the activities of the producing and the foreign trade enterprises. This way, external market influences on production have to be intensified, the interestedness in foreign markets and in a greater mobility of adaptation increased. It seems expedient to expand the direct foreign trade (export and import) activity of the producing enterprises in fields where it is warranted by technical, market and economic efficiency considerations. In some justified cases even the organizations of domestic trade may be granted the right to trade abroad. The specialized enterprises of foreign trade have to carry on their work in close economic and organizational co-operation with the producing organizations, in some instances as their commission agents. The exporting enterprises should, in case of good results, obtain a certain share of the foreign exchange received. We must, however, continue to avoid any competition between our foreign trade companies on foreign markets.

In domestic trade, competition between various enterprises and shops should be encouraged wherever it is beneficial to the consumers. (We are referring to shops of various state enterprises and co-operatives, model shops of producing enterprises, free marketing of agricultural products and private trade.) Retail trade should be able to purchase from any wholesale trading enterprise. Increased direct purchases from industry should also be made possible. Domestic trade should be given the possibility of independently transacting, within the plan's framework, the import of consumer goods and to utilize it for influencing the domestic market more intensively than they are able to do it at present. By broadening the trade margin, the enterprises should be made capable of taking normal commercial risks.

The enterprises engaged in the distribution of means of production

(stockpiling and supply) should be transformed from mere distribution companies into wholesale trade enterprises. Some of their present functions closely related to production should be returned to the producing enterprises.

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The *agricultural co-operatives* have, during recent years substantially developed in respect of organization, most of them have also consolidated economically. There are, however, still many primitive features and shortcomings in their management due not to the co-operative form of ownership, but mainly to the general problems of our system of economic management.

Although, as a matter of principle, co-operative farms must not be given compulsory plan directives, nevertheless, owing to their large degree of dependence on the local council apparatus and on state subsidies, their production plans practically rest on plan targets received from above, often in conflict with the co-operative farms' endowments and their long-range interests.

The state procurement price level of agricultural products does not cover, in some of the co-operative farms, the costs of reproduction; this leads to the excessive increase of credits and state subsidies and to a lessening of economic incentive.

Management of entreprenurial character has not yet developed sufficiently in co-operative farms. They are hampered in marketing or processing their own produce even in cases where this would not be detrimental to the interests of the national economy and would play a positive role in the satisfaction of needs. The management of the co-operative farms is made more difficult by the fact that in certain cases they are in a more disadvantageous position with regard to purchasing and selling than their respective business partners operating in the form of a state-owned enterprise. It is wrong that the principle of equality does not prevail in all instances and consistently in the economic and legal relations between the co-operatives and the state-owned enterprises.

The major trend of the reform in agriculture should be the development of the independent (co-operative) management and, at the same time, a more effective and more differentiated guidance realized through economic measures. Intervention of an administrative character must be gradually restricted and then eliminated.

In the co-operative farms the principle of cost accounting and self-management should be strengthened. Categories of enterprise management, such as enterprise income, production costs, profit, depreciation allowance, circulating funds, the formation of reserve funds and remuneration funds, have to be applied also in the co-operative farms. A fundamental principle has to be that the bulk of the co-operative farms should finance the major part of their invest-

ments out of their own income, and should resort to long-term credits only to the extent they are able to repay them without difficulty under average standards of management.

The state guidance of the co-operative farms should be, besides the legal supervision, of an entirely economic character, The instruments should be delivery (production) contracts, price regulation by the state, bank credits, state prescriptions for depreciation allowance, influencing the building up of co-operative funds, and the system of taxation. Taxes on land and income must play a greater role than at present.

The system of personal incentives of the co-operative members has to continue to be developed in a differentiated manner, corresponding to the local conditions. To employ the membership in a more organized manner, it is necessary gradually to switch over to bilateral labour contracts establishing the obligations and rights of both management and members. A gradual application of the guaranteed monthly payment of cash wages and the system of profit-sharing are also necessary. The state must have a moderating effect on the personal income differentiation between the co-operative farms (through directives for building up funds and through taxation).

The economic development of weak co-operative farms has to be given a proper place in the state's organizational activities. To this end, the system of state assistance has also to be maintained, but major stress has to be put on the over-all economic development of the co-operatives. This should be done primarily through a production pattern ensuring adequate gain, but where this does not solve the problem, the co-operative farms have to be strengthened through the combined development of agricultural, industrial (handicrafts, food processing) and service activities. Such auxiliary plants, however, should be introduced — provided they are profitable — not only in the weaker cooperatives.

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The principle of the *individual responsibility of managers* and the *collective participation* of workers *in the management* of the socialist state-owned enterprises have to be asserted jointly and in a co-ordinated manner.

The one-man responsibility of the managers must prevail when making final decisions on all questions of production, marketing and enterprise development. This principle of one-man leadership, however, should not lead to a state of affairs where managers concentrate too many decisions on the daily operational matters in their own hands. On the contrary, the decisions on such questions should be decentralized and relegated, in the best possible manner, to specialized minor executives. Consultations with the specialized executives have to be held regularly and in an organized way on major comprehensive problems, and to this end the most suitable organizational forms have to be set up in each enterprise.

While giving more rights to the managers, we must see to it that the system of the managers' remuneration should be flexible; between wide limits, it should be higher or lower according to the performance of the enterprise. For a more effective supervision of the managers' work and the complex evaluation of the enterprise's performance in large enterprises it would be expedient to set up at large enterprises "supervisory boards"; similar bodies embracing several smaller enterprises could also be established. These boards would represent the over-all interests and considerations of society as a whole. They would include elected representatives of the working collective, delegates appointed by the state and council bodies, and representatives appointed by the banks and by the enterprises using the products.

The reform will lend a major stimulus to a broader development of socialist democracy primarily through increasing autonomy of the enterprises and local organizations. This will ensure that a wider scope will be given to the initiative of the workers and employees in the enterprises, the autonomous social bodies, the trade unions and the co-operatives. Workers will get closer to the actual administration of affairs and, with a better insight, gauge the possibilities and establish the reasons for results or failure. This may become a considerable source of widening democracy in the economic sphere.

A greater autonomy of the enterprise does not only make possible but requires, actually necessitates, the extension of democratic control and the development of its objectives. The best way for the managers to make use of their authority is through previous co-ordination between management and the workers' representatives in all matters of direct bearing on them. The trade-unions have to organize the effective participation of workers in management. It seems necessary to review the authority of the trade-union bodies in the enterprise and more expediently to distribute the tasks between the trade-union committees, production conferences, shop stewards and the stewards' organizations.

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The fundamental principle of our *income policy* in the forthcoming period, in the new system of economic management shall continue to be that the building of socialism be accompanied by the systematic rise of the working people's living standards, based on the continuous growth of production and productivity.

Considerable thought has to be given, however, to the manner in which the living standards should be increased and what principles of income distribution correspond best to our present economic and political objectives.

When centrally regulating income distribution we must strive that in remuneration for work, alongside the individual achievements, the collective (enterprise, factory) accomplishments should be recognized to a greater extent. The yardstick of collective work can only be the efficiency of labour, and not

its quantity or duration. Efficiency should be evaluated from the point of view of society as a whole i.e. on the basis of socially justified prices, financial conditions and the requirements in respect of the choice of goods. On the basis of this principle, possibility should be given to the workers of the enterprises to raise rentability through greater individual and collective efforts and thus achieve a rise in their own personal income.

When centrally regulating income distribution by strata, a guiding principle should be such an improvement in the living standards of the two basic classes of our society, the working class and the peasantry, that the living standards of the peasants shall gradually approach that of the workers. Important steps should already be taken in the coming years in order that the social benefits of the co-operative farm members should be essentially the same as those of wage and salary earners, or at least to approximate them. This is another way to ensure greater social appreciation of agricultural work in the co-operative farm, to give a clear perspective to the youth on the countryside, in order to slow down their streaming into the cities and to mitigate the economic and social problems resulting therefrom.

The undue egalitarianism prevailing in our system of income distribution is also ripe for a change. Above all, it seems advisable to put an end to the method of distributing the enterprises' wage funds and average wages among the enterprises rather mechanically, without considerations of economic efficiency. We believe that it is reasonable from the society's point of view, and acceptable to the conscious workers, to lay down as a principle that average wages should be more differentiated among enterprises — of course, within certain limits. This should reflect whether or not the enterprise is operating effectively. Efficiency should also be reflected, to a greater extent than now, in the differences of profit-sharing, and even in a more pronounced differentiation of the trend of average wages. It will be proper to ensure for the well-operating enterprises the possibility of improving their workers' living conditions in several ways. Within this framework, opportunity should be given to the enterprises to set up a social welfare fund out of a certain part of their income and use it, for instance, to build flats for their workers.

An unhealthy egalitarianism can also be noted in the earnings of the individual workers, in most of the enterprises. The bulk of the workers earn the average wage and there is too little wage difference according to the quality of the work done and the responsibility of the job. Management must change this situation. It is desirable to bring about a greater spread in the income scale of the workers and employees in the course of future wage increases. Another guiding principle has to be a greater differentiation of personal incomes, where necessary, according to skill and responsibility.

In the policy on living standards greater emphasis shall be placed in future on increasing real wages per earner, since this indicator is most closely linked with the work accomplished by the worker. A greater part than at pres-

ent of the increase in the population's real income shall accrue from a raise in real wages. The level of employment can only grow in the future if it is in harmony with the objectives set for raising productivity.

Economic processes working for the improvement of consumption conditions should be stimulated and supported. A balance between supply and demand has to be ensured on the consumers' market, together with the proper supply of commodities to the population. The present choice of goods has to be widened by the continuous development of the production and the imports of consumers' goods. Beside the standardization of and setting fixed prices for articles of mass consumption, the choice must be enlarged also from the point of view of quality and this should be also expressed in the prices.

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The reform can be introduced only step by step. Beginning with 1966, the achievement of the reform's objectives can and must be approached by a number of partial measures. In 1967 additional steps can be taken in the improvement of planning and the financial system, but the comprehensive implementation of the reform can take place only in 1968, with the introduction of the new system of producers' prices and the application of new material incentive measures for the enterprises and workers.

Our work up to now has been aimed at defining the guiding principles indispensable for the initial detailed drafting, and at fixing the fundamental principles of the new system of economic management. The elaboration of the entire program and the drafting of a plan for the period of transition will still take a few more months. We shall strive further to perfect and develop the proposals here outlined and amend them with those still to be received. All these will enrich our conceptions and contribute towards making them a more effective instrument for the progress of our economy.

ВСЕОБЪЕМЛЮЩАЯ РЕФОРМА СИСТЕМЫ УПРАВЛЕНИЯ НАРОДНЫМ ХОЗЯЙСТВОМ В ВЕНГРИИ

Р. НЕРШ

В 1967—68 годах в венгерском народном хозяйстве развернется реформа системы экономического управления. Необходимость этой реформы объясняется двумя обстоятельствами: с одной стороны, с построением основ социализма коренным образом изменилась структура венгерского общества, с другой стороны, увеличились масштабы венгерской экономики, она стала более многосторонней и сложной. В таких условиях уже невозможно осуществление детального административного регулирования. Интенсивный характер развития экономики требует новых методов хозяйственной деятельности.

Автор подробно знакомит с основными чертами новой системы управления народным хозяйством, основывающейся на планомерном государственном регулировании рыночных отношений. При новой системе в основу планирования будет положено пятилетнее планирование, будет повышена его научная обоснованность. Поскольку в экономическом регулировании первостепенную роль получат косвенные, экономические рычаги управ-

ления, центральные органы будут освобождены от предписания предприятиям конкретных обязательных плановых показателей, и свое внимание они смогут сосредоточить на соблюдение основных пропорций, народнохозяйственного равновесия. Будет увеличена самостоятельность предприятий при более рациональном совмещении функций по принятию решений и их выполнению. Будут обеспечены широкие возможности инициативы предприятий в создании оптимального сочетания производственных факторов.

Автор излагает предложения о введении правильной системы цен, о планировании и осуществлении капитальных вложений, о деятельности торговых организаций и сельскохозяйственных производственных кооперативов, о расширении прав директоров предприятий и развитии производственной демократии, об осуществлении более правильных принципов распределения дохода, принятых Центральным Комитетом Венгерской социалистической рабочей партии.

Gy. Varga

ON THE STRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL ECONOMY

Constant and temporary factors in shaping the structure of the economy. Dynamic changes in the pattern by branches of investments. The requirements of an up-to-date industrial structure conforming to Hungarian conditions. Transition from the stage of extensive development to the intensive one. The role of agriculture in the Hungarian economy. Development of infrastructure. The growing capital intensity of national income. Alternatives for bringing about an optimum structure of economy.

The structural development of the economy is affected both by general factors (with lasting effects) and by specific ones. General factors, such as are at work in all countries, are e.g. natural endowments, the size of the country, demographical factors, etc. The changes in structure are, however, in certain cases determined precisely by the temporary factors or, at least, considerably influenced by them.

The changes in the pattern of the Hungarian economy have been influenced in the present period—essentially since 1959/60 — by such specific factors as the creation of conditions for large-scale farming in agriculture; a widening market for industrial goods within agriculture; increased participation in the international division of labour; and the scientific-technological revolution which is unfolding on a world-wide scale.

Beyond trends mentioned above, it is a task of the economic policy consistently followed since 1957 to correct the effects of the partly mistaken economic development policies of earlier years. Attention should be drawn to this fact because the economic development programs begun in the fifties have considerably affected the development pattern of the Hungarian economy. The structure which has come about in this manner is an *objective fact* to be reckoned with.

The development of the pattern of the economy is particularly affected by the *reorganization of agriculture into large-scale farms* with its important consequences for the structure and absorptive capacity of the internal market, and by the *international division of labour* which, contrary to the earlier autarkic concept of economic development, has put no less a problem on the agenda than the creation of an efficient pattern of the economy with a view to the world market.

It was only recently — as late as the sixties — that these important tasks

presented themselves for solution; moreover, they had to be realized more or less all *at the same time*. Accordingly, no spectacular changes in the pattern of the economy could be produced in a few years.

Nevertheless, it may be fairly stated that our domestic possibilities have been increasingly taken into account in recent years. Both the Three Year Plan for 1958—61 and the Five Year Plan which ended in 1965 defined the main task in the *structural development of industry* to be the increased use of productive forces for turning out goods of a comparatively low material-intensity which call for the input of highly qualified labour and which are both up-to-date and in demand.

In the transformation of the industrial structure the most important role falls to *investment*.

Structure of investments put into operation

1958—1964

Branch of industry	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Heavy industry, total	88.0	79.8	85.2	82.9	82.5	81.6	82.3
Of which:							
Mining	25.4	24.8	19.2	18.5	16.3	21.3	21.4
Of which:							
Coal mining	17.0	13.4	10.0	12.3	8.8	8.5	12.4
Mining of crude oil and natural gas	4.1	5.1	4.0	3.6	3.4	5.7	5.1
Electric energy	24.0	14.2	15.0	29.8	16.8	12.5	17.9
Metallurgy	4.7	6.3	13.6	12.7	12.2	8.5	8.4
Machinery and equipment	3.2	4.7	6.0	4.3	4.8	4.1	3.5
Vehicles	3.0	6.8	6.3	5.2	4.8	4.7	1.8
Electric machines and appliances	1.4	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.3	1.6	2.4
Telecommunication and vacuumtechnical industry	2.4	2.4	2.8	2.7	2.6	2.6	1.5
Precision engineering	0.9	1.5	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.2	2.4
Metal mass products	1.2	2.1	1.9	1.1	1.4	2.0	2.0
Building material industry	4.1	5.1	5.6	4.2	5.0	7.3	16.9
Chemical and rubber industries	17.6	9.3	10.9	9.6	15.1	15.8	15.8
Light industry	6.0	12.6	8.4	9.1	8.7	11.5	9.4
Food industry	6.0	7.6	6.4	8.0	8.8	6.9	8.3
Total industry	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The most prominent features of the changes in the pattern by branches of investments put into operation are the following:

— a decrease in the importance of mining which — owing to the highly unfavourable geological conditions — demands great sacrifices;

— within mining, a considerable fall in the share of coal mining and an increase in that of crude oil and natural gas;

— the stabilization, on a fairly high level, of the share of the chemical industry and of rubber processing in the investments put into operation;

— increased importance of electric machinery and equipment as well as of precision engineering; and

— an increasing trend in the participation of the light industry in total investment.

It is worth mentioning that while the value of productive fixed assets in industry as a whole increased between 1958 and 1964 by 58 per cent, for the electric machinery industry the corresponding percentage was 92, for precision engineering 125 and for the chemical and rubber processing industries 92.

The allocation of development resources thus shows that *we increasingly endeavoured to take into account the requirements of creating an up-to-date industrial structure which would also fit the domestic conditions.* This is also testified to by the dynamics of industrial production. While the production of industry as a whole has grown in the last five years by 47 per cent, chemical industry increased its output by 84 and engineering by 55 per cent. Within the engineering industry, the branches which demand complex labour and which are less material intensive, have grown at an even higher rate (precision engineering by 84, telecommunication and vacuumtechnics by 129 per cent).

It is a fact that in the last five to seven years we have increasingly turned our attention to bringing about a structure of industry that is both up-to-date and fitting to domestic conditions. In spite of the results achieved, there are still several problems awaiting solution — nor is the rate at which the favourable development takes place, entirely satisfactory.

One of the fundamental reasons of these shortcomings lies in the actual economic mechanism itself. The present mechanism (system of the control and management of the national economy) had been brought about in the early fifties primarily to serve the objectives of the *extensive* development then thought to be expedient, and its incentive system still works in this direction. This system of economic management renders difficult even a proper orientation from the national economic point of view, nor does it yield a point to hold on for the rational allocation of the available resources. Beyond that — due to its rigidity — it does not sufficiently promote the changes in structure and even tends to conserve the old structure. For the time being, only the outlines of an expedient industrial structure may be discerned; owing to the multitude of the problems to be weighted, the details are still under discussion.

Since structural problems fall primarily within the scope of industrial policy, let us first have a look at these problems (though I wish to emphasize that the problems of industrial policy and those of the economic mechanism are closely interrelated).

Submitting the Hungarian industrial structure to an analysis on the basis of changes in the pattern of total employment and production, we will find that the changes in the *actual structure* were remarkably small.

Structure of the Hungarian industry

1958—1964

Industrial group	Percentage share in total industry					
	by employment			by value of output		
	1958	1960	1964	1958	1960	1964
Industry, total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Of which						
Mining	13.3	12.8	10.5	8.2	7.7	6.7
Metallurgy	7.6	7.4	6.1	14.1	14.0	12.1
Electrical engineering*	6.2	6.9	7.4	5.5	5.8	6.7
Precision engineering	2.4	2.6	2.8	1.1	1.2	1.8
Chemical industry	5.1	5.2	5.5	7.9	8.3	8.8

* Inclusive of telecommunication and vacuum technics.

In seven years, only a small change in the desirable direction can be established.

It is conspicuous that in Hungary a relatively high proportion of those employed should be working in mining and metallurgy. In other, industrially more developed countries these branches employ a much smaller part of the labour force. Thus, e.g. in the German Democratic Republic only 6 per cent of total industrial labour is employed in mining and 3.8 in metallurgy. In Czechoslovakia, the corresponding percentages are 8 and 7.6, in Poland 11.1 and 5.5, in the Federal Republic of Germany 6.2 and 7.8.

These countries have considerably bigger mining and metallurgical bases than our country. The differences in proportions show — among other things — also differences in the level of productivity; in the case of Hungary, this can be explained by particularly adverse geological conditions (deep, scattered and small deposits, etc.). Every country makes efforts to employ an increasing part of its industrial labour force in branches with a higher productivity (or those assuring a quicker rise in productivity). The fact that in our country a considerable part of those employed in industry — nearly one fifth — are still working in branches where productivity is much lower than either in the competing

foreign countries or in the competing domestic industrial branches, has an unfavourable effect both on the level of productivity in industry as a whole and on the profitability of the latter. Let me point out, that the index of productivity increase per unit of fixed asset (fixed capital) is six to seven times higher in electrical engineering, and thirty (!) times higher in precision engineering, than in mining or in metallurgy.

Of course, the *pressure of circumstances* must be reckoned with as far as the production of fuels is concerned. As a matter of fact, we can hardly expect to be able to meet the country's needs of these products from imports in the foreseeable future. Yet, efficiency might be improved if fuels based on hydrocarbons are substituted for coal at a quicker rate (the share of the latter in the balance of energy has decreased from 67.7 per cent in 1960 to 62.2 in 1965) and if our manufacturing industry becomes gradually capable to meet the cost of energy imports out of exports.

Apart from the problems of the extractive industries, one of the complex problems of industrial development is *the rational concentration of resources available for development purposes*. Investments can efficiently contribute to the development of the national economy if a considerable part of them is utilized in accordance with the planned structural transformation and concentrated on the rational directions of development.

The rate of growth in fixed productive assets is not sufficiently differentiated by branches. Thus, between 1960 and 1963, in the branches with high priority such as electrical engineering, precision engineering and the chemical industry, the stock of fixed assets increased by 44.6, 30.4 and 35.3 per cent, respectively. But development was similarly marked in other branches which had no development priority. (Thus, in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the rate of growth was 32 per cent, in electric energy 33.8, in the wood industry 40.9 and in the clothing industry 31.9 per cent.)

In recent years, growing claims were imposed on the chemical industry and on engineering. While the chemical industry has been developed accordingly at a rapid rate, in engineering some stagnation can be observed, particularly as regards the last two or three years. In the period under discussion the share in investment projects put into operation fell in all engineering branches. (As against 21 per cent in the base year of 1960, the share of engineering in all industrial investment projects put into operation fell to 17 per cent in 1961 and 1962 and to 15.2 per cent in 1963.)

It is characteristic of the structural development of industrially developed countries that the processing industries and within these certain branches of engineering and the chemical industry should be growing at a relatively quicker rate. Technological progress is usually rapid in these branches and the possibilities of substitution are the greatest here. The market for their products is only rarely saturated in absolute terms. The general case is *relative saturation*, which

means that the market becomes saturated only at the given level of technology and with the given product pattern. However, it is exactly this rapid change of the products and the quick-rate technological progress that is characteristic of these branches which create that and recreate thus again and again their own markets. Statistical data also go to confirm that the principal basis of industrial expansion in industrially developed countries is constituted by the relatively rapid development of these processing branches.

The emphasis and the priority given to the development of the engineering and chemical industries is justified also by the economic fact that rapid technological progress generally enables the realization of extra profits. (In a country where natural conditions do not allow to realize any rent in the extractive industries, the development of higher processing phases is particularly important.) In Hungary, there still prevail some "equalizing tendencies" in the development of the pattern of industry by branches, and the tendencies working in the direction of establishing an up-to-date industrial structure are not consistently realized.

Of course, investment means must not be unconditionally concentrated in the branches which are to be developed in the long run; it often happens that they have to be used first in other branches or vertical stages which will in turn enable the subsequent development at the desired rate of the branch concerned. (Thus, it is an important condition for developing the chemical industry to have a high-standard production of chemical equipment and, in turn, it is indispensable for the latter to be able to produce acid-resistant steel and up-to-date instruments, and so on.) Development — even the development of a single branch — *raises a series of related development problems* both from the technical and the technological points of view. In fact, the economic efficiency of development in any branch may be strongly influenced by the development requirements and the economic efficiency of the co-operating branches. It will, therefore, not be possible to bring about a desirable industrial structure by simply concentrating all resources in one and the same direction and putting them to a simultaneous use.

In transforming the structure of industrial production, it is an important point of view to conform to the technical (and technological) interrelations of branches and activities as regards both production proportions and product patterns. As a matter of fact, this requirement means the realization of appropriate proportions, in the sphere of production, in the relations of producers and users. From the point of view of industrial expansion the individual branches have differing roles. In this respect, industrial branches may be divided into three big groups. (This subject is given interesting treatment by the American economist *A. Hirschmann* in his book "The Strategy of Economic Development".) The first category (Group I) comprises the branches which sell much in comparison to their production volume to other branches but which use, at the

same time, much from the products of other branches. Thus, the branches in the first category have a high output coefficient and a high (domestic) input coefficient as well. The branches in the second category (Group II) are rather users of the products of other branches while those in the third group (Group III) are rather suppliers to the other branches. It deserves consideration that, from the point of view of making industry more intensive, it is most important to develop the branches in the first category, those with high domestic input and output coefficients (e.g. metallurgy, chemicals, plastics processing, etc.). As a matter of fact, it is the development of these branches that affects most the progress of the others. In the second place, the branches in the second group should be taken into account, those producing — largely on a domestic raw material basis — for final demand, as e.g. engineering, the food industries, the textile and clothing industries, etc., while it is least advisable to develop the branches which belong to the third category (e.g. mining).

Though the above model and its conclusions cannot be applied in all respects to conditions in Hungary — mainly because of the size and the raw material and energy resources of the country — its positive feature is that it calls the attention to a problem worth of consideration from the point of view of transforming the pattern of industry. From the analysis of our development between 1960 and 1963 it may be seen that the rate of growth of fixed assets is above average in group I, but only slightly so; nor can we find any considerable differences between the developments in group II and III. This is mainly due to the equalizing tendencies already mentioned.

In connection with bringing about a modern structure of industry, not long ago there prevailed the view, still advocated by some economists, that certain branches should be cut back in their development and even closed down. Because of the complex interindustry relations, this cannot be done. The main point is the technical level and the quality of the *products* turned out, i.e. the product pattern of production. Investigations have shown that e.g. in the engineering industry the changes in the product pattern are *even slower* than the changes in the pattern by branches. We have set ourselves the task of developing the branches requiring intensive technological development (machine tools, precision engineering, vacuum-technical machinery and equipment) but the progress achieved in respect of developing production and the products is particularly slow precisely in these branches. Today, we clearly realize that the setting of objectives and the selection process should go into details of product (or at least product groups) to enable

a) a specialization of production which answers the requirements of the international division of labour,

b) the narrowing of production profiles and the development and determination of our own marketing trends, taking into account world markets trends;

c) the determination of the volume and direction of research activity;

d) the profitable transformation of the product pattern of industry as a whole. (By giving priority treatment to certain branches we can hardly keep the whole production of the branches requiring intensive technological development at a high technical level.)

It is a well-known fact that foreign trade is of vital importance to Hungary. Being a small country, the application of modern technology makes it indispensable for us to utilize the comparative advantages arising from the international exchange of commodities. It is thus understandable that in Hungarian economic literature it should be frequently claimed that the industry's products meet the *world standard*. This view may even find an exaggerated expression; some authors would have the Hungarian engineering industry to follow the product pattern of the most advanced and most highly capitalized countries and turn out products that are in the front line of technological development. The advocates of such views forget that the decisions connected with the application of the most advanced technology are not only technical but also *economic* in character. As a matter of fact, it is highly relevant to the producing country what total inputs are required in the production of the product in question and what part of the production costs can be realized on the world market. It would be thus an economic paradox if the domestic engineering industry began the production of the most complicated machinery requiring the biggest capital input. In shaping the commodity pattern of production the decisive criterion should primarily be *relative productivity and relative profitability*. This may be interpreted in the sense that the most advanced and most highly capitalized countries use the bulk of their resources for the development and production of the most up-to-date products and divert an ever increasing part of these from the traditional branches which are not in the front line of technological development (various mass products, lathes, tools, etc.), though the demand for the majority of these products continues. Our endeavours aimed at the production of the most up-to-date products and equipment are limited by our economic possibilities due to restricted resources. What would, after all, be the use of developing a commodity, however, up-to-date and however high the extra profit it would earn in the world market, when its production may require and absorb resources to such an extent as to slow down the rate of technological progress in the national economy as a whole.

It is doubtful e.g. that Hungarian engineering could produce in the near future electronic computers that could be profitably sold. This does not preclude, however, that the domestic engineering industry should participate — within the framework of the international division of labour — in the production and export of some automation elements, spare parts or units which constitute an important component part of the electronic computer or some other aggregate product. We have ample opportunities for production co-opera-

tion of this type with socialist countries and co-operation agreements may be concluded even with some capitalist countries (firms) for the production and export of part-products, spare parts, etc. (Such a co-operation agreement has been concluded, among others, with the Krupp Works.) In such cases, the import of products representing the most up-to-date technology may prove to be profitable. All that does not preclude our engaging in the development and production of some goods that are in the *front line* of world production. This depends on the size of all resources available (first of all probably on intellectual capacities) and on the efficiency of application.

Of course, we should not be guided exclusively by the world market. Input-output analysis has proved that, in the majority of industries, the growth of industrial production is in close connection with the *domestic market*. Calculated on the basis of final demand, a one per cent increase in domestic consumption (consumption by the population, public bodies and the service sector, as well as investments and replacements) induces an increase of 0.51 per cent in engineering production, one of 0.55 per cent in electrical machinery, 0.46 per cent in precision engineering and 0.66 per cent in the production of the clothing industry. (A unit increase in exports requires a smaller rise in production.)

From the point of view of bringing about an economically optimal structure, *agriculture* has a great importance in Hungary. According to 1964 data, agriculture employs about 32 per cent of all earners. The creation of large-scale farms has brought about changes in the pattern of investments with a growing proportion of resources being allocated to agriculture. It has also changed the structure of industry, since the production of chemicals, tools, building materials, and equipment necessary for large-scale farming has increased. Similar changes occurred in foreign trade, mainly in respect of the commodity pattern of imports of machinery (tractors, etc.).

In the past five years agriculture has received bigger investment allocation than planned, and obtained about 21—22 per cent of all investments put into operation. This is a high proportion even on an international scale, which is justified by several factors:

a) A sizeable part of agricultural investments is relatively slowly returned (plantation of orchards, building of irrigation works, etc.). The coming into operation of part of the investments is a protracted process due to natural factors which can be influenced by human labour only to a limited extent.

b) The capital intensity of agriculture is increased by the fact that there exists a certain extent of "unused capacity" that cannot be done away with. The technological processes of agriculture make it necessary that technical equipment should conform not to some average but to the agricultural peak time (e. g. harvesting).

c) In a period when the national economy is in the process of intensification, increased interest is attached to labour saving investments in order that a growing part of the labour force may be employed in the branches where productivity is higher. The international experiences of structural development indicate that it is expedient to increase productivity in the less productive branches which are growing rather slowly in volume at a rate quicker than the average in order to release labour for branches where productivity is already higher and where the necessary increase in production is higher than the increase in productivity. (According to the input-output table for 1961, 42.2 per cent of total productive labour input was used for final agricultural output.)

The last five years have seen a revolutionary change in the material and technological conditions of agricultural production. This is indicated, among others, by the fact that today about 70 per cent of total hauling power is supplied by machines. (In 1959 the share of machines was only 28 per cent.) The share of live labour used is decreasing year by year. The stock of fixed assets per person employed increased by 59 per cent (!) in four years. From the material inputs into agriculture, in 1960 only 25 per cent were of industrial origin, while in 1964 the proportion amounted to 40 per cent.

The pattern of the sown area has changed in favour of the more intensive and more economic cultures. The area under fodder crops and industrial plants as well as that of orchards and vineyards has grown in proportion.

The large-scale reorganization of agriculture has pushed the development of the *infrastructure also into* the foreground. Considerable amounts have been spent on the development of the road network, transportation, the modernization of telecommunication, etc.

Under the impact of all these factors, the capital intensity of development is on the increase in Hungary. Over the past few years the stock of productive fixed assets has grown at a quicker rate than national income: between 1961 and 1964 national income increased by 23 per cent while the stock of fixed productive assets rose by 28.6. *The capital intensity of the production of national income has increased.* This increase (or, in other words, the decrease of production per unit of fixed asset) is considerable above all in agriculture, but — to a smaller extent — it may be found also in industry. The increase in capital intensity is shown by the fact that in the years 1958 to 1961 a one per cent increase in national income was coupled with a 2.12 per cent increase in fixed assets, while in 1961—65 — according to preliminary figures — this ratio amounted to 3.9 per cent. Thus, national income per unit of fixed assets decreased between 1961 and 1964 by 1.8 per cent.

One of the reasons for the decrease in national income per unit of investment is that *investment activity was not sufficiently balanced.* In some years the level of investment fluctuated considerably; it grew or fell spasmodically. While in 1959 investments in the socialist sector were increased by 47 per cent

and in 1960 by 18, in 1961 the level of investments was 10 per cent lower than in 1960. Then, in 1962 and 1963, the rate of increase was more or less even (16 and 15 per cent, respectively). Again, in 1964, investments grew by 4 per cent, and in 1965 they did not increase at all.

The point is not that investments should increase unconditionally at the same rate year by year. Great fluctuations may, however, have a harmful effect on the reproduction process and on the economy as a whole. An uneven investment activity causes difficulties both in supply of goods and in the organization of the economy (in drawing up the plans and the programs, in preparations to be made by the executive apparatus, etc.). The increase or reduction of investment inputs cannot be determined at will. The level of investment activity is fundamentally determined by the producing and building capacities available, by import possibilities and also by the *state of readiness in the branch to which the investment is allocated* (e.g. whether they are capable of operating the new machines and equipment with optimum efficiency, whether they dispose of an adequately qualified personnel, whether there is a secure market for the products, etc.). This latter group of factors has been especially disregarded up to now, though, in a given period, the economically rational maximum of investment is also determined by the readiness of the branch which receives the investment allocation. (Thus, in agriculture, the utilization of stalls built in large numbers at the same time is very unsatisfactory.)

Another fundamental reason for the diminishing efficiency of investments is the change which has occurred in the pattern of investments by branches. Since 1959, the share of low-productivity agriculture in total investments has increased and this fact has necessarily acted towards diminishing the efficiency of the capital investment. It is characteristic of the low productivity in agriculture that a relatively high percentage (about 56) of total labour input used in the productive sectors falls to agriculture. (According to the final utilization figures of the input-output table for 1961.) As contrasted, the contribution of agriculture to national income (calculated at realistic prices) is about 34—35 per cent.

The changes in the pattern of investments by branches is shown by the following figures:

Percentage distribution of investments put into operation
1958—1964

	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Total socialist sector	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Of which:							
Industry (excl. construction)	60.4	47.1	45.9	54.9	53.0	50.0	50.3
Agriculture	12.3	20.9	25.2	20.2	20.8	21.8	27.7
Transport	22.1	25.8	22.6	19.1	20.8	21.6	15.8

As may be seen from the figures, the share of industry sharply declined after 1958 while that of agriculture — due to the reorganization period — increased. Afterwards, beginning with 1961, the share of industry began to grow again and with some fluctuations it became stable at about 50 per cent. This shift in proportions will, at least temporarily, have in itself an unfavourable effect on the efficiency of investments. (This is borne out by the fact that according to computations for the years 1961 to 1963, the increment in national income per 100 Ft of the increment in the gross value of fixed assets was 39 per cent higher when computed *exclusive* of agricultural investments than when calculated inclusive of them.)

The stock of agricultural fixed assets grew between 1961 and 1964 by more than 31 per cent; agricultural output, however, rose at a much smaller rate. The average of the five years 1961—65 is only about 10 per cent higher than that of the five preceding years. The efficiency of agricultural investments cannot, however, be judged by simply confronting these two figures. It must also be borne in mind that a great part — about half — of agricultural investments has served the conversion of the means of production which was made necessary by the introduction of large-scale farming. Accordingly, only a part of the investments has brought about an increase in productive capacity, while the rest merely replaced the more primitive means of production used in small-scale farming (e.g. in 1965 total tractive capacity was only 20 per cent above the 1958 level). Besides, neither the *volume*, nor the *composition* of agricultural fixed assets can be considered as ideal, since we have reached as yet but the first stage of development. The point is that the rapidly increased motive-power capacity must be complemented with a corresponding working machine capacity as well as with the supplementary investments (such as warehouses, cold-storage plants, etc.) without which the efficiency of existing fixed assets (e.g. of orchards) cannot be satisfactory.

It was a common occurrence in the past that the investments were concentrated on some principal activity (usually on the fulfilment of some production target) without paying attention to the supplementary needs (granaries, cold-storage plants, warehouses, etc.) concomitant with it. Therefore, the calculated efficiency of these investments is not reliable either, since the supplementary investment (whose necessity will sooner or later arise) may considerably influence the efficiency of the principal activity. To achieve, therefore, an adequate return on total investment, a minimum of supplementary investment should be reckoned with. True, the problem of supplementary investments is not confined to agriculture, yet it is actually here that the implementation of a complex investment policy is of the greatest significance.

Even the most advanced countries had experienced a period of agricultural development when the efficiency of investments transitorily decreased. This period was generally that of agricultural industrialization, more precisely

that of laying the foundations of this industrialization. It is, of course, another problem how long this decline in efficiency will last, or whether the diminishing efficiency in some branch of the economy is counterbalanced by an increase in investment efficiency in some other. These points of view have to be duly weighed before deciding in some period on the pattern of investment by branches. This should not be taken as meaning that considerable amounts should be shifted from one year to another to agriculture, and least of all mechanically. In agriculture, the increase of stored-up labour inputs must be preceded — mainly in respect of machinery and equipment — by the training of an adequate number of properly qualified agricultural skilled workers, agronomists and agricultural engineers. Similarly, the material and technological composition of agricultural investments must be carefully chosen and so must the pattern by branches. These problems were hardly given attention up to now and the practical experiences gained were also poor, in spite of the fact that the clarification of these problems is a condition of rendering agricultural investments more effective. It should be equally carefully weighed what part of investments should be directed in a given period *directly* to agriculture and what part should be allocated to other branches of the economy (industry, transportation, etc.) in order to serve the purposes of agricultural progress.

We dispose of some reserve even in *industry* for the improvement of investment efficiency. It deserves attention that the amount of fixed assets per person employed in industry (the technological equipment of labour) increased between 1961 and 1964 by 22.3 per cent, while production per head (productivity) grew only by about 21. To what can this unfavourable tendency be attributed? We can certainly find powerful reasons in the slow development of the intensity of labour, in the weaknesses of production organization which was lagging behind up-to-date technology, in the unsatisfactory utilization of assets, etc. From the point of view of the investments which affect structural relationships there are, however, other factors of primary importance. Such are, among others, the technological level of investments, the length of time needed for their realization, etc. From the point of view of our analysis, it is important that a considerable part of industrial investments was of an *extensive* character. The point is that the introduction of new production lines was usually realized by creating entirely new capacities. (According to calculations [1], in the USA only some 15 per cent of production increase are due to new capacity-expanding investment while the remaining 85 per cent are a result of improved processing procedures and product structures. In Switzerland it is characteristic of the industrial investments that about 60—65 per cent of the investment projects submitted to the Federal Industrial Supervisory Board relate to the modernization and conversion of existing plants and the reconstruction of existing buildings.) In our country, a new line demands usually new production capac-

ities. This tendency — partly due to the old methods of economic management — leads to the *dissipation* of our resources and puts a limit on the *modernization* of existing productive equipment. (According to estimates, e.g. in 1963 some 45 per cent of industrial investments served the creation of new jobs and only 55 per cent the modernization of the existing productive equipment.)

In view of the fact that about 45 to 48 per cent of total investments are allocated to industry, it is in our interest to improve the efficiency of investments. It seems that it would not be justified to reduce this ratio to any significant extent since the development of agriculture depends mainly on the progress in industry. In the latter, *intensive* development is a condition to the improvement of investment efficiency. Investments can contribute to the intensive development of industry if the concept of industrial policy in relation to the branches of industry, proved to be sound on broad lines, are filled with actual content by a careful selection of the products. Only in this manner will it be possible to do away with the shortcomings in the system of planning and material incentives which lead to the dissipation both of investment resources and of scientific research work.

In a country only moderately endowed with capital, intensive development requires investments to be grouped in a manner that the level of productivity prevailing in industrially developed countries can be reached as soon as possible — at least in some fields of production. Accordingly, it seems advisable to consider the increased development of those branches whose level of productivity at least approaches that of the corresponding branches in industrially developed countries. It is in these branches that we *may become competitive at the cost of relatively small sacrifices.* A rational concentration of means is an indispensable condition to increase competitiveness in the world market, since the attainment of the productivity level of possible competitors requires — apart from differences due to natural endowments, location or to differences in the wage level — in most cases at least the same per unit investment (e.g. per worker) as in the case of the competitor. Thus, the competitiveness of Hungarian industry will to a great extent depend on the prevalence of intensive methods of development over the extensive ones.

Owing to the still overwhelmingly extensive development, industry can hardly keep pace with the increasing requirements in respect of quality and technology. Newly created capacities, therefore, do not entirely satisfy the demands of domestic and foreign markets. Since investments did not enable industry to turn out important quantities of marketable goods, *the growth of industry has slowed down and this was accompanied by a deterioration in the utilization of productive assets.* This phenomenon has been prevalent mainly since 1960—61. The increment (decrease) of production per total productive assets as against the preceding year was 16.6 per cent in 1960, 2.5 per cent in 1961,

—7.8 per cent in 1962, —2.1 per cent in 1963 and 0.6 per cent in 1964. On the whole, production per unit of fixed asset decreased from 1960 to 1964 by 0.5 per cent.

It is worth mentioning that the utilization, the efficiency of the plant equipment which serves production directly has deteriorated to a greater extent than that of all fixed assets: here, the decrease between 1960 and 1963 was of 4.8 per cent.

The stagnation and deterioration in the efficiency of fixed assets, which has lasted now for several years, had also an adverse effect on the efficiency of the national economy as a whole. Moreover, it should also be taken into account that in the long run the extensive development of industry has an indirect effect, namely that the decreasing rate of growth due to the causes described above will have an unfavourable effect on the purposeful transformation of the industrial structure, slowing down and hindering as it does this process.

In the plans for the period 1965—70, the requirements of intensification are more consistently taken into account. This may be inferred from the continued rapid structural transformation of the energetical basis and the increased use of hydrocarbon-based fuels at the expense of coal-based ones. A relatively important part of capital investments is to be concentrated on the development of the chemical industry and of engineering. Within the former, primarily the production of fertilizers, plastics and pharmaceutical products will be developed. In engineering, means will be concentrated on some principal *groups of products* and efforts will be made to harmonize the capacities of the various technological phases.

Thus, in the Third Five Year Plan, the outlines of a more intensive industrial development policy are drawn up. (In the next five years industry must reckon with about 60 per cent less manpower to be released by its main supplier, agriculture, than in the five preceding ones.) In the years to come, the efficiency of investments will be increased also by the fact that — though their level remains unchanged — a bigger part will directly serve the growth of production than in the past period.

The favourable structural development of the Hungarian economy will be certainly quickened by the efforts and measures aimed at the improvement of the methods of *economic management*. In actual practice, this means that market relations, as well as commodity and money relations will be used to an increased extent and planfully by the central economic management and control and also that the work of enterprises will be judged by their rentability. In this new economic environment, it will be an *objective necessity* to weigh inputs and results, to satisfy demand in the most efficient manner and to develop, as a result of all these, the pattern of the economy in the direction of improved efficiency.

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НЕКОТОРЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ СТРУКТУРНОГО РАЗВИТИЯ

Д. ВАРГА

Автор в вводной части своего труда занимается постоянными и временными факторами, влияющими на экономическую структуру. Он показывает, каким образом воздействуют на развитие венгерского народного хозяйства организация крупных хозяйств в сельском хозяйстве, усиленное включение в международное разделение труда и требования развертывающейся в мировых масштабах научно-технической революции. Автор детально анализирует отраслевую структуру введенных в действие капитальных вложений, ее изменение и устанавливает, что, начиная с 1958 года, мы стремились в усиленной мере учитывать требования создания современной промышленной структуры, одновременно в большей мере соответствующей отечественным условиям.

Вопреки этому, в венгерской промышленности все еще высока доля горнодобывающей промышленности, имеющей особенно неблагоприятные природные условия производства. Также высока — в зеркале международных сопоставлений — и доля металлургии.

Фактическое содержание структуры определяется структурой продукции, а с этой точки зрения структурное изменение венгерской промышленности уже является менее благоприятным. Это объясняется распылением ресурсов развития: капитальных средств, умственных потенциалов и осуществлением методов экстенсивного развития.

Рациональная концентрация ресурсов требует глубокого анализа смежных проблем развития, так как часто случается, что капиталовложения не обязательно концентрировать в отрасли, развиваемые в перспективе, а нередко — сначала в такие отрасли или производства, которые в свою очередь смогут обеспечить желательное развитие избранной отрасли.

В статье анализируется содержание так называемого мирового уровня. Последний рассматривается автором как экономическая категория, критериями которой являются относительная производительность труда, относительная экономическая эффективность.

С точки зрения формирования экономически оптимальной структуры в Венгрии большое значение имеет сельское созяйство. В статье указываются временные факторы, под влиянием которых на данном этапе сельское хозяйство является особенно капиталоемким. За последние пять лет сельское хозяйство получило более 20% общей суммы введенных в действие капитальных вложений. В результате этого в материальных и технических условиях венгерского сельского хозяйства произошли изменения исторического значения.

Важным условием создания современной структуры народного хозяйства является также развитие инфраструктуры страны.

Под влиянием всех этих факторов в Венгрии повышается «капитало»-емкость развития; увеличилась фондоемкость национального дохода. Этот рост значителен, главным образом, в сельском хозяйстве, однако, в меньшей мере, он наблюдается и в промышленности.

В увеличении «капитало»-емкости или иначе: в сокращении национального дохода, приходящегося на единицу капиталовложений, определенную роль играет и то обстоятельство, что связанная с осуществлением капиталовложений деятельность не была достаточно эффективной. В статье дается глубокий анализ проблемы понижения эффективности.

Автор в заключительной части статьи занимается основными вариантами развития экономической структуры: им затрагиваются условия интенсификации, он поднимает вопрос целесообразности усиленного развития тех отраслей, уровень производительности в которых наиболее близок к уровню производительности аналогичных отраслей в промышленно развитых странах. Важной предпосылкой осуществления рациональной экономической структуры является создание системы экономического управления, ориентирующей в направлении принятия более рациональных экономических решений и способствующей — в макроэкономической плоскости — улучшению надежности экономических анализов.

S. GANCZER

PRICE CALCULATIONS AND THE ANALYSIS OF PROPORTIONS WITHIN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY*

Initial assumptions of the study — A survey of the price discussions going on in socialist countries; the author advocates the use of producer-type prices — Reasons for working out various systems of prices — The mathematical models of the various price systems — Description of the input-output table serving as a basis for the computations — Principal result of the computations — Conclusions.

When writing this study we started from the following fundamental assumptions:

Firstly, it was assumed that the prices of at least the most important products were centrally determined by the State.

The second assumption was that in any price system a certain amount of net income — a definite part of national income — must be realized in the product prices. This net income realized in the prices — which is partly collected by the State and partly left with the producers — will be used to meet the needs of society as a whole (social and cultural requirements, housing, etc.), and for the accumulation necessary to expand production.

The third assumption was that the total value of the consumption fund in the price system under calculation must equal the total value of the consumption fund as computed on the basis of the actually valid prices. The reasons of this assumption will be dealt with later in the paper.

In Hungary as well as in other socialist countries a discussion has been going on for some time about the price system best suited to the conditions of socialism. The debate fundamentally concentrates on investigating what prices should be employed to serve to the greatest advantage the progress of the economy at the present stage when a modern industry has already been created in most socialist countries.

Prices may be called upon to perform a variety of functions which, however, can often be met only in a contradictory way. It is therefore all-important to clarify the function of the price system which should be considered as fundamental — the one to which all others must be subordinated should they

* In the solution of the economic, mathematical and computationa íproblems arising in connection with the research project here surveyed, I was considerably helped especially by research workers Erzsébet Budai, Péter Kovács, Béla Krekó, László Rácz, László Veidinger. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude for their assistance.

conflict with one another. In my opinion, the fundamental function of prices under socialism consists in expressing the inputs socially necessary for the production of goods and in furthering the harmony between particular regional and enterprise interests and the interests of society as a whole. Here, it will be imperative to interpret correctly the notion of socially necessary inputs. In taking into account the socially necessary inputs, we cannot confine ourselves to expressing the continuous inputs; non-recurrent inputs (capital charges) must also be taken into account.

If prices are a correct reflection of socially necessary inputs, it may be expected that in decisions connected with current economic problems they will serve well for orientation. Of course, long-term decisions and development targets will always have to be based on intricate computations and analyses of economic efficiency, where not only actual but also future inputs as well as foreign and domestic marketing possibilities, etc. must be taken into consideration.

This paper does not review the debate on prices in detail; it surveys only the most important proposals and raises a few points connected with the latter. In the debate, the introduction of the following major types of prices was advocated:

1. In the *value-type price system* value* would form the centre of prices**. The net income necessary to meet the social needs and the expansion of production would be allocated to the individual products and the individual branches of the economy in proportion to wage costs.

2. In the *averaged value-type price system*, prices would be formed by building the net income into the prices of individual products proportionately to prime costs.

3. In the *price system of the producer-price type*, the allocation of net income to products and branches would take place in proportion to the fixed assets *and* working capital tied up in the production process of the products and branches concerned. Several variants of this price system may be conceived of, according to whether the whole of net income or only part of it is intended, to be allocated proportionately to the value of the assets tied up.

From among the great number of conceivable variants we are going to deal in this paper only with the following two:

a) The producer-type price system in the stricter sense (Variant "a" of the producer-type price system), where the entire net income would be allocated to products (branches) proportionately to the value of assets tied up in production.

* In the sense of the labour theory of value.

** *Centre of prices.* It is the ideal price of a product established through the consistent application of the individual types of prices, serving as basis for the formation of concrete prices.

b) Variant "b" of the producer-type price system, where wage costs would be augmented by a 35% tax on wages and the remaining part of net income would be allocated proportionately to the value of the assets tied up.

The requirement that part of the net income should be distributed proportionately to wages even in a producer-type price system can be derived from the fact that in socialist countries workers and employees generally enjoy considerable indirect benefits over and above their wages and salaries; accordingly, money wages as accounted for in book-keeping are not equal to actual wage costs. A major advantage of variant "b" is that the wage costs increased by a 35 per cent tax on wages present a more realistic picture of actual costs arising in connection with labour input than the wage costs shown in the accounting system. The 35 per cent tax on wages represent the indirect benefits of workers and employees — which are, in fact, of a wage character — in an approximatively correct manner.

Other variants of the producer-type price system may also be worked out. E.g., wages may be supplemented not by a uniform rate but by a variety of rates reflecting the differences in indirect benefits, in the different branches.

Similarly, we are dealing with a producer-type system of prices whenever some part of net income is distributed among branches or products in proportion to fixed assets or — as in variant "b" — in proportion to fixed assets *and* wages. In such price systems part of the net income enters into the calculation of prices in the form of a production tax, and the remaining part of net income appears as profit.

4. The advocates of a *price system based on world market prices* propose that the basic prices of the actual domestic price system should be the capitalist world market prices which play an important part in our foreign trade. Thus, not only the prices of goods actually exported or imported would be fixed on the basis of world market prices but of all those either domestically produced or imported. In my opinion, it is definitely justified to take into account world market prices when fixing prices of goods exported or imported in considerable quantities. At the same time, it is unacceptable to base the entire domestic price system of any country on world market prices as — quite apart from the difficulties connected with establishing the world market prices — the price system must, in the first place, reflect the prevailing conditions of production in the country concerned.

5. The *system of shadow prices*. Under this system, prices would be fixed on the basis of shadow prices obtained in the course of programming for an optimal national economic plan. Knowing the difficulties of such programming projects — difficulties due primarily to the lack of adequate information and a proper computational basis — we can take it for granted that the conditions for working out and operating a nation-wide price system based on shadow prices will not exist for several years to come. Of course, we may

obtain shadow prices not only in the course of programming for an optimal national economic plan but also as a result of programming on the branch or enterprise level. Though the whole of the domestic price system cannot be built upon these shadow prices, their knowledge and analysis may be very useful for laying the foundation of price policy.

It seems that in the present stage of the development of socialism it is the price system based on producer prices that reflects most appropriately the inputs socially necessary for the production of goods, and that it is these prices that will best serve the functions prices are in general expected to perform.

What speaks particularly in favour of producer-type prices is the fact that in modern societies, and thus also under socialism, the importance of technology, of up-to-date means of production increases. The use of modern means of production will generally result in increasing both the complexity of work and the efficiency of live labour; the introduction of the most up-to-date means of production, however, requires a considerable input of social labour. Under such conditions it is justified that in the productive branches where modern means of production are used in great quantities as compared to live labour prices should exceed value. Producer prices also reflect the present or past employment of massive non-recurrent labour inputs embodied in the means of production.

From among the several variants of the producer-type price-system, the one applicable in practice is where only a part of net income is distributed among branches or products in proportion to fixed assets and/or wages, and the remainder of net income is built into the price in the form of a production tax and of profits. Such a price system can, of course, not be determined with the aid of computations (since the justified rate of profit to be realized with a product can be established only in actual trade on the market).

The producer-type price system deemed to be desirable may be well approached by computing variant "b" of the producer-type system of prices. We must, however, emphasize the following:

We have mentioned that in the present stage of socialist development it is the producer-type price system that is most appropriate. This does not mean, however, that actual prices should always be equal to some mathematically determined variant of producer prices. For several reasons — among others, in order that prices really express the socially necessary inputs — the actual price of quite a number of products can and must deviate from the centre of prices even in this price system. The deviation of actual prices from the centre of prices is often justified by the fact that in a given period we cannot employ for the production of certain goods as great a part of social labour as would be necessary in order to satisfy social needs.

Although theoretical considerations favour the introduction of the producer-type price system, it appears reasonable to work out also the other types of price system for which an exact mathematical model can be elaborated and

the necessary initial data are available. The price indices characteristic of the various price systems were needed primarily to enable the continuation of the price debate on a more realistic basis. They also helped to work out the differences between the various proposed systems on the one hand and the actual system of prices on the other. Besides, it was to be expected that the calculations will contribute to our knowledge of the nature, advantages and disadvantages of the existing price system and of the major proportions within the national economy.

In the course of the calculations we have worked out prices and price indices for the following price systems:

1. Value-type price system
2. Averaged value-type price system
3. Producer-type price system, variants "a" and "b" as described above.

The calculations were first carried out on the basis of the input-output tables available in Hungary for 1959 and 1961, in breakdown by branches; the computations for products based on the price model are now under way.

One of the initial assumptions of the calculations based on the input-output tables was that in any calculated price system the total value of the consumption fund must be equal to the same as computed at the initial prices. It was only in this way that the direct comparability of the calculated and the original prices could be ensured. The application of this initial assumption was made necessary also by computation-technical considerations. Furthermore, we could prove it only in this way that the transition to a new system of prices is imaginable without modifying at the same time also wages and the aggregate price-sum of the consumption fund. This assumption does not mean, however, that in case of an actual price reform it would be an absolute requirement to keep consumers' prices invariable. On the contrary, we believe that the improvement of our price system demands also the modification of consumers' price proportions. However, a separate analysis is needed to determine the extent of the modification and the type of complementary measures to be taken in the field of wage and income policy.

The calculations based on aggregate input-output tables and those performed for individual products in the "price model" are closely interrelated. In the price model we make use of some of the most important fundamental relationships derived from the calculations based on input-output tables (e.g. those relating to the cumulated wage content of the consumption fund, or to the proportion of net income and locked-up assets). On the other hand, with the aid of computations relating to individual products in the price model, we can investigate the dispersion of individual price indices within the particular input-output branches.

In the course of the computations carried out with the aid of input-output tables we used the following mathematical models:

1. *Value-type price system*

The mathematical model of the value-type price system is represented by the following two systems of equation:

$$p_1^* = p_1^* A + v^* (1 + \alpha) \tag{1.1}$$

$$p_1^* f = \varphi \tag{1.2}$$

where:

p_1^* = vector of prices in the value-type price system,
A = matrix of input coefficients computed on the basis of initial prices,
v^* = vector of direct wage inputs per one Forint of production value,
f = vector of consumption at the initial prices,
φ = price sum of the consumption fund at the initial prices,
α = scalar to be computed, showing the allocation of net income to wages as a percentage of the latter.

2. *Averaged value-type price system*

The mathematical model of the averaged value-type price system is represented by the two equation systems

$$p_2^* = (p_2^* A + v^*) \cdot (1 + \gamma) \tag{2.1}$$

$$p_2^* f = \varphi \tag{2.2}$$

where:

p_2^* = vector of prices in the averaged value-type price system,
γ = scalar to be computed showing the allocation of net income to prime costs as percentage of the latter.

3. *Price systems of the producer-type*

The producer-type price system in the strict sense of the word is represented by the following two equation systems:

$$p_{3a}^* = p_{3a}^* A + v^* + (u^* p_i + w^* p_j + z^* p_k) \Pi \tag{3.1}$$

$$p_{3a}^* f = \varphi \tag{3.2}$$

where:

p_{3a}^* = vector of prices in the producer-type price system of variant "a",
u^* = vector representing the value of immovable enterprise assets per unit of production value, at inital prices,

w^* = vector representing the value of equipment and other not-immovable fixed assets per unit of production value, at initial prices,

z^* = vector representing the value of working capital per unit of production value, at initial prices,

p_i = producer-type price index of the sector whose cost structure best represents that of the locked-up immovable enterprise assets,

p_j = producer-type price index of the sector whose cost structure best represents that of equipment and other not-immovable fixed assets,

p_k = producer-type price index of the sector whose cost structure best represents that of the locked-up working capital,

Π = unknown scalar to be computed; it will show the percentage of locked-up assets that should be taken into account in prices as net income.

The mathematical model of *variant "b"* of the producer-type price system is represented by the following two equation systems:

$$p^*_{3b} = p^*_{3b}A + 1.35v^* + (u^*p_i + w^*p_j + z^*p_k)\Pi \tag{3.3}$$

$$p^*_{3b}f = \varphi \tag{3.4}$$

where:

p^*_{3b} = vector of prices in the producer-type price system of variant "b".

The meaning of the other symbols follows from those used in 3.1 and 3.2.

To bring the above initial equation systems in a form in which they can be directly solved requires an appropriate re-arrangement and the application of some fundamental relationships. For the sake of brevity, we will not deal here with the mathematical demonstration itself, nor with the relationships applied in their course.

To be able to carry out the price calculations in a relatively short time and in several variants, the input-output tables available had to be modified to a certain extent and also supplemented with some data.

Our tables required supplementing mainly in respect of data on foreign trade and on fixed assets and working capital tied up in production. The exports and imports of the branches had to be accounted for in "foreign exchange Forint"* as well; and the value of fixed assets and working capital used in production had to be worked out by branches.

To carry out the price calculations, the following modifications were undertaken in the tables, primarily for computational reasons:

a) In order that amortization inputs, too, could be easily reduced to primary inputs, the amortization was transferred into the inner quadrant of

* Foreign exchange Forint is the domestic Forint value derived from the sale of export goods and of foreign currencies used for the purchase of import goods, respectively, as calculated at the official medium rate of exchange of the National Bank of Hungary.

the table as an imaginary productive sector. In this connection the only difficulty arose when the inputs (the column) of the amortization sector had to be established. Finally, we assumed that the structure of inputs for reconstruction and replacement (i.e. amortization) conforms to the input (procurement) pattern of the investment and reconstruction sector in final demand.

b) It was necessary to reduce also import inputs to primary inputs and, therefore, both imports and exports were treated as productive sectors and placed into the inner quadrant of the table. We assumed that the inputs of imports are represented by the products of the individual sectors handed over for exports.

c) The detailed input-output table for 1961, which — inclusive of the export-import and the amortization sectors — represented the national economy as broken down into 56 productive sectors, was compiled also in various rather aggregate forms and the computations were carried out also with these summary tables. The inner quadrant of the most contracted form contained the following nine sectors: industry, construction, agriculture, transport, home trade, foreign trade, other material production, exports-imports, reconstruction (amortization). Thus, the computations carried out with the aid of this table supplied data essentially for seven sectors of the economy since export-imports and amortization are in fact not separate factors and figure only for technical reasons in the inner quadrant.

The major results of the price calculations carried out with the aid of the aggregate input-output table for 1961 may be summed up in Table 1.

Table 1

Price indices of the major sectors of the economy in various price systems

Sector	At actual prices	At value-type prices	At averaged value-type prices	At producer-type prices	
				Var. "a"	Var. "b"
Industry	100.00	85.90	95.43	84.46	84.49
Construction	100.00	107.65	107.10	99.00	102.00
Agriculture	100.00	146.02	125.28	139.83	141.91
Transport and communications	100.00	115.34	110.98	144.92	135.28
Home trade	100.00	97.50	82.13	109.97	105.69
Foreign trade	100.00	95.81	107.09	123.46	114.28
Other productive activities	100.00	83.99	70.09	60.69	68.44

From the results of the calculation it can be seen that in the price systems computed the price proportions between the major sectors of the economy would have developed quite differently from those under the actual 1961 price system. The greatest deviations from the price system which was in force in

1961 can be found in the producer-type price system in the stricter sense, where the lowest price index occurs under the heading "Other productive activities" (60.69 per cent) and the highest under that of "Transport" (144.92 per cent). But even if we disregard the sector of other productive activities — whose data are the least reliable — we can establish that the value-type price system and the producer-type price system deviate from the actual one approximately to the same degree, while in respect of relative prices there is a considerable difference even between the price systems in question. Analysing the value-type and the producer-type price systems, we find the biggest differences to exist between the value-type prices and variant "a" of the producer-type system. Variant "b" is a transition from variant "a" to the value-type prices. Nearest to the actually valid price system lies the averaged value-type price system; apart from the "Other productive activities", the lowest price index in this system is 82.13 per cent (home trade) and the highest 125.28 per cent (agriculture).

If compared to the actual system of prices, the price indices for the major branches of the economy will, to a decisive extent, depend on the proportion between the net income realized in the given branches in terms of initial prices, and the various possible bases of projection.

It is a characteristic feature of our present price system that, considering the whole of industry, net income is rather high if compared to wages or locked-up assets, but even if compared to prime costs it is above average. Therefore, if net income were distributed among the individual branches proportionately to wages, prime costs, or locked-up assets, the net income realized in industry and thus the price index for industry as well as the value of industrial production would be lower than at present.

The net income of construction is low if compared to wages or prime costs and if compared to locked-up assets it is of about average size. This is what is essentially expressed in the fact that the price index for construction would increase by 7 per cent in the value-type and the averaged value-type price systems, while in the various variants of the producer-type systems it would remain essentially the same.

The price indices of agriculture would be much higher than at present in any system of prices. This can be explained by the fact that in our present system of prices the net income realized in agricultural prices is very low with every basis of projection. Therefore, if uniform principles were applied for distributing the net income among branches or products, this would necessarily lead to a rise in the prices of agricultural products. All that is in connection with the fact that the main features of our agricultural price system had developed at a time when agriculture still consisted in its majority of tiny plots producing on small scale and the State intended to promote the development of agriculture in the desired direction by direct state subsidies granted for specified

objectives, and the contribution of agriculture to the needs of society was realized mainly through low state purchase prices. At present, with the conditions of large-scale production once created also in agriculture, there are several arguments for raising agricultural prices in order that the large-scale agricultural units should be able to develop their production and make it more efficient, even without direct state support.

In case agricultural prices were raised, the State could more efficiently use the means of taxation and credit policy to provide incentives for the development of agricultural enterprises in harmony with the interests of the national economy as a whole, and to appropriate part of the net income created in agriculture to social expenditure. The raising of agricultural prices requires, of course, careful preparatory measures and raises also several problems. For example a major problem is constituted by the fact that between our present agricultural co-operatives there are still considerable differences in respect of natural endowments, equipment and organization and thus the raising of prices, in itself, would favour mainly the co-operatives working under favourable conditions and marketing a major part of their production.

Under the actual system of prices, net income realized in transport is also low, especially as compared to the assets locked up in transportation. This is why the price index for transport is especially high in the producer-type system of prices in the stricter sense (var. "a"), where the allocation of net income to individual branches takes place entirely in proportion to locked-up assets.*

The production of both home trade and foreign trade is the gross trade margin.** In the basic price-system the net income realized is considerable in both branches in comparison to wage costs but small in comparison to locked-up assets. Thus, in a value-type price system both branches would have a lower price index (or production value) while in producer-type systems of prices the opposite would occur, i.e. the price indices would rise. The two branches somewhat differ from each other as regards the relationship of net income and prime costs. In comparison to prime costs, the net income realized in home trade is high, while it is below average in foreign trade. The sector called "other productive activities" is extraordinary small, and considering its weight in the national economy, a negligible branch whose data-supply basis is the least reliable. According to the rather uncertain data available, in this branch the net income realized at actual prices is high in comparison both to wages and prime costs and much more so in comparison to locked-up assets, so that in case uniform principles of price formation were applied, its price index should necessarily decrease.

* It should be pointed out that in the computations neither roads nor bridges were taken into account among the assets locked up.

** The gross trade margin includes the costs incurred and profits realized in trade.

Obviously, the price index of the major branches of the economy in the various price systems does not depend exclusively on the relation between net income and the various projection bases in the initial price system, but also on other factors; among others on the extent to which a branch uses the products of some other branch where prices would fall in the price system in question and on the extent to which it uses the products of others where prices would rise. Thus, when the price index of industry in the value-type system of prices is 85.9 per cent, this is greatly due to the fact that under this system the net income realized in industry would substantially decrease while the price of agricultural products used in industry would considerably increase.

In the course of the computations carried out on the basis of the input-output tables for 1959 and 1961, we not only determined the price indices characteristic of the various price systems. We analysed and tabulated both at actual prices and at the prices computed, the contribution of productive branches to the gross social product and to national income; the capital intensity of branches; their cost pattern as shown by the accounting system and also at the national level; the direct and total input coefficients characterizing interindustry relations; and the cost structure of the sectors of final demand.

Owing to our limited space, only the table illustrating the contribution of the fundamental branches of the economy to national income should be presented here. (Table 2.)

Table 2

Contribution of individual branches to national income in 1961, on the basis of the input-output table
(per cent)

Branch	At actual prices with import materials accounted at domestic prices*	At value-type prices	At averaged value-type prices	At producer-type prices	
				Var. "a"	Var. "b"
Industry	58.1	37.7	49.2	36.8	37.1
Construction	8.9	11.3	8.6	9.1	9.8
Agriculture	20.4	33.8	27.9	32.6	33.0
Transport and communications	5.4	7.7	6.8	11.9	10.5
Home trade	7.2	6.9	5.2	7.9	7.5
Foreign trade	—3.1	0.3	0.6	0.5	0.5
Other productive activities	3.1	2.3	1.7	1.2	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Import materials charged to users at domestic hand-over prices

The analysis of the major proportions of the national economy at different prices clearly shows that under the actual price system the importance of

industry is considerable if the fundamental indicators are considered in value terms. This is due mainly to the high level of net income realized in industry. The share of industry in national income and in the sectors of final demand seems to be particularly high. If, however, we take into account such equally fundamental indicators as the ratio of those employed in industry to total employment in the productive sectors, or the ratio of assets locked up in industry to total assets, the importance of industry seems considerably less significant. E.g. while the share of industry in national income computed on the basis of the 1961 input-output table was 58.1 per cent, it employed only 33.28 per cent of total productive labour and its share in all fixed and working capital locked up in productive branches was 30.82 per cent.

The actual price system attributes a greater importance to industry than it has in reality, and underestimates the role of agriculture in the national economy.

Economists generally know that actual prices do not adequately reflect the proportions of the national economy. Still, it often happens than when evaluating certain phenomena, certain past or planned changes in the major proportions of the national economy, both theoretical and practical economists are inclined to forget that the eye-glasses through which they look at the phenomena (i.e. the price system) are highly distorting. And because up to now, in spite of the distorting effects of the price system, the structure of our national economy has always been judged primarily by the contribution of individual branches to national income as calculated at actual prices, both public opinion and part of the economists generally overestimated the degree of industrialization in this country and underestimated both the importance and the role of agriculture.

Although we are still at the start of research of this type, the statement may be ventured that the analysis of the major proportions of the national economy at different prices may improve the foundations of economic policy and planning. This statement holds equally for short-, medium- and long-term planning, as well as for economic policy.

The main conclusions to be drawn from the analyses carried out up to now, may be summed up as follows:

a) The importance of agriculture in our national economy as well as its role in solving the economic tasks and problems before us is considerably greater than the prevailing system of prices would reflect. Therefore, in the years to come — and even in the long run — greater attention than before must be paid to the development of agriculture. If we intend to release further manpower from agriculture for the other productive branches and the non-productive sectors (but even independently of that) we must ensure the conditions for more efficient work in agriculture to an increasing extent. These conditions include the raising of qualifications, and of the level of mechanization, together with an

increase in the supply of industrial products used in agriculture (fertilizers, plant protectives, etc.).

b) Considering the present pattern of investment and especially the fact that within productive investment the share of import goods is rather considerable, the part of national income to be used for investment can be augmented only if the volume of profitably exportable commodities can be adequately increased or if our engineering industry can increasingly meet the demands of the economy for more up-to-date products.

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РАСЧЕТЫ ЦЕН И АНАЛИЗ НАРОДНОХОЗЯЙСТВЕННЫХ ПРОПОРЦИЙ

Ш. ГАНЦЕР

В статье дается обзор предложений, высказывавшихся в Венгрии относительно типов цен. Автор рассматривает системы цен типа стоимости, типа усредненной стоимости и типа цены производства, а также систему цен, построенную на основании цен мирового рынка и систему теневых цен. Он высказывается в пользу системы цен типа цены производства. Автор подчеркивает, что из различных вариантов систем цен типа цены производства практически может быть применен лишь тот, по которому между отраслями, продуктами распределяется пропорционально вложенным средствам и заработной плате лишь часть чистого дохода, а остальная его часть включается в цены в виде производственных налогов и дифференцированной прибыли.

Автор дает обоснование, для чего служит определение цен различных типов. Он описывает математические модели систем цен различных типов и принятые при расчетах важнейшие предположения. Им излагаются изменения, которым в интересах облегчения обработки был подвергнут межотраслевой баланс 1961 года, послуживший основой для расчетов.

В статье представлены наиболее общие результаты исчисления цен. Автор указывает на то обстоятельство, что по сравнению с действующими ценами индекс цен по промышленности согласно рассчитываемым системам цен был бы намного ниже, а индекс сельского хозяйства и транспорта — выше. Принимая действовавшие в 1961 году цены за 100, индекс цен промышленности по системе цен типа стоимости составляет 85,9, сель-

ского хозяйства — 146,02, а транспорта — 115,34. Индексы цен этих же отраслей по варианту «б» системы цен типа цены производства сложились бы следующим образом; 84,94, 141,91 и 135,28. По мнению автора из рассчитанных систем цен последняя стоит ближе всего к применимой и на практике системе. В статье представлено также и участие основных народнохозяйственных отраслей в создании национального дохода по различным ценам. Автор указывает на то, что если — исчисляя по действующим ценам — в 1961 году доля промышленности в создании национального дохода составляла 58, 1%, то этот же показатель по системе цен типа стоимости составил бы 37,7%, а по варианту «б» системы цен типа цены производства — 37,1%. В то же время доля сельского хозяйства в создании национального дохода по действующим ценам составила 20,4%, по системе же цен типа стоимости — 33,8%, а по варианту «б» системы цен типа цены производства — 33%. На основании расчетов и анализов в статье делается вывод, что вес сельского хозяйства в венгерском народном хозяйстве, а также его роль в решении стоящих перед страной задач и проблем гораздо более выше, чем это представляется в зеркале действующей системы цен.

Ш. АУШ

МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ РАЗДЕЛЕНИЕ ТРУДА И СИСТЕМА ХОЗЯЙСТВЕННОГО УПРАВЛЕНИЯ

Критический анализ механизма международного сотрудничества стран-членов СЭВ, а также перспективы, которые могут открыться в результате широкого применения товарных, стоимостных и денежных категорий при преобразовании системы хозяйственного управления внутри стран. Некоторые черты сложившихся структур и их воздействие на условия сотрудничества. Последствия ведения планового хозяйства, основанного на директивных плановых предписаниях, сказывающиеся на внешних отношениях, международном сотрудничестве.

После окончания второй мировой войны в результате освободительной борьбы Советского Союза и классовой борьбы пролетариата в восточноевропейских странах возникли диктатура пролетариата и социалистическое плановое хозяйство, что в силу объективной необходимости создало новое положение и в их взаимных экономических отношениях. Это уже с самого начала проявлялось не только в том, что в их отношениях друг с другом и с Советским Союзом на место отношений капиталистического характера ступило субъективное желание социалистического сотрудничества, но и в том, что помимо политических факторов и экономические факторы действовали в направлении объективной необходимости все более тесной экономической взаимозависимости. Это отразилось, прежде всего, в быстром росте во внешней торговле стран-членов СЭВ удельного веса других стран-членов и прочих социалистических стран, который в конечном счете достиг 60—80 процентов. Таким образом сложился мировой социалистический рынок. За это время в большей или меньшей мере произошло — хотя, как мы увидим, и не без противоречий — взаимное смыкание производственной структуры между странами СЭВ, а в особенности между Советским Союзом и прочими странами. В конечном результате сложилась такая экономическая взаимозависимость, положительные черты которой во многом способствовали развитию отдельных стран. Вследствие происходящего в условиях взаимозависимости развития, а также появившихся в ходе развития отрицательных черт сложилось положение, которое уже в обязательном порядке требует совместного разрешения противоречий.

Одной из важнейших положительных черт сотрудничества стран-членов СЭВ было создание надежного взаимного рынка для продукции этих стран. Более развитые страны и этим путем способствовали индустриализации относительно отсталых стран. Одной из существенных мер в этом от-

ношении было все более широкое, едва ли не «преждевременное» включение промышленных товаров, готовой продукции относительно отсталых стран в международный товарообмен. В течение XIX века более развитая Англия принудила Германию обозначать свои непервоклассные товары в то время дискриминирующей меткой «Made in Germany». Это привело к тому, что Германия была вынуждена продавать эти товары ниже международной стоимости, по бросовым ценам. В противоположность этому товары менее развитых социалистических стран реализуются на мировом социалистическом рынке по выгодным для них ценам. Если на одной оси системы координат обозначить чистый экспорт готовой продукции социалистических и находящихся на подобной же ступени развития капиталистических стран в процентах к общему объему экспорта, а на другой оси — какие-либо данные, характерные для уровня промышленного развития (производимый в промышленности национальный доход, долю занятых в промышленности в общей численности занятых), то окажется, что менее развитые социалистические страны экспортируют больше готовых изделий, чем капиталистические страны с аналогичной степенью развития.[1]

В нынешних товарных отношениях социалистических стран, таким образом, отразились отношения взаимной помощи. Однако помощь, оказываемая в такой форме менее развитым странам, не была лишена противоречий, так как она одновременно приводила и к стимулированию экспорта товаров, не достигших должного технического уровня.

Оказываемая таким образом и другими средствами (например, кредитами) помощь предоставлялась остальным странам-членам СЭВ, главным образом, Советским Союзом. В то же время Советский Союз несмотря на свой высокий уровень промышленного развития является также и основным поставщиком сырья остальных стран-членов СЭВ, что при настоящем положении невыгодно для него и с точки зрения высокой капиталоемкости экспорта.

Следует еще указать на то что сотрудничество стран-членов СЭВ в последнем десятилетии привело к возникновению целого ряда двух- и многосторонних соглашений. Лишь в качестве примера перечислим некоторые из них: соглашение между Чехословакией и СССР в области цветной металлургии; между Болгарией и Чехословакией — по увеличению производства меди в Болгарии; между Чехословакией и ГДР — по развитию производства калийной соли в ГДР; между Польшой, Чехословакией, ГДР и Румынией — по сооружению целлюлозного комбината для переработки дунайского камыша. Построен нефтепровод «Дружба», создан общий вагонный парк, построена линия энергопередачи высокого напряжения и этим объединена энергосистема стран-членов СЭВ. Заключено советско-венгерское соглашение по производству алюминия, и создано несколько общих болгаро-венгерских предприятий.

Результаты больших усилий, обращенные в прошедшие годы на развитие международного разделения труда между странами-членами СЭВ, на повышение его планомерности и эффективности, однако, еще очень отстают как от наших потребностей, так и от возможностей, кроющихся в международном сотрудничестве дружеских социалистических стран.

Относительная скромность наших результатов не может быть случайной. Наряду с субъективными факторами здесь большую роль играют также и определенные объективные экономические причины. Они могут быть подразделены на две основные группы:

1. Экономическая структура и определенная степень развития.

2. Характерные черты внутреннего хозяйственного механизма (системы планирования и управления) и механизма мирового социалистического рынка.

Экономическое развитие стран-членов СЭВ после второй мировой войны — хотя первоначально они и находились на различной ступени развития — происходило на основе весьма схожей концепции. Ее образцом служила индустриализация, осуществленная в Советском Союзе в 1930-ых годах. Во всех странах, независимо от их природных условий, были созданы базы тяжелой промышленности, началось развитие машиностроения в широком диапазоне, и в то же время было запущено развитие сельского хозяйства, а во многих странах — и химической промышленности. Развитие промышленности даже в более развитых странах-членах СЭВ производилось экстенсивным образом, не только в том смысле, что оно основывалось на создании новых мощностей и занятости новой рабочей силы, но и в том, что значительная часть новых основных фондов уже в момент создания не достигала современного уровня. Одним из последствий экономической политики, игнорировавшей требования современного промышленного развития и международного разделения труда, была относительно невысокая производительность, низкий эффект народного хозяйства,* этим же объясняются и трудности, связанные со стремлениями, направленными на улучшение международного разделения труда внутри СЭВ.

Параллельное создание мощностей в нескольких — располагающих небольшими рынками — странах позволяет лишь неэффективное, малосерийное производство на низком техническом уровне. Изменение раз созданных производственных профилей, ликвидация параллельных мощностей, однако, потребовали бы значительных разовых затрат. В то же время из-за

* Под эффектом подразумеваются продукция, приходящаяся на единицу стоимости основных фондов, отдача оборотных средств и производительность живого труда, которые вместе взятые — в среднем по относительно продолжительному периоду — могут быть выражены национальным доходом в расчете на одного занятого в материальном производстве и на единицу основных средств.

Причины низкого эффекта: структура, сложившаяся в результате ошибочной экономической политики, а также внутренний и внешний экономические механизмы.

низкой эффективности даже в более развитых странах остро ощущается относительный недостаток капитальных средств.*

В то же время неотложной задачей является обращение относительно большой части дефицитных средств, предназначенных для целей дальнейшего развития, на ликвидацию созданных ранее диспропорций (например, на развитие сельского хозяйства, транспорта, инфраструктуры, на жилищное строительство и т. п.); временами крайне обостряются отдельные неувязки в балансах, в частности, дефицит платежных балансов. Необходимость латания дыр влияет на дальнейшее сохранение отраслевой структуры и структуры продукции. В этом же направлении действует и система стимулирования в имеющемся экономическом механизме. В результате всего этого изменения структуры с учетом требований международного разделения труда осуществляются в весьма небольшой мере даже в случае, если их необходимость четко сознается.

В этом же кроются важные, хотя и далеко не единственные, причины трудностей осуществления *отраслевой специализации* между странами-членами СЭВ. Дальнейшие — не менее важные — причины кроются в системе хозяйствования внутри стран, а также в связанных с ней методах и формах внешней торговли и международного разделения труда. Эти вопросы будут рассмотрены ниже.

Относительный недостаток капитальных средств, связанный с низким эффектом народного хозяйства, одновременно приводит и к тому, что недостает средств на капитальное строительство, требующее по сравнению с прочими хозяйственными отраслями относительно больших сумм и продолжительности осуществления, в первую очередь, в области энергетики и производства сырья. В таких условиях ни одна из стран не заинтересована в развитии для целей экспорта отраслей добывающей промышленности, требующих больших капитальных средств и длительной продолжительности строительства.

При нынешней степени своего развития страны народной демократии, как правило, должны быть способны к накоплению средств, достаточных для финансирования развития энергетики и добывающей промышленности, независимо от того, имеется ли для этого возможность на их собственной территории, или речь будет идти об участии в финансировании производства других стран. Однако из-за структурных диспропорций и недостатков системы экономического управления даже снабжение текущего производства сырьем сталкивается с затруднениями и вызывает все новые трудности в связи с платежным балансом, просто лишь потому, что сбыт готовой про-

* Под относительным недостатком капитальных средств подразумевается такое состояние экономики, при котором систематически ощущается недостаток в средствах, требующихся для обеспечения темпов развития, соответствующих данному уровню развития (в социалистическом хозяйстве), а именно в средствах производства, предметах потребления или валюте.

дукции, в особенности машин и оборудования — вследствие своего состава и технического уровня (а также, естественно, и из-за неудовлетворительной работы внешней торговли) — встречает все большие затруднения как на взаимном, так и на третьем рынке. Обмен готовой продукции на сырье на капиталистических рынках затруднен, в первую очередь, качественным уровнем готовой продукции, оборудования и в меньшей мере — интеграционным и национальным протекционизмом капиталистических стран. Из-за недостатка капитальных средств ограничены возможности и экспорта капитала в развивающиеся страны (например, для финансирования производства сырья).

Природные ресурсы в странах-членах СЭВ распределены весьма неравномерно. Ряд видов сырья можно добывать в больших масштабах, в благоприятных природных условиях, главным образом, лишь в Советском Союзе, и то в некоторых случаях — только на его неевропейской территории. Поскольку же и возможности Советского Союза не были безграничными и не являются таковыми и сегодня, снабжение стран-членов СЭВ сырьем накладывает на Советский Союз значительное бремя. Вследствие этого, а также под влиянием общепринятого в то время стремления к автаркии в отдельных странах начали разрабатывать залежи, эффективность использования которых во много раз ниже мирового уровня (болгарские, чехословацкие цветные металлы, венгерский уголь и т. п.). Это обстоятельство в большой мере понижает общую эффективность народного хозяйства этих стран, но для его устранения и разработки вместо этого более богатых залежей в других странах отчасти не хватает капитальных средств, отчасти же в некоторых странах это было бы связано с серьезными трудностями в обеспечении занятости. По некоторым видам сырья и полуфабрикатов (например, нефти, продукции черной металлургии) в совокупности стран-членов СЭВ имеются излишки, однако, поскольку эти страны могут оплачивать дефицитные материалы и готовые изделия на капиталистических рынках, главным образом, сырьем и сельскохозяйственными продуктами, то некоторые страны терпят нужду даже в тех продуктах, которые в целом по содружеству производятся в излишке.

Объективной причиной, препятствующей более быстрому развитию разделения труда, является также и большое расхождение в уровне экономического развития стран-членов СЭВ. Для относительно отсталых стран-членов СЭВ, как правило, характерны излишек рабочей силы, относительно низкий уровень заработной платы и относительно высокий удельный вес сельского хозяйства в национальном доходе. Известно, с одной стороны, что различие между производительностью труда, приложенного в сельском хозяйстве и в промышленности, особенно велико в относительно отсталых странах, и что, с другой стороны, фондоемкость продукции обрабатывающей промышленности, как правило, гораздо ниже, чем сельского хозяйства. Уже

эти факторы сами по себе стимулируют быстрые темпы индустриализации даже стран, имеющих особенно благоприятные почвенные и климатические условия для развития сельскохозяйственного производства. Таково же положение в производстве сырья в том случае, когда для него имеются благоприятные природные предпосылки. Относительно отсталые страны, таким образом, всякий импорт, включая готовую продукцию, оборудование хотят оплачивать также готовыми изделиями. Однако более развитые страны-члены СЭВ неохотно принимают эту продукцию отчасти из-за ее качества, отчасти же потому, что — как об этом уже говорилось выше — даже при наличии субъективного желания им самим доставляет трудности изменять профиль своего промышленного производства в соответствии с требованиями международного разделения труда. В случаях, когда это все же происходит, разделение труда осуществляется, в первую очередь, между более развитыми странами.

Возможности преобразования структуры и темпы выравнивания уровней по существу определяются общей эффективностью народных хозяйств. Стоящее на повестке дня в социалистических странах преобразование системы экономического управления как раз призвано способствовать повышению эффективности, а таким образом, и созданию лучших условий для международного разделения труда.

Однако трудности углубления разделения труда между странами-членами СЭВ, связанные со структурными условиями, действуют не сами по себе, а опосредствуются сложным сплетением торговых отношений суверенных, обособленных, ведущих в национальных рамках плановое хозяйство, осуществляющих между собой товарообмен стран. Между тем сама имеющаяся система планового хозяйства, формы товарообмена в свою очередь в значительной мере воздействуют на структуру и на формирование условий социалистического международного разделения труда.

С точки зрения производственных отношений одной из основных характерных черт нынешнего состояния социалистического международного разделения труда является то, что пропорции производства и обращения в масштабе СЭВ не планируются централизованно, а происходит двустороннее совмещение планируемых обособленно народнохозяйственных пропорций. Однако обособленно (хорошо или плохо) планируемые национальные пропорции в совокупности, в масштабе всех стран СЭВ, приводят в результате к диспропорциям, не соответствуют требованиям общей планомерности и пропорциональности. В масштабе всех социалистических стран никто не определяет чего, сколько и где следует производить, тем более не с целью удовлетворения общих потребностей при оптимальных издержках. Однако пропорциональность и оптимальность производства в масштабе всех самостоятельно планирующих свою экономику государств может быть достигнута путем «плановых директив» еще в меньшей мере, чем осуществление

своего центрального плана, имеющего директивный характер, если он противоречит интересам предприятий внутри страны. А требования пропорциональности в масштабе всех стран СЭВ во многих случаях противоречат нынешним интересам той или иной страны.

Однако если в масштабе всех стран нет, или в лучшем случае едва имеется возможность непосредственного формирования пропорций — в силу объективных причин, — то следовало бы в отношениях социалистических стран как обособленных товаропроизводителей искать наличия какого-нибудь рыночного автоматизма, создающего в свою очередь — в соответствии с известными законами — определенные пропорции. Если бы затем мы сознательно, посредством соответствующих рычагов могли управлять этими автоматизмами, могли поставить их на службу планомерности, то они стали бы пригодными для стимулирования установления планомерных пропорций.

В сотрудничестве социалистических стран, однако, в настоящее время едва действуют рыночные автоматизмы. Влияние категорий, связанных с действием закона стоимости, реализуется лишь в сфере обращения, да и там в искаженной форме («твердые» и «мягкие» товары) и оказывает незначительное воздействие на формирование производства, производственных пропорций. Таким образом, складываются своеобразные товарные отношения, напоминающие натуральный продуктообмен.

Почему в международном сотрудничестве стран-членов СЭВ сложились именно такие, а не иные формы?

Метод планового хозяйства и экономического управления, осуществляемый странами народной демократии, несмотря на различия в степени своего развития, по существу, одинаковым образом основывается на плановых предписаниях директивного характера и на натуральных, по существу, показателях. Ведь когда в планах по народному хозяйству и отдельным предприятиям применяются показатели в денежном выражении, то они, по сути дела, лишь выражают сумму планово-расчетных цен запланированных потребительных стоимостей. Эти показатели основываются на твердых ценах, независимых от стоимостных отношений, от спроса и предложения, и, таким образом, служат в основном средством бухгалтерского и статистического учета. В планах по народному хозяйству и предприятиям отражены принимаемые центральными органами решения, которые должны лишь выполняться хозяйственными организациями. Эта система могла относительно хорошо функционировать на определенном этапе развития. Однако с точки зрения международного разделения труда существенным является то, — а это при рассмотрении отдельных частных вопросов будет доказано отдельно, — что при такой внутренней системе экономического управления (складывающегося не на основании стоимостных отношений, не на основании эффективности) натуральные, по существу, отношения обмена в силу необходимости экстраполируются и в области внешней торговли, внешних

сношений, *так как во внутреннюю систему хозяйственной деятельности невозможно включить отношений иного характера.* Сама система сложилась в закрытой экономике на экстенсивном этапе развития, когда мало считались с требованиями эффективности. Это само по себе сопровождается рядом отрицательных явлений, во избежание которых было сделано немало безуспешных попыток (применение показателей эффективности во внешней торговле, изменение организационных форм, предоставление внешнеторговой дотации предприятиям-производителям и т. д. и т. п.). В той или иной стране можно было произвести определенные улучшения внутри старой системы, но в области международного разделения труда этим путем невозможно было решить даже такие вопросы, которые хотя бы в принципе представлялись разрешимыми внутри страны. Рассмотрим пока один-единственный, хотя и важный вопрос: обеспечение международной планомерности и пропорциональности.

Охарактеризованная выше система хозяйствования, имеющая, по существу, натуральный характер, требует централизованного директивного управления хозяйственной деятельностью предприятий, даже в отношении простого воспроизводства. Директивами можно обеспечить (лучше или хуже) планомерность внутри страны. Однако, если эту планомерность предусматривается осуществить в международном масштабе (а необходимость этого все более требовательно стучится в ворота), то становится очевидным, что между суверенными, осуществляющими национальное планирование, действующими на основании национальных стоимостных отношений народными хозяйствами нет никакой возможности для применения каких-либо предписаний директивного характера, так как они обособлены друг от друга в ином смысле, чем предприятия — в народном хозяйстве. С дальнейшими трудностями связано то, — хотя с точки зрения этого вопроса может рассматриваться лишь деталью — что на почве натуральных, по существу, отношений не существует и мировых денег, пригодных для широкой компенсации различных национальных интересов, чтобы решения, представляющиеся выгодными в масштабе СЭВ, были бы приемлемыми и для каждой страны в отдельности. К тому же, поскольку такой меры стоимости нет, невозможно простым и надежным способом оценить выгодные и невыгодные стороны какого-либо решения.

Совершенствование системы экономического управления стоит на повестке дня чуть ли не во всех странах-членах СЭВ. Во всех странах совпадает направление предусматриваемых и частично уже осуществленных изменений. Большую планомерность и более высокую эффективность предусматривается достичь путем более широкого использования товарных отношений, связанных с ними законов и категорий (закона стоимости, цен, кредита и т. д.), что потребует в свою очередь предоставления большей самостоятельности предприятиям, более свободного принятия ими решений,

принятия ими на себя большего риска, большей ответственности и обеспечит большее поощрение. Если это действительно для народного хозяйства, в котором значительная сфера товарооборота осуществляется между находящимися в руках одного собственника (социалистического государства), но обособленными друг от друга предприятиями, то тем более правильно это для международных отношений самостоятельных социалистических государств, в качественном отношении иначе обособленных друг от друга.

Внутренняя система хозяйствования социалистических стран, носящая, по существу, натуральный характер, влияла на сложившиеся между ними отношения таким образом, что в отношениях обмена рыночные влияния, товарный характер продуктов оттеснялись на задний план, таким образом, роль цен и употребляемых при расчетах денег — валютного рубля деградировалась до третьестепенной. На мировом социалистическом рынке стабильные цены устанавливаются на длительный период — 7—8 лет. Хотя применяемые стабильные цены в некоторых областях и оказали положительное влияние, однако, фиксирование цен на мировом социалистическом рынке в общем порядке на длительный период не может считаться ни положительным, ни случайным. Этими устанавливаемыми на длительный период ценами, с одной стороны, обеспечивается определенная стабильность при планировании, в том числе при планировании внешнеторгового баланса, в соответствии с негибкой системой планирования внутри стран. С другой стороны, система стабильных цен тесно связана и со сложившимся двусторонним обращением, с отсутствием многосторонности. Поскольку каждая страна стремится к покупке и продаже потребительных стоимостей, определяемых на двусторонней основе, то в случае изменений цен, существенным образом влияющих на платежный баланс, пассив или актив не мог бы беспрепятственно покрываться за счет дальнейших поставок товаров, так как и в отношении других стран товарный фонд в основном определен по потребительным стоимостям, по структуре. При этом осуществление перегруппировок еще осложняется стремлениями, направленными на двустороннее балансирование поставок так называемых твердых и мягких товаров, на их взаимообусловленную поставку, на осуществление обмена отдельными товарными группами в определенных пропорциях. Такой двусторонний характер товарообмена в совокупности с диспропорциями производства в масштабе СЭВ («твердые» и «мягкие» товары) сам предопределяет систему стабильных цен. Однако следствие в свою очередь влияет на причину — стабильные цены сами способствуют консервированию диспропорций.

Система цен не в состоянии способствовать ликвидации напряженных моментов или воспрепятствовать их появлению; цены почти не влияют в качестве настоящих цен; они едва управляют обращением, а тем более производством и в свою очередь не поддаются воздействию последних. Цены мирового социалистического рынка даже в момент вступления их в силу не

соответствуют ни сравнительным преимуществам отдельных стран, ни требованиям производственных пропорций в масштабах СЭВ. Несмотря, например, на хронический дефицит сырья и перепроизводство определенных видов оборудования, уровень цен на сырье в гораздо меньшей мере превышает уровень мирового рынка, чем уровень цен на оборудование.

Застывшие «стоп-цены», таким образом, не выражают ни средних затрат стран-членов СЭВ, ни пропорций цен мирового рынка, ни отношений спроса и предложения между социалистическими странами. Так возродился в наших отношениях друг с другом принцип обмена «сырья на сырье», «машин на машины», «товаров, реализуемых за обратимую валюту, только на такие же товары»; так обособились друг от друга в зависимости от отношений спроса и предложения сферы «твердых» и «мягких» товаров. Это, как правило, ведет к трениям в двусторонних отношениях, ставит в неравное положение страны, бедные в сырье, в сельскохозяйственных продуктах, вообще, в «твердых» товарах, не обеспечивая соответствующего поощрения (например, предоставлением кредита или посредством цен) необходимому расширению производства имеющих спрос товаров, например, важнейших видов сырья. Стабильные цены кроме того — особенно в отношении продуктов обрабатывающей промышленности — оказывают еще и иное отрицательное влияние: страны, как правило, не заинтересованы в техническом прогрессе, так как в течение долгих лет они получают ту же цену, даже если изделие устарело.

Такая подчиненная роль цен мирового социалистического рынка и прочих стоимостных категорий находится в тесной связи с особенностями внутренней системы хозяйственного управления. Например, если бы сегодня на мировом социалистическом рынке даже и функционировали бы более гибкие цены, внутренний механизм все равно помешал бы реализации их влияния. Ибо учет отечественных затрат и стимулирование в правильном направлении практически невозможны из-за недостатков внутренней системы цен. Единый учет же отечественных и внешних цен, внутренних затрат и оценок на мировом рынке становится невозможным из-за нереального валютного курса и нынешней системы внешнеторговых дотаций. Таким образом, ни центральные органы, управляющие внешней торговлей, ни внешнеторговые предприятия не имеют надежного мерила для определения положительных и отрицательных сторон экспортной и импортной деятельности. В то же время материальная заинтересованность предприятий-производителей и внешнеторговых предприятий при существовании стабильных отечественных цен и измеряемых по ним показателей не совпадает друг с другом. Предприятие-производитель в соответствии с этим едва заинтересовано в экспорте продуктов, лучше реализуемых на внешних рынках.

Одним из существенных элементов работ, направленных на совершенствование системы управления экономикой социалистических стран, явится

именно изменение такого положения. Предприятия-производители будут непосредственно заинтересованы во внешних (экспортных или импортных) ценах. Лишь только таким путем приобретет свое подлинное значение цена мирового социалистического рынка как регулятор производства и обращения на службе планомерности.

Стремления, направленные на сознательное, планомерное формирование международного разделения труда, таким образом, должны быть связаны с более широким использованием способствующих этому цен и прочих стоимостных категорий. Во всяком случае представляется очевидным, что цены и прочие стоимостные категории должны играть на мировом социалистическом рынке гораздо большую роль, чем при нынешних условиях. Так, например, пониженные цены будут толкать предприятия, производящие параллельно излишнюю продукцию в сторону ограничения производства таких товаров, а повышенные цены на дефицитные товары будут поощрять на расширение их производства.

Возможность более свободного формирования цен в определенных границах на мировом социалистическом рынке требуется, в первую очередь, в отношении продуктов обрабатывающей промышленности. В области ценообразования, как правило, надо будет перейти к «свободному» соглашению о ценах между предприятиями или другими хозяйственными единицами (а не между государствами и не обязательно по ценам, стабилизуемым на длительный период). В отношении соглашений о ценах «свобода» предприятий включает в себя, естественно, также и возможность соглашения о ценах, стабильных в течение относительно длительного периода или же ценах, изменяющихся при заранее определенных условиях, в случае, если это равным образом выгодно как покупателю, так и продавцу.

По некоторым товарным группам надо будет изменить пропорции цен на продукты обрабатывающей промышленности и на сырье, невыгодные в некоторых случаях, в некоторых двусторонних сношениях для стран, производящих сырье. Однако проблема поощрения экспорта сырья ни в коем случае не может быть решена только лишь посредством цен, за исключением тех случаев, когда продукция может быть увеличена без новых капитальных вложений. Как уже указывалось, основные причины отставания производства сырья на экспорт в странах-членах СЭВ заключаются в том, что в условиях относительного недостатка капитальных средств весьма трудно производить капитальные вложения, требующие по сравнению с другими народнохозяйственными отраслями больших сумм и длительной продолжительности строительства, и тем более для экспортных целей. Очевидно, что даже более высокие цены на сырье не представляют собой полного возмещения дополнительных средств, отвлекаемых *сегодня* капитальными вложениями по производству сырья от других отраслей.

Как переход к более свободному формированию цен на продукты об-

рабатывающей промышленности, так и упомянутые изменения пропорций цен на мировом социалистическом рынке по ряду причин могут быть осуществлены лишь постепенно, в течение относительно длительного времени. Эти изменения не имеют никакого смысла, пока не будет изменена в вышеизложенном направлении внутренняя система управления таким образом, чтобы стоимостная оценка на мировом рынке могла оказывать непосредственное воздействие на производственные и внешнеторговые организации, на центральное планирование внешней торговли.

Дальнейшим фактором является то обстоятельство, что сегодняшние стабильные цены во многих случаях не отражали различия в качестве и технических параметрах аналогичных товаров, производимых в более или менее развитых странах. Еще резче сказывалось это в отношении стран, экспортировавших, главным образом, сырье и импортировавших готовую продукцию, так как качество, технические параметры сырья не играют такой большой роли, как при поставках готовых изделий. Более развитые или экспортировавшие, главным образом, сырье страны, таким образом, оказывали и посредством цен помощь другим странам в их промышленном развитии. Этот способ оказывания помощи представлялся все менее рациональным, так как он стимулировал преждевременный экспорт новых изделий, не достигших должного уровня, и игнорирование освоения новых и совершенствования существующих видов продукции. Эту форму помощи, таким образом, также постепенно должны сменить иные, более прямые методы. Таким методом может стать предоставление кредитов с начислением процента, соответствующего экономическим требованиям. Эти кредиты можно использовать для непосредственного сотрудничества между предприятиями более и менее развитых стран, при их специализации и кооперации, для подготовки рабочих и инженеров, для продажи производственных технологий и лицензий, выгодной для обеих сторон. Нельзя также одним махом изменить и пропорции цен на сырье и продукцию обрабатывающей промышленности даже в тех двусторонних отношениях, в которых это было бы необходимым, так как в этом случае, с одной стороны, чрезвычайно ухудшился бы платежный баланс стран, импортирующих сырье, а с другой стороны, при сложившейся производственной и импортной структуре в импортирующих странах в ряде случаев не нашлось бы рынка для необходимого расширения экспорта готовой продукции.

Постепенный переход к более свободному формированию цен мирового социалистического рынка и преобразование внутренней системы управления могут открыть путь к превращению двустороннего внешнеторгового и платежного оборота в многосторонний. Ибо в годовых внешнеторговых соглашениях не будет ни необходимости, ни возможности для обязательного двустороннего балансирования оборота в случае, если: 1) предприятия будут непосредственно заинтересованы в усиленном производстве и экспорте поль

зующихся за границей спросом товаров, имеющих хорошие качества, а поэтому и более выгодную цену; 2) на мировом социалистическом рынке цены на эти товары будут действительно более высокими, а на товары плохого качества или производимые в излишнем количестве — более низкие, и 3) по достаточно широкому кругу товаров внешнеторговым организациям будет предоставлена возможность выбора, в какой социалистической стране покупать им при данном рыночном положении, а также возможность предварительного заключения гибких соглашений о ценах по контингентам, установленным в долгосрочных договорах. При таких условиях перевод двусторонних активов и пассивов в третью страну не будет встречать затруднений, потому что благодаря повышающимся ценам (а также в отношении значительного круга сырьевых материалов — относительно стабильному, но более высокому уровню цен и возможности расширения производства за счет кредитов) дефицитные товары потеряют «твердый», а излишние продукты благодаря понижающимся ценам — «мягкий» характер, вследствие чего в свою очередь исчезнет стремление к двустороннему обмену «твердых» товаров на «твердые», а «мягких» товаров — на «мягкие». В этом случае валютный рубль сможет в действительности выполнить роль всеобщего эквивалента. При внешнеторговом обороте, хотя и планируемом центральными органами, *но в отношении отдельных сделок складывающемся на основании более свободного принятия решений предприятиями*, социалистические мировые деньги превратятся на мировом социалистическом рынке во всеобщее покупательное и платежное средство. Таким образом, в результате совместного совершенствования механизма мирового социалистического рынка и внутренней системы хозяйственного управления мировой социалистической рынок сможет стать многосторонним, а социалистические мировые деньги — обратимыми.

Изменение внутреннего и внешнего механизмов может создать совсем новое положение и в отношении основных форм производственного сотрудничества — специализации и кооперации.

Общеизвестно, что заключению соглашений о специализации и их осуществлению препятствовали вышеизложенная система стабильных цен, а также стремление к двустороннему балансированию оборота, в том числе по обмену определенных изделий и их групп, к обмену «твердых» товаров на «твердые», «мягких» — на «мягкие».

Предприятия-производители сегодня еще не заинтересованы в международной специализации и кооперации. Потребители внутри страны не могут получать по более низким ценам продукты, на производство которых специализировался тот или иной зарубежный партнер, даже если в результате специализации изготовление этого продукта обходится дешевле. Кооперационное сотрудничество же затрудняется лимитированием импортных фондов и разбивкой их по различным ведомствам. Аналогичное положение сложилось, однако, и в отношении отечественных производителей. Из-за оторванности

внутренних цен от внешнеторговых хозяйственные результаты предприятий-производителей не отражают их затрат по изготовлению данной продукции в сопоставлении с ценами мирового рынка, и вследствие этого предприятия не заинтересованы в повышение, благодаря международному сотрудничеству, серийности производства (и сужении ассортимента продукции). Из-за трудностей, связанных с прекращением уже хорошо усвоенных производственных процессов или с технологическими изменениями при переходе к крупносерийному производству, предприятия часто не одобряют специализацию и даже препятствуют ее осуществлению. Аналогична позиция и внешнеторговых организаций: специализация не приносит им никакой выгоды, а из-за преобразования структуры оборота и неопределенности результатов осуществления они скорее выступают против стремлений к специализации, чем поддерживают ее.

Отказ от системы стабильных цен на мировом социалистическом рынке и изменение внутренней системы хозяйственного управления автоматически создали бы возможности возмещения специализирующимся предприятиям затрат по перестройке производства и имеющихся мощностей и использования экономии средств, получаемой в результате специализации и кооперации, для увеличения прибыли — а тем самым и заинтересованности — предприятий обеих сторон. Не меньшее значение имеет и благоприятное влияние перехода к многостороннему обращению и обратимой валюте на специализацию, в результате которого отпадает требование двустороннего равновесия платежного баланса, а также равновесия по отдельным группам товаров и даже изделий.

Не может быть случайным и то обстоятельство, что соглашения по специализации, заключенные до сих пор в относительно узкой сфере, касались, как правило, целых типоразмеров или комплектных технологических линий, а не деталей, узлов, агрегатов, составных элементов. А ведь ожидаемых от специализации значительных сокращений затрат, например, в некоторых очень важных отраслях машиностроения в действительности можно достичь лишь последним образом. Помимо препятствий технического характера — отсутствия стандартизации и типизации в масштабах СЭВ — основная проблема заключается в отсутствии заинтересованности предприятий в изготовлении деталей, и это приблизительно одинаково наблюдается во всех социалистических странах. Это следствие системы заинтересованности предприятий в выполнении нынешних плановых показателей. Поэтому и добиться изменений можно лишь с преобразованием всей этой системы.

Если предприятия будут заинтересованы в прибыли (и в различных отчислениях в бюджет) при существовании гибких цен на внутреннем и мировом социалистическом рынке, если посредством валютного курса предприятия будут непосредственно заинтересованы в фактических экспортных и импортных ценах, а связанные с экспортом и импортом решения будут

приниматься ими самими в рамках общего внешнеторгового регулирования, то это создаст благоприятные условия для специализации и кооперации. В таких условиях исчезнет также и монопольное положение отечественного производства, на социалистическом рынке возникнет соревнование. Это соревнование и складывающаяся специализация и кооперация уже автоматически ведут к централизации в международных масштабах.

До сих пор в международном сотрудничестве стран-членов СЭВ весьма медленно и только в некоторых обособленных областях удалось создать совместные учреждения, объединения по научным исследованиям, производству, сбыту. Это глубоко противоречит той степени централизации, которая сложилась внутри отдельных стран. Несомненно также, что на такой ступени развития производительных сил, которая достигнута странами-членами СЭВ, в капиталистических условиях уже возник бы целый ряд международных объединений, ведь такие объединения в этих же странах существовали уже во времена австро-венгерской монархии. Созданию совместных учреждений препятствуют внутренний механизм, система планового хозяйствования в закрытом хозяйстве и специфика механизма мирового социалистического рынка. Если каждый элемент производственной и сбытовой деятельности предприятий — лимиты потребления материалов, численность рабочей силы, размер капитальных вложений, направление и спецификацию экспорта и импорта — детально будут предписывать в централизованном порядке в каждой стране, то, естественно, не будет никакой возможности для координации деятельности этих предприятий. (Не случайно, что немногочисленные международные учреждения или координирующие органы, организованные на основании межправительственных соглашений, как, например, Интерметалл и Бюро по шарикоподшипникам, были созданы как раз в отраслях, не требующих слишком обширной отечественной кооперации.)

Централизованное управление предприятиями осуществляется в условиях, когда предприятия к тому же не заинтересованы в сотрудничестве с внешнеторговыми партнерами. При этом на мировом социалистическом рынке не имеется обратимых денег, позволяющих производить передвижение капитальных средств между странами. Поэтому предприятие более развитой страны не может сотрудничать с предприятием менее развитой страны таким образом, чтобы оба получали выгоду от совместного более высокого технического уровня одной страны и относительно низкого уровня реальной заработной платы другой страны. В сегодняшних условиях международные объединения могут создаваться лишь на основании межгосударственных соглашений, как бы игнорируя исторически сложившуюся и определяемую объективными экономическими законами очередность: предприятия, объединения предприятий и, наконец, межгосударственные формы интеграции.

Из всего этого можно заключить, что проблему создания совместных учреждений, стоящую на голове, следует поставить на ноги: прежде всего

надо создать такое положение, чтобы предприятия *были заинтересованы в международной специализации и кооперации*, и чтобы внутренние и внешние условия обеспечивали бы реализацию этой заинтересованности. Из этого не следует, что процесс международной централизации в новых условиях мирового социалистического рынка может быть осуществлен стихийно.

Более свободное функционирование категорий товара, денег, стоимости, а также закона стоимости между странами и в будущем можно будет направлять, изменять, ограничивать в международных масштабах. В отношении сотрудничества социалистических стран это международное вмешательство должно будет служить не только рациональному, эффективному международному размещению производительных сил, но и оказанию помощи менее развитым странам. Суть проблемы заключается в том, что возможность такого международного вмешательства создается как раз более свободным функционированием товарных, стоимостных и денежных категорий, и только ими может быть обеспечена, в первую очередь, при помощи финансовых средств. Многосторонний товарооборот, переводимые деньги, обращение фондов («капитала») и опирающаяся на широкую, развитую экономическую основу международная кредитная система необходимы для:

а) оказания помощи менее развитым странам-членам СЭВ гораздо более эффективно, чем сегодня, в духе интернационализма, при условии взаимной выгоды (естественно, предполагая, что — не в последнюю очередь, в результате преобразования внутренней системы хозяйственного управления — повысится эффективность народных хозяйств более развитых стран);

б) создания международного банка, действительно способного осуществлять свои функции, для выполнения вышеуказанных задач, а также, например, для участия в финансировании строительства крупнейших энергетических, металлургических, транспортных объектов или в случае необходимости для предоставления кредитов отдельным странам с целью поддержки их краткосрочной экономической политики, ликвидации временных затруднений;

в) предоставления органам, координирующим развитие отдельных отраслей промышленности в международных масштабах, возможности помогать, например, рационализации отсталых предприятий, уплачивать возмещение при ликвидации нерентабельных предприятий, финансировать совместные научно-исследовательские работы и т. д.

Надо будет также сознательно направлять процесс преобразования Постоянных Комиссий СЭВ в отраслевые союзы соответствующих предприятий, которые совместно с Банком международного сотрудничества — на базе обратимого рубля — стали бы пригодными для финансирования рационализации, перепрофилирования производства, возможной ликвидации нерентабельных предприятий и т. д. — в международном масштабе.

Эти учреждения смогут сами постепенно расширять свои функции,

начиная с фазы обращения, переходя к стимулированию производственного сотрудничества и кончая созданием объединений. Во всяком случае, преимущество социализма может проявиться и в этом отношении, если для этого будут созданы соответствующие условия. Развитие, проделанное в этой области капитализмом в течение 80—100 лет, может быть перекрыто нами за 15—20 лет, если будут созданы необходимые предпосылки.

Подобное положение сложилось и в области научно-технического сотрудничества. Предприятия сегодня недостаточно заинтересованы в наиболее дешевом решении задач, связанных с освоением новых изделий и технологий путем перенятия зарубежного опыта. Подобным образом не заинтересована в передаче опыта, своих изобретений и передающая сторона из-за ее бесплатного характера.

Научно-техническое сотрудничество между странами-членами СЭВ, осуществлявшееся до сих пор с полным исключением товарных отношений, давало также и значительные результаты, в первую очередь, в двусторонних сношениях с Советским Союзом. Советский Союз на основании своих технических и научных достижений оказывает в духе интернационализма бескорыстную помощь остальным странам. Однако имеются случаи, когда сторона, владеющая изобретением, производственным опытом, буквально заинтересована в отказе от предоставления помощи, так как это увеличило бы конкурентоспособность партнера.

Поэтому и в области научно-технического сотрудничества должны действовать товарно-денежные отношения как в отношениях между странами, так и между предприятиями. Благодаря этому заодно станет возможной и инициатива самих предприятий, заинтересованных в повышении рентабельности, вместо нынешних исключительно продолжительных и бюрократических процедур, длящихся при прохождении через высшие инстанции нередко 1—1,5 года. Со стороны же центральных органов в будущем потребуется лишь осуществление контроля и ограничений.

Более широкое развертывание и осуществление специализации, кооперации и научно-технического сотрудничества, таким образом, также обусловлено совершенствованием мирового социалистического рынка и внутренней системы хозяйственного управления, заинтересованности предприятий-производителей, отношений между промышленными предприятиями и внешнеторговыми организациями; значительным увеличением самостоятельности предприятий.

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Все эти изменения форм и методов международного сотрудничества стран-членов СЭВ, по всей вероятности, будут осуществлены лишь с определенным опозданием после реформ внутренних систем экономического управления. Изменение самих внутренних систем в свою очередь потребует

длительного времени. В то же время значение внешней торговли и международного сотрудничества объективно не одинаково для каждой страны. Из-за этого, да и потому, что и в этом отношении следует учитывать тормозящую силу отсталых взглядов, ставшие необходимыми изменения могут развернуться лишь медленно, в течение продолжительного времени.

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INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOUR AND THE MANAGEMENT OF ECONOMY

S. Ausch

The article starts with a critical evaluation of the mechanism prevailing in the international co-operation between the countries belonging to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Then the author deals with the perspectives to be opened in the socialist world market due to the increased assertion of such categories as commodity, value and money, if the reform of management of the national economy in the individual countries will have created the conditions for them. The paper traces back the difficulties arising in the co-operation of CMEA countries to two fundamental causes: first, to the differences in economic structure and the level of development, and second, to certain features of the national systems of managing the economy and of the socialist world market.

The economic development of the CMEA countries after World War II was determined by very similar concepts in spite of the fact that they had to start from highly different levels. Irrespective of natural endowments, capacities of heavy industry were created, while the development of agriculture was neglected. Engineering developed on a wide scale and many parallel capacities were created in different countries. The level of technology, mainly because of the low quality of investment goods mutually delivered, lagged far behind the world level. Also the inadequate production pattern contributed to the low efficiency of the economy, but some characteristics of the internal "economic mechanism" also worked in the same direction. That resulted in a relative scarcity of capital even in the more advanced CMEA countries. Thus, there are no sufficient resources available to finance the efforts that would take into account the requirements of a more intensive international division of labour (as e.g. shifting of production according to specialization by countries, rationalization or conversion of existing capacities, etc.). The situation is still aggraveted because agriculture, transports and housing, which had been earlier neglected, need now considerable amounts to be invested.

Perhaps more important than structural causes is, however, the fact that the present forms and methods of co-operation between socialist countries are but the external reflections of national systems of planned economy resting on compulsory plan instructions and on indicators expressed in natural units of measurement. This system was born in the almost closed economy of the Soviet Union at a time when, due to the extensive phase of development, the requirements of efficiency had been relegated to the background. The characteristics of such a system of domestic economic management, i.e. the restricted accounting of commodity, value and money relations, made themselves felt even in external relations. It has become typical for instance that the export and import tasks are specified in detail as plan targets for individual enterprises, and that the enterprises are not interested in the foreign market price but in the domestic price, fixed in advance for several

years. But even the prices of the socialist world market have remained stable for years. This is one of the causes why commodities have become grouped into "hard" and "soft" classes, and why in inter-country connections the forms of natural and bilateral barter are predominant. The bilateralism thus created bears but a formal resemblance with the one known in capitalist countries. To transform it into multi-lateralism, both national and international conditions have to be changed. The reform of the system of managing the national economy points in all CMEA countries generally in the direction of the increased assertion of commodity, money and value relations. After some time, this will enable the socialist world market to develop into a real market and ensure that on the domestic markets of the countries concerned domestic and imported goods should compete with each other. It is necessary, therefore, that external connections should, in general, rest on the economic interests of the enterprises, rather than on formal interstate agreements. In the framework of the latter, no serious results could be achieved up to now in international specialization of production or in efficient co-operation. Accordingly, neither international centralization has made much progress, although the development of the productive forces in the CMEA countries has reached a stage that under capitalistic conditions, would have led to the creation of large international associations. Under socialist conditions the purpose and features of such an integration would be different; it is none the less indispensable to bring it about. However, the national systems of economic management, as well as the character of external economic connections between socialist countries must be changed and proper material incentives introduced in order that such associations could be brought about.

А. БАЛАШША

О ПУТЯХ ДАЛЬНЕЙШЕГО РАЗВИТИЯ РАЗДЕЛЕНИЯ ТРУДА МЕЖДУ СТРАНАМИ-ЧЛЕНАМИ СЭВ В ОБЛАСТИ МАШИНОСТРОЕНИЯ

В статье рассматриваются некоторые пути дальнейшего развития разделения труда между странами-членами СЭВ в области машиностроения с точки зрения более полного соблюдения их разносторонних экономических интересов с более широким применением товарно-денежных отношений. Предлагается введение новых методов и форм международной специализации производства, а также внедрение регулируемого рыночного соревнования между предприятиями различных стран-членов СЭВ.

Международное разделение труда в машиностроении имеет исключительно важное значение для развития народного хозяйства стран-членов СЭВ. Развитие разделения труда в машиностроении не только способствует росту производительности труда в этой отрасли, но и содействует ускорению роста технического уровня ее продукции, снабжению всех отраслей народного хозяйства более современными, высокопроизводительными видами машин и оборудования. Особенно крупную роль играет международное разделение труда для тех стран, ограниченность внутренних потребностей которых не позволяет высокопроизводительно производить все виды машиностроительной продукции из-за невозможности эффективного применения современных видов машин и оборудования и современных технологических процессов и которые не располагают достаточными научно-техническими и материальными возможностями для освоения и развития собственными силами производства широкого, удовлетворяющего многообразные запросы потребителей ассортимента машиностроительной продукции на современном техническом уровне. В таких странах международное разделение труда является одним из решающих факторов роста общественной производительности труда.

Развитие разделения труда в области машиностроения между странами-членами СЭВ нашло свое отражание в росте взаимных поставок машин и оборудования, а также в некотором опережении ими роста машиностроительного производства.

Так, например, за период 1961—1965 гг. валовая продукция машиностроения стран-членов СЭВ возросла примерно в 1,7—1,8 раза, а взаимные поставки машин и оборудования — в 1,8—1,9 раза. Коэффициент опережения роста взаимных поставок по отношению к росту производства за 5 лет составляет всего около 1,06. Из этих данных вытекает, что разделение труда в области машиностроения между странами-членами СЭВ развивается. Но

это развитие по своим темпам далеко не соответствует требованиям развития современных производительных сил социалистических стран; оно еще недостаточно содействует обеспечению всех условий победы социализма в экономическом соревновании с мировой системой капитализма. Возникло определенное противоречие, с одной стороны, между уровнем развития производительных сил социалистических стран и необходимостью его дальнейшего быстрого повышения и, с другой стороны, между существующим уровнем и нынешними темпами развития международного разделения труда. Это противоречие в основном обусловлено недостатками форм и методов, применяемых странами-членами СЭВ в настоящее время во взаимных экономических связях и их развитии.

В настоящее время, в основном, применяются следующие формы развития взаимного сотрудничества в области машиностроения:

— согласование взаимных поставок в ходе координации пятилетних планов и торговые соглашения о них;

— принятие рекомендаций (или решений) о специализации производства и взаимных поставках специализируемой продукции с включением этих поставок в торговые соглашения.

Обе эти формы сотрудничества являются формой проявления международного разделения труда и — в известной мере — специализации производства, хотя часто специализацией производства принято называть только специализацию, осуществляемую на основе рекомендаций органов СЭВ или решений двусторонних Комиссий.

В последнее время стало ясным, что эти формы в своем старом или несколько преобразованном виде не могут обеспечить необходимого ускорения сближения и смыкания хозяйств отдельных стран. Не могли достичь своей цели и попытки, которые были направлены на применение в международных масштабах ранее сложившихся в национальных рамках методов централизованного планирования производства и потребления, в основном, в натуральной форме.

Экономические связи между странами-членами СЭВ существенно отличаются от связей между хозяйственными единицами внутри страны. В каждой социалистической стране подавляющая часть средств производства находится в собственности государства, а остальная часть, представляющая групповую собственность, подлежит его руководству. В связи с этим социалистическое государство может планомерно управлять развитием производительных сил. При этом конкретные способы осуществления центральной воли государства, выраженной в народнохозяйственном плане, мера самостоятельности хозяйственных единиц и вытекающая отсюда форма проявления товарно-денежных отношений между хозяйственными единицами устанавливаются государством, как собственником средств производства, с учетом общих интересов общества.

Что касается экономических отношений между странами-членами СЭВ, *то объективной их основой является отдельная, обособленная собственность стран на свои средства производства.* В связи с этим между социалистическими странами складываются экономические отношения, характерные для отношений между отдельными собственниками. Конечно, взаимные отношения социалистических стран характеризуются также отношениями взаимопомощи. Они, однако, не заменяют, а дополняют отношения, вытекающие из различия собственности.

Обмен между различными собственниками всегда является товарообменом; условия этого обмена объективно определяются товарно-денежными отношениями. Поэтому международное социалистическое разделение труда может развиваться только *при соблюдении экономических интересов отдельных стран с учетом объективно существующих между ними товарно-денежных отношений.* Необходимость дальнейшего развития международного разделения труда требует тщательного анализа принципиальных и практических проблем их экономических взаимосвязей, выявления возможностей развития существующих и введения новых методов именно с учетом вышеизложенных обстоятельств. В данной статье рассматриваются лишь отдельные аспекты этого вопроса применительно, в основном, к машиностроению.

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За последние десять лет усилия стран-членов СЭВ, направленные на развитие международной специализации машиностроительного производства, большей частью получали форму разработки рекомендаций по специализации производства в органах СЭВ. В основном такая же работа проводилась в двусторонних комиссиях по экономическому и научно-техническому сотрудничеству.

Несмотря на очень обширную, многостороннюю и трудоемкую деятельность органов СЭВ, представителей и специалистов стран, а также несмотря на отдельные результаты, достигнутые в развитии сотрудничества, эта работа, в основном, еще не оправдала связанных с ней надежд. Рекомендации по специализации производства, принятые органами СЭВ, охватывают сравнительно небольшую часть продукции машиностроения. В большинстве случаев они не приводили к устранению необоснованного параллелизма в производстве и развитии продукции машиностроения в странах-членах СЭВ, значительная часть их отражала уже сложившееся положение. Обязательства, принятые странами по специализации, часто не выполняются ими. Фактические поставки специализированной продукции существенно отклоняются от рекомендованных. В результате этого специализация производства, осуществленная в органах СЭВ, недостаточно содействовала дальнейшему разделению труда между странами, концентрации научно-исследователь-

ской, проектно-конструкторской и производственной деятельности и, тем самым, повышению технического уровня и экономической эффективности производства и капитальных вложений.

Основные причины неудовлетворительного развития специализации производства кроются, прежде всего, в экономических факторах. Вопрос заключается в том, в какой мере заинтересованы экономически в настоящее время страны-члены СЭВ в международной специализации машиностроительного производства, в какой мере способствуют или тормозят их экономические условия развитию специализации, а также в том, насколько эти условия и степень заинтересованности стран учитываются применяемыми формами и методами специализации.

Факторы, обуславливающие объективную необходимость включения стран в международное разделение труда, существуют во всех странах. Поэтому все страны-члены СЭВ объективно заинтересованы в развитии международной специализации производства. Однако, *степень, мера и характер заинтересованности отдельных стран в специализации не одинаковы.* Это связано, *в основном, с различием их размеров и уровней экономического развития.*

Современное производство любой продукции предполагает определенный (минимальный) объем производства. Для проведения научно-исследовательских работ и освоения продукции, требующей большой технической подготовленности, необходим определенный научно-технический потенциал. В то же время внутренние потребности, а также количество кадров специалистов в странах различны. Страны с большим населением и большей территорией — при прочих равных условиях —, как правило, обладают более высоким размером внутренних потребностей и научно-технического потенциала. Они располагают, в связи с этим, более широкими возможностями развития эффективного производства современной продукции многих отраслей машиностроения и без международной специализации производства, опираясь только на свои силы и потребности. В меньших странах эти возможности более ограничены. Хотя на размер внутренних потребностей и научно-технического потенциала влияют и другие факторы (в первую очередь, уровень развития страны), величина страны является одним из факторов, определяющих степень ее экономической заинтересованности в развитии международной специализации производства.

Другим фактором являются исторически сложившиеся различия в уровне экономического развития стран-членов СЭВ, с чем связаны различные требования, предъявляемые общими задачами их народного хозяйства к развитию машиностроения.

Для экономически менее развитых стран-членов СЭВ характерны относительно небольшой удельный вес машиностроения в промышленности, сравнительно узкий ассортимент его продукции, высокая доля импортных

и низкая доля производимых в стране машин во всем потреблении продукции машиностроения. При быстро растущих потребностях в машинах прежняя доля импортных машин в силу экономических и природных условий этих стран не может поддерживаться исключительно за счет увеличения экспорта сырья и сельскохозяйственной продукции. Становится необходимым, чтобы экспорт машин возрастал быстрее их импорта, чтобы производство машин возрастало быстрее их общего потребления. Большое количество высвобождающейся из сельского хозяйства рабочей силы и относительно низкие затраты, требуемые для ее использования в машиностроении, тоже содействуют этому процессу.

Он может осуществляться или за счет относительного ограничения импорта, значительного расширения ассортимента выпускаемой продукции и замены ранее импортируемых машин отечественными, или путем увеличения экспорта некоторых основных видов машиностроительной продукции такими быстрыми темпами, которые обеспечивают покрытие быстро возрастающего импорта. Второй путь, который является более эффективным и в котором эти страны объективно более заинтересованы, предполагает готовность более развитых стран-членов СЭВ прекратить в рамках специализации производство этих изделий и импортировать их из специализирующихся стран. Без этой готовности неизбежно возникает — вдобавок к существующему — дальнейший неоправданный параллелизм в производстве, а также порождается стремление экономически менее развитых стран избежать ограничений их действий по освоению новых производств. При этом в этих странах организация нового производства может быть эффективной — в силу наличия свободной рабочей силы и ее относительно низкой оплаты — даже тогда, когда в самом производстве не обеспечивается современный технический уровень и высокая производительность труда, но в результате применения этих машин увеличивается эффективность народного хозяйства в целом.

Для экономически более развитых стран-членов СЭВ характерен относительно высокий удельный вес машиностроения в промышленности, очень широкий ассортимент его продукции, небольшая — из-за низкого уровня развития международного разделения труда — доля импорта в потреблении машин, превышение экспорта машин над импортом. При этом эти страны, за исключением СССР, располагают недостаточными источниками сырья и ограниченными возможностями развития сельского хозяйства, ввиду чего они заинтересованы в сохранении положительного сальдо экспорта и импорта продукции машиностроения.

Более высокий общий технический уровень, более обширная связь с иностранными рынками, нехватка рабочей силы и относительно высокий уровень ее оплаты требует от этих стран дальнейших усилий по повышению производительности, технического уровня, вообще — конкурентоспособности, чего они могут достичь только путем концентрированного использо-

вания своих сил и средств. Поэтому эти страны тоже заинтересованы в специализации производства, однако только при условии, чтобы она не приводила к снижению технического уровня потребляемой продукции (чего другие страны не всегда могли обеспечить), чтобы она не снижала возможности экспорта на другие рынки (что не обеспечивалось из-за недостатков методов специализации) и чтобы она не сопровождалась уменьшением имеющегося превышения экспорта машин над импортом. В последнее время в этих странах появилась тенденция к кооперированию в научно-технической деятельности и в производстве при сохранении широкого профиля своего машиностроения.

Различные факторы, определяющие заинтересованность стран в международной специализации производства влияют в своей совокупности на отношение страны к отдельным формам и широте специализации.

Недостаточное развитие международной специализации производства связано также с некоторыми другими противоречиями, касающимися ее *влияния на экономику* страны, участвующей в специализации.

Страны, участвующие в специализации производства, несут в связи с этим определенные затраты и убытки и, с другой стороны, получают определенные выгоды.

У страны, специализирующейся на производстве какой-либо продукции, затраты могут направляться на капитальные вложения, на приобретение за валюту импортного оборудования, сырья и т. п., на обеспечение умственных и материальных предпосылок технического развития, возможно, на покупку лицензий и т. д. Они компенсируются ростом экономической эффективности специализированного производства и связанных с ним капитальных вложений, улучшением степени использования кадров специалистов, увеличением экспортных возможностей и валютных поступлений. Отсюда видно, что затраты специализирующейся страны не отличаются от обычных затрат по расширению производства, но экономические результаты их возрастают, и условия реализации продукции улучшаются. Поэтому специализация производства, как правило, — за исключением продукции, требующей особо крупных затрат капитальных вложений, импортного сырья и умственного труда — выгодна для специализирующейся страны.

У страны, прекращающей производство какой-либо продукции в результате специализации, возникают затраты по перестройке мощностей на производство другой продукции, потери по основным и оборотным фондам, некоторое сокращение чистого общественного дохода в переходный период, неиспользуемые возможности применения знаний и опыта специалистов, занимавшихся совершенствованием данной продукции, непосредственное и косвенное сокращение экспортных возможностей и расходы валюты на приобретение специализированной продукции. При этом — как показывает практика — нет гарантий относительно эффективного использования вы-

свобождающихся мощностей, компенсации отпадающего экспорта и получения специализированной продукции должного технического уровня, в нужном ассортименте и количестве. Экономия от самого прекращения производства получается лишь в редких случаях. Поэтому прекращение какого-либо производства, как правило, непосредственно эффективно только в случае организации или расширения другого производства вместо прежнего, причем сальдо затрат от прекращения старого и освоения (или расширения) другого производства, а также выгод от последнего, должно по меньшей мере соответствовать средней по народному хозяйству эффективности. Отсюда вытекает первое внутреннее потенциальное противоречие специализации производства: *противоречие между двумя сторонами единого процесса специализации, т. е. между организацией производства и отказом от производства специализируемой продукции.*

Специализация производства может быть выгодна для страны и в том случае, если ее непосредственный эффект не проявляется. Благодаря относительному сокращению ассортимента производимой продукции она получает возможность лучше концентрировать и более эффективно использовать имеющиеся у нее научно-технические силы и материальные средства и получать тем самым перспективные выгоды. Эти перспективные выгоды, однако, не поддаются предварительному учету и измерению.

Далее, затраты и убытки, связанные со специализацией производства, в значительной части выступают в форме капитальных вложений и потери основных фондов, т. е. представляют собой разовые затраты, которые должны впоследствии возмещаться экономией на текущих затратах. В то же время для стран-членов СЭВ характерна постоянная относительная нехватка средств для капитальных вложений. В таких условиях страны вообще непосредственно не заинтересованы в деятельности, связанной с капитальными вложениями, даже если последние окупаются в нормативные сроки, т. е. являются эффективными. Поэтому относительный недостаток капитальных средств в социалистических странах является одним из важных факторов, тормозящих развитие специализации производства.

Итак, вторым внутренним потенциальным противоречием специализации производства является *противоречие между связанными со специализацией непосредственными и перспективными интересами стран.*

Для применяемых при специализации производства между странами-членами СЭВ методов было характерно, что специализация проводилась в отрыве от координации перспективных планов и осуществлялась неэффективным способом (в основном, по типам и типоразмерам продукции), ограничивалась разделением стран на специализирующиеся и неспециализирующиеся, с формальным согласованием взаимных поставок. При этом не были решены вопросы технического уровня, ассортимента и цен продукции и не были установлены тесные связи между участниками специализации произ-

водства по научно-техническому и внешнеторговому сотрудничеству. Все это тормозило развитие международной специализации. Такую же роль играет и тот факт, что в отдельных странах эффективная для всего народного хозяйства международная специализация производства не всегда соответствует при нынешней внутренней системе хозяйственного управления непосредственным интересам предприятий-производителей и потребителей.

Отрицательное влияние потенциальных противоречий, связанных со специализацией производства, может быть в значительной степени смягчено применением таких методов специализации, которые могут содействовать их разрешению.

Специализация производства является частью общего развития машиностроения. Она меняет структуру и, в отдельных случаях, объем производства, объем, структуру и географическое распределение экспорта и импорта, может повлиять на затраты и результаты хозяйственной деятельности. Поэтому она должна увязываться с народнохозяйственными планами отдельных стран.

Общие объемы, пропорции и общая структура взаимных поставок машиностроительной продукции представляют для стран-членов СЭВ большой интерес, ибо они коренным образом затрагивают структуру их народного хозяйства, эффективность капитальных вложений, занятость и т. д. Решение этих проблем возможно только в рамках координации их перспективных планов, одновременно с координацией взаимных поставок сырья, сельскохозяйственной продукции, товаров широкого потребления и т. п. Поэтому специализация производства может успешно осуществляться только в случае, если она *увязана с интересами стран, согласованными в ходе координации перспективных планов.*

Для обоснования проводимой специализации производства целесообразно проводить широкие *технико-экономические исследования* для выявления направлений технического развития, примерного объема и стуктуры перспективных потребностей в данной продукции и возможностей их удовлетворения посредством организации оптимальных научно-исследовательских, проектно-конструкторских и производственных баз, а также для разработки в связи с этим эффективных вариантов международной специализации производства.

Практика показывает, что специализация производства, проводимая в основном по типам и типоразмерам готовой продукции, является недостаточно эффективной и не может обеспечить для стран-участниц соответствующих выгод. Специализация должна иметь *разнообразные формы* и должна охватывать полуфабрикаты, детали, узлы, готовые продукты, технологические оборудование в их оптимальном сочетании, в зависимости от характера данной продукции, условий производства в различных странах и их интересов. При этом опыт свидетельствует, что во всех названных случаях специа-

лизация является наиболее эффективной тогда, если она осуществляется *по однородным* с точки зрения конструкции, технологии производства и области применения *группам*. Это обеспечивает оптимальную концентрацию и самые эффективные условия использования научно-исследовательских и проектно-конструкторских сил, возможность организации оптимального производства, максимальную надежность выполнения принимаемых обязательств и, в результате этого, наилучшим образом содействует ускорению технического прогресса и достижению максимальной эффективности производства и капитальных вложений.

Органами СЭВ — на основе технико-экономических исследований и выявленных в их итоге вариантов международной специализации производства — могут разрабатываться рекомендации по специализации производства. Однако, как показывает опыт, конкретные условия специализации (объем поставок, ассортимент, технические параметры, цены, гарантии и санкции и т. д.), а также сотрудничество, осуществляемое в связи с ней, невозможно согласовывать посредством органов СЭВ в межгосударственных масштабах. Поэтому рекомендации органов СЭВ по специализации производства целесообразно считать рекомендациями в оригинальном смысле этого слова, а конкретные соглашения о специализации и сотрудничестве и их условиях должны заключаться *в форме договоров между соответствующими хозяйственными единицами* (предприятиями, трестами или объединениями производителей, потребителей и внешней торговли) стран, участвующих в данной специализации. Это соответствует также преобразованиям в управлении народным хозяйством, осуществляемым в большинстве стран-членов СЭВ.

Договоры по специализации и кооперированию производства являются формой, в которой хозяйственные единицы заинтересованных стран могут согласовывать все условия, права, обязанности и гарантии, связанные со специализацией производства. Договоры могут иметь самые разнообразные формы, в зависимости от конкретных обстоятельств. Их вообще целесообразно заключать *на длительный срок* с тем, чтобы возникающие новые связи были прочными, обеспечивающими окупаемость связанных со специализацией затрат. Однако, если это соответствует интересам сторон, договоры могут заключаться также на более короткий срок.

В договорах по специализации и кооперированию производства (в дальнейшем: «договоры») устанавливаются *объемы взаимных поставок* специализируемой продукции. Их, как показывает опыт, целесообразно устанавливать с возможностью некоторого отклонения в более поздние годы данного периода.

В договорах целесообразно согласовать *ассортимент и основные технические параметры* взаимно поставляемой продукции, *порядок согласования* основных направлений перспективного развития технического уровня

продукции, а также изменений ее ассортимента и основных технических параметров. В договорах может быть предусмотрено *научно-техническое сотрудничество* между участниками специализации, а именно, передача технической документации, координированное или совместное проведение научно-исследовательских и проектно-конструкторских работ, стандартизация, типизация, обмен информацией, посылка специалистов и т. д., а также *условия* этого сотрудничества.

Одним из основных условий дальнейшего развития специализации производства между странами-членами СЭВ является обеспечение ее *экономической выгодности* для всех участвующих в ней стран. Выше было показано, что участники специализации производства несут различные затраты и получают различную экономию, принимая на себя различного характера обязательства. В таких случаях взаимная выгодность специализации производства без особых мер по ее обеспечению является весьма редким явлением. Сложными расчетами и пересчетами можно определить непосредственную экономическую эффективность специализации производства для отдельных стран и для всех стран совместно, а также разницу эффекта (выгод), получаемого отдельными странами. Однако ввиду неточности ряда исходных данных и методов их пересчета в сопоставимые единицы, далее, учитывая, что последствия данной специализации производства могут иметь для различных стран различное значение в зависимости от конкретных условий развития их народного хозяйства, и особенно, что страны являются экономически обособленными, — совместно осуществляемые расчеты экономической эффективности специализации не могут служить основой для обеспечения взаимной экономической выгоды от специализации производства. Только сами участники специализации как обособленные товаропроизводители могут и должны определять *условия*, при которых данный вариант специализации для них выгоден. Эти условия могут быть определены только посредством категорий товарно-денежных отношений. В отдельных случаях обеспечение взаимной выгоды возможно за счет разового возмещения; основным же его средством являются *цены*.

В настоящее время в отношениях между странами-членами СЭВ действует определенный принцип ценообразования на основе цен мирового рынка. Затраты и конкретные интересы стран (вернее, их хозяйственных единиц) не являются «ценообразующим фактором». В таких условиях цена не может служить средством для обеспечения взаимной выгоды от специализации производства при различном соотношении затрат и экономии в отдельных странах. Для того, чтобы цена могла играть такую роль, необходимо обеспечить возможность отклонения цен на специализируемую продукцию от уровня цен, установленного согласно общему принципу ценообразования. При сохранении этого принципа в его нынешней форме такая возможность может быть обеспечена введением системы *скидок* и — в исключительных

обоснованных случаях — *накидок* на цены специализируемой продукции. Размер возможных скидок (или накидок) может быть согласован только коммерческим путем между участниками специализации производства в соответствии с их интересами. Таким образом, цена — с учетом скидок или накидок — превращается в одно из основных средств обеспечения взаимной выгоды, а также *в критерий* специализации производства. Согласованные цены — или размер скидок или накидок — должны отражаться в договорах по специализации производства.

В договорах целесообразно предусматривать *сотрудничество во внешнеторговой деятельности*. Это исключительно важно, ибо оно обеспечивает, чтобы экспортные возможности участников специализации производства на третьих рынках не сужались, а наоборот, расширялись. Неспециализирующаяся страна по договоренности может либо прекратить свой экспорт в третьи страны, либо сохранить его путем реэкспорта специализируемой продукции или же выступая ее посредником. Возможна также совместная реализация специализированной продукции на третьих рынках. Могут применяться и другие формы сотрудничества на третьих рынках (согласование рынков, цен и других условий, совместная агентура, совместная ремонтная служба, обмен информацией и т. п.).

В договорах следует также решать вопросы лицензий, снабжения запасными частями, ремонтной службы и т. п. Наконец, в нем должны предусматриваться *гарантии и санкции* для обеспечения выполнения обязательств, принятых по специализации производства.

Специализация производства не является единственным путем развития планомерного сотрудничества между странами-членами СЭВ. *Координированная деятельность* или, в отдельных случаях, *создание совместных организаций* в сфере научных исследований, производства и внешней торговли могут осуществляться в самом разнообразном виде. При этом возможно и целесообразно применение соответствующих форм сотрудничества, изложенных выше применительно к специализации производства.

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Развитие экономических связей между странами-членами СЭВ с целью ускорения сближения их хозяйств и расширения разделения труда будет происходить в должных темпах лишь в случае, если оно будет проводиться по всем объективно возможным направлениям. При координации перспективных планов формируются основные направления специализации производства между странами-членами СЭВ. Разработка рекомендаций и заключение договоров по специализации и кооперированию производства является одним из основных путей достижения указанной цели. Но этот путь не должен быть единственным — для этого еще не созрели все предпосылки. По-

этому *необходимо изучить возможность и целесообразность более широкого использования товарно-денежных отношений для ускорения экономической интеграции стран-членов СЭВ.* Своевременность такого подхода подтверждается проводимыми во многих социалистических странах изменениями в системе управления народным хозяйством. Основным направлением этих изменений является предоставление большей самостоятельности социалистическим предприятиям, расширение рыночных связей между ними, использование рыночного механизма для осуществления экономической политики государства при помощи экономических рычагов, с целью повышения эффективности всех звеньев народного хозяйства. Это вызывает также необходимость расширения товарных отношений в международных связях.

В странах-членах СЭВ — за исключением СССР — рациональная общественная организация машиностроительного производства — ввиду сравнительно небольших объемов потребностей и производства — по большинству групп изделий была осуществлена путем концентрации однородного производства на специализированных внутри страны предприятиях. Это открыло возможности повышения рентабельности производства и, одновременно, привело к тому, что предприятия стали единственными, монопольными производителями данной продукции.

Нынешняя система управления хозяйством превратила производственную монополию предприятий *в монопольное положение* на внутреннем рынке. Внутренний хозяйственный механизм стран-членов СЭВ искусственно ограничивает возможность появления на внутреннем рынке продукции, производимой в других странах. Импорт допускается лишь в случае, если данная продукция в стране не производится или производится в недостаточном количестве. Более высокий технический уровень или более низкая цена, как правило, не являются достаточным основанием для импорта. У. потребителей нет возможностей выбора, соревнование на внутреннем рынке, по существу, не имеет места. Потребители попали в зависимое от производителей положение. Производственные затраты производителя превратились в «общественно необходимые», независимо от их уровня и соотношения с международным уровнем затрат и стали основой для установления внутренних цен. Отсутствие на главном (внутреннем) рынке экономических рычагов, понуждающих производителей к повышению технического уровня и значительному сокращению производственных затрат, отрицательно сказалось на эффективности хозяйственной деятельности.

Правда, предприятия, работающие на экспорт, в принципе могли бы попасть в условия соревнования на некоторых внешних рынках. Но они были отделены от этих рынков, так как результаты их хозяйственной деятельности не зависят от результатов деятельности внешнеторговых организаций, экспортирующих их продукцию. Однако, даже при отмене этого разделения воздействие соревнования сказывается в полной мере лишь по от-

ношению к продукции, реализуемой на капиталистических рынках. На социалистических внешних рынках соревнование носит ограниченный характер, оно имеет место лишь в том смысле, что предприятия стран могут соревноваться за рынок третьей страны, если она не производит данную продукцию.

Монопольное положение производителей на внутреннем рынке при расширении товарно-денежных отношений внутри страны таит в себе опасность появления различных отрицательных тенденций (застоя в технике, явлений инфляционного характера и т. п.). *Широкое развитие товарно-денежных отношений делает необходимым соревнование на рынке между производителями.*

Но можно ли сочетать экономически безусловно оправданную концентрацию (специализацию) однородного производства внутри страны с рыночным соревнованием между производителями? Положительный ответ на этот вопрос равносилен признанию *возможности и необходимости осуществления рыночного соревнования между предприятиями различных собственников, различных стран-членов СЭВ.* Речь идет о том, чтобы дать возможность производителям стран-членов СЭВ — при определенном регулировании со стороны государств — *относительно свободно реализовывать свою продукцию на рынках друг друга и, соответственно, потребителям относительно свободно выбирать между продукцией отечественного производства и других стран-членов СЭВ.* Это было бы, следовательно, не свободное, а *регулируемое* (со стороны отдельных государств) *рыночное соревнование.* При этом произошла бы замена государственных мер, обеспечивающих отечественным производителям монопольное положение, такой регулирующей деятельностью государства, которая обеспечивала бы им преимущество только в экономически обоснованных случаях и мере. Это означало бы признание того, что если производитель, пользуясь экономически оправданными преимуществами, отстает в техническом и экономическом отношениях в рыночном соревновании с предприятиями других стран-членов СЭВ, то такая его деятельность является неэффективной, противоречащей интересам народного хозяйства страны.

Введение системы регулируемого рыночного соревнования между предприятиями стран-членов СЭВ мыслимо лишь при определенных условиях внутреннего и международного характера.

Введение системы регулируемого рыночного соревнования возможно и целесообразно для стран, *в которых она находилась бы в соответствии с их внутренней системой управления хозяйством.* Системы управления хозяйством в странах-членах СЭВ, конечно, различны. Регулируемое рыночное соревнование между предприятиями стран-членов СЭВ может стать органическим дополнением любой системы управления хозяйством, в которой осуществлены или могут осуществляться следующие основные элементы:

— Широкая самостоятельность предприятий, их материальная заинтересованность в прибыли (или валовом доходе).

— Право и возможность свободного выбора производителями направлений реализации своей продукции (на внутреннем или внешнем рынке) в зависимости от их заинтересованности (цен и т. д.).

— Право и возможность свободного выбора потребителями между продукцией собственного производства и других стран-членов СЭВ, участвующих в соревновании, в зависимости от их заинтересованности (цен, технического уровня и т. д.), без импортных лимитов.

— Свободное движение цен, по которым реализуется и покупается данная продукция, с возможным установлением максимальных внутренних цен со стороны государства.

— Непосредственная зависимость хозяйственных результатов производителей и потребителей от уровня экспортных и импортных цен.

— Соответствие цен на сырье, материалы, полуфабрикаты, детали и т. п. общественно необходимым затратам с целью избежания косвенной дотации. (При этом эти цены могут быть твердые, максимальные или свободные.)

— Возможность обеспечения материальных средств (капитальных вложений и т. п.) для развития производства, повышения технического уровня и качества продукции и достижения необходимой рентабельности. При этом источником капиталовложений, в основном, должны быть собственные средства предприятий и банковские кредиты, погашаемые из собственных средств.

Рыночное соревнование между предприятиями стран-членов СЭВ предполагает применение таких *мер государственного регулирования*, которые обеспечивали бы соблюдение производственных, потребительских и валютных интересов государств.

Основным средством государственного регулирования может быть установление *валютных коэффициентов** с учетом этих интересов. Валютные коэффициенты могут устанавливаться в экономически оправданных случаях и размерах с ограничительным или поощрительным характером. Они, в случае необходимости, могут дифференцироваться по странам (в зависимости от постоянных тенденций платежного баланса), а также по группам изделий (для учета особых условий производства или потребления определенной продукции). При этом все меры по особому поощрению внутреннего производства сказываются отрицательно на народнохозяйственных затратах, что заставляет плановые и финансовые органы находить такое решение этих проблем, которое наиболее отвечает интересам всего народного хозяйства.

* Валютными коэффициентами — ради простоты — мы называем соотношение внутренней цены, выраженной во внутренней валюте, и внешнеторговой цены, выраженной в иностранной валюте. Практически это соотношение определяется различными факторами (валютный курс, пошлины, дотации, налоги и т. п.).

Внедрение в практику системы рыночного соревнования имеет *ряд предпосылок международного характера*. Заинтересованные страны должны были бы в этом случае заключить *межгосударственные соглашения* о переходе к этой системе в отношении определенной продукции. В этом соглашении было бы целесообразно согласовать меру *максимального вмешательства* со стороны государств в рыночное соревнование. При участии в соглашении стран с различным уровнем экономического развития максимальная мера государственного вмешательства могла бы быть различной для отдельных стран в соответствии с их интересами. В последующем, при наличии соответствующих условий, максимальная мера государственного вмешательства могла бы быть уменьшена, унифицирована и, наконец, полностью отменена.

В условиях регулируемого рыночного соревнования изменились бы некоторые традиционные методы внешней торговли. Взаимные поставки данной продукции было бы невозможно, да и не нужно фиксировать в долгосрочных торговых соглашениях. Вместо этого можно было бы согласовать *сальдо взаимных поставок* данной продукции (по возможно укрупненной номенклатуре), и то в *определенных пределах*. При существенном отклонении сальдо фактических поставок от установленного, страны находили бы согласованное решение этой проблемы (компенсация поставками других товаров, предоставление кредита, прочие расчеты, изменение валютных коэффициентов и т. д.).

Выше было отмечено, что рыночное соревнование несовместимо с системой твердых цен, оно предполагает *формирование цен по согласованию* между продавцом и покупателем. Это требует внесения коррективов в принципы ценообразования, принятые в отношениях между странами-членами СЭВ. При таких условиях цены складывались бы примерно на уровне цен мирового рынка, но несколько отклонялись бы от них. Это отклонение вызывалось бы различиями в уровне и соотношении издержек производства стран-членов СЭВ и издержек, определяющих цены мирового рынка, а также прочими ценообразующими факторами (соотношением спроса и предложения и т. д.). Сложились бы своего рода «собственные цены». Но это были бы не «собственные цены», сконструированные искусственным путем, а цены, определяемые условиями производства и обмена стран-членов СЭВ и условиями ценообразования на мировом рынке (в мере их фактического влияния на рынок стран-членов СЭВ).

Предлагаемая система способствовала *бы приближению соотношения внутренних цен в странах к соотношению цен на международном рынке*. Общественно необходимые затраты труда, лежащие в основе цен, являются категорией объективной и определяются характером рынка страны. В стране с «закрытым рынком» общественно необходимыми являются средние затраты труда данной страны. Чем более открыт рынок страны, тем в большей степени общественно необходимые затраты труда приближаются по их соотно-

шению к международным. Эту степень невозможно установить искусственно, она складывается в процессе рыночных отношений. На основе углубления рыночных связей между странами-членами СЭВ будет изменяться объективное содержание общественно необходимых затрат и будут складываться отражающие их цены, как в связях между собой, так и внутри стран. Этот процесс, в свою очередь, может стать одним из важных факторов, ускоряющих сближение и смыкание экономик стран-членов СЭВ.

Рыночное соревнование между предприятиями стран-членов СЭВ имело бы большое положительное значение. Были бы устранены отрицательные явления, связанные с монопольным положением производителей внутри страны, при сохранении экономических преимуществ, вытекающих из концентрации производства. Появился бы действенный экономический стимул для постоянной модернизации производства и сокращения издержек производства. Расширился бы ассортимент изделий на рынке сбыта, потребитель получил бы возможность приобретать экономически наиболее выгодные для него изделия. Обстановка рыночного соревнования способствовала бы повышению уровня хозяйственной деятельности предприятий, что привело бы к повышению их конкурентоспособности и на других рынках.

Рыночное соревнование между предприятиями стран-членов СЭВ мыслится *в тесной связи с международной специализацией производства*, которая является высшим этапом — по отношению к соревнованию — в международном разделении труда.

Специализацию производства надо осуществлять везде, где условия для этого созрели. При этом рыночное соревнование может иметь место между предприятиями, специализирующимися на производстве данной продукции.

Особенно важную роль может играть рыночное соревнование там, где условия для международной специализации производства еще не созрели или она экономически вовсе не оправдана. Благодаря рыночному соревнованию потребители смогут познакомиться с продукцией других стран-членов СЭВ и смогут ее постоянно сопоставлять с продукцией отечественного производства. Соревнование создавало бы условия для установления прямых связей между предприятиями, для заключения различных соглашений о сотрудничестве, способствовало бы сближению экономик стран-членов СЭВ и, тем самым, приблизило бы проведение в жизнь — в экономически оправданных случаях — международной специализации производства.

Регулируемое рыночное соревнование может вводиться только с участием стран, система планового управления народным хозяйством которых предполагает широкое использование рыночных отношений, при их заинтересованности в введении этого соревнования. Для внедрения предполагаемого механизма потребуется тщательная подготовка и решение многих частных проблем.

По всей вероятности, рыночное соревнование между предприятиями

стран-членов СЭВ целесообразно будет вводить *постепенно*, по этапам, причем сначала для деталей и узлов, а также предметов широкого потребления и лишь позднее для средств капитальных вложений.

HOW TO DEVELOP THE DIVISION OF LABOUR AMONG CMEA COUNTRIES IN THE FIELD OF ENGINEERING

Á. Balassa

The improvement of the international division of labour is an important task in developing the national economies within the CMEA. The results hitherto achieved are not satisfactory enough. The various forms used up to now to promote the division of labour must be improved and new forms must be introduced. In the meantime, starting from the separated ownership relations of the countries and from the commodity character of relations between countries, the role of such categories as commodity and money should be strengthened.

It must be assured that countries and enterprises should be interested, on the basis of mutual advantages, in specializing the production within the CMEA. The varying extent of material interest individual countries have in specialization, the requirements arising from the level of their economic development, the necessity that inputs connected with specialization should be recovered and that short-term and long-term interests should be harmonized, should be taken into account. Accordingly, specialization should take place in harmony with the agreements reached in the course of coordinating the long-term plans and in a way assuring optimum economic efficiency. Contracts concluded by the enterprises should be the foundation for specialization. These contracts should stipulate the terms of delivery for the specialized products, their present and planned technological level, the prices assuring mutual advantages, the data on technical, scientific and foreign trade co-operation and the guarantees of fulfilling the mutual obligations.

To promote the economic integration of CMEA countries, the competition of their enterprises on the internal markets should be made possible. This would help in doing away with the harmful effects arising from the monopolistic situation of the producers, it would promote technological progress and the reduction of costs. Market competition could develop with the participation of such countries whose internal mechanism renders such competition possible and necessary. In the defence of their interests, individual countries could take certain measures. The countries could agree upon the maximum extent of government interference (regulation), which could be different by countries if necessary, and which could be later reduced, made uniform and, finally abolished. The introduction of such regulated market competition among the enterprises of CMEA countries would involve certain changes in the forms of foreign trade, the price systems prevailing in foreign trade and on domestic markets. Competition could become an important factor in further developing economic relations between these countries.

F. KOZMA

ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON OF INPUT-OUTPUT TABLES*

The paper deals with the following major problems: 1. The input-output table as an important tool of international macro-economic analysis. 2. International comparison of input-output tables with the aid of a uniform system of prices. 3. Selection of the price system to be used in the comparison. 4. Macro-economic aggregates expressed in world market prices: their economic contents. 5. Some methodological problems of comparison.

Up to now, two kinds of economic comparisons among CMEA countries based on value indicators have been attempted. The first covered some characteristic features of the production of individual products, such as volume of output, productivity of labour, prime costs, investment efficiency. The second brought to a common denominator some aggregates of the various national economies, such as gross product, consumption, accumulation. Both kinds of comparison had been called into being by the requirements of international economic co-operation. The indicators belonging to the first group may be used in preparing individual concrete international agreements on specialization and co-operation, while the computations of the second group serve a better understanding of the co-operation problems arising from the differing levels of development in CMEA countries.

The international co-operation of socialist countries has been enriched in recent years by new qualitative features. In the course of co-ordinating the commodity structure and the volume of foreign trade and of introducing co-operation and specialization in certain fields of production there arises an increasing necessity to harmonize also the fundamental development trends and processes of the national economies concerned. It is increasingly recognized that external economic relations and, in particular, mutual relations between the countries belonging to the CMEA are important factors of development, particularly in the smaller member countries.

* A panel of research workers in the Institute of Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (consisting of Gyula Kovásznai, dr. Ferenc Kozma, Imre Lantos, Ludwik Makaruk, Ágnes Miklós, dr. Barna Tálas and Irina Zhukova) carried out some experimental computations aimed at the international comparison of the input-output tables of seven European socialist countries for 1960. The present paper summarizes the major experiences of the team gained in connection with international comparison.

The co-ordination of national economic plans is still in its infancy. For the time being the main concern of the authorities is to cover securely the mutual demands of countries for commodity deliveries both in the production plans and in the balances of allocation and use of national economic resources. We have to admit, however, that all this co-ordinating efforts have not yet gone much beyond the task of securing the equilibrium of the balances of products. Still, there are several aspects already where the necessity of a more comprehensive and intensive co-ordination of reproduction between the countries concerned arises. It is, namely, becoming increasingly evident that the international division of labour may lend an increased impetus to the economy of every country if deliberate efforts are made to improve the relations between different national economies. International economic relations, however, may be regarded as efficient if they create favourable structural and technological conditions for increasing the efficiency of national labour, and secure such conditions for development as could not be achieved without international division of labour.

The extent and the pattern of the economic interdependence of countries affect, through several transmissions, the entire internal division of labour in the countries concerned. They create certain conditions for developing the technological standard of production, influence the proportion of consumption to accumulation, etc. Thus, the participating countries are not simply suppliers and markets whose commodity flows must be co-ordinated (up to now, this has been the essential objective of our attempts), but they also influence through the external economic connections each other's conditions of growth. The recognition of this latter kind of economic interrelation creates an increased demand for the assessment and practical co-ordination of the mutual influences the national economies as complex reproduction units are exerting on each other.

I.

These circumstances raise new requirements as to international economic comparisons: the practice of international economic co-operation requires new methods for the international analysis of the interdependence between complex units of reproduction, i.e. between national economies.

We think of developing such instruments as will help to compare the major data on output, consumption, and foreign trade of the economies concerned *in a uniform and consistent system*, and enable their analysis both globally and in a sectoral breakdown. In the course of surveys and analyses of this type the special interrelations existing in some partial fields of the economies, the partial processes going on there, must be considered principally as components of a comprehensive reproduction process, that is, affecting in their

totality the international economic relations of the national economy in question. International division of labour itself and the connected partial problems of the productive branches (as output, efficiency, etc.) will thus appear as being inseparable from the functioning of the economy as a whole.

It follows that international comparisons and analyses cannot be restricted to individual economic phenomena torn out from the context of the reproduction process. In our opinion, each of these partial economic phenomena should be subject to international comparison only after its proper place was pointed out in the organic context of the total reproduction process; and this should be done according to an internationally uniform system.

The comparisons performed hitherto are, for several reasons, not suited for such international macro-economic analyses. We have mentioned that part of these comparisons relates to the production, prime cost or investment efficiency of some individual product or group of products. These computations are made independently from each other and, in most cases, the results cannot be fitted into a comprehensive system. In this way we can obtain some international review of the indicators mentioned in a narrow field, but they cannot be analysed in their national economic context.

As regards the comparison of aggregates (as e.g. the production value of branches, or the accumulation and consumption within national income), this was performed by averaging for the given fields the indexes of volumes and prices computed according to the Paasche and the Laspeyres formulae. Thus, the comparison of the relative sizes of *volumes* cannot be directly connected with a structural comparison and, conversely, when structures are compared, the comparability of volumes will more or less suffer. International macro-economic analysis, however, demands the creation of such system of comparison as will be able to compare, as far as possible, both volumes and structures in accordance with reality.

In our opinion, the above requirements can best be met by means of the *input-output table* i.e. by the international comparison of such tables. If these tables are made comparable even in highly aggregated way (at most into 30—40 sectors), they may yield already initial data for a rough description of the fundamental effects the external economic connections exert on the functioning of the national economies participating in the co-operation. At least the tendencies may be thus recognized. In this way we could obtain practical hints for national economic planning, for the international co-ordination of national economic plans, and for the selection of mutually efficient fields of contacts. In addition, these interindustry relation tables may serve as a common basis of comparison for the results of separately performed special computations about individual products, or investment projects, etc. Thus, the interpretation of the latter from the point of view of their effect on the national economy as a whole will be facilitated.

II.

The international comparison of input-output tables raises in a rather complex manner, the methodological problems connected with the international comparison of value indicators. Namely, the *table of interindustry relations must be comparable as a whole ;* i.e. it is insufficient if the individual output and input items are comparable each. In fact, we are less interested in the intercountry comparison of the volumes figuring in the individual quadrants of the input-output table than in the *consistent system* of distribution and input rates we may gain from the data of the tables. In the final analysis the knowledge of this system enables us to explore comparative development levels and of economic efficiency between various countries or branches.

As is known, with the aid of the input-output tables the various elements of production (labour, wages, energy, materials, investment and fixed assets) can be assessed per unit of output for every country and for different branches (sectors), both statically and, by observing several periods, also dynamically. Obviously, it is not enough to assess internationally comparable input and output volumes separately for each branch. It is also necessary to bring to a common denominator for comparison the volumes of various branches and to be able to fit the production volumes together. The same requirement holds for the various factors of production costs and for capital credits advanced.

Thus the question arises whether in the international comparisons of input-output tables it is permitted to compute averages from indexes of volumes and prices relating to different territorial units? (I mean hereby the method according to which the indexes for price sums or volumes are computed in different countries on the basis of the national price systems and the results are then averaged.) In this way, it is undoubtedly possible to render some magnitudes (having more or less identical contents) suited for a horizontal comparison (i.e. between countries) in order to obtain information about their relative sizes. The volumes thus compared *are, however, not suited for computing either percentage distribution or input-output ratios.* Now, international analyses relating to whole countries, involving the investigation of the factors of equilibrium and growth, are inconceivable without the comparison of structural and input-output ratios. Therefore, we have to abandon the use of averaged indexes of volume, expressed in the price systems of two or several countries, in favour of the application of *some uniform price system.*

The fundamental economic and methodological problem of international comparisons is that they did not succeed in reconciling the contradiction manifest between the identity of material goods and the discrepancy of labour inputs. Let us assume that, in the course of comparison, a ton of sugar is to be valued in two countries. The social labour input for one ton of sugar amounts to 100 hours in the first country and to 50 hours in the other. If we characterize

this ton of sugar as a physical magnitude with the prices of any country of the two, it will be doubtless that we mean a ton of sugar and not something else; but the difference between the national inputs will be left out of account. If, however, we insist on characterizing these tons of sugar by the quantities of labour they represent, we have to indicate it by 100 hours in the first country and by 50 hours in the other. In this case, however, we must neglect the fact that, physically, the two tons of sugar are identical. This contradiction cannot be reconciled by any system of comparison in which the physical quantity of a product and the elements determining its value appear independently of each other.

In our opinion, there is a solution. We can start by expressing the total value (the price sum) of the product according to some common price system and disregard that the labour inputs behind it differ by countries. Then, the quantities of material inputs (means of production) used for the output of this product are to be expressed in the same system. The net product thus obtained as the difference between the price sums for the volumes of the product and the means of production used will express the differences between the national "labour contents" of a unit of identical products, that is, the differences in the quantity of labour that was necessary to produce in different countries. With the aid of this method, the differences in the national labour contents of the final phase of production can be computed for each branch. In addition to comparing the final phases we are, of course, interested also in the differences of *total* labour inputs relating to the net final product of different countries. Since the input-output tables present also the use of the means of production in a detailed breakdown, it is possible to summarize their national labour contents, and thus assess the *total* national labour inputs. These labour inputs can again be compared with the production results expressed in a common price system.

From the above it follows that *the physical unit of a product having a definite quality should be characterized by the same price-sum in any country or branch, whether it appears as input or as output*. If e.g. the price of a ton of gasoline is ten units in our system of comparison, this price will be applied for gasoline either in Hungary or in any other country, regardless of whether it appears in our computations as output or as part of productive inputs or even as consumed by private car owners. Thus, our comparison will be unequivocal in any relation and any direction, satisfying the fundamental requirement of the mutual comparability of volumes, structures and input ratios within a common system.

III.

The theoretical objections of statistical nature to the application of a uniform price system are well known. In our opinion, these arguments are debatable from the economic point of view. The argument most worthy of attention

is that the choice of some price system for comparison already introduces many subjective and tendentious factors into the computations. These fears are, of course, justified in themselves. Undoubtedly, whichever system of prices is selected as a basis for comparison, its internal proportions will deflect the resulting relative magnitudes from what they were under the valuation relations within the national economies compared. The extent and direction of these deflections are by far not immaterial from the point of view of further investigations. This property of the price system chosen for comparison will render its feasibility questionable only if the objective circumstances were not duly weighed when taking the choice. Nothing would justify, e.g. to express the input-output tables of the CMEA countries in drachmas, according to the present Greek price proportions or even to express them in forints, according to Hungarian price proportions. Such a comparison could not be supported by economic arguments since the output volumes, structures (patterns) or input-output coefficients of the Soviet, Czechoslovak or any other economy would, of course, appear in a distorted manner within a totally alien system of valuation.

It is not expedient, therefore, to make comparisons at prices completely foreign to the actual value relations prevailing in the countries to be compared. According to another concept, comparison can be performed with the least bias if the internal current prices in the countries to be compared, or those used in the national statistics, are averaged (after having been converted to a common currency), and the data of the individual countries are transformed with the aid of the average prices.

This method also raises several problems. One is connected with the reliability of the conversion to a common currency. As is known, there are several countries where the official rates of exchange do not truly reflect the differences in the actual purchasing power of the currencies concerned. Thus, the nominal rates of exchange of these currencies must be corrected by means of price index numbers. Even if the representation necessary for these price indexes is chosen most carefully, bias may be caused if averaged price index numbers of a uniform structure are applied to the essentially differing production, consumption, etc. patterns of the various countries.

In our opinion, a price basis of this type can be applied with relative safety when comparing the data of such countries as do not considerably differ from each other in respect of economic development, belong to a similar type in respect of their internal production and consumption pattern and where, due to close economic interrelations and to the convertibility of currencies, each country's internal price relations mutually affect those of the others. If, namely, these conditions exist, the average worked out from the internal prices of the countries will really express some kind of a mean from which the deviations of the relative prices in the individual countries will be at a minimum.

This method was used to compare the utilization of national income in

Western European countries [1]. The prices of the representative products of the countries compared were converted to dollars at real exchange rates, i.e. according to actual purchasing power relations, the prices thus obtained were averaged and the quantities of products in question were uniformly valuated at these so-called "European prices". In my opinion, this method of "European prices" is much more reliable than the geometrical means of the indexes of volume and prices since they are equally suited for comparing structures and with their aid even indicators of efficiency can be constructed. In fact, this is the advantage of working with price-averages over the method of averaging indexes relating to price sums or volumes. As a matter of fact, the latter may be conceived of as some artificially built "medial" system of price proportions, assumed to deviate least from the national price proportions of the countries to be compared. In case of the CMEA countries, however, such a price system conceals much bigger dispersions than it would in developed Western European capitalist countries, since both the national inputs of identical goods and services and the internal price proportions show stronger deviations by countries.

Whatever method is, however, employed to averaging national prices and to construct the "medial" price proportions, in the final analysis we will obtain a basis for comparison that exists only in our computations. These price proportions play no role for the individual countries when weighing alternatives of investment, production, or consumption or foreign trade policy. Thus, *average prices constitute by all means a fictitious system of measurement*, with whose aid a set of relative magnitudes can be built up but which exert no influence on national economic decisions in the countries concerned.

It follows that the data of the input-output tables should be expressed *in terms of such common prices as will convey tangible reality to all countries concerned*. The languages of the national currencies, i.e. the national scales for measuring inputs and outputs, should be translated into a common language intelligible for all. This aim is best approached if the data contained in the tables of interindustry relations are, as far as possible, assessed by using the same units of measurement that the countries may actually apply to valuate *each other's* products and social labour performances. *World-market* prices may best serve as such units of measurement.

IV.

How are we to interpret these input-output tables converted to world market prices and the structural input-output rates, etc. to be computed from them, what is their economic contents? In the majority of cases, valuating at world market prices does not meet the requirement that the data of individual countries thus transformed should deviate to the least possible extent from those accounted at their national scales of valuation. Anyhow, they will express the relative magnitudes in another, equally realistic system of measurement.

The output valuated at world market price level (either for a product, or a branch or the global social product) means the proceeds of foreign exchange to be obtained by some country if the given volume of product were sold on the world market. In view of the fact that the input of the means of production is equally accounted for at world market prices, the net product will represent the net proceeds of foreign exchange that would remain for the country as a difference if the goods were marketed at world market prices and the means of production used were also bought on the world market. The individual squares of the technological matrix thus express the inputs of means of production at world market prices, while the right-side columns of the input-output table yield the price-sums of the volumes of products available for final demand, both by branches and for the national economy as a whole valuated equally at world market prices.

One of the points of view for judging the reliability of international comparisons is the examination of differences between the results obtained from comparisons performed in various systems of prices. The direction and extent of these deviations depend on the difference between the structure of prices used for comparison and that in the original (national) price systems. When choosing the basic prices for comparison, our research group strove to select those enduring price proportions that were characteristic of the foreign trade between CMEA countries in the period given. The domestic producer's prices of the individual countries deviated from these price proportions (more exactly: relative price levels by branches) to the extent of $\pm$ 20 per cent.

In the majority of CMEA countries, the share of industrial producers' goods in the social product appears to be higher when accounted at foreign trade prices than at domestic producers' prices. Accordingly, also the rate of inputs of means of production increases in comparison to the gross value of production. In other words: in the branches producing for final demand the net product is relatively smaller if accounted at foreign trade prices than at domestic prices. This higher relative price level of the means of production of industrial origin obviously influences also other indicators. Thus, after the conversion to world market prices the proportions of expenditure on national income will change: the share of accumulation increases and the consumption fund appears to be relatively smaller. The share of means of production will rise also in the final demand. Accordingly, also such indicators will be modified as the productivity of labour and the capital intensity of production; in the light and food industries and in agriculture, the net product per person employed will be lower than what it used to be at domestic prices, while in the other branches it will be higher. The capital intensity of production increases throughout the national economy, and the differences in respect of capital intensity between the various branches of individual national economies appear to be generally smaller than if computed at domestic producers' prices.

Relying on our computations, I should like to make another remark. Several phenomena allow us to conclude that the proportions of world market prices tend to equalize economic efficiency between different industries. I do not mean this in the sense that capital advanced of whatever amount would tend to yield equal profit rates. In my opinion, the point is that relative market prices ensure more or less the same efficiency for all production units turning out goods under up-to-date technological and economic conditions, independently of the kind of use value they create. To be sure, there are considerable exceptions to this tendency and there are also counter-tendencies at work. In the case of working with bigger aggregates we will, however, not commit grave errors if we accept as a working hypothesis the tendency in world market prices towards the equalization of economic efficiency.

Now, if the statement may be accepted with the above qualifications, it follows that as a result of comparisons performed at world market prices, where substantial differences appear in the efficiency of per unit inputs between countries or branches, the extent of these deviations is characteristic, above all, of the relative backwardness of the countries or branches against the standards of up-to-date production conditions. If no such backwardness or lagging behind existed, or all of them were lagging to about the same extent, the differences measured between the efficiency indicators of the countries or branches would be presumably smaller.

V.

In this paper I am going to select still two fundamental problems from our experiences gained in the course of converting the input-output tables. The opinions of specialists dealing with these subjects are widely differing.

The basic tools of converting these tables to world market prices are the *elementary price coefficients* of representative products. The elementary price coefficient is the quotient of the world market and domestic unit prices of a given product. Within a national economy these elementary price coefficients will differ from each other to the extent the domestic relative prices of various commodities differ from their relative prices in the world market. The *aggregated price coefficients* (e.g. for the global production of a branch or material consumption, or for the values of fixed funds, gross social product, national income, etc.) are arrived at by weighing the elementary coefficients according to the various commodity patterns. From another aspect, a synthetic price coefficient is but the quotient of the world market price-sum and the domestic price-sum for a given set of products. Differences between synthetic price coefficients within a country express the relative differences between the levels of domestic and world market prices characteristic for differently composed sets of products.

Both the elementary and the synthetic coefficients are destined to cor-

rect deviations in price proportions; the difference between the two consists in the degree of accuracy. If e.g. the price coefficients of two *products* are 0.50 and 0.25, this means that the difference between the prices of the two goods is twice as much at world market prices than at domestic prices. The first product will have in all our computations double the weight after conversion than originally. If, however, the price coefficient for *the gross product of some branch* (i.e. the average, weighted according to production patterns of the elementary coefficients for the representative products of the branch in question) is 0.20 and the one relating to the *materials used* is 0.30, this means that the average price level of the products representative for the materials used in the branch is fifty per cent higher than that of finished goods if, instead of domestic prices, we count with the world market prices.

Thus, the synthetic coefficients are determined by the elementary coefficients of the representative products. Therefore, the error limits of the actual size of aggregate price sums converted to world market prices will depend on the *quality of representation.*

Proper representation can be best assured if the price level of the set of products examined is expressed by the elementary coefficients of characteristic products. In this respect our experience contradicts the principle of uniformity of representation so strongly emphasized in international professional literature. (This principle postulates that identical branches in various countries be represented by an identical set of commodities.) In the course of our research we did not rigidly adhere to the uniformity of representation but strove to complement the representation of individual branches with products having a high share in the final output of the branch or with intermediary products considerably influencing the price level of the final product.

If, instead of the uniformity of representation, we keep in view that the representation has to follow the actual composition of the given set of products, it may happen that identical branches will be represented in different countries, partly or entirely, by different products. E.g., non-ferrous metallurgy will be characterized in one country by the production and refining of copper, in another by tin, in a third by aluminium.

Obviously, if we insist on the uniformity of representation, either the non-ferrous metallurgies of the three countries will become incomparable or some of the products chosen will not be representative for non-ferrous metallurgy in other countries and thus distort the valuation of the entire branch. If, however, in the course of selecting representative commodities, we take care that the volumes to be compared should be represented by the products most characteristic for the given country, the comparison will yield indicators that are characteristic of the actual result of productive activity.

Another condition is that the domestic and world market prices of the product chosen for representation should refer to the same quality (e.g. coal of

5000 calories per kg, with a specified content of ashes and humidity; nitrogenous fertilizers with a specified effective substance; worsted woollen cloth of a determined specific weight g/m², etc.).

Another key problem is that of *price coefficients to be used in converting the technological matrix to world market prices*. Since the technological matrix presents the use of means of production in a detailed breakdown, the conversion has to be performed for each square separately. For converting the domestic price-sum in the individual squares to world market prices, however, the price-coefficients characteristic for the production of the branch can be applied only if the enterprises obtain the intermediary products (materials and semi-finished products) at the prices used in statistics for accounting the price-sum (the global value) of gross production. If this is not the case, the deviation of the prices comprised in the price-sums figuring in the individual squares from the prices determining the value of final output or of gross production must be estimated by means of some iterative method, and the conversion coefficients of the individual squares be modified accordingly. (E.g. production values of the branches are shown in CMEA countries mostly at prices *net* of turnover tax, while the squares of interindustry relation tables present some individual items of productive consumption *inclusive* of turnover tax. The conversion coefficients had, therefore, to be modified to the extent of the turnover tax in order to meet the above-mentioned requirement that "a given product should be expressed in all relations by the same price". Similar difficulties must be overcome in case of such import goods whose prices do not fit into the general domestic price level of the branch using it.)

In this manner we solve, as a matter of fact, two tasks at the same time: First, we assure the consistency of the input-output tables with the price systems; this is an indispensable condition if, after having inverted the table, unbiased total input indicators are to be obtained. Second, we render also the technological matrix internationally comparable, offering thus further broad possibilities for comparison and analysis.

*

To sum up: the input-output tables constitute a system of indicators that is most suited for comparisons of structures and efficiency with the aim of founding the co-ordination of national economic plans. The comparison of input-ouput tables offers a method for the analysis of the fundamental interrelations of reproduction both within the national economies and internationally, for being able to pass judgement on the various structural variants of interrelations between economies. In order to be able to render the tables comparable, we must, however, break with the concept that it is not possible to express both volumes and structures in a comparable way at the same time within the same system of indexes.

According to our experience, the comparison of volumes computed at uniform prices does not yield less exact results than those obtained with the aid of averaging the indexes of the Paasche and Laspeyres type, provided that the price basis for comparison has been correctly chosen. As a matter of fact, any price system (structure of relative prices) is adequate, provided that it can be proven that the price proportions in the countries to be compared deviate from it to the least extent. Such a system of prices may be arrived at also by abstract computation. It must be, however, emphasized that it will be a fictitious price system, whose proportions have no influence on the countries concerned when they valuate either their own productive activity or that of other countries.

If we intend to approach the practical requirement raised by the co-ordination of plans, we have to apply a comparable system of prices whose proportions represent a scale of measurement actually used in international economic relations: at the time being such are the foreign trade prices. Beside meeting the above requirements, the foreign trade prices offer possibilities at the same time for the all-round analysis of the productive branches in CMEA countries based on direct comparisons, and also for comparing their technological and economic development levels. In addition, the application of this same price basis enables us, by using the data worked out as above, to make comparisons of approximative accuracy with some economic indicators of the industrially developed capitalist countries.

Such investigations were carried out by a research group in the Economic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In the course of the analyses we had to aggregate the economic activities into 13 sectors for each country investigated. Still, the results of our comparisons in respect of volumes enabled an experimental analysis of the efficiency of the international division of labour among CMEA countries.

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О МЕЖДУНАРОДНОМ СОПОСТАВЛЕНИИ БАЛАНСОВ МЕЖОТРАСЛЕВЫХ СВЯЗЕЙ

Ф. КОЗМА

Наиболее подходящей системой показателей для целей сравнения и анализа структур и экономической эффективности, обосновывающего координирование народнохозяйственных планов, автор считает балансы межотраслевых связей. Сопоставление балансов межотраслевых связей позволяет исследовать основные взаимосвязи процессов воспроизводства внутри народных хозяйств и в международном масштабе, а также давать оценку различным вариантам структуры взаимосвязей между народными хозяйствами. Однако, сопоставление межотраслевых балансов возможно лишь при отказе от взгляда, будто объемы и структуры не могут быть выражены в сопоставимой форме в рамках одной системы индексов.

По опыту исследовательской группы Института Экономики ВАН сравнение физических объемов, исчисленных по единым ценам, дает не менее точные результаты, чем применение усредненных индексов, конечно, при условии правильного выбора базы цен. По сути дела этим целям отвечает любая система цен, о которой можно установить, что пропорции цен остальных сравниваемых стран отклоняются от нее в самой незначительной мере. Такую систему цен можно получить также и расчетным путем. Это, однако, будет фиктивная система цен, поскольку на ее основе не оценивается ни своя, ни производственная деятельность другой страны.

Приближение же к практическим требованиям координирования планов потребует применения для целей сопоставления системы цен, пропорции которой являются действительными единицами измерения в международных экономических связях. Таковыми в настоящее время являются внешнеторговые цены. Внешнеторговые цены не только удовлетворяют вышеизложенным требованиям, но вместе с тем открывают возможность многостороннего, прямого анализа производственных отраслей стран-членов СЭВ и сопоставления их технико-экономического уровня. Причем, применение этой же базы цен позволяет проводить, с ориентировочной точностью, используя уже разработанные данные, также и сопоставление с экономическими показателями передовых капиталистических стран.

Исследовательская группа Института Экономики ВАН произвела такое исследование. Правда, в ходе исследования она была вынуждена агрегировать различные виды производственной деятельности народных хозяйств в 13 крупных отраслях. Но что касается физических объемов, то вышеупомянутые сопоставления дали результаты, позволяющие проводить довольно широкий анализ эффективности экономического сотрудничества стран-членов СЭВ.

J. Bognár

FUTURE PLACE AND ROLE OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN WORLD ECONOMY*

The author states that the world economic processes are working towards a further polarization between the advanced and the underdeveloped countries. The acceleration of economic growth in developing countries requires a transfer of material and intellectual energies: a reduction of expenditure on armaments may be a source of such energies, its organizational medium, however, may become an international organization transformed according to the needs of the present world.

The problems related to the economic situation and growth of the developing countries have come into the centre of the world's interest at a dramatic pace. Most economists and experts in international political questions now agree that the acceleration of economic growth in developing countries is a prerequisite of establishing lasting peace and firm security and, therefore, it constitutes the greatest problem in the second half of the 20th century. Lasting peace and firm security cannot prevail in a world where the goods, income, production capacities and science are distributed among the nations and continents so ill-proportioned as they are in the world of our days.

The disparity between the industrial and the developing countries is, of course, not of recent origin. It can be traced back to the period of industrial revolution; since, — according to reliable sources — in the early years of the 19th century there was no essential difference between the living standards of the English and the Chinese people. Up to the fifties of our century, however, the colonial system had not only promoted and deepened but also concealed this polarization. And now, owing to the disintegration of the colonial system and to the birth of new states, this polarization and the necessity of regrouping the forces have become a factor in world policy and in the approach of the progressive forces to world problems.

The economic growth of the developing countries is, then, not an isolated question but a *world problem* the successful solution of which is of vital interest for all mankind and civilization. From another angle, this means that the preconditions of their economic growth must be ensured. It should be, however, realized that these do not reside merely in the national economies but also in world economy.

* The paper contains the inaugural address of the author at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

The necessity of starting economic growth has never affected in history

a) as large a portion of mankind,

b) as many national economies,

c) as vast areas

as it embraces in our days.

The action radius of this process covers 71 per cent of the world's present population and 81 per cent of the expected population in 2000.*

The number of national economies requiring the start of growth is around eighty in our days but will increase with the birth of new independent countries.

The growth process affects some 60 per cent of the surface of the globe.

Another thing to be considered is that the gap to be bridged by economic growth has never before been as deep as it is in our days.

Annual per capita national income averages more than one thousand dollars in industrially developed capitalist countries, while in the developing world it does not reach even 100 dollars.

When weighing the international political consequences of the gap we should not forget that, owing to the development of communication and of the intercourse between nations, the domestic living conditions of various countries have also become *competitive.*

In the following I wish to make a comparison between the intellectual and material energies to be found in the developing countries, on the one hand, and in the rest of the world, on the other. These energies should be looked upon not only as representatives of a given status but also as factors influencing economic growth over a shorter or longer period of time. In other words, we consider the present intellectual and material energies (which we try to express by palpable figures) to be dynamic variables whose changes related to one another determine the growth process.

At present, 89 per cent of the world's incomes, 85.5 per cent of reserves in gold and foreign-exchange, 93.3 per cent of steel production, 89.2 per cent of iron production and 72 per cent of power production are concentrated in thirty countries.**

The developed countries have a 60.6 per cent share in the world's cereal crop (including rice and maize), a 68.6 per cent share in meat production and a 79.3 per cent share in protein production.

The thirthy countries mentioned above possess 95 per cent*** of the scientific-research capacity of the world.

* In the above figures the socialist states of Asia are ranked with the developing countries.

** The data contained in this paper are generally quoted from UN yearbooks and statistical publications. Some figures and indices supporting the statements have been calculated by the author.

*** This statement relies on data published by UNESCO.

Ever since 1958 the per capita national income has substantially risen in the advanced countries (by 22 per cent) but decreased in the developing countries even in absolute values.

The share of the developing countries, computed *by value*, has considerably diminished in world exports (1950 = 31 per cent, 1962 = 20 per cent) and in world imports (1950 = 27 per cent, 1962 = 21 per cent)*

In the late thirties the developing countries exported 11 million tons of grain a year but from the late forties they started to import them, and the amount of their import attained 25 million tons by 1964.**

Beside the backwardness of agricultural production, this situation is connected also with what is referred to as the demographic revolution. This revolution, however, will continue at an accelerated pace and result in a 900 million growth of the population in the developing countries (estimated today at some 2200 million) between 1960 and 1980, while the corresponding increase in the other countries will not be more than some 300 million.

Can the problem of the nutrition of a rapidly increasing population be solved? To answer the question correctly, two aspects have to be examined:

a) The development of the density of population per sq. km. in the next decades,

b) what, if any, new areas can be disclosed for agriculture and on what continents.

The density of the population in the developing countries, as shown below, exceeds that of the advanced countries at present, and the difference steadily grows.

Density of population per one sq. km.	1950	1960	1980	2000
Advanced countries	15	17	22	28
Developing countries	22	27	39	62(!)

Uncultivated areas are known to exist in Africa and Latin America, but even if the deviating population trends are taken into account, these are much smaller than the reserves in Canada, Australia or in other countries.

The opinions of specialists differ considerably about the size of the areas that can still be drawn into cultivation. It is, however, obvious that a considerable portion of these areas lies in such continents or countries which cannot be reached by the population in want of land. Nearly all specialists agree that in East and South-East Asia there are no more areas of any significance that could be brought under cultivation.

Now I wish to deal with the question of the effect the economic growth

* Figures from UN Statistical Yearbook for 1964.

** This statement relies on data published by UNESCO. (Cf. U. S. News and World Report. 14, June 1964.)

of the developing countries will exert upon the present distribution of intellectual and material energies in the world.

The efficiency of economic growth depends on what potential energies are released by the intellectual and material energies invested for the economic cycle to be established on new grounds. Obviously, at the beginning of economic growth (e.g. at the beginning of a middle-range plan period) we do not dispose of all energies that will become necessary during the whole process but only of those that can be used for *starting* the process. If, with the help of these resources, the potential energies are transformed into kinetic energies, the economic cycle will have a new foundation, and growth will become a self-feeding, cumulative process. If the transformation of power fails, the economic cycle relying on new grounds will result in disequilibrium and a *growth crisis* follows.

In the developing economies of our days, however, both the *raising* (creation) of the intellectual and material energies to be invested and their *utilization* with a satisfactory degree of efficiency (i.e. their economical utilization) are extremely difficult.

The great difficulties of the accumulation process (including into this notion also the efficient utilization of the accumulated intellectual and material means) can be ascribed to various factors:

a) The developing economies do not possess any significant surpluses in the true sense of the word.

b) The present structure of most developing countries is incapable of major accumulation, because agriculture constitutes the overwhelming part of economic activities, on the one hand, and a large portion of the economic units now in operation is still subsistence economy.

c) The conditions necessary for economical investments are absent. The economic environment and the infrastructure in particular are underdeveloped and there are no highly qualified cadres. The domestic market is narrow.

d) Finally, it is important to take into account that only a minor part of the State income can be assigned to the development of the productive forces because the other State expenditures are very high. (The internal and the external security of the country must be ensured, a new educational and health network must be set up, to mention only the most imperative tasks.)

It will take obviously several decades to overcome these difficulties. In the meantime there will be a shortage in the means necessary for growth, yet the domestic and international political situation, as well as the objective economic requirements will urge the governments to increase investments and raise the expenses. This unleashes a *process of inflation* which rapidly diminishes the purchasing power of the currency both at home and abroad. In my opinion, a certain degree of inflation is objectively unavoidable and is undoubtedly better than economic stagnation where the purchasing power of the currency

can be maintained. It is obvious, however, that most countries will transgress the unavoidable degree of inflation because of the long recovery period of investments (as shown also by the high value of the capital coefficient, i.e. 1 to 5), and the estimates cannot be complied with in respect of other State expenditures either.

Even more intricate are the connections of a developing economy with world economy.

Every economic growth, that of import-sensitive economies in particular, involves the increase of imports. To create a new industry and to increase yields in agriculture, means of production must, namely, be imported. Economic development also requires considerable *intellectual import*. The inevitable increase of import, however, is not limited to the sphere of means of production (capital goods).

One of the difficulties of economic growth is precisely that the process of industrialization boosts demand (purchasing power and needs) before supply is adequately increased (i.e. the domestic production capacities suitable to meet the demand).

The growing imports of foodstuffs due to the rapid increase of population and to the growing number of urban population, are an extremely heavy burden on the balance of payments.

To counterbalance the growth of imports, obviously, exports must be increased. Yet, in the period following the start of the growth process (which may extend over several decades) exports cannot be increased by the same order of magnitude and at the same pace as imports increase.

The lagging of the export capacities behind import requirements can be traced back to the following factors:

1. The export structure of the developing countries is unfavourable since it consists up to 90 per cent of agricultural products and raw materials.

2. Beginning from the second half of the fifties, the annual growth rate of the raw material exports of developing countries has remained far below the world average. (The world average is 4.6 per cent, the growth rate of developing countries being 1.9 per cent.

3. The terms of trade have changed very unfavourably for the developing countries: they fell by 26 per cent between 1950 and 1961.

4. The industrially advanced countries are hardly willing to buy finished goods from the developing countries.

The excepted trend of the balance of payments is adversely affected also by some extra-trade factors, such as, for instance, *transport* (particularly by sea, because only 6 per cent of the trading vessels are owned by the developing countries* and the increasing *interest charges* on short-term debts.

* Not counting the part of the Liberian fleet that can be presumed to be owned by Americans.

Having collated the import requirements and the export potentialities, the Geneva World Trade Conference came to the conclusion that, assuming a 2.4 per cent population growth, the deficit in the balance of payments of developing countries would reach $ 20 thousand million by 1970!

In the first period of growth the connections of developing countries with world economy display an increasing disequilibrium. If, during this period, they fail to obtain the necessary help, *growth crises* develop characterized by accelerating inflation and by a chronic deficit in the balance of payments. During a growth crisis not only the pace of expansion becomes slower but even stagnation, or economic anarchy may set in.

In the following we shall try to answer the question whether in world economy there exist and operate such tendencies as are directed toward equalization; i.e. whether or not material and intellectual energies are transferred from the advanced world into the developing one on the strength of the laws and interconnection of the economic processes.

In order to obtain a correct answer to this question two relationships must be investigated:

1. What factors and tendencies affect the production of intellectual and material energies in the advanced world at present and in the decades to come?

2. What factors and tendencies affect the "exchange of energies" between the advanced and the developing world and which party benefits more by this exchange?

ad 1. — *a)* No doubt, the technical-technological revolution which has gained an unprecedented impetus in the past decade involves *effects of economic polarization*. The presence and consequences of these effects in the world economy of our days have been confirmed by the outstanding French economist, F. Perroux, on hand of theoretical models. Technological progress depends today on four to five dynamic industries requiring unparalleled intellectual and material energies and ensuring very high productivity. Such are: the atomic engineering industry, electronics, the chemical industry, machine building and the motor industry. Under the polarizing effect of these dynamic industries, the differences in the technological level will grow not only between the industrial and the non-industrial countries, but even between the present industrial countries. A strong differentiation will start also within economic life: to wit, between the dynamic and non-dynamic (lagging) industries.

It is also quite clear that in the economic competition with the leading capitalist countries, the socialist countries, too, must endeavour to achieve new technical results and to adapt the achievements of others. Otherwise, the economy of the socialist world would fall behind, and this would lead to serious political troubles.

b) Polarizing tendencies may be observed also in long-range factors influencing the development of economic life, as in the development of science.

Also the "internal productivity" of scientific life derives from the competition of the scientists and research institutions of the advanced countries.

In our age, scientific discoveries (i.e. the achievements in research) have a dual character: every new scientific cognition is part of human knowledge and as such it is detached in a certain sense from the social and international background of scientific research, yet, every new scientific cognition — particularly but not exclusively in the sphere of applied sciences — is an achievement attained on behalf and with the financial support of some (economic or state) organization which materially benefit by its utilization. This adds to the inequality in the distribution of knowledge because its source is not exclusively the internal productivity of science but also the material power and interest concentrated in the hands of the economic (or other) organizations financing and utilizing the results of research. In other words: a major economic power (material force) can create a larger research basis, the economic utilization of the research achievements results in increased incomes which again permit and necessitate further research, since the sphere of economic activity (production) has expanded in the meantime.

Thus, the factors and tendencies affecting the production of the intellectual and material goods in the advanced world will, — except for some intervention with the processes, — act toward polarization and not toward equalization. Let us add, that in the case of long-range factors, these polarizing effects are stronger than in the case of short-range factors.

Ad 2. Concerning the "exchange of energies" going on now between the developing and the advanced world, the following observations can be made:

a) The process of exchange, — i.e. the mere exchange of goods relying on the principle of mutual advantages and on equality, — does not diminish the inequalities in the distribution of the production conditions (intellectual and material energies).

On the one hand, the exchange process is the outcome and product of processes preceding exchange in the economic cycle. On the other hand, the market is characterized not by contending commodities exactly reflecting the distribution of the production conditions but by *economic powers* whose power relations within the market substantially influence the exchange. It is common knowledge that during the past decades such economic superpowers have developed as are capable of directing exchange and related economic processes in compliance with their own interests. To achieve this, a great capital power, a vertical economic organization and a complete or at least partial market monopoly are needed.

In the case of such a high degree of organization a greater economic power can use the exchange *both in imports and in exports* to its own advantage.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that the developing countries

are compelled to transact an overwhelming majority of their trade with capitalist countries. The concentration of capitalist economic powers is characterized by the fact that 20 per cent of industrial production in the whole capitalist world is in the hands of one hundred — mostly American — big enterprises. An even more extreme situation prevails in the raw-material producing branches where 75 per cent of the natural resources in the non-socialist world is in the possession of thirty monopolistic capitalist companies.

The unequal distribution of the profits and proceeds realized through the exchange process obviously increases the disparity in the distribution of production conditions prevailing between the economically stronger and the weaker parties.

And one more thing: in present-day capitalist economy, the increase of profits tends to shift toward the production and sale of finished goods and decreases in the opposite direction.

The economically weaker countries are far from having similar chances, as the production or export of raw materials does not prompt such an extended economic activity as does the production and sale of finished goods. Hence the possibilities of accumulation in a weaker country are more restricted. (That is why all ideas assuming that exports can become a foundation of economic dynamism in the developing countries are erroneous.)

Owing to the disparity in the accumulation possibilities, the exchange recurs invariably under worsening conditions for the weaker partner and under improving conditions for the stronger one.

b) Part of the material energies created in the advanced capitalist countries reaches the developing countries through the *international movements of capital*. It follows from the train of thoughts of this lecture that we regard it an objective necessity to transplant part of the economic energies produced in the advanced countries into the developing ones. We are, of course, aware of the fact that international movements of capital are often coupled with neocolonialistic ambitions. The chief endeavour of neocolonialism is to keep the developing countries in a state of dependence by means of various — including economic — methods. This danger can be reduced by the political and economic co-operation of the progressive forces of the world. By these we mean the socialist countries, the developing countries pursuing an anticolonialist policy and the democratic forces of the West.

It would need a separate lecture to clarify the methods and problems of this co-operation.

We shall now only try to examine the effect of the movements of capital upon the developing countries, by relying on purely economic criteria.

1. What G. Myrdal calls the spread effect of capital has substantially diminished during the past decades. Hence, the capital invested abroad is relatively (i.e. related to the economic resources of the capital-exporting coun-

tries, to the order of magnitude of the world economy and to the needs of the less advanced part of the world) smaller than it used to be prior to the First World War.

The investments abroad of the greatest capital-exporting country before World War I, i.e. Great Britain, amounted in 1913 to one and a half times her annual national income. As against that, the capital investments of the USA abroad are now just somewhat above 12 to 13 per cent of her national income.

2. The majority of the capital invested abroad goes to advanced areas (Europe, Canada, Australia, New-Zealand) and to South Africa.

3. A significant portion of American credits is known to be linked up with military conditions.

4. International private capital enjoys today an absolute security in the advanced world and is therefore reluctant to leave the well-known domains.

5. Finally, it should be realized that most international data reveal only the influx of capital but are reticent on the exodus of capital associated with the transfer of interests and profits. Between 1950 and 1961 the balance of the capital movements in these two directions hardly attained a surplus of $ 2000 million, and the balance of certain areas — for instance, of Latin America — became passive for the receiving party. According to R. Prebisch's computations, the influx of foreign capital into Latin America is about 10 000 million dollars a year, while the annual remittances amount to $ 13 600 million.

In the past decade the socialist countries have made considerable efforts to increase the credits and aids to the developing countries.

In this field they have achieved significant results in relation to some countries (India, the United Arab Republic, Afghanistan, etc.). The great advantage of these credits is that they are given *to the governments* and can thus be used to accelerate the development of the State sector. What is more, credits extended to governments have established a precedent in international economic life and prompted some capitalist countries to follow a similar practice.

Yet, the order of magnitude of the credits and aids the socialist countries can grant is limited by several factors:

1. The first period of industrialization was — for reasons I do not wish to dwell upon here — comparatively expensive in the socialist countries, whence for the time being they possess a small excess stock, small related to the level of their forces of production.

2. The first period of industrialization assumed an *import-saving* character, whence the share of the socialist countries in world trade is comparatively small.

3. Only a short time ago could the European socialist countries start to trade *directly* with the developing countries. Thus they have no satisfactory knowledge of the situation and demands of these countries.

It follows from the present domestic and world economic position of the socialist countries that they can play a very restricted *direct* part in helping the developing countries but a major *indirect* part if they are skilful and elastic enough.

Relying on what has been expounded above, the following essential value judgements can be made:

a) the extreme disparity in the intellectual and material energies of the present world will go on deteriorating in the coming decades because the energies necessary for economic progress concentrate in the existing economic centres whereas the population grows chiefly in the other parts of the world,

b) in order to bridge the gap between the advanced and the less advanced countries, the economic growth of the developing countries must be accelerated. It should be remembered, however, that a growth process taking place in an open economy with extremely narrow resources can turn into a self-feeding, cumulative process only after a few decades. Until then, the developing countries will have to cope with grave and growing troubles of equilibrium in their relations to world economy.

c) The present world economy and world trade are much more characterized by polarizing tendencies than by equalizing ones.

It logically follows from the above that the internal laws governing the operation of world economy and trade (i.e. their processes) do not transfer such intellectual and material energies from the advanced world into the developing world as would contribute to equalization.

Hence, *conscious* decisions are needed which ensure the transfer of energy *independently* of the present world economy and trade system. This is the conception that has envolved the practice of aids and credits relying on bilateral foundations and of the assistance afforded by international organizations. In other words: the present world trade mechanisms extract energies in various forms from the developing world, and part of these energies returns, entirely irrespective of the former and as a result of different decisions, in the form of aids. (We have more than once mentioned, and wish to stress it particularly in this connection, that a decisive part of these energies are extracted by the capitalist world, whereas the socialist countries only profit from the changes in the terms of trade but this, on account of the amount of the turnover, is not really significant.) Let us add that the energies almost never return to where they have been extracted from.

The present practice of aids offered on a bilateral basis and of international assistance, then, does not solve the problem of a regular transfer of energies because

a) more energy is extracted than returned, i.e. the process can not really be termed an energy transfer in the true sense of the word;

b) owing to its bilateral character, it does not ensure the purposeful distribution of resources;

c) it contributes to the maintenance of the influence and position of the former colonizing power in the independent country in a more up-to-date form.

The core of the problem is that the *objective relationships in world economy* would require the establishment, on an international basis, of economic functions which the present mechanism of world trade does not permit in *a direct form.*

The objective relationships in world economy, namely, require

a) the redistribution of part of the commodities and incomes as energies for development,

b) the treatment, planning and co-ordination of certain fundamental economic problems on a *universal scale* (for instance, the problem of food supply for the world in the coming decades of our century. Without dwelling on this problem, I wish to mention that failing to solve it correctly, the developing world will be faced with famine).

The mechanism of world trade which has developed in the course of history operates at variance with these postulates. It has, namely, an *indirect* effect on the distribution of commodities and incomes as energies for development, but invariably for the benefit of the economically stronger partner.

Its starting point is invariably the national economy, or some group of national economies (integration) or else some powerful economic organization (big international monopolies) but never the world or mankind.

The question arises what objective factors in world economy require today the realization of certain economic functions on an international basis.

Of the many likely factors let us mention only the most important ones:

a) the revolutionary progress of technology and the sciences:

b) the rate of the development of the intercourse between peoples, including communication, which has turned the internal living conditions of the various peoples competitive. (The point is that the average man in Africa not only lives on a lower standard than does a West-European, but he is given to understand it in innumerable forms—films, televisions, press, travels etc.)

c) the extremely uneven distribution of material and intellectual energies in the world;

d) the demographic revolution;

e) the growing contradiction between the existing energies and those necessary for advancement, on the one hand, and the different density of the population, on the other;

f) the rapid growth of the number of national economies (it is becoming more and more clear that rational decisions made by national economies may incorporate irrationalism on the universal level or on some continent);

g) the growing contradiction between the integration trends in economic

life and the population of the nations becoming independent. There are today one-hundred countries whose population is below 15 million.

The international effectiveness of certain economic functions should be ensured with due regard to the fact that:

a) national economies will continue for a long time as the basis of the economic activity of mankind,

b) hence the decisions taken on an international level can be implemented only with the consent of those concerned.

History, from the past century up to our days, has given convincing proof that the painful and difficult process of economic growth must be lived through and coped with by every single people alone. Nor does a people accept a more advanced economic system if it is imposed on it by offending its national feelings and by hurting its independence.

The requirement of economic integration and an obstinate insistence on national economy constitute, of course, a contradiction, but it would be a mistake to say that only man-made things and relations are inevitable, and the will and emotions of nations (large masses) can be neglected.

It is obvious that there is an immense objective power in the identical emotions and decisions of millions of people which everybody must reckon with.

I think it is clear by now from the foregoing that we do not consider the existence of national economies as a factor to which all other factors should be subordinated, since this would result in national selfishness and anarchy in world economy, but we look upon it as one of the essential factors that must never be overlooked.

The implementation must take place at a time when:

a) the unity of the capitalist world order has been disrupted, yet the leading capitalist countries and economic organizations still possess huge and growing resources. The leading capitalist countries are no longer sufficiently strong to impose their will *directly* upon the other parts of the world, yet are still able to increase further their huge economic resources. Hence, they still substantially influence the world-economic processes by *indirect methods* (through the present mechanism of world trade) through which and — in the case of weaker countries — through bilateral economic relations (trade, credit, services, scientific assistance, etc.) exercise an influence on the economic growth of developing countries.

b) Socialist economy exists only in a part of the world, its potentialities for development are favourable, yet its present resources are sufficient only *to a limited extent* to influence the world economic processes. (We speak exclusively of economic resources, since the political influence and military power of socialism are greater than its economic resources.)

c) The world-economic concept of the developing countries has already taken shape: it materialized at the Geneva World Trade Conference. The

essence of this concept can be condensed in the statement that the world-economic processes must be directed so as to promote the economic growth of the developing countries and to liquidate the extreme disparity in the distribution of intellectual and material energies.

Obviously, the international implementation of the above-mentioned economic functions under the given conditions — with the national economies constituting now the basis of human economy and coming into being in growing numbers and in decreasing proportions (in respect of population and territory) as well as the three different world-economic concepts existing side by side — can only be achieved by efficient international organizations based on the principle of universality, ensuring the equality and enjoying the confidence of the peoples.

We stress the role and importance of the international organizations in the solutions of the problems not because we are satisfied with those actually operating. On the contrary: these organizations are known to fail to perform their duty and often to keep aloof from the most important problems. This negligence is due to political influences and to a certain "organizational self-centredness".

The weakness of the present international organizations does not alter the fact that the questions mentioned above can only be solved by means of international organizations.

The progressive forces of the world must make great and concerted (co-ordinated) efforts to enforce the principle of universality and equality within the world organization!

A world organization, reshaped according to the requirements of the present world, could ensure — with the consent of those concerned — the transfer of the intellectual and material energies produced in the advanced world into the developing world. The international granting of aids should be coupled with their distribution on a continental basis, and this would prevent superfluous parallel capacities from being created and would also promote the co-operation of nations living within one geographico-economic area.

What sources could the world organization rely upon for the solution of this task?

1. The reduction of armament expenditure and the transfer to the developing world of part of the material and intellectual energies thus released.

According to recent calculations the world now spends $ 180 000 million a year on armaments; that is more than the annual national income of the developing countries. The reduction of armament expenditure would release immense intellectual energies, since a significant portion of the most outstanding research workers are engaged in the solution of scientific problems associated with armament. The acceleration of the economic growth of the developing countries requires *extensive research* (e.g. the problems of tropical agriculture).

A yielding of ten per cent of military expenses to the developing countries would permit them to raise their investments by 60 per cent.

2. The Geneva World Trade Conference suggested to the advanced countries to yield one per cent of their annual national income to the developing countries.

Since the funds (loans, private-capital investments and aids) put at the disposal of the developing countries so far run into 7 to 8 thousand million dollars a year, the implementation of the resolution would raise the investment funds by $ 3 to 4 thousand million a year.

2. Some other positive suggestions have been made (the fixation of the import quotas, industrial preferences, the introduction of equalizing financing, the modification of the conditions and terms of foreign debts etc.) which could promote the economic growth of the developing countries and whose implementation would require the initiative of authoritative and effective international organizations, their permanent activity and the constant control of the situation.

It is proper to say — and this is borne out also by the Geneva World Trade Conference — that the grave economic situation of the developing countries, the extreme discrepancies in the distribution of the material and intellectual energies of the world and the concomitant dangers are beginning to be recognized by a growing part of public opinion in the world.

But where are the power concentrations (political and economic) that take the field for the new world-economic conception?

These begin to assume more and more distinct outlines. Among them we can register:

a) the developing countries themselves, whose political energies and international weight are growing day by day,

b) the socialist forces of the world struggling for the equitable distribution of the goods, for the equality among nations, for the rights of the oppressed and against the financial monopolies all over the world (the socialist countries and the progressive forces of the West),

c) the individuals, organizations and institutions that *admit* the necessity of energy transfer, although their short-range interests are thwarted by it. (Since the recognition of the grave situation of the developing countries and of present world economy has become and is becoming an integral part of what mankind is conscious of, this understanding can no longer be disregarded, and involves, in itself, a modification in power relations.)

These progressive forces should lead co-ordinated political and economic actions enabling them to assert their rational and moral superiority.

This general policy and the concrete actions should, however, be achieved with the understanding that

1. the political struggle should not lead to war,

2. the totality of the intellectual and material energies necessary to achieve development should be made use of and must not be allowed to diminish even temporarily,

3. the economic growth of the developing countries should indeed be stepped up.

The compliance with the first requirement (the avoidance of war) demands extremely vast circumspection and wisdom because there are not only people who would be willing to risk the future of all mankind to safeguard their privileges, but also such for whom death from starvation is a more imminent danger than death from the atomic bomb.

The second requirement (energy transfer) involves the use of methods that consolidate the national independence of the developing countries and prevent the big economic centres from becoming disinterested in the accelerated economic growth of the third world. This again can be ensured only by viable, efficient and active international organizations.

The successful fight of the progressive forces is complicated by the fact that the economic conflicts (extremities) are rarely revealed in the minds of people in their "pure" form. The past decade testifies to cases when masses on the verge of famine, struggling with the awes of epidemic and poverty and entirely exhausted, started a fight on account of differences in religious beliefs, language or frontiers. There is the risk of the economic conflict (extremity) appearing in the form of racial conflicts in the minds of individuals, groups or major communities. The danger is enhanced by the fact that the peoples of most developing countries were deeply humiliated in the past in their racial-national feelings. In awareness of that, we must emphasize that this kind of distortion of the endeavours of certain groups or major communities, sets back the economic growth of the developing countries and the laying of sounder foundations for world economy instead of promoting.

I hope I have succeeded in proving that the acceleration of economic growth in the developing countries is a prerequisite of creating lasting peace and firm security and is, therefore, the greatest problem of the second half of our Century.

Many difficulties and dangers will have to be overcome before this problem can be successfully solved.

The greatest danger, however, lies in the failure of recognizing the significance of the problem in not drawing the necessary conclusions or in putting off purposeful action.

The progressive forces of the world should link up the intensive analysis of the situation and the understanding of the new factors shaping world economy with politico-economic action in which boldness is coupled with wisdom and consistency with tolerance.

The unity of science and action moulds, shapes and turns the new world-economic mechanism into a positive force in whose spirit the colossal economic problems of our century will come closer to solution.

ПОЛОЖЕНИЕ И РОЛЬ РАЗВИВАЮЩИХСЯ СТРАН В МИРОВОЙ ЭКОНОМИКЕ ПОСЛЕДУЮЩИХ ДЕСЯТИЛЕТИЙ

Й. БОГНАР

В статье автор исходит из того, что материальные и духовные блага мира распределены исключительно неравномерно в ущерб развивающимся странам, что характерно не только для настоящего положения, но также оказывает существенное влияние и на дальнейший экономический рост. Крайняя неравномерность распределения материальных и духовных энергий может быть ликвидирована лишь в случае, если развитый мир в течение нескольких десятилетий будет помогать частью своих духовных и материальных ресурсов процессу роста и этим ускорит рождение и эффективное использование энергий, служащих самопитающему экономическому кругообороту.

Автор сначала рассматривает, как складываются экономические энергии в первой фазе процесса роста. Как теоретические соображения, так и экономические факты подтверждают, что рост развивающихся стран происходит не в закрытой модели, и что их развитие требует интенсивных связей с мировой экономикой. В то же время на первом этапе развития их экспортные способности далеко отстают от их потребностей в импорте, а в их отношениях с мировой экономикой наблюдается усиливающееся отсутствие равновесия. В статье отмечается, что в современной мировой экономике и мировой торговле действуют скорее тенденции поляризации, чем выравнивания, способствующие возникновению кризисов, застоя и экономической анархии.

На основании всего этого автор приходит к выводу, что в интересах передачи энергии требуются сознательные решения, выходящие за пределы нынешней системы мировой экономики и мировой торговли. Эти фундаментальные проблемы нуждаются в рассмотрении, планировании, координации не в национальных, а в мировом масштабе. Автор подчеркивает, что для решения этой задачи требуется всемирная организация, перестроенная в соответствии с требованиями современного мира. Из находящихся в распоряжении у этой всемирной организации материальных, духовных и научно-исследовательских ресурсов наиболее значительным может явиться сокращение расходов на вооружение.

Автор указывает на силы, выступающие в защиту этой новой концепции мировой экономики. Это сами развивающиеся страны, социалистические силы мира, а также лица, организации, движения и институты, признающие необходимость передачи энергии. Он подчеркивает, что при осуществлении последней должны применяться методы, не ущемляющие, а укрепляющие национальную независимость развивающихся стран.

Наконец, автор статьи развивает мысль о том, что ускорение экономического роста развивающихся стран является предпосылкой обеспечения устойчивого и нерушимого мира, а вследствие этого — самой большой проблемой второй половины XX века. Эта задача связана с рядом политических и экономических затруднений и напряженных моментов. Наибольшая опасность все же заключается в возможности того, что не будет опознано во всей своей величине значение этой проблемы, не будут сделаны необходимые выводы, и будут отложены целенаправленные действия.

P. ERDŐS

ÜBER DAS NICHT-WARENGELD ALS MASS DER WERTE IM KAPITALISMUS

Die landläufige marxistische Theorie behauptet auch nach dem Zusammenbruch des Goldstandardsystems, dass als Mass der Werte nur das Gold funktionieren kann. Der Verfasser versucht diesen Widerspruch auf Grund der Marxschen Geldtheorie aufzulösen. Er kommt zur Schlussfolgerung, dass im Kapitalismus prinzipiell auch eine Geldart als Mass der Werte dienen kann, die einen Wert zwar repräsentiert, einen solchen aber nicht innehat. Die prinzipielle Möglichkeit ist nach dem Zusammenbruch des Goldstandardsystems Wirklichkeit geworden.

In dieser Arbeit wird der Versuch unternommen, gewisse geldtheoretische Probleme, die sich aus der Arbeitswerttheorie ergeben, so darzulegen, dass sie auch dem Leser, der diese Theorie nicht anerkennt, verständlich werden.

Der Zusammenbruch des Goldstandardsystems in den dreissiger Jahren, die Tatsache, dass das Gold als Geld aus der inländischen Zirkulation seit Jahrzehnten überall verschwunden ist, dass für die Banknoten keinerlei Einlösungspflicht besteht, wirft verschiedene geldtheoretische Probleme auf, die — meines Erachtens — in der marxistischen Literatur nicht befriedigend beantwortet worden sind. Ich betone das Adjektiv »marxistisch« nicht, als ob ich etwa der Ansicht wäre, dass es der nicht-marxistischen politischen Ökonomie gelungen wäre, diese Fragen zu lösen. Ich bin im Gegenteil davon überzeugt, dass die im Westen allgemein herrschende subjektivistische Wertlehre nicht einmal das Erfassen gewisser theoretischer — darunter auch geldtheoretischer — Probleme als solcher gestattet. Ich sehe keine Möglichkeit, das Wesen des Geldes ohne die Arbeitswerttheorie verstehen zu können.

Der Grundgedanke der Arbeitswerttheorie besteht darin, dass der Tausch von Waren seinem innersten Wesen nach ein Austausch von Arbeitsleistungen ist, der unter spezifischen gesellschaftlichen Umständen stattfindet. Diese gesellschaftlichen Umstände bedeuten z.B. im Kapitalismus das Vorhandensein einer nicht zentral gelenkten »Tauschwirtschaft«. Diese Art der Wirtschaft bezeichnete auch der gewiss nicht marxistisch eingestellte Ökonom v. Mises als »anarchistisch«. Die verschiedenen Waren müssen aber auch dort, wo eine bewusste Planung der gesellschaftlichen Produktion fehlt, in richtigen — jeweils von vielen wirtschaftlichen Parametern bestimmten — Mengenverhältnissen auf den Markt kommen. Und diese Erkenntnis führt uns zum Wesen des Geldes. Unter den genannten Umständen müssen

nämlich die verschiedenen Waren bevor sie zum Verbrauch gelangen, zuerst sowohl qualitativ als auch quantitativ einem gesellschaftlichen Verrechnungsprozess unterworfen werden. Das bedeutet eine Nachprüfung dessen, ob und inwieweit die der ganzen Gesellschaft zur Verfügung stehende Arbeitsmenge zwischen der Produktion der verschiedenen Warensorten richtig verteilt wurde. Die Gesellschaft erkennt in dieser Kontrolle die Arbeitsmenge, die auf die Produktion der Gesamtheit einer Warengattung aufgewendet wurde, von der man verhältnismässig zu viel produziert hatte, nur teilweise als gesellschaftlich notwendig an, wogegen sie die zur Herstellung anderer Waren aufgewendeten Arbeitsmengen überschätzt.

Diese Kontrolle, diese gesellschaftliche Verrechnung kann hierbei natürlich gleichfalls nur spontan sein, und nur durch die Unmenge zahlreicher individueller Tauschakte verwirklicht werden. Das unmittelbare Werkzeug hierzu bildet der Preis, wobei unter Preis nicht irgendeine Menge einer beliebigen Ware, sondern eine Geldmenge zu verstehen ist. Es steht — glaube ich —, ausser Diskussion, dass das Geld in seiner ursprünglichen Form, selbst eine Ware, z.B. das Gold, war. Beim Goldstandardsystem ist unter dem Preis einer Ware eigentlich ein gewisses Quantum von Gold zu verstehen. Das Gold selbst ist unter diesen Umständen eine Ware — die einzige unter allen anderen Waren —, die vor dem Tausch nicht eigens zu beweisen hat, dass die auf ihre Herstellung, d.h. Gewinnung aufgewendete Arbeit gesellschaftlich notwendig war. Nur das Geld — in diesem Falle das Gold — kann unmittelbar in andere Waren verwandelt werden; alle übrigen Waren müssen, bevor man mit ihnen etwas »kaufen« kann, zunächst für Gold eingetauscht werden und sich unter Umständen gefallen lassen, dass das Gold dabei ihren Wert — im Preis — unterschätzt. Das ist unerlässlich, denn ohne diesen Mechanismus könnten die Proportionen der Arbeitsteilung in einer nicht geplanten Tauschwirtschaft überhaupt nicht geregelt werden. Eben daraus folgt die Notwendigkeit des Geldes. (Die Bequemlichkeit eines allgemeinen Umlaufmittels steht ausser Zweifel. Das Geld ist aber weit mehr als ein blosses Umlaufmittel. Seine Bequemlichkeit erklärt noch nicht sein Wesen.)

Wir haben über Preise, und zwar über Marktpreise gesprochen. Das Phänomen »aktueller Marktpreis einer Ware« kann am besten mit zwei Daten beschrieben werden: mit seiner (langfristigen) Durchschnittsgrösse oder — was dasselbe ist — mit seiner (langfristigen) Gleichgewichtsgrösse und mit seiner aktuellen Abweichung von dieser. Die (langfristigen) Gleichgewichtspreise sind den Produktionskosten — also in letzter Analyse (irgendwie) den Arbeitskosten — proportional. In der langen Periode gestaltet sich aber das Verhältnis von Angebot und Nachfrage so, dass sich die Preise den Produktionskosten proportional verhalten. Das Verhältnis dieser Gleichgewichtspreise der einzelnen Waren zueinander ist daher auf der Grundlage der Arbeitswerttheorie zu verstehen. Ist nun tatsächlich das Gold das Geld, so kann sich auch die

Goldproduktion, die ebenfalls eine Art der Warenproduktion darstellt, nur bei einem bestimmten Austauschverhältnis zwischen dem Gold und der anderen Waren im Gleichgewichtszustand befinden. Das bedeutet aber, dass beim vollen Gleichgewicht die allgemeine Preishöhe gleichfalls durch jenes Gesetz bestimmt wird, das auch die Preise der einzelnen Waren untereinander reguliert. Sieht man vom Unterschied zwischen Wert und Produktionspreis (im marxistischen Sinne) ab, kann man sagen: bei vollem (langfristigem) Gleichgewicht enthält eine Ware soviel Arbeit wie die Geldmenge, die ihren Preis ausdrückt. Beim Goldgeld gewinnt also die soeben genannte Formel — aktueller Marktpreis ist gleich dem Gleichgewichtspreis, zusätzlich oder abzüglich einer Abweichung — folgende Form: der aktuelle Preis einer Ware ist gleich ihren in einer Geldmenge ausgedrückten Produktionskosten oder — was dasselbe ist — ihrem Wert, zusätzlich oder abzüglich der Abweichung. In diesem Sinne ist das Geld ein Mass der Werte. Einen Preis zu bestimmen, bedeutet also einen Wert zu messen. Da aber eine Plus- oder Minusabweichung praktisch immer vorhanden ist, muss man statt Messung richtiger Schätzung sagen.

In den Textstellen, in denen Marx seine Geldtheorie entwickelt, nimmt er den langfristigen Gleichgewichtszustand immer als gegeben an, auch denkt er immer an Goldgeld. Weiterhin unterscheidet er an diesen Stellen den Wert noch nicht vom Produktionspreis. Unter diesen Voraussetzungen misst das Goldgeld im Preis einer Ware genau ihren Arbeitswert: der Arbeitswert der Ware ist gleich dem Arbeitswert des Goldstückes, in dem ihr Preis festgesetzt wird. Und Marx schreibt in diesem Sinne: »Als Mass der Werte kann Gold nur dienen, weil es selbst Arbeitsprodukt, also . . . Wert ist.«

In der heutigen marxistischen Literatur lebt dieser Satz sein von den notwendigen Voraussetzungen losgelöstes Eigenleben. Viele Ökonomen in den sozialistischen Ländern glauben an seine absolute Gültigkeit; glauben, dass als Mass der Werte nur irgendein Warengeld (das selbst seinen Arbeitswert hat) fungieren kann. Man behauptet deshalb, das Gold sei auch heute das effektive Mass der Werte.

Ich glaube kaum, dass die Ökonomen aus dem Westen dieser These beipflichten würden. Es hat nicht einmal den Anschein, dass aus ihrer Geldtheorie auch nur etwas annähernd Ähnliches folgte. Und das ist diesmal ein Vorteil, weil man unter solchen Umständen getrost seinen Augen trauen kann. Denn umgekehrt ist es noch gar nicht so lange her, dass sie die Tatsache der sich ständig wiederholenden allgemeinen Überproduktionskrisen zwar sehen und bemerken mussten, ihren Augen aber trotzdem nicht Glauben schenkten, da für sie eine allgemeine Überproduktion eine theoretische Unmöglichkeit zu sein schien.

Ich aber behaupte, dass die Notwendigkeit eines Warengeldes auch aus der Arbeitswerttheorie nicht abzuleiten ist. Ich behaupte, dass im Kapitalismus als Mass der Werte auch ein Ding fungieren kann, das selbst keinen

immanenten Arbeitswert hat, und das steht keineswegs im Gegensatz zur marxistischen Geldtheorie. Ich will also dem westlichen Leser gar nicht beweisen, dass in seinem Land nicht mehr das Gold das Geld ist. Das weiss er ohnehin genau. Ich will nur zeigen, dass die Anerkennung dieser Tatsache dem Marxismus nicht nur keinen Schaden zufügt, sondern ihn geradewegs bereichert.

Es ist den Marxisten natürlich nicht unbekannt, dass das Papiergeld, die Banknote und die ähnlichen Geldarten, die keinen immanenten Wert haben, die verschiedensten Geldfunktionen ausüben können: die einen gut, die anderen weniger gut. Es gibt nur eine Geldfunktion, zu deren Ausübung der bis heute vorherrschenden Meinung nach ein papierenes Geld nicht fähig ist: das Mass der Werte abzugeben. Ich darf mich also auf diese eine Frage beschränken.

Die Schwierigkeit liegt natürlich gar nicht darin, dass etwa ein Messinstrument die zu messende Kategorie unbedingt immanent innehaben müsste. Für gewöhnlich ist sogar das Gegenteil die Regel. Ein Schneidermassstab misst tatsächlich durch seine eigene Länge andere Längen. Aber keine Federwaage misst mit ihrem eigenen Gewicht dasjenige anderer Gegenstände; ein gewöhnliches Voltmeter besitzt keinesfalls irgendeine immanente Eigenspannung und auch kein Amperemeter einen Eigenstrom. Ein optisches Pyrometer übernimmt nicht einmal die zu messende Temperatur. Zur Messung genügt es vollauf, dass das zu Messende auf das Messinstrument irgendwie einwirkt. Es lässt sich auch nicht leugnen, dass der Wert einer Ware eine Wirkung auf das Stückchen gedruckten Papiers ausübt, das heute das Geld darstellt, er zieht ja je nach seiner Höhe mehr oder weniger Geld an sich. Die Schwierigkeit liegt in dem »Wie« dieser Erscheinungen.

Das Geld übt seine Funktion als Mass der Werte jedesmal dann aus, wenn die Gemeinschaft eine Warenmenge mit gesellschaftlicher Gültigkeit einer bestimmten Geldmenge (und, falls das Geld Gold ist, einer Goldmenge) gleichsetzt. Das geschieht auf dem Markt und ist eigentlich Wertschätzung von gesellschaftlicher Gültigkeit. Natürlich kann auch ein einzelner Warenproduzent in der Einsamkeit seiner Werkstätte abwägen, wieviel Gold oder sonstiges Geld er für seine Ware erhalten könnte. Seine Ware *hat* einen Wert, der Produzent mag diese Wertgrösse auch mit ziemlicher Genauigkeit kennen und er kann, wenn er diesem Wert einen gedachten Goldausdruck gibt, das eine oder das andere Mal die richtige Summe treffen. Hierbei handelt es sich aber trotzdem um eine persönliche, subjektive Schätzung, der die gesellschaftliche Gültigkeit mangelt. Die objektive Wertmessung ist von den Wünschen und Interessen des *einzelnen* Produzenten unabhängig: sie ist von gesellschaftlicher Gültigkeit.

Gesellschaftlich gültige Wertmessung bedeutet das Zustandekommen eines Preises, zu dem sich die betreffende Ware gegen Geld tatsächlich und massenhaft austauscht. Diese Preise sind auf dem Markt jederzeit und für jede Ware bekannt: ihre Gesamtheit lässt sich formell in den simultanen Gleichun-

gen der allgemeinen Wertform von Marx, in einer idealisierten Version der Geschäftspraxis dagegen in Form einer gigantischen Preisliste darstellen.

Marx führt zur Illustration der allgemeinen Wertform in seinem Werk »Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie« folgendes Schema an:

2 Pfund Kaffee = 1 Elle Leinwand
1/2 Pfund Tee = 1 Elle Leinwand
8 Pfund Brot = 1 Elle Leinwand
6 Ellen Kattun = 1 Elle Leinwand
. .
. .
. .

Dies ist ein System simultaner Gleichungen, deren jede auch separat interpretierbar ist. Die erste z. B. drückt im Falle des Gleichgewichts — und Marx denkt nur an diesen Fall —, die Gleichheit der Arbeitswerte von einerseits zwei Pfund Kaffee und andererseits einer Elle Leinwand aus. Und dasselbe ist der eigentliche Inhalt der Gleichung auch im Ungleichgewicht, dann allerdings mit einer Plus- oder Minusabweichung.

Innerhalb der Gesamtheit der simultanen Gleichungen ist aber der Ausdruck »2 Pfund Kaffee = 1 Elle Leinwand« zugleich ein erschöpfender Ausdruck des Tauschwertes des Kaffees, denn in diesem Zusammenhang erscheint die Leinwand unmittelbar auch als ein Äquivalent von bestimmten Mengen aller anderen Waren. Es ist klar, dass die Leinwand hier die Rolle eines Warengeldes spielt. In dieser Form tritt die Leinwand den Waren auf der linken Seite des Gleichungssystems gegenüber nicht mit ihrem Gebrauchswert als Leinwand, sondern mit ihrem Tauschwert auf: sie repräsentiert dort gewissermassen alle Waren, in die sie — in den angegebenen Mengenverhältnissen — durch Tausch umgewandelt werden kann. Jede Ware schätzt in dieser Wertform — durch die Leinwand als Geld vermittelt —, ihren eigenen Wert in allen anderen Waren ab. Auf der rechten Seite einer jeden Gleichung steht dieselbe Menge der zu Geld gewordenen Ware, links sind die verschiedensten Waren anzutreffen, und zwar in bestimmten Grössenverhältnissen. Und, wie bereits gesagt, das tiefste Gesetz dieser Grössenverhältnisse ist das Wertgesetz der Klassiker: die einzelnen Warenmengen stehen — der Tendenz nach — im umgekehrten Verhältnis zum Wert der einzelnen Wareneinheiten. Diese Verhältnisse sind gänzlich unabhängig von der Beschaffenheit der rechts stehenden Ware, des Geldes.

Wenn dieses Geld selbst eine Ware, also ein Ding ist, das einen immanenten Wert hat, so ist seine rechts stehende Menge — die Plus- oder Minusabweichungen abgerechnet —, ebenfalls durch das Wertgesetz bestimmt.

Ist jedoch das Geld kein Warengeld, verliert der analoge Satz seinen Sinn. Die allgemeine Wertform, die z. B. in folgender Gestalt geschrieben werden kann:

2 Pfund Kaffee = 10 papierene Taler
1/2 Pfund Tee = 10 papierene Taler
8 Pfund Brot = 10 papierene Taler
6 Ellen Kattun = 10 papierene Taler
. .
. .
. .

kann nur in dieser Gesamtform gedeutet werden. Die einzelnen Teilgleichungen sind in sich sinnlos und gewinnen in der Gesamtform einen Sinn nur dadurch, dass in ihr der papierene Taler unmittelbar auch als der Tauschwert aller anderen Waren erscheint. Anders formuliert: der Ausdruck, eine Warenmenge = X papierene Taler, bekommt nur dadurch einen Sinn, dass jede andere Ware ebenfalls einen bekannten »papierenen« Preis besitzt, dass es also ein allgemeines papierenes Preisniveau gibt, das aber selbst nicht unmittelbar vom Wertgesetz bestimmt werden kann. (Das Wertgesetz besagt bekanntlich, dass die Preise roh den Arbeitswerten — oder statt dessen den sogenannten Produktionspreisen — proportional sein müssen.) In unserem Fall kann also die aus vielen Posten bestehende linke und die rechte Seite der allgemeinen Wertform nur durch jenen Mechanismus eine (angenäherte) Gleichheit von Arbeitswerten versinnbildlichen, der den Repräsentationswert* des papierenen Geldes bestimmt. Aus der Wertform ist dieser Repräsentationswert ersichtlich, weil in ihr rechts nicht das blosse Wort Taler, sondern eine gegebene Menge von Talern auftritt. Warum aber dort gerade diese und nicht eine ganz andere Geldmenge steht, lässt sich weder aus der Formel selbst, noch aus dem Wertgesetz erklären. Das Wertgesetz ist jedoch selbst beim Goldgeld nur eines jener Gesetze, denen das allgemeine Gleichgewichtspreisniveau unterworfen ist. Ausser ihm gibt es noch eine Vielzahl anderer notwendiger Zusammenhänge und unter ihnen auch solche, die sich auf das Gleichgewicht von Einkommensarten und Preisen beziehen. Nehmen wir einstweilen an, dass es uns irgendwie gelungen ist, auch für das papierene Geld irgendein Gesetz der allgemeinen Preishöhe zu finden. Das ist keine besonders kühne Annahme, da doch die Existenz einer solchen Preishöhe nicht geleugnet werden kann. Nimmt man also zunächst wenigstens diese Tatsache zur Kenntnis, dann kann man etwa folgendermassen argumentieren.

Die Wertmessung ist zwar ein kollektiver Akt, doch ist sie das Resultat zahlloser Einzelakte. Der Produzent kann den gültigen Preis seiner Ware nicht selbst bestimmen, darüber aber kann er doch entscheiden, ob er seine Ware zu diesem Preise hergibt. Den gültigen Preis bestimmt — von der einen Seite der Zusammenhänge her betrachtet — die Massenwirkung solcher Ent-

* Mit diesem Ausdruck will ich andeuten, dass ein Ding, das — wie z. B. ein Schuldschein — in sich keinen Wert hat, doch einen Wert *repräsentieren* kann.

scheidungen. Indes kann der Produzent nur dann zu irgendeinem Entschluss kommen, wenn er den Wert des Geldes kennt. Hier ist natürlich nicht der immanente absolute Wert des Geldes gemeint — vorausgesetzt, dass das Geld einen solchen überhaupt besitzt —, sondern sein Tauschwert. Um aber den zu kennen, muss man nur die vorhin genannte gigantische Preisliste durchlesen, und zwar diesmal von rechts nach links. Dies gilt, einerlei, ob das Geld Gold oder bloss bedrucktes Papier ist.

Wertmessung ist Preisbildung, und diese erfolgt stets im Zusammenstoss gesellschaftlicher Kräfte. Im Prozess des Zustandekommens der Preise polarisiert sich schon die Gesellschaft der »einfachen Warenproduzenten«, der kleinen Gewerbetreibenden und Bauern, in Käufer und Verkäufer. Diese Polarisation ist nur angedeutet und vorübergehend, da die dramatis personae ihre Käufer- und Verkäuferrolle fortwährend wechseln: sie lässt jedoch deutlich erkennen, dass die tatsächliche Wertschätzung keineswegs eine Sache interessenfreier Urteilsbildung ist. Im Kapitalismus erstarrt jedoch diese Polarisation und nimmt antagonistische Züge an. Hier sind die Verkäufer der Waren — ausgenommen lediglich die Ware »Arbeitskraft« — im allgemeinen die Kapitalisten. Sie sind auch Käufer aller Waren, wobei sie allerdings Konsumartikel für den eigenen Gebrauch nicht in ihrer Eigenschaft als Kapitalisten einkaufen (als Käufer von Konsumartikeln sind sie nicht Kapitalisten zum Unterschied von den Lohnarbeitern, sondern Leute mit grossem Vermögen und hohem Einkommen zum Unterschied von den Menschen, die von der Hand in den Mund leben). Arbeiter kaufen dagegen nur Konsumartikel, nicht aber Produktionsmittel. Ihr Einkommen stammt aus dem Verkauf ihres einzigen verkäuflichen Gutes: ihrer Arbeitskraft. Das Geld ist als Instrument der Wertschätzung bloss gedachtes Geld, diese seine Rolle kann es aber trotzdem nicht unabhängig davon spielen, in wessen Tasche sich das tatsächliche Geld befindet.

Einfache Warenproduktion vorausgesetzt, könnte man den Marktprozess, in dem die einzelnen Warensorten ihre konkreten Preise erhalten, etwa folgendermassen beschreiben.

Die Ware misst ihren Wert mit gesellschaftlicher Gültigkeit dann, wenn sie jenes für sich günstigste Verhältnis gefunden hat, bei dem die ganze angebotene Menge ihrer Gattung noch in Geld verwandelt werden kann — sofern das im gegebenen Fall überhaupt möglich ist. Besteht die Möglichkeit hierzu im konkreten Fall nicht, zieht sich ein Teil der betreffenden Ware vom Markt zurück, und dann ist es der höchste noch erreichbare Preis, der ihre noch auf dem Markt verbleibende Menge begrenzt. Wann und weshalb sollte aber die Gesamtmenge der betreffenden Ware nicht gegen Geld eingetauscht werden können? Bei der einfachen Warenproduktion dann und deshalb, wenn und weil der im gegebenen Zeitpunkt erreichbare Preis so niedrig ist, dass er nicht mehr genügt, nicht einmal in dem gewöhnlichen Mass genügt, um die Arbeit jener potentiellen Verkäufer zu ersetzen, die mit den höchsten Kosten produzieren.

Dieser Satz ist in qualitativer Hinsicht reichlich unbestimmt, aber keineswegs weniger bestimmt als die tatsächliche Motivation des Verhaltens der einfachen Warenproduzenten. Er ist nicht unbestimmter als die tatsächliche Bereitschaft der kleinen Produzenten, ihre Produkte vom Markt zurückzuziehen. Und das ist trotzdem die einzige Reaktion der Ware, mit der sie die Lage ihrer Gattungsgenossen aus eigener Kraft zu verbessern vermag.

Das Geld versucht hingegen — sofern es ihm möglich ist — jenen niedrigsten Preis zu erreichen, bei dem die auf den Markt gebrachte Gesamtmenge der betreffenden Ware noch käuflich ist. Soviel ist jedenfalls klar, dass der jeweilige aktuelle Preis keinesfalls nur vom Verhältnis zwischen dem immanenten Wert der Ware und der allgemeinen Kaufkraft des Geldes abhängt, sondern — unter anderem — auch vom Verhältnis zwischen der angebotenen Menge dieser Warenart und dem Gesamtangebot aller Waren. Liegt der Preis einer Warenart viel zu niedrig, so zieht sie sich zum Teil vom Markt zurück. Liegt umgekehrt der Preis einer Ware viel zu hoch, so kann sich ein Teil des Geldes zurückziehen. Klar ist es ferner, dass der Geldbesitzer, um einen gegebenen Preis überhaupt viel zu hoch finden zu können, den allgemeinen Tauschwert des Geldes — aus jener gigantischen Preisliste — genauso kennen muss wie der Warenbesitzer. Wie ist es aber, wenn man die Gesamtheit aller Waren betrachtet? Ist es etwa so, dass die Gesamtmenge des Geldes, das die aus kleinen Produzenten bestehende Bevölkerung besitzt, für Waren ausgetauscht werden muss?

Diese Frage ist eng mit jener anderen verwandt, ob etwa das generelle Preisniveau bei gegebenem Angebot eine eindeutige Funktion der vorhandenen Geldmenge ist. Natürlich ist sie keine eindeutige Funktion dieser Geldmenge. Und dass sie es nicht ist, das folgt, wenn das Geld Gold ist, auch aus der Existenz des immanenten Geldwertes. Es wäre aber schwer, wenn nicht unmöglich, quantitativ anzugeben, um wieviel das allgemeine Preisniveau von jenem, das einerseits durch den Arbeitswert der Waren, andererseits durch den Arbeitswert der Goldgeldeinheit bestimmt wäre, abzuweichen vermag. Noch ratloser sind wir, wenn das Geld keinen immanenten Wert hat.

Wir haben schon von dem Mechanismus gesprochen, der dafür sorgt, dass die einzelnen Waren im Durchschnitt der langen Periode in solchen Proportionen auf den Markt kommen, bei denen sich ihre Preise ihren Produktionskosten proportional ausbilden. Diese Proportionen selbst sind vom Tauschwert des Geldes unabhängig. Keineswegs sind jedoch die richtigen Proportionen der Warenmengen von den Proportionen des Einkommens der verschiedenen Schichten der Bevölkerung unabhängig. Die Einkommensproportionen werden aber vor allem durch die Art und Weise bestimmt, wie die Bevölkerungsschichten ihr Einkommen verdienen.

In der Gesellschaft der kleinen Warenproduzenten geht vielerlei anders vor, als im Kapitalismus. Im Kapitalismus liegen die bis nun betrachteten

Verhältnisse viel klarer. Dort is der Warenverkäufer der Kapitalist, der nicht seine geleistete Arbeit, sondern seine Selbstkosten mit dem Preis seiner Ware — also eine Geldmenge mit einer anderen Geldmenge — vergleicht. Die Kalkulation des Angebots ist also viel klarer. Und der kapitalistische Produzent kann es sich tatsächlich leisten, unter Umständen sein Angebot zu verkleinern.

Der Besitzer des Geldes, der es für den Ankauf von Kapitalgütern verwenden will, behandelt diese spezifische Warenart prinzipiell so, wie der Geldbesitzer Waren im allgemeinen behandelt. Nachdem er den allgemeinen Tauschwert des Geldes kennengelernt hat, wird er bei der Schätzung der Warenwerte auch das Verhältnis der verschiedenen angebotenen Gütermengen zu seinen eigenen Bedürfnissen mitberücksichtigen. Diese Bedürfnisse sind aber keineswegs in dem Sinne absolut wie die primären Lebensbedürfnisse: sie sind die Selbstverwertungsbedürfnisse des Kapitals, die sofort inaktiv werden, wenn das Geld dem Selbstverwertungsbedürfnis des Kapitals nicht dienlich sein kann. Da nun jede Produktion letztlich die Herstellung von Gebrauchsgütern (und konsumierbaren Dienstleistungen) bezweckt, müssen die Geldbesitzer, die potentielle Käufer von Kapitalgütern sind, auch die Gestaltung der Konsumgüterpreise im Auge behalten. Die Neigung, Kapitalgüter zu kaufen, hängt nämlich nicht einmal so sehr von der Preislage dieser Güter als vielmehr von der Höhe des durch sie zu erreichenden Profits, dieser aber letzten Endes von der Gestaltung der Verkaufsmöglichkeiten für Konsumgüter ab. Jedenfalls werden auch da Preise mit Preisen, nämlich Produktionskosten mit Verkaufspreisen verglichen. Und genauso ist es auch mit dem Kapitalgut »Arbeitskraft« bestellt.

Ein hervorragend wichtiger Teil der Geldmenge, die seinem zukünftigen Besitzer in der Form von Einkommen zufliesst, dient als Mittel der Lohnzahlung. Der Arbeiter, der seinen Lohn erhält, muss dessen relativen Wert ebenfalls kennen, und auch er wendet sich um Auskunft an jene vielgenannte gigantische Preisliste. Aber er ist bescheiden: er interessiert sich nur für gewisse Seiten der Preisliste, für jene nämlich, in denen die Konsumartikel aufgezählt sind.

In einem gewissen Zusammenhang stimmt es zwar, dass das Geld seinen eigenen Wert in der Gesamtheit aller Waren misst, aber unter den Verhältnissen der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise gibt es auch eine konkretere Wahrheit. »Der Markt« zerfällt da nämlich in den Produktionsmittel-, Arbeitskräfte- und Konsumgütermarkt, wobei diese getrennten Märkte auch einer gegenseitigen Abhängigkeit unterworfen sind. Das Geld befindet sich auf diesen Märkten in den Händen jeweils anderer gesellschaftlicher Klassen, und die Mitglieder dieser Klassen treten auf den verschiedenen Märkten nicht auf dieselbe Weise als Käufer oder Verkäufer auf. Die Arbeiterklasse hat auf dem Markt für Produktionsmittel nichts zu suchen; sie ist auf dem Arbeitsmarkt nur Verkäuferin, auf dem Markt der Konsumgüter nur eine, hier jedoch die

wichtigste Käuferin. Das Geld, das, bevor es zum ausbezahlten Lohn wurde, ein Teil des Kapitals war, wird bald wieder zu einem Kapitalteil werden. Doch solange es ausbezahlter Lohn ist, misst es seinen Wert nur an der Preisliste für Konsumgüter; und umgekehrt: es ist nur in seinem Verhältnis zu dieser Klasse von Waren Wertschätzer. Der in der Unmenge spontaner Prozesse gemessene — oder richtiger: geschätzte — relative Wert des Geldes ist höchstens »letzten Endes« eine einzige und einheitliche Grösse. Praktisch aber wird der in den Gattungen der Konsumgüter gemessene, festgestellte Wert des Geldes von dem allgemeinen Begriff des Geldwertes abgesondert.

Diese qualitative Absonderung macht auch eine quantitative Absonderung möglich und wahrscheinlich: Das Preisniveau der Konsumartikel und das der Produktionsmittel kann, auf ihre Arbeitswerte oder Produktionskosten bezogen verschieden sein, während der reziproke Wert des Preisniveaus der Konsumgüter ein besonders wichtiges, getrenntes Mass des relativen Geldwertes darstellt.

Das Geld, das sich als ausbezahlter Lohn in den Händen der Arbeiterklasse befindet, wird praktisch immer zur Gänze für Konsumartikel verausgabt, womit der Mechanismus, mittels dessen die Preise der Konsumartikel zustandekommen, seine besonderen Charakterzüge gewinnt.

Der Arbeiter, mit seinem Lohn in der Tasche, findet schon gültige Marktpreise vor. Das genügt, um über den Wert des Geldes eine erste Vorstellung gewinnen zu können. Der Arbeiter lernt die aktuellen Marktpreise der Waren auch einzeln kennen. Sein Einkommen reicht nicht aus, um alle seine verschiedenen Bedürfnisse auch nur annähernd voll sättigen zu können. Er muss irgendwie entscheiden, welche Waren in welchen Mengen er auswählen soll. Er orientiert sich vor der Entscheidung an der Höhe seines Lohnes und an den voneinander abweichenden aktuellen Preisen der verschiedenen Waren. Seine Handlungsfreiheit beschränkt sich darauf, einzelne Waren wählen und auf andere verzichten zu können. Indem alle Arbeiter so tun, setzen sich die Teilwirkungen ihrer Handlungen zu einer Massenwirkung zusammen. Diese vermag nun schon eine Änderung der relativen Preishöhen zu bewirken, die parallel zu jenem Prozess verläuft, bei dem sich etliche Waren zum Teil »beleidigt« vom Markt zurückziehen.

Bis nun haben wir die Existenz einer allgemeinen Preishöhe nur angenommen. Auch das dürfte klar sein, dass die Änderung der Proportionen der Konsumgüterpreise auch mit einer Änderung ihrer absoluten Höhe einhergehen kann. Wir sind aber jetzt so weit, dass wir ein allgemeingültiges Gesetz für eben diese Preishöhe — also für das allgemeine Niveau der Konsumgüterpreise — angeben können.

Als ein vereinfachtes Modell unter den Verhältnissen des Kapitalismus, der nur Lohnarbeiter einerseits und Kapitalisten andererseits kennt, kann man nämlich schreiben:

$$p_k = \frac{\Sigma L}{K - k},$$

wobei ΣL die Summe der in einer Zeitspanne ausgezahlten Löhne, K das Volumen (in irgendwie — z. B. durch Indexzahlen — gegebenen Volumeneinheiten) der in dieser Zeitspanne auf den Markt gebrachten Konsumgüter, k die für die persönliche Konsumtion der Kapitalisten tatsächlich in Anspruch genommene Konsumgütermenge (in denselben Volumeneinheiten und während derselben Periode) und endlich p_k das Niveau der Konsumgüterpreise bedeuten. Diese Gleichung — im weiteren die Preisgleichung genannt —, ist immer annähernd richtig, da einerseits die Gesamtersparnisse der Arbeiterklasse (wobei Ratenkäufe und dergleichen als negative Ersparnisse aufgefasst werden müssen) und andererseits die Schwankungen der (unverkauften) Konsumgütervorräte angesichts der Hauptsumme vernachlässigt werden dürfen. Es ist nicht schwer, die Formel den natürlich viel komplizierteren Zusammenhängen einer nicht rein kapitalistischen Wirklichkeit und einer nicht geschlossenen Ökonomie anzupassen. Sie stellt nicht nur in der Gleichgewichtslage, sondern auch im Allgemeinfall eine gute Annäherung dar.

Im Zähler des Bruches auf der rechten Seite der Gleichung steht eine Geldmenge, im Nenner stehen Volumengrössen. Rein formell wäre die Gleichung natürlich auch in der Fassung $p_k = \frac{\Sigma L + k}{K}$ gültig. Dann müsste aber auch k in Form einer Geldsumme angegeben werden, und gerade deshalb entspricht diese Variante unseren Zwecken nicht. Man kann nämlich zuversichtlich sagen, dass die Arbeiter annähernd ihre Gesamtlohnsumme für Konsumgüter verausgeben, und zwar unabhängig davon, wie sich die Kaufkraft ihrer Geldlöhne gestaltet. Ebenso darf man damit rechnen, dass das Volumen des Konsums der Kapitalisten eine ziemlich unelastische Grösse ist, die sich — pro Zeiteinheit — in der kurzen Periode wahrscheinlich nur wenig ändert. Man kann jedoch — ohne vorherige Kenntnis des Preisniveaus — nicht einmal annähernd angeben, wieviel *Geld* sie auf ihre private Konsumtion verwenden. Wir aber wollen eben das Preisniveau kennenlernen. (Schon Keynes hat festgestellt, dass die Konsumausgaben der Kapitalisten ipso facto die Profite ihrer Gesamtheit und damit das Preisniveau der Konsumgüter erhöhen. Es ist viel richtiger zu sagen, dass eher das Volumen des Konsums der Kapitalisten es ist, das das Preisniveau der Konsumgüter mitbestimmt, als umgekehrt.)

Unsere Gleichung ist beinahe tautologisch, und ihre Gültigkeit hängt nicht von der Beschaffenheit des Geldes ab. Ist also das Geld Gold und ist die Arbeitskraft eine Ware, die ähnlich den anderen Waren verkauft und gekauft wird, dann wird das Preisniveau der Konsumgüter zumindest durch zwei Arten von Gesetzen bestimmt. Erstens muss das Gold am Ort seiner Produktion (im Durchschnitt einer genügend langen Periode) seinen Produktionskosten ge-

mäss mit den anderen Waren — und so auch mit den Konsumgütern — in ein Tauschverhältnis treten, und der jeweilige Tauschwert des Goldes als zirkulierendes Geld kann von diesen ursprünglichen Tauschverhältnissen nicht gänzlich losgelöst werden. Zweitens aber muss sich auch die Bedingung $p_k = \frac{\Sigma L}{K-k}$ durchsetzen. Wenn nun das Geld Gold ist, müssen sich verschiedene wirtschaftliche Grössen — die Gesamtproduktion und die Produktion der Konsumgüter, der Konsum der Kapitalistenklasse und die Summe der ausbezahlten nominellen Löhne — so aufeinander abstimmen, dass das aus der Preisgleichung für p_k resultierende Preisniveau nicht übermässig von jenem Niveau abweicht, bei dem die Gleichheit der Produktionskosten der als Preis dienenden Goldmenge beziehungsweise der Konsumgüter gewahrt wäre. Ebendeshalb kann das Niveau der nominellen Löhne im Falle des Goldgeldes kein beliebiges sein. Für ein Nicht-Warengeld besteht der erste Zusammenhang nicht, wohl aber der zweite.

Im Falle des Goldgeldes ist eine relative Stabilität des allgemeinen Preisniveaus auch dank der Beschaffenheit des Geldes gesichert. Es wäre aber ein Irrtum anzunehmen, dass der zweite Zusammenhang an sich überhaupt keine Preisstabilität gewähren kann. Es ist wichtig, das zu wissen, denn das Geld könnte in einer Wirtschaftsordnung, in der die Preise ganz unstabil sind, seine Rolle als Mass der Werte überhaupt nicht erfüllen, ja es könnte nicht einmal Geld sein. Damit irgendein Nicht-Warengeld als Mass der Werte fungieren könne, ist es ausser der qualitativen Bedingung, dass die Gesellschaft diese Art von Geld als einen Repräsentanten gesellschaftlich notwendiger Arbeit anerkenne, auch noch notwendig, dass die Gesellschaft den Tauschwert der Geldeinheit mit genügender Sicherheit kenne. Wir haben im Ungarn der Nachkriegszeit erlebt, wie das Papier in seiner Geldeigenschaft vom Gold, aber auch vom Zucker, Schweinefett, ja selbst von den Zigaretten entthront wurde. Eine galoppierende Inflation ist aber ein Ausnahmefall.

Die klassische Banknote, unter Beibehaltung ihrer gesetzlichen Einlösungspflicht und der klassischen Kreditsicherungen ihrer Emission ist der Gefahr einer stürmischen Inflation nicht ausgesetzt. Die heutige Banknote ist ursprünglich ein Produkt der Krise der zwanziger Jahre, ein Produkt der Spätentwicklung des Kapitalismus. Sie wäre bei »einfacher Warenproduktion«, also unter Verhältnissen, in denen nur Kleingewerbetreibende, Bauern u. dgl., nicht aber Kapitalisten produzieren, auch prinzipiell unvorstellbar, da unter solchen Umständen die Gleichung für p_k ihren Sinn verlöre. In ihrem Zähler steht nämlich nicht irgendeine beliebige Einkommensart, sondern eine spezifische Einkommensart, der Lohn.

Die Preise wären in der einfachen Warenproduktion beim Fehlen eines Warengeldes auch dann ganz unstabil, wenn man eine Konstanz der Konsumgewohnheiten annehmen könnte.

Der für den Kapitalismus skizzierte Mechanismus trägt aber auch im Falle eines papierenen Geldes Sorge für die verhältnismässige Stabilität der allgemeinen Preishöhe der Konsumgüter. Denn erstens besteht (in der kurzen Periode) ein technisch jeweils ziemlich genau bestimmter Zusammenhang zwischen der Gesamtzahl der beschäftigten Arbeiter einerseits und der gesamten Konsumartikelproduktion andererseits, und diese letztere ist erfahrungsgemäss (und aus sehr verständlichen Gründen) keinen allzu grossen Schwankungen unterworfen. (Dämpfend spielen dabei auch die Lagerbestände mit.) Zweitens ändert sich die je Kopf gerechnete durchschnittliche Nominallohnhöhe nur langsam und wenig sprunghaft, und zwar auch schon deshalb, weil sie keineswegs nur durch die Gesetze des Angebots und der Nachfrage geregelt wird, sondern auch durch politische Kräfte, Kollektivverträge und dergleichen. Drittens müssen die ausbezahlten Löhne im wesentlichen voll dem Markt zufliessen, sie können sich von dort nicht »beleidigt« zurückziehen. Viertens sind die Konsumgewohnheiten der besitzenden Klasse ziemlich starr. All das zusammen bewirkt, dass sich der Wert von $p_k = \frac{\Sigma L}{K-k}$ nur verhältnismässig langsam ändern kann.

Ich habe nur über das Preisniveau der Konsumartikel ausführlicher gesprochen und das Problem des Preisniveaus der Produktionsmittel bloss flüchtig erwähnt. Damit will ich keineswegs etwa den Primat der ersteren andeuten, nur sind seine Gesetzmässigkeiten leichter zu erfassen. Übrigens kann eine Änderung der Preisrichtung sowohl von der einen als auch von der anderen grossen Abteilung der gesellschaftlichen Produktion — also von der Produktionsmittel- und/oder von der Konsumgüterproduktion — ausgehen, wobei die Änderung, die in dem Sektor der Produktionsmittel beginnt, heutzutage sogar als typisch gelten kann. Immerhin besteht jedoch ein Zusammenhang zwischen den beiden Preishöhen. Den Erhöhungen der Konsumartikelpreise setzt die jeweils ausbezahlte Lohnmenge, jenen der Produktionsmittelpreise hingegen das zu erwartende Preisniveau der mit ihnen produzierten Konsumartikel eine mögliche Höchstgrenze. Auch hier besteht die Tendenz, dass sich die Preise den Produktionskosten proportional gestalten.

Ich darf nun zusammenfassen. Die allgemeine Wertform hat einen doppelten Inhalt. In ihr messen sich einerseits Waren zu Waren durch Vermittlung des Geldes; andererseits verhalten sich die Waren in bestimmten Proportionen zum Geld. Das Zustandekommen der zahlenmässig jeweils gültigen Wertform ist die einzige Form, in der sich die Funktion des Geldes als Mass der Werte praktisch verwirklicht. Ich habe nun nachzuweisen versucht, dass die erstgenannte Seite, also die Ausbildung der aufeinander bezogenen relativen Preise der verschiedenen Waren bei einem papierenen Geld — also beim Vorhandensein staatlichen Papiergeldes oder Kreditgeldes, wie Banknoten (oder Girogeld) — genau denselben Gesetzmässigkeiten unterworfen ist wie beim Goldgeld oder

bei irgendeinem anderen Warengeld. Hier regiert das mit den Korrektionen von Nachfrage und Angebot wirkende Wertgesetz. Was die andere Seite der allgemeinen Wertform betrifft, liegen die Verhältnisse beim Goldgeld und beim papierenen Geld verschieden. Der Unterschied beschränkt sich jedoch darauf, dass das allgemeine Preisniveau, wenn das Geld Gold ist, durch zwei Arten gleichzeitig wirkender Mechanismen reguliert wird, während in einer Wirtschaftsordnung, in der das Geld keinen immanenten Wert besitzt, nur der eine dieser Mechanismen wirkt. Das allgemeine Preisniveau hängt auch beim Goldgeld nicht allein vom Verhältnis des immanenten Goldwertes zu den immanenten Warenwerten ab, es wird vielmehr im allgemeinen auch hier von dem Verhältnis zwischen Angebot und Nachfrage mitbestimmt; und speziell das allgemeine Niveau der Konsumgüterpreise ist auch in diesem Fall genauso eine Funktion von einerseits K und k, und andererseits der tatsächlich ausbezahlten Lohnsumme ΣL, wie beim papierenen Geld, wobei die übrigen Preise von der sich ergebenden Höhe der Konsumgüterpreise nicht gänzlich losgelöst werden können.

Beim Goldgeld können die nominellen Löhne keine beliebige Höhe annehmen; beim Papiergeld können sowohl die allgemeine Preishöhe als auch die nominelle Lohnhöhe unbegrenzt variieren, sie können sich aber unter halbwegs normalen Umständen nur allmählich und verhältnismässig langsam ändern. Aus all dem folgt aber, dass die Rolle des Masses der Werte — falls in einem Land kein Gold als Geld zirkuliert —, auch von einem papierenen Geld übernommen werden kann; zwar nicht genauso, und nicht genau in dem Sinne wie vom Goldgeld, aber nicht wesentlich anders.

Der marxistisch gebildete Leser wird jetzt wahrscheinlich etwa folgendes einwerfen. Wenn ein Geldschein, d. h. ein Stückchen Papier, den Wert zu messen imstande ist, obwohl er selbst keinen immanenten Wert hat, so doch wohl nur aus dem Grunde, weil er irgendeinen bestimmten Wert repräsentiert, vertritt. Das schon erwähnte Pyrometer misst zwar Temperaturen keineswegs mit irgendeiner Eigentemperatur, doch wie immer ein Messinstrument, das an irgendeiner Skala irgendetwas anzeigt, auch beschaffen sein mag, eine Einteilung dieser Skala muss jedenfalls irgendeine Einheit der zu messenden Grösse repräsentieren. Wir kommen nicht um die Frage herum: wenn der Satz, ein Kilogramm Brot koste einen Taler, überhaupt einen Sinn hat, und wenn der Wert der anderen Waren ebenfalls in irgendeiner anderen Talersumme geschätzt wird, so muss dem Taler entweder ein eigener Wert innewohnen, oder er muss doch irgendeinen bestimmten Wert repräsentieren. Was repräsentiert aber das Geld, das keinen inneren Wert hat?

Die Antwort, die man von Marxisten zu hören pflegt, besagt, dieses Geld repräsentiere Gold. Die Richtigkeit dieses Satzes kann aber beim heutigen Gelde, das im Inland nicht mehr mit Goldmünzen zusammen kursiert, nicht eingesehen werden. Das papierene Geld ist aber deshalb noch bei weitem kein

blosses Nichts. Und zwar vor allem deshalb nicht, weil man — abgesehen von der eigentlichen Kreditschaffung der Banken zum Unterschied von der Kreditvermittlung derselben Banken — Geld nur durch den Verkauf irgendeiner Ware erwerben kann, ganz gleich, ob es sich um eine gewöhnliche Ware, also um ein Arbeitsprodukt, oder um die Arbeitskraft handelt. Das Geld repräsentiert in der Hand seines Besitzers und für ihn primär den Preis jener Ware, durch deren Verkauf er dieses Geld erworben hat. Es repräsentiert in diesem Sinne nicht etwa Waren, die auf den Markt gebracht worden sind und nun darauf warten, gekauft zu werden, aber es repräsentiert in diesem Sinne auch nicht ihren Wert oder Preis, sondern es vertritt einstige Waren, die man vom Markt bereits abgeholt hat: es repräsentiert in der Preisform deren Wert. Das gilt für jede Geldart, also auch für jene, die — wie die einlösbare klassische Banknote — daneben auch direkt eine bestimmte Menge von Gold repräsentiert. Diese klassische Banknote repräsentiert eben nicht nur den Wert zahlloser Warenarten in den Händen der und für die Besitzer des Geldes, sondern sie repräsentiert darüber hinaus und für die Gesamtheit in einer hervorragenden Weise auch eine einzige Warenart, nämlich das Gold, kann sie doch jederzeit in eine *gesetzlich festgesetzte* Goldmenge verwandelt werden. Sollte nun das Geld des heutigen Kapitalismus nicht ebenfalls auf eine hervorragende Weise eine einzige Warenart und diese ebenfalls für die Gesamtheit repräsentieren?

Doch ja! Und zwar nicht nur seit der Zeit, da das Gold aus dem Binnenverkehr verschwunden ist, sondern seit der Geburt und Erstarkung des Kapitalismus. Und die Beantwortung dieser Frage lässt besser erkennen, durch welche Vermittlung das Arbeitswertgesetz in der Bestimmung des allgemeinen Preisniveaus eine Rolle spielt.

Die Arbeitswerttheorie besagt, dass jeder Wert nur eine Erscheinungsform der gesellschaftlich notwendiger Arbeitszeit ist. Im Kapitalismus übernimmt aber für den Kapitalisten die Arbeitskraft die Rolle der Arbeit, und die Arbeitskraft hat einen Preis. Der Arbeitsaufwand des Kapitalisten ist richtiger Arbeitskraftaufwand, und der kostet ihn Geld. Wie und in welchem Sinne jeder Wert durch die Arbeit entsteht, und jeder Teil des Wertes — also auch jener der aus den gekauften Produktionsmitteln übernommen wird —, auf Arbeit zurückzuführen ist, so und in demselben Sinne bedeutet für die Kapitalistenklasse als Gesamtheit jeder laufende Produktionsaufwand dem Wesen nach und letzten Endes einen Lohnaufwand. Für die Gesamtheit der Kapitalisten bedeutet ein »Taler« vor allem irgendeine Menge gekaufter oder kaufbarer Arbeitskraft. Der Taler repräsentiert für den Kapitalisten vor allem eine bestimmte Menge von Arbeitskraft. Für die Gesamtheit der Arbeiterklasse ist die Gültigkeit des analogen Satzes vielleicht noch klarer. Für den Arbeiter bedeutet die Talermenge, die er besitzt, unmittelbar seine verkaufte Arbeitskraft, geleistete Lohnarbeit, während für ihn ein Taler einen ihm gut bekannten Bruchteil des Tages- oder Wochenpreises seiner verkauften Arbeitskraft bedeutet.

Die kapitalistische Gesellschaft bezieht — im Sinne einer objektiven, weil gesellschaftlich gültigen Bezugnahme — die Geldeinheit vor allem und auf eine hervorragende Weise auf eine einzige für Geld erhältliche Ware, denn: 1. indem sie sich darüber informiert, ob das jeweilige Preisniveau hoch oder niedrig liegt, ist es vor allem immer der gültige Preis der Arbeitskraft, den sowohl der Kapitalist als auch der Arbeiter mit diesem Preisniveau vergleicht; 2. ist es der papierene Preis der Arbeitskraft, mit dem die Arbeiterklasse die verschiedenen Konsumartikelpreise vergleicht, indem sie die Struktur ihrer Einkäufe festsetzt, und last not least, wenn 3. das Verhältnis zwischen der Produktionsmittel- und der Konsumartikelproduktion (bei den jeweiligen technischen Bedingungen) gegeben ist, spielt der nominelle Preis der Arbeitskraft, also die für die Einheit der Arbeitskraft ausbezahlte Menge des papierenen Geldes eine bestimmende Rolle in der Ausbildung des Preisniveaus der Konsumgüter, und auch das Niveau der übrigen Preise muss sich letzten Endes danach richten.

All dies bedeutet nun keineswegs etwa, dass das Gold in der kapitalistischen Welt überhaupt nicht mehr Geld sei. Heute ist es vor allem Weltgeld und daneben auch noch ein Mittel der privaten Thesaurierung. Die Frage, inwieweit und auf welche Weise es noch ein Mass der Werte ist, ist nicht ganz leicht zu beantworten, und übersteigt jedenfalls den Rahmen dieses Artikels.

ДЕНЬГИ, НЕ ОБЛАДАЮЩИЕ СТОИМОСТЬЮ, КАК МЕРА СТОИМОСТИ ПРИ КАПИТАЛИЗМЕ

П. ЭРДЁШ

Хотя общепринятая марксистская теория и подчеркивает, что в 30-ых годах произошло крушение системы золотой валюты, и золото исчезло из внутреннего обращения, но продолжает утверждать, — в кажущемся соответствии с марксовой теорией денег — что и при таких условиях золото остается мерой стоимости. Автор пытается разрешить это очевидное противоречие, причем исходя именно из теории денег Маркса.

Автор исходит из объяснения необходимости денег, данного К. Марксом и В. И. Лениным. Ясно, что деньги функционируют в качестве меры стоимости посредством рыночных механизмов. Вся общая форма стоимости у Маркса является абстракцией, осуществляемой на практике в виде гигантского прейскуранта, содержащего действующие в данный момент цены. Оценка стоимостей товаров в деньгах тождественна ценообразованию.

Автор в общих чертах характеризует фактический механизм ценообразования. При обращении бумажных денег пропорции цен на различные товары складываются по тем же законам, как и при обращении золотых денег. Существенное различие между ними проявляется в законе уровня цен. При обращении золотых денег средний уровень цен товаров определяется непосредственно законом стоимости. Однако ценообразование подвержено также и действию прочих экономических законов. Ведь должен обеспечиваться ряд условий макроэкономического равновесия, а также объективно необходимая взаимосвязь между массой товаров, ценами и доходами, причем независимо от характера денег. Применительно к капиталистическим условиям и несколько упрощенно важнейшая из этих взаимосвязей может быть выражена следующей математической формулой: $p_k = \frac{\Sigma L}{K-k}$, где ΣL является суммой заработной платы, выплаченной за определенный период, K — физическим объемом предметов потребления, поступающих за это время на рынок (в каких-либо единицах объема), k — физический объем личного потребления капиталистов (за этот же период и в тех же единицах), а p_k — ценой единицы физического объема предметов потребления.

Автор выявляет, что при этой необходимой взаимосвязи обеспечивается приемлемая устойчивость уровня цен на предметы потребления даже при обращении денег, не имеющих собственной стоимости. Поскольку пропорции цен независимы от качества денег, из сказанного уже следует, что и уровень цен на средства производства не может чрезвычайно изменяться. Автор статьи на основании всего этого заключает, что — в отличие от простого товарного производства — при капитализме мерой стоимости в принципе могут быть и такие деньги, которые только представляют стоимость, однако сами стоимости не имеют. Эта принципиальная возможность, по мнению автора, после исчезновения золота из внутреннего обращения превратилась в действительность.

В заключение автор анализирует вопрос стоимости, представляемой деньгами, не имеющими собственной стоимости, и в связи с этим подчеркивает важнейшее значение рабочей силы как товара.

F. Erdei

THEORETICAL PROBLEMS OF FARM ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

The author attempts to point out the place, within the discipline of agricultural economics for the most important topics of modern business organization, namely, organizational forms and management. Then he proceeds to prove in detail the outstanding importance of scientifically examining these from the point of view of the science of business management.

If someone, after having carefully studied the body of knowledge the professional literature of agricultural economics contains about the problems of organization, management, control and decision-making, attempts to incorporate the manyfold concepts into a reasonable system, he is very likely to fail, though he will acknowledge that almost each of the different concepts has some justification of its own. It is strange, moreover, that efforts will fail not only when one tries to reconcile, within some common system, the relevant concepts of socialist and capitalist agricultural economics, but also when one attempts to do so within the two systems separately. In view of this, there remains but one thing to do: to analyse more closely the body of knowledge in the field of agricultural economics, to separate the different concepts as far as this is possible, and then to try to disclose the ways both for scientific cognition and for practical development.

This, of course, means that one has to start from very far and go into dissecting such fundamental problems as: of what elements the science of agricultural economics is actually composed, how the producing organization of agricultural production is built up and, in the final analysis, what are the organizational conditions under which management functions.

Reality, however, is so complicated, views and concepts are so diversified that, for the time being, we can speak only about a first attempt even when restricting ourselves to the task of formulating more exactly the problems arising here, and of looking for ways towards solution. The problem is, however, so pressing that any attempt, however modest, must be judged as useful and timely.

Our objective is to find, on the map of agricultural economics, the place of some major organizational problems of agriculture, which are particularly pressing in our days, mainly related with organizational formations and management, in order to obtain scientifically founded answers to the questions

arising in practice. Therefore, we are going to pay less attention to the *theoretical-political assertions* made by the various schools of thought than to their *ways of approaching problems, their angles of view*, in order to be able to judge the problems arising in practice in all their complexity, from all necessary points of view.

1. The development tendencies of agricultural economic sciences. Agricultural economics, as an inquiry into the principles and laws of rational farming, became an independent discipline at the beginning of the 19th century. It was then that it branched off from general economics. At that time *A. Thaer* gave this same title to his fundamental work, and also *J. H. Thünen* talked simply and directly about the connection of the national economy and agriculture.

Later, however, there followed a further specialization of the body of knowledge and agricultural economics was split up into more specialized fields. This specialization, of course, followed the historical development of the productive forces and of production relations in agriculture, being also subject to the development of man's philosophical and economic ideas as well as to the general progress of science. Accordingly, the development of individual special fields bears some general features, but it may be equally stated that the special branches of agricultural economics have taken a different aspect in the various countries.*

Surveying the various schools of agricultural economics in the German or English-speaking world, Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union, as well as those established in Hungary, we may soon convince ourselves how different elements of concepts are being mixed in agricultural economics, partly complementing but partly also contradicting each other. If we put the question, whether these mixing elements could not be logically separated, so as to enable us to survey the field of agricultural economics in an unequivocally ordered system, the answer will not be easy.

The field of *agricultural policy* may be relatively easily separated; this branch of agricultural economics has become fairly independent both in socialist and capitalist countries. But the remaining fields do not become more ordered on account of that. Namely, all problems of agricultural economics, may they be related to prices, production relations, labour or technology, have an aspect from the point of view of agricultural policy; and any well-founded decision of agricultural policy depends on how far the actual problem has been cleared up in its own place. In order to be able to apply economic laws knowingly to the practical activities controlled by economic policy, it is necessary first to disclose the economic laws and mechanisms themselves.

* In order to avoid misunderstandings, the whole field of agricultural economic sciences will be called *agricultural economics*, and the special fields that have developed within it will be designed by the terms actually in use.

It would lie on hand, therefore, to propose to divide the whole complex of agricultural economics into two fields. Thus, the phenomena within the farming unit would be relegated to the field of *business (farm) economics* (this field might be called also the science of organization or of management); while the phenomena presenting themselves above and between farming units would be ranked into the frames of *agricultural economics* or, more exactly, of *agricultural political economy*, conceived of as a "sectoral economics".

(The discussion having taken place some years ago in the Soviet Union yielded the same result.)

This separation seems sufficiently justified and it was essentially on the basis of such delimitation that, both in socialist and capitalist countries, the two fields of *agricultural economics* as a sectoral economics and of *agricultural business (farm) economics* (alternately called also business organization) as a specialized science have become established. The separation was, however, nowhere strictly exact, since in practice it is not easy to delimit consequently and unmistakably the spheres of phenomena presented within the farms, above or between the farms.

There is considerable agreement as regards the *subject of agricultural economics*. It includes: the political and economics factors determining agricultural production as a whole and the activities of the farming units; the relations between agriculture and the rest of the national economy; finally, the problems related to the division of labour between farming units and to the distribution of resources and incomes. The subject of agricultural *business (farm) economics* is determined more vaguely; so much so that sometimes it is conceived of as a "technological-economic" and sometimes as an "economic-organizational" discipline. It is, however, indisputable that the central theme of this specialized science is the plant, that is, the farming unit, and therefore it is to be regarded as a kind of "enterprise economics". Still, it is debated and much more difficult to decide, exactly which aspects of farming activity belong to the scope of this discipline.

This is why we must look for such principle of classification as will enable us more clearly to separate from each other the various elements of economic activity within the farm. As a matter of fact, this is desirable also regarding the economic sphere "above" the farms. Surely, we may get nearer to the solution by analysing more closely the elements contained in the body of knowledge in agricultural economics, and the angles from which the various agricultural sciences may throw a light on the entire complexity of agriculture.

When surveying, with this kind of interest, the body of knowledge accumulated by our science, we shall soon notice that — although in several variants and in considerably deviating proportions — in all investigations of agricultural economics there are two directions of inquiry or two angles of discussion

present, that is, the *socio-organizational* and the *economic-managerial* points of view.*

Obviously, even these two points of view cannot be easily separated. Namely, for every concrete economic activity or process, and for every organizational measure, economic considerations are instrumental and, in most cases, even decisive while, on the other hand, in every economic calculation, however abstract, certain organizational problems have some role to play because they determine the conditions under which economic targets can and should be realized. Still, the history of agricultural economic sciences testifies that the two points of view have always appeared as separate from each other, either in different chapters of the same handbook or as represented by contradictory schools of thought. But, as a rule, everyone who started from one of these two points of view discussed also the other, as seen from his aspect or, at least, has taken some account of it. Therefore, our task is to analyse more closely these *two fundamentally differing concepts of agricultural economics.*

2. The economic-managerial concept. History knows two answers to the question regarding the essence of economic activity and, consequently, the subject of economics. One is: the relation of man to the goods that is based on the principle of economic efficiency, the other: the socio-historical development of the production and distribution of goods. The late *O. Lange,* an excellent Polish economist who most keenly analysed this problem in our days, called the adherents of the first view the *"subjective"* school and those of the latter the *"historical" school* [1]. We may as well design the first concept as *"abstractly economic"*, the second as *"socio-organizational"*.

In the closer field of agricultural economics, it would be hard to find a better example characterizing the abstract economic view than the agricultural economics jointly written by the American *E. W. Kehrberg* and the West-German *E. Reisch* [2]**.

Economics is, according to these authors, the science of "means and objectives". Having thus fixed the starting point, they add that "economics does not put the question whether the objective in itself is good or bad". This thesis is the exact expression of the abstract, "subjective" or "normative" economic view. The authors, however, continue by reviewing the social and technological conditions in view of which the efficiency computations of agricultural production have to be performed. According to them, these conditions comprise not only the physical factors of production but also "its

* True, we must acknowledge also a third kind of view we may call *technical-managerial.* For the sake of easier presentation let us leave this, for the time being, out of consideration; we shall deal with it after having discussed the other two points of view.

** This book does not create an original system. It summarizes the views of the recent American school of thought. It is exactly this feature that makes it appropriate for our purpose, since it is a clear summary of these views in a hand-book or even text-book style, using the terms accepted in contemporary Western Europe.

institutional frames and conditions". They clearly follow the reigning Western concept also by distinguishing the micro-economic and the macro-economic view, — feeling that the conditions for economic decision-making at levels of the farming unit and of the national economy as a whole are different [2; p. 5].

This picture is quite clear and unequivocal: agricultural economics (and within it, also business or farm economics) is an economic science whose major task is to investigate the most favourable combination of the factors available for a given purpose (or eventually the most effective use of a scarce factor) under whatever social and operational conditions, whether for the use of an individual farmer or for the agricultural policy of a country.

But where do we find a place for socio-organizational elements in the agricultural economics thus interpreted? It has an exactly defined place, clearly determined in the handbook.

The farm or plant is the producing unit where the technological processes of production take place, say *Kehrberg* and *Reisch*. In this sense, the farm is the technological unit of production. In another sense, however, the farm in relation to its economic and legal environment is an enterprise or firm, whose measure of efficiency is profitability. (In German, the two terms are "Betrieb" i.e. plant, and "Unternehmung" i.e. enterprise.)

The management of the farm as a plant and as an enterprise is considered by the authors as the "combinating and disposing factor", taking decisions regarding the use of existing resources; in other words, regarding the whole process of farming. Thus, the principal function of farm management is decision-making, and every decision rests on the results of considerations comprising the manyfold variants of possible input-output rates. This means in practice that science should supply management and economic policy with methods of calculation and, in certain cases, it should also apply these methods to practical life in exact computations, offering alternatives to the decision-makers. In the concept of these authors, it is only thus far that the socio-organizational factors may have a role.

Nobody denies that this task of agricultural economics is essential. Evidently, the methods of economic calculation offered by a science thus interpreted are indispensable for the managing of the farm either as a plant or as an enterprise, and also for economic policy regarding agriculture and other branches as well as the national economy as a whole. The question arises, however, whether this task is all that can be required from science? Is this all that economic policy and farm management need and, consequently, is that the only essential contents of agricultural economics? Surely not!

The problem, in the precise formulation of *O. Lange*, consists in that "the subjective school, so consequently avoiding the analysis of social relations, renounces to deal with the great questions that were the concern of classical

political economy and that are at present the subjects of Marxian political economy, namely, the problems of economic relations between men, that is, of production relations and of the distribution of goods" [1; p. 39]. Consequently: " . . . this school changed the subject of political economy, deprived it of its character as a social science, a science investigating the social laws regarding production and distribution of material goods. Moreover, the subjective economics, with its theories on marginal utility and the choice according to a fixed scale of human preferences, generalizes the maximization principle prevailing in capitalist enterprises. It extends this principle to economic activity as a whole, as well as to all historical and social conditions. Generalization of this kind is, however, not supported by the observation of economic reality" [1; p. 28—69]. It could not have been explained more lucidly.

The conclusion to be drawn is equally obvious: though "abstract economics" belongs to the essential contents of agricultural economics, it does not tell the whole tale. Our science must include at least as much the knowledge on the nature and development of social relations amidst of which economic phenomena are taking place. Thus, neither agricultural economics, nor agricultural business economics can be regarded as purely "exact theoretical-mathematical sciences". In their essence, they are *social* sciences. In particular, objective information relating to economic institutions, business organization and business management can be obtained only from a socially oriented analysis; and only the latter is able to supply reasonable conclusions for practical decision-making.

3. The socio-organizational view. The analysis and historical investigation of socio-organizational relations were never quite absent from the body of knowledge belonging to agricultural economic sciences. It was only pushed to the background, or its proportions and methods of discussion changed in the course of historical development in different countries and under different socio-political systems.

The agricultural economics of the past, having branched off from the body of classical bourgeois political economy, has still continued to account for ownership relations, and farming systems. Its conclusions regarding rational farming activities were always drawn in awareness of the existing social relations and their historical development. (With the single exception of *Thünen*, who investigated the economic laws of agricultural production "in isolation", on hand of an abstract model. This explains why modern Western agricultural economists often proclaim him as their predecessor.)

The German school of agricultural business economics did not neglect the socio-organizational relations of farming; it emphasized mainly their mutual interdependence with the natural factors. *G. Blohm*'s book may be considered the historical headstone of this view [3].

Undoubtedly, *Blohm*'s concept is far from being one-sidedly and abstractly "economic". He pays great attention to the social as well as to the natural conditions under which the economic principles are being realized. Still, he does not subject the socio-organizational relations of the farms to a separate and thorough analysis. For this, he has two reasons. First, he takes for granted the social system of capitalism, and thus excludes the development of the production relations from his scope of interest. Second, his organizational concept is directed not towards the social relations between men, but only towards the combination of productive forces, that is, the ways of ensuring by organizational methods an equilibrium between the factors of production. The author is quite correct in calling his work a "farm economics" rather than an "agricultural economics".

It is interesting and instructive to follow the development of agricultural economics in the United States of America. On the one hand, it was here that in the last decades an outspoken "economic" school of this discipline developed to a high level, influencing agricultural economic views throughout the capitalist world. At the same time, business organization in the narrower sense has found a place within American "land economics" closely interrelated with the former "economic" school of thought.

Modern American literature of this kind is very voluminous, and is concerned mainly with management decisions. Thus, while the "economic" view is prevailing, also the behaviour of management in taking and realizing economic decisions is a subject of this land economics. The discussion of these problems, however, essentially differs from the direction followed by the German farm economists; it is an application of *general* management science to agriculture rather than the systematic expounding of economic, technological and organizational principles developed on a special agricultural basis.

The objective analysis of production relations is, however, almost entirely missing even from this discipline.

At any rate, the result of our survey up to now is that one of the major development lines of agricultural economics, and, in recent years, its dominating trend in capitalist countries, is the application to agriculture of the economic view operating with mathematical methods. As an addition, the organizational problems of agriculture, the social problems of production relations, take some place in the body of our discipline, but they either remain in the background or find such interpretation as cannot be considered a thorough study of the social relations existing in agriculture. And still, there is one particular element we look for in vain, either in the traditional agricultural economics or in the discipline as it prevails in the capitalist countries, namely, the examination of the social relations between men and, in general, the analysis of the *objective reality of production relations* and their historical development.

As far as it concerns *socialist* agricultural economics, it should develop,

under the conditions of large-scale farming and on the theoretical bases of Marxian political economy, as a social science investigating the production relations in agriculture, the framework and organizational problems of large-scale production, but, at the same time, it should also fulfil the tasks of an exact economic science. The first of these postulates has, in fact, become realized. Socialist agricultural economics (more or less separated into farm organization and farm economics as special disciplines) really assumed the character of a social science. At the same time, in the past period of dogmatic vulgarization the social-historical view principally excluded from its frames the "abstract economic" approach; in fact, it strove to banish it as a "capitalistic ideology". And this is not quite a concept of the past, although there is a marked change in general opinion. Moreover, in the discussion of agricultural production relations, much more attention was given to their historical development than to the concrete and exact investigation of the actual production organizations. Thus, the analysis of the organization and management of large-scale farming did little more than emphasize and expound the fundamental political requirements. In recent years, however, there has been some progress even in this field.

Let us take for example the handbook of *S. G. Kholesnyev* [4]. As regards the task and program of the discipline, his definition is a fairly close approach of what is needed. As regards, however, the realization of this program, it is by far not so satisfying, neither with *Kholesnyev*, nor in the agricultural literature of socialist countries in general. Economic analyses in the stricter sense (as, for instance, calculation of input-output rates and exact mathematical methods to be applied for this purpose) are lacking or just mentioned. One might say that with *Kholesnyev*, but also in the socialist literature on agricultural economics as a whole, the most developed field of the discipline is the investigation of units and forms of work organization. On the other hand, the problems of farm organization and management are rather neglected. Both the socio-economic problems of farm organization and the decision-making functions of management are thus essentially undisclosed, remain outside the scope of agricultural economics.

In the period of socialist agricultural reorganization the social movement for co-operation and the actual tasks of building up collective farms necessarily stepped to the foreground. In this period, less attention was given to the economic aspects of this completely new type of large-scale farming. It was only recently that, on the basis of the new conditions and in the light of experience gained, the further problems of business organization and the qualitative requirements of production have become only now the order of the day, according to the trends of general economic progress.

In the course of the development of our discipline, all essential problems of farm organization and management are due to be treated one after the other,

as well as the economic aspects of farming. But scientific investigation has only begun to penetrate, from these two different angles, into the complexity of large-scale socialist farming. At present, we can speak neither of indisputable methods nor of unequivocal statements and conclusions. It is important, however, that these problems are already on the order of the day. It is now beyond discussion that their investigation belongs to the tasks of agricultural economics, in its both senses of farm economics and of social organization.

4. Specialized fields of socialist agricultural economics. Our survey — even if it has not resulted in an unequivocal clarification of the problem — has at least led us to realize that agricultural economics in the broadest sense, the whole field of agricultural sciences, has been divided along two lines. On the one hand, the *economics of agriculture as a whole* is getting more or less separated from *farm (business) economics*; on the other, in both specialized fields it is necessary to investigate things from two aspects, namely, the *economic efficiency of farming* and its *social organization.*

All that holds also for socialist agricultural economics. In fact, under the conditions of a socialist planned economy and large-scale farming, it is particularly important to emphasize the necessity of a consequent separation of these aspects. The delimitation of agricultural economics and farm economics as specialized sciences is an acknowledged (though, as yet, not consequently realized) tendency in socialist agricultural science. On the other hand, the double aspect of farming as an economic and as a social-organizational activity has not yet become universally recognized. Still, both the historical experience of socialist agriculture gained up to now and the desired progress of socialist large-scale farming require from us to discontinue the neglect of the economic aspect and, at the same time, to begin to analyse the new socio-organizational problems more intensively and exactly.

This two-sided interest is already more or less present in the field of *agricultural economics*, though even here the economic problems in the proper sense have not yet received due attention, while the socio-organizational problems stood, almost from the beginning, in the focus of interest. But even the discussion of the latter rarely amounted to more than proclaiming the general principles of economic policy and illustrating the general tendencies of historic evolution.

The situation is different in the field of *farm economics*. In the Soviet Union, the term "farm organization" has become established, showing that this discipline discusses mainly socio-organizational problems. True, the investigation of production relations stands here in the centre of interest; but an intensive disclosure of the socio-organizational relations in socialist agriculture has hardly begun. On the other hand, the examination of economic problems in this context has only recently won its right of existence and is, therefore, only at its beginnings.

If we intend to find scientifically correct answers to all questions raised by the practice of socialist large-scale farming, both the economic and the organizational chapters of our discipline have to be extensively developed. True, problems present themselves in practice in a complex way; still, in order to gain clear insight and to reach correct conclusions, it is indispensable to examine phenomena from every necessary aspect and thus to look for well-founded conclusions. This can be best illustrated on hand of an example.

Let us look at the *production pattern* of socialist large-scale farms. The theoretical view that here the tendencies of concentration and of specialization are both at work is hardly debatable. However, in respect of attitudes and measures of *economic policy* to be recommended in the interest of proper development, it is only on hand of *economic* investigations that we can decide exactly what branches or cultures and to what extent should be concentrated, in what geographical areas they can be developed, what are their requirements in respect of investment and current inputs, and what kind of production pattern would offer the maximum of economic efficiency. The investigations into these problems demand very exact *economic* computations. But it should be equally cleared up which branches of farming and under what kind of organizational frames can be carried on most favourably; in other words, we must know the organizational conditions required by each individual product and by chosen pattern of production. Moreover, existing endowments are different for state-owned farms and for agricultural co-operatives as well as, within the latter, for "joint farming" and for the household plots of members, either in respect of available manpower, material and technical supply or of input-output rates, etc. To disclose them, an exact analysis of agricultural structure, i.e. the investigation of *socio-organizational* relations is needed.

No less complicated is the task of giving some points to hold on to management for the optimum pattern of production in a given farm. For that purpose, investigations in the field of *farm economics* are necessary. On the one hand, *economic* analyses and computations must be performed and, on the other, thorough *organizational* experience is required.

This example may serve not only to prove the necessity of the investigations mentioned but also to call the attention to another important field, that is, *technical-economic organization*. The agricultural production branches and their combination, as well as all related economic and organizational problems have, without exception, certain biological and technological aspects. Thus, the technological organization of the production processes also belongs to the sectoral economics of every agricultural branch. Even for the economics of agriculture as a whole, this body of knowledge has an important role (e.g. regarding land as the principal means of production, the relevant differences between industry and agriculture, etc.), but there the technological-organizational problems appear on a higher level, in a more abstract form and, due

to technical progress, the differences between agriculture and industry are gradually reduced. Therefore, within universal agricultural economics, the necessity of separately investigating technological-organizational problems does not arise.

On the farm level, however, it is indispensable to examine the technological-organizational aspect of agricultural production as a whole and of its branches. Without this, neither economic nor socio-organizational decisions could be sufficiently founded. (As a matter of fact, the case is similar in industry.) Thus, it seems obvious that the *discipline of managerial economics (farm economics, farm organization)* necessarily includes the body of knowledge of three fields:

— economic,
— socio-organizational, and
— technological-economic knowledge.

The totality of managerial economics, that is, of the discipline dealing with agricultural business organization, is composed of examinations carried on from all these three aspects; as a rule, the complex organizational problems presented by the practice can be answered only by combining the findings of these investigations having been separately conducted. The three main aspects of analysis may be found in the managerial economics of all ages and of whatever school, only the weight of the various chapters is varying. In the German farm economics of the past, the chapters on technological organization had a leading role; in recent American farm economics the economic chapters dominate, while in Soviet farm handbooks the socio-organizational chapters are in the foreground.

All this has logically followed from the process of historical development. As regards the future, the present survey is hoped to prove that each of these three sets of chapters have to be equally cultivated in the managerial or organizational discipline of socialist agriculture, since it is only in this way that the complicated practical problems of farming organization can be given a scientifically founded answer.

5. The organizational chapters of farm economics. The requirements of developing socialist agriculture are undoubtedly conditioning an all-round development of our discipline. The starting points can be derived from the actual scientific research and the discussions already going on in socialist countries. We have, however, to draw also on other sources; thus, it is in our interest to learn from the agricultural economics of the capitalist countries. And there is plenty to learn. Particularly in the field of farm *economics* we must draw on the older and recent literature of the German farm economics and on the researches relating to technical organization. On the other hand, the economic contents of our discipline can be most fruitfully enriched by drawing on the sources of the recent American agricultural economics.

There are, however, no such sources available for elaborating the *organizational* chapters of our discipline. In the agricultural economics of capitalist countries, namely, investigations of this kind are rather neglected, as it seems, for both practical and ideological reasons. On the other hand, the rather voluminous literature of the socialist countries remains mostly on the level of generalizations and has in fact, just begun to disclose the concrete historical and social situation. Still, in this field we must mostly, or at least, more than regarding the two other sets of chapters, rely on our own resources. The situation is all the more difficult since, as yet, not even the frames of the chapters have been developed, in spite of the fact that both in socialist and capitalist countries many scientific workers are concerned in the relevant problems, approaching them from different directions. Therefore, what I am going to expound in the following both about the frames and the contents of these chapters is a tentative compilation rather than a mature system.

For judging this enterprise, it seems necessary to know something about how the way to approach the subject was chosen, in the presence of the practical problems that have to be exposed and solved by science, in connection with the "organizational consolidation and development" of socialist agricultural co-operatives.

At the beginning, we looked for help from industrial business economics and business organization, having assumed to find guidance in the organizational experience gained partly by the highly developed, mechanized, large-scale industry of the leading capitalist countries, and partly by the industry of the socialist countries, being economically more developed than their agriculture.

In this way, we acquired much useful information. But, exactly in the field of management, we could not get nearer to the clarification of our problems. Namely, the science of industrial economics considers the problems related to business organization and the realization of organizational principles as depending on management decisions. As regards agricultural co-operatives, however, a set of institutional frames must be taken for granted. Our co-operatives exist in a form we have given to them, they function under determined production and property relations, within frames fixed by legislation and by the laws of political, social and economic development. Thus, their organizational structure and the tasks of their management have to be looked at realistically, within their given institutional frames.

It was not without sharp national and international discussion that we, the specialists of co-operative farming, gradually arrived at a kind of common "organizational look", that is, at one viewing the organization and management of farms as a dialectical unity. Following this way of approach, the organizational state of several hundreds of farm co-operatives were investigated and, on the basis of these, some important statements and deductions were arrived at.

First, we had to recognize that it is not possible to formulate the complicated problems of co-operative farming, and even much less possible to look for well-founded solutions if the co-operative is not conceived of as a *defined economic organization.* Namely, starting from such concepts as the "farmers' union", "mass organization" or "co-operative membership", neither the responsibility, nor the material interest of leaders and members, nor even the objectives of collective farming can be unequivocally formulated. We had, therefore, to draw the conclusion that the co-operative must be conceived of as an *enterprise* and, because of collective ownership, a special type of enterprise, characterized by collective leadership and by its members being both owners and workers.

Second, it became equally obvious that the management of any large-scale co-operative farming is not possible without the existence of *smaller organizational units* within the co-operative farm. And here we could not rest satisfied with the classical thesis of the "standard statutes for co-operative farms" saying that "the fundamental organizational unit of the co-operative is the brigade". It has turned out, namely, that the roles and functional principles of the "production (or service) units" and of the "units of work organization" are principally different. The conclusion became necessary that within the organization of a co-operative farm the producing and service units, and the units of work organization must be distinguished in principle.

Third, we could make some instructive observations about the character of the *function of leadership* under co-operative organizational conditions. We had to recognize that the influence of the president and of the board on the members as proprietors, that is, as "partners in the society" must be distinguished from their functions in managing and controlling the co-operative as a large-scale enterprise. It was, therefore, not difficult to reach the general conclusion that the function of leadership is decisively determined by the organizational conditions under which it is operating.

Fourth, the comparison of co-operatives and state-owned farms led us to recognize that management and farm organization should be viewed at in interdependence, independently of whether leadership is exercised by one person or by a board, and independently of the qualifications or abilities of the leaders. In any case, leadership has to function according to the frames determined by the objectives and by the organizational pattern of the farming unit in question.

Fifth, after having observed, under the various organizational conditions in agricultural co-operatives and state-owned farms the performances of leaders with very different qualifications and functions (individual and collective leadership, highly qualified specialists and uneducated peasants, leaders having experience in large-scale farming or no experience at all,

local-born leaders and those coming from elsewhere, etc.), we could note the *differences* in the functional principles and the efficiency of individual or collective leadership, as well as the different performances of leaders with various background and qualification.

Sixth, the complex task of consolidating the co-operatives raised the requirement that the factors of *organizational* consolidation should be examined. We had to reach the conclusion that this is not simply a problem of management (that is, of the functional scope or the individual abilities of the leaders). Organizational consolidation depends also on several other factors. It seems fairly certain that such factors are: the general institutional situation of the farm co-operatives and their socio-economic surroundings (comprising also their legal environment and their function within the general economic mechanism); the general frames (as national standard rules prescribing organizational forms, the local customs affecting the pattern of organization, etc.); the composition of membership (their social traditions, skill, etc.); and last but not least the natural and economic resources at the disposition of the co-operative. Of course, both the concrete modes of organization and the qualification of the leaders are fundamental factors for consolidation, but they alone cannot be decisive save when the system of organization is exceptionally successful or the leading personality is exceptionally able.

Seventh, the development of our co-operatives and state-owned farms over the last ten to fifteen years, as well as the development of the large-scale socialist farms in the Soviet Union over 30—40 years made it possible to observe certain *trends of development*. The most important result of these observations is that the development of large-scale socialist farms created with definite objectives followed a historical, objectively recognizable path. The milestones on this path were: the growth of farming dimensions, the unfolding of the "enterprise features", the step by step establishment of a more efficient work organization and better working conditions within the general collective membership, the parallel development of a guaranteed income for members and of the sharing in the proceeds of the enterprise both in co-operatives and in state farms; the progress in the division of labour in harmony with the growth of technical equipment, etc., and, along with all these, a corresponding change in the position and functioning of management.

In the possession of all the information we have gradually gained, it became evident that we could not remain within the traditional frames of agricultural economics and farm economics. We had to look for points to hold on and for analogies partly in industrial business economics, where large-scale management and organization have a historical background [5] and partly in the rapidly developing literature and practical experience of the general "science of management" or "science of organization" [6]. Though having used these sources, our investigation was mainly directed to the

Hungarian agricultural co-operatives and state-owned farms, both in their present state and in their historical development.

In this manner we had to reach the conclusion that in farm economics (as also in industrial business economics) the organizational problems connected in part with the sphere of social relations between men and in part with the sphere of production relations, should be logically treated, and converted into practical conclusions, in the frames of *two organizational chapters*. All problems related with the operational frames of production, with its legal and commercial environment as well as with the inner organization of farming belong to the scope of *farm organization*. Problems of control, decision-making and administration will, however, find their place in the chapter regarding *management*.

This concept is not yet generally accepted, and it remains to be proven whether the latter mentioned fields should belong to the same complex, either under the title of management or under that of organization in the stricter sense (the latter view seems to be more universally accepted); or else, we should rather create a third, separate chapter dealing with work organization (there exists also such a view). For proving our concept, we need a more thorough investigation of the concepts of "management" and "organization".

a) *Management*, and within that, *farm management* functions within a determined system; in other words, we cannot acquire reliable information about farm management if we tear it out from the context of farm organization and its functions filled there. It follows from this that, above all, we have to get acquainted with the organization of farming in order to obtain reliable information on farm management.

In contrast, industrial business economics, and the literature dealing with business organization in general but, as a rule, resting upon industrial foundation, propound the view that management and control are the primary factors, and organizing is but a function of the former, resulting in the creation of producing units.

This view has been generally accepted by the socialist industrial economics and general "science of management", also in the Hungarian literature. Some authors, however, expressed a different view on the interrelation between management, organization and institutions.

In these formulations, such a view of management is more or less definitely expressed that its functions depend on a given organizational frame. (That is, it may take organizational measures not at will but only within the frames of a given system.)

In social sciences, things can be properly viewed only through this concept of management or, in other words, by applying the method of historical materialism to this social phenomenon. In spite of this, we may find also opposite views in socialist literature.

Evidently, the management functioning within a given body also contributes to the "*social transformation*" of this body. As *L. Szabó* put it, the "indirect organizing functions" of management are: "continuous organizing, re-organizing and the transformation of organization" [7]. These functions, however, of creating new or reshaping old formations, are mostly of a political and social nature. They are realized, as a rule, by government or parliamentary acts and comprise levels higher than those of the farm or enterprise.

b) As regards the interpretation of *organizing activity*, also some clarification is needed in order to present and to justify the double aspect of farm organization and management.

The meaning of "organization" as an activity is almost unlimited in all languages, both in the special fields and in common usage. But even if we intend to determine its meaning more closely, that is, in the more limited sphere of business organization, we have to distinguish considerably differing conceptual elements; at any rate, the following:

— organization in the sense of building up or reorganizing the structure of an enterprise, plant or farm;
— organization in the sense of making a given unit (enterprise, plant, farm) function according to its objective;
— technical or engineering organization (technological development, organization of production, technological organization of production operations, etc.).

These branches or aspects of farm economics considerably differ from each other.

In the final analysis, apart from technical organization, two main organizational chapters are to be distinguished:

1. we consider the investigation of existing *farming organization* and of the *institutional* activities aimed at its further perfection as fundamental;
2. *farm management*, that is, its functions and organs, as well as their *operative* organizing activities should be analysed in the frames of the existing farming units as enterprises.

In this way we may classify the organization problems to be dealt with by any branch economics and, followingly, also by agricultural economics and by the science of farm organization.

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The analysis and discussion of these two spheres of problems are particularly actual in our days. Relevant knowledge is especially important in socialist countries where large-scale farms were created. These countries entered a new era of agriculture where, along with the creation and

growth of socialist large-scale farms also a rapid technological progress is taking place, "industrializing" most branches of agricultural production. (True, in many respects the technological change is "industrializing" also the agriculture of the developed countries; but this process goes on along different other organizational lines.) For Hungary, the problems of farm organization and management have particular importance, since the country's limited resources of investment and manpower, as well as its general and economic interests connected with the development of agriculture demand the elaboration of the most favourable solution.

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НЕКОТОРЫЕ ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКИЕ ВОПРОСЫ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ПРОИЗВОДСТВА В СЕЛЬСКОМ ХОЗЯЙСТВЕ

Ф. ЭРДЕИ

В своем труде автор пытается определить, какое место занимают некоторые важнейшие (и ставшие особенно актуальными) вопросы организации сельскохозяйственного производства — в первую очередь, организационного построения хозяйств и управления ими — в рамках аграрно-экономических наук. Поэтому внимание акцентируется им не на *теоретическом и политическом содержании* различных направлений, а *на способах приближения к этим вопросам, направлении подхода к ним.* На основании обозрения направлений развития аграрноэкономических наук можно безошибочно обособить сферу аграрной политики как в социалистических, так и в капиталистических странах. Однако, комплекс аграрной экономики сравнительно последовательно может быть подразделен на *экономику производства*, занимающуюся явлениями, наблюдаемыми внутри хозяйств, и на рассматриваемую в качестве отраслевой общую *экономику сельского хозяйства*, изучающую явления, наблюдаемые в более широких масштабах.

В поисках регулирующего принципа для обособления различных элементов осуществляемой в хозяйствах экономической деятельности автор приходит к заключению, что при рассмотрении любого вопроса аграрной экономики — даже если и в нескольких вариантах и в существенно различающихся пропорциях — имеется два подхода к анализу, два аспекта изложения: *общественно-организационный и экономическо-хозяйственный.*

В дальнейшем автором детально рассматриваются эти аспекты. Прежде всего он приходит к выводу, что одним из существенных содержаний аграрной экономики является «отвлеченная экономика», однако, этим нельзя ограничиться, так как по меньшей мере настолько же относится к ее сути и познание тех общественных отношений и их развития, при которых протекают экономические явления. Таким образом, аграрная экономика не может быть лишь «точной теоретико-математической» наукой, а она должна быть, *в первую очередь*, общественной наукой.

Во вторую очередь автор устанавливает, что хотя в рамках аграрной экономики и рассматриваются вопросы организационного построения хозяйств и управления ими, однако, научный анализ только сейчас начинает проникать в комплекс социалистических крупных хозяйств, и сегодня еще не имеется ни ясных методов, ни бесспорных выводов.

Автором подчеркивается, что и в области отраслевой экономики, и в области производственной экономики необходимы познания в экономическо-хозяйственном и общественно-организационном аспектах, а особенно относится это к условиям социалистического планового хозяйства и сельскохозяйственных крупных хозяйств. Однако, осознанная двойственность экономическо-хозяйственного и общественно-организационного подхода еще не признана в полной мере. А ведь именно накопленным до сих пор историческим опытом социалистического сельского хозяйства, а также потребностью дальнейшего развития социалистических крупных хозяйств мотивируется требование обязательного применения экономического аспекта и одновременно более глубокого и точного изучения общественно-организационных проблем социалистических крупных хозяйств. Автор указывает и на то, что на уровне крупных хозяйств обязательно требуется технико-организационный анализ сельскохозяйственного производства в целом и его отраслей в отдельности, так как без этого ни взвешивание экономических аспектов, ни общественная организация труда не могут быть достаточно обоснованными.

В заключительной части труда автор рассматривает организационные проблемы экономики производства, детально излагая вопросы, касающиеся содержания управления и организации, развивая и подчеркивая мысль о том, что управление всегда является внутренней функцией систем и организаций.

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АКТУАЛЬНЫЕ ВОПРОСЫ ПЛАНОМЕРНОГО УПРАВЛЕНИЯ ХОЗЯЙСТВОМ ПРОИЗВОДСТВЕННЫХ КООПЕРАТИВОВ

В статье автор показывает изменения, происшедшие в производительных силах и в отношениях собственности сельского хозяйства, а также изменения, происшедшие в последние годы в планомерном управлении сельским хозяйством. Он детально анализирует средства планомерного управления (цены, закупки, кредиты, материально-техническое снабжение) и указывает на необходимость и направления совершенствования применяемых в настоящее время средств управления.

Венгрия имеет относительно высокую плотность населения: на 1 кв.км площади страны приходится 109 человек. Из 9,3 миллиона гектаров земельных площадей страны 54% составляют пашни. Хотя вследствие быстрых темпов развития промышленности число занятых в сельском хозяйстве значительно сократилось (в сельском хозяйстве занят приблизительно 31% экономически активного населения), на одного члена кооператива даже еще в 1964 году приходилось 3,3 гектара кооперативных пашен. Однако следует заметить, что возрастной состав занятых в сельском хозяйстве гораздо хуже, чем в прочих отраслях народного хозяйства. Это обстоятельство также требует развития сельскохозяйственного производства в направлении интенсификации.

В Венгрии нет возможности для расширения пригодных под обработку площадей, удельный вес сельскохозяйственного населения останется значительным и в будущем (хотя можно ожидать дальнейшего сокращения числа занятых в сельском хозяйстве, в первую очередь, в результате «старения» сельскохозяйственного населения), поэтому сельскохозяйственную продукцию следует увеличивать, в первую очередь, путем повышения урожайности и производительности труда, расширением высокопродуктивных производственных отраслей. Для этого в Венгрии имеются относительно благоприятные природные условия.

В Венгрии необходимость социалистического преобразования сельского хозяйства возникла впервые в 1948 году. В 1948—1958 гг. производственные кооперативы хозяйствовали на постоянно меняющейся части пахотных земель страны (например, между 1949 и 1953 годами доля занятых производственными кооперативами пашен увеличилась с 0,8% до 24,7%, затем в 1954 и 1956 годах наступил спад, и в 1957 году доля кооперативов составляла всего лишь 11,3%). Колебания, наблюдавшиеся в кооперативном

движении, были связаны с ошибками проводимой до 1956 года политики и экономической политики и полностью отражали их.

В 1958 году — учитывая уроки предыдущего периода — на повестку дня снова был поставлен вопрос социалистической реорганизации сельского хозяйства, осуществляемой одновременно с повышением сельскохозяйственной продукции.

С 1959 по 1962 год из 1,4 миллиона мелкокрестьянских хозяйств большинство объединилось в производственные кооперативы. В 1964 году уже 96,9% пахотных территорий страны относилось к социалистическому сектору (в том числе 14,3% — к государственному, а 80% — к кооперативному).

В годы массовой организации производственных кооперативов (1959—1961 гг.) продукция сельского хозяйства возросла по отношению к среднему за 1956—1958 гг. уровню в среднем на 8,5%. В этот же период продажа товарной продукции государству увеличилась на 13,3%.

Объединение крестьянства в производственные кооперативы было выдающимся общественным и политическим событием. Коренным образом изменились производственные условия: вместо приблизительно полутора миллионов мелких крестьянских хозяйств хозяйственная деятельность ныне ведется в 216 государственных хозяйствах, на 198 машинно-тракторных станциях, в 3400 производственных кооперативах и 254 производственно-кооперативных группах. В 1964 году кроме этого еще имелось около 140 000 единоличных хозяйств. Большинство их уже не занималось товарным производством и, таким образом, уже не влияло на социалистический характер производственных отношений сельского хозяйства. Средняя земельная площадь госхозов составляет приблизительно 4700 гектаров, а производственных кооперативов — приблизительно 1400 гектаров.

Изменение производственных условий создало благоприятные предпосылки для подъема сельскохозяйственного производства, однако, это зависит, в первую очередь, от развития материально-технической базы сельского хозяйства. Поэтому после 1959 года в сельском хозяйстве были осуществлены значительные капиталовложения. В 1959—1964 гг. в сельское хозяйство было вложено около 45 миллиардов форинтов. Так например, тракторный парк увеличился с 36 тысяч до 84 тысяч (условных единиц), число комбайнов — с 3 тысяч до 8 тысяч, площадь орошаемых земель — с 57 000 до 266 000 гектаров, приблизительно на 465 000 гектарах были выполнены мелиоративные работы, применение искусственных удобрений в расчете на 1 гектар увеличилось с 138,2 кг до 278,5 кг (в натуральных единицах измерения), пока в 1959 году на 1 условный трактор (15 л. с.) приходилось 148 гектаров пашни, то в 1964 году — 61 гектар и т. д. В период второго пятилетнего плана (1961—1965 гг.) построено новых коровников на 400 000 голов, свинарников на 1,5 миллиона мест, овчарников на 710 000 мест,

птичников площадью в 220 000 кв. м. В 1961—1965 гг. было посажено 47 000 гектаров виноградника и 58 000 гектаров фруктовых садов. В период реорганизации и в последующие за ней годы — наряду с тем, что подавляющее большинство осуществленных капиталовложений было обращено, в первую очередь, на возмещение выбывших из производства мелкокрестьянских средств производства — быстрыми темпами развивалась материально-техническая база сельского хозяйства, и в нашем сельском хозяйстве все в большей мере распространяется современная техника производства.

Однако рост продукции не поспевал полностью — а в эти годы и не мог поспеть — за ростом капитальных вложений. Поэтому несколько ухудшился показатель фондоемкости сельскохозяйственного производства. Тем не менее, благодаря расширению и модернизации основных фондов стало возможным повышение производительности используемого в сельском хозяйстве живого труда. Это видно и из того, что по сравнению с 1960 годом валовая продукция в расчете на одного занятого в сельском хозяйстве возросла к 1963 году приблизительно на 26%. Рост сельскохозяйственной продукции и в дальнейшем требует форсированного увеличения основных фондов в сельском хозяйстве. (Хотя бы потому, что подавляющее большинство членов производственных кооперативов достигло высокого возраста. В 1964 году, например, средний возраст членов кооперативов у мужчин составлял 52 года, у женщин — 54 года.)

В венгерском сельском хозяйстве с каждым днем растет применение современной техники, а также связанных с ней новых методов технологии и организации производства. Однако невозможно одним махом создать новую технику и технологию, для этого следует обеспечить соответствующие материальные и персональные условия. Поэтому еще некоторое время мы должны будем использовать наряду с современной техникой также и старые мелкокрестьянские орудия, оборудование и некоторые методы организации труда. По мере развития, естественно, все быстрее будет распространяться новое, современное.

В области применения современной сельскохозяйственной техники и технологии ведущее место принадлежит государственным хозяйствам, занимающим 14,3% пахотной площади страны. На 1 трактор (в расчете на 15-сильные) в них приходится 46 гектаров пашни, например, уборка зерновых полностью производится машинами, сбор сахарной свеклы механизирован на 96%, а картофеля — на 91%. На гектар пашни было использовано 515 кг искусственных удобрений, 62% занятых под пшеницей площадей было засеяно интенсивными сортами и т. д. В соответствии с этим они собирают урожаи выше средних по стране: по пшенице, по сравнению со средними по стране 18,5 центнерами — 23,6 центнеров, по озимому ячменю, по сравнению со средними по стране 19,5 центнерами — 24 центнера, по кукурузе, по сравнению со средними 29 центнерами — 33,2 центнера с гектара.

Средний удой молока по стране составлял 2290 литров, а в государственных хозяйствах — 3039 литров (данные за 1964 год).

Динамику сельскохозяйственной продукции, однако, в первую очередь, определяют производственные кооперативы, хозяйствующие на 80% пашен. Во время реорганизации и в последующие за ней годы наблюдалась тенденция к росту как урожайности в растениеводстве, так и продуктивности животноводства. Постоянно растет уровень их механизации. В 1959 году на 1 условный трактор приходилось 86 гектаров пашни, а в 1964 году — уже 53 гектара (в расчете на общее число тракторов МТС и кооперативов). В 1964 году в кооперативных хозяйствах уже 87% уборки зерновых, 38% сбора сахарной свеклы, 32% сбора картофеля производилось машинами.

Наряду с общественным хозяйством производственных кооперативов и поныне большое значение имеют приусадебные хозяйства, особенно в животноводстве. В 1964 году, например, около 37% свиней, 36% поголовья крупного рогатого скота страны (в том числе 50% коров) находилось в приусадебных хозяйствах. В соответствии с этим приусадебные хозяйства играют важную роль и в товарном производстве. Так например, в 1963 году 17% общего объема государственных закупок (в том числе 51% закупок яиц, 31% закупок молока, 28% закупок убойного рогатого скота) давали приусадебные хозяйства.

Относительно большая роль приусадебных хозяйств — главным образом, в животноводстве — объясняется важными народнохозяйственными интересами (требованием снабжения населения, потребностями экспорта, ограниченностью имеющихся капитальных средств, требованием использования мелкокрестьянских средств производства, лучшего использования семейной рабочей силы, возможностью довольно значительного пополнения дохода крестьянских семей и т. п.). Развивая, в первую очередь, валовое и товарное производство общественных хозяйств, мы стараемся способствовать различными способами развитию товарного производства приусадебных хозяйств.

Темпы развития сельскохозяйственного производства не обеспечивали до сих пор полного удовлетворения растущих потребностей в сельскохозяйственных продуктах. Это развитие отстает по сравнению с предъявляемыми сельскому хозяйству требованиями, а также с возможностями роста сельскохозяйственного производства. В 1961—1965 гг., например, среднегодовой рост сельскохозяйственной продукции составил всего лишь 2% (по отношению к среднему уровню предыдущих пяти лет). Ускорение темпов развития требует прежде всего быстрого и значительного расширения материально-технической базы сельского хозяйства. Не менее важным, однако, является также и развитие, повышение эффективности системы управления сельским хозяйством, а также хозяйственной деятельности производственных единиц (государственных хозяйств, производственных кооперативов).

Без этого развитие материально-технической базы не приведет к ожидаемым результатам.

В дальнейшем вопросы управления сельскохозяйственным производством рассматриваются мною лишь с точки зрения производства кооперативов. Это мотивируется тем, что в нашем сельском хозяйстве преобладает кооперативное производство, а также тем, что совершенствование системы управления является особенно срочной задачей в кооперативном секторе.

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Целью планомерного управления кооперативным производством является обеспечение соответствия по темпам и структуре между ростом производства сектора, товарным производством, жизненным уровнем кооперативного крестьянства, накоплениями сектора и т. п. и народнохозяйственными потребностями.

На основе анализа венгерской практики можно различить два *основных типа* (модели) планомерного управления кооперативным производством. Для одного из них (действовавшего до середины 1950-ых годов) была характерна очень большая централизация. Эта система управления совсем не считалась — или считалась в небольшой мере — с требованиями материальной заинтересованности и старалась обеспечить планомерность производства применяемыми в широком кругу административными предписаниями (обязательные госпоставки, предписания по посевным площадям, обязательные директивы по поголовью скота, административное доведение плановых директив и т. п.). В то же время средства, требовавшиеся для выполнения планов, обеспечивались далеко не в удовлетворительной мере. Применение этой системы управления было следствием как раз дефицитности материальных средств.

При другом типе системы управления (к этому типу приближается наша система управления с 1957 года) решающую роль играет экономическое стимулирование, согласование народнохозяйственных интересов с местными возможностями и потребностями путем экономического стимулирования. При этой системе управления наибольший вес имеют меры экономического характера. Система управления второго типа неотделима от полного обеспечения средств, требующихся для выполнения планов.

Для Венгрии в последние годы была характерна скорее строящаяся на экономическом стимулировании модель планомерного управления кооперативным производством, однако, она не осуществлялась последовательно. Недостатки управления при помощи экономических мер (цен, кредитов, финансов и т. п.) в отдельных областях в той или иной мере «корректировались» административными мерами.

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В Венгрии после 1957 года сложился следующий метод планомерного управления сельскохозяйственным производством.

Госхозам в обязательном порядке предписывались касающиеся их показатели народнохозяйственного плана. Так, обязательны были показатели по сбыту важнейших продуктов. Однако в интересах увеличения самостоятельности хозяйств, создания производственной структуры, наиболее соответствующей местным условиям, в последние годы было сокращено число обязательных плановых показателей. Например, в 1965 году хозяйствам давались обязательные плановые директивы по сбыту 23 продуктов, а в 1966 году — 13 продуктов.

Производственные кооперативы в принципе не должны были получать обязательных плановых заданий. Как социалистические крупные хозяйства, они, естественно, обязаны разрабатывать планы. В прошедшие годы, однако, часть общегосударственных директивных цифр по сельскому хозяйству и закупкам, касающихся производственных кооперативов (точнее негосударственного сектора), доводились в качестве заданий комитата уездам и большей частью даже производственным единицам. Это происходило таким образом, что сельскохозяйственные отделы уездных советов на основании полученных контрольных цифр сообщали руководителям кооперативов о плановых заданиях своей области и имеющихся для их выполнения средствах (капиталовложениях, искусственных удобрениях и т. д.). На основании этого кооперативы составляли годовые производственные планы, утверждаемые общим собранием членов производственных кооперативов. Разработанные таким образом и одобренные общим собранием планы представлялись на утверждение соответствующим уездным и финансовым органам. Утверждение означало, что уездные органы согласны с планом. Однако этим еще план не стал бы обязательным ни для кооператива, ни для государства. Это произошло бы лишь в случае, если на основании утвержденного плана производственным кооперативом заключался контракт о производстве или сбыте с государственной или кооперативной закупочной организацией. Контракт является двусторонним и равным образом обязует как закупочную организацию, так и производственный кооператив выполнять взятые на себя по контракту обязательства.

Эта система кооперативного планирования в общем соответствовала бы характеру производственных кооперативов (групповая собственность, самостоятельное хозяйствование и т. д.). На практике, однако, эти составляемые кооперативами производственные планы становились обязательными. Не раз органы управления в «волевом порядке» предписывали производственным кооперативам директивные цифры.

Эта система планирования порождала неурядицы не только потому, что предписание «обязательных плановых показателей» препятствовало самостоятельной хозяйственной деятельности кооперативов, использованию

местных условий и, вообще, противоречило характеру кооперативов, но и потому, что плановые задания адресовались также и комитатским и уездным советам. А это учреждения, призванные выполнять в сельском хозяйстве сегодня не хозяйственные функции, а осуществлять специальное руководство и надзор.

Сложившаяся практика в годы социалистической реорганизации сельского хозяйства и последующие за ними один-два года была тесно связана и с тем обстоятельством, что в возникших путем объединения единоличных хозяйств кооперативных хозяйствах часто недоставало опытных руководящих кадров, а в большинстве случаев (в новых кооперативах) — также и минимального опыта членов в отношении хозяйственной деятельности крупного хозяйства. При таком положении сложившаяся практика планирования наряду с несомненными отрицательными последствиями сыграла в основном положительную роль. Сегодня, однако, она становится все более излишней, а во многих случаях даже препятствует эффективному развитию.

В системе планомерного управления сельскохозяйственным производством важную роль играет *политика и система сельскохозяйственных цен*, а также условия реализации товарной продукции. Повышение их значения является важнейшим условием дальнейшего развития планомерного управления сельскохозяйственным производством.

Решая, когда и что им производить, производственные кооперативы взвешивают, какой доход может быть достигнут ими при производстве различных продуктов. Задачей большого значения, таким образом, является установление цен, учитывающих заинтересованность кооперативов в доходе.

В производственных кооперативах средства производства находятся в групповой собственности. Этому в принципе соответствует такое положение, при котором кооперативы сами решают с учетом данных природных и экономических условий производственные вопросы, и источники расширения производства также создаются большей частью ими самими. Рабочую силу представляют собой, в первую очередь, сами члены кооператива, являющиеся одновременно частичными собственниками средств производства кооператива.

Основным стремлением производственных кооперативов является достижение как можно большего валового дохода в результате их хозяйственной деятельности. Валовой доход представляет собой созданную в производственных кооперативах новую стоимость, содержащую обращаемый на оплату труда членов кооператива доход и чистый доход кооператива.*

Ввиду того, что количество находящейся в распоряжении производственных кооперативов рабочей силы не может изменяться по желанию, следует обеспечить занятость и достаток всех членов кооператива. В то же время должна быть обеспечена и возможность накопления. Поэтому про-

* Валовой доход = стоимость произведенных продуктов минус стоимость потребленных в производстве средств производства.

изводство кооперативов должно быть организовано таким образом, чтобы они могли достигнуть как можно большего валового дохода. В производственных кооперативах, решая вопрос о том, какие продукты производить в каком количестве, взвешивают количество валового дохода, который можно достичь, производя тот или иной продукт.

Так как ни земельная площадь, ни имеющаяся рабочая сила не могут быть изменены по желанию, производственные кооперативы — при нормальной занятости их членов и соответствующем объеме работы — заинтересованы в максимизации валового дохода в расчете на одного члена кооператива. Если в расчете на одного члена они получат больший валовой доход, то повысится годовой доход членов, а кооператив сможет увеличить свои накопления.

Производственные кооперативы ведут свою хозяйственную деятельность в очень различных природных и экономических условиях. Их земли, а также прочие средства хозяйствования представляют собой групповую собственность. Поэтому между ними неизбежно возникают различия в доходе. Различия в доходе — если они необоснованно велики, а в настоящее время как раз сложилось такое положение — можно и нужно умерить, но полностью ликвидировать их в рамках групповой собственности нельзя, да и не целесообразно. Коллектив кооператива должен вести хозяйственную деятельность самостоятельно, «на собственный счет», а это означает, что он должен пользоваться материальной выгодой, связанной с правильными решениями, и должен нести бремя неблагоприятных последствий неправильных решений.

Сформулированные выше основные черты материальной заинтересованности — самостоятельная хозяйственная деятельность, накопление за счет собственных средств и т. п. — в минувший период не были последовательно реализованы в наших кооперативах. Это было связано, главным образом, с тем, что социалистическая реорганизация сельского хозяйства закончилась всего лишь несколько лет тому назад. А в период реорганизации условия и требования во многом отличались от настоящих. Поэтому все более актуальной становится задача поисков путей повышения эффективности кооперативной хозяйственной деятельности в новых условиях.

Таким становящимся все более актуальным вопросом является повышение уровня сельскохозяйственных цен. Нынешний уровень сельскохозяйственных цен (не считая осуществленных за прошедший период меньших или больших повышений цен), по существу, был введен в 1957 году. В это время в венгерском сельском хозяйстве преобладали мелкие крестьянские хозяйства. А поскольку в единоличных хозяйствах в то время уже не имелось ни желания, ни возможности в какой-либо значительной мере развивать производство за счет новых капитальных вложений, при установлении уровня сельскохозяйственных цен следовали принципу, что цены не должны содержать дохода, обеспечивающего капиталовложения. В пе-

риод создания социалистических крупных хозяйств и в последующие за ним несколько лет сохранение такого уровня цен имело свой смысл, так как требовавшееся во время реорганизации замещение выбывших мелкокрестьянских средств производства и создание накоплений, необходимых для обеспечения производства в крупных хозяйствах, производственные кооперативы могли осуществить лишь *при значительной помощи государства.* Капитальные вложения, требовавшиеся для того, чтобы можно было начать коллективное производство, создать условия крупного производства, покрывались большей частью государством в форме кредитов. Этим представилась одновременно возможность и для того, чтобы при распределении капитальных вложений можно было дифференцировано чуть ли не по отдельным кооперативам учитывать политические, экономические и социальные аспекты.

При низком уровне сельскохозяйственных цен в таких условиях неизбежно большую роль в осуществлении капиталовложений, в создании минимума оборотных средств, а в некоторых случаях даже в возмещении основных средств, а также в некотором дополнении доходов членов кооперативов играли различные формы государственной помощи (безвозмездные «государственные дотации», списание долгов и т. п.). Система дотаций в то же время в последние годы являлась важным орудием государственного управления производственными кооперативами. Слишком широкое применение дотаций было вызвано низким уровнем цен. Уровень сельскохозяйственных цен был приблизительно на 27% ниже уровня общественных затрат, а уровень промышленных цен — приблизительно на 11% выше их (исчисляя общественные затраты в ценах типа цены производства). Поэтому при данной системе цен дотациями казались и те перегруппировки стоимости, которые означали, по существу, лишь возвращение из бюджета изымаемой системой цен стоимости. В результате всего этого наша система управления становилась сложной, во многих случаях запутанной.

После социалистической реорганизации сельского хозяйства, в новых условиях все более необходимым становится создание системы цен, открывающей большую возможность производственным кооперативам осуществлять необходимые производственные капиталовложения собственными силами. Государственные дотации следует предоставлять лишь в наиболее обоснованных случаях (например, только хозяйствам, осуществляющим свою деятельность в плохих природных условиях).

При сохранении настоящего уровня сельскохозяйственных цен расширять производство в значительной части производственных кооперативов можно было бы лишь за счет государственных средств. Это и в дальнейшем сопровождалось бы тем, что распределение фондов капиталовложений, кредитов, значительных государственных дотаций, контроль за ними и т. п. находились бы в ведении центральных и местных органов. При таких обстоя-

тельствах самостоятельность кооперативов была бы урезанной, и ограниченные средства использовались бы неэффективно. Ибо нельзя представить стоящий над хозяйствами орган управления, способный во всех случаях правильно оценить разнообразную, в большинстве случаев отличающуюся друг от друга специфику *каждого* кооператива, без знания которой невозможно принятие правильных решений относительно капиталовложений. Оздоровлению уровня сельскохозяйственных цен способствовали их повышение 1-го января 1966 года и одновременное введение амортизационных фондов в производственных кооперативах.

Наряду с установлением экономически правильного уровня сельскохозяйственных цен дальнейшей важной задачей является формирование пропорций цен, стимулирующих осуществление желательной производственной структуры.

Нынешние пропорции сельскохозяйственных цен *в основном* правильно учитывают материальную заинтересованность производственных кооперативов и *вместе с прочими мерами экономической политики* (кредитами, дотациями, капиталовложениями и т. п.) *в общем* воздействуют на производственную деятельность производственных кооперативов в направлении, отвечающем народнохозяйственным потребностям.

Настоящие пропорции цен на сельскохозяйственные продукты не соответствуют пропорциям себестоимостей, а закономерно отклоняются от них. Цены на трудоемкие продукты ниже пропорциональных себестоимости цен, а цены на продукты, обеспечивающие меньшую занятость на единице площади, — выше их. Характерная черта наших сельскохозяйственных цен непосредственно связана с тем, что производственные кооперативы в настоящее время заинтересованы в максимизации валового дохода, приходящегося на члена кооператива.

Хотя сельскохозяйственные цены и отражают своеобразную заинтересованность кооперативов в доходах, нельзя сказать, что пропорции наших цен во всех отношениях удовлетворительны. С этим было связано (в частности) то обстоятельство, что определенные плановые задания навязывались производственным кооперативам органами местных советов в виде обязательных директив. Поэтому совершенствование системы планомерного управления кооперативным производством неразрывно связано с постепенным повышением уровня сельскохозяйственных цен и одновременно с установлением более правильных пропорций цен. Неслучайно, что в одно время с модернизацией системы планирования производственных кооперативов на повестку дня была поставлена корректировка наиболее бросающихся в глаза диспропорций цен, и в начале текущего года правительством были повышены цены на продукты животноводства и некоторые растительные продукты.

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Система закупок наряду с прочими экономическими мерами и методами (капиталовложениями, кредитами, налогами и т. п.) является одним из важнейших орудий планомерного управления. Ее значение и сложность ее функций явствуют из того, что закупочные органы поддерживают товарные связи, особенно в отношении животных продуктов, до сих пор с несколькими тысячами производственных единиц. Достаточно привести несколько примеров: свинина закупается у 500 тысяч, птица и яйца — у 1,2 миллиона, молоко — у 400 тысяч, а вино и фрукты — у 500 тысяч продуцентов (производственных кооперативов, кооперативных групп, приусадебных хозяйств, крестьян-единоличников). Производственные кооперативы около 90% своей товарной продукции продают государственным и кооперативным закупочным органам.

Закупочная система подразделяется на обязательную сдачу товарной продукции государственными хозяйствами, на т. н. гарантированные закупки (например, в форме поземельного налога), на свободные закупки и контрактацию. Из их числа — по своему значению — основной формой является контрактация. Около 85% реализуемых производственными кооперативами товаров закупается по контрактам. Контракты заключаются с кооперативами буквально по всем видам товарной продукции, а с приусадебными и единоличными хозяйствами — по тем видам продукции, которые производятся ими в значительных количествах.

Контрактация играет особенно важную роль в управлении кооперативным производством, и ее значение все увеличивается. Реализация намеченных в производственных планах производственных кооперативов целей во многом зависит от контрактов, от условий контрактации. Цены по контрактам, обеспеченность приема товаров, их транспортировка, производимая во-время и без потерь, их классификация непосредственно влияют на результаты хозяйственной деятельности. Наряду с этим государство связывает с контрактами предоставление части требуемых средств производства, материалов, кредитов по обороту. Особенно важным является льготное предоставление по контрактам кормов, семян, искусственных удобрений и ядохимикатов.

Опыт показывает, что контрактация может стать важным орудием как планомерного управления производством, так и закупок.

В последние два года по некоторым требующим больших знаний и вложений продуктам (например, табаку, консервируемым овощам, стручковому перцу, птице и яйцам) была введена практика заключения контрактов на несколько лет, способствующих специализации производства и дающих определенные гарантии производителям.

Описываемая система сбыта, однако, — наряду с положительными в основном чертами — имела также и отрицательные черты.

Кроме закупочных организаций директивные задания в прежние годы адресовались и наделенным ведомственными правами местным советам, которые в свою очередь разбивали их по производственным кооперативам.

Так как хорошая или плохая работа советов оценивалась, в первую очередь, по выполнению планов сельскохозяйственного производства и закупок, то они во многих случаях пользовались всеми возможными средствами для выполнения также и закупочных планов. Вследствие этого часто не учитывались местные условия и возможности, аспекты экономической эффективности, требования самостоятельности кооперативов.

В таких условиях закупочные организации не были соответствующим образом заинтересованы в наилучшем решении проблем реализации (например, пересмотре неподходящих закупочных цен, сокращении разногласий при установлении качества, уменьшении длины перевозок и т. д.). Не были они заинтересованы и в обращении с производственными кооперативами как с равноправными партнерами, так как органы советов и без того обеспечивали им заключение контрактов. Поэтому условия контрактов во многих случаях односторонне защищали лишь интересы закупочных организаций, часто были неточными и приводили к спорам.

Закупочные организации, как правило, находились в монопольном положении, поэтому производственные кооперативы иногда были вынуждены заключать с ними контракты на невыгодных условиях, так как иначе они не имели возможности сбыта своих товаров. К тому же ряд административных мер ограничивал также и побочную хозяйственную деятельность производственных кооперативов (изготовление кормовых смесей, консервирование, складирование и т. д.). Все это мешало хозяйственной деятельности кооперативов, препятствовало их развитию, а тем самым эффективному функционированию системы управления.

Вопрос совершенствования системы планомерного управления кооперативным производством стоит на повестке дня. Первые довольно решительные шаги были сделаны уже и в отношении закупочной системы. Плановые директивы на 1966 год получили уже не советы, а закупочные организации. Только представители последних договариваются с руководителями производственных кооперативов о том, что и в каком количестве желают производить и реализовать кооперативы, и на основании этого заключают с ними контракты. Этот новый метод уже хорошо зарекомендовал себя. Дальнейшим стоящим на повестке дня важным вопросом является рациональное расширение системы реализации некоторых продуктов самими кооперативами, а также их обрабатывающей (побочной) деятельности.

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Среди орудий планомерного управления кооперативным производством важное место занимает *кредитная система*. В прошедшие годы кредит играл особенно большую роль, так как при слишком низком уровне цен большая часть кооперативов могла возмещать свои основные фонды и расширять производство только при помощи государственных кредитов.

Кредит, как правило, является подходящим орудием планомерного управления. Однако, если уровень сельскохозяйственных цен слишком низок, и поэтому возмещение и расширение основных средств в хозяйствах производятся, главным образом, за счет кредитов, но в то же время часть хозяйств не имеет материальных условий для погашения кредитов, то управление при помощи кредитов не может быть достаточно эффективным. В венгерской практике в прошедшие годы система кредитов, предоставляемых производственным кооперативам — вследствие упомянутых обстоятельств — содержала и некоторые элементы государственной дотации. Часто кредиты предоставлялись государством и в таких случаях (таким хозяйствам и с такой целью), когда их погашение было заведомо безнадежным. Кредит часто служил не авансированию собственных финансовых средств, а восполнению их устойчивого дефицита. Такое применение кредитов уже препятствовало самостоятельности кооперативов и эффективному развитию хозяйства, а также мешало ясной обозреваемости народнохозяйственных взаимосвязей.

Кредитов на капитальные вложения, как правило, требовалось больше, чем государство могло их предоставить. В распределении кредитов наряду с банком значительную роль играли органы местных советов. При социалистической реорганизации сельского хозяйства и в последующие за ней годы они старались предоставить хотя бы минимальные капиталовложения по возможности всем производственным кооперативам для создания производственных фондов крупного производства. Поэтому нельзя было в достаточно широком кругу осуществить принцип, согласно которому кредиты должны использоваться там, где они могут окупиться при наиболее благоприятных условиях.

В некоторых кооперативных хозяйствах не было даже минимума оборотных средств, необходимого для бесперебойного производства. Недостаток собственных оборотных средств должен был восполняться краткосрочными производственными кредитами. Эти кредиты, однако, предоставлялись хозяйствам лишь в случае, если они заключали контракт по сбыту или производству своих товаров с государственными или кооперативными закупочными органами. Поэтому хозяйства — чтобы получить краткосрочный кредит — часто были вынуждены соглашаться на производство продукции, которая в ином случае ими бы не производилась (например, из-за невыгодной цены).

Отрицательные черты этой системы кредитования становились все более очевидными. В настоящее время они уже сильно препятствуют правильной экономической ориентировке и мешают деятельности производственных кооперативов. Поэтому на повестке дня стоят и ждут своего срочного решения упорядочение имеющейся задолженности по кредитам (ее списание в обоснованной мере) и постепенное повышение уровня цен, а

также создание такого положения в кооперативных хозяйствах, чтобы они за счет собственных средств могли возмещать износ средств производства и при соответствующем повышении жизненного уровня своих членов обеспечивать накопление из собственных средств (капитальные вложения, пополнение оборотных средств, погашение кредитов). Если такое положение будет создано, то кредит станет действительно кредитом и будет весьма эффективным орудием в руках государства при планомерном управлении кооперативным производством.

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Капитальные вложения производственных кооперативов и порядок материально-технического снабжения являются также органической частью системы государственного управления производственными кооперативами. Механизм капиталовложений и материально-технического снабжения тесно связан с изложенными выше элементами планомерного управления, а это означает, что излишняя централизация, разбивка плановых директив, механизм кредитной системы привели к подобным же последствиям и в отношении механизма капиталовложений и материально-технического снабжения.

Производственные кооперативы осуществили в последние годы много капиталовложений, значительно возросло и потребление ими материалов и средств. В последующие за социалистической реорганизацией годы 17—20% всех народнохозяйственных капитальных вложений составляли сельскохозяйственные капиталовложения. В это время при распределении капитальных вложений, в первую очередь, учитывались не аспекты экономической эффективности. Потребность обеспечения созданных крупных хозяйств соответствующими средствами производства возникла одновременно почти по всей стране. Капитальные вложения осуществлялись почти исключительно за счет кредитов, и после окончания капитального строительства значительная часть кредитов списывалась. Вследствие этого потребовалась усиленная централизация капитальных вложений и материально-технического снабжения. В настоящее время, однако, производственные кооперативы окрепли, способны самостоятельно решать основные вопросы развития своего производства, в том числе и вопросы капиталовложений и материально-технического снабжения. Требованиям экономической эффективности также соответствует решение этих вопросов развития самими хозяйствами.

В интересах повышения эффективности капитальных вложений требуется создать такую систему их осуществления, при которой реализуется самостоятельность кооперативов, учитывается экономическая эффективность, до минимального сводятся субъективные оценки. Для этого, однако, в области материально-технического снабжения прежде всего следует ограни-

чить круг фондируемых материалов, распределяемых центральными органами, как можно раньше прекратить бюрократическую систему лимитирования материалов. Значительным шагом на этом пути является все большее распространение уже сегодня торговых методов и вытеснение практики лимитирования в области приобретения машин и машинного оборудования.

Для эффективного функционирования системы капитальных вложений и материально-технического снабжения необходимо сбалансировать потребности и источники их покрытия. Хотя упомянутое выше изменение уже само по себе способствовало согласованию потребностей и источников их покрытия, все же ускорение темпов развития требует увеличения сельскохозяйственных капиталовложений, количественного расширения материально-технического снабжения.

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Между различными рычагами планомерного управления имеется тесная взаимосвязь. Из их числа важнейшая роль принадлежит системе цен. Производственные кооперативы стремятся к максимизации своих валовых доходов, и это их стремление наиболее *непосредственно* может быть учтено системой цен (уровнем и пропорциями цен). Если уровень и пропорции цен на отдельные продукты экономически правильно учитывают материальную заинтересованность производственных кооперативов, то прочие рычаги управления (кредиты, закупки и т. п.) играют важную, но относительно подчиненную роль. По-другому складывается положение в случае, если система цен неудовлетворительна, если уровень цен слишком низок, если пропорции цен плохие. В этом случае снижается роль системы цен, и растет роль прочих факторов. Тогда система цен должна корректироваться при помощи кредитов, государственных дотаций, предписанием обязательных плановых заданий. Материальная заинтересованность производственных кооперативов от этого совсем не изменяется, однако затрудняется принятие соответствующих решений, и даже может случиться, что, вообще, нет возможности принять какое-либо рациональное решение. Стоимостные отношения в таких случаях становятся запутанными, закон стоимости воздействует на деятельность производственных кооперативов в искаженной форме, кружным путем и не в желаемом направлении. Как только это дает о себе знать, начинается применение административных мер, в результате чего ограничивается самостоятельность хозяйств, а посредством этого и эффективное использование местных возможностей, что в конечном счете препятствует эффективному развитию.

В Венгрии в последние годы сложилось именно такое положение в системе планомерного управления производственными кооперативами. Правда, после 1957 года нами была проявлена значительная инициатива в отношении регулирования при помощи экономических рычагов (были прекра-

щены обязательные поставки государству, административное регулирование поголовья скота и посевных площадей), однако, решающие шаги нам предстоит еще сделать в скором будущем. Управление при помощи экономических рычагов, широкое использование товарных, стоимостных и денежных отношений, уменьшение излишней централизации в значительной мере повысят эффективность системы управления и, по всей вероятности, ускорят темпы развития сельского хозяйства.

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Эффективность планомерного управления тесно связана с реальностью, обоснованностью намеченных целей. Ибо неотъемлемым условием системы управления, строющейся на экономических рычагах, являются обоснованные планы. Нереальные планы и задачи (для выполнения которых не имеется объективных и субъективных условий), настаивание на их выполнении неизбежно приводят к стремлению расширить административные меры. Правда, от этого еще планы не станут выполняться, но в данный момент может показаться, что между целью и средствами нет непреодолимого противоречия. Так может случиться, например, если в результате обязательных предписаний посевные площади под какими-то культурами будут засеяны, или под влиянием ограничения убоя увеличится поголовье скота и т. д. В действительности, однако, противоречие не исчезло, а наоборот, углубилось — иллюстрируя это на предыдущем примере: сокращается посевная площадь под другими культурами, не повышается (возможно, понижается) урожайность посеянной по обязательному предписанию культуры, сокращается поголовье тех видов скота, убой которых не ограничен и т. д.

В результате административных мер, принимаемых в интересах выполнения не обоснованных соответствующим образом заданий, неувязки лишь усиливаются, и создаются препятствия на пути своевременного принятия эффективных мер для их устранения (например, изменения заданий, пересмотра несоответствующих цен, улучшения материально-технического снабжения и т. п.).

Система управления как средство осуществления задач экономической политики в свою очередь оказывает обратное влияние на экономическую политику. Неудовлетворительная система управления препятствует принятию правильных экономических решений, а хорошая — способствует ему.

Совершенствование системы государственного управления производственными кооперативами — представляющее в Венгрии органическую часть намеченной всеобъемлющей реформы системы экономического управления — является не только вопросом «механизма» в узком смысле, а также и одним из существенных условий принятия эффективных решений в экономической политике. Из этого следует также, что совершенствование системы

управления производственными кооперативами является не только сельскохозяйственным вопросом, но и вопросом развития всего нашего народного хозяйства.

ON THE PLANNED INFLUENCE ON COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

B. Csendes

One of the vital objectives of the Hungarian national economy is to accelerate the growth of agricultural production through increased supplies of technical equipment and materials. It is, however, none the less important to improve its system of planned management.

In past Hungarian practice, two main types of planned influence may be distinguished. The first, predominant up to the mid-fifties, was characterized by extreme centralization, neglect of the requirements of material incentives, and by the broad scope of direct administrative measures. The main feature of the second type, gradually approached since 1957, was the decisive role of economic incentives in the planned influencing of output.

It cannot be said, however, that the principle of influencing output through economic incentives has asserted itself quite consequently.

The "breaking-down" of national production plans to individual cooperative farms often meant that these farms received obligatory plan targets "from above" although, in principle, this is considered as inadmissible. By now, this practice has become a brake on efficient development.

In the system of planned influence on agricultural activities, price policy and the price system have an important role. The present agricultural price level, however, does not afford adequate possibilities for extending agricultural production. Up to now, extension had to be backed with substantial government "subsidies" which, while unjustifiedly restricting the autonomy of the cooperative farms, led to a low efficiency of inputs. Moreover, the price relations of individual products were unreal and made often indispensable that the local state authorities should set obligatory plan targets for the individual cooperatives.

The system of state procurement (consisting in the buying up, by state-owned commercial organizations, of agricultural products at fixed prices) was and will remain the most important tool of the planned influence on agricultural production. In its framework, the role of production contracts is particularly important. But, in order that this system should function more efficiently in the future it is necessary, first, to strengthen the economic incentives of the procuring organizations, second, to ensure that the agricultural cooperatives as producers enter into economic transactions with the state-owned commercial organizations on the basis of full equality of rights, third, it is expedient to expand the activities of the agricultural cooperatives into the fields of self-processing and self-marketing of their products.

One of the consequences of the inadequate price system was that credits had a predominant role in the planned influencing of cooperative agricultural production. Frequently, the credits granted to cooperatives have served to fill in the enduring gaps in their resources rather than to advance future incomes. This practice and the red tape of credit "allocation" combined restricted the autonomy of cooperative farms and put a brake on their development.

The system of supplying agricultural cooperatives with technological equipment and materials also suffered from the inadequacies present in the system of influencing production. The main task is here to restitute the equilibrium of supply and demand, by switching over from the "allocation" system to commercial methods of distribution.

The efficiency of the planned influencing of agricultural output is closely connected with the realistic foundation of the plan targets. When the foundation of plan targets is not properly ensured, the endeavours aiming at their realization inevitably lead to forced administrative measures, and these tend to increase the tension between the planning authorities and the producing units.

The system of planned influence on agricultural production, while being a tool of economic policy, also reacts on the decisions of the latter. Thus, the choice of an adequate system of economic influence is also a precondition of correct decision-making.

I. GERGELY

LONG-TERM DECISIONS AT ENTERPRISE LEVEL

I. The enterprise-level activities corresponding to the concepts of long-term planning and dynamic cost theory: research and development policy; allocation of resources; production; marketing. II. The subjects of long-range enterprise decisions: analysis of production time and capacity, economic efficiency computations and liquidity.

The management of the socialist enterprise does not make its decisions with a view to momentary advantages only; it will aim at decisions which are favourable also to the long-term development of the enterprise. The aim is thus not only optimum economic efficiency in a given period but an *optimum optimorum* in the subsequent ones.

At the enterprise level, strategic decisions and long-term planning require an attitude different from that in short-term planning and operative decisions. The phases in the process are the same in both cases; collection of information, analysis, decision-making, a well-coordinated implementation of the decisions and the control of economic activity. The difference is in the economic horizon to which the decisions relate. Short-term economic decisions concern the purchasing, productive and marketing activities of the enterprise. According to the generally accepted view in literature, these three activities constitute the economic functions of an enterprise. An enterprise will, however, not confine itself to considering how to use its existing means, i.e. what and how to produce and sell today. The decisions taken in a well-managed enterprise will cover a longer period and will relate also to future productive and marketing activities, as well as to the development of the enterprise and its direction. Such an enterprise will endeavour to keep abreast with technological and economic progress and to manage the existing and newly created resources, e.g. stocks and investments, with due foresight. Well-founded labour policies, investment efficiency and investment policy, the optimal size of stocks, enterprise liquidity, etc. are subjects much discussed in the literature of recent years. Research and development are coming ever more to the fore and so does the analysis of their relations to enterprise management. There were, however, relatively few investigations dealing with the interrelation of the three fundamental activities of long-range enterprise management, i.e.: production and marketing, allocation of resources, and research and development policies. (Long-term thinking neces-

sitates a dynamic approach to costs. Unfortunately, little heed has been paid up to now to Morgenstern's warning of 35 years ago: ". . . die zeitliche Gestaltung und Verteilung der Kosten in die Theorie einzuordnen . . ." i. e. the formation and allocation of costs over time should be given due consideration in economic theory).*

I.

In the frame of the *enterprise's long-term development*, the reproduction process within the enterprise takes the following form:

In the revolving cycle of products the enterprises purchase the necessary means; by using the means, human labour produces the necessary products and by marketing the products the enterprises convert the latter into money. In this manner the production process of goods becomes a constantly repeated reproduction cycle.

The production process is based on the cycle of resources. The enterprises purchase the various means of production and take care of their continuous modernization. In this way, the conditions are created to produce the commodities which answer the conditions of demand, to use up the means of production gradually and to realize them subsequently in the course of marketing the products, creating thereby the source of their replacement.

The starting point of the cycle of technological and economic development is constituted by the various experiments, research works and the know-how acquired. These are used in the production of the goods; their value gradually passes into the products and is realized by marketing them, creating thus the source of a continuously renewed activity of technological development.

From what has been said, the following inferences can be drawn. The three activities are closely interrelated not only because they take place within the same enterprise but also because each of them makes its final objective appearance in the product, the marketing of which creates a continuous source of their renewal.

The cycles of the three activities are not synchronous. The production costs of the products are always recovered in one cycle. The costs of resource allocation are recovered in several product cycles. The costs of research and

* O. Morgenstern: Offene Probleme der Kosten und Ertragstheorie. Zeitschrift für Nationalökonomie, Wien, 1930—31. p. 522. — From a static aspect, we can speak of costs and returns only in connection with production and marketing. As regards the allocation of resources as well as research and development, where the actual material processes do not relate to the same period, in the case of a static approach we have to use the terms "expenses and receipts". In the course of our dynamic approach, we shall speak in both cases of costs and returns, remarking, however, that the costs and returns arising in different periods cannot be directly compared, and profitability can be established only in the case of costs and returns relating to the same period. (The dynamic approach to costs is supported by the practical fact that Hungarian enterprises pay a charge for their fixed assets and stocks, into the state budget.)

development are recovered not only directly from the products but sometimes also from the means of production, through the intermediary of the resource allocation cycle. (It is, of course not excluded that certain means or technological development solutions should be used for a single individual product or project, i.e. that they should be recovered within a single cycle.) The pace of research and development, of the allocation of resources and of changes in the assortment of products may highly vary both by trade and product and also historically. Some branches will progress rapidly and require intensive research and development; others may progress slowly or even stagnate.

To produce up-to-date products, all three activities are needed. The extended reproduction process is inconceivable without any of them. It is, therefore, both normal and necessary that in the price of products not only the direct production costs but also the means used in turning them out, and the costs of research and development be recovered, and that not only on the simple reproduction but on the extended reproduction level. If this is realized, the marketing of the product will enable all three individual activities and with them the economic activity of the enterprise as a whole to rise to ever higher levels.

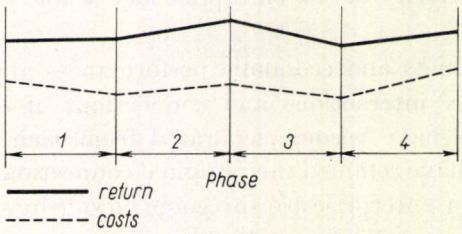
Individual products and economic performances always come about as the result of complex interactions and connections of enterprise activities. Though the activities have become separated from each other as a result of labour division, they have retained their original connections. The three economic activities within an enterprise are also going on side by side, simultaneously. Enterprise management will aim at finding the proper proportions and the effective combination of the three activities and of the production factors of which they are made up (labour, materials, fixed assets). The decisions of enterprise management will be the more effective, the more they succeed in combining these elements in the long run into an organic whole, where by means of the complex process the profitability of the enterprise will be achieved on a high level. Before dealing more closely with the enterprise decisions directed towards this aim, we are going to examine, on hand of three models, the difficulties that may arise from the disproportionate development and unsatisfactory interaction of these three activities.

1. Of the *productive and marketing activities*, the reproductive feature is characteristic. Though the quantity and choice of the products turned out and marketed may change continuously, the production line, the range of products, parts and elements, the manufacturing and processing operations as well as the forms and methods of purchasing and marketing tend to remain constant over a relatively longer period.

It is a characteristic feature of the labour, material and fixed asset inputs closely connected with the production and marketing of products that they arise simultaneously with the production performance. For a shorter period it

may be said that the part of inputs directly connected with the turning out of the product is roughly proportionate to the progress of production and the other part — of an overhead character — may be considered a constant cost, being to a certain extent independent from the volume of production. Over a longer period this tendency is modified. The production capacity of the enterprise may be expanded or contracted, whereby constant costs may become varying ones. In the longer run and for identical goods and identical production methods, varying costs per unit of product will not change substantially and can remain at a relatively constant level.

The interrelations are more complicated if the interaction of the three activities is examined as a function of time. In the following, we shall assume that the other two activities are, transitorily, not being proportionately developed. On hand of a cost and return diagram we are going to illustrate the possible effects of the disproportionate, non-complementary development of these three activities.



When the enterprise starts the production of some new product, productivity will first rise throughout the enterprise as a result of a higher degree of organization and training and a more efficient utilization and combination of the production factors; costs will consequently diminish. (First phase.) Thanks to growing demand and the marketing possibilities due to sales promotion, a better utilization of capacities, their extension and a further abating of costs is made possible. The relative up-to-dateness of the product and the higher price it realizes as a result of favourable market conditions, may also improve the rentability of the enterprise. (Second phase.) This tendency may become lasting if the enterprise keeps pace with demand and with the general rate of research and development in respect of the level and up-to-dateness of products, production means, technology and methods of marketing. The situation will, however, change if this is not the case. The demand for an obsolete product will diminish. Sales promotion (e.g. advertizing) will bring no lasting results; it will only increase costs and, after some time, even the price will have to be cut back. At the same time, the possibility of a relative decrease of costs will gradually

cease. Owing to the phenomenon of inelasticity of costs, there will be only little chance to decrease costs in absolute terms, if not by reducing capacities. (Third phase.) Later, when the enterprise turns out some new and up-to-date product, the production and sales activities can be boosted again only at the price of transitional difficulties and additional costs (lost customers will have to be won again, the production apparatus will have to be re-trained, etc.). (Fourth phase.)

2. *The allocation of resources* means the continuous creation of the means and resources needed for production and marketing as well as for technological and economic development; their utilization in harmony with the other two activities and their maintenance on a suitable level. The means and resources tied up in the enterprise represent the capacity, the working ability available to the enterprise. It is characteristic of the resource-allocating activity that it consists mainly of tasks recurring with certain cyclical regularity. Though the activities connected with the purchase and putting into operation of the means are non-recurrent, the major part of the tasks is recurrent and serves to maintain the level of effective utilization. The allocation of resources appears in different forms.

The major determinants of *manpower management* are the particular features of the trade, the socially developed and regulated level of facilities to be offered to workers as well as the technological level of production.

The employment of new labour becomes an increasingly difficult task with growing requirements and the growing lack of manpower. An enterprise activity, partly related to and partly independent of employment, is the training of manpower. The organized specialized training activity of the enterprise is needed because the practical vocational education in schools cannot entirely answer the requirements of the enterprises in respect of specialists. The development of enterprises, the introduction of new products and the application of up-to-date production and marketing methods necessitate the re-training of workers and the organization of refresher courses. Manpower management and the wage-system should take into account, among others, also production conditions such as e.g. the pace and direction of changes and the possible fluctuations in production as well as the modifications in its pattern. The improvement in working conditions is served by the mechanization of heavy manual work and by continuously developing work hygiene and labour-safety measures. The development of catering and other services, of housing and of social, cultural and sporting facilities etc. comes under the same heading.

The *management of fixed assets* includes the creation, purchase, modernization and scrapping of fixed assets. For investment decisions, manysided and circumspect considerations are needed. When new plants or shops are set up, or new production equipment is put into operation, it is necessary carefully to choose the form, equipment and material of buildings; the type and siting of

machinery; the degree of mechanization in the fundamental and auxiliary production processes; the technology to be applied; the order of the production process in time and space; probably also to try out the ideas on hand of models or in experimental plants and then to put the project into operation. Partial modernization of fixed assets, their renewed supply with tools and instruments and, at times, their replacement with new ones, helps to keep pace with technological progress, with the development of production and products. All that is a condition of keeping the utilization of fixed asset capacities at an adequate level.

The management of stocks means that the stocks available in materials, parts, semi-finished and finished products conform to the pace of production, to its composition, to the time needed for purchases, to the amount of interest involved, etc. It also means the setting up of storing places where stocks of adequate quantity can be suitable placed for quick and easy handling.

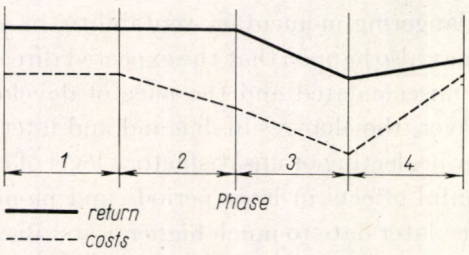
It is characteristic of the costs arising in connection with the allocation of resources that the relationship between their momentary level and the output yielded by the resources is rather loose. Therefore, the enterprise can, between certain limits, schedule them arbitrarily. If perspectives are not correctly estimated, or the financial position is bad, there is a danger that enterprises neglect some momentary outlays connected with the allocation of resources the postponement of which may in some later period or periods unfavourably affect or endanger the producing capacity of the enterprise. It is quite conceivable that they purchase some machinery that will answer momentary requirements but, being not quite up-to-date, becomes shortly obsolete or even breaks down, or does not yield the performance required and must thus be replaced prematurely. Or it may happen that resource allocation does not keep pace with the general development and becomes obsolete in comparison to other enterprises.

The increase of the profitability of enterprises in a given period by similar methods will have reactions in later periods in several directions. If e.g. the time during which certain capacities are utilized turns out shorter than estimated, purchase costs will not be fully amortized in the price of the products; part of it will be lost. Another group of additional costs does not belong to the scope of resource allocation but to that of the production process. A commodity produced with inadequate machinery, labour or material will often not come up to the quality standard required; the utilization of production capacities will then be unsatisfactory and the effects will make themselves felt both in the absolute and relative levels of production costs, and in the performances and prices attained.

The process over time may be illustrated in a schematic way as follows.

Under normal conditions, the costs connected with resource allocation and realized in prices will ensure adequate gains. (First phase.) If the enterprise reduces allocation costs or does not keep them at a level necessary for future

development, the productive capacity of the means will not immediately deteriorate. (Second phase.) Costs lagging behind technological and economic requirements already diminish the productive capacity of assets. (Third phase.) In counterbalancing the decrease in productive capacity, unexpected additional costs will arise which, though preventing a further decrease, will yet not restore productive capacity to the original level. This fact indicates that restoring productive capacity to anything near its original level imposes such a burden on the enterprise that keeping the assets in operation becomes (transitorily) unprofitable. (Fourth phase.)



3. The third activity, *research and development*, enables new demands to be gradually met and ever more products of good and suitable quality to be made available to society, to be produced under better working conditions and with higher efficiency. Research and development take place both in the technological and economic fields. Their objective is the continuous improvement of production, marketing, resource allocation and the product itself, in other words, of the whole management of the enterprise.

Technological research and development include technological basic and applied research as well as preparations to introduce the results of research into large-scale production. It does not end with the beginning of production or application, because technology must be continuously perfected and the same holds for constructions, the organization of production, the allocation of further resources of production, etc.

Research and development in the sphere of business and management include the development of the production and marketing process, as well as of the organization of resource allocation, the introduction of new forms of management, control and communication, the improvement of the efficiency of administration and information.

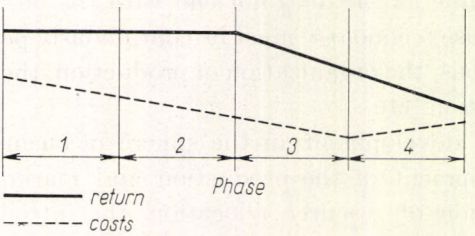
According to their character, research and development costs may be classified into three groups. The first includes the costs of preliminary studies, information, general basic research and experiments. The second group includes the costs of introducing solutions due to research and development. Develop-

ment involves taking considerable risks. It is most difficult to estimate in advance the suitability of the products, production processes, etc. evolved in the course of research and development or the possibilities of their practical application and the trends in demand. The third group of costs comprises that of futile work on projects which were ultimately abandoned.

There is no direct connection between the momentary level of research and development costs and the level of production carried on at the same time. The effects of research and development on production will show themselves only after the task had been concluded, i.e. with some time-lag. Enterprises can, therefore, transitorily neglect development, and reduce costs destined for this purpose without endangering momentary rentability, or even in order to improve the latter. It may also happen that the expected direction and possibilities of development are miscalculated and the pace of development falls short of the increase in turnover, the changes in demand and later possibilities.

The momentary neglecting or unsatisfactory level of research and development will have harmful effects in later periods and momentary "economies" often give rise at some later date to much higher costs. Breaks in the continuity of development activity constitute such a danger. Backwardness, in research and development, in market research, etc. can be made up for usually only by paying afterwards a higher price for the lack of experience and for the training of research workers and may involve even failures in research; while the application of experiences, patent rights, inventions, and know-how taken over becomes also more costly and difficult. Such effects are, however, not limited to research and development only. They affect even more production costs, marketing possibilities, the up-to-dateness of products, their quality and thus also their price.

Let us have a look, on hand of a schematic representation, at the consequences of an insufficient level of research and development activity.



At the beginning, earlier development and research ensure a gain through favourable prices and an adequate level of production (first phase); nor can the effects of reduced research and development activity be felt in the next, immediately following stage (second phase). Due, however, to an enduring

decline in research and development activity, at some later date the proportion of up-to-date products will fall, together with prices (third phase). Seeing the increasingly unfavourable effects, research and development activity will be renewed but, due to the great time-lag, its effects will show only slowly (fourth phase).

II.

Strategic decisions — analyses of economic efficiency. The factors which determine long-term enterprise decisions may be variables which the management is not able to influence or variables which it is in a position to determine. As a first step, an enterprise will endeavour to form itself an idea about the prospective trends in the development of the economic situation and of the economic-sectoral environment. For the purpose, mainly such factors must be taken into account as can be but little influenced by the management of the enterprise, e.g. the pace and direction of technological progress, the prospective trends of demand, etc. The objective is to assess expectable needs most carefully, to examine the future trend and pattern of demand as well as the factors influencing it. A better foundation for assessing future tendencies than the extrapolation of past experiences is provided by the expert utilization of the methods used and results attained in national economic planning and the analysis of the data of market research, demographic and income statistics, etc. The second step is to elaborate the long-term ideas of the enterprise in the expectable environment supposed to be known in broad outlines. The enterprise has to consider what proportion of the prospective demand it can meet, what proportion it intends to meet, and at what price and under what conditions it will be able to meet them by effectively combining research and development, resource allocation, and production and marketing activities.

The perspectives of the enterprise are determined by the initial situation, the resources available and the performance necessary to achieve the objectives set to itself. Economic environment, enterprise objectives and the endowments of the enterprise are stochastically interrelated not only in consequence of the character of technological and economic relationships that had earlier developed within the enterprise but also because there is great uncertainty in respect of expected effects and, therefore, they are only of probabilistic character. In the computations it is expedient to use the trial and error method because for many factors in the model it will be possible to substitute in the course of time detailed data for summary ones, real relationships for expectations, and improve the assessment of risks. (The mathematical construction of the model — a dynamic programming problem — as well as the demonstration of the solution on the basis of a theoretical scheme lie beyond the scope of this paper.)

The major types of long-term decisions and economic analyses determining the future of an enterprise are the following:

— examination of the time needed for realization,
— examination of capacities, calculation of bottlenecks and the planning of performance,
— economic efficiency computations,
— computation of the amortization period and of enterprise liquidity.

1. *Examination of time requirements.* Between production and marketing, resource allocation, research and development there is a complicated causal relationship according both to activities and time. The purchase of means and the putting into operation of productive capacities go before current production since production can start only if the enterprise disposes of labour, fixed assets and stocks. Both are, however, preceded by technological preparatory work and, within that, by development activity. Due to this time-lag, there is a production cycle for each product both in the narrower and in the broader sense. The narrower cycle comprises the time needed in the enterprise for the direct production and marketing of the product. The full cycle extends from research through large-scale production to marketing, i.e. it comprises the combined periods of research and development, resource allocation, production and marketing. The length of the full cycle may be modified because a narrower cycle can join another one not only at its beginning or its end but at any intermediate point. Thus, with the progress of technological development experiments, certain means may be purchased or, on the basis of experiences in experimental production, it may prove necessary to purchase some materials. This parallel progress of the cycles may result in overlapping in time. Therefore, the entire period of realization for some cycle of the reproduction process is not necessarily equal to the combined periods of production, resource allocation and research and development. The actual production period of some product will develop between the two limits according to the combination of the activities within the enterprise and to the initial availability of the factors of production.

The combination, framework and length of the cycles of these three activities are determined by several factors. The degree of development in management determines the cyclical period of some activities. Since the various branches differ in their development requirements and rates of growth, the length of cycles will also differ. Thus, due to technological and economic development, the time necessary for research and the training of specialists will tend to lengthen while the time needed for direct production, for the operation of the means of production will show a diminishing tendency. In the framework of the general and professional social division of labour, the various fields and branches of the economy become increasingly separated from each other, the vertical stages are increasing in number. It often happens that basic research, applied

research, technological design, and specialized technological development are carried on at different places and by different organizations. Thus, the framework and the period of the cycle will differ in the various enterprises. Factors of a determining character in the activity of the enterprise are specialization and co-operation, the degree of verticality in production, the forms of marketing, the timing and methods of resource allocation and of development (the planning of investments and of prototypes, the introduction of new production processes, etc.).

One way for increasing efficiency is to harmonize the processes in order to reduce the total time of the cycle. Usually, there is a way to co-ordinate the interrelated work processes within the cycles of production, resource allocation, research and development; to organize parallel work processes; to diminish strains in the production process, to recognize and eliminate in due time the expectable bottlenecks. All that will reduce the total period of the cycle, promote the increase of efficiency, help to assess the shortest period realistically to be reckoned with and to ascertain the lower and upper limits of expectable deviations (PERT method).

In some cases even time may become a bottleneck. The loss of time often appears as a fall in prices or in profitability, just as a gain of time may assume the form of higher prices and profitability. A case of time pressure presents itself when the enterprise wishes to turn out a product answering definite technological and economic requirements for a given date but the necessary conditions are not yet available. In such cases the tasks to be performed, the necessary capacities and the interrelations of work processes are established by tracing them backwards from the date the products must appear on the market. The scheduling and co-ordination of economic processes is the more difficult the farther from each other in time the task to be performed and the date of launching the product in the market.

The mass production of any new product means the taking of risks since it requires a longer time, sometimes the full cycle, with an unpredictable level of future demand. The deviations between the pattern and characteristics of actual demand and those envisaged by the enterprise at the beginning of the production process often involve not only additional costs of change-over, price losses, etc., but also a loss of time.

The scheduling of the economic process is influenced also by the intricacy of the tasks to be performed. The risks to be reckoned with have also a role to play. With tasks of a non-recurrent type, the risks are greater than with recurrent ones. The possibilities of scheduling are usually slight as far as development is concerned, with the position more favourable in resource allocation and comparatively advantageous in the case of current production. From the point of view of scheduling, a special place is occupied by the work phases connecting research and development with resource allocation and production. Such criti-

cal points are e.g. the passing over from the production of a prototype to mass production, or the starting of a new shop or factory.

Decreased profitability caused by time-pressures may, to a certain extent, be counterbalanced by reserve capacities and other measures. The "price" to be paid for these measures is an increase in costs. It needs economic considerations to examine to what extent they can be counterbalanced by increased returns.

2. *Analysis of capacities and the planning of performance.* There exist definite relationships and proportions between the performances of the activities of research and development, resource allocation and production and marketing. To satisfy demand, it is necessary to dispose of a machine fleet to perform the working processes prescribed by a definite production technology, to have trained and experienced specialists, suitable materials, power sources, etc. The expansion of production can be only temporarily solved without the development of working and marketing processes, organized research and experiments, and the improvement of manufacturing and of the products themselves. Development affects production and resource allocation and these again react on development. The mutual interrelation and determinate character of individual activities exist not only in respect of the means used for the activity but also in respect of their quantity and proportions. It follows from the requirement of proportionality that productive and marketing capacities should always conform to effective demand; the performance of resource allocation should meet the demands of production and marketing; and the performance in development those arising on the part of the two other groups of activity.

With these conditions fulfilled, there will develop the economic and technological characteristics (coefficients) which not only refer to the causal and objective qualitative relationships between the activities but also determine both quantitatively and qualitatively, the proportions of the activities within the enterprise as well as its co-operation with other enterprises.

Research and development, resource allocation, production and marketing all have their own capacities independently of the other activities but all activities constitute, simultaneously, the capacities of the other two, which means that the individual activities put a limit on each other's capacities. There exists no single alternative for the combination of capacities. To achieve the necessary performance of the enterprise, activities, technologies and production factors may be combined in various ways. More efficient variants can be substituted for less efficient ones, scarce production factors from the national economic point of view (e.g. labour), or bottlenecks in the enterprises may be replaced by proper combinations. All that sets the pace for the development of individual activities.

It will have a favourable effect on the economic efficiency of enterprise management if the continuity of work is interrupted as little as possible by

reorganization, change-over and other obstacles and if the capacity utilization of the individual activities reaches a stable level. In long-range decisions it is not sufficient to consider whether the harmonious co-operation of research and development, resource allocation, and production and marketing are adequately ensured in order to reach a definite goal; the harmonious development of the individual activities themselves must also be made possible.

Accordingly, the dynamic development concept formulated on the basis of a several years' perspective includes both the individual development of producing and marketing, resource allocation, and research and development activities, and also the ideas about the whole activity of the enterprise as based on the combined performance of the above three. This distinction is necessary also because research and development are aimed at products to be turned out at some later date, resource allocation at those to be produced in the near future, while production and marketing at those actually produced at the time being. Precisely because of the deviating perspectives of the objectives, the up-to-dateness of some activity does not mean that some other activity built upon it is also up-to-date in the same period. Thus, it may prove necessary to develop the individual activities at different rates. A development concept extending over several years comprises a whole series of interlacing plans: firstly, the long-term development plan embracing the entirety of enterprise management and containing scheduled tasks; secondly, the separate plans for the three activities, each based on a system of indicators reflecting the individual features of the activity concerned; and thirdly, the special plans relating to the individual material factors of production (labour, materials, etc.) and to liquidity and profitability.

3. *Economic efficiency computations.* There are many factors which play a role in decision-making but do not lend themselves to substantiation by computation and economic considerations. In the following, these factors will be disregarded and we will deal only with the elements which appear in economic efficiency computations.

The inputs (costs) of research and development, resource allocation, production and marketing are recovered in the continuous process of marketing the products. In practice, the effects of different activities can be followed not only in respect of costs but also in that of returns, by comparing the costs and returns of different variants. Thus, it is possible to consider the profitability of the three activities separately and to relate it to the enterprise as a whole, to individual products or individual performances. Profitability can be traced back to the development of prices, turnover and costs — as regards the latter, to the effect of direct and indirect costs.

The principal methods of economic efficiency computation are the calculations of the rate of return and of actual rentability. The rate of return is — according to e.g. the pay-off method — the quotient of the cost of the activities

and of their return, or additional output (input per additional output). Since costs and returns relate to different periods of time, to establish actual rentability, they should be related to the same date (discounted). Rentability may be calculated for individual activities, for the enterprise as a whole, or for individual products, as the quotient of inputs and outputs relating to the same period of time.

The role of research and development, resource allocation, production and marketing activities in actually achieved rentability differs from industry to industry and also from case to case. As mentioned above, in the rapidly developing trades, such as the chemical industry or electronics where important experimental and research results are born, development activity is of relatively high importance. Other industries again are reached by development from outside, e.g. in the form of new materials and machines developed elsewhere.

The enterprise will not realize all economic possibilities which offer themselves. In decision-making it cannot disregard either demand or prices. It will consider the general rate of progress and will not realize ideas which seem to be favourable by themselves if there exists already a more favourable variant. It will strive to reap economic advantages by jumping over unfavourable stages of development, and will concentrate the available resources on the production of goods in keen demand which command good prices.

In the computations of economic efficiency, it is in the indicator of rentability that the uncertainties which in all decisions, and particularly in long-term ones, are due to the lack of information, to limited foresight, to the vagueness of expectations and to deliberate risks, find their expression in a measurable form. The foundations of computations may be improved by gradually substituting in the course of planning, more precise data for the incomplete or uncertain ones, and by comparing and analyzing after the realization of the project the original estimates and the factual figures.

An important subject of economic decisions is the investigation of the mutual interactions of costs, prices and turnover. The subject of the investigations may be the turnover to be expected as a result of various measures of research and development, resource allocation, production and marketing, at given prices; or the prices that may be earned with the given turnover. In this complicated process, interwoven with causal relationships, it is difficult to forecast economic effects. The iterative approach, the method of simulation offers itself here as an organizational measure. As a first approximation, expected costs may be compared with expected prices and turnover. Some initial data of the first approximation may be checked in practice and thus a foundation may be given to the initial abstractions. There is also a possibility for investigating the effects of alternative solution variants, if necessary. Some factors, such as labour or other resources may be taken into account as constraints.

The method of economic efficiency computations may be coupled with drawing up long-term cost estimates for the economic units within the enterprise, and with laying down a development schedule. In this manner, the progress of realization may be surveyed and deviations from the estimates may be continuously checked.

4. *Liquidity decisions.* It lies in the interest of the enterprises that their inputs be recovered in the shortest possible time. A lower rate of return is favourable because it may reduce the unavoidable risks which make themselves felt to an increased extent in connection with long-term decisions. An unduly high rate of return also reduces the possibility of the enterprise to adapt itself elastically to changing conditions. In addition, the enterprise's capacity for self-accommodation is also reduced since practice and training induce sluggishness.

It follows from the close interrelatedness of the three basic activities that the volume and level of any of them may become a limiting or determinative factor for the other two. An activity which is relatively lagging behind may constitute a bottleneck and put a brake on the total economic process comprising all three activities. The limiting activity is always a determinative one, too.

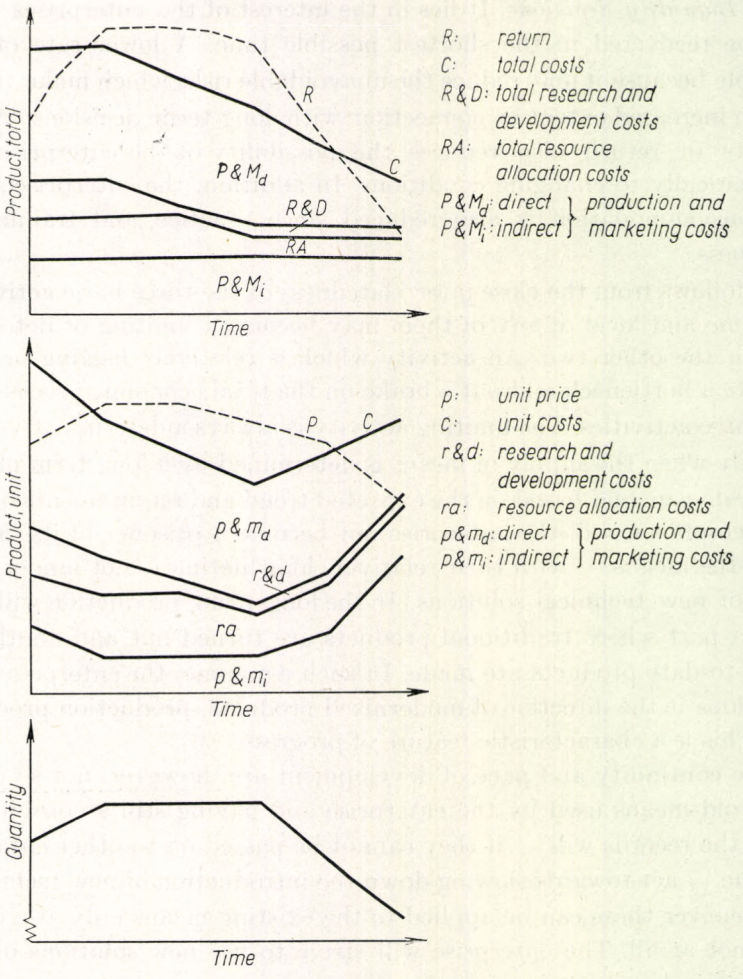
Only when the supply of means is determined by a long-term plan covering several years and based on the expected trend and requirements of research and development, will the enterprise not become a prisoner of its own means and will the means — with their relatively long lifetime — not hinder the introduction of new technical solutions. In the longer run, production will be divided into a part where traditional products are turned out and another where more up-to-date products are made. In such a manner, the enterprise necessarily develops in the direction of modernized products, production processes and means. This is a characteristic feature of progress.

The continuity and pace of development are, however, not so unequivocal. The old means used by the enterprise and having still a considerable net value in the records will — if they cannot be passed on to other enterprises at that value — act towards slowing down the introduction of new technical solutions whenever these can be applied to the existing means only at a disadvantage or not at all. The enterprise will strive to use new solutions only if the losses involved are not important.

These disadvantageous effects could be eliminated or at least reduced if the costs of existing means and of research and development were for the major part recovered in the price of the products by the time they cease to be up-to-date. The enterprise would feel the cost-increasing or rentability-decreasing effect of more obsolete but still usable equipment to a lesser extent and would part easier with the obsolete equipment whose net value would be lower. The easier is rendered the recovery of costs connected with the immobilization of assets, with amortization, research and development by the turnover, the price

and cost level, and by tax policy, the quicker will the cost of means be recovered in the product prices.

The financial process of achieving liquidity is illustrated graphically, based on the example of a short-lived product, in the following diagram:



At the time when the product is being introduced, the enterprise increases its turnover in spite of a higher price as a result of the product's up-to-dateness, of higher demand and a good marketing policy. (First phase.) The growing turnover and profitability of the product enable the entirety of the earlier research and development costs and a considerable part of the resource allocation costs connected with the product to be accounted for in the given period as current

costs, and partly to restore thereby the financial liquidity of the enterprise. (Second phase.) In the following, the enterprise can market the product only with additional costs (e.g. advertising) and at reduced prices in a quantity big enough to meet the costs of research and development and resource allocation (which are considerably lower than in the initial period), ensuring at the same time also some gain. (Third phase.) With this phase passed, demand slackens to an extent that the product can be marketed only at a loss (fourth phase) and the rentability of the enterprise can be maintained only with the aid of newly introduced, more up-to-date products.

ДОЛГОСРОЧНЫЕ РЕШЕНИЯ В МАСШТАБЕ ПРЕДПРИЯТИЯ

И. ГЕРГЕЙ

В литературе по экономике предприятий их деятельность рассматривается как производственная деятельность и излагается как кругооборот снабжения, производства и сбыта. Наряду с производственным процессом или совсем не упоминается, или упоминается в качестве второстепенных видов деятельности использование средств и техническое развитие. В статье этому статичному воззрению противопоставляется динамическое воззрение. Автором отмечается, что хозяйственная деятельность предприятий охватывает три одинаково важных круга деятельности: 1) производственную деятельность в узком смысле, 2) использование средств и 3) техническое развитие.

Три вида деятельности, смежно осуществляемые внутри предприятия, направлены не на ту же самую продукцию, так как для производства необходимо сначала создать средства, а этой деятельности должно предшествовать техническое развитие. В каком-либо продукте проявляются производственная деятельность периода изготовления, деятельность предшествующего периода, связанная с использованием средств, и предшествующая ей деятельность по техническому развитию. Из этого следует, что различные виды деятельности предприятий относятся к различным периодам времени.

Всякий продукт создается в результате совместного действия этих видов деятельности. Издержки по изготовлению продукта, таким образом, могут быть выражены не только традиционным образом — как затраты труда, материалов и средств обработки — но и как денежные затраты деятельности в области технического прогресса, формирующей продукт и производственный процесс, деятельности в области использования средств, обосновывающей процесс производства и производственной деятельности, создающей продукт. Эффективность всей хозяйственной деятельности предприятия находит свое выражение в разнице между издержками производства, связанными с изготовлением продукта, деятельности в области технического развития, использования средств и ценой продукта.

В то время как затраты производственной деятельности проявляются одновременно с результатами производства, производимые в данный момент затраты деятельности, связанной с использованием средств и техническим развитием, и полученный благодаря им результат не совпадают во времени: влияние затрат сказывается лишь позднее. Это обстоятельство должно играть важную роль в анализе формирования прибыли.

В статье излагаются особенности формирования издержек и результатов отдельных видов деятельности, рассматриваются тенденции изменения издержек в рамках всей хозяйственной деятельности предприятия. Показывается, какими методами можно сознательно согласовать эти три вида деятельности, вскрыть узкие места, ликвидировать их и способствовать таким образом обеспечению оптимальной эффективности хозяйствования предприятия.

В дальнейшем автор рассматривает некоторые виды долгосрочного планирования на предприятии и связанных с ним хозяйственных решений предприятия. Им исследуется проблема увязки трех видов деятельности предприятия, обеспечивающей минимирование времени, фондов и т. п., требуемых всем хозяйственным процессом, начиная с исследовательско-конструкторских работ и кончая реализацией продукции. Автор анализирует процесс оборота денежного фонда предприятия с учетом изменения спроса и цен (решение о ликвидности), а также проблему эффективности всех указанных видов хозяйственных решений.

REVIEWS

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EFFICIENCY CALCULATIONS—METHODS AND APPLICATIONS

Economic decisions are perhaps the most important elements of economic activity. These decisions — choices among various possible ways for action — are determined by the entirety of several factors, partly of economic and partly of non-economic (political, sociological, psychological) character. From the economic point of view we weigh the pros and cons of our decisions according to their economic effects. The more complicated the problem to be decided, the more it is necessary that the economic effects of individual decisions should be deliberately weighed and analysed with the aid of numerical computations.

Calculations of economic efficiency are a fundamentally important, special group of computations used for working out economic effects. With their aid, several ways for action are compared with each other, from the point of view of either achieving the same result with minimum input or achieving maximum result with the same input.

Efficiency is a general principle of economic activity valid in all socio-economic systems, although its scope, criteria, conditions and forms of realization are different. In a capitalistic economy the principle of economic efficiency will be realized through the pursuit of profit both in individual enterprises and, over bumps, losses and business cycles causing periodical shocks and serious damages, in the economy as a whole, too. The increasing role of state interference in capitalist countries is due, at least in part, to such experiences. It is expected in the main to render economic development more harmonious, to eliminate its fluctuations but also, to a smaller extent, to enforce a better realization of some requirements of economic efficiency. In a socialist economy the realization of economic efficiency must be supported by the combined effects of central planning and general economic policy and of the independent management of enterprises, mutually complementing each other. In such a way better conditions will be created to realize economic efficiency at higher levels than that of the individual enterprise.

Since economic efficiency calculations are a tool of economic decision-making, their formulation and utilization depends mainly on the system and motivation of *decisions* to be taken in the economy. In a socialist economy it is necessary to distinguish, above all, central decisions and those taken at enterprise level.

A general tendency of the reforms of management and control of the national economy, now on the order of the day in socialist countries, is to increase the role of *enterprise decisions*, precisely in order that comprehensive central decisions should be better carried into effect. This tendency has been felt in the

Hungarian economy ever since 1957, but the system of management built up at the beginning of the fifties has hardly changed yet. Now more extensive reforms of management and control are in preparation. In the new system the scopes of central and enterprenurial decisions will be delimited differently from the existing system; and also the motivation and conditioning factors of the decisions will be different. That will modify both the role and the methods of the efficiency calculations. It is, therefore, justified to distinguish in our discussion the methods of economic efficiency computations as they developed in recent years and are used also at present from what the new, reformed economic mechanism is likely to require.

In our actual system of economic management the liberty of socialist enterprises for action and decisions is rather limited. Thus, the role of economic efficiency computations in enterprises is relatively small. Enterprises, of course, perform computations in respect of technological variants, the rational scale of production or size of series, the most advantageous product-mix or the solution of various technical and organizational problems. The use of these calculation methods is expanding and their importance has grown in recent years, due to increased incentives for rentability. However, the most important problems affecting current activity and further development of enterprises still depend on central decisions and are embodied in centrally prescribed plan indicators. How the principle of economic efficiency is asserted in enterprises is thus to a large extent determined by the "correspondence" of central decisions, embodied in national economic plans, with the requirements of efficiency and by the methods used for "passing down" the plan figures.

Economic efficiency calculations serving central decisions have developed mainly in two fields; namely, for investments and foreign trade. From the achievements of recent years partly the growing application of mathematical programming methods and partly the research activities into the role of efficiency computations and the connected basic methodological problems are worth mentioning.

Utilizing the experiences gained from the discussions going on in the Soviet Union, the methodological problems of investment efficiency have been dealt with ever since the beginning of the fifties. Since the mid-fifties, mainly as a result of the activity of *M. Turánszky* [1], the elaboration and submitting of efficiency computations according to an officially prescribed standard system became a condition of approving investment projects. According to these instructions, the computations relating to investment projects intended to create additional capacities have to be performed for the first year of operation. The planned annual output of the project is set against planned annual production input plus 20 per cent of investment input. In the course of years, methodological prescriptions were improved in several ways. Indicators relating to "enterprise" and "national" level were distinguished; an "interest" on the assets immobilized during the period while the investment is going on was also introduced; more precise computational methods were elaborated in order to account for "consequential" investments, i.e. those necessary to produce the materials to be used by the projected plant and also for accounting the various life-times of different projects and the amount of current inputs and outputs varying over time.

When, however, it was attempted to use these methods not only for valuating *variants* serving the same purpose but also for choosing from projects

serving different purposes, it became obvious that the valuation of the output of projects at domestic prices does not yield reliable results. To surmount the difficulties, the output of these projects was then expressed in terms of "international value", i.e. at "world market prices". Lately, the use of current domestic prices has fallen into disrepute even as regards inputs. In the frames of the State Office for Technical Development a method has been elaborated to valuate both current (production) inputs and the non-recurring (investment) inputs at "calculative" prices obtained with the aid of input-output tables.

Several problems connected with investment efficiency computations are still subject to lively discussion. The most important are: the category of interest and the *consistent* application of compound interest; the justified rate of interest and the method of its determination; the applicability of individual project efficiency calculations and analyses not only for choosing from among variants serving the same objective but also among *projects with different purposes;* the differentiation of formulae according to the type of decisions; and how to take into account uncertainty and risk.

The first publication dealing with foreign trade efficiency calculations, more exactly with *export transactions* appeared in Hungary in 1954. (The article by *T. Liska* and *A. Máriás* [2]). In subsequent years export efficiency computations gained ground both in professional literature and also in practice. The idea of such computations was prompted partly by the need felt for a tool that would assert national economic interests, partly by the misgivings about the use of domestic prices. With the most common types of export efficiency computations, the so-called "net foreign exchange proceeds" per unit of exported goods (the export price expressed in foreign exchange less the cost equally in foreign exchange of "total" imported materials used) is being confronted with the "total" wage costs per unit arising in the whole production process throughout the national economy. Export goods are then ranked according to the indicators thus obtained. In the computations to be performed by enterprises, "total" imports, as well as "total" wage inputs are established with various methods of approximation. More recently, the use of input-output tables for the determination of "total" input indicators gave opportunity partly to perform export-efficiency computations for whole branches and partly to establish such coefficients as can be used for rendering the computations more exact in case of individual products, too.

Recent researches have pointed out several limitations of the above outlined export efficiency computations now in use. The most important objection is probably that a single, uniform formula cannot yield proper orientation for the manyfold decisions connected with exports. Short-term and long-term decisions evidently necessitate different types of computations. Various methods are needed if export-decisions involve only a change of the product-mix or a modification of the degree of utilization of existing capacities, or their conversion or the need for the creation of new ones, etc. It was also criticized that these indicators are sensitive only for the foreign exchange yield *per unit* of inputs and do not take into account the total volume of foreign exchange yield and inputs. Whenever such indicators have to be compared, many conditions of decision-making, such as productive capacities or interindustrial effects, etc. have to be analysed separately. Moreover, when domestic inputs are expressed in terms of wages, the differences in tied-up fixed assets cannot be duly taken into account. Finally, the indicators are not directly connected either with na-

tional economic planning or the accountings of enterprises or with material incentives, since they rest on domestic prices which are eliminated from these indicators.

Due to the recognition of the limitations of investment and export-efficiency computations restricted to individual projects or export transactions and partly to the spreading use of input-output analysis, as well as of mathematical programming methods, more sophisticated methods for investigating economic efficiency were introduced. In the Institute of Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences a method was elaborated (by *Gy. Cukor* and *Z. Román* [3]) based on input-output techniques. It is hoped to aid analyses aimed at finding an optimum pattern of industry, the import-requirements, capital intensity, export yields, etc., from the point of view of the economy as a whole. In the broader sense of the word, *mathematical programming methods* may be also considered as economic efficiency computations. They are distinguished from the above mentioned "individual" computations, by two major advantages: first, the "traditional" efficiency computations can orientate the choice only from among alternatives *prepared in advance*, while a mathematical algorithm, as used in the course of programming, will automatically yield more advantageous new alternatives. Second, mathematical programming is able to account for and to follow up, with the aid of high-performance electronic computers, such manyfold and complicated interdependences as could be found with the usual economic efficiency computations only in several consecutive steps. From our practical experience first of all the application of mathematical programming to *entire branches of industry, comprising a considerable number of enterprises*, is worth to mention. Such are e.g. the programming of investments in the cotton industry; the optimal allocation of cotton-goods exports among possible foreign markets; the "complex programming" covering production, foreign trade and investments of the paper industry, and the similar computations for the synthetic fibre and the aluminium industries. Problems of a nation-wide programming and of price formation based on it were dealt with mainly by *Gy. Kondor* and *Gy. Simon*, [4] in the Institute of Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Recently, a major experiment has been started to join branch programming, with the nation-wide economic programming. This method, called "two-level programming", has been elaborated, starting from the decomposition method of Dantzig, by *J. Kornai* and *T. Lipták* [5].

From the research work of recent years aimed at a more comprehensive discussion of economic efficiency calculations, the studies by *J. Kornai* [6], *J. Varga* [7] and the author of this paper [8] are to be listed. From the research carried on by *J. Kornai*, the analysis of uncertainty and risk, of parameter sensitivity and the discussion of the bases of branch programming deserve to be mentioned. The author of this paper analysed and interpreted efficiency computations as instruments of economic decision-making. This point of view has proved to be fruitful in analyses of both computation methods and their practical application, or their possible role. From among the general problems of efficiency computations the author dealt in particular with those connected with pricing, the application of various "substitutes for prices" and the role of time and of uncertainty.

If efficiency calculations as instruments of decision-making are to fulfil their task, they should be based on the *actual* circumstances, conditions and motivations of the decisions they intend to serve. By starting from this prin-

ciple, we may obtain some answer to the question why the several types of investment and export-efficiency computations have yielded up to now but a modest practical effect. These computations have not conformed to and do not fit into the existing system of economic management. In fact, these computations could but very rarely assist *central* (national economic) *decisions* since most of them were performed generally at a time when the issues in question had long been decided in the frames of national economic plans. In decisions and actions at *enterprise level*, however, they were also scantily used because their units of measurement (foreign exchange prices, costs reduced to wages, etc.) are entirely different from the system of valuation applied by the enterprises themselves.

In connection with the new "economic mechanism" to be introduced, also the role of economic efficiency computations, their practicable methods and the conditions of their efficient utilization have to be re-examined. This work, only recently started, consists partly in evaluating past experiences and partly in analysing the expectable climate and nature of economic decisions under the future conditions of the new mechanism.

The analysis of our *present* "economic mechanism" as well as of the general problems and limitations of economic efficiency computations indicates, in my opinion, that the computations called upon to assert national economic evaluation for central decision-taking on a multitude of detail problems had been given an almost unsolvable task. The new mechanism delegates the decisions in detail problems, i.e. numerically the majority of all decisions, — precisely in order that central objectives should be better realized — to the authority of enterprises. In fact, and this is a fundamental feature, the direct connections between enterprises and consumers render several decisions automatic or at least much simpler.

In the new system of managing the national economy, enterprises will perhaps perform fewer economic efficiency computations than so far under prescriptions issued by central agencies to prepare central decisions, but they certainly will make more use of computations performed and adapted according to their own needs.

From the point of view of decision-making at enterprise level — as far as it can be seen from the present outlines of the new "economic mechanism" — three features should be emphasized:

— the main direct objective of the work going on in enterprises will be to increase the net gain;
— the net gain will depend on actual prices and on actual financial measures in force regarding taxes, duties, etc.;
— they will have to rely on themselves as regards the realization of their products by offering goods in marketable quality at adequate prices.

Excluding here the case when some enterprise is the unique supplier of a commodity without any competitor (this should be limited as far as possible), the principal problems to be faced by enterprises in the new mechanism seem to be as follows:

— to produce commodities that are in demand and which sell well,
— to increase production,
— to attain the highest possible gain through better prices and lower prime costs.

These problems are closely interrelated but with a good deal of simplifi-

cation we might say that they demand decisions from enterprises mainly in following questions:

— how much should they spend from their own resources on improving existing products, and/or introducing new products; into what direction should their production line be extended;
— how can they increase demand for their products and to what extent does it pay for them to increase production with existing capacities and/or by extending them through investments;
— how far can they increase net gains through better prices, lower costs, economies of scale, etc.

The first two fundamental problems (resources to be used for improving old and introducing new products, the shaping of the production line of the enterprise) require the consideration of several uncertain future factors; and, accordingly, such decisions cannot be based on efficiency computations. Some role will be, however, accorded to efficiency computations of simpler types in selecting and setting concrete tasks for this kind of development activity.

It will be, however, of fundamental importance for enterprises to investigate *continuously and numerically* the most favourable degree of utilization of capacities with a view to maximum net gain, taking into account changes in prime costs and possible changes in prices. In these analyses it will be a new element, in comparison to similar ones performed up to now, that they can and must reckon with the possibility of changing prices and their effect on demand, the quantity to be sold. In these investigations which, in a broader sense, may be also termed economic efficiency computations, it will be necessary to employ more sophisticated methods of cost and rentability analyses only rarely used up to now in our enterprises; e.g. computations dealing with marginal costs and mathematical programming procedures will have an important role.

The decisions connected with *investments* will invariably necessitate efficiency calculations — even in the traditional sense of the word. The methods to be used in actual practice will, however, become certainly much differentiated according to the character of investments (replacement, modernization, extension, new capacities, etc.) and will be more closely related to the concepts and expectations of enterprises about their future development and to their plans drawn up for their own purposes. With investments serving primarily the increase of production it will be of primary importance to assess future marketing possibilities and prices. Obviously, the computations will be carried out at actual prices, or, for the more distant future, at forecasted prices. In the decisions the rate of interest will have an important role to play, both for credits raised and for their own savings, in case utilization is postponed. Also the centrally regulated conditions of repayment as well as other financial (e.g. taxing) regulations, and the foreign exchange rate of conversion must be accounted for.

In the framework of the new "economic mechanism", the present specific export-efficiency computations will have hardly any role at *enterprise-level* in increasing efficient *exports*. The enterprise will calculate, namely, with costs at actual prices and will determine its expectable proceeds equally at actual prices (based on expected prices in foreign exchange and on the existing rate of conversion). It will take into account the centrally determined duties, subsidies and other financial factors which will be the major instruments for the central control of export activities. Thus, at enterprise level, economic efficiency cal-

culations for exports will not be separated but will fit partly (in short-term plans) into the system of computations concerning the optimal utilization of capacities and partly (in long-term plans) into the system of computations connected with development and investments. The possibility of diseconomies resulting from exports should be excluded by the guarantee that the enterprise will be paid the adequate domestic equivalent (in Forints) of the *export price actually earned* and will calculate production costs, among them those of imported goods, at real prices.

In the activity of the *central institutions*, the efficiency calculations concerning the decisions remaining in their competence will retain their role. These decisions necessitate, however, not administrative measures (instructions) but an *indirect influencing of the decisions to be taken by enterprises*. The media likely to be used will be prices, taxes and other instruments, mainly of financial character.

The economic efficiency calculations aimed at the foundation of central decisions will have to fit better into the actual process of central decision-making. For that, above all two principles have to be realized: first, for all questions requiring a decision in the framework of national economic planning, the relevant efficiency computations should be incorporated into the system of planning itself; second, since a major part of these decisions cannot be separated from each other, the scope of comprehensive and consistent plan-variants should be much more extended, as against individual computations of efficiency. Concerning central decisions on *investments*, the following three types of problems will be most important:

— how much should be invested in the national economy (from central and local sources, including those of the enterprises);
— what important, centrally decided objectives should be served by the bulk of investments;
— how, and through what measures, can the realization of the above decisions and objectives be ensured.

The decisions belonging to the first two types should be taken essentially by drawing up the national economic plan. Here, the role of economic efficiency computations must be taken mainly by plan-variants. The use of the indicators applied up to now to show investment efficiency will expectedly diminish, since the majority of decisions belonging to this type will fall into the competence of enterprises. The major individual productive investment projects, of course, will have to be centrally decided even in the future, but orientation should be obtained, besides individual investment efficiency calculations mainly from the plan-variants. The realization of such major individual projects is motivated, namely, not only by their economic efficiency *per se*, but first of all by their role in the development of the national economy as a whole. This, however, can be analysed only in the context of the whole plan. Of course, the individual investment efficiency computations will also have their role, partly in the analysis of the rentability and the rate of return of the projects and partly in the choice from among investment variants serving the same objective. With major projects it will be advisable to use beside the "formulae" applied up to now, or rather, instead of them, computations comprising the entire lifetime of the projects, using consistent discounting and accounting for factors of uncertainty or risk, too.

According to the prevailing ideas, the national economic plan will draft

some objectives to be attained by investments in more general terms than earlier. Thus, the individual projects will not be incorporated, only demand to be satisfied, the deficiencies to be eliminated, the branches or the groups of products to be preferred etc., will be designated. The setting of such more comprehensive objectives can be based only on a careful analysis of possible plan-variants. What concrete investment projects are needed to reach these objectives, through what investments they can be best assured, this will be decided by enterprises. These decisions at enterprise level can, however, be centrally influenced and even centrally supervised. Above all, certain investment possibilities can be rendered attractive by using financial measures (subsidies, credit conditions, etc.) in order that enterprises should strive to make such investments both from their own funds and also with credits. The granting of credits will then offer an opportunity to evaluate investment proposals of the enterprises and also to choose from among them.

The most novel, and, therefore, the most difficult task for central bodies will be to influence investment activity in enterprises in the direction desired. Influence must be exercised in respect of the amount to be invested by enterprises and partly (of course, not comprising the entire volume of investments) also in which branches and for what purposes should investments be undertaken. Enterprises will in all such decisions keep themselves to the actual system of prices and financial rules and to the other active "directing" elements of the "economic environment". This "economic environment" is, of course, modified by the economic mechanism itself, but it may be modified also by central decisions. The most important part of bringing about the new "economic mechanism" is precisely to assess, as exactly as possible, through what measures and to what extent can the activity and behaviour of enterprises be influenced in the interest of achieving central objectives. In addition to efficiency computations, therefore, economic analyses, investigating the expectable effect of individual factors (parameters) influencing enterprise decisions must obtain a progressive role.

The central bodies will have to solve a similar task in enforcing efficiency of *foreign trade*. The efficiency of foreign trade should be centrally and intensively analysed and influenced also in the new mechanism. Here, too, the most important alternatives can be analysed with the aid of plan-variants and the decisions taken on this basis should be incorporated in the national economic plans. The central bodies will need, in my opinion, fewer individual export and import analyses than at present. The method of computation now used for such analyses (called "real cost" or "wage level cost" computations) is debatable even in the existing mechanism since it neglects capital requirements, some other elements of social costs, justified deflections of prices, etc. As in the new mechanism we shall have more "reliable" domestic prices, these should be used in the first place. The prices themselves should be, of course, regularly analysed but not simply on the basis of "real cost" ("wage level cost") computations but by complex macro-economic cost accounting methods. The methods and the scope of such analyses requires further research. For the sake of foreign trade efficiency it will be an equally important task of the central institutions to influence the decisions of enterprises in an indirect way, to elaborate the methods serving this end, to establish the fundamental parameters (above all: the foreign exchange rates of conversion), and to assess the effect of other financial measures as well as to utilize them adequately.

Thus, in addition to revising the "traditional" methods of efficiency computations, the introduction of the new mechanism requires from central bodies,

— such development of planning methodology that the system of planning should be integrated with the economic efficiency computations on which the plan-decisions are founded;
— a better knowledge of the behaviour of enterprises, of their possible reaction to the modification of "parameters" (rates of tax, interest, foreign exchange conversion rates, etc.) and the selection of measures of influence according to groups of enterprises.

Together with the drafting of the plan, the central institutions must establish also the frames of the system of economic management and within that the values for the "parameters" which are expected to lead to the realization of the plan. The fulfilment of the plans, of course, by far not so detailed as now, should be followed with close attention, but the central "interferences" must be based, as far as possible, not on administrative measures but on indirect influencing of the enterprises.

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L. BORS

ON THE ACTIVITY AND TASKS OF THE HUNGARIAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION

The Hungarian Economic Association, the scientific and social organization of economists, was founded in 1894 to support economic scientific activity and to propagate economic knowledge. It was reorganized in 1954 to promote the science of economics in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and its practical application in socialist economic development.

The second General Assembly of the Association held in November 1965 had, in addition to the re-election of officials as prescribed by its statutes, to face other important tasks. Socialist economic development involves a multitude of complicated economic problems on whose successful solution depends the sound and even progress of the country. The will of the Hungarian Economic Association to co-operate in the solution of these problems was demonstrated by the discussions of a "scientific session" following the Assembly. The main subject was the management and operation of the socialist economy.

The organization has now 2200 members, organized in nine sections in Budapest and six regional groups. The forms of its activity are becoming more and more diversified. The conferences, disputes, lectures, club-meetings, the activity of various work-groups, etc. deal with a wide scale of economic problems in varying forms. In every year, about 100—120 subjects are being discussed. The activity of the Association is aimed mainly at offering a forum for discussions between economists, among them also for many who earlier, in the absence of such opportunity, could not give expression to their opinion. In addition, the Association has an important and growing role in promoting the organized post-graduate studies of economists.

The divisions of the Association cover partly the various branches of the economy (industrial, agricultural, trade and international), and partly the main functional fields (political economy, national economic planning, finances, statistics, econometrics). In some sections, there are also special working groups, e.g. within the statistical section one for historical statistics, within the trade section for catering, in the section of finance for accountancy, etc.

The activity of the Association reflects the economic and social development of the country, but, in a particular way, its activity also contributes to this development. Part of the discussions at the meetings organized in the framework of the Association, has touched upon some important fields of the reform of economic management now in preparation. The organizations of the Association dealt, e.g., with the type of prices to be introduced, the problems of price policy in various branches, the sharing in net gain by enterprises and individuals, the questions of income distribution and its regulation, the charge to be paid by enterprises on the fixed assets allocated to them, investment policy, as well as with the methodological problems of regional and national economic planning, comprising the examination of the wider application of mathematics in economics.

It is a no less important task of the Association to propagate scientific knowledge in a wider orbit including economic professions, in order that the economic view should become ever more general in all fields of society and economy. Some results may be already registered, being partly the fruit of co-operation with the Hungarian Union of Technical and Scientific Associations and the Hungarian Society for the Propagation of Scientific Knowledge. The

already traditional meetings of economists, held alternately in different towns of the country, are organized jointly with these associations. From these, we should like to mention particularly the one held in May 1965 on the subject of enterprise management, business decision and information system.

The international relations of the Association are widening. Since 1962 it has been a member of the International Economic Association. Through that, the occasions for information and exchange of experiences became more frequent and the ties with international scientific life were strengthened. In 1964, the Association was entrusted with organizing the conference of the Institut International de Finance Publiques. This was a successful meeting both from the domestic and the international points of view.

As regards the future tasks of the Association, its Presidium has started from the principle that *continuous* scientific research does not belong to the tasks of a social organization because it may be successfully conducted only in the framework of special institutes. The Association may work, however, usefully in inspiring the elaboration of new themes. In addition to the lectures coupled with discussions to widen knowledge, new organizational forms should be developed that may contribute to the processing and solution of economic problems. Such measures may be, e.g., awards, frequent discussion of scientific research results, the organization of temporary working panels for certain themes, etc.

In the near future, the Association will concentrate its activity mainly on the solution of the following tasks:

1. Participation in the preparation of the introduction of the "new economic mechanism". Even after the entire concept will have been elaborated and accepted, the co-operation of the organizations and members of the Association will be necessary in order to solve many macro- and micro-economic tasks.

2. Co-operation in the establishing and elaboration of medium and long-term national economic plans, and development objectives, of economic policy.

3. Discussion of the actual problems connected with the international division of labour, including a critical evaluation of economic policy in capitalist countries, with a view to Hungary's future foreign trade and balance of payments situation.

4. Critical analysis of the theories and methods of modern non-Marxist political economy, as well as the review and discussion of the domestic and international achievements of the political economy of socialism.

5. Promotion of post-graduate economic studies.

The conditions necessary to solve these tasks are mostly available; it is, however, desirable to expand them, among others, by bringing about the own economic periodical of the Association.

The expansion of international relations is furthered by establishing direct personal and institutional relations with the brother associations in several socialist countries. Such relations already exist with the Soviet and Polish organizations and discussions are under way with the Association of Yugoslav economists. The existing relations (resting, at present, mainly on correspondence) with the German, Bulgarian and Czechoslovak societies can also be developed into closer personal relations, and it is possible to establish similar contacts with other organizations, too. The Association also undertook to organize, on the basis of mutuality, study-tours of economists abroad. A good

example is the organization of a French-Hungarian economic colloquium that is going to take place — in the frames of the cultural agreement signed between the two countries — on the initiative of Professor François Perroux.[1] It would be useful if the information of foreign countries could be promoted by the edition — in several languages — of volumes containing Hungarian economic articles and materials of discussions.

The last General Assembly of the Hungarian Economic Association marked an important stage in the social activity of Hungarian economists, in concentrating their forces to the solution of the tasks before the country, as well as in furthering international relations.

[1] In the meantime, this was already held in Paris. Report will follow in next issue. (Ed.)

BOOK REVIEWS

JÁNOSSY, F.: *A gazdasági fejlettség mérhetősége és uj mérési módszere.* (The Measurability and a New Measuring Method of Economic Development Level.) Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó. Budapest, 1963. p. 326.

The book did not restrict its task to the mere comparison of the development levels in individual countries. The author treats extensively the general problems of international comparisons, the notion of economic development levels, the methods used up to now for measuring this level and then he proposes a new one. In addition to promoting new ideas and systematizing existing ones, the author's performance is remarkable even in respect of compiling thorough and precise statistical evidence and of his computations performed in order to establish the development levels of 48 countries — among them also of Hungary — for 1955.*

The first part of the book clarifies the principles of comparison, ranking and measurement. It is an important contribution of this part that, beside the critical limits of measurements and due to the inefficiency of the measuring instruments — it clarifies also the critical limits inherent in the phenomena to be measured — due to their qualitative differences. In all cases of measurement it is of decisive importance to compare these two critical limits with the exactness required by the purpose of the measurement. From these considerations the author deduces that *above* these critical limits even qualitatively highly differing objects, e.g. countries with widely differing economic structures, are comparable, but *below* these critical limits every kind of measurement becomes futile, or results in systematizing of no practical value.

The second part of the book examines the methods used up to now for comparing development levels; it surveys the results gained by "re-pricing the social products by items" and those arrived at by applying foreign exchange coefficients. This part suggests new ideas mainly in the field of the theory of index numbers. The author first reduces the four index numbers used hitherto (two indexes of volume and two for prices) to two index numbers of productivity and then — by linking them and performing marginal transition — to a single one. True, this method signalizes different "distances" between levels A and B, depending on the way covered in the process of development. If this property of the method may be considered a weakness by the formal theory of index numbers, it may be an advantage if we are interested in the typical way covered by individual countries in the course of development rather than in the "theoretical" distance between A and B.

The third and most voluminous part of the book deals with the proposed new method of determining the development levels. This method is needed because, ac-

* The Appendix of the book has been compiled and computed with the assistance of Éva Ehrlich.

cording to the author, the re-pricing method is inaccurate in spite of being most labour intensive while the method of foreign exchange-coefficients, being still less exact, cannot be employed in some cases at all for lack of proper coefficients.

It is an essential hypothesis of the new method that the aggregate of a proper number of natural (physical) economic indicators may characterize the level of development and even express it with a greater numerical exactness than the methods applied up to now.

The author leads his readers through the consecutive theoretical stages of developing the new method. He explains why and how the proper indicators had been selected, illustrates the relation between individual indicators and the level of development and, finally, shows how the concrete level of development is determined by his method. He analyses also the limits of the method: to what countries, in what interval of development, and with what accuracy it can be used and what are the major sources of inaccuracies.

New and fruitful ideas are registered — after somebody has discovered them — with a feeling of their being familiar. Jánossy's book makes us feel that his propositions are self-evident. Well, if the overwhelming part of the national income consists of some ten or twenty products, the per capita quantity of these products will characterize the per capita national income as well. These products may be considered as a representative sample selected with great circumspection and, since the degree of representation is very high (more than 50 per cent according to our estimates), we can obviously obtain very accurate results, without any bias caused by deviations in the monetary and price systems.

However simple the new idea may seem in retrospect, it had to be first invented, then investigated in detail and its viability had to be proven. Jánossy's book is an interesting narrative of how all this was done.

A. B.

Szabó, K.: *A szocialista termelés alapvonásai.* (Основные черты социалистического цроизвобства.) Budapest, 1964. Kossuth Könyvkiadó. стр. 410 p.

В книге рассматриваются основные теоретические вопросы политической экономии социализма, а именно: в первом разделе — элементы социалистической экономической системы, во втором разделе — производство для удовлетворения общественных потребностей, в третьем — пропорциональность, а в четвертом — взаимосвязь между пропорциональностью и системой цен. В нашей стране впервые излагаются такие темы и в такой теоретической системе, как это делает автор.

В первом разделе можно прочесть о роли экономческой науки, об экономической структуре и об экономической форме, об элементах экономическо-производственных отношений, о марксовом понимании форм и отношений собственности и, наконец, о группах т. н. моментов формы хозяйствования.

Во втором разделе излагаются основные черты социалистических общественно-экономических отношений, основное производственное отношение социализма, характерные черты его функционирования, тенденции его развития.

Третий раздел занимается общими характерными чертами пропорциональности, равновесием как формой осуществления пропорциональности, пропорциями, относительностью пропорционального равновесия, измененной ролью спроса и предложения, наконец, взаимосвязью между пропорциональностью и специфическими законами социализма.

В четвертом разделе — как бы в качестве выводов, заключенных из содержания первых трех разделов в отношении системы цен — излагаются общие и специфические черты абстрактного труда, двойственная трактовка Марксом общественно-необходимого труда, роль рыночной стоимости при социализме, вопросы центра цен. Здесь можно найти последовательную концепцию о перспективах развития социалисти-

ческой системы цен и ряд предложений по улучшению нашей системы цен.

В книге автор занимает определенные позиции по ряду давно дискутируемых вопросов. Так, в частности, он доказывает, что разделение труда, отражающее техническое членение общественной трудовой организации, как взаимосвязь между людьми, носит экономический характер. Эту сторону производственных отношений автор называет технико-экономическими отношениями и считает, что она относится к предмету политической экономии. Он доказывает, что различными народнохозяйственными, отраслевыми, внутрипроизводственными пропорциями общественного воспроизводства, пропорциями потребления и накопления и т. д. одновременно выражаются и общественно-экономические отношения. Технико-экономические отношения играют посредническую роль между производительными силами и движением общественно-экономических отношений.

Автор доказывает, что при социалистическо-коммунистическом способе производства нельзя вывести основное производственное отношение из отношения двух основных классов. При социализме основным производственным отношением становится прямая связь между личными общественными потребностями и производством благ. Основной закон социализма выражает необходимое направление движения имеющегося между ними неантагонистического противоречия. Ряд — играющих при капитализме специфическую роль — категорий, как необходимый и прибавочный продукт, необходимый и прибавочный труд, теряет специфический характер и действует лишь в качестве технико-экономической необходимости.

При социалистических отношениях имманентный основной закон общественного производства проявляется во внешних законах планового хозяйства, в общественных интересах, направленных на повышение экономической эффективности общественного производства, обращения и распределения. Общей сущностью пропорциональности является структурное соответствие всех эффективных потребностей (удовлетворение которых возможно на данном уровне развития производительных сил) и всех экономических деятельностей.

При социализме модифицируется суть пропорциональности. Устанавливается прямая связь между структурой потребностей и экономических деятельностей. Пропорциональность является специфической формой движения социалистического воспроизводства. Общественно-осознанное установление последовательности удовлетворения потребностей личного потребления встает на место закона прибавочной стоимости, накопления капитала. Становится возможным исключающий потрясения переход из динамического равновесия одного периода в динамическое равновесие последующего периода.

Автор выявляет, что и при социализме производственные возможности не являются неограниченными; гибкая приспособляемость к потребностям имеет природные и технико-экономические препятствия. Таким образом, по ряду товаров общественно-необходимый труд на длительное время отклоняется от средних общественных затрат труда. Вследствие таких ограничений, монополистических положений рыночная стоимость необходимым образом отклоняется от общественной стоимости. В книге такая рыночная стоимость называется деклинированной. Деклинация — отклонение величины рыночной стоимости от величины общественной стоимости — зависит от напряжений между условиями производства и потребления.

На формирование производственных мощностей и рыночной стоимости произведенных благ влияет также и величина их общественной потребительной стоимости. Последняя зависит от полезного эффекта продукта, определяемого его материально-техническими свойствами, а с другой стороны, — от объективной очередности эффективных потребностей.

На основании всего этого автор высказывается за образование т. н. деклинированных центров цен типа рыночной стоимости, отражающих пропорции общест-

венных потребительных стоимостей, соответствующих общественно-необходимым количествам труда. По его мнению, направлением развития является создание такой системы цен, в которой пропорциями цен приблизительно отражаются структурные отношения производственных возможностей и эффективных потребностей.

О. ПИРИТИ

BRÓDY, A.: *Az ágazati kapcsolatok modellje.* (The Model of Interindustry Relations.) Budapest, 1964. Akadémiai Kiadó. p. 217.

Theoretical research and practical computations relating to input-output tables started in Hungary in the fifties. The book by András Bródy constitutes an important result of these practical and theoretical efforts. Besides formulating and expounding some general questions, the author deals in this book with one of the most important aspects of the subject: the problems relating to the accuracy of the model and of the computations. In this, though taking into account the research work going on abroad, he relies mainly on his own investigations which lead him to conclusions of considerable importance from the point of view of the model's utilization.

The book begins with a survey of the theoretical possibilities of establishing the model's system of equations by means of various abstractions. He presents the alternative ways of formulating the system of equations: on the basis of the Marxian theory of value; with the aid of the system of balances used in planning; and by starting from the theory of market equilibrium.

The system of equations built up from the technological co-efficients of the model enables the solution of a variety of tasks. Its role is particularly important in planning; here, however, either the stability of the co-efficients must be assumed or their changes must be planned. In fact, the fundamental problem dealt with by the author is the extent to which the *accuracy of the computations* is influenced by the fluctuations or uncertainties of the co-efficients, independently of whether these are due to inaccurate measurement or to changes over time. The exposition and general analysis of this problem is one of the book's main assets.

The author analyses the possible causes of errors in co-efficients, working out their average absolute value and evaluating the effects of the absolute error on the computations.

Dealing with the problem of aggregation (the number of sectors in the model) the author shows that, especially as regards the aggregation of sectors, this may in practice effect not only an increase but also a decrease in errors. In the opinion of the author, owing to errors of measurement, data collection and computation committed in the course of drawing up the actual balances and matrices, an uncertainty of approximately 1 per cent in the co-efficients should be reckoned with. The effects of the different causes cannot be separated from each other with numerical accuracy. In the course of the mathematical discussion, the author treats them collectively and devotes his attention to the sum of errors.

According to the author's estimation, the changes in co-efficients over time will average some 5 per cent annually. He both states and proves that the average changes in the individual co-efficients always exceed the changes in the sum total of the coefficients in one column or row, since in these sums the changes in the individual co-efficients, — partly opposed in direction — will to some extent cancel each other. And it is particularly important that — as the author proves it — the average error in the calculation results is in each case much less than the average error in the individual co-efficients. However, on an annual basis, the error cannot be reduced below 1 to 2 per cent.

The mathematical analysis leads the author to a number of practical conclusions. Their essence is that the computational facilities offered by the model will yield

more accurate results than would be expected on the basis of the degree of accuracy in the initial data. This realization should lead to more extensive utilization of the table, particularly in the field of planning. Computations of this type are thus suited for practical planning; it is necessary, however, that reference should be made to possible errors in the results as demonstrated by the methods reviewed in the book.

A. RÁCZ

SIMON, GY. — KONDOR, GY.: *Gazdasági hatékonyság, árnyékárak.* (Economic Efficiency, Shadow Prices.) Budapest, 1965. Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó. p. 256.

Since the well-known book by Professor Kantorowitch published in 1959, this is the first comprehensive experiment in the literature of socialist countries trying to solve the problems of an optimum system of prices in a socialist economy by theoretical reasoning, with the aid of mathematical programming and shadow prices.

The basic idea of the book is to use the shadow prices obtained in the course of national economic programming in order to create a comprehensive system of valuation. The authors analyse the deductions arrived at by the application of programming models for the national economy. They do not perform their analyses from the point of view of a defined model, they use one only for illustrative purposes, stressing a few general features and such deductions as are valid in case of any objective function.

As an introduction, a brief and instructive review of the input-output analysis is given, followed by a survey of the method of linear programming. The authors discuss in detail the optimum table and within that the role and economic interpretation of shadow prices. They prove that the proportions found within a system of shadow prices are suited to solve not only a defined task, but may be used also for a whole group of tasks. It deals with the interpretation of the dual task and with the interrelations of shadow prices, the optimum program and the inverse matrix.

The authors touch upon the economic bearings of non-linear and integer programming models and then, in order to demonstrate the economic interpretation of shadow prices, discuss a national economic programming model. The objective set in the model is the maximization of the aggregate national final output with prescribed proportions for the pattern of total output. On hand of a numerical example the authors analyse the shadow prices obtained and review their various possible uses, as e.g. for modifying a given plan during the plan period, judging the efficiency of partial decisions, and reviewing the initial assumptions of the model. They treat the relation between the shadow prices and the numerical values of the objective function. In this relation, they state that a socialist society strives to economize on labour; this does not relate, however, only to live labour, and embodied labour but to all resources — taken in a broad sense — which can be substituted for them. The resources substituting labour should be valued as much as the labour they substitute.

The book presents in a more detailed manner the utilization of shadow prices in three particular fields: investment decisions, multi-regional tasks and price formation.

In order that the price system should ensure correct orientation and that it should be able to harmonize — on certain conditions — national economic interests with those of the enterprises, the domestic price system should be developed, in the opinion of the authors, with a view to national economic shadow prices and the collection of net income from enterprises should also take place accordingly.

In the "Appendix" of the book, the authors critically review the debate going

on in the Soviet Union about the application of programming and shadow prices.

F. RABÁR

TIMÁR, J.: *Munkaerőhelyzetünk jelene és távlatai.* (Manpower in Hungary: Present Situation and Perspectives.) Budapest, 1964. Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó. p. 194.

Research in the field of manpower economics is of recent standing both in Hungary and the other socialist countries; in recent years there have appeared but a few comprehensive works worth mentioning on the subject. János Timár's book is one of the most comprehensive among the works dealing with manpower and should be considered as a pioneering venture.

In his introduction the author defines the objectives and tasks of employment policy. He states that the *main objective* of socialist employment policy is to draw into the social labour force the population of working age to the fullest possible extent. The actual extent and direction of realizing this aim are determined by the objective and concrete economic and social factors prevailing in the given period, such as the level of economic development, demographical characteristics, etc. The major part of manpower economy consists in bringing about equilibrium between the sources and the utilization of manpower. The author examines the role of the annual, five-year and long-term plans in the manpower economy and comes to the conclusion that it is the realistic long-term (15—20 year) plans that will enable us to meet the demand for manpower because of the determining role of training and other related factors.

In the second part of his book the author deals in detail with the lower and upper bounds to the working capacity of the population, examines the social and economic factors determining these limits as well as their changes. He analyses the tendencies in the pattern of the population by age and sex in different periods. Within the population of working age, he deals separately with the various strata and he is particularly concerned with the economic problems connected with the increased employment of women. He reveals the factors which affect the proportion of gainfully employed women to all earners and which generally bring about an increase in the number of economically active women. Among these, he emphasizes the importance of education and training. He discloses several important circumstances with respect to the social conditions and the efficiency of female employment.

Particular importance is attributed to education and vocational training, and the influence of education and vocational training on the supply of manpower is examined. In this connection the author surveys the present supply of specialists and performs computations about future demand for qualified manpower in Hungary.

Reviewing the stratification of the population, he raises the problem of aging and employment, considering the role of socio-economic factors objectively influencing the employment of aged persons. In this connection the author examines the system of pensions and outlines the perspective for the employment of aged people.

In the third part the author presents a detailed picture about the manpower situation in agriculture, the share of agricultural employment and its changes, the development of agricultural techniques and the effect of the increasing productivity of labour in agriculture. He assesses in a concrete manner the manpower demand of Hungarian agriculture at present and in the future. Seasonal fluctuations in agricultural production and their effect on manpower demand are also examined.

The author shows the development of employment in non-agricultural branches, mainly in industry, and analyses the effect of industrial development on employment in general. A special chapter is devoted to

the employment pattern of non-agricultural branches.

The author estimates the employment of Hungarian population over a perspective of 15—20 years. He accounts for the expectable development of employment up to 1980 and presents the expectable transformation in the pattern of employment in the long run. In estimating the long-term demand for manpower, account is taken of reduced working hours, the increase of productivity and the changes in the territorial distribution of manpower.

The book imparts detailed information about the demographical and manpower situation in Hungary as well as about the future trends in employment. The author illustrates the demographical and manpower problems with the aid of ample data and tables. The data and the analysis will render assistance to economists in further investigations. There are also several comparisons of the Hungarian manpower situation and employment problems with those in other socialist countries, as well as in developed and developing capitalist countries.

J. BERÉNYI

ZALA, F.: *Fogyasztás — kereslet ma és holnap.* (Потребление и спрос сегодня и завтра.) Budapest, 1965. Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó. стр. 307.

В книге Ференца Залы обобщены и представлены результаты исследований, связанных с изучением потребления и спроса. Широко используя отечественные и зарубежные источники, полемизируя с ними по мере необходимости, автор в легко доступном стиле обосновывает свои заключения множеством данных и таблиц. Его заслугой является стремление к показу комплексности сложных экономических и общественных процессов. Автор рассматривает многочисленные взаимосвязи, сферы потребления, предостерегает от применения метода, по которому ранее потребление населения рассматривалось почти исключительно во взаимозависимости с доходом. Детально анализируются факторы — демографические условия, научно-техническое развитие, обычаи и вкусы, жилищные условия, — прямо или косвенно влияющие на настоящий и ожидаемый спрос населения. Автор использует математические методы, отмечая возможности и границы их применения.

В разделе «Экономические взаимосвязи развития потребления и спроса» автор делает интересные заключения о взаимном влиянии потребления и производства, а также технического развития. Взаимосвязь производства и потребления (а также спроса) — особенно в перспективе — не может рассматриваться в рамках одной страны или группы стран. Расширение международного разделения труда и внешней торговли приводит к тому, что спрос все менее тесно связан с отечественным производством. В этом разделе больше внимания уделяется менее известным демографическим взаимосвязям, взаимосвязи услуг и потребления, а также связанным с потреблением обычаям.

Изучение обычаев и вкусов в потреблении вошло в обиход лишь недавно, хотя в перспективе можно рассчитывать на увеличение их значения. Можно ожидать также и сокращения различий во вкусах, имеющихся в отдельных странах — например, в европейских социалистических странах — по мере выравнивания жизненного уровня и потребления, а также сближение ассортимента товаров и их ценовых пропорций.

Достижение целей потребления может, с одной стороны, стимулироваться, а с другой стороны, задерживаться имеющимися обычаями, навыками. В связи с этим следует различать вкусы, имеющиеся в сфере потребления продовольственных продуктов и промышленных товаров. Общеизвестен консервативный характер первых, под влиянием которого вкусы в потреблении продовольственных продуктов изменяются медленнее, чем это мотивировалось бы общественными и экономическими условиями. В то же время как в отношении

одежды и обуви, так и в отношении прочих промышленных товаров вкусы и спрос изменяются быстро. Воздействие технического прогресса также сказывается, главным образом, в этом отношении.

Раздел книги, в котором рассматриваются услуги, содержит ряд интересных соображений. Повышение уровня услуг, в частности, должно способствовать наилучшему использованию свободного времени населения в общественном и индивидуальном аспекте. Развитие потребления сопровождается повышением требований и в отношении услуг.

В качестве важного принципиального вопроса в книге рассматривается проблема достижения уровня потребления населения развитых капиталистических стран.

По мнению автора, показатели потребления развитых капиталистических стран не обязательно показывают наиболее благоприятную перспективу развития. Невозможно даже назвать страну, которая с точки зрения потребления может послужить для нас примером. Не только потому, что общественные, экономические, исторические, географические и демографические условия различны в отдельных странах, но и потому, что в определенных аспектах — например, в отношении дифференциации доходов, приоритета определенных сфер потребления и услуг, их внутренних пропорций — жизненный уровень даже самых развитых стран не может служить для нас примером.

Одной из самых ценных частей книги является многостороннее и критическое изложение применяемых в капиталистических странах методов прогнозирования. Эти методы с необходимыми изменениями могут быть использованы и в социалистических странах и могут служить контролем для установленных иными методами целей.

В последних разделах Ференц Зала дает анализ характера и важнейших взаимосвязей, используемых при перспективном планировании целей в области потребления, а также методов их определения.

Д. КОВАЧ

Erdei, F.—Fekete, F. (Ed.): *Önköltség a szocialista mezőgazdaságban.* (Prime Costs in Socialist Agriculture.) Budapest, 1965. Akadémiai Kiadó. p. 814.

The writings dealing with the economic efficiency and cost accountancy of agricultural production are followed with close attention not only by those actually engaged in agricultural production or in agricultural economics but by nearly all who work in some field of economics. This is understandable since publications of this kind could hardly appear up to the second half of the fifties due to the dogmatic economic policy. Evidently the collection of case studies amounting to about 800 pages, edited by F. Erdei and F. Fekete and written by a panel of sixteen workers, is a remarkable contribution to Hungarian agricultural economics.

These papers are mostly the result of research going on in the Institute for Agricultural Economic Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. They are the summary of the subject as indicated by the title. Their thorough review is not possible within the few pages available for this purpose, much less its critical evaluation. We must confine ourselves to scan briefly its rich contents and draw the attention to some outstanding chapters.

The introduction by F. Fekete in addition to drawing the outlines of the whole book, also explains why it had not been possible for a long time to assess correctly the prime costs, value categories as well as socialist commodity relations in general. He emphasizes the importance of prime costs in co-operative farms both from the practical and theoretical points of view.

The problems of prime costs are dealt with in three major parts, beyond the methodology of computing production costs per unit of product, the related fields of cost accountancy in socialist agriculture are also reviewed.

The first part examines the problems of cost theory, the role of commodity, money and value-relations, the contents of

the category of prime costs as well as its particular features in the co-operative farms. Then, on hand of rich documentation, the economic and farm management implications of the indicator of prime costs are clarified.

The subject of the second part is the methodology of computing agricultural prime costs. The emphasis is on the chapters dealing with the assessment of the amount of live labour performed in co-operative farms and particularly with the problems connected with the practical accounting of the "work-units" performed.

The third part of the study, treating the various systems used for computing costs and incomes, is of the most heterogeneous contents. Some chapters review the various cost and income indicators used in capitalist and socialist countries, then it touches upon the field of agricultural accountancy. This is, however, completely justified, because, similarly to other branches of economy, the main data supplier for agricultural cost accounting is the system of accountancy. The organic unity of this part is ensured by treating the problems and perspectives of accountancy mainly from the point of view of how and how far to improve the cost accounts in co-operative farms.

Finally, the last chapter of the book dissects some problems of farm management that are inseparable from agricultural economics. The point in question is the possibility of reducing costs in co-operative farms. Reaching over to the field of farm management, this chapter registers progress on the often thorny path of concrete practice by examining, on hand of the representative data of hundred co-operative farms, the activities in some major branches of plant cultivation and animal husbandry. On this basis, it endeavours to offer help to improve economic efficiency and to reduce costs.

It should be mentioned, since it supports a far-reaching economic measure recently introduced in Hungary, i.e. the creation of an amortization fund in co-operative farms, that Part 61 in Chapter Six by L. Rácz tries to find a solution for accounting the amortization costs of fixed assets.

V. LÁZÁR

ERDEI, F.—CSETE, L.—MÁRTON, J.: *A mezőgazdaság belterjessége.* (Intensität in der Landwirtschaft.) Budapest, 1963. Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó. p. 384.

Die Untersuchung der Intensität in der Landwirtschaft verfügt über eine breite inländische und internationale Literatur. In der bürgerlichen Agrarökonomie ist die Intensität ein ständig behandeltes Thema. Während des letzten Jahrzehnts aber befassen sich damit auch Agrarökonomen der sozialistischen Länder in immer weiteren Kreisen.

Mit der Untersuchung der Intensität befasst sich in Ungarn seit 1957 das Forschungsinstitut für Agrarökonomik. Die Mitarbeiter des Instituts veröffentlichten mehrere Werke über den in Frage stehenden Themenkreis. Unter diesen ist die hier besprochene Studie des Direktors und zweier Abteilungsleiter des Instituts das bedeutendste und auch im Ausland auf Interesse rechnende Werk. Eine kurze Zusammenfassung des Buches trugen die Verfasser auch auf der 1962 in Budapest veranstalteten IV. Konferenz der agrarökomischen Institute der sozialistischen Länder vor. In der dem Vortrag folgenden weitläufigen Diskussion entfaltete sich eine im wesentlichen einhellige Meinung über die Hauptthesen und Schlüsse des Buches.

Das Buch gliedert sich in zwei Teile. Der erste Teil behandelt die theoretischen Fragen der Intensität und der Intensivierung. Seine Kapitel sind: Auslegung und Bedeutung der Intensität; Begriff der Intensität und Intensivierung; Messung der Intensität; technische und ökonomische Probleme der Intensivierung; die Entwicklung der Intensität der Produktion in Ungarn. Im zweiten Teil untersuchen die Verfasser auf Grund von Daten der ungarischen Produktionsgenossenschaften die Ge-

staltung der Intensität und Intensivierung. Die Grundlage der Untersuchung bildeten die durch das Forschungsinstitut für Agrarökonomik in 96 Produktionsgenossenschaften geführte betriebsstatistische Erhebung für die Jahre 1958—1960 sowie die vom Landwirtschaftsministerium zur Verfügung gestellten Daten.

Das Buch kann besonders bei solchen Lesern auf Interesse rechnen, die sich mit theoretischen Fragen befassen. Seine grösste Stärke ist die auf hohem Niveau stehende, gut systematisierte Bearbeitung der sich auf die theoretischen Aspekte der Intensität und Intensivierung beziehenden Fragen.

Sowohl in der Literatur als auch in der Praxis ergeben sich bei der Bestimmung des Wesens der Intensität, bei der Anwendung des Begriffes viele Probleme. Sehr oft wird die Intensität durch „Kosten, Kosten und noch mehr Kosten", also nur von der Seite der Investitionserhöhungen angenähert. Andere halten nur die Erhöhung der Erträge vor Augen und haben weniger Interesse an den Kosten und an der Wirtschaftlichkeit. Häufig kommt es auch vor, dass man den Begriff Intensität an Stelle von Wirtschaftlichkeit, Produktivität oder Rentabilität setzt.

Die Verfasser betrachten — die Ergebnisse der bisherigen wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen zusammenfassend — die Intensität in den Zusammenhängen ihrer drei Faktoren: Boden, Aufwand und Ertrag. Ihrer Meinung nach ist unter Intensität folgendes zu verstehen: das Verhältnis zwischen Boden bzw. Pflanzen oder Viehbestand, aufgewendeter lebendiger und vergegenständlichter Arbeit einerseits, erreichten Erträgen anderseits in je einem Produktionsprozess. Mit anderen Worten: die intensive Entwicklung der Landwirtschaft bedeutet die Erhöhung der auf eine Einheit Bodenfläche entfallenden Produktenmenge, bei maximaler Arbeits- und Mittelaufwandsersparnis.

Das Buch vermittelt den Lesern eine gute Übersicht über die Entwicklung der ungarischen Landwirtschaft während mehrerer Jahrzehnte, ausserdem finden die Leser ein reiches Angabenmaterial zum Studium des Wirtschaftens der ungarischen landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften.

Der zweite Teil des Buches verdient auch in methodologischer Hinsicht Interesse. Aus diesem Gesichtspunkt bietet das meiste das erste Kapitel des zweiten Teils, wo die Verfasser des Buches die Methoden der Untersuchung ausführlich erläutern. Ausserdem empfehlen wir dem Interesse unserer Leser die Methoden zur Analyse des Intensitätsgrades, der Effizienz der Aufwendungen und der zusätzlichen Aufwendungen.

Der Band wird durch ein ausführliches Inhaltsverzeichnis in Deutsch, Russisch und Englisch ergänzt.

E. CSIZMADIA

KÁPLÁR, J.: *Munkamegosztás a szocialista világgazdaságban.* (Разделение труда в мировом социалистическом хозяйстве.) Budapest, 1964. Kossuth Könyvkiadó. стр. 247.

Развитие разделения труда в мировом социалистическом хозяйстве является одним из важнейших теоретических и практических вопросов наших дней.

В связи с переходом к новой системе народнохозяйственного управления и планирования еще большее значение приобретает изучение проблем социалистического международного разделения труда, его конкретное познание, и одновременно повышаются требования к исследователям. С увеличением самостоятельности предприятия становятся материально заинтересованными в углублении международного разделения труда; а центральное планирование должно лучше учитывать возникающие в ходе международного разделения труда экономические и технические проблемы.

Специальная литература, анализирующая проблемы социалистического международного разделения труда, может способствовать решению этих задач, однако,

как в Венгрии, так и в остальных социалистических странах об этой теме издается мало обобщающих работ. В книге Йожефа Каплара анализируются наиболее важные актуальные проблемы, поэтому она весьма полезно дополняет специальную литературу о мировом социалистическом хозяйстве, выходящую в свет довольно несистематически.

В первом разделе книги рассматриваются проблемы международного разделения труда, дается определение этого понятия и характеризируется международное капиталистическое разделение труда. Автор дает детальный анализ положения развивающихся стран в международном разделении труда.

Этапами формирования и развития мировой социалистической системы, ее закономерностями, а также принципами социалистических международных сношений занимается автор *во втором разделе*. Он устанавливает, что основная тенденция развития мировой социалистической системы определяется основным экономическим законом социализма. В главе о действии закона планомерного пропорционального развития в мировой социалистической системе он рассматривает требования связанные с обеспечением пропорциональности. Им выделяются две крупные области сознательного применения закона стоимости в социалистической мировой системе: в разделении труда между социалистическими странами и в формировании системы цен на мировом социалистическом рынке.

В третьем разделе автор излагает условия планомерного и эффективного международного разделения труда. Здесь он показывает противоречия социалистического международного разделения труда, причины этих противоречий, раскрывает содержание понятия народнохозяйственного комплекса.

В четвертом разделе автор занимается некоторыми проблемами *взаимозависимостей между народнохозяйственными пропорциями и международным разделением труда*. В этом разделе он сначала рассматривает взаимозависимость между пропорциями и эффективным использованием рабочей силы, затем переходит к взаимосвязи народнохозяйственной структуры с капиталоемкостью отраслей и, наконец, занимается условиями, воздействующими на международное движение факторов производства.

Наблюдаемые в различных производственных отраслях различия в прочих факторах, определяющих экономические, технические и природные условия международной специализации производства, а также возможности специализации рассматриваются автором *в пятом* разделе: в главах о черной металлургии, о химической промышленности, о машиностроении и о сельском хозяйстве.

В шестом разделе говорится о взаимосвязи социалистического международного разделения труда и внешней торговли. Автор занимается связью между темпами развития производства и внешней торговли, а также анализирует вопрос о том, внешний или внутренний рынок увеличивается быстрее в результате роста производства.

Автором дается также общая характеристика развития экономических связей между социалистическими и несоциалистическими странами. Он подчеркивает, что в процессе развития расширились формы экономических связей и увеличился объем внешнеторгового оборота. На основании форм связей и господствующих в этом отношении тенденций автор указывает на различия в экономических отношениях между социалистическими странами и промышленно развитыми капиталистическими странами, а также между социалистическими странами и странами, недавно освободившимися из-под колониального ига.

В заключение автор дает краткую характеристику международных экономических отношений Венгрии.

MOLNÁR, F. *Gazdasági növekedés és válságok az Egyesült Államokban.* (Economic Growth and Business Cycles in the USA.) Budapest, 1963, Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó. p. 288.

This case study rests on the development of the USA after World War II. It deals with the structural changes having occurred in the process of contemporary capitalistic reproduction. The starting point for the analysis is that the recent favourable conditions for capitalistic reproduction (the absence of a "world-wide business cycle", the development in Western Europe and Japan without crises due to general overproduction, etc.) cannot be explained simply with the after-effects of World War II; and thus it is necessary to separate the factors having a lasting influence on the production, demand and final utilization of material goods in modern capitalism.

The first chapter of the book examines the reproduction of fixed capital and the process of accumulation. Chapter II deals with the changes in the pattern of aggregate supply and demand. Chapter III analyses the principal factors determining consumption and income. Chapter IV characterizes the business cycles observed after the War, while Chapter V summarizes the results achieved by the author in his research.

According to him, the capitalistic reproduction cycle has undergone changes that can no more be regarded simply as anomalies. He explaines these changes with three major causes:

First, the nature of production relations was modified: monopolistic capitalism transformed into state-monopolistic capitalism. The increase of government demand has altered, namely, the conditions for the realization of a considerable part of commodity-capital, since the government purchases were influenced by political and economic decisions of the government, rather than by business cycles of the market. Thus, the monopol-capitalistic state diverts an increasing part of the surplus value from its specific destination which, according to the nature of capital, would be accumulation. Most of government spending serves improductive consumption of military character, and other "parasitic" purposes. Since, however, the state-monopolistic market assures the sale of about 30—35 per cent of final products, this is the most important factor influencing American business cycles and this influence is, evidently "anti-cyclical".

The second major causes are, according to the author, the changes in the pattern of the economy. The increased weight of services has, namely, a stabilizing effect on total demand since, at present, the purchase of services increases more or less independently of the business cycles. From the growing role of consumers' investments (purchases of consumers' durables and private housing) the author draws a new theoretical conclusion, namely, that "a second material basis for the periodicity of business cycles has come about". This is an important point, because in the period since the Second World War, the cyclical culmination and lower points of consumers' investments and of fixed capital investments do not seem to have coincided and thus they partly neutralized each other's effects. The changes in the pattern of employment, where, since 1951, the non-productive sectors are preponderante, also effected the mechanism of business cycles in a sense that a setback of production now tends to involve a much smaller decrease in incomes and personal consumption than it did in the past.

The third major cause mentioned are economic institutions and mechanisms, as the changes in the financial system, taxation and the credit system, etc. (The author declares that these features are outside the scope of his analysis.)

The principal conclusion of the book is that, owing to the structural changes described, the prime cause of the outbreak of business cycles, i.e. the contradiction between production and consumption, seems

to have assumed a new form in modern capitalism. When an important part of consumption is being financed from surplus value, aggregate consumption may even increase at a higher rate than the wages of productive workers, and thus the contradiction of production and consumption may become less sharp.

But what is the price for all this change? Essentially, a waste of the surplus value, since the part of the surplus value now used for accumulation, for the expansion of production is strongly reduced. According to the author: "the price for the mild course of business cycles was, above all, the slackening of economic growth . . ." In the long run, however, slower economic growth involves no smaller risks for capitalism than the deep business cycles: it means its defeat in the economic contest between the two systems. Maybe, some of the author's conclusions should be modified after the experience of the boom in the USA since the book was written (1962), but his novel theoretical concepts would not be affected.

L. SZAMUELY

SZENTES, T.: *A gazdasági elmaradottság.* (Economic Backwardness.) Budapest, 1965. Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó. p. 324.

The disintegration of the colonial system raises the problem of the former "hinterland" of imperialism in a new form. The author sees the causes of economic backwardness and, at the same time, its characteristic features, in the one-sided economic dependence of developing countries, in their exploitation by foreign capital, and in the distorted pattern of the economy. These features form the main obstacles to economic development in developing countries.

The economic development and social progress of developing countries can be ensured only by doing away with the dependence on and the exploitation by foreign capital; by transforming the pattern of the economy, and through complex measures aimed at eliminating the remnants of the old society. Such comprehensive measures can be taken only by the state, with its capacity of exercising an adequate control of the economy. This is why the development of the economic role of the state has taken a peculiar character in developing countries.

The author states that in developing countries private capital is in itself incapable of rapid accumulation and of increasing the rate of economic development. National capital — being still weak — will in its own interest require, at least temporarily, the active co-operation of the state. In developing countries, therefore, state-capitalism is gaining strength and becomes, as a rule, pervaded with anti-imperialist elements. The direction into which state-capitalism develops, will be determined by the internal balance of class relations and by the changes in international political and economic relations which greatly influence the former. State-capitalism, depending on these factors, may in principle develop into two directions:

a) it may do away with economic backwardness, create the conditions for independent economic development, expand the forces of production; as a result, under the growing pressure of private capital it will gradually fade away and cede its place to state-monopolistic capitalism based on developed forces of production;

b) the growing economic role of the state and the expansion of the state sector in the economy may reach such an extent that it will hinder the free activity and development not only of foreign capital but of capital in general, and thus lead to a non-capitalistic road of economic and social development.

The non-capitalistic form of development emerging in some developing countries is not equivalent to socialist development. According to the author, this road to development is of non-capitalistic character only in the sense that the changes in production relations may facilitate at some later date taking the road to socialism.

The book's contribution to the scientific results achieved in the field consists mainly in the following:

a) The author treats the economic backwardness of developing countries as a complex socio-economic phenomenon which he presents against the proper historical and logical background, primarily from the point of view of the intrinsic laws of development in the countries concerned.

b) He examines the various forms of economic dependence and their interrelations in a comprehensive manner. His convincing analytical treatment of the exchange of non-identical magnitudes of labour and his critique of the theory of comparative costs are quite novel in character.

c) The author's analysis of state capitalism in developing countries and his examination of its development tendencies together with that of the prospects of non-capitalistic development, constitute the most important results of his research work so far.

Á. Orosz

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L. Csapó

CENTRAL PLANNING IN A GUIDED MARKET MODEL

The Hungarian reform of planning and management of the national economy intends to transform the present "directive model" into a "guided market model", where the market will not supplement central planning, but work as a means to make central planning more efficient. The macro-economic aggregates influencing economic growth and directing micro-economic units in their decisions should be planned and controlled by such economic regulators — prices, money incentives, foreign exchange rates, duties, etc. — as are in accordance with the existing economic environment.

In 1968 the whole system of economic planning and direction will be radically transformed from a "directive" model into a "guided market model" — a short and general term to characterize the new system of planning and management. The economic reform under preparation will affect — in one way or another — not only the economy but the whole social and political life of our country. It is worth-while, therefore, to call the attention on the various possible difficulties and contradictions, economic and social, which may arise during the first stage of the introduction and operation of the new system (and which may last for two or three years or even more). We are completely aware that the new system cannot work in a way to solve all the problems confronting us overnight. Since economic life changes faster than the ideas and theories reflecting or explaining them, we expect that some features of the new system and some measures taken at its introduction need later be changed or modified. The anticipation of unavoidable changes should not, however, deter us from introducing the new system as elaborated by Hungarian economists during the past two years.

"Directive" versus "guided market" model. Shortcomings of the directive model

The Hungarian economy is basically an organized market economy where goods and services are produced and realized as commodities through money flows assuming the presence of a quite developed monetary system. We do have a fairly developed market economy, in spite of the fact that this character of the Hungarian economy has been until recently deliberately

neglected. Suffice it to mention here that about one third of our national income is produced for export. As a matter of fact, we export both to centrally planned and western market economies* and also to developing economies. Imported goods, on the other hand, flow into our economy as commodities from various types of economies. Thus, our economy, our market and monetary system are connected to and influenced by the world economy as a whole. On the domestic markets industrial and especially agricultural products are produced, sold and purchased as commodities through the money flows of the producers and consumers. As a result of the high rate of growth achieved during the past two decades the Hungarian industry, and the economy in general, has become a relatively developed and highly diversified economy. Both international and domestic economic interrelations constitute a complicated, very sensitive system, which changes continuously and is influenced by factors not completely within the reach of our foresight or intervention *ex-ante.*

The present — directive — system of planning and central administration, however, operates as if we were able to anticipate, predict and therefore to plan in a single planning center *all economic changes in every detail,* originating either from exogenous or from endogenous factors influencing our economic development. In other words, the present system produces a central plan and it is "broken down" into obligatory targets starting from the Central Planning Office through the Ministries down to the individual enterprises, factories and cooperatives, giving detailed orders for production, capacities, selling, and for almost all economic activities. Experiences, however, clearly proved that we are unable centrally to anticipate every change in every detail. A contradiction developed between our economic conditions and environment (market and money system) and the existing methods of planning and management. This contradiction manifested itself in various ever recurring shortcomings, as accumulating stocks, inefficient investments, shortages of various commodities, etc., and, last but not least, in a slowly decreasing rate of growth during the past few years. Since 1956 we have introduced several partial changes to overcome these repeated shortcomings. However, the measures hitherto taken proved to be inadequate to cope with them. As a result of a collective analysis and an inquiry lasting almost two years we came to the conclusion that *a radical change,* a general reform of planning and management is unavoidable. *The basic idea of the reform is that we should abandon the "directive model" as a whole.* Instead of setting obligatory targets for every economic activity in detail we have to direct and plan our economic development by means of such economic regulators (prices, taxes, duties, foreign exchange

* Editor's note: For an easier understanding we use these terms since they are customary expressions in English. In principle, however, we do not agree with them.

rates, interest, money incentives, market, supply and demand, etc.) as are in accordance with our commodity-market economic environment. We intend to introduce and build up a so-called "guided market" model. In this new model of planning and management producers will deliver their products not according to centrally given targets but conforming to the demand appearing on the market. The market, however, will not be a completely free one. (It should be mentioned here that a completely free market in the Smithian sense never existed and recent government intervention and regulation in the Western market economies play a qualitatively different role from that before the 1930's.) The market itself will be limited and regulated *by long-run structural changes decided upon* by the central plan on the one hand, and by the economic regulators mentioned before, like prices, interest rates, taxes, wages, etc., on the other. Similarly, these will be centrally manipulated and controlled in the medium and short run, in accordance with the objectives of the central plan. The relationship between the central plan — the government's economic policies — and the market will, however, radically change. In the present situation the central plan is trying *to replace* the market. In the new system the *market should not and will not (and in reality can not) replace planning* but the working *of market forces* should *influence and correct, if necessary, the central plan* within the limits set by the long-term plan and by the centrally administered regulators.

On the basis of our almost 20 years' experiences in planning we have come to the conclusion that long-run economic and social changes cannot be achieved without central planning: the general equilibrium of the national economy as a whole can not be safeguarded by merely relying upon the working of the market. Central planning, however, *cannot be efficient without the possibility of automatic corrections a well organized market can provide.*

In this manner we are trying to combine the advantages of central planning with those of a well functioning market. This is the model we usually call "guided market model". It is obvious that in this model the content, methods, tools and means, the organizational and institutional framework of central (national) planning and management, as well as earlier ideas reflecting them, should be revised and changed. There are economists both in the East and in the West who think that we are abandoning central planning. This approach is, however, completely misleading. The motive behind this idea is that for a long time central planning meant both in theory and in practice *directive planning.* Planning was equalled with obligatory targets or centrally issued detailed orders for every economic activity. Planning was thus identified with a *certain method* of planning or with *one of the methods of planning.* Therefore, first we should try to reformulate the definition of planning in order to determine its proper function in the control of the national economy. *In our interpretation central planning is a tool of economic policy by means of*

which society is able to forecast, investigate, direct and control the macro-economic aggregates (national income, total income, total capacities and manpower, total investments, etc.) *which govern the process of reproduction and with whose aid society is able to allocate its resources in a rational way, providing a high sustained rate of growth with the full use of capacities and labour and with the highest efficiency possible, while the general equilibrium of the economy is continuously safeguarded.*

Every definition, of course, has its limitations and my definition is not an exception to this rule. Nonetheless, the definition implies that the above-mentioned goals can be achieved by *various methods* depending on the economic environment, social and economic past, resources, level of development of the economy, etc., of the given country. In an earlier paper I happened to define the Hungarian economy as an "open economy" where foreign trade plays a decisive role in development [1]. No doubt, in a country where the economy has an open character, planning should operate with different tools and means, plans should be elaborated and implemented in ways different from those used in a relatively "closed economy" like the Soviet or the U. S. economy. It seems to us absolutely rational to state that a change in planning methods does not amount to abandoning central planning in the sense of the above definition. On the following pages I will try to describe, as far as it is possible at all in a short paper, how planning and management are expected to operate in a "guided market model". In order to characterize the working of the model we should raise the following questions: *a)* How can we centrally plan and control our national economy without issuing obligatory targets to the enterprises? *b)* What processes should be centrally planned and controlled in order to avoid fluctuations and disturbances? What means and tools are available to regulate various economic activities? What are the features, possible dangers and bottlenecks confronting central planning and management in a "guided market model"? These are the most important questions facing us.

Central planning, enterprise planning and the market

The new system of central planning. Various forms of the central plan will contain the long, medium and short-term objectives as well as the means and methods to implement the government's economic policy. In contrast to the present situation the most important changes are as follows:

a) The national plans will be highly aggregated plans. Only the so-called "strategic points" i.e. the relationship and measure of accumulation and consumption, the balance of payments and foreign trade turnover, the main goals and ways of technical development and reconstruction, the equilibrium of labour supply and demand, territorial allocation of capacities for

the national economy as a whole will be included in a highly aggregated form. These are the macro-aggregates we deem necessary to deal with and to control by means of the central plan.

b) At present, both the objectives and the means of implementation are given by one and only one single number, or target, each. In the new system both goals and means of implementation will be given within certain margins. We will not say for example that national income increases exactly by 5 per cent on an annual average but say instead that it will rise between 4—5 per cent according to preliminary calculations.

c) One of the most important shortcomings of the present planning system is that *we do not have a long term plan.* (The first experiments in 1962—64 were abandoned.) As a consequence of the directive method where plans have been "broken down" annually and until lately even quarterly, the importance of the Five Year Plan declined and the "real target" was given in the annual plan. Longer than five year plans do not exist at all, in spite of the fact that many economic processes — in the field of investments, training, transport and communication, etc., — need a longer time of completion than five years or should be estimated for a longer period ahead in order to calculate the possible effects. All planning tasks were shifted to the annual plans where the degree of freedom for decision and action is very limited. In order to avoid these problems, in the new system we intend to draw up, as a rule, long, medium and short-term plans. The long-term plan will cover 15 years in general and in some branches (e.g. electric energy, research, infrastructure) periods even longer than 15 years. A 15-year plan will thus indicate the most important structural changes, the main trends of expected economic development, providing enough guidance for action in the medium-term (5 year) planning. It is obvious that medium-term planning and management of the national economy need a more detailed and comprehensive analysis than long-term planning. Five-year plans should indicate the tasks and objectives which are first elaborated in the long-term plan only in a general form, in a tangible way for the period within the fifteen years the actual five-year plan is dealing with. This is not sufficient, however, for the medium and short-run control and regulation of the economy. In addition, medium-term plans should contain those economic regulators and measures influencing microeconomic units in their decision-making, by means of which we intend to implement the objectives of a five-year plan. Enterprises should be informed at least 3—5 years in advance about taxes, duties, foreign exchange rates, credit conditions, etc., in ordr to prepare their own medium-term plans. These regulators can not be changed quarterly or annually lest individual enterprises become disorientated and unable to elaborate their own programs of production, research and development. Therefore, the five-year plan will include the most important objectives of economic policy expressed by the few macro-aggregates

mentioned above, on the one hand, and the most important measures and tools of the system of management and state control, on the other.

It is also obvious that a 15-year plan cannot deal with problems of management and administration, while short-term (annual) plans are too short to provide the stability the system of management needs. As a consequence, the importance of five-year (medium) plans is to increase considerably. Furthermore, the whole function and character of annual plans will radically change. Since individual enterprises will no more receive any obligatory targets from the planning center nor from ministries, the annual plan cannot be a comprehensive and detailed system of volume and value targets as it is at the moment. The function of the annual plan is to solve those short-term economic problems — mainly connected with unexpected short-run fluctuations like a bad harvest, unexpected changes on the world market, unexpected price fluctuations on domestic markets, etc., — which can not be exactly forecasted for five years or have been left deliberately open by planners during the elaboration of the five year plan. Thus, the annual plan, in contrast to its present form, will not deal with all economic problems regularly but focus its attention to the special problems connected with short-run equilibrium. *The annual plan is a short-term program of action for the government.*

d) In the new system there are two kinds of plans; central plans and enterprise plans, and nothing in between. The central plan is the formulation of economic policy and its implementation is the responsibility of the government. Sectoral plans are in all forms of national planning parts of the national plan (15 years, 5 years, annual) and they will be elaborated and implemented within the framework of the overall development concept of the economy. The national plan — and this is one of the most important planning lessons we have learned during the last two decades — cannot be conceived of as a simple aggregation of sectoral plans or as an aggregation of factory plans. A basic condition of central planning is the existence of a uniform and balanced development concept of the national economy as a whole. This concept should be reflected by and implemented through national plans and *sectoral planning should be subordinated to the general concept.*

Central planning, as an expression of the economic policy of the government, will provide the necessary guidance for individual micro-units about the objectives of economic policy, on the one hand, and provide the information for the same units about the possible "rules of the game", i.e. the economic regulators the government intends to use in order to reach its objectives in economic development, on the other. The very same "regulators" (prices and rules of price formation, taxes, duties, credit conditions, foreign exchange rates, etc.) *restrict* the market but leave enough freedom for decision and action to independent individual enterprises to be able to work and develop, responding to the requirements the ever changing market situation

produces for them. The purpose of enterprise planning is to maximize profits (by minimizing costs) through the most rational use of its resources within the limits the central administration deems necessary in the interest of the national economy as a whole.

National and enterprise planning are connected by the economic regulators mentioned and by the everlasting flow of *information* from the center to the micro-units and *vice versa.*

Since micro-units will not, in general, receive obligatory targets of any kind from "above", the elaboration and implementation of their own program of production and development as well as marketing *will be their own responsibility.* Successful achievement of their own objectives will depend on their ability to find and serve the customer, and the personal incomes of their own workers and managers will depend to a large extent on this ability. This is the material incentive forcing enterprises to deal with real demand, technical progress, new assortment, low cost level, etc., and we hope this is a much stronger and powerful weapon to speed up economic development than any regulation or target issued by the planning center or ministries or somebody else.

As the reader might conclude, we intend to introduce *a radical reform* and not a simple organizational change.

On the following pages we will try to indicate how the most important macro-aggregates will be calculated, planned, controlled and implemented in a guided market model.

Central planning and control of the national economy

Planning and control of accumulation and consumption. In order to describe the mechanism of economic regulators let us suppose that there has been drawn up a 15 year development plan already, that the current five year plan indicates the main trends of possible development within certain margins which are in accordance with the 15 year plan and also that the targets or trends are realistic.

The concept of economic growth — which is a political concept at the same time — is the accepted variant chosen by leading political bodies and formerly elaborated by planning bodies. In this concept a possible rate of growth of national income and the connected variant of consumption and accumulation is established within certain margins.

From the point of view of growth the planning of investments is the first strategic factor. In the new, guided market-model one part of investments as large new projects in productive branches, in infrastructure, schools, roads, communication and transport facilities and a part of dwelling houses, will be

financed from budgetary resources. These objectives will be regulated by traditional and well-known budgetary, monetary and fiscal measures. The share of these centrally financed investments in the total will decline considerably as against the recent one; however, its role in determining the total volume of investment will increase. Since budgetary demand for investment goods is the largest single factor of total demand and has a multiplier effect on the whole investment goods market, if 20—25 per cent of investments are financed from the budget, their indirect effect will influence a much larger share of the total.

The bulk of total investment is expected to be financed by *bank credit.* Almost all productive projects — except those mentioned among budgetary investments — will be built with credit in the manner described below. The aggregated national plan (medium-term, 5 years) indicates the branches, fields, etc., to be preferred according to the intentions of the government's economic policy. From the point of view of financing, the investment chapter of the central plan will contain the following items:

I_b = budget — financed investment,
I_c = credit-financed investment,
I_o = investment financed from enterprises' own resources,
I_t = total investment,
$I_t = I_b + I_c + I_o$.

The allocation of investment funds will be controlled by the traditional budgetary methods in case of I_b. Allocation of I_c will be administered by the Central Bank and its branches in the following way: the national plan — government preferences — are obligatory directives for the Bank. The Bank should prepare a (central) national credit balance in accordance with the plan. In this credit plan the Bank should allocate total credit supply among various branches in accordance with the preferences of the central development plan. This practically means that every branch will get a credit possibility within certain margins. Let us take an example. Suppose the government prefers the chemical industry, machine building and agriculture. Within machine-building, instruments production is very important. The Bank will offer, let us say, between Ft 2—2.5 billion credit for the next five years to the factories in this branch, at a certain rate of interest (which should reflect both capital scarcity and actual credit supply and demand) and with certain conditions of repayment depending on market situation and government preferences. It may happen that enterprises producing instruments need more than the 2.5 billion upper limit because of an expected large increase in domestic and foreign demand, while enterprises in other branches do not invest as much as the corresponding lower limit. In this case the Bank, in cooperation with the Planning Office, *should modify the national plan and the credit plan*

and reallocate the credit supply in accordance with the actual demand. On the basis of an analysis of the national economy the Planning Office and the Bank may agree to do so or revise interest policy and credit conditions in case credit demand seems to be exaggerated in instrument production while a low credit demand and, as a consequence, a lower rate of growth in other branches seems to be dangerous for the overall rate of growth. Finally, it is possible that total investment should be cut back because of unexpected changes on foreign markets, in the balance of payments, or because of inflationary pressure, etc. In such cases budgetary measures will limit central investment outlays while credit restrictions should be applied by the Bank.

I_o will be financed from amortization and from a part of profits accumulated in individual enterprises. This part of total investment is regulated by monetary and fiscal measures, taxes, centrally established rules of amortization rates and of enterprise income distribution, etc. In general, accumulated enterprise funds are not enough to finance large new projects. Therefore, credit will be one of the most important central measures in the field of investment regulation.

We expect that on the basis of the national plan on the one hand and the market impulses on the other, the state will be able to decide on the total volume and the structure of investments without setting detailed obligatory targets for the individual enterprises as to what, where, and how they should invest. In addition to the tools mentioned there are many others — prices, import control, export subsidies, etc. — available to implement the targets of the central investment plan.

A final abandonment of the directive method of planning doesn't mean renouncing the possibility of direct government intervention in general and in every case. Since the government is the owner of the main means of production, it has the right and duty to intervene and regulate by direct state orders when direct orders are more rational then indirect regulation or when, because of the general social interest, no risk can be taken (for instance in case of goods destined for military purposes or in some cases of production for foreign trade or in *vis major* cases). The direct state order, however, is in general only a supplementary tool and will not replace economic regulation or the market.

There are some people in Hungary and also abroad who think that we intend to introduce a free market system, with all the possible consequences. This is a misunderstanding. The central regulation of taxes, income distribution, budgetary, monetary and interest policy, foreign exchange rates, duties, prices, etc., are basically indirect state orders to the enterprises what they should do and what they may do in a certain situation.

The freedom of individual enterprises is thus limited by central regulation. The individual enterprises, however, will have the right to decide

whether to invest or not, and when and how to invest. This freedom is enough for the enterprises to follow market developments to take into consideration the requirements of demand, and in this way, by their own decisions and their own actions, automatically correct the central plan. Exactly the possibility of a rapid automatic correction of the plan and accomodation to the market situation is what we need; and this possibility is excluded in a directive model.

Equilibrium of investment supply and demand should be safeguarded by the coordination of the monetary, fiscal and other measures in accordance with the central plan.

Planning and regulation of *personal consumption* depends to a large extent on accumulation and investment policy. Accumulation and investment influence total employment and the increase of personal incomes.

Personal consumption is transmitted by the flow and distribution of money incomes. In order to balance (consumption) income and production, the state should control those "critical points" of income flows whence basic incomes flow to the population. The first critical point is gross enterprise income. The enterprises must pay from their gross income taxes, repay credits, pay interest and amortization allowances and other cost elements. The net income remains for wages and salaries and for accumulation.

The main source of personal income is enterprise income. The rules which regulate the distribution of gross and net enterprise income govern, et the same time, the outflow of money income to the population. Personal consumption is, therefore, controlled by financial and monetary measures influencing the division of enterprise income.

Total wages and salaries will consist of two parts, *a)* the basic, and *b)* the variable part of the salary. Basic salaries are regulated by the wage scales within certain margins. Wage scales are uniform for the whole country, and take into account the skill, experience, behaviour and relationship to the enterprise, etc., of every employee. The basic salary should be paid even in cases when the enterprise becomes bankrupt or inefficient and this should be financed by the budget, from a special fund reserved for this purpose. This is a special form of risk-taking at national level. The variable part of the salary depends on profit. This second part of wages and salaries is again divided into two further parts; *a)* profit shares which increase personal income directly, and *b)* social benefits from enterprises' profits which increase the income indirectly (kindergarten, cultural facilities, sport facilities, dwelling houses, etc.).

It is obvious that the extent of the variable part will fluctuate by branches and within branches also among various individual enterprises, depending on the market situation, prices, the level of management, technical progress, research, costs, etc. It is foreseeable that considerable income differences may arise and induce a fluctuation or migration of labour from one branch to the

other and from one enterprise to the other. As a result, a limited competition is expected to develop on the labour market. Labour will flow automatically towards higher income possibilities within the limits of government intervention and "skill barriers". It is supposed that labour will move towards the most efficient branches and enterprises. This is a necessary concomitant of the existence of a real market, and another automatic correction possibility, since the market may influence the central plan and correct it as far as possible ("skill barrier"). Counter-measures to balance unfavourable social consequences have not yet been elaborated and, in my opinion, cannot be elaborated in a general form in advance. With a given rate of growth of national income, total consumption will depend on accumulation (investment) on the one hand, and on the increase of the aggregate net income of enterprises, on the other. The working of market forces might shift the share of personal consumption to a certain extent below or above the planned level. In this case the plan should be revised or — if an analysis indicates that the shift is disadvantageous from the point of view of the national economy — short-run government intervention is needed to keep the degree of the shifts within limits deemed supportable by the original plan.

If productivity increases faster than expected, personal consumption should increase automatically with it, otherwise there is no incentive in the system and the guided market model cannot function at all. It is a paradox phenomenon, but in this system the increase of personal consumption and a continous, considerable increase at that, is the fundamental factor, the propelling force of development and the basic precondition of higher efficiency. The other source of personal income is the state budget. This will be planned and regulated by traditional fiscal measures.

In connection with our reform and its effect on personal consumption many people raised the following question: since personal income will depend to a large extent on the increase of gross income (or gross profit) and profit can be maximized by increasing prices, the new system may create a wage-price spiral type inflationary pressure. No doubt, this is a real danger. There is a danger that *some* enterprises will try to increase prices (openly or in hidden forms) and raise also the personal income of their employees. This tendency in itself cannot, however, create inflation. Inflation in a centrally planned economy is created in the first place not by the system of management but by economic policy. We had quite a heavy inflationary pressure in the strictest directive model in spite of the strongest possible control and direct regulation during the 1950's. It was a hidden but a real inflation. The new system cannot provide in itself a development free of inflation. If economic policy sets over-ambitious, exaggerated development goals, if accumulation is too large and investment outlays are sped up: employment and money incomes will increase faster than production and the purchasing power of money (real wages) will

decline. But this is basically a question of development strategy and planning, and only to a very limited degree a problem of the economic mechanism.

Furthermore, we should take into consideration the following facts: 1. We will not have a *completely* free price system. Price control is a very powerful measure should inflation occur. 2. But let us suppose a completely free price system. Even in this case, partial price increases in some enterprises or in some branches cannot lead to a general increase of the price level. Partial price fluctuations cause a shift in price structure, i.e. in relative prices (and probably create partial disequilibria in the short-run on some of the markets) but not necessarily a rise in the general level of prices. 3. Neither is the outflow of wages (personal income) completely free. It is regulated centrally, to a large extent by rules relating to enterprise income distribution and by fiscal and monetary measures. 4. Credit supply and partly demand is also state-controlled. 5. The most important factor — and this is the crux of the matter. — i.e. new investment expenditure, is firmly manageable by the central authorities. 6. Finally, foreign trade is also controlled to a large extent, as we intend to explain it later. Thus the state has every tool in its hands to curb inflation should it develop. The new system has in this respect an advantage over the old one. In a guided market model inflation presents itself openly and at once. It is, therefore, much easier to fight and prevent it. A cutting down of budgetary expenditures, a restrictive credit and import policy, price and wage freeze, etc., are enough guarantees against inflation, should the development plans or other factors generate inflationary pressure.

Price policy plays an important role in the central planning and management of total consumption; the functioning of a guided market depends to a large extent on the working of the price system and price mechanism. This is the reason why we are dealing with price formation here separately.

The new system will create a guided market economy where interrelations between producers and consumers, and among producers themselves become direct and immediate commodity and money relationships. The program of production is planned in response to market impulses and consumers react on production by spending or withdrawing their money income. In such an environment the main function of the price system is to inform and orient producers and consumers in their decisions. To create a well-functioning price system, three factors should be reflected by prices; *a)* changes in costs of production, *b)* value judgements of consumers (markets), *c)* government preferences. These three factors can influence price movements only in a relatively free price system where prices basically fluctuate with changes in supply and demand and where state intervention is applied on those "critical points" only where intervention is really needed to enforce the preferences of economic policy. These "critical points", or rather products, are limited in number. Some of the basic raw materials, like electric energy, steel, wheat, basic

foodstuffs, etc., belong to this group. These critical product prices should be found, examined, controlled and fixed centrally. Another group, for instance construction materials, semi-finished goods, consumer goods with a very wide assortment, etc., will not be fixed but limited by setting maximum prices or rules of price formation to individual enterprises. The third group of prices will be completely free (investment goods, semi-finished products, consumer goods). In order to implement the national plan by means of price policies, also a new kind of planning — the planning of price formation and policies — should be created as a part of national planning. Targets of the national plan will be simultaneously explained in natural units of measurement and in current value terms changing over time. We should learn how to plan in natural and in changing value terms at the same time and safeguard equilibrium in both terms.

Planning and management of foreign trade and the balance of payments

It is an important function of the national plan to safeguard general equilibrium at a sustained high rate of growth. In a country where the basic feature of the economy is its "open character", foreign trade plays a *decisive* role in both tasks. Consequently, the national plan should contain the possible development of aggregated exports and imports both in natural units of measurement and in value terms and the main geographical directions of foreign trade should be also elaborated in its framework. This is the information the government must provide about its foreign economic policy. In other respects, foreign trade will be managed by the very same economic regulators we mentioned before. Among them the most important one is the central establishment of foreign exchange rates (foreign trade prices). Foreign exchange rates should play the same role in the orientation of producers and consumers as do domestic prices. This cannot be otherwise, since enterprises are responsible both for production and marketing; similarly, they should be responsible for exports and imports. In addition to this control of international economic relations we will have a system of export-import licences very similar to those used in Western market economies. Customs duties will play a qualitatively different role than today and will be connected with the price system. All the other tools of control as administrative protective measures, credit, subsidies will be applied in accordance with the objectives of the national plan and coordinated with the other regulators. These are the main tools by which the state determines the conditions and limits enterprises should consider when making their own decisions on foreign trade.

There are economists who think that the import sensitivity of our national economy prevents the introduction of a relatively free foreign trade

activity and this is an unbearable bottleneck for the functioning of a guided market model.

I think, this not quite so. Excess demand on imports is not the cause but the consequence of past economic policies. When investment expenditures and the money income of the population are firmly controlled, imports can be automatically kept between the limits the balance of payments equilibrium (as a part of general equilibrium) requires, not to speak of the direct measures we mentioned earlier which are appropriate in the short run for additional control, if needed. Finally, the state can issue direct orders, if necessary from the point of view of general equilibrium.

There are others who think that enterprises will neglect domestic markets in case exports are more profitable and this is a danger. I believe this is not so "dangerous" as many people think since, if exports increase faster and are more profitable, imports can be also increased and domestic needs will be covered. Second: if domestic and foreign trade prices are connected by proper foreign exchange rates, a situation can be achieved where domestic realization is as profitable as foreign trade. Third: in general, because of limited competition, domestic realization is much easier. Fourth: needs can be covered by additional measures if necessary (export licence restrictions, customs duties, and other administrative measures). I do not want to deny that we will have problems in connection with controlling foreign trade. It is not excluded that we shall encounter similar problems we mentioned above. However, these are not so "dangerous" that we should not make a step forward and introduce a guided market model.

Planning and guiding technical development and reconstruction

Technical development is carried out through three interrelated processes: *a)* development of the factory (means of production), *b)* development of technology, *c)* development of the product. In general, however, there are many preconditions which are not included in the above-mentioned three processes, yet no progress can be achieved without them. Among these preconditions we just mention the two most important ones, namely, basic and applied research and the training of research workers, technicians, and skilled labour. In the directive model we had a chapter in every plan describing coefficients, norms and targets of technical progress, but technical progress itself remained relatively slow. In the new system, technical progress is connected with the incentive system through profit and income distribution. In the guided market model, the development of the factory, the technology and the product are the business of the enterprises, while the necessary preconditions should be created by the plan and the state. In the national plan there

will be no separate chapter on technical development. The macro-aggregates included in the national plan should be based on a technical development concept, else the plan cannot be considered as well founded nor realistic. In the national plan we shall indicate what are the possible trends in various fields, what resources we should devote to them, where is a concentration of research needed, etc. During the elaboration of the national plan (for 15 years and 5 years) a few dozens of technical development projects will be formulated which influence the development of productive forces in the national economy as a whole, on the one hand, and provide general preconditions of progress, on the other. Such are, for instance: automation of productive capacities of national importance, industrialization of agriculture, mechanization of the information system, reconstruction of communication and transport, etc. The main directions of basic and applied research and of training will be also indicated. These general preconditions will be planned, directed and implemented mainly by budget measures. Central regulation is thus enforced by fiscal methods and other administrative measures as anywhere in the world. Technical progress should be the result of the efficient functioning of the model as a whole. In case there are bottlenecks in technical development and it remains slow, this will be an indication that the model as a whole is not efficient enough. In this case every part of the system should be revised again (incentive system, price system, credit system, fiscal policy, planning, etc.), and corrected as necessary. If the guided market is functioning well, enterprises will be interested in technical progress since this is the main road towards lower costs and higher profits (personal income). Should this condition fail, technical progress cannot be speeded up in spite of detailed intervention and regulation, as the present experiences with the directive model clearly indicate.

Planning and control of labour supply and demand

Full employment is a basic social and political requirement of a socialist planned economy; that objective will remain the same even in the new model. Many people might ask, how full employment can be achieved when there are no obligatory targets for employment and wages? The long-term national plan (15 years) elaborates a forecasting (based on demographic research) about the possible labour supply, on the one hand, and about the expected demand on labour, on the other. On the basis of this research the long-term plan of education and training will be formulated. Education and training is the most important factor determining the *structure of labour supply* in the long-run ("skill barrier"). Education and training are planned and carried out centrally through budget expenditures. This is one of the most important preconditions of full employment. On the other hand, long-run structural changes in the

economy are also planned and centrally implemented (investments). This is the second guarantee of full employment.

It is expected, however, that in a guided market model the labour force should be more flexible and mobile than in a directive model. The structure of short and medium-term demand for labour changes faster than the structure of supply. Rapid technical changes contribute to this trend. Therefore, short and medium-term regrouping and transfer of labour is a basic requirement. This will be solved partly spontaneously by the market, through income differentiation, and partly by state intervention. The budget will create a special fund to finance short-term reallocations of the labour force, providing training possibilities, and during training a basic salary enough to maintain the level of living standard achieved in the last job, including health and cultural standards. In addition, new institutional organizations will develop to handle the problems arising in connection with short-term reallocations of the labour force. The measures applied will have mainly a fiscal-monetary character and less administrative features. Trade unions are expected to play a qualitatively different role in this respect. Exact forms of solution have not yet been elaborated.

Planning and management of the territorial allocation of productive forces

Territorial or regional distribution of resources. The development of various geographical units of the country can not be rationally planned by local authorities. The national plan should, therefore, contain the geographical distribution of productive resources and capacities. A general plan of development of different regions as a part or aspect of the national plan will be drawn up first of all in the framework of the 15 year plan. Planning in this field remains centralized. Methods of implementation will, however, change considerably and in accordance with the principles of the guided market model we described.

In case of budgetary-financed new industrial projects the central plan will determine their location in accordance with the targets set in the territorial plan for the country as a whole. In case of credit-financed new projects the Central Bank will differentiate credit conditions, interest policy, etc., depending on the preferences specified in the central plan. A differentiation of tax rates and employment (or wage) tax might be applied on the basis of government preferences. Finally, licences of location will be issued by supervising authorities in conformity with the territotial plan. The same or similar methods are expected to apply in agriculture. In case of large infrastructural projects the coordination of the territorial plan and budgetary expenditures is automatically ensured.

Local authorities are expected to have higher local incomes (local taxes) and central subsidies for local needs will be allocated more liberally, leaving some freedom for local authorities to decide on preferences in accordance with the desires of the local population.

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On the previous pages we were trying to indicate what are the most important features of the new guided market model. The main objective of its introduction is to achieve *a higher efficiency of the national economy.* Every efficient method is good for us supposing social and political consequences are also advantageous. Of course, the suggestions put forward in this paper are but of a tentative character and subject to changes in the course of a more detailed elaboration of the model. We are also aware that many things will change in practice but — on the basis of our experiences and the analysis of the Hungarian economy — we are also convinced that there is no other way round, and therefore, we must say "hic Rhodus, hic salta".

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ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЕ ПЛАНИРОВАНИЕ В РЕГУЛИРУЕМОЙ РЫНОЧНОЙ МОДЕЛИ

Л. ЧАПО

Цель предстоящей реформы хозяйственного механизма состоит в лучшем использовании возможностей, предоставляемых социалистическими производственными отношениями и народнохозяйственным планированием. Наши экономические отношения суть товарно-денежные отношения. Мы должны приспосабливаться к этому как порядком, так и организацией хозяйственного управления. Именно по этой причине создаем мы новую модель планирования и управления народным хозяйством. Реформа заменит «директивную модель» планирования и управления «регулируемой рыночной моделью», в которой мы стремимся соединить положительные эффекты централизованного планирования и товарно-денежно-рыночных отношений. Одновременно с этим значительно изменятся методы разработки и выполнения народнохозяйственных планов, существенно изменится и содержание народнохозяйственных планов. Народнохозяйственные планы — 15-летние долгосрочные, 5-летние среднесрочные и годовые краткосрочные — будут содержать агрегаты широкого масштаба, которые будут воздействовать на ход воспроизводства, в то время как планы предприятий будут разрабатываться ими самостоятельно, на основе рациональной оценки рынка и местных ресурсов. Народнохозяйственные планы и планы предприятий увязываются между собой, как правило, не плановыми директивами, а экономическими регуляторами — ценами, валютными коэффициентами, налогами, пошлинами, банковскими процентами, кредитом и проч., — контролируемыми в центральном порядке в соответствии с народнохозяйственным планом и с учетом движения рынка. Отдельные экономические процессы управляются экономическими рычагами, отвечающими их природе, сохраняется возможность издания непосредственных государственных директив в случаях, когда это является наиболее целесообразным или необходимым. Это, однако, является скорее всего необходимым придатком регулирования, нежели заменяющим его средством.

B. Csikós-Nagy

TWO STAGES OF THE HUNGARIAN DEBATE ON PRICES

Cost price and market price. — Price trends and price movements. — Value as the regulator of price trends. — Demand and supply as market regulators. — The price reform. — Some conclusions.

The Hungarian debate on prices, after having given most of the impetus to the debate about the economic mechanism, has undergone a considerable change, as a result of the discussion about the economic mechanism.

Earlier, the system of prices had been criticized for not having consistently applied the principle according to which prices should reflect the socially necessary labour inputs, that is to say, social costs. At the start of the debate it was thought the most important, if not the unique requirement to be raised against prices that they should provide a sound economic orientation. In turn, the question whether a given system of prices meets this requirement depends on how the aggregate net social income, realized in the prices of products, is being distributed among individual products. For a time there prevailed the view according to which sound economic orientation is best served by a price system expressing the social costs of products conforming to an exactly defined scheme of income realization; in other words, prices should reflect the social costs with the best possible accuracy.

At that time, the debate focussed on the choice of the scheme for realizing income. It is characteristic of the wide variety of ideas that in 1962 the National Price Office undertook to elaborate 32 kinds of price models. In the centre of modelling stood the computations connected with the *value price* and the *production price*. The other variants were of mixed types and stood near either to the value price or the production price.

The value-price is equivalent to the cost of the labour inputs. In the production-price, the capital investment in production is also considered. When forming value-prices, the net income added to first costs is proportionate to the wage costs, whereas when forming production-type prices, it is proportionate to the capital applied in production.

The debate of value-type price *versus* production price was being conducted with the aim of finding points of view for practical price formation and pro-

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moting the abolition of the "dismemberment" of the price system as well as the elaboration of a "uniform" price system consistently reflecting the value proportions. The criticism to which the existing price system was submitted on this basis said little about the economic environment where this price system had been emerged and developed, nor about the conditions and practical possibilities of its transformation.

Is the price debate today still characterized by these features? By far not. The price system is criticized today no more because prices "arbitrarily" deviate from the value or the production price. *The criticism is aimed mainly at the rigidity of the prices, at the administrative character of the price system.* The main objection is that *we are applying an essentially "market phenomenon" in an administrative manner.* Therefore, in the new stage of the debate the greatest interest is raised by such problems of prices as are connected with market processes. The present discussion operates with such concepts as use value, marginal value, scarcity, competitive prices, equilibrium prices, market prices, etc., i.e. with those of a market economy, while concepts as social costs, two-level prices, etc., are hardly mentioned. The prevailing atmosphere is such as if the starting hypothesis of the debate about a price system based on inputs would be no more of topical interest.

This changing character of the debate on prices has to be correctly interpreted. There are economists who attacked the input principle already earlier and proposed to solve the price problem exclusively on the basis of the market (world market) valuation of products. But earlier they confronted the administratively construed "market value" with the administratively construed social costs. Today, it is the "real" market price which is used by an increasing number of economists in order to approach the price problem. In the present debates, a starting from the market price wishes also to signalize that there is no *a priori* commitment to apply either world market prices or production costs. The price problem must be solved in close harmony with the principles of the economic reform, taking in consideration the conditions prevailing in the Hungarian economy and in such a way that the price shall be an economic regulator of market processes and serve the optimum efficiency of the national economy as a whole.

There are economists who explain this change by saying that now the debate on prices is going on in the framework of the debate on the economic mechanism, and this latter itself is aimed at introducing a more comprehensive economic reform. We now prepare such a transformation of the economic mechanism whereby the state control of the economy divests itself of the last features inherent to a natural (barter) economy and consistently adapts itself to the requirements of a commodity economy.* In their eyes, it is

* The reform of the economic mechanism is interpreted by many as a transition from the model based on central instructions to a decentralized market model. The changes

exactly this feature that makes understandable the scruples about the soundness of conlusions reached in the former price debate.

It seems, therefore, that in the present stage of the economic reform it is appropriate somewhat closer to review the contradictory changes in the ideas regarding the principles of social costs and equilibrium, and to establish some starting points for the scientific discussions about the preparation of the price reform to be carried out in 1968 in such a way that the greatest possible advantages may be derived for practical application.

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The hypothesis of an objective relationship existing between value (social costs) and price (market price) can be traced back through the last two centuries of the history of political economy.

The founders of political economy put the labour theory of value into the centre of economics. Both Smith and Ricardo considered the quantity of labour embodied in a commodity to be the substance of value. Analysing the interrelations of the economy from the production aspect, they disclosed the rule of the exchange of equal volumes of labour which regulates social production and through whose operation production adapts itself to the existing demand. This they considered as a tendency forcing its way in the long run. Smith distinguishes the natural price and the market price. *The natural price develops according to the law of costs, the market price according to the law of demand and supply.* The natural price asserts the long-term trend of prices, while the market price realizes the short-term equilibrium of demand and supply.

The value and surplus-value theory of Marx is built upon the labour theory of value of the English classics. Marx lays down that the exchange (or sale) of goods in conformity with their values corresponds to the natural law of equilibrium and is to be considered as reasonable and normal. Deviations should be explained by starting from this law, instead of deducting a law from the oscillations observed.

After Marx, non-Marxist economics developed for some time almost exclusively in the direction set by the theory of marginal utility. In respect of price formation, this theory considers the behaviour of the consumer to be the decisive factor. The rational kernel of this theory lies in the fact that the behaviour of the consumers influences the prices through demand. The theory, however, pushes this relationship to the extreme. It valuates the quantity of goods, their individual units one-sidedly, from the point of view of satisfying needs, and investigates the importance of products by means of the so-called

taking place in socialist countries can, however, be better expressed by defining them as a transition from a socialist economy with natural economic (barter) features to one with commodity economy characteristics [1].

marginal analysis. Thus, the attention of non-Marxist economists was diverted from the sphere of production to that of consumption, and accordingly, the study of value was transferred from the sphere of "production economics" to that of consumer behaviour.

The economic analysis based on needs considerably contributed to the development of the theory of prices. Still, non-Marxist price theory, having got so much out of touch with production, could not for long remain within the narrow framework of a one-sided determination by consumption. Finally, the connection between modern non-Marxist price theory and the classical English school was established. This change was mediated mainly by Marshall. Marshall criticizes the one-sided departure from consumption. He adds, as a factor of equal rank, also production. From Smith he borrows the category of the "natural price", though he substitutes for it the term of "long-term normative".

After all, what is the difference between modern non-Marxist price theory and the classical one? First, it explains — at least since Marshall — the development of prices, both when analysing shorter and longer periods, in terms of the equilibrium price, as a joint effect of production and consumption. This method of investigation is justified in so far as the deviation of the price from the value is a rule valid in all periods, Second, the *analysis of market processes characteristic of short periods comes to the fore.* Thus, a number of non-Marxist economists reject the value problem and profess that the price theory can exist without a theory of value or, as the advocates of marginal utility assume, that the objective labour value can be substituted with the subjective concept of marginal utility.

But not only the negative side of non-Marxist price theories (following in the last resort from the negation of the category of value) should be examined, but also their positive aspect relying on a many-sided analysis of market processes. At the time of the English classics, it was still admissible to neglect a many-sided analysis of short-term economic processes. Even Marx did not undertake to disclose the rules of the game prevailing in the capitalistic market, since his efforts were aimed at disclosing the major laws of movement of capitalism, above all of the law of the surplus value. Later on, more attention had necessarily to be devoted also to such particular features as have become more and more prominent in price formation processes with the development of productive forces, i.e. the complicated social productive organization, the accelerated technological progress, the concomitant processes whereby products are becoming modernized and replaced, the widening possibilities for substitution, etc.

This is how modern non-Marxist price theory has developed, approaching the price no more by starting from the labour theory of value, *but from the "paradox" aspect of goods, i.e. from the phenomenon that a commodity is valued partly according to its utility and partly according to its scarcity.* In studies on

price theory they assumed that these price determinants bring about the equilibrium price in different ways depending on marketing [2].

In consideration of all that we may, perhaps, get nearer to an understanding of the problems underlying this "switch-over" in the Hungarian price debate. *Price theory has developed in socialist and in capitalist countries on different bases and on different lines.* Now we are able to point out one of the causes of such a development more closely. Marxist economists evolved the price theory in the framework of socialist planned economy; conforming to the requirements of long-term planning, they developed the theory as a tool of rational economic decisions to be made by planners. The non-Marxist economists, in turn, have tried to adapt the price theory to the conditions of monopolistic capitalism and strove to reveal the rules of equilibrium price as differentiated by marketing forms, conforming to the requirements of a market economy. The fullest exposition of this theory can be found in Chamberlin's ideas on monopolistic competition and in Robinson's concept of imperfect competition. All that satisfactorily explains the deviating orientations and the different ways in which the problem was raised by Marxist and non-Marxist economists.

The economic reform to be introduced in the socialist countries understandably directs the attention of Marxist economists to the results achieved by their non-Marxist colleagues. In the changing mechanism of socialist economy the role of deliberately revived automatisms, where the rules of short-term periods are predominant, will increase. This is why the body of knowledge of modern non-Marxist price theory may be useful for us. But it is precisely in this connection that we must raise the question: how are we to judge the results achieved up to now in socialist price theory or its future development tendencies? We must clarify these problems as early as possible in order to develop our socialist economy.

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Value is the crucial question of the price problem. This is the initial thesis of socialist price theory. But must this thesis not be subjected to revision? Are the representatives of the school of marginal utility not right in rejecting the category of value, or in substituting for the labour-value the concept of marginal utility? This question can and must be answered on a very practical basis. If all elements and all aspects of price phenomena can be determined with the short-term rules of the market, every reference to the value is really only some ideological make-up that can be discarded. But if practice convinces us that the essential problems of price phenomena rest unanswered in case the input principle is set aside, the starting point of the socialist price theory can be taken for verified.

The criteria of a sound economy are: growth, equilibrium, stability and a fair regulation of income distribution. Price, as the category of economy in

general, has to be analysed in relation to these. Marxist economists investigate the interrelations of optimum growth and prices from many aspects. Scientific analyses testify that a rational pattern of consumption can be achieved at prices conforming to the socially necessary labour inputs. It is under such price relations that a given volume of use values can be produced with the minimum labour input. The realization that the most economical variant of the consumption, production and investment patterns can be obtained at value (or production) prices, is becoming more and more general and largely influences present socialist price policy.

The price of the product valid for the variant of optimum efficiency and the equilibrium price are two things apart, though price deflections may sometimes lead also to disturbances in the equilibrium. In this context, let us only refer to the low transportation charges causing crowdedness, or to the low rents of flats owing to which it is not the rent but administrative allocation that regulates the distribution of dwellings. Still, the most important aspect would remain hidden if someone approached the problem from this point. The equilibrium price may be brought about and — in general — it does come about even if prices are much higher than the value (e.g. in Hungary the prices of tobacco, liquor, or cotton goods) or much lower than value (e.g. the prices of fuels). It follows *that the equilibrium price in itself does not yet* orientate to a rational pattern of production and consumption from the point of view of inputs. This can be attained only with the active contribution of price policy, by approaching the price and the value (inputs) to each other.

It is worth while to study the interrelation of value (inputs) and prices also in capitalist countries. Gilbert and Kravis compared the prices of some capitalist countries. [3]. Having extensively analysed the price relations, they disclosed the causes of differences in relative prices. This analysis may command attention, among others, also because the countries selected are industrially developed, and still there are important differences among them in respect of the level of development of productive forces and in the standard of living. This, in itself, makes it necessary to investigate the *influence on price relations of the development of productive forces and of the related differences in the standard of living*. Some of the statements of the analyses may be summarized as follows:

1. With the rising standard of living, the relative prices of mass goods and services change: services become relatively more expensive and mass products relatively cheaper. This tendency follows from the fact that most of the services cannot or can hardly be mechanized, while the wages paid to those working there and the gain realized conform to the general tendency. Therefore, with the progress of productive forces and the rising standard of living, the price level increases in branches where production can be least mechanized, while in the branches better suited for mechanization this is more or less offset by the increase in productivity.

2. The more developed the forces of production and the greater volume of production is carried on on a mass-scale, the bigger will be the shifts in price proportions between products that are more or less capital intensive than the average. With the development of the forces of production the relative prices of more than average capital intensive products will decrease in comparison to others.

These tendencies are rooted in the differences of value relations and, though they are to be observed simultaneously in several countries, they may be conceived of as tendencies within a country, operating in harmony with the development of productive forces, with the rising standard of living. The shifts in relative prices — as might be seen — are caused by the unequal development of the productivity of labour, while the general tendency for the standard of living is to develop proportionately. In industrially developed societies it is an objective tendency that wages in different spheres of production are not established exclusively on the basis of productivity prevailing in the given production branch but are adjusted to the generally prevailing wage relations. All this is taking place in industrially developed capitalist countries either automatically, or through the controlling, limiting role of the government.

Market price relations subject to the law of demand and supply follow the tendencies of values on the basis of international commodity and money relations interpreted in the widest sense. But, in a given case, the fundamental interest of national economies may demand that elements of the national value tendency should be set against such value tendencies. As a rule, this can be achieved by restricting foreign trade and/or by the administrative influencing of price relations to this end. In Western European agriculture, for instance, the governments exercise a control based on the principle of income-parity, applying different methods of price regulation or support. Here it is quite obvious that the prices are not brought about by demand and supply, but market relations are artificially adjusted to arbitrarily determined prices. If an equilibrium price can be established in this manner, it cannot be theoretically derived from the requirements of equilibrium. Here, too, the price operates in a market mechanism, but the automatism of the market is used only as a technical tool for realizing the price tendency considered to be correct. In short: the price corresponds to a norm independent of the market, and it is the market that has to be manipulated in such a way that it will accept such a price.

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Price is, by its nature, a market category and as such has a regulating function. We may speak of a *market price* if this role of the price is enforced also in practice, i.e. if *the price regulates economic processes*. Industrial producers' prices cannot be considered as market prices if they do not regulate industrial

production. In such a case the price operates only as an accounting price; it is a tool for accounting and controlling economic processes.

We distinguish several types of market prices depending on how this function of the price is realized. *The regulating function of the price is direct and open under a market automatism.* Here we have to deal with a "pure" market price, because, on the one hand, it is freely established and, on the other, it regulates demand and as its reaction has an effect on production. *The functioning of prices is direct but restricted if either the price formation or the supply are determined by the government.* If the price is determined by the authorities, its function is restricted to bringing about the equilibrium of demand and supply at a given level. If however, the supply is determined (regulation of production by instructions), the price function is restricted to bringing about a price level at which effective demand will be in harmony with the determined supply. The price does function even if the government both regulates production and establishes fixed prices. In such cases the effect of the functioning of prices may be observed in the system of commodity relations, on the demand side. If demand and supply are in harmony, this is a sign that the government has regulated the pattern of production and price relations in harmony with each other. In any other case there will be irregularities in the commodity relations.

As we have already mentioned, we cannot speak of a market price, not even to a limited extent, if the government regulates production, distribution and prices at the same time. This does not necessarily mean that the price has no function whatever. Government pricing may account for effects resulting from the lack of harmony also in a centrally managed system. In such cases, however, the price functions indirectly.

From all that it obviously follows that the existence of the market price and its type do not depend on the choice of the pricing system but *on the definition of the relationship between the plan and the market.* Even in the discussions about the economic mechanism, the category of the market price could come to the foreground only because, in the course of the economic reform, the question of the relation between plan and market is raised in a manner different from what now exists.

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As an important part of the economic reform, in 1968 we will carry out a general reform of prices. We intend to create a price system that yields proper orientation in economic decisions, brings about the equilibrium of production and consumption in a rational pattern of commodities, and will thus be in harmony with the economic policy aimed at the maximum growth of the economy and of the standard of living.

In the course of the price reform we start from the following: *price relations have to express the social costs of production, the market valuation of products and, finally, government preferences.* The price reform has to combine these

factors for determining the price relations in their joint effect. It is precisely in this manner that the correct price tendencies can be synthetized with the requirements of market prices. This synthesis is based on four fundamental principles: (1) on the introduction of the production type price, (2) on increasing the rate of net income realized in the prices in the form of gains, (3) on introducing the profit motive, and (4) on a deliberate price policy aimed at harmonizing prices with the social costs.

1. Price relations (market prices) express, above all, *the social costs of production.* The social costs of production can, however, be expressed both in value price and production price. One of the objectives of the 1968 price reform is to introduce — with a limited scope — the production price. During discussions lasting several years the view has come to prevail that in an industrially developed country pricing will be satisfactory only if the capital fixed in production is duly taken into account. In economic calculations wage costs are supplemented for the time being with a social insurance contribution of 10 per cent and a pay-roll tax of 15 per cent. For the capital fixed in production, a tax amounting to 5 per cent has to be paid. In addition, with some products yielding particularly high income (rent) a considerable part of this rent is withdrawn in the form of a production tax. All these taxes — accounted for among prime costs — represent about 50 per cent of the total net income realized in the prices of industrial products. (A further 20 per cent will be accumulated by the government in the form of turnover tax.)

2. *About 30 per cent of the net income realized in the prices of industrial products represent the gain of the enterprises.* This is an important deviation from the traditional principle applied in administrative pricing. One of the forms of the "strict" planning was a close price containing no or hardly any gain for the enterprises at the time when the price was fixed. The assumption was that the enterprises will be forced also by this to reduce prime costs. It is, however, obvious that such a price can not at all or can hardly work as a market price which has to fill a balancing role in demand and supply relations. In such a price system the government centralizes part of the net income through tax on gain realized in marketing processes. A price system permitting entrepreneurial gain meets the requirements of a flexible price mechanism, and enables market prices to exercise their effect.

3. *Under such conditions — from the point of view of a synthesis of the correct price tendencies and the operative price movements — the concrete forms of regulating entrepreneurial gain and other incentives are of particular importance.* These incentives will locate the "point of attraction" around which enterprises will rank their commodities to be produced, choose the most economical pattern of production and apply their influence on the prices.

We know of two fundamental types of material incentive systems; one is based on gains, the other on gross income. Maximization of entrepreneurial

gain corresponds to the production-price, the maximization of gross income to the value-price. Since we intend to switch over to the production price, the incentive based on gains must be also introduced. The production price is in harmony with such a concrete form of income incentive, where wages move parallel to productivity and where the principle of self-financing is realized. This is what will presumably happen in industry.

The situation is somewhat different in agriculture. Here the withdrawal of income by the government is not based on taxes on assets and wages but partly directly on prices and partly on land tax and income tax. All this works against the application of the production price. But in agriculture it is important to take into account that the land area of cooperatives is given and so is, more or less, the number of their members. Under such conditions, the cooperatives are directly interested in the maximization of annual gross income per head. Therefore, the fact must be reckoned with that they will subordinate the choice of the production pattern to that endeavour. We may, however, take it for granted that with the processes of integration and industrialization of large-scale farming, the production price will be gradually enforced also in agriculture.

4. The balancing role of the price is realized through the mechanism of the equilibrium price. The market valuations of producers *versus* buyers and those of various buyers are different. They can bring about an equilibrium price only in such a mechanism as is flexible enough adequately to express, through the prices, the results of the market valuations which are often contradictory. In the price system these can prevail only if prices are established in a decentralized system within the framework of enterprise bargaining. Only in such a price system is there a chance that the equilibrium conditions of production and the market should be properly reflected in the process of price formation, conforming to the actual situation. This is why we have reached the conclusion that *the system of administrative prices should be done away with.*

The price policy of the government will influence the prices (relative prices) mainly by government preferences. This can be realized by means of production tax, turnover tax, and— in foreign trade — by applying customs duty, subsidies for exports and skimming-off export earnings in a differentiated manner. Production tax will be used mainly in the production sphere, for making the prices of certain commodities substituting each other "proportionate". Through this we will promote the harmony of the interests of producers and buyers where — without granting preferences — contradictions would be especially sharp. The turnover tax is applied in the sphere of consumers' goods, in order to create a situation where — at a market price established in the given production (supply) pattern — the price income of the producer should conform to production costs. Preferences in foreign trade will protect national productive forces in the international competition. Thus, in the field of consumers' prices agricultural and foreign trade prices, the price policy

starts from a given situation. These prices will be consistently and gradually fitted into the uniform price system, in close coordination with the long-term plan.

The regulation of income by the government ensures in general that market prices should conform to the social interest. There is thus, in principle, no need for direct price regulation by the government. The only exceptions are the purchase prices paid by the government for agricultural products, because this is the only possible way to regulate income relations between wage-earners and peasants. Thus, the mechanism conforming to the market or competition (equilibrium) price can work in harmony with the interests of socialist society. But the administrative price system can be substituted only gradually with free prices in a wider sphere. At any rate, it is a fundamental requirement that direct price regulation by the government should be restricted to the necessary minimum lest the objective of stable prices lead to the maintenance or revival of the bureaucratic forms of pricing.

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What conclusion can we reach from the above considerations? The most important conclusion is perhaps that nothing justifies that the socialist price theory should be laid on new foundations. Only those who were inclined in the first phase of the discussions to sacrifice the real economic contents of the price in socialism on the altar of some artificial formula representing the "socially necessary input" could commit in the second phase the error of turning the socialist price theory into some "market theory". It is not the bases of socialist price theory that have been shattered, but only the schematic way of thinking, the alluring simplification of things which did more harm than good to the labour theory of value.

The price theory has been enriched by Marxist economists with a wide body of knowledge. In the general historical process of socialization these conclusions may increasingly contribute to improving the efficiency of economic organizing activity. This is why the interest manifest all the world over in economic optimization, shadow prices and scientific analysis in the framework of price modelling is wholly justified. In all this the conscious realization of the trend of factual development is expressed. And this should be emphasized now, when the task awaiting us is to draw the analysis of marketing forms into the scope of scientific investigations.

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ДВА ЭТАПА ДИСКУССИИ О ЦЕНАХ В ВЕНГРИИ

Б. ЧИКОШ-НАДЬ

В статье представлен поворот, наблюдаемый в дискуссии о ценах в Венгрии. Система цен ранее критиковалась, в первую очередь, из-за непоследовательного применения принципа затрат, сегодня же — из-за ее жесткости. На новом этапе дискуссии интерес возбуждают вопросы цен, связанные с рыночными процессами.

Развитие экономической науки уже два столетия сопровождается совместным существованием стоимости (как категории, регулирующей ценовые тенденции) и рыночной цены, (как характерной для короткого периода категории), подверженной закону спроса и предложения. Экономисты-марксисты развивали теорию цен в системе планового хозяйства в соответствии с требованиями перспективного планирования в направлении категории, облегчающей плановым органам принятие рациональных экономических решений. В то же время буржуазные экономисты в системе монополистического капитализма развили теорию цен в соответствии с требованиями рыночного товарного хозяйства и пытались вскрыть закономерности цены равновесия, дифференцированные в соответствии с рыночными формами. Вполне понятно, что при подготовке в социалистических странах экономических реформ, направленных на более основательный учет требований рыночного хозяйства, растет интерес к содержанию современной буржуазной теории цен.

Автор рассматривает выводы, вытекающие для политики цен из объективного отношения стоимости и цены. В заключительной части статьи автор в связи с осуществляемой в Венгрии в 1968 году реформой цен излагает соображения о том, как предусматривается синтетизировать затраты и равновесие, правильную тенденцию цен и их оперативное колебание. Автор, в конце концов, приходит к такому выводу, что было бы ошибочным отвергнуть все то, что было достигнуто экономистами-марксистами в развитии социалистической теории цен. Это должно быть подчеркнуто именно потому, что сейчас перед экономистами стоит задача постепенного вовлечения в круг научных исследований анализа рыночных форм.

R. Hoch

MARKET EQUILIBRIUM AND CHANGES IN THE PRICE LEVEL IN SOCIALISM

The author investigates the complex problem whether a rapid development of the economy, the equilibrium of demand and supply and an unchanged (or falling) price level might be attained simultaneously. Analysing a model of the changes in relative prices the author concludes that, though the above requirements may be in principle simultaneously realized, this is hardly probable in practice. With a proper economic policy and economic management an accelerating inflation can be avoided.

The efforts that are now being made to improve the methods of economic policy and the functioning of the economic mechanism in order to ensure a higher growth rate and a more vigorous development of the economy [1], make it necessary to revise several concepts and requirements which in the course of time have grown into rigid prejudices. Thus we have to re-examine the complex of problems relating to the requirement of a stable price level.

Up to now, the aim had been to enforce the following requirements:

1. A quick rate of economic growth;

2. The proportionate growth of gross nominal incomes and of aggregate supply as expressed in money terms, i.e. the equilibrium of demand and supply or, at least, possible shortages should not increase.

3. A stable or even decreasing level of consumer prices (in accordance with the thesis that under socialism a rising standard of living has to be achieved by raising money incomes *and* reducing the level of prices).

The realization of this threefold requirement has given rise to quite a few problems in our development* up to now. Thus, the question may be justly put: Can they be realized simultaneously? By fixing the wage level, do we not hinder development? By fixing the price level, do we not aggravate the situations where money incomes are not met with a supply of goods of adequate volume?

* In modern capitalist countries the problem arises in a way that is similar in many respects. E.g. L. R. Klein and R. G. Bodkin [2] raise the question whether economic growth, a stable price level and a high level of employment can be realized simultaneously. The difference in the formulation of the question is due to the fact that in the majority of socialist countries and thus also in Hungary, full employment is almost self-evident, but the scarcity of some goods often causes problems while in capitalist countries under normal conditions supply tends to equal demand or even to surpass it, and full employment is not always given as a matter of fact.

The model of the realization of the threefold requirement

If we want to answer the above questions, we have to look for a model which will meet our threefold requirement. When constructing the model, changes in the following factors will be taken into account:

1. Gross social product and national income (both inclusive of services);
2. Within the national income: accumulation and consumption;*
3. Within consumption: the commodity fund (inclusive of consumption of own produce) and free allocations;**
4. Total gross and net money incomes;
5. Per capita wages (paid by the hour or by results);
6. The number of wage-earners paid by the hour and of those paid by results;
7. The level of consumer prices;
8. The volume of consumer demand and that of the supply of consumer goods.

It is a most unusual procedure to classify wage-earners by the type of waging and by numbers (5 and 6), instead of that according to "productive" and "non-productive" categories, i.e. not by the character of the activity, but according to the basis of wages paid (work-hours or performance).*** This method can be justified on the basis of the following considerations. To be able to answer the question raised here we must, in the first place, know the trends in the performance and the wages of those turning out material products and rendering services. There is no connection between the performance and the wages of those on time-wages even if they happen to be active in the productive sphere. The trend of time-wages is determined in the last resort, though not automatically, by that of performance wages. Undoubtedly, time-wages lag behind performance wages from time to time. There is, however, a tendency for the growth-rate of time-wages to approach that of performance wages in order to eliminate disproportions. (In our present-day mechanism this is served by the provision that the time-wages fund is to increase year by year by a pre-determined percentage.) Thus, in the last resort, the growth of wages is determined by the general development of performance wages.

* For the sake of simplicity, here and from now on, non-productive consumption (e.g. war materials) will not be included in consumption; nor will the time-lag between the purchase and use of durable consumer goods be accounted for.

** The consumption fund, i.e. the aggregate of consumer goods is divided into two parts: 1. the commodity fund (inclusive of the consumption of own produce by the peasantry) and 2. the goods and services allocated by the state free of charge.

*** Co-operative peasantry is considered as paid by results. — The category of those paid by the hour includes: *a)* productive workers on time-wages, *b)* those employed in non-productive jobs and paid time-wages, and *c)* pensioners, scholarship-holders, etc.

The initial model (I)

In our initial model we assume the following:

a) Gross social product and national income, and within national income accumulation and personal consumption grow proportionately to each other, which is equivalent to saying that the volume of the means of production (Division I) and that of consumer goods (Division II) increases at the same rate. (We need this assumption only as a first step, for the sake of simplification.)

b) The so-called commodity fund, i.e. the volume of consumer goods available for purchase grows in proportion to the consumption fund.

c) The gross money income of those on performance wages grows in direct proportion to production. More exactly: performance wages per head grow in direct proportion to productivity and the total of performance wages to gross production. (From this point of view, those newly employed in production and paid time-wages may be also ranked here, provided that production increases on the whole proportionately to the increased sum of wages.)*

d) The income of those on time-wages — though lagging at times behind the income of those on performance wages — rises, as a tendency, in proportion to the latter.

e) Net money incomes grow proportionately to gross money incomes. (Income tax, if any, is linear, etc.)

f) The structure of the labour force (proportion of those on performance wages and those on time-wages) is stable.

g) The consumer price level is unchanged.

h) Total demand for and total supply of consumer goods are in equilibrium.

As a *result*, there is no inherent contradiction in the above model. Both incomes and the commodity fund grow proportionately to production; demand and supply remain in equilibrium even with a stable price level, or, if there existed previously a shortage of commodities its extent does not change.**

A modification of the conditions

It is obvious that many assumptions made in the initial model do not correspond to actual development processes. In the following we shall, therefore, gradually change the assumptions.

* We know, of course, that in reality, under the actual conditions, wages do not increase proportionately to production because work-norms are revised, etc. We need, however, the assumption that wages and production grow proportionately only as a starting point, to be able to demonstrate in the following the actual role and importance of other factors, as e.g. the revision of norms.

** Here we disregard the fact that due to savings total demand will grow slower than money incomes.

First modification: As a first step, we modify the assumption under b) of Model I. In the following let us assume that *the commodity fund grows slower than the consumption fund,* (i.e. than total personal consumption) because the proportion of consumption based on free allocations increases. Now we cannot consider each of the other conditions as remaining unchanged at the same time. In fact, if gross production increases in some period k times, the sum of wages will also increase k times — because performance wages grow proportionately to the performance and they are followed by time-wages. If, at the same time, the commodity fund grows only to m times ($k > m$), because the consumption of allocations "with a determined destination" (free allocations) grows quicker, *either* the price level must rise in order that demand and supply remain in equilibrium *or* — if the price level remains unchanged — the shortage of goods must increase. With a stable price level demand and supply can remain in equilibrium only if the sum of net wages increases slower than total (gross) production, proportionately to the commodity fund, i.e. it grows only m times.

Second modification: Let us assume that a) the gross product and national income do not grow proportionately and that b) accumulation and consumption do not rise proportionately either; i.e. total production and consumption do not change proportionately. Even if we do not know exactly the rules governing these proportions, in every actual planning period (e.g. in a five-year plan) we know the trend of changes.

If the consumption fund grows *quicker* than total production, and, at the same time, the commodity fund and the consumption fund increase at an identical rate, the market equilibrium requires — other conditions being equal — a wage level rising quicker than production. If, however, though the consumption fund grows quicker than total production but the commodity fund grows slower than the consumption fund, — contrary to the conclusion reached in connection with the first modification — it is still possible that a market equilibrium will be established at an unchanged price level, in spite of the fact that wages increase proportionately to total production. Historical evidence shows, however, that a quicker growth of the volume of consumer goods than that of the volume of production is only an incidental and temporary phenomenon which must not be reckoned with as a long-term tendency. True, an increasing efficiency of inputs may tend to reduce the proportion of the replacement fund set aside for used-up funds and assets. (Part of the replacement becomes accumulation.) This will, however, only serve to counterbalance the tendencies working towards an increase in the combined proportion of replacement and accumulation to total production.

The historical experiences of both capitalist and socialist countries show that personal consumption grows rather slower than total production and not quicker.

If consumption increases slower than total production (either because the proportion of replacement or that of accumulation increases), we reach the same conclusion as with the first modification, namely, that with wages growing proportionately to production an unchanged price level and the equilibrium of demand and supply cannot be achieved simultaneously. If we introduce the condition of the first modification, — namely, that the commodity fund grows slower than consumption — the problem arises in an even more marked form.

Third modification: In the initial model we assumed that the proportions of those on time-wage and those on performance wages are unchanged. But this assumption does not correspond to the actual facts.

From the two modifications above — particularly from the first one — it follows that total production grows quicker than the commodity fund. Thus, if we assume that the sum total of performance wages grows proportionately to performances, the equilibrium of demand and supply can be maintained with a stable price level only if the total wage income of those on time wages increases slower not only than the sum total of performance wages but also than the commodity fund.

The growth coefficient of the total income of those on time-wages is the product of the growth *coefficient of the labour force* and the growth *coefficient of the average per capita time-wages.* Thus, the condition of a proportionate development in the above sense would be that either a) the per capita wage of those on time-wages should grow slower than per capita performance wages and — if the proportion of the labour force and of incomes is determined — the per capita income of time-wage earners must stagnate or even decrease; *or/and* b) the number of time-wage earners must grow slower than that of those receiving performance-wages. These changes in proportions are mathematically possible, but economically they are hardly feasible.

ad a) We have mentioned that in spite of the fact that time wages are at times lagging behind performance-wages, there is still a tendency — mainly in order to eliminate disproportions among wages — for the growth rate of time-wages to approach that of performance wages. Of course, there may occur structural changes both within the circle of people receiving performance-wages and within that of time-wage earners, which result in a quicker growth rate of the average performance-wage than the average time-wage. (E.g. the increase of the proportion of qualified workers among those paid performance-wages or the increase of pensioners among those paid time-wages.) These changes are, however, of a random character and thus temporary; they may be even of opposite sign. (E.g. an increase in the proportion of white collar workers.)

ad b) In reality, it is the proportion of those on time-wages that grows in comparison to those paid performance-wages, and not conversely. This is a requirement of social progress. The proportion of people employed in non-material production increases (and they are usually paid time-wages), but a similar

process is taking place in the field of material production, too (the growing proportion of technicians and engineers, the shift from performance-wages to time-wages due e.g. to automation, etc.).

It follows from the above that the sum total of time-wages grows quicker than the sum total of performance-wages. Thus, even if the sum total of performance-wages grew proportionately to the commodity fund, aggregate wages would rise quicker. Aggregate wages can grow proportionately to the commodity fund only if performance-wages grow slower not only than performances but also than the commodity fund.

It is obvious that part of newly employed time-wage earners will also contribute to the production of the commodity-fund (in the form of products or services available for purchase), and in this sense they were compared above to those receiving performance-wages. But an ever growing proportion of people on time-wages do not contribute to the commodity fund, they even do not perform a productive activity. It should also be taken into account that a growing proportion of newly employed time-wage earners are working in a field where productivity cannot be raised to any considerable extent (services). Thus, while the productivity of performance-wage earners and, accordingly, their average wage per head will rapidly increase (mainly in the field of material production) — *in the sphere of non-material production the productivity of labour grows but slowly though the average wage per head follows here the growth of performance-wages and also the proportion of those employed in this field increases.*

Fourth modification. Up to now it has been an open question whether the growth of wages in proportion to performances was justified. As is known, the sources of the growth of production may be classified into three groups:

a) Modernization of existing equipment (new machinery, introduction of new processes, etc.),

b) Increased skill of those already employed, increasing qualification, increased intensity of work,

c) Employment of new labour.

In case a) it is not necessary that wages should grow proportionately to performances. If e.g. an old, obsolete machine is replaced by a new one, production will grow by bounds with the given job but new work-norms will be fixed for the new machine and wages will generally not grow proportionately to production even if the handling of the new machine requires higher skill and intensity. (It may, however, happen that the demand for skilled labour and, particularly, the intensity of work will decrease.)

In cases b) and c) — due to the nature of performance-wages — wages will increase proportionately to performances, unless a degressive scale is employed or the growth of gross wages is curbed by means of administrative measures (revision of norms) or the rate of growth of gross and net wages is separated (progressive income tax).

If the growth of production were due exclusively to technological development, it would be entirely unjustified to assume that wages grow proportionately to the performance. But — even under conditions of an intensive economic progress—production can not be increased merely by improving the technological condition of existing jobs; even under such conditions, the increasing skill and the employment of new labour have an important role to play. In case of an extensive development of the economy, however, the decisive role falls to the latter. Thus, the more extensive the development of the economy, the stronger the tendency for wages to grow proportionately to performance. And this tendency is only supported by the fact that in some fields, such as that of services, wages grow quicker than performance.

It should be pointed out that what has been said about the trends in production and wages is valid essentially under conditions of an economy with centrally managed wages. If enterprises are free to dispose of their gross income and if the enterprise collective has a say in how the gross income should be distributed, there will be even in case of an intensive economic development a tendency for all wage incomes (not only performance-wages but also time-wages) to grow proportionately to production.

The modified model (II)

If we modify the conditions, we obtain a model which is different from the initial one.

a) Consumption may grow proportionately to gross production, but it may grow slower and quicker as well, depending on the development of the replacement fund (its proportion) within the gross product and on the proportion of the accumulation fund to national income.

b) The consumers' commodity fund grows slower than national income due to the rising proportion of the consumption of allocations with a determined destination (free allocations) and it is probable that it grows slower even than gross production.

c) In the case of centrally managed wages, gross wages of those on performance-wages will rise slower than gross production to the extent that the production increase is due to modernization of the technological conditions of existing jobs.

d) The income per head of time-wage earners follows with some time-lag the income per head of those earning performance-wages. (The average growth coefficients of performance- and time-wages per head will separate only occasionally, as a consequence of changes in the structure of employment.)

e) Net money incomes grow proportionately to gross money incomes.

f) The number of those on time-wages grows quicker than that of those paid performance-wages; aggregate time-wages grow thus quicker than aggregate performance-wages.

g) The consumer price level remains unchanged.

h) Total demand for and total supply of consumer goods are in equilibrium.

As a *result* there is no *necessary inherent contradiction in the model;* it implies the *possibility* that proportions should develop in a way to establish an equilibrium between demand and supply even if consumer prices remain stable (provided that there was a state of equilibrium at the start). It may happen, for instance, that although the commodity fund increases m times and total production k times ($m < k$), due to technological progress performance-wages increase only l times ($l < m < k$) in such a way that, in spite of a quicker rise in aggregate time-wages, the total wage fund grows also only m times. Thus, the above model will not serve to prove unequivocally that the wage fund rises quicker than the commodity fund.

It may, however, be seen from the above model, and from the example cited, that this lack of contradiction in the model is only a possibility, a mathematical probability, as it were. It appears already from the first approach that *it is not at all a characteristic feature of socialism that wage-incomes should as a matter of course grow proportionately to the commodity fund.* A proportionate increase of wage incomes and the commodity fund is only one, but by far not the unique solution of our system of equations. If, however, we take it into account that

— the commodity fund grows slower than national income and gross social product, and the proportion of wage earners who produce no goods is on the increase;

— part of performance-wages grows proportionately to total production, i.e. quicker than the commodity fund;

— the sum total of time-wages (including the wage-type incomes of non-productive earners whose proportion within employment is increasing) grows quicker than the sum of performance wages;

we must reach the conclusion that it is hardly probable that the growth of aggregate performance-wages should lag so much behind the growth of the commodity fund (and not only of total production) that the total wage fund should rise proportionately to the commodity fund. This means that — though Model II does not preclude the proportionate increase of wages and the commodity fund — *it is highly probable that wages will grow quicker than the commodity fund, even if the increase in performance-wages is smaller than the growth of commodity production.*

Ways to eliminate the arising disproportions

Though not unequivocally necessary, it is highly probable that the growth rate of total gross nominal wages will surpass that of the commodity fund to a smaller or greater extent. Therefore, in case of a stable consumer price level, a growing disproportion may arise between the demand for and the supply of consumer goods. Under such conditions, although not a rule, it may be expected that the growth of demand will tend to precede the growth of supply. But from the point of view of economic progress a shortage, and especially a growing shortage of goods has most harmful effects both on the quality and the choice of consumer goods, besides being detrimental to increased standards of living and thus also politically undesirable.

What are, theoretically, the main methods available under the given conditions to prevent aggregate demand growing quicker than supply?

1. The gross wage incomes of those paid performance-wages should grow slower than production.

2. Net incomes should rise slower than gross incomes (the application of a progressive income tax).

3. The elimination of recurrent disproportions between demand and supply by raising the level of prices.

Evaluating the methods for restricting the growth of demand, the following should be considered:

— the difference between the respective rates of growth in demand and supply is not the same for different periods; sometimes both growth rates may be equal, in other periods supply may rise quicker than demand;

— the disequilibrium between aggregate demand and aggregate supply never assumes the form of a uniform scarcity in every commodity. Even in case of a general scarcity of goods there are commodities whose demand and supply are in equilibrium and even such whose supply is bigger than the demand for them, and thus unsaleable stocks may accumulate even under a general scarcity of goods;

— the equilibrium of demand and supply should be achieved by measures which promote rather than restrict the growth of supply.

From the above it follows that the methods intended to ensure the equilibrium of demand and supply should be flexible, always conforming to the market conditions prevailing and should act as an incentive.

The application of the methods under 1. and 2. may be justified under definite conditions. E.g. when new technologies are introduced, it should be ensured that wages rise slower than performances. And a progressive income tax is warranted wherever the differences between incomes are too big. It may be equally expedient to lay a progressive income tax on the income of enterprises (including also the profit shares paid to manual and white-collar work-

ers). But neither the first nor the second measure is appropriate to be the exclusive or principal means to bring about a proportionate growth in supply and demand. The principal instrument has to be the appropriate management of the price level, — its increase, if necessary — and the slower growth of performance-wages than performances as well as a progressive income tax as secondary measures. This statement may be justified on the following grounds;

First: The extent to which the supply of consumer goods is lagging behind demand is — as has been pointed out — not the same for different periods. Neither a revision of norms nor taxation can follow flexibly the changing conditions of the market. The extent of the rise in the price level, however, adapts itself in a natural way to market conditions; the price level may rise in harmony with requirements and, if conditions demand, it may remain stable or even decrease.

Second: Even if there exists a general scarcity of goods, unsaleable stocks of various commodities may accumulate. In order to establish a structural equilibrium of demand and supply and to influence deliberately the pattern of demand, a comparatively continuous change in relative prices is required. Of course, relative prices may be managed in a way that rises and reductions counterbalance each other on the level of the economy as a whole. Price changes may even bring about an increase in purchasing power. But if wages grow quicker than the commodity fund, the equilibrium of demand and supply may be brought about in a way that — as a result of partly rising and partly diminishing prices — the purchasing power *of a definite amount of money* (e.g. Ft 100. —) is reduced, but not to the same extent in respect of each type of commodity — in some relations the purchasing power may remain stable, and in others it may even increase.

Third: If a rise in consumer prices is entirely or partly expressed also in the rise of producer prices, this re-establishes the equilibrium of demand and supply not only by reducing demand but also by the fact that higher profitability may have an incentive effect on increasing production and supply, particularly on the supply of exactly those goods which are scarce. The same cannot be said either of putting a brake on gross nominal incomes (as in the case of work-norm revisions) or of income-tax policies. In fact, it should be taken into account that an enterprise may turn out a variety of goods and a change in relative prices may increase the profitability of the commodities which are more in demand and diminish that of those which are less in demand. The enterprise in question will in this case prefer the production of the former goods and neglect that of the latter. Within the enterprise, however, — and this follows from the nature of things — norms will be revised not according to changes in market conditions but in answer to requirements of the internal technological conditions, relative wages, etc.

Fourth: If prices assure the equilibrium of demand and supply both in general and also by commodities, sellers will usually be compelled to make efforts to attract the buyers' money; they will be pressed to improve the quality and up-to-dateness of products, to expand their choice, etc. If, however, the price level (and the system of relative prices) is rigid, a certain concealed increase of the price level will still take place even if prices are declaredly stable in spite of the insufficient supply. But this rise in prices will take place in a particular way and with harmful effects.

Fifth: Not only may an increase of prices be justified if the revision of norms (and probably taxation measures, too) prove to be insufficient to restore the equilibrium of demand and supply, but conversely: with such methods applied, there will be no need for revisions of norms beyond rational limits (as regards both extent and frequency). In even more general terms: whenever the disproportions between demand and supply can be eliminated by a rise in the price level resulting from changes in relative prices, one should not spare with the measures aimed at increasing the level of nominal incomes and changing their structure, as this would only hamper progress.

To the foregoing, the following should be added:

— The argument most often cited in favour of a stable price level is *the defence of real incomes.* We started, however, precisely from the assumption that personal consumption, including the consumption of goods, increases, and that with a stable price level it increases slower than total demand but in proportion to real consumption.* Thus, an increase in the price level, the reduction of the purchasing power of a definite sum of money does not imply under the given conditions a decrease in general real wages and real incomes. At most, nominal wages (or nominal incomes) grow quicker than real wages (or real incomes). The real wages (incomes) of some strata may, of course, be reduced by the rise in the price level. To compensate these strata for the loss of income belongs, however, to the scope of the income policy of the state.

— The rise in the price level necessary to ensure the equilibrium of demand and supply, a rise brought about by changes in relative prices, can, in principle, take place in two ways:

a) the prices of essentially all commodities are fixed by the authorities who change the relative prices and raise the price level by applying a flexible price policy, or

b) the prices are set by the enterprises and develop in response to market conditions.

* Here we disregard, on the one hand, the effect of savings, i.e. of the fact that purchasing power grows quicker than real consumption because part of money incomes is put aside *for later use*; on the other hand, we understand here by real consumption the consumption of commodities — in this sense, therefore, free allocations are not included in real income.

Our experiences up to now have shown, however, that under present conditions there is no possibility of establishing a stable equilibrium between demand and supply by centrally fixing prices for all groups of commodities or even for their majority. [3]

The extent of the rise in the price level

The necessary rise in the price level may in principle be brought about either by centrally raising the all-embracing official prices or by a spontaneous rise in the prices set by enterprises. According to our experiences, however, it is not possible under the existing conditions to establish the relative prices and a price level conforming to market conditions for a great number of commodity groups through central price regulation. On the other hand, we have pointed out that a central regulation of prices is justified only for certain groups of consumer goods whose demand is only slightly sensitive to price changes, the commodity in question satisfies a primary need and cannot be easily substituted by some other good, and the price elasticity of supply is also low.

Transferring the management of prices to the scope of activity of the enterprises (though with some kind of central control) raises, however, the highly important question in respect of consumer goods (and also of the means of production): *does the free movement of prices necessarily involve substantial inflation of ever gathering momentum*, or will it be possible to keep the increase in prices within a few per cent each year (which is essentially not more than the concealed rise in prices today) and that at a steady rate.

The misgivings about the problem are justified. There exist tensions in our economy which under certain conditions (to which we will later revert) may cause a rapid and accelerating rise in the level of prices. A serious and accelerating inflation is, however, harmful to the development of the economy; its negative effects might be greater than the positive ones resulting from the equilibrium of demand and supply. Under the conditions of a growing inflation, price and income relations become confused and their social control and thus the control of their effect on production will prove unfeasible.

We assume that prices are partly fixed and partly free to change. Under such conditions, a rapid rise in the general price level will be primarily due to the rise in free prices, and thus grave disproportions will arise between fixed and free prices and, accordingly, also disproportions in respect of profitability and income. (The problem will present itself most markedly when one and the same enterprise produces and sells commodities both with fixed and with free prices.) In addition, the propensity to save* will weaken or cease altogether,

* The populations' propensity to save generally declines not as a consequence of a general rise in the level of prices, but when the prices of such products rise to a great

the tendency to draw on credits will increase (factors which add to the inflationary pressure); interest will make up only partly or not at all for losses due to the depreciation of money, its incentive and regulating role will cease. The real rate of exchange of the domestic currency will continuously and increasingly deteriorate and either the currency will be devaluated continuously (openly or in a concealed way) or interest in exports will diminish and interest in imports will grow (provided that prices and the system of management makes producers really interested in the movements of the rate of exchange), and these endeavours will give further momentum to inflation, and, as a consequence, the balance of payments will further deteriorate. (As a matter of fact, both the regulated rate of interest — the price of borrowed capital — and the regulated rate of exchange — the price of foreign exchange — belong to the category of fixed prices; thus, the above affects are special manifestations of the discrepancy between fixed and free prices under inflationary conditions.)

However, the rapid and accelerating increase in the price level will happen only if the contradictions illustrated in Model II become accentuated in the economy. (As we have seen, the model may be even free of contradictions.)

At present there are certain shortages to be observed on the market of consumer goods. This phenomenon is mainly due to the fact that the *patterns* of the demand for and the supply of consumer goods do not coincide: in some goods and commodity types there is a shortage while in others stocks are accumulating. Total demand and total supply is — under the given conditions — in equilibrium, on paper, in the national balances but, precisely because of the structural disequilibrium, the total purchasing power cannot be spent. Thus, demand surpasses supply, unspent money remains with the population, while unsaleable goods are accumulating. The causes of this phenomenon may be found to a considerable extent in the actual system of planning and management: *rigid prices do not serve to adjust the pattern of demand to that of supply, and the actual system of control and enterprise management fail to provide sufficient incentive for supply to conform in its pattern to the structure of demand.* What is expected of the controlled or uncontrolled pricing activities of the enterprises and of the system of planning and management in harmony with it, is precisely that they will act towards eliminating the factors which now hinder the reciprocal adjustment of the patterns of supply and demand.

If this economic mechanism comes into being, it may be expected that the disharmony between supply and demand will cease to the extent that this disharmony was due to the present economic mechanism and its integral part: the rigid price system.

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extent to which savings are directed. (Durable consumer goods, housing, travels, etc.) It is conceivable that, while there is a general rise in prices, the prices of such goods remain stable or even decrease. In such a case the propensity to save will not necessarily decline.

But the partial shortage of goods and the general excess demand resulting from it is due not exclusively to the economic mechanism. An important reason is the scarcity of our resources — inclusive of foreign trade possibilities.

Moreover, productive resources cannot be re-allocated at will; and within their limits the pattern of supply can in any economic mechanism conform to the structure of demand only to a limited extent. (Prices do, of course, act to adjust supply to the given conditions of production and foreign trade.) A further important though often not sufficiently appreciated cause of the structural disharmony of supply and demand must be sought in *the insufficiency and antiquated character of our system of information.* Trade — but also industry — can, for lack of adequate electronic computers, tell only after the stocks had been taken at the end of the half-year what is the composition of its stocks. However, by the time the inventory is completed: it does not reflect any more the actual situation. Now, both central control and management resting on the independence of highly concentrated big enterprises would necessitate an up-to-date information system in order to ensure, among other things, also the structural equilibrium of supply and demand. And last but not least: It is raised with some justification that a considerable part of the state-owned industrial and trading enterprises enjoy a monopolistic position, and this in itself is a factor in the upward trend of prices. True, the importance of this factor must be neither overestimated nor underrated. As a matter of fact, the point is that — though the importance of competition among enterprises turning out and trading identical goods cannot be denied — the *realization* of a monopolistic position is possible primarily where demand surpasses supply. The competition of buyers becomes sharp in such cases even if the commodity in question is not produced and sold by a single enterprise. The seller, on the other hand, must make efforts to attract the money of the buyers if prices assure a proper equilibrium and the enterprise is interested in increasing its income, because the market is not unlimited. (In the case of goods whose demand is not very sensitive to price changes, the sellers occupy a special monopolistic position. This is why the price formation of such goods must continue to be officially regulated in the future.) In spite of what has been said above, the high concentration of production and trade will give rise to some problems as far as trends in the price level are concerned. The reform of the economic mechanism will involve in general several changes in organization, but it must not entail the dismemberment of large enterprises and plants.

Thus we cannot expect that a more flexible system of prices alone will bring about a complete equilibrium of supply and demand in a way that the consumer price level will remain unchanged — as a result of counterbalancing price rises and reductions. We might, however, believe that the introduction of free prices (in a narrower or broader field) will lead to a *single* upward shift of

the price level; thus the problem would consist only in the fact that demand and supply balance each other at a higher level of prices than today and this higher price level will become stabilized. This is how the process would essentially take place if the sum of nominal wages remained unchanged or rose hereafter only proportionately to the commodity fund. We started, however, from the necessity of a more flexible wage policy in order that the main instrument of maintaining the equilibrium of demand and supply should *not* consist in the restriction of rises in nominal wages. It is precisely a more forceful increase of nominal incomes that propels the rise in consumer prices. But in the chain of causal relationships the rise in prices also becomes a cause of a rise in wages (and, in general, of nominal incomes).

It should also be taken into account that in an inflationary process not only a wage-price-wage spiral, but also *wage-wage* and *price-price* spirals are at work. We have already seen that raising part of the wages (and of the general wage level) requires — in order to do away with or mitigate arising disproportions — that another part of wages should also be raised. This process asserts itself — if to a limited extent — even under our present price and wage systems. With a quicker rise in nominal wages and a less strict wage management the effect will gather strength.

The (consumer) price-price spiral, on the other hand, means that an unchanged nominal price is, under conditions of a general rise in the price level, a diminishing price in real terms, and therefore all sellers will strive to raise nominal prices if the real price is to be maintained.

Even if the above are taken into account, it cannot be realistically expected that impulses starting from the market of consumer goods would induce a serious and accelerating increase in the consumer price level. At present there are no tensions in Hungary on the market of consumer goods that would cause a rapid rise in prices when made free to move; besides, the introduction of a more flexible economic mechanism would itself ease such tensions. And if the "single" rise is not significant, the wage- (consumer) price-wage spiral and the wage-wage and (consumer) price-price spirals will have only moderate effects.

The increase in the consumer price level will be rapid and accelerating — in case of free prices — when tensions are growing in the economy, when nominal incomes grow markedly faster than the commodity fund. From our Model II it might be seen that aggregate nominal incomes can grow markedly faster than the commodity fund, especially in the following cases:

— The rate of growth in Division I considerably accelerates in comparison to Division II, mainly as a result of an important rise in the ratio of the accumulation fund to national income. One of the forms in which this change becomes manifest is that consumer goods are exchanged in foreign trade for means of production to an increasing extent. A major condition of the relative stability of prices is that the relative growth rates of the two classes or, what amounts

to the same, the ratio of the accumulation fund to the consumption fund within national income should not change considerably.

— The distribution of the consumption fund shifts considerably in favour of free allocations and to the detriment of the commodity fund. Starting from the aspect of the price level (and not only from incentives) we must reach the conclusion that we have to go about cautiously with further increasing free allocations and that their scope must not be extended more than absolutely necessary.

— The sum total of nominal incomes grows almost proportionately to total production. The rise in consumer prices is the quicker, the more production is expanded by means of creating new jobs and the less existing jobs are modernized. It is a general experience that the extent of inflation is smaller and more controllable in leading capitalist countries developing their economy in an intensive direction than in backward countries where extensive development is taking place. Since, however, production cannot increase exclusively as a result of technical innovations, it may become necessary to restrict the growth of gross money incomes by means of revising norms or that of net incomes by appropriate taxation measures. In general: if gross money incomes grow quicker than the commodity fund, the rise in the level of prices will be the more forceful, the more it is the major or exclusive measure for bringing about market equilibrium. (It was our starting requirement that the proportionate increase of demand and supply should be brought about *not exclusively* by wage and income policy.)

The above factors may in themselves induce rapid rise in the price level and all the more so if they go combined or even together. Since Model II reflects reality truly enough, and it implies the possibility that the rate of growth of demand should surpass that of supply, and since under our present economic conditions there are forces at work toward sharpening these contradictions, only proper economic policy and control can ensure that freeing part of the prices from direct official regulation should not lead to rapid and accelerating inflation.

On the surface of the economy the disharmony of demand and supply appears in the turnover of consumer goods either in the form of a shortage of goods (in the case of fixed prices) or in a rising level of prices. But the phenomenon is called forth by interrelations, tensions and disproportions underlying the economy. To use an analogy taken from the field of medicine: in the fight against inflation the central regulation of wages or/and prices is only a palliative treatment. However, the symptoms are not the illness itself, by treating the symptoms we cannot cure the illness. With the measures outlined above, the causes which release the inflationary tendencies or lead to a shortage of goods cannot be eliminated. It does not follow that palliative treatment has no importance, that it is not a condition of restoring the patient to health. As long

as there are tensions in the economy, there will be a need for certain regulations of the economic phenomena. The essential and fundamental task remains, however, to cure the illness and gradually to ease the tensions in the economy.

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РЫНОЧНОЕ РАВНОВЕСИЕ И ИЗМЕНЕНИЕ УРОВНЯ ЦЕН ПРИ СОЦИАЛИЗМЕ

Р. ХОХ

На наш исходный вопрос, можно ли одновременно обеспечить быстрый рост производства, неизменный (или даже понижающийся) уровень розничных цен и равновесие спроса и предложения, нами был получен следующий ответ.

Весьма вероятно, — если даже на это нет безоговорочных доказательств, — что на потребительском рынке при неизменном уровне цен спрос растет быстрее предложения. В то же время почти наверняка можно утверждать, что при таком условии равновесие спроса и предложения может быть сохранено лишь при исключительно строгой политике в области заработной платы и доходов, но это отрицательно сказывается на рациональной хозяйственной деятельности предприятия, на материальном стимулировании и на политике, связанной с отношениями в области заработной платы и доходов. Из всего этого следует, что в интересах обеспечения рыночного равновесия необходимо использовать изменение уровня цен (ведь это является естественной функцией цен), а в случае необходимости — их повышение.

Необходимое повышение уровня цен в принципе может осуществляться и в результате деятельности центральных ценовых органов. Однако повышение гибкости и эффективности хозяйственного управления и системы хозяйственной деятельности требует частичного или полного освобождения части цен из-под прямого ведомственного контроля.

Сильная и даже усиливающаяся инфляция *возможна* при свободном формировании цен, но совсем не является его необходимым следствием. Уровень свободных цен растет быстро и даже ускоряющимися темпами лишь в том случае, если в народном хозяйстве увеличиваются моменты напряжения, например, растет доля фонда накопления; он используется, в первую очередь, на экстенсивное расширение производства; быстро увеличивается доля бесплатного потребления за счет фондов общественного потребления и т. д.

Уже и из этих взаимосвязей следует, что освобождение (полное или частичное) части цен из-под ведомственного регулирования настоятельно требует усиления косвенного государственного контроля. При частично свободном ценообразовании следует гораздо внимательнее следить за динамикой уровня цен и реальной заработной платы, причем не только в целом, но и по отдельным слоям населения. Необходимо принимать соответствующие меры в экономической политике с учетом выводов, получаемых на основании вышеуказанного наблюдения. (Регулирование доли фонда накопления, использование политики цен и прочих рычагов для регулирования доходов предприятий и личных доходов, соответствующая кредитная политика, внешне-торговая политика и т. п.) При правильной экономической политике и успешном использовании имеющихся хозяйственных институтов даже при частичном свободном ценообразовании контроль над уровнем цен ни в коем случае не исчезнет, а наоборот, станет более эффективным с точки зрения развития экономики страны в целом.

K. Szabó — M. Mandel

MANAGEMENT OF FIXED ASSETS IN THE NEW ECONOMIC MECHANISM*

The paper critically reviews two conflicting views which presented themselves in the course of preparing the reform of economic management. He proves that the application of economic measures instead of administrative ones is a more efficient method of planned control even in the management of fixed assets. The authors particularly stress the importance of an active policy in respect of amortization and credit.

One of the most important problems of the reform of economic management is to establish a proper framework for the management of fixed assets. Here are concentrated the factors which determine the perspectives of the rate of growth of the economy, structural changes, technological development and, through all these, the increase in efficiency. It is, therefore, not irrelevant what forms of control we intend to use in the framework of the reform in order to regulate this process in a purposeful manner.

In the discussions which took place during the preparation of the reform it was this field where essentially divergent views emerged. In the final analysis, these divergent views can be traced back to two conflicting attitudes. The difference between them mainly concerns the methods intended to render the extension of productive fixed assets more efficient and more conforming to the national economic plan. The first opinion asserts that this objective can be achieved with the direct or indirect application of administrative methods of regulation (centralized allocation of the volume of investments), while according to the second, mainly (i. e. with certain exceptions), the value categories should be applied to this end in an active manner.

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The arguments of the adherents to the first opinion start from the following ideas:**

The number of centrally established plan-instructions should be radicallly reduced, not because the so-called break-down method of central regulation

* The Hungarian original of this paper [1] was a contribution to the discussion on the reform of economic management.

** The most consistent exposition of this standpoint is to be found in the article by G. Sík [2].

has becom obsolete at our present level of development, but simply, because scientific methods have not yet made it possible for central planning to break down such a wast number of targets for enterprises in a properly founded manner. Thus, according to this concept, the most effective method of enforcing the central decisions consists in issuing direct instructions. Its adherents are willing to abandon this method only so far as the necessary accuracy and the scientific foundations of plan targets cannot yet be assured.

According to this view, where, for lack of scientific foundations, we make under duress a concession to enterpreneurial independence, we actually make a concession to spontaneity. Indeed, this concept considers the use of commodity categories to centrally influence the economy not as a genuine tool of planned control but rather as something foreign to it. This is why it proposes that the scope of enterprise decisions regarding fixed assets should be limited to replacement, and why not only the macro-economic problems of expanded reproduction but also the micro-economic ones should be reserved for central decisions.

It follows that the bulk of accumulated funds, destined for the expansion of already existing productive enterprises should be centrally allocated, essentially according to the centrally established production targets of the various branches, expressed by natural indicators of volume. For each of these production targets a centrally established sum would be allocated, as a compulsory indicator. However, in order to maintain the appearance of indirect regulation, these sums would not be allocated to enterprises or trusts but they would be compulsory — as a rigid sum — for the bank granting investment credit.

In the last resort, this concept looks upon the reform of economic management as a forced compromise meaning the "co-existence" of "planned control" and "spontaneity". It follows that the simple reproduction (i.e. replacement) of fixed assets would be determined by enterprise decisions depending on "spontaneous" market factors, while any net increase of fixed assets would belong to the scope of central decisions as expressed in the national economic plan.

According to this concept, the commodity mechanisms would be so much centrally limited under the guise of fighting spontaneity that nothing would remain of their relatively independent movement. At the same time, enterprise managers would be acquitted from their responsibility for the future development and financial state of their organization. Since it considers the situation to be achieved through the reform of economic management as a forced step backward, as a compromise solution dictated by circumstances, it sets as a strategic goal the rehabilitation of the method of direct instructions and regulations at a "higher stage". The strategic tool to be used for this purpose would be mathematical programing.

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The conception of the other view, to which also the authors of this paper adhere, rests upon the recognition that, according to their nature, there exist three types of economic problems in socialism: those arising for the individuals, the socialist enterprises and for society (national economy) as a whole. Each of them are connected to characteristic nodal points of economic interest relationships existing under socialism. The determinant role of these three nodal points in the complicated system of economic interests is reflected also by the income distribution relations in socialism, since incomes assume independent forms only with individuals, enterprises and the central representatives of the national economy, i. e. the state bodies. This three-fold character of economic problems requires that the mechanism of operation of the national economy assure possibilities for decision which will conform to their character on macro- and micro-economic as well as on individual levels.

It may, of course, occur that decisions on some problems will be taken on a level other than where direct implementation will take place. It was possible and actually happened that consumption decisions of individuals were limited in cases of emergency by means of rationing. By abstracting from reality it is conceivable that in some national economy even the macro-economic problems will be solved by the spontaneous adaptation of isolated individual enterprises to the market changes. Obviously, neither of these two alternatives could become a characteristic or a generally permissible method of a socialist planned economy.

According to the historical evidence of the actually operating mechanism, it may be also possible to take central decisions even on typically micro-economic problems. This will, however, sooner or later lead to certain disturbances in the balanced development of the national economy by bringing about strong tendencies on part of the enterprises which would work against the general improvement of efficiency and productivity. In this case, the institutions called upon to perform central control (planning, regulation) find in the enterprises their opponents, rather than allies. The cause of these negative effects must, however, by far not be sought in the unfounded character of centrally taken decisions on micro-economic problems.

The fact that these plan-decisions are unfounded as well as the negative tendencies they bring about can be traced back, in the final analysis, to the narrowing down of commodity market phenomena, which must necessarily exist under socialist relations of production, to a practice aimed at the neutralization of their mechanism. As long as commodity relations exist, the operation of a more or less developed socialist economy cannot be efficient for long if the enterprises — where the material and human forces of production of the national economy are concentrated — have no right to decide, on their own material responsibility, on the rational combination of the available factors of production.

Thus, in the reform of the economic mechanism it has to be asserted as a basic principle that well-organized enterprises should actually manage themselves, or, what amounts to the same, that they should be independent. However well-founded central decisions might be taken on certain typically micro-economic problems, the right to decide should be still relegated to the enterprises. Namely, as will be pointed out later, any economic decision taken over the head of the enterprises diminishes enterprise efficiency and, through that, also the national economic effectiveness, even if otherwise the decision would coincide with enterprise interests. Therefore, it has to be assured that enterprises satisfy the actually arising demands (at their own risk and on their own responsibility, and led by considerations of profitability) by rationally using or converting the available factors of production (e.g. by forming reserves of stocks or productive capacity, by using them or not; by expanding or narrowing cooperation; by employing new labour or by expanding working capital; by continuing to operate fixed assets or by replacing them, and even by expanding production capacities on the occasion of replacement).

As against that, decisions on all macro-economic problems should be taken centrally. They should be taken at the centre even if the foundation of the necessary methods is for the time being, deficient. In such cases all efforts should be concentrated to develop and improve the necessary methods of decision-making which — as we shall later refer to it — include also the consistently reformed mechanism.

Thus, all questions which determine the rate of growth of the economy, its structural changes, employment, the relation of productivity to the standard of living, the proportion of accumulation to consumption, the relations of the country with world economy (international division of labour and the balance of payments), should be decided upon centrally.

Of course, macro-economic relations do not exist outside of, or above micro-economic relationships. If macro-relations are not a simple aggregate of the processes going on within enterprises, still they are some aggregate of them depending on particular qualitative criteria. The connection between these two levels is extremely close and inseparable.

Thus, for the efficient operation of a socialist economy a reasonable distinction, according to objective criteria, of macro- and micro-economic scopes of decision is necessary, including also the methods to harmonize these two levels of decision.

If the decision on micro-economic problems is a task of enterprises, the central will aimed at macro-economic interrelations can by no means be enforced through detailed instructions telling each enterprise what to do. Indeed, the communication of any macro-economic target to enterprises is nothing else but a central decision taken on micro-economic problems. If, however, it is true that macro-economic problems are a particular aggregate of tasks

belonging to the scope of enterprises (including also the money and commodity relations between them), then the latter cannot be dismissed from the scope of central regulation in respect of either simple or expanded reproduction.

From all that it follows that the only efficient form of transplanting the central will and the national economic plan into life — both in respect of simple and expanded reproduction — is only a regulation by indirect, economic methods. Even if an individual enterprise is given only one single centrally founded indicator as a regular instruction — regarding either the tasks to be fulfilled or the means to be used — there are two possible results: the task to which it was instructed either coincides with the immediate interests of the enterprise or it diverges from them. In the first case the question is justified: if the enterprise is anyway interested, what is the use of issuing instructions? Why should the centre endanger a more efficient solution than the prescribed one and which could be eventually found by the enterprise itself led by its own interests and relying on its professional skills as well as on a better knowledge of local conditions? If however, the centrally established instruction runs contrary to the interests of the enterprise, experience has shown that there is little guarantee for enforcing the central will. By enforcing instructions contrary to enterprise interests at any price one can never attain such advantages as would counterbalance the disadvantages caused to the enterprises and, also to the efficiency of social production.

Thus, the development and extension of fixed assets is not something to be regulated solely through the national economic plans; they are inseparable also from enterprise management. The decisions on fixed assets operating enterprises are taking influence — particularly as an aggregate — the structure of the national economy to no small extent and as such cannot be left out of the scope of national economic planning and regulation. And the central bodies of the state are in a position to enforce their will regarding the development of structure without violating the principles of enterpreneurial independence.

The application of indirect methods is the only correct way to planned regulation not simply because by disclosing the combinative possibilities inherent to enterprise management (which have been but insufficiently utilized up to now) we can release energies to the benefit of the national economy. Without introducing a system of indirect methods of central regulation no considerable progress can be achieved in the much desirable scientific foundation of macro-economic decisions and national economic planning either.

Let us suppose that decisions on substantial extensions are taken in the central plan and that these decisions will be obligatory for trusts and enterprises either in a direct, open way or in a disguised form, through the investment bank or the supervising ministries. Practically, this would amount to exempting the enterprises from the responsibility of, and to lessening their interests in realizing the development tasks which are inseparable from their activity and

which, in the final result, influence the structure of the economy as a whole. Such a system of central regulation would be principially mistaken and practically not viable. How could, for instance, the production pattern be continuously adapted to the requirements of the ordering parties if the investments (extensions) demanded by such changes in the pattern of output were outside the scope of enterprise decisions?

If such system were employed, the mechanism of movement of the principially uniform reproduction process would be torn into two. Now, the processes of simple and expanded reproduction cannot be separated from each other, either at national or at enterprise level. This also holds for the policy regarding the fixed assets. It is, e.g., well known that an extension of capacities in a given enterprise may serve as a replacement of scrapped equipment in some other enterprise or branch. At the present stage of technological progress the extension of total fixed assets in the economy may often go hand in hand with the scrapping of certain other capacities (in enterprises or branches). We are sometimes also in a position to avail ourselves transitorily of the replacement funds of fixed assets in order to extend productive capacities both at enterprise and national level. And, conversely, sometimes we must carry out overdue replacements by using resources originally intended for accumulation.

We should have long ago liquidated the illusion that the major structural changes of the economy depend almost exclusively on big, independent projects. We should recognize that at the present stage of industrial development a means of structural changes that can not be over-rated is to extend and replace the fixed assets of existing and operating enterprises. If such current replacement continues to conserve the prevailing technological level and cannot — because of central limitations — be coupled with modernizations and extensions, however efficient they would be economically, this might considerably impair the national economic structure, diminish or entirely counterbalance the structure improving effect of big projects which, by themselves, are efficient. This holds, among others, also for the replacement and extension of infrastructural establishments.

We can hardly expect objective information so necessary for macroeconomic programing from enterprises which are essentially relieved of responsibility in respect of the financial consequences of their development. The point is not simply the behaviour of enterprise managers. In the case mentioned, their interests would not compel them to assess the possible variations of development in the field concerned, to use their best abilities and knowledge of circumstances, nor to elaborate their plans by selecting the most efficient solution and to supply information accordingly. This would essentially involve that the centre would have to use data which did not pass through the control of the enterprises influenced by market conditions, through their technological and economic "filtering" system.

The institutes for scientific research, the apparatus of mathematical programing, the well-established systems of statistical data collection, etc., are undoubtedly most important for the scientific foundation of planning. But it is equally undebatable that the central information will be incomplete and unreliable if the enterprises — on whom the realization of macro-economic concepts depends — do not supply information prepared by using their best technological and economic experience.

Obviously, such control system of planned economy is needed as will provide uniform patterns of movement for the objectively intertwined processes of simple and expanding reproduction and which will, therefore, establish harmony between the directions and proportions of structural changes at both the national economic and enterprise levels. Only such a uniform system of central regulation will enable us to control the economic process in a better founded manner and to try to optimize the national economic plan.

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Commodity-mechanisms are superior to direct plan-instructions as efficient means for purposefully regulating the management of fixed assets. In order that the new system of economic control should be able consistently to fulfil its basic functions in the planned operation and development of socialist economy, a coherent system of its component parts is needed. Coherence should include the organizational framework of the economy (the various organizational forms which are co-ordinated with and subordinated to each other); the division of the scope of decisions and of activities between organizational units; the co-ordinated system of central and enterprise planning; and finally, the regulators, automatisms and information systems of central and enterprise control. Here we are going to deal with only such questions relating to the harmony of the indirect means of central regulation which are, in our opinion, important from the point of view of fixed assets policy and necessary for the final implementation of the reform.

Exactly because fixed assets policies so deeply influence the future development of the economy, we should strive most consistently to apply the indirect methods and the more flexible forms of control. As long as the effects and functions of the commodity mechanisms were subordinated to the plan-instructions they could assert themselves of necessity only to a limited extent and in a distorted manner. Now they should be made into the principal forms of central regulation also in the field of operating and extending the fixed assets of the economy. This is what was aimed at in the course of preparing the reform by putting forward conceptions proposing a more active budgetary, financial and income-withdrawal policy, a flexible system of prices, wages and of other personal incentives, an appropriate credit and foreign exchange policy, as well as an improved system of delivery contracts. Among these forms of

indirect control 1) *amortization* and 2) *credit policy* have outstanding roles to play.

In our opinion, the system of indirect forms of control would not be complete (and its obvious advantages over the regulation by direct plan-instructions could not be fully realized in the form of a better planned and more efficient fixed assets policy), if we did not succeed in expanding the scope and active role of amortization and credit to the limit of possibilities inherent to them.

1. The new system of control must automatically assure the financial cover for the replacement of fixed assets in enterprises. But this automatism must not function spontaneously. It should be regulated by means of well-elaborated amortization rates coupled with a centrally established re-valuation of assets, and by differentiating the rates at which replacement funds are formed in the enterprises. Differentiation should take place both in space and over time. By spatial differentiation we mean that, according to the centrally planned structure, the replacement fund should be smaller in enterprises which are planned to be cut down, and bigger in those which are to develop quicker than average. Differentiation over time means the combined application of linear, accelerated and decelerated depreciation allowances. These will be appropriate — beyond the spatial differentiation mentioned above — to influence the technological development. The same purposes may justify, in certain cases, that the amortization funds accumulated in the enterprise should be centralized into the state budget as a forced loan and, in other cases, particularly in the period of transition to the new mechanism, enterprise replacement funds should be complemented out of the budget. The financial authorities must rigorously prohibit the formation of amortization funds for the fixed assets already written off but still working. This is one of the cases when it is justified to employ prohibitive and sanctioned rules or, if you like, "administrative methods".

The automatical formation of the replacement fund is to be regulated by the above measures of amortization policy. The use of the replacement funds, however, must be entirely left to the judgement of the enterprise. Thus, there would be no direct interference by means of instructions with the enterprise as to the use of its replacement fund for either exchanging its equipment for new one (domestic or foreign make), or for construction, or even for extension investment, or for depositing the fund transitorily with a bank to bear interest. The full independence of enterprise management in the use of the replacement funds does by far not mean that spontaneity will break through. On the contrary, these enterprise decisions would be strongly determined by such centrally operated regulators as the prices of investment goods (construction and machinery), transport tariffs, foreign exchange and customs policy, as well as the interests of both the producing and the supplying enterprise in increasing the volume of profits.

2. The realization of a planned regulation of fixed assets policy is inconceivable without the unfolding and reform of the credit and banking system. This must be emphasized because, in the present system of economic control, investment "credits" are, with the exception of a negligible fraction, entirely formal. This could not be otherwise, since the whole system of investment financing is reduced to mechanically assuring the centrally established allocations of the annual plan from the budget. This, however, contradicts the character of credit (all the more so, because the allocations are not repayable).

What are the functions that render the credit system, in harmony with other market mechanisms, a more efficient tool of socialist planned central control than other methods of financing? (We deliberately do not deal here with the role of credit in regulating the circulation of money, in controlling and in accelerating economic processes.)

a) *Allocating and re-grouping function.* As contrary to the budget, the financial means necessary to realize the macro-economic plan targets of economic growth and the changes in structure can be allocated to already existing enterprises by means of credit in a more flexible way and, at the same time, more efficiently.

This has two reasons. On the one hand, in case the credit form is used, the enterprise which is responsible for its own development has to take the initiative and to formulate its claims by taking the material risks involved. Therefore, if central interference is missing, enterprise management will not be disturbed. Another reason is that the granting of a credit by the bank may take place on the grounds of objective criteria (efficiency) and the implementation of the investment can be more easily followed. In this manner the role of subjective factors in central decisions on allocating the means, so well known in the past, (particular interests of the branch, local interests, accidenta motives, personal relations, etc.,) can be reduced. The possibility of realizing such advantages as are inherent to socialist ownership relations will expand, i.e. that the resources available should be used fundamentally according to efficiency criteria, by manoevring between production lines, branches and areas.

The re-grouping and allocation of resources necessary to implement the planned targets of economic growth and structure can, namely, be better enforced by a centrally prescribed differentiation of credit conditions than by means of any rigid splitting up of funds. This differentiation of credit conditions can be well reconciled with a plan that would contain certain well-determined investment tasks, or development objectives expressed e.g. by the volume of production, specifying the amounts necessary as lower and upper limits of investment. However, the central regulation of the allocation of investment credits to individual operating enterprises should be carried out in the main not by determining the sums to be granted for the fulfilment of pro-

duction tasks, but by prescribing *functional preference conditions* according to the various trends of efficient development (e.g. employment, the earning of foreign exchange, economizing on energy, etc.). In this manner the scope of bankable methods of granting credit would not be split up. It would be easier for unforeseen hindrances or more favourable possibilities to become patent and to be taken into account in the central plans when signalized by the banks.

b) *The equilibrating function.* In the actual economic mechanism the budgetary methods were expected to assure the equilibrium of the economy by directly regulating the monetary funds and payments of enterprises. The "purchasing power" of enterprises in respect of investment goods was determined through centrally allocated limits. Similarly, the actual or assumed financial result of the increment in output after the investment entered into operation was withdrawn by budgetary methods. Since, however, their activity was limited by centrally determined volume-indicators, these indicators often put up walls between actual requirements and production interests. Therefore, the equilibrium between the "purchasing power" of enterprises in respect of investment goods and the value of commodities, to be produced later through the investment, could be assured only by frequent modifications of the plan-indicators and by annually changing the norms of income-withdrawal. In addition, the financial equilibrium of the enterprises thus come about generally did not coincide with that of the national economy, since the latter would have required a harmony between the additional purchasing power, emanating from the enterprise due to investment, and the additional marketable commodities released through the same investments.

It is a great advantage of a credit system that would cover also the extension-investments of existing enterprises that by automatically assuming onerous contracts (interest, repayment) it offers serious guarantees that the additional purchasing power falling to enterprises for investment purposes will dynamically go hand in hand with an additional amount of realizable commodities to be gained through the investment. The repayment of the credit, namely, has to be effected usually from the additional net income from additional sales of commodities produced by the new equipment.

In this manner the credit, in harmony with the enterpreneurial interests in the volume of profits and with a flexible price-system, can more efficiently serve the macro-economic requirement of national economic equilibrium than the budget-financed investments. Together with other systems of commodity mechanisms (price, income, material incentives, amortization, etc.) an extensive use of the credit system will also enable that the normatives for budgetary contributions of enterprises need not be continuously changed on account of equilibrium disturbances. Thus, a stable basis can be secured to economic units for their development plans and other computations relating to the future.

In so far as there should arise excessive demand or supply either in certain fields, or in the economy as a whole, the purchasing power can be regulated, without affecting the long-term normatives, simply by restricting or loosening credit conditions or by changing the proportions of the reserve funds of banks. In such a way the credit system may serve as an efficient tool in the hands of the government to counterbalance possible inflationary or deflationary tendencies.

After the credit has been repaid, the profit of the enterprise would grow. From this profit the state would obtain additional revenue through two channels: first, the tax on profit would yield more and — observing the government policy on personal income formation — so would the tax on the latter. At the same time, it would become possible for the enterprise to use the increment

1. for increasing the development fund of the enterprise, which could be used for extension either immediately — alone or combined with bank credit — or could be temporarily deposited with the bank as a free fund for the purposes of some later extension;

2. for reducing the prices of its products if this seemed desirable in order to maintain the volume of profits at the same level or if justified by market conditions (retaining customers, etc.).

c) *The ranking and selecting function.* A greater efficiency of credit than that of budgetary methods, either in the allocation of the funds or in asserting economic equilibrium, is inseparable from its particular function of ranking and selecting.

Ranking and selecting took place also in the actual system of economic management: essentially in the form of central decisions taken in the national plan. This, however, involved that even the micro-economic development of existing enterprises depended on central decisions, plan instructions and, accordingly, on corresponding allocations from the budget. It followed that there was nothing to constraint the claims by enterprises on investment allocations and this resulted in a certain indifference of investors to the costs and to the efficiency of the projects. The aggregate of claims always exceeded the limits of the resources available to the economy; their vast number has made it impossible, in itself, centrally to rank and select them on a tolerably objective basis.

Little was changed even by the measure — introduced almost a decade ago — which made the investment efficiency computations compulsory for every would-be investor. In many cases, namely, these had the role formally to justify "in an exact numerical manner" the unfounded claims. It is thus understandable that in the decisions on investment allocations there was a wide scope for asserting partial interests as against the true public ones, and that often in the guise of "national economic interests", since they were official decisions.

The expansion of the scope of investment credits is, opposite to the budgetary method, such a tool in the hands of central controlling agencies as involves a certain automatism regarding, on the one hand, the initiative of enterprises, and their interest in implementation, as well as from the point of view of evaluating, ranking and selecting their claims by the bank, on the other. Owing to the fact that the management of fixed funds will constitute an integrated part of the system of incentives (interest in the volume of profits), this automatism will induce enterprises rigourously to weigh and select their investment claims, to try to look for the most favourable variant and to economize on costs.

At the same time, it will become possible consistently to assert the principle of efficiency in the central allocation of investment resources through the banks, in harmony with the preferences of the plan. This will become possible first, because the bank will handle credit claims sifted more or less already by the enterprises themselves. Second, these claims will be drafted by enterprises necessarily to their best technological and economic knowledge having previously agreed with their future major suppliers and with some guarantee as to the expectable demand on their products. This will, however, offer some guarantee to the body which evaluates the claims as to their reality and as to whether the additional purchasing power issued in the form of credit will be sufficiently covered by a supply of capital goods and whether it will create in the future an even bigger commodity fund.

Under such conditions the necessity and possibility of performing economic efficiency computations will grow by leaps and bounds since the centrally regulated commodity mechanisms and the interests of enterprises in making investments efficient on a national level will move along the same lines both in the central and the enterprise spheres of the planned economy.

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Thus, major extensions in enterprises should, in their bulk, be financed by means of credits to be repaid from the additional profits attained by means of the investment; more precisely from the development fund formed from additional profits. This means that within the enterprise profit the share of the development fund must be increased and the actual ratio of budgetary revenues reduced. Such reduction of the ratio of budgetary revenues originating from profits is possible because, from among the elements of net income withdrawn from enterprises, the combined sum of the wage-tax, communal, profit and turnover taxes, etc., can be established in a way to cover the expenditure and reserve-building of the state for the purposes of running costs and investments of the social and cultural branches, public utilities, administration and defence; for investments serving infrastructural projects or the development of new industries. At the same time, the monetary means necessary for simple

reproduction and expansion in already existing enterprises would no more go through the budget but would remain in the scope of credit. The credit funds of the bank would be constituted essentially from the repayments of credit, the interests and the deposited free monetary means of enterprises. Therefore, it would not be indispensable regularly and heavily to supplement the credit fund from the budget. Of course, the scopes of credit and the state budget cannot be rigidly separated. Conforming to prevailing conditions and the requirements of economic policy, the state should be in a position to re-group means from the budget to the credit-fund, or conversely.

An expansion of the credit fund from the budget (or its restriction e.g. by prescribing a budgetary contribution for the bank) is indispensable in order to employ the form of credit in an efficient manner for manoevring against inflationary or deflationary tendencies in a way described when discussing the equilibrium functions.

Of course, an adequate credit volume can be attained only by a gradual re-grouping of financial means.

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ОСНОВНЫЕ ФОНДЫ В НОВОЙ СИСТЕМЕ ХОЗЯЙСТВЕННОГО УПРАВЛЕНИЯ

К. САБО — М. МАНДЕЛЬ

В работе производится критический разбор некоторых спорных проблем, возникших в ходе разработки основных принципов нового хозяйственного механизма в связи с использованием основных фондов и капиталовложений. Анализ приводит к следующим основным выводам:

1. При разграничении функций государственных решений и решений предприятий нельзя считать критерием, свободным от субъективизма, наличие у центра возможности принимать решения более обоснованно, чем это могут сделать предприятия. Вместо этого, важного в других отношениях соображения, объективным критерием может являться лишь характер решаемых вопросов: по макроэкономическим вопросам решения необходимо принимать в централизованном порядке, а по вопросам микроэкономическим решения принимаются предприятиями.

2. Неправильным является мнение, что возмещение основных фондов предприятий следует считать чуть ли не исключительно микроэкономической, а расширение их — в основном макроэкономической проблемой. Поскольку простое и расширенное воспроизводство составляет объективно единый процесс как в народном хозяйстве, так и на предприятиях, то сами предприятия должны принимать решения и о расширении своих основных фондов, а в централизованном порядке должны приниматься решения также и о возмещении основных фондов народного хозяйства, если только мы хотим эффективно вести хозяйство.

3. Так как микро- и макроэкономическая двойственность вопросов является необходимостью, вытекающей из товарной формы социалистического способа производства, то и центральное планомерное руководство воспроизводством основных средств не может найти иного, более целесообразного метода, как регулирование посредством товарных механизмов. В принципе только при помощи товарных механизмов можно микроэкономически конкретизировать макроэкономические закономерности и цели экономической политики, чтобы не нарушались систематически социалистические закономерности хозяйствования предприятий. Задача, стало быть, состоит отнюдь не в том, чтобы уступить поле действия стихийности, самоцельному расширению самостоятельности предприятий, а в том, чтобы можно было как можно более последовательно осуществлять в экономике волю социалистического государства, выражающего интересы общества в целом.

4. Поскольку именно в области капиталовложений является сложным делом разграничение центральных функций и функций предприятий, в работе детально рассматривается один из товарных механизмов — категория кредита. В работе доказывается, что в этой категории имеются налицо объективные возможности такого централизованного регулирования накоплений, в том числе и расширения основных фондов, которое обеспечивает большую планомерность и эффективность в сфере действующих предприятий, чем бюджетный метод регулирования.

П. Силади

ОБРАЩЕНИЕ СРЕДСТВ ПРОИЗВОДСТВА В НОВОЙ СИСТЕМЕ УПРАВЛЕНИЯ НАРОДНЫМ ХОЗЯЙСТВОМ*

Вопросы товарного характера средств производства — Три модели обращения — Функции обращения средств производства и их изменение.

В Венгрии — как и в ряде социалистических стран — в минувшие годы была подвергнута критическому анализу существующая система управления народным хозяйством. До сих пор нами не использовались в должной мере возможные положительные стороны самостоятельности предприятий, проявления индивидуальной инициативы и принятия на себя риска, а также закономерности и категории, связанные с действием товарно-денежных отношений.

В последние годы это во многом препятствовало осуществлению рациональной хозяйственной деятельности в обращении средств производства. С разбивкой народнохозяйственных планов по предприятиям объективно связана система материально-технического снабжения при помощи установления лимитов, что хотя причиняло много забот центральному управлению хозяйством, но не могло обеспечить бесперебойного и гибкого снабжения. В рамках нынешней реформы системы хозяйственного управления предусматривается использовать, в первую очередь, действие закономерностей, связанных с товарно-денежными отношениями, в более широких масштабах и в более децентрализованном порядке.

В результате реформы уменьшится обособление сфер производства и обращения. Выпуск товарной продукции будет более тесно зависеть от рыночной реализации товаров. Во многих отношениях сфера обращения будет определять полезность или бесполезность, наличие или отсутствие экономической эффективности деятельности производственных предприятий. Материальная заинтересованность предприятий также будет связана с фактической реализацией, то есть увеличением выручки от продажи.

В оценке деятельности предприятий гораздо большую роль получит «сигнальная система» сферы обращения. Для улучшения хозяйственной деятельности производственных предприятий, однако, недостаточно упорядо-

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чить их юридическое положение, систему их производственных заданий, аспекты материальной заинтересованности. В организации обращения, в его порядке, механизме следует обеспечить все условия более эффективного действия закона стоимости.

Необходимо провести реформу самого рынка. Точнее: следует усилить рыночный характер рынка. Это означает, что по большинству продуктов потребности и источники должны встречаться на рынке в форме спроса и предложения. Рынок — это место встречи и борьбы активных сил. Здесь встречаются и отчасти противостоят друг другу производители и потребители, ведь, по существу, каждый из них продает и покупает, ориентируясь на интересы своего предприятия. Рынок, связывая потребности с источниками их удовлетворения, способствуя их приспособлению друг к другу, вместе с тем противопоставляет предприятия, представляющие разные стороны, а предприятия, стоящие на одной стороне, побуждает к соперничеству. Рынок, таким образом, координирует и обособляет, согласует и противопоставляет, влечет друг к другу разные стороны и отталкивает их. Если он не таков, то это — не настоящий рынок.

В нашей стране после ее освобождения — да и в других социалистических странах — значительно увеличились мощности промышленного и сельскохозяйственного производства, торговли и транспорта. Сегодня стоит задача ускорения кровообращения уже развитого народного хозяйства. В силу необходимости внимание теперь обращено на вопросы качества и использования мощностей — на технический прогресс — на соотношение мощностей, на межотраслевые связи, то есть на вопросы народнохозяйственной пропорциональности. Стало ясным, что центральное управление экономикой в большинстве случаев способно намечать лишь главные направления в освоении новой и совершенствовании старой продукции, развитии технологии, установлении бесперебойной производственной кооперации, удовлетворении сильно дифференцировавшихся потребностей.

При высокоразвитом разделении труда складывается положение, когда обмен деятельностью между производственными предприятиями представляет собой сложный процесс, детальное централизованное регулирование которого едва ли возможно. Обмен деятельностью в значительной степени является обращением внутри сферы производства. Большая доля попадающих в обращение продуктов является предметом самопотребления производства. Дифференциация деятельностей технического характера в силу необходимости приводит к относительной хозяйственной обособленности. Центральное управление экономикой не в состоянии полностью охватить, направлять, регулировать производство и обращение во всех отношениях ввиду их исключительной сложности. Необходимо повышение координирующей роли регулируемого социалистического рынка. Относительная обособленность предприятий должна быть сохранена и при обще-

ственной собственности на средства производства. Поэтому и средства производства, покидающие пределы производственных предприятий, располагающих относительной самостоятельностью, являются товарами.

Долгое время господствовало воззрение, что средства производства при социализме не являются товарами. Из тезиса, согласно которому «... средства производства при нашем строе никак нельзя подвести под категорию товаров...» [1], практически следовало, что при социализме вопрос о составе производимой продукции решается не «рынком», а общественными потребностями, познанными и подразделенными с точки зрения их важности центральным управлением экономикой. Потребности, таким образом, определяются — расширяются и ограничиваются — в централизованном порядке, в централизованном порядке устанавливается очередность и степень их удовлетворения, и — также в централизованном порядке — увязывается с ними производство.

Однако определять потребности во всей их полноте, а затем со всей детальностью увязывать с ними — в централизованном порядке — производство, оказалось невозможным делом. Строгое предписание производственных задач, крайнее ограничение роли рынка привело к тому, что производство было не в состоянии приспосабливаться к объему, уровню, структуре потребностей. Это сопровождалось тем, что плановые задания по производству и капитальным вложениям систематически превышали фактические ресурсы. На рынке средств производства, по существу, господствовали производители, а потребители в довольно большой степени были подчинены им.

Ограничение роли рынка, абсолютный приоритет некоторых основных задач породили частью и устойчивую дефицитность. Дефицитность вызывает систему фондирования и лимитирования. Когда уже сложилась эта форма лимитируемого «снабжения» со всем своим аппаратом, своеобразным негибким механизмом, с исключением элементов автоматического саморегулирования, теория обобщила явления действительности, сформулировав имевшуюся налицо взаимосвязь: средства производства не являются товарами, ведь они распределяются, выдаются по разнарядке; предприятия, продукты не конкурируют между собой; цены не движутся; поставщики и покупатели не торгуются друг с другом.

Теоретические дискуссии в последние годы выявили, что средства производства являются товарами не только формально, но и фактически. Правда, их можно частично или полностью лишить товарного характера, но это наносит ущерб хозяйству. Однако мы впали бы в другую крайность, если бы не признавали специфической сущности товарного характера средств производства. Они не являются такими же товарами, как предметы потребления, покупаемые в торговой сети. Этому имеется много причин.

Наиболее существенная отличительная черта заключается в том, что средства производства, как правило, остаются внутри сферы производства

или попадают во внешнеторговый оборот. Они покидают круг производственной деятельности и вступают в аналогичный круг. Круг покупателей является специфическим, в ряде случаев совсем узким. Спрос, как правило, неэластичен.

Сложившееся разделение труда предопределяет обращение средств производства в гораздо большей степени, чем обращение предметов потребления. Складываются особые профили предприятий, а их изменение исключительно затруднительно.

Средства производства являются не просто предметами какого-нибудь потребления, но вместе с тем и вещественными условиями эффективности потребления, использования. В них кроются технически применимые результаты научных исследований, и по ходу обращения они переносят потенциальные результаты этого исключительно эффективного вида деятельности в технологию, производственную систему, производительность труда предприятий-потребителей. Ими опосредствуются достижения науки в непосредственно обрабатывающей деятельности. Все это делает эти продукты весьма специфическими товарами.

Существенным различием между товарным характером средств производства и предметов потребления является и то, что сам способ обращения (транспортирование, складирование, хранение, сортировка, подготовка, установление графиков и т. п.) оказывает весьма большое воздействие на хозяйственную деятельность предприятий-потребителей, на производительность труда, на их рентабельность. Расширение, совершенствование определенных видов этой деятельности приводит к экономии на предприятиях-потребителях. Когда улучшается состав запасов сбытовых организаций, расширяется обслуживание со склада, то в результате всего этого лучше обеспечивается бесперебойность производства у потребителей, сокращаются их резервы и простои из-за нехватки материалов и деталей.

Средства производства рассматриваются нами как специфический товар. Их товарный характер имеет различную «силу» в зависимости от того, насколько имеются налицо основные условия действия закона стоимости. В этом случае определяющее значение имеет, в первую очередь, степень обособленности предприятий-производителей и предприятий-потребителей, а также снабженческо-сбытовых организаций, играющих роль посредника. Степень обособленности, в свою очередь, зависит от организационных форм, форм управления, отношений материальной заинтересованности. Если, например, два предприятия подчинены одному и тому же министерству, их обособленность уже меньше, чем в иных случаях. Или если управление является мелочным и негибким, то обособленность имеет иной характер, чем при большой самостоятельности предприятия, и товарный характер не в состоянии проявиться должным образом. По иному проявляется товарный характер, если речь идет об обращении между государственными предприя-

тиями, и по иному, если последние реализуют свою продукцию сельскохозяйственным кооперативам или за границу.

В итоге, таким образом, можно констатировать, что в социалистическом плановом хозяйстве крупное машинное производство, высокоразвитое разделение труда и относительная обособленность предприятий делают поступающие в обращение средства производства товарами. Обмен деятельностью между производственными предприятиями принимает форму товарообмена. Этот товар специфический, требующий и специфических форм торговли. Проявление товарного характера средств производства в значительной мере зависит от отношений обращения и, не в последнюю очередь, от самого хозяйственного механизма, который может в различной степени позволять осуществление требований закона стоимости.

При социализме торговля средствами производства *в принципе* является совокупностью таких деятельностей, которые в рамках народнохозяйственных планов, подчиняясь закону стоимости, осуществляют внутри сферы производства в товарной форме обмен деятельностью относительно обособленных друг от друга предприятий, функционирующих при высокоразвитом разделении труда. Тем самым создается рынок, загружаются отечественные производственные мощности при одновременном изучении как отечественного, так и внешних рынков средств производства. В ходе этих деятельностей торговля передает производителям и потребителям изменения, происходящие на рынке средства производства, рационально использует свои ресурсы, запасы; способствует созданию и поддержанию соответствия между структурами источников и потребностей. Она познает потребности на стадии их возникновения, но в то же время и сама формирует потребности, спрос путем предложения товаров, рекламной и информационной деятельностью и т. п. Торговля средствами производства, таким образом, не тождественна так называемому материально-техническому снабжению, однако не тождественна и обращению.

Для более основательного анализа места, занимаемого торговлей средствами производства в социалистическом плановом хозяйстве, следует в определенной степени отвлечься от конкретного хозяйственного механизма, чтобы не допустить ошибки, сделав теоретические выводы путем обобщения обстоятельств и опыта, вытекающих как раз из системы конкретных и случайных, временных условий. Ведь имеющиеся в определенный момент условия экономики, планирования, стимулирования и т. д. являются отчасти результатами субъективно принимаемых решений, которые не обязательно отражают объективные экономические законы. Если мы стремимся избежать опасности «канонизирования» принципов, следующих из действующих в настоящее время в обращении средств производства решений, то целесообразно построить, исходя из характера центрального управления, по крайней мере три теоретические модели обращения

средств производства и определить место торговли в каждой из них в отдельности.

1. *В модели натурального обращения средств производства* товарный характер средств производства (как продуктов) не реализуется или является лишь формальным. Обособленность находящихся в социалистической собственности предприятий незначительна, их самостоятельность формальна; форма хозяйственного расчета у них служит, по существу, контролю за выполнением централизованно установленных задач при помощи централизованно выделенных средств. Эта модель действовала, по существу, в начальном периоде строительства социализма.

2. *В модели строго регулируемого товарного обращения средств производства* уже действует товарный характер средств производства (продуктов); по относительно узкому кругу продуктов он является лишь формальным; государственные социалистические предприятия имеют некоторую оперативную самостоятельность в выполнении планов; они имеют собственную материальную заинтересованность, их обособленность умеренная; хозрасчет является уже орудием не только контроля и отчетности, но и оценки экономической эффективности с точки зрения предприятия. В этой модели уже встречаются зачатки торговли средствами производства. Обращение средств производства может осуществляться на основании центрального плана товарооборота. Средства производства, степень важности которых определяется в народнохозяйственных масштабах, могут покупаться предприятиями — в разрешенных лимитах — от поставщиков, указываемых центральными органами управления. Модель № 2 действует в обращении средств производства, осуществляемом путем фондирования и лимитирования. По существу, эта модель соответствует нашему нынешнему хозяйственному механизму.

3. *В модели регулируемого рынка* товарный характер продуктов действует повсюду. Организации по торговле средствами производства функционируют в рамках государственного народнохозяйственного плана и свою хозяйственную деятельность осуществляют самостоятельно при учете собственного материального интереса. Эти организации обладают большой самостоятельностью не только в выборе способов выполнения заданий, но и в установлении собственных плановых заданий, в гибком приспосабливании к рыночным запросам и даже в формировании рыночных условий. Материальная заинтересованность организаций по торговле средствами производства связана с увеличением прибыли, обеспечиваемой за счет торговой наценки.

Модель № 3, по сути дела, является чисто теоретической, в отличие от первых двух, представляющих собой «модельное» обобщение прежней или настоящей хозяйственной практики. Эта модель является системой взаимосвязей и процессов, построенной на основании критического анализа

сегодняшней хозяйственной практики, а также требований объективных экономических законов. Роль торговли совершенно различна в трех моделях обращения средств производства:

В первой модели торговлей средствами производства выполняются лишь простые вспомогательные технические функции (то есть, по существу, она не «торгует»). Такие задачи имели в нашей стране первые созданные организации распределения и снабжения. При этом организации обращения получают и передают продукты не в качестве товаров, за исключением внешнеторгового оборота и узкого круга, в котором продукты свободно реализуются сетью розничной торговли. В определенных исторических условиях действие такой модели может быть мотивированным. Такой может быть, например, военная экономика (централизованное регулирование потребления и распределения на первом этапе диктатуры пролетариата).

Во второй модели часть средств производства попадает к потребителям посредством натурального распределения, в качестве формального товара (например, при капитальных вложениях социалистическое государство, с одной стороны, дает машины и оборудование, а с другой — деньги, которыми можно заплатить за них); организации, торгующие средствами производства, уже располагают определенной самостоятельностью в закупках и продаже. Однако предприятия-потребители обязаны заявлять организациям, торгующим средствами производства, о всех своих потребностях. Торговые организации назначают им поставщиков или же сами удовлетворяют запросы покупателей в устанавливаемых центральными органами — и учитываемых торговыми организациями — лимитах.

В модели организации по торговле средствами производства получают в спецификации (в разбивке по товарным группам) предписываемый органом управления план товарооборота с натуральными и стоимостными показателями. В этом случае тип организаций по обращению средств производства, по существу, совпадает с действующими ныне снабженческо-сбытовыми организациями.

В третьей модели торговля средствами производства в действительности будет «торговать» продуктами. Она будет стремиться к удовлетворению платежеспособного спроса в товарном обращении, к получению как можно большей прибыли для себя и для народного хозяйства, к воздействию на производителей, на внешнюю торговлю и на производственных потребителей, к формированию рынка средств производства. Ею в собственной компетенции будут определяться потребности на близкую, среднюю и дальнюю перспективу и представляться информации о направлениях изменений этих потребностей как поставщикам, так и потребителям, а посредством этого — создаваться новые потребности. Самостоятельность таких организаций, таким образом, велика, их работа ограничивается лишь юридическими правилами и мерами по изъятию доходов.

В Венгрии также стало общепринятым мнение, что рынок должен играть активную роль в развитии экономики. Торговля средствами производства должна получить большой вес.

При оценке активной роли рынка, торговли все еще не изжита абсолютизация и искажение одного правильного положения.

Это положение есть принцип примата производства. Многими он толкуется так, что потребности потребителя должны приспосабливаться к производству.

Такое толкование содержания принципа примата производства и практические выводы из него являются совершенно бессмысленными. Ведь производство не цель, а средство удовлетворения платежеспособных потребностей. Объем и уровень потребностей, действительно, исторически и в дальней перспективе в общих чертах определяются объемом производства, его изменяющимися условиями и пропорциями, однако, определяемые уровнем производства потребности имеют и в некоторой мере отрывающееся от производства «самодвижение», вследствие которого размеры и структура платежеспособных потребностей отклоняются от масштабов и структуры производства, требуя его быстрого, гибкого приспосабливания.

Без действия товарно-денежных отношений нет производства потребительных стоимостей, приспосабливающегося к запросам потребителей; без рынка не может сложиться здоровая связь между производством и потреблением. В таком толковании уже очевидна необходимость активной роли рынка, а также самостоятельности и растущей роли социалистической торговли средствами производства.

Для определения функций торговли средствами производства сначала следует установить место функций обращения в общем хозяйственном процессе, а затем торговых функций — в процессе обращения.

Обращение — это кровообращение хозяйства, совокупный процесс обмена деятельностей. В совокупном хозяйственном процессе различаются четыре «сферы»: производство, обращение, распределение и потребление. Процесс обращения охватывает весь процесс воспроизводства, он «в своей совокупности есть форма процесса воспроизводства» [2].

Основная роль обращения заключается в доставке произведенных благ (средств производства, предметов потребления и материальных услуг) на место потребления. Выполняя эту роль, обращение выполняет следующие функции:

— доставку предметов потребления от производителей к индивидуальным домашним хозяйствам;

— доставку средств производства от производителей к потребителям;

— осуществление обмена деятельностей между отдельными национальными хозяйствами в рамках международного разделения труда.

Эти технические, *натуральные* функции и в социалистическом плано-

вом хозяйстве выполняются при товарно-денежных отношениях, поэтому каждая из них проникнута и определенными — связанными с действием закона стоимости — основными функциями *товарного хозяйства:*

1. Обращение *реализует* созданную стоимость. Посредством промежуточной реализации (продукт покупается у производителя организацией, торгующей средствами производства, или организацией оптовой торговли, занимающейся обращением прочих товаров, а у последней — розничной торговлей; через государственную закупку, импортные сделки продукт попадает на склад и т. п.) продукт попадает на место *конечной реализации:* конечного потребления.

2. Обращение *связывает* производителей с потребителями, ресурсы — с платежеспособными потребностями (функция пропорциональности). Таким образом, в сфере обращения происходит опосредствование интересов, желаний, возможностей относительно самостоятельных производителей и потребителей. Посредством обмена деятельностью обращение способствует созданию соответствующих пропорций.

3. Обращение осуществляет *создание и использование запасов*, то есть отделяет покупку и продажу во времени и в пространстве: производит складирование, сортировку, создает резервы, организует заготовки, составляет графики (как закупок, так и сбыта).

Перечисленные выше функции действуют и в социалистическом плановом хозяйстве, раз существует товарное производство. Однако форма их осуществления отличается по своему характеру. Степень различия в основном зависит от того, какая из указанных выше трех моделей — или из близких им вариантов — функционирует. Наибольшие отклонения имеются в натуральной модели, где основные функции товарного хозяйства остаются довольно-таки на заднем плане. Ведь если продуктообмен не принимает формы настоящего товарообмена, то функция реализации стоимости отпадает; в функции поддержания пропорциональности нет особой надобности, так как она выполняется центральными хозяйственными органами в форме директивных указаний. Функция создания и использования запасов — в случае, если обмен продуктами не приобретает формы подлинного товарообмена — сводится к функции складирования. В этом случае организации, осуществляющие обращение средств производства, складируют продукты, если на то имеются соответствующие указания, и полностью опоражнивают склады, если поступает указание такого рода от их органа управления.

Модель товарного обращения средств производства, строго регулируемого социалистическим государством (модель № 2), уже в определенной мере допускает реализацию основных функций товарного хозяйства, однако, в сильно ограниченной степени. В модели № 3 эти функции реализуются полностью.

Кроме технических и хозяйственных функций торговля средствами производства имеет и *ведомственные* функции. В модели натурального обращения это естественно, ведь заготовка и распределение продуктов может проводиться лишь при наличии ведомственных полномочий, при осуществлении ведомственных функций. В модели строго регулируемого обращения средств производства также требуется ряд ведомственных функций, ведь значительная часть продуктов подлежит фондированию и в задачи обращения входит даже прием неликвидных запасов от различных хозяйственных единиц и повторный пуск их в обращение.

В трех моделях обращения средств производства технические, хозяйственные и ведомственные функции существуют рядом друг с другом, но с различным содержанием, в различных соотношениях и сплетении.

В модели № 1 преобладают технические функции, но исключительно большое значение имеют и ведомственные функции. Из функций товарного хозяйства в ней можно найти лишь некоторые элементы, зачатки. Функция поддержания пропорциональности проявляется в форме ведомственных функций. Обращение средств производства производится исключительно в соответствии с центральными директивами. Функция создания и использования запасов ограничивается складированием и сортировкой.

В модели № 2 технические функции, по существу, остаются. Ведомственная функция ограничивается кругом продуктов, распределяемых в централизованном, лимитированном порядке и сбором средств производства, не используемых в отдельных хозяйственных единицах. Функции товарного хозяйства здесь уже имеют силу. Реализация — в зависимости от степени товарного характера продукта — есть реализация стоимости. Функция поддержания пропорциональности уже не сводится лишь к выполнению директив вышестоящих органов управления, а требует определенной координационной деятельности, осуществляемой с определенной оперативной самостоятельностью, хотя информации о ресурсах и потребностях берутся, главным образом, из техпромфинпланов предприятий. Организация, торгующая средствами производства, едва проводит самостоятельную — не предписанную в обязательном порядке — деятельность по сбору и передаче информаций. Она еще не выполняет своей роли по передаче изменений рынка предприятиям-производителям и предприятиям-потребителям. Она не изучает самостоятельно рынок, не учитывает потребности; по мере возможности, она воздерживается от принятия на себя рыночного риска, от перспективной хозяйственной деятельности. В рамках функции поддержания пропорциональности еще преобладает простая регистрация фактов, вместо их формирования. Уже складываются функции по созданию и использованию запасов, как правило, в рамках тесного юридического регламентирования и детальных плановых директив.

В модели № 3 полностью развертываются функции товарного хозяй-

ства. Торговые организации, осуществляющие обращение средств производства, ведут свою хозяйственную деятельность действительно самостоятельно, с учетом собственной материальной заинтересованности и народнохозяйственных интересов. Торговая организация самостоятельно занимается определением потребностей (изучением рынка) и поисками наиболее эффективных источников приобретения. Ее стремления направлены на наиболее благоприятное удовлетворение потребностей своих платежеспособных «покупателей» по объему, ассортименту, составу, качеству и во времени, потому что лишь так может быть получена ею наибольшая прибыль.

Предприятия-потребители могут уже покупать средства производства (продукты, представляющие собой предметы самопотребления производства) не только у поставщиков, назначаемых органами по торговле средствами производства, а у свободно выбираемых поставщиков, будь то организация, торгующая средствами производства, внешнеторговое или промышленное предприятие. Обращение средств производства между хозяйственными единицами осуществляется путем заключения хозяйственных договоров. Исключение представляет собой обращение определенного — узкого — круга продуктов лимитируемого распределения, осуществляемое каким-либо из выделенных торговых организаций.

В данной модели организации, торгующие средствами производства, осуществляют по некоторым видам средств производства и розничную торговлю. Так, например, они могут удовлетворять небольшие потребности в материалах мелких кустарей, частных лиц, кооперативов и различных хозяйственных единиц. Они занимаются и торговлей поддержанным оборудованием отчасти за свой счет, отчасти же на комиссионных началах. В модели возможно — и целесообразно — создание совместных для социалистических стран организаций, торгующих средствами производства. Организация, торгующая средствами производства, может обладать правом импорта, возможностью осуществления импортных заказов по относящимся к ее профилю продуктам и обмена ассортимента между социалистическими странами.

С торговыми методами лишь временно совместимо соединение торговых и ведомственных функций. Круг ведомственных функций крайне сокращается. Организации, осуществляющие обращение средств производства, становятся подлинными социалистическими торговыми предприятиями.

Изменения хозяйственных и ведомственных функций наглядно представлены в следующей таблице:

Характер функций в трех моделях

Функция	Модель		
	№ 1	№ 2	№ 3
Реализация*	натуральная реализация, помощь в использовании потребительной стоимости	реализация товаров по планам при сильном ограничении стоимостных функций	реализация товаров без плановых директив, при действии стоимостных функций
Поддержание пропорциональности	пассивное выполнение детальных плановых директив, сбор и суммирование данных	относительная самостоятельность, материальная заинтересованность в рамках плановых директив	самостоятельное изучение рынка средств производства, воздействие на рынок, материальная заинтересованность
Создание и использование запасов	складирование, сохранение, сортировка	создание и использование запасов, но в рамках жестких центральных планов	создание и использование запасов на основании самостоятельной заинтересованности, при минимальных ограничениях
Ведомственные функции	организация обязательных поставок государству, лимитированное распределение по карточной системе	закупка и сбыт лимитируемых товаров, сбор неиспользуемых запасов и их повторный пуск в обращение	исключительно узкий круг лимитированного обращения по некоторым основным продуктам

* Под реализацией подразумевается осуществление обращения.

Организации, осуществляющие обращение средств производства
— в модели № 1 являются собирающими и распределяющими организациями,
— в модели № 2 — снабженческо-сбытовыми организациями,
— в модели № 3 — организациями, торгующими средствами производства.

Для экономики социалистических стран — в том числе и Венгрии — характерна растущая роль товарно-денежных отношений, более полное и свободное действие закона стоимости. В таких условиях объективной необходимостью является процесс превращения организаций, осуществляющих обращение средств производства, в торговые предприятия. Функция снабжения превращается в функцию торговли. Таким образом происходит переход от модели № 2 к модели № 3. В этом процессе:

— растет самостоятельность предприятий в выполнении заданий;

— растет самостоятельность предприятий — в рамках народнохозяйственного перспективного плана — в конкретном определении своих задач;
— повышается их активность в познании, исследовании, формировании рынка средств производства;
— усиливается их гибкая приспосабливаемость к условиям рынка;
— место административных центральных директив, предписаний постепенно займет обычный для торговли поток информаций между хозяйственными единицами;
— о диспропорциях (неликвидных и дефицитных товарах и т. п.), кроме недостатка или перенакопления запасов средств производства на складах, а также изменения скорости оборота запасов, будут сигнализировать также и изменения цен и торговых наценок;
— усиливается торговый (коммерческий) характер заинтересованности;
— все более усиливается дух коммерческой инициативы, понимаемой в социалистическом смысле;
— увеличивается доля внешнеторгового оборота, в первую очередь, с социалистическими странами;
— сокращается доля оборота организаций по торговле средствами производства в общем обороте средств производства.

Эти три модели, повидимому, являются ни чем иным, как тремя исторически сложившимися фазами развития обращения средств производства. Мы являемся свидетелями и активными участниками бурного развития производительных сил, производственных и общественных отношений. Наше социалистическое хозяйство оставило за собой стадии возникновения и начального развития, которые, по существу, совпадали с заложением основ социализма, а частично даже с этапом завершения построения социализма. Успешное завершение этого второго этапа, а также переход к построению основ коммунизма требуют близкого к оптимальному использования экономических ресурсов, их наиболее полной мобилизации. А это возможно при переходе от системы плановых директив, лимитированного распределения к регулируемому рыночному механизму. Переход в обращении средств производства соответствует переходу от модели № 2 к модели № 3.

В поставновлении Центрального Комитета Венгерской социалистической рабочей партии от 25 мая 1966 года говорится: «Развертывание активной роли рынка требует, чтобы тяжеловатая, бюрократическая система централизованного распределения материалов и продукции была заменена *торговлей*.» Мы уверены, что без плановых директив, методами экономического регулирования можно будет по подавляющему большинству средств производства обеспечить равновесие платежеспособного спроса и предложения и,

таким образом, применение торговых методов регулирования окажется более эффективным, чем была система ведомственного распределения продукции.

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TRADE IN THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION IN THE NEW ECONOMIC MECHANISM

P. SZILÁGYI

The paper treats the theoretical problems connected with the trade in means of production in a socialist market economy. The author expounds the specific features inherent to the commodity character of means of production in socialism, thus their rather rigid technological determination, the rigidity of their demand both as regards technology and over time, their role in economic efficiency and their function in transmitting the scientific and technological achievements to current production. The author proves that commercial methods should be broadly substituted for distributing the means of production by way of administrative allocations.

He builds three models for the turnover of means of production: allocation in natural form, a trading model centrally regulated in its details and a regulated market model. He examines in all three models the allocating, economic and administrative functions of the enterprises concerned with the distribution of means of production. He shows how the collecting and distributing enterprises belonging to the first model get necessarily transformed into the stockpiling and selling enterprises of the second model.

Finally, the author discusses the long-term tendencies of the changes in the functions of these enterprises. He proves that it is necessary that the operative independence of enterprises should grow not only in carrying out the tasks but also in setting them. They must conform in a flexible manner to the changes in market conditions, but they must also shape them.

S. Balázsy

FOREIGN TRADE AND THE REFORM OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

In the course of the reform of economic management many things will change also in the control and practice of foreign trade. Foreign trade plans will be drawn up in a different way and the implementation of the plans will similarly take different forms. Domestic, export and import prices will be linked in a new manner. The organization of foreign trade is also subject to changes. These problems are dealt with in the present paper.

On January 1st, 1968, the implementation of the planned reform of the system of management of the Hungarian economy — based on several years' careful preparatory works — is to begin with the introduction of a set of interrelated measures.

Under the reform of the system of economic control, changes of great consequence will also take place in the country's *foreign trade activities.*

The changes are aimed at considerably increasing the efficiency of Hungary's participation in the international division of labour in general and in the production for export, the management of imports, the production of import-saving goods and the actual marketing and purchasing methods of foreign trade organizations in particular.

The extraordinary dependence on foreign markets of the country with its relatively small size and complete lack or shortage of a number of important industrial raw materials, renders the high efficiency of external trade a necessity of the first order for the Hungarian economy. Several types of commodities cannot be produced domestically, the production of some cannot be increased to meet demand, that of others would hardly pay. On the other hand, the profitable production of up-to-date commodities has come to depend to an ever growing extent on a scale of production which is inconceivable without access to international markets.

Participation in the international division of labour makes it a daily routine at all managerial levels to face such decision problems as e. g. what should be the volume and pattern of exports and imports; what products should be produced for exportation with given capacities; which goods should be produced and which imported and from which countries to meet domestic demand, etc. Under the prevailing system of economic control, prices did not

provide adequate orientation in decisions of this type. It is for this reason that in the course of the last few years special efficiency calculations* had to be resorted to in Hungarian foreign trade.

Foreign-trade efficiency calculations have, however, not come up to expectation. The prescribed indicators were too intricate, their computation took too much time, so that many an efficiency indicator had grown obsolete by the time it was computed. The calculations did not embrace all export articles, and never really covered more than a small portion of imports.

The greatest deficiency of the efficiency calculations lay in the fact that they remained outside the scope of the economic mechanism which determined the interests and so the main lines of activity in the individual enterprises. Thus, taking into account or disregarding the results of the calculations was without any consequence to the economic units concerned. But efficiency calculations which do not induce any action are meaningless. Measures have to be taken both in production and in foreign trade, and their harmony will depend on whether both the industrial and the trading enterprises are interested in making decisions which are beneficial to the national economy as a whole.

No such harmony of interests did, however, exist.

A critical analysis of the system of economic control has shown that neither were the producer companies sufficiently interested in the marketing of what they produced, nor did the foreign trade enterprises take too much interest in the earnings or the cost level of producers. *The economic unity of production and marketing* was found missing. Since it was not the market requirements but the plan directives that determined production and since world-market prices had virtually no effect on domestic prices, producers became both organizationally and economically isolated from their external markets.

The essential features of the new foreign trade mechanism

The general guiding principles of the reform of economic control provide the possibilities to do away with these shortcomings as they envisage

— to discontinue the system of plan targets broken down by enterprises;

— to make profits the main criterion of the soundness of enterprise activity and the basis of personal interest;

— to create — through the simultaneous introduction of a price reform — domestic price relations that correctly reflect both inputs and the conditions of supply and demand.

* Efficiency calculations in foreign trade disregarded current domestic prices: foreign-exchange earnings and outlays were accounted for in foreign currency, domestic costs were reckoned at real costs (i.e. costs reduced to wages).

It is on this basis that the concept of the new mechanism of external trade is meant to bring about an organic link between domestic and foreign markets. Its purpose is to increase the effect of impulses coming from foreign markets on domestic production, marketing and consumption as well as on the pattern of exports and imports.

All this should tend to diminish the so far exaggerated protection of domestic production which has been the cause of much slackness. It is expected that foreign trade will, as a consequence of the reform, increasingly contribute to speeding up the specialization of production, technical progress and the growth of the productivity of labour.

What has been said before does not amount to exposing domestic production and the internal market to the blind forces of the world market. Central control of foreign-trading activity will remain in force and is even likely to grow in efficiency and a necessary degree of protection of the internal market against non-desirable external influences will continue to exist.

Foreign-trade planning

The central control of external trade is based on medium-term (five year) plans. Plan targets are expected to include the volume of foreign trade turnover, its rate of growth and its balance, by principal foreign markets, furthermore the commodity pattern of exports and imports with special regard to marketing possibilities and domestic production conditions.

Foreign-trade plans should be based on the analysis of the trends in the price and the market position of the goods to be imported and exported. It is envisaged that the foreign-trade targets of the national economic plan will not be broken down by enterprises and the plans drawn up by the enterprises for their own use will not have to be approved of by the central authorities. This allows for a divergence of the sum total of enterprise plans from the national plan targets.

Yet it is obvious that the medium-term plans of foreign trade and the complementary analyses will greatly influence the development of foreign trade. The medium-term national economic plan is to remain binding on the state agencies in their economic activities which it determines for a period of five years; it is on the basis of the plan that the central organs will form and use their means available to control and influence the flow of external trade; in drawing up the plans, regard will be paid to the existing possibilities and limitations as well as to local interests and these factors — if accounted for correctly — will constraint the decisions taken on the enterprise level even without an actual enterprise breakdown of the plan targets; the central plan and the analyses complementing it will provide valuable sources of information

for the enterprises and it will be in their own interest to keep them in mind when planning their activities on the basis of available informations.

The central plan will thus act as a flexible guide to ensure the harmonious functioning of the organs of external trade, enabling at the same time to react instantaneously to any information concerning new opportunities or difficulties, and to choose the most rational solution even if it differs from some of the plan targets.

Foreign-exchange rates in external trade

It was shown above that under the reform it becomes imperative to create an organic link between domestic and foreign markets. This calls for forms of accounting and organization that will provide the foreign-trading units with quick and accurate information about the requirements in foreign markets and the value judgements formulated about their commodities.

Furthermore, it is necessary that there should be a system of incentives to induce those active in external trade to adapt themselves flexibly to the requirements of the market and to respond to its value judgements in an efficient manner.

The value judgements of external markets find an expression in the prices received for exported goods or paid for imported products. Originally these prices are in foreign currency; their equivalent in domestic currency must, therefore, be calculated by means of appropriate exchange rates in order to make these prices comparable with one another and with internal costs and revenues.

The system of exchange rates should, in principle, satisfy the following requirements:

— it should be instrumental in bringing about the equilibrium of the demand for foreign exchange and of its supply limited by earning opportunities;

— it should be uniform in all domains of the national economy, irrespective of the organizations using or earning the foreign exchange;

— it should perform the functions of an indicator to inform the economic units whether the marketing of a commodity abroad or its production as an import saver was in fact profitable or not;

— it should indicate the advantages or disadvantages of the various import or export markets.

The foreign-exchange rates will thus have to play an outstanding role in the new mechanism of external trade. This is the reason why the problems of exchange rates were subject to lively discussions when the guide-lines of the reform were being worked out. Two main opinions emerged. The first claimed

that exchange rates should be based on the average cost of earning each particular foreign currency because only average costs would reflect the value of the various foreign currencies correctly. The other side argued that the exchange rates should be set higher than the average earning cost in terms of domestic currency, in order to make profitable for producers the bulk of the volume of export production needed to keep the balance of payments in equilibrium. Such an exchange rate would stimulate an increase of exports, satisfactorily restrain import demand and promote the substitution of imported commodities by goods profitably produced at home. All this without massive administrative interference.

It appears that the discussion finally produced a compromise. Exchange rates were fixed approximately at the *present* level of the average cost of foreign exchange earning, but these rates are to remain in force even if average earning costs decreased. In the wake of the general improvement of economic efficiency due to the reform and the reshaping of the pattern of foreign trade it is expected that the average level of the domestic costs of earning foreign exchange will gradually fall, and so will the fluctuation of such costs around the average as well. In this case, the major part of Hungarian exports can be expected to become profitable in the course of the next few years even with the present exchange rates and without any special subsidy.

The rates now fixed for each currency are *uniform*, irrespective of the type of export or import goods concerned.

The management and control of exports

Under the new mechanism the producing companies will receive for their exported products the Forint equivalent of the actual foreign currency price at the uniform rate. This is to cover transportation and marketing costs as well. The companies will thus become interested in the most profitable sale of their products since a higher foreign price will mean higher earnings in domestic currency and *vice versa*. It will be useful to link up the domestic earnings of the companies producing for export with the actual foreign-exchange returns because the producers will have a decisive influence on the level of foreign-exchange earnings. The quality of the export commodity, its technical characteristics, outward appearance, finish and packing, delivery terms and customer service, etc. will depend largely on the producer's efforts. All these factors influence prices and the volume of exports. By a flexible adaptation of production to the requirements of the export markets the producing enterprise can increase the foreign-exchange returns and thus its own Forint income. In other words, there will be no home price fixed by the government in the external trade, the internal price of export goods may vary according to the

actual price abroad. The price for every single sale will be governed by the market, by the effects of world competition.

Since the exchange rates are fixed at the average level of costs of exchange earning, it is foreseen that a considerable part of exports will have to be subsidized for quite a long time to come. The equilibrium of the balance of payments will make it necessary to export also the goods whose profitability is below the average. To maintain such exports, earnings calculated on the basis of the average rates will not be sufficient.

If an export item happens to be below the red line as regards returns calculated on the basis of the uniform exchange rate, the producer will have to try all he can to eliminate the loss before any other measure is suggested.

In view of their interest in higher profits, the enterprises engaged in exporting will have several ways to make their exports more rewarding. Thus, for example,

— higher export prices may be obtained by a flexible adaptation to the needs of the market, by constantly modernizing products and improving quality; articles sold at a loss may be substituted by profitable ones;

— generally, production costs may be reduced;

— as certain prices will not be fixed, only maximized, and others will be left to be agreed upon by the interested parties, exporters will have the possibility to bargain with their suppliers and to seek more advantageous, cheaper sources of supply;

— general overhead costs may be redistributed so that their major part will be charged against commodities easy to sell and fetching good prices; the goods which happen to be under pressure but which cannot be substituted with more profitable items will thus have to carry only variable costs and a fraction of overheads;

— in the case of only transitorily unprofitable export goods, the risk may be shared by the producer and the foreign trade enterprise, the latter giving its consent to reduce its commission until such time that the item will have been again made profitable;

— in the case of joint ventures involving more than one company (and where besides the unprofitable export there is also a profitable export or import part of the transaction), the continuation of the unfavourable exports may be made conditional to being subsidized from the profits arising from the profitable part of the deal. If all the above means fail to succead, the enterprise may apply for government subsidy.

Subsidies aimed at maintaining the volume of exports constitute a benefit the granting of which must be preceded by careful investigation. Companies should be given to understand that the subsidies they may have a possibility of receiving will be graudally lowered and finally eliminated. Thus

subsidies would only be paid under strict conditions fixed for a lengthy period and decreasing year by year in amount.

It seems desirable that subsidies should be given to companies and not to commodities. Subsidies would concern the whole of the export activity of the company and would not depend on changes in its production pattern. Thus the interests of the company in improving the structure of production from the point of view of rentability would not be affected.

Fixing exchange rates at the average level of the cost to earn foreign exchange means, further, that companies whose production conditions are more favourable than the present average would gain a considerable and an ever increasing profit. Besides exportation, another source of profits is the domestic marketing of commodities that sell at high prices in the export markets. Actually, prices realized in export will influence home prices, too. When home consumption may rise only at the expense of reducing exports, and *vice versa*, home prices must fluctuate around prices received in the export. Otherwise, the whole supply of such goods would be absorbed by exports leaving internal demand unsatisfied.

Enterprises producing and exporting more profitably than the average would, therefore, show considerable profits. The more favourable the relation between exchange rates and costs on the one hand and export prices on the other, the higher these profits.

Formerly, such profits were never realized by the companies producing more efficiently, because producers' prices were fixed on the basis of production costs without any regard to export prices. Now, the comparative cost advantage as against the average will appear in the profit of the company. Such profits — or, rather, part of them — should be diverted into the State budget in a way that the companies do not become indifferent to the possibility of increasing their profits by means of increased efficiency or of an improved production pattern.

This dual problem may be solved by means of what is called a "basic levy on profits". The basic profit levy is a tax the amount of which is fixed for a lengthy period with regard to the company. Its aim is to withdraw from the companies the income of the nature of rent, derived from the difference between prices reflecting market relations and costs reflecting the special production conditions of the individual company. The basic levy would be assessed for a long term; it would not change even if the company increased its profits as a result of a higher output or an improved structure. Such a system of profit levy would not affect the original differentiation of additional profits (profit increase). And it is precisely the latter in which the companies will be most interested. In this way it will be possible to solve the problem of withdrawing the profits and maintaine, at the same time the company's interest in raising the volume of profits.

The basic profit levy figures among the fixed costs in the books of the companies. The bigger the fixed costs, the more interested the company will be in increasing output. The basic levy will be, naturally bigger where the difference between prices and costs is bigger. Accordingly, the factories which work more efficiently will have an especially strong interest in expanding their production and exports. The great burden of fixed costs will make them interested in the best possible utilization of all new opportunities to produce and export even if this would entail an upward shift of the cost curve.

Under the system of prices and taxation outlined above, every company will be interested in producing goods that can compete in the export markets, in realizing the best possible prices and in reducing costs. At the same time, companies producing under better than average conditions will experience an extraordinarily pressing interest in expanding their production, a condition of which is, naturally, the increase of their export sales. The considerable growth in profitable exports to be expected will, on the one hand, make more imports possible while, on the other hand, it will enable to stop unprofitable exports that could have been maintained only with government subsidy. All this should result in the improvement of the efficiency of the whole productive structure.

The management and control of imports

It is one of the fundamental concepts of the economic reform to leave the shaping of the optimal combination of the production factors to the individual economic units. This is only possible if the latter are not restricted in their choice from among the various resources; their decisions will, of course, be greatly influenced by economic factors, primarily by prices that, in turn, depend on exchange rates, customs duties, etc.

It corresponds to this concept if users are free to choose between home made or imported materials. Assuming that the exchange rates used in import reflect correctly the social cost of earning the foreign exchange needed to pay for the imports, the cheapest source of supply for the company will be also advantageous to society as a whole, because the adequate satisfaction of a social need of given magnitude will be reached through a lower input of social labour.

Under the new mechanism, therefore, such a management of imports is desirable as will permit the companies to purchase imported goods in the required quantity and quality, and at the opportune date. Under such circumstances it will become possible to discard the existing restrictive system of material and import management. Wherever it will seem useful, imports will be restricted and substituted by home products or other cheaper imports by the companies themselves, since foreign exchange will cost relatively much and using more working capital will involve the payment of interest.

The transition to the new unrestricted management of imports will be, however, not quite smooth. The fact that the trade balance is not free from tensions and that foreign-exchange reserves are not abundant, calls for caution. This is why there were views stating that besides economic measures imports must be restricted also by limiting the supply of foreign exchange or, at least, by prescribing the balance of export earnings and import outlays for each enterprise.

This view starts from the point that resources in short supply must by necessity be managed by means of rationing. Experiences have proved, though, that rationing does not result in the proper allocation of resources. On the contrary, it makes companies fight for the highest possible ration, and actually to use the ration to the last grain (as the ration of the next period will be determined according to the actual utilization in the last period).

Scarce resources — and thus foreign-exchange reserves — must, of course, be subject to some sort of management. The main device of this management under the new mechanism may well be consistent enforcement of the commodity-money relationships, and not rationing. Equilibrium must be established by selling goods of scarce supply to purchasers with limited funds at prices higher than those of plentiful commodities. A comparatively high price is the most effective means to restrict the demand for imports. Making imports more expensive will, at the same time, provide home producers with the necessary protection without allowing protection to become absolute and to secure the home producer a monopolistic position in the domestic market. This is the general principle, deviations from which might be permissible occasionally for a transitional period. As a matter of fact, it is expected that for a period subsequent to the introduction of the reform, due to so-far unsatisfied import requirements, to habits surviving from the earlier period and to fear of disturbances in the supply of raw materials, there will appear tendencies to increase import requirements to an undue extent.

This is why there is a likelihood that in the initial period imports will have to be restricted by more direct means. It is very important, however, that the "brakes" transitionally applied in the preliminary period should hinder as little as possible the mobilization of reserves inherent to enterprise initiative and interests.

Foreign exchange needed to pay for imported goods will be purchased by importers at the same (uniform) rate as will be applied by the bank when crediting exporters with the equivalent of export returns. If the final user gets his imports through a foreign trade company, the home price will, naturally, increase with the commission on markup of the latter on the foreign price. Other charges (duties, transportation costs and, occasionally, taxes) will add to the price of imported articles.

This means that a close relation will exist between foreign and home

prices also with regard to imported goods. The matter is slightly complicated by the fact that demand for a number of commodities will be met by purchases from several sources abroad whose price level may differ from one another.

It is reasonable that users should pay the home price corresponding to the actual foreign price of the imported product whenever the selection of the particular source of supply is their own choice. It is obviously fair that the price consequences of the selection of import sources should be borne by the party who made the choice, maybe in order to fulfill a special quality requirement.

It may frequently occur, however, that purchase at a higher price becomes necessary not as a consequence of the user's choice but because more advantageous sources are limited. In cases like this it depends on factors beyond the users' control from which particular source each user will get his supply. It would be wrong to fix different home prices for the same substitutive products purchased at different foreign currency prices. This would be unfair to those who happen to get their supply from the more expensive sort, and would involve users in competition for the cheaper supply, a competition entirely meaningless from the point of view of the national economy as a whole. In this case, therefore, it seems practical to fix uniform prices (price-lists), or, where price formation is not interfered with, bargaining will tend to bring about uniform prices.

There are two possibilities to form uniform prices, *viz.* 1) the uniform price is derived as the average of the prices of goods purchased from different sources; 2) the uniform price is fixed at the level of the price of the marginal source, i. e. the last source drawn upon to meet home requirements. The application of the second principle is especially justified if the weight of the most expensive source in the total import is essential and any extension of imports is exclusively possible from this source. As pointed out above, the prices of imported goods will be affected by customs duties as well. The role of duties is likely to grow together with the administrative means of import regulation diminishing in importance. It is expected, therefore, that a new tariff will be prepared that lends itself for the control of imports from the point of view of both foreign-trade and industrial development policies.

Duties are not the only means of protection to serve the aims of industrial policy. Direct monetary subsidies for home production will be applicable as well. When choosing between the two ways of protection, among many other points of view it has to be considered what internal price seems desirable for the particular commodity. (If a low price is deemed advisable, e. g. in order to induce higher consumption, the protection of home industry is best effected by a direct subsidy.)

Any protection of home production is justified only if absolutely necessary and if the amount of the subsidy tends to decrease. As a matter of fact, it is an essential feature of the new mechanism that local production should

gradually find itself competing with imported goods. It will be one of the main tasks of the foreign trade companies to organize this competition.

State control of external trade

It is desirable that the principal means to control external trade should be economic in character. The ministry of foreign trade and other central agencies of the national economy will determine and, if necessary, amend exchange rates, levies, taxes, duties and subsidies in conformity with the external trade targets of the national economic plan. The investment and credit policies of the government will suitably influence the development of productive capacities. Beside these *economic* means there are also the tools of administrative regulation — the system of export and import licences. The aim of licensing would be, first of all, to channel trade into specific directions in accordance with international trade agreements in force. The licensing authorities would not be concerned with the profitability of the deal; this would be left entirely to the company concerned.

The economic levers and the means of control which together regulate foreign trade activities will provide the authorities with a tool of economic policy that can be expected to serve them more efficiently than the detailed plan instructions used up to now to achieve the aims set to foreign trade.

Forms of organization and accounting

It was said before that the principal concept underlying the reform of external trade was the establishment of the economic unity of production and marketing. This should be served by the measures discussed above and by attaching the interests of producer and user companies directly to the export and import prices. Besides, the reform should enable the organizational unification of foreign trade and production or foreign and home trade activities, wherever possible or warranted.

As far as organizational steps are concerned, it is particularly necessary to proceed cautiously. Sudden measures of extensive reorganization usually do more harm than good. It appears, however, reasonable to grant gradually to a greater number of large-size productive and trading enterprises the right to handle their own export and import business directly.

The granting of direct foreign-trading rights is expected to bear good results especially in the case of enterprises whose direct contact with the users abroad is justified by the technical character of their export products. Such are, *e. g.* some important engineering plants as well as companies engaged in

selling complete factory equipment, an activity which calls for technical knowledge beyond that of the salesman, for industrial enterpreneurial skill and for a constant and direct contact between producer and user. The right to engage directly in foreign trade may also be granted to companies of other types if the external trade transactions are likely to grow more efficient in the new organization.

It is desirable that industrial and commercial enterprises not entitled to handle their foreign trade directly should not be restricted in their dealings to one particular foreign-trade company.

They should be able to take away their export or import business from the foreign-trade company formerly specialized to handle that type of business and entrust it to some other firm with foreign-trading rights.

This would put an end to the absolute monopoly on the home market of the specialized foreign-trade companies. They would be driven into competition and would have to prove day by day that they handle their business in the most efficient way.

Considering the above it may be assumed that the number of enterprises engaged in external trade will increase. This fact, together with the free choice of trade partners, will make the organization and with it the activities of foreign trade more flexible. The aim is not decentralization and a lower degree of organizational stability; this is only desirable as long as it ensures better adaptation to market requirements and better business results (taking also into account the costs of maintaining a specialized external trade organization), and does not jeopardize the aims of foreign-trade policy. Nor will the *organizational* unity of production and external trade throughout the national economy be necessary under the new system of economic control. It is a well-known fact that the specialized foreign-trade enterprises contribute to the profits of their partners by the concentrated marketing of a great variety of products, by ensuring a quicker return on capital, by their more profound knowledge of the market, etc. In their case it is advisable to establish the *economic* unity of production and sale without *organizational* unification or amalgamation. This can be achieved by means of an appropriate system of settlement between the producing and the foreign-trade enterprises. The type of business where the foreign-trade enterprise acts as the commission agent or distributor of the producer is likely to become most common. In this way it should be possible to retain the advantages of specialization in external trade and serve the mutual interests of the producer and the foreign trade company. The latter, acting as agent or distributor, is to receive a commission on the sales or purchases.

In certain cases it will appear useful that the specialized external trade enterprise and the productive firm should agree to share both the risks and the profits of their venture.

In other cases again, the specialized foreign-trade company will continue to purchase the goods from the industrial enterprise on its own account and export them at its own risk.

The diversity of organization and accounting forms, together with the possibility of choice, will enable the companies to find the solutions best suited to their given conditions and to achieve the best possible results.

РЕФОРМА И ВНЕШНЯЯ ТОРГОВЛЯ

Ш. БАЛАЖИ

1-го января 1968 года вступит в действие намечаемая реформа системы управления и планирования народным хозяйством Венгрии. В рамках этой реформы произойдут большие изменения в области внешней торговли.

При существовавщем до сих пор хозяйственном механизме система цен не предоставляла соответствующей базы для принятия целесообразных решений в области внешней торговли. Поэтому в последние годы стали пользоваться расчетами эффективности внешней торговли, независимыми от системы текущих цен. Эти расчеты, однако, не оправдали себя на практике. Производственные предприятия не были соответствующим образом заинтересованы в экономичном экспорте и импорте, отсутствовало хозяйственное единство между производством и реализацией продукции.

Реформа системы управления народным хозяйством позволит устранить вскрытые недостатки благодаря тому, что:

1. она предусматривает упразднение системы плановых директив, доводимых до предприятий;

2. главным критерием оценки деятельности предприятий и основой материальной заинтересованности становится прибыль;

3. посредством реформы цен создаются такие соотношения цен, которые отображают народнохозяйственные затраты и влияние спроса и предложения. На этой базе возникает органическая связь между внутренним и внешними рынками, а также между ценами этих двух рынков. Импульсы внешних рынков должны оказывать воздействие на отечественное производство, сбыт и потребление, на структуру экспорта и импорта.

Наметки народнохозяйственного плана по внешней торговле не разбиваются по предприятиям, а планы предприятий не утверждаются в централизованном порядке. Предприятия должны гибко приспосабливаться к рыночным условиям, рыночная оценка их продукции будет иметь для них большое значение. Оценка продукции, получаемая на внешних рынках, будет передаваться ценами, выплачиваемыми за экспортную или импортную продукцию. Валютные цены будут пересчитываться на форинты при помощи новых валютных коэффициентов.

Вокруг вопроса о валютных коэффициентах велась оживленная дискуссия. Согласно одной точке зрения, основой валютных коэффициентов должны стать средние затраты, связанные с получением валютной выручки, а согласно другой позиции, новые валютные коэффициенты должны устанавливаться на основе оптимальных предельных затрат на получение валютной выручки. В конечном счете родилось компромиссное решение: валютные коэффициенты будут устанавливаться на уровне нынешних средних затрат, но эти коэффициенты останутся в силе и в случае, если средние затраты по получению валютной выручки снизятся. Валютные коэффициенты будут едиными, они не будут отличаться в зависимости от вида приобретенного или проданного товара.

Производители будут получать за свою экспортную продукцию вырученную заграницей валютную цену в пересчете на форинты с помощью единого валютного коэффициента. Так как валютные коэффициенты будут соответствовать средним затратам, то возникает необходимость в субвенционировании экспортной продукции, производимой в условиях хуже средних. Вместе с тем предприятия, производящие (и экспортирующие) свою продукцию в лучших условиях, смогут реализовывать в данной обстановке значительную прибыль. Прибыль их будет тем выше, чем лучше складывается соотношение между валютными ценами и себестоимостью в сопоставлении с валютными коэффициентами. Эту прибыль надо будет изымать в бюджет таким образом, чтобы способ отвлечения не порождал безразличия предприятия к улучшению экономической эффективности и структуры.

В отношении импорта цель состоит в том, чтобы предприятия — потребители имели возможность свободного выбора между отечественными и импортными товарами. Поскольку валютные коэффициенты отражают общественные затраты по приобретению валюты для целей импорта, то более дешевое с точки зрения предприятия решение будет одновременно выгодным и для всего общества.

Реформа предусматривает также организационную увязку — в обоснованных случаях — внешнеторговой деятельности с производством или внутренней торговлей.

Право самостоятельного ведения внешнеторговой деятельности будет предоставляться лишь в обоснованных случаях, в первую очередь тем предприятиям, непосредственная связь которых с зарубежными потребителями мотивируется также и техническим характером их экспортной продукции.

L. LENGYEL

LIVING STANDARD: FACTS AND OPINIONS

On basis of the data covering 4000 households continuously surveyed in the framework of family budget statistics, the author tries to give answer to the question: what connection exists between the objective facts of the living standard of the different strata of the society, on the one hand, and the subjective opinions on their own living standard of the persons belonging to the same strata, on the other.

There is no doubt that the objective situation, the concrete facts have under all circumstances an incontestable priority in developing the general principles of economic and social policies, within them of the policy on living standards. This is why in economic and statistical analyses the living standard is defined as an objective concept connected with meeting the population's personal needs and is determined by the volume of the physical goods consumed (or to be consumed) and of the services used (or to be used). Still, not only scientific interest but also the preparation and foundation of the decisions to be taken in solving the practical problems of the policy on living standards make it justified to get an insight as differentiated as possible into the *mental sphere* and try to reveal from as many aspects as possible the opinions of the population, of the individual strata and groups of the society, about the individual economic and socio-political decisions — in the present case, the decisions on the living standard policy, more exactly, about their effects and results. (The paper of *Bastide* and *Girard* gives account of a research of this type. [1]) The results of researches of this type become especially worth attention and useable if the subjective data obtained from the mental sphere can be compared with the objective data.

In the paper below the author intends to review the major results of a research of this type. Aim of the research was to give a picture (by means of statistical methods) of the *connection between the objective facts of the living standard and their reflection by human mind.* The research was made possible by the fact that in Hungary a continuous survey of family budget statistics has been going on for more than 10 years covering 4000 households, in whose frame the households report about their receipts (income) and expenditure (consumption) day by day in their household records to the Central Statistical Office and identical households make available their records to the Office for

several years. Thus all the *objective data* relating to a considerable part of the households under survey at present are available to the Office and on their basis the changes over relatively longer periods (several years) as well as the direction and extent of the changes in the income and consumption conditions of the households can be traced back accurately. The *subjective data* reflecting the opinions on the development of the living standard were gathered from the households *subsequently*, in the frames of a separate data collection [2].

I have to stress the tentative character of the whole research. Still, it is perhaps not too exaggerated to say that the carrying out of similar researches may supply useful data not only in Hungary but also in any other country to solve the concrete problems of the living standard and income policies, to improve the wage policy and the system of incentives.

I

The connection between the opinions on the changes in the living standard and the actual changes in the income level. The requirement of the research targets outlined above can be met in several ways by using the methodological apparatus of statistics, with the aid of proper data collections. It should be taken into account, however, — and this fact should be borne in mind also when evaluating the results — that the results may differ depending on the method chosen. I want to stress two alternatives only: *1.* questions can be put as to how people judge the development of the living standard of the population, or of the individual strata of society *in general; 2.* it can be questioned how people judge the *concrete* development of their own living standard or that of their family. If the scope of the survey is extensive enough, if the degree of representation is sufficient, the two types of approach have to yield, *theoretically*, more or less identical results. It can easily be admitted, however, that this is not always the case. For other factors play a role in the replies of the persons interviewed if they are questioned about the general situation and other factors are important if the persons are asked about the development of their own living standard. Since the research in question has also set itself the aim to compare by families the objective data with the subjective replies, and assuming also that the data obtained make it possible to make generalizations for the society as a whole (since a relatively large sample is available) we decided to choose the second alternative when drawing up the program of the survey.

In the course of the research described in the paper *the persons were first questioned if there had been a change in the living standard of their household in 1964 as compared to the level of the previous year, and if so, what direction (improvement, deterioration) and what extent (smaller-greater) it had revealed.* The same questions were asked also relating to the situation of 5 years before. The distribution of the households by the replies given to the questions mentioned is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Distribution of the number of households by their opinions on the development of the living standard

Opinions on the situation	Percentage distribution of the number of			
	worker-employee households		peasant households and those with double income	
1. In 1964 as compared with the previous year				
Improved to a great extent	7	38	7	33
Improved to a small extent	31		26	
Did not change		45		51
Deteriorated to a small extent	14	17	13	16
Deteriorated to a great extent	3		3	
Total		100		100
Number of households surveyed	2037		1958	
2. In 1964 as compared to the level 5 years before				
Improved to a great extent	22	64	15	50
Improved to a small extent	42		35	
Did not change		20		17
Deteriorated to a small extent	12	16	24	33
Deteriorated to a great extent	4		9	
Total		100		100
Number of households surveyed*	600		624	

* In the course of the survey also the opinions of all households on the changes during the five years were inquired about. Here, however, we present the data of those households only which had been data suppliers even 5 years before and thus their replies can be compared with the objective data. As a matter of fact, the distribution of the households shown above differs only slightly from the distribution in the complete sample.

Before comparing the *subjective replies* obtained from the survey also with the available *objective data* on the actual development of the income level of the households, the question should be answered if the subjective replies relating to the changes in the living standard can be compared at all with the objective data of the income changes? This problem arises since the concept of living standard was deliberately not defined when performing the interview. Every person interviewed could interpret the concept at will. Thus it became possible to determine (by means of the next question) the proportion of households which "measure" the development of their living standard exclusively by the changes in the income conditions as well as that part of the households which take into account also other factors when formulating their opinion on the development of the living standard. Since the question: "*Is the change*

(improvement, deterioration) of the living standard connected with a change in the income conditions of the family?" was answered by the overwhelming majority of the persons interviewed in the affirmative, it seems that the question can be given a positive answer. (82 per cent of the worker-employee households and 95 per cent of the peasant households and of those with a double income answered in the affirmative.)

It is worth mentioning that among the households regarding their living standard as *improved* from 1963 to 1964, 93 per cent of the worker-employee households and 95 per cent of the peasant households and of those with a double income replied that the improvement had been connected with a change in the income (in a greater part of the cases in itself, in a smaller part of the cases together with factors other than income). From among the factors other than income, the following should be mentioned: the household obtained a better flat, gas and electricity were introduced, it could spend all its income on satisfying its personal needs as against the former situation when it had to give financial aid to the relatives, or its living standard improved due to the regroupment of its expenses (the building of the flat was completed, the amortization of the goods bought on hire-purchase ended), etc. At the same time, about 40 per cent of the worker-employee households reporting about a smaller or greater *deterioration* of their living standard during one year attributed it exclusively to factors other than the family income. Even among them there were many who explained the deterioration of their living standard by changes in factors other than the family income, which, however, belong to the concept of the real income. There were also households which attributed the deterioration of their living standard to the expenses spent on their children which increases with their advancing age and with the growing costs of their keeping. There were several who emphasized that the family allowance, whose amount is fixed independently of the age of the children, covers with the advancing age a decreasing part of the costs of keeping.

There are several types of methods to perform a comparative analysis of the subjective replies about the living standard and of the objective data on the income conditions.

First I have compared the average income level in 1964 of the households holding the same opinion on the development of their living standard with their income level one year before as well as — since these data were available — with the average of the 1958 and 1960 data. It seemed to be expedient to perform this comparison by means of data both per head and per household.

A comparison of the opinions with the facts shows that with the exception of the highest category, the persons interviewed considered the change of their living standard a degree more unfavourable than it really was. This expresses the well-known human quality, that we get accustomed to favourable changes quickly, i.e. we regard them as "natural" within a short time, whereas the

changes with an unfavourable impact remain in us with an intensity greater than reality and exercise also their influence over a longer period. The income of the households, reporting about a smaller improvement, increased by 10 per cent on average in a year. Though there is no absolute measure to decide what should be considered a "smaller" or "greater" rise of the living standard, the above-mentioned increase is to be included in the category of a "greater" increase. It is also noteworthy that the households judged the *same extent* of change in their actual income conditions in a different way according to whether an increase or decrease had taken place. Though they did not regard an annual 3—5 per cent increase of their income as a change (among those who regarded their income unchanged the average extent of the increase was as much), they regarded the same extent of decrease in their income a considerable deterioration of their living standard. The picture is quite the same if we analyse the situation 5 years before. The difference can be observed only in the magnitudes. In 5 years already a 9—12 per cent increase in the income was "needed" for people not to speak about a decrease but to declare a stagnating of their living standard.

Thus the data which express the average objective change in the income level of the households holding the same opinion on the development of their living standard coincide more or less — if not always in the absolute sense but in their tendency — with the subjective judgements of the development of the living standard: the decreasing categories of the subjective judgements go — in most cases — together with the decreasing values of the objective indices of income.

When judging, however, the differences in the absolute sense it should not be disregarded that the above-mentioned objective indices of income render account of the development of the *nominal incomes*. Due to the nature of things this also contributes to the fact that people do not regard an annual 2 or 3 per cent increase (in the worker-employee households) or a 5 per cent increase (in the peasant households) of their income as an improvement of their living standard. Especially not, if in the meantime the consumer price level increased, as was the case here (it increased by nearly 1 per cent). Even if the income increased during five years, the households reported about a deterioration of their living standard; partly because in a significant part of the cases the increase of the income could not be experienced in jerks but was distributed over the individual years; partly because in the meantime also the consumer price level increased by nearly 3 per cent. To that at least two things should be added: first that the indexes mentioned showing the changes in consumers' prices do not contain the effect of so-called "concealed" changes in prices (rises and reductions); second, that people who are accustomed to a stable price system react especially "sensitively" upon the increase of the consumer prices which could be recorded almost exclusively among foodstuffs of a seasonal character;

Table 2

The change of the actual average income level in the groups of households holding the same opinion about the development of their living standard

Opinions about the changes in the standard of living	Nominal income			
	per household	per capita	per household	per capita
	in the			
	worker-employee households		peasant households and those with a double income	
	interviewed			
1. In 1964 as compared to the previous year	Income in 1964 as percentage of income in 1963			
Improved to a great extent	116	114	123	120
Improved to a small extent	109	107	110	109
Did not change	103	102	105	105
Deteriorated to a small extent	101	98	99	101
Deteriorated to a great extent	95	99	94	103
Total	105	104	107	107
2. In 1964 as compared to the level of 5 years before**	Income in 1964 as percentage of the average of 1958 and 1960			
Improved to a great extent	133	131	139	157
Improved to a small extent	122	127	120	132
Did not change	109	111	112	128
Deteriorated to a small extent	106	112	110	112
Deteriorated to a great extent	105	118	101	120
Total	120	123	118	133*

* The considerable difference between the indices of the income per head and the income per household is accounted for by the fact that the number of household members decreased considerably during 5 years in the course of the well-known process of social re-stratification.

** See notes to Table 1.

they deem their weight and importance much more unfavourable than is shown by real facts. It may be, of course, assumed that beside the factors mentioned there are also other circumstances which play a role here. It may occur that despite the actual improvement of their income conditions the persons interviewed report about a deterioration of their living standard if the average income level of the persons living in their environment *increases to a greater extent* than their own income level.

In order to obtain more detailed information I have examined the connection between the subjective replies on the development of the living standard and the dynamic change of the objective income conditions with regard to the *individuals*. To this end I have summed up the subjective replies on the development of the living standard and the objective data on the change of the income conditions in a contingency table with 10 rows and 5 columns. In this table the column "total" contains the relative number of households by the decreasing values of the subjective replies (from B_1 to B_5), whereas the row "total" includes the relative number of households by the decreasing categories of the actual income change per household (from A_1 to A_{10}). I have drawn up a similar table also on basis of the data of per capita incomes. In order to draw more general conclusions I have tried to characterize the closeness of the connection between the opinions on the development of the living standard and the actual change in the income by means of a single figure. This computation was performed for both population groups observed, partly with regard to the changes during the shorter and the longer period, partly — with regard to the objective data — for both income categories used for characterizing the living standard (for the income per head and the income per household).

As regards the method of computation the following remarks should be made. Since my task was to measure the closeness of the connection between the distribution of the opinions, on the one hand, and according to the actual changes, on the other, and since only one group of the factors (the objective data) were results of an *ab initio* quantitative observation and the other group of factors (the subjective data) contained multiple, classified and qualified characteristics, there was no possibility to compute the usual coefficient of correlation. Thus it seemed to be expedient to compute the quadratic contingency coefficient C of *Pearson* and the coefficient T of *Chuprov*, serving the refinement of the former, to measure the closeness of the association.

The quadratic contingency coefficient of *Pearson* has been computed on basis of the formula

$$C = \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N + \chi^2}}$$

where

$$\chi^2 = \Sigma \frac{(A_m B_n)^2}{(A_m B_n)_0} - N$$

where

N — number of the sample units;
$(A_m B_n)^2$ — the square of the corresponding empirical data
$(A_m B_n)_0$ — the so-called value of independency, i.e.

$$\frac{(A_m)\,(B_n)}{N}.$$

Consequently, denoting the result of the summing up with S

$$C = \sqrt{\frac{S - N}{S}}$$

The coefficient T of *Chuprov* has been computed on basis of the formula

$$T = \sqrt{\frac{C^2}{(1 - C^2)\,(s - 1)\,(t - 1)}}$$

where C is the *Pearson* coefficient, s and t are the numbers of the columns and rows of the contingency table. [3]

The final results of the computations with regard to the extent of the connection between the opinions on the development of the living standard and the actual changes in the income are contained in Table 3.

Table 3

The contingency coefficients with regard to the connection between the opinions on the development of the living standard and the actual changes in the income

Denomination	On basis of a change in the income per			
	household	head	household	head
	C*		T	
In worker-employee households				
for 1 year	0.316	0.280	0.134	0.119
for 5 years*	0.329	0.315	0.142	0.135
In the peasant households and those with a double income				
for 1 year	0.243	0.237	0.102	0.100
for 5 years**	0.355	0.350	0.155	0.152

* The coefficients C, determined on basis of different systems of classification, cannot be compared. The value of the coefficients depends on the size of the classification. The value of C, for instance, cannot surpass the value of 0.949 even in case of a 10×10 symmetrical classification; in case of a 5×5 classification the maximum value is 0.894.

** See note to Table 1.

The data of Table 3 show that the connection between the opinions on the development of the living standard and the changes in the actual income level is after all not too close. Still, on basis of these computations it can be stated that: *1.* the households (mainly the worker-employee households, and relating to one year) judge the development of their living standard rather on basis of a change in their family income than by the income per head; *2.* the opinion of the worker-employee households (mainly relating to one year) is somewhat closer connected with the objective situation than that of the peasant households; at the same time, however, with regard to changes over 5 years the opinion of the peasant households conforms better to the actual changes; *3.* the connection between the opinions and the objective situation is looser relating to changes in one year than over 5 years, both in the worker-employee households and in the peasant households.

The fact that a great number of households judge the development of their living standard differently from the actual development that took place in the income situation on basis of objective changes is due also to factors other

than income. However, as I have already mentioned, the role of the factors other than income is not significant. A more important fact is perhaps that it is really much more difficult to judge a change in one year, which is essentially smaller in most cases than — generally greater — changes over five years. At the same time it is worth mentioning that also the number of those who regarded the development of their living standard as more favourable than reality, was significant. On basis of all this one could draw the summary conclusion that there were really many who were incapable to judge their situation even with an approximative accuracy but also that the persons interviewed gave, in general, a sincere reply to the questions.

Opinions about the relative size of the income level

Beside inquiring after the opinions about the dynamic change of the living standard the survey program envisaged also to *inquire the opinion of the persons interviewed about the relative size of their level of income in a given period*, in other words, about the place where they put themselves (their household) within the hierarchy of incomes. The persons interviewed had to answer by the aid of an "income ladder with 7 steps". The lowest step of the income ladder represented those living on the lowest standard of living (income group No. 1), the highest grade included those living on the highest standard of living (income group No. 7). In replying to the question, the persons interviewed had to indicate that step of the income ladder on which they place their family, their household.

Though the relevant data of the survey seem to be natural, they induce us to further thinking. For round three quarters both of the worker-employee households and of the peasant households indicated their own income level to be on the average level or only somewhat lower.

It is not at all surprising that relatively few people ranged themselves among those living on a standard of living higher than the average (7.7 and 6.9 per cent resp.), since the inclination of those living on a standard of living higher than the average to "underrate" their own position is well-known enough. It is much more interesting, however, that also the proportion of those ranging themselves among the two lowest income groups is relatively very low. This fact seems to reflect the opinion — at least on the basis of the above average data — that there are many who underrate also the *average* living standard.

In spite of the under- and overestimations, the data of Table 4 deserve our attention. They show that the higher the individual households placed themselves within the income hierarchy, the higher was their 1964 actual income level on basis of the objective data, too (at least as a tendency and on the average). The connection which undoubtedly exists between placing one-

Table 4

Proportion and average (actual) income of the households putting themselves at the same place on the subjective income ladder

Subjective income ladder (income group)	Percentage distribution of				Actual income in 1964 per household (thousand Forints) in	
	worker-employee households		peasant households and those with a double income		worker-employee households	peasant households and those with a double income
	putting themselves at the same place on subjective income ladder					
1*	2.1		4.4		27.9	20.1
2	11.9		15.0		32.3	27.5
3	33.9		33.1		37.3	33.1
4	44.4	85.0	40.6	80.1	42.6	39.2
5	6.7		6.4		55.3	45.6
6	0.8		0.4		56.7	40.7
7**	0.2		0.1		64.5	42.3
Total	100.0		100.0		40.3	35.0

* Those living on the lowest standard of living
** Those living on the highest standard of living

self on the different steps of the income ladder and the objective average income level is not influenced either by the fact — which is otherwise clear also from the coefficients of contingency computed by means of the earlier method — that here, too, the average hides a relatively significant dispersion: many of those living on a low level of income place themselves on a higher grade and, conversely, a not insignificant part of those receiving an income higher than the average place themselves (their household) on an average or lower level.

It is also worthwhile noting that placing oneself within the income ladder (within the subjective income hierarchy) is rather closely connected — especially in the worker-employee households — with the subjective opinions on the dynamics of the living standard. This comparison shows that the households placing their 1964 living standard higher than the average reported for the most part on the improvement of their living standard, whereas those placing themselves lower than the average reported rather on the stagnation or deterioration of their living standard.

II

Some remarkable connections between the amount thought as necessary to get a grade higher within the income hierarchy and the level of income. After placing themselves on the different steps of the income ladder the persons interviewed were also requested to *give information on the additional amount of money that*

would be required in their opinion regularly to receive to be able to place themselves (their household) a step or an income group higher within the income ladder.

The amount indicated in the replies may be of interest from several respects. I should like to stress that the amount may approximate well an increase in the income which is regarded nowadays as a considerable one. Needless to say, perhaps, that the persons interviewed had in mind obviously an increase in the real value of their income and not their nominal income when reporting on 10 000—11 000 Forints per household on the average. This amount makes about 28 per cent of the average income in both population categories at present. It does not reflect irrealistic desires. This rate of increase can be envisaged for a not too long period in a realistic way, it is a requirement that can be met in the period of a 5—7 year plan. Under such circumstances it can be assumed with good reason that the replies express also the anticipations of the population relating to the future in so far as they reckon with a certain rate of increase in the real income as a fact that can take place in the near future — at least as far as the average situation of a relatively wider circle of the households is concerned. On the basis of all this it seems to be justified to assume that a knowledge of this amount would give (beyond the review of effective needs actually met) some insight into the sphere of the so-called *latent* needs* of the population. For the amount thought as necessary to get a grade higher within the income hierarchy approximates well the totality of the needs which can be experienced even under present conditions as existing feelings of want rather intensively and, which though not yet effective at present, can be regarded by a relatively wide circle of people — and thus also from the social point of view — as realizable in the not too far future even in public opinion. For, on my part, I would define the population's *latent* needs somehow in this way. It is, of course, open to discussion whether this definition is proper or not and whether the former amount entirely corresponds to the definition. It cannot be denied, however, that the amount thought as necessary for getting a grade higher within the income hierarchy constitutes a part of the latent needs of the population; in fact, it is that part which manifests itself most efficiently and most actively in the given period from the sociological, political and economic points of view. (The fact that I denote this amount with the symbol L_a reflects this view.)

The data below seem to support the reality of the former tentative statements. Though it is true that there are considerable differences between putting oneself on a certain step of the income ladder and the objective place within the hierarchy of incomes, it can neither be denied that when determining the amount necessary for getting a grade higher, the persons interviewed did

* According to the terminology introduced in the candidate's thesis of *R. Hoch* [4] — See also the book of *K. Szabó* reviewed in the previous issue of the "Acta Oeconomica" [5].

not start from subjective factors (considerations, different horizons, differing knowledge of the conditions of others, etc.) but from their actual income conditions. This is why a close connection between the *actual income position* and the amount necessary for getting a grade higher can be experienced: a higher income level is accompanied by higher values of the amount necessary for getting a grade higher, and at the same time, the proportion to the income of the amount necessary for getting higher is smaller among those enjoying a higher than among those receiving a lower income.

Table 5

The amount necessary for getting higher and of the actual income level

Income groups (annual 1000 Forints per household)	Number of the household surveyed	Actual income in 1964	Yearly amount thought as necessary by the households surveyed for getting higher	
	1000 Forints per household			as percentage of the actual income
	Worker-employee households			
—18	93	15.7	7.3	46.2
18—24	174	21.0	8.3	39.3
24—30	264	27.0	10.1	37.4
30—36	343	33.1	11.0	33.3
36—42	322	39.2	11.5	29.4
42—48	291	44.8	12.1	26.9
48—54	222	50.9	12.6	24.7
54—60	143	56.7	11.9	21.0
60—	185	72.3	15.7	21.8
Total (or average)	2037	40.3	11.4	28.3
	Peasant households and those with a double income			
—18	265	12.8	6.4	49.9
18—24	239	21.0	8.3	39.3
24—30	312	26.9	9.5	35.2
30—36	300	33.1	10.4	31.3
36—42	266	36.9	10.7	27.6
42—48	202	45.0	11.7	25.9
48—54	145	50.8	11.1	21.9
54—60	102	56.9	10.9	19.3
60—	127	72.3	11.9	16.4
Total (or average)	1958	35.0	9.8	28.0

The data refer to a linear connection between the logarithms of the actual income per household and the amount necessary for getting higher. Thus, the connection can be described by the function:

$$\log y = a + b \log x,$$

where

y is the value of the amount per household necessary for getting higher,

x is the income per household, and parameter b shows to what percentage the amount necessary for getting higher increases if the income per household increases by 1 per cent.

The computations have led to the following results:

in worker-employee households:

$$\log y_W = 2.0104 + 0.4458 \log x_W$$

in peasant households and those with a double income :

$$\log_P = 2.2620 + 0.3829 \log x_P.$$

Thus if the income per household increases by 1 per cent the amount necessary for getting higher increases by 0.45 per cent in worker-employee households and by 0.38 per cent in peasant households. (The functions correspond very well to the empirical data. In both population groups the index of correlation showing the magnitude of the correspondence is high enough: $r^2 = 0.99$.)

After that I have examined the regularities that can be observed in the decrease in the proportion of the amount necessary for getting higher if the income level increases at the same time. I have examined the proportion of the value of the amount per household necessary for getting higher as a function of the income. The parameters of the curve fitting best into the experimental data are as follows:

in worker-employee households:

$$\log y_W = 4.0100—0.5541 \log x_W$$

in peasant households and those with a double income:

$$\log y_P = 4.2648—0.6180 \log x_P.$$

The index of correlation showing the magnitude of the correspondence is very high also in this case, it is $r^2 = 0.99$.

In a somewhat modified form, this connection had also made it possible to determine *the potential degree of satisfaction (λ) of the demand on getting*

higher in the income hierarchy, brought about by a constant increase of the income. Supposing the annual increase of the income per family to amount to 10,000 Forints, I have examined the degree to which this amount "satisfies" the given demand of households living on different income levels. The equations below express the degree of satisfaction (λ) of the demand on getting higher, brought about by an annual increase of income amounting to 10,000 Forints in households with different income:

in the worker-employee households:

$$\log Y_W = 3.9896 - 0.4458 \log x_W$$

in peasant households and those with a double income:

$$\log Y_P = 3.7380 - 0.3829 \log x_P.$$

Making use of these relations and supposing a changeable extent of the increase in income:

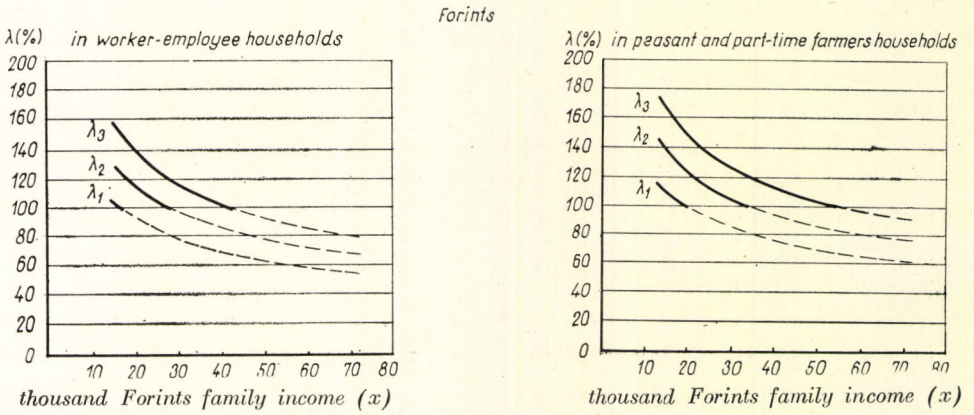

Fig. 1. The degree of satisfaction (λ) of the demand to get higher in the incom hierarchy, brought about by an increase in income of 8—10—12,000 Forints. ("Part-time farmers" = households with double income)

What has been said about the connection between the amount thought as necessary for getting a grade higher in the income hierarchy, on the one hand, and the income level, on the other, made it possible and justified to formulate some findings in the form of theses:

a) the amount necessary for getting higher is a monotonic increasing function of the income level:

$$L_a = f(F).$$

Supposing the given income level to be equal — with some concessions — to the solvent (effective) demand, the functional connection between the amount thought as necessary for getting higher and the solvent needs develops so that with the increase of the solvent needs also the amount necessary for getting higher increases.

b) According to the concrete computations there is a linear connection between the amount thought as necessary for getting higher and the logarithm of the solvent needs. Thus:

$$\log L_a = a + b \log F.$$

According to the computations: $0 < b < 1$.

c) The proportion of the amount necessary for getting higher compared to the solvent needs is a monotonic decreasing function of the solvent needs.

Concretely: there exists a linear connection between the proportion of the amount necessary for getting higher and the logarithm of the solvent needs:

$$\log \frac{L_a}{F} = -\beta \log F,$$

it follows from the relationship under b) that $\beta = b-1$ which has been verified also by direct computations.

d) The potential degree of satisfaction (λ) of the demand to get higher in the income hierarchy, brought about by a constant increase of the income is a monotonic decreasing function of the solvent needs:

$$\lambda = f(F).$$

Of course, the connection is here also a logarithmical one.

e) If, on the basis of the statistical data (by income groups) used so far, conclusions could be drawn also on the dynamic changes, it would follow from the relationship under b) which can be described also as

$$L_a = cF^b,$$

that

$$\frac{L_a}{F} = \frac{c}{F^{(1-b)}}$$

which, if $b < 1$ and F is continuously increasing and in an undisturbed manner, it would lead — historically — to the relationship

$$\frac{L_a}{F} \to 0 .$$

It is obvious that we would receive the same results by starting from the relationship under c) which can be described also in the following way:

$$\frac{L_a}{F} = \frac{10^a}{F^\beta}$$

which — since β is positive here and we reckon with the continuous, undisturbed increase of F, — would similarly lead to the relationship

$$\frac{L_a}{F} \to 0.$$

On the basis of all this, the conclusion could be drawn that the decrease of the proportion of the amount necessary for getting higher is a historical tendency. This, however, would be a too mechanic extrapolation against which numerous arguments could be raised. It could be objected, first of all, that the latent needs and also the amount necessary for getting higher in the income hierarchy are not magnitudes given once and for all and they change by all means with the increase of the level of the income and of the social welfare. As a result of their change the needs known already at present, existing, however, only "potentially" might turn into mass latent needs and could exercise a serious influence on the formation of the "amount necessary for getting a grade higher" not to speak about the fact that with the rapid technical progress new categories of needs will arise and manifest themselves in the future as feelings of want whose intensity cannot be evaluated at present.

This all, however, deserves our attention and ought to induce us to perform further researches which take into account also the dynamic aspects. It would be justified to study — among others — the structure of the amount necessary for getting higher from the *aspect of consumption*, for this amount arises not as a "shapeless" set but similarly to the solvent needs, though with differences in the structure, as a demand on concrete physical goods and services. This task does not seem to be insolvable. It would be relatively easy to receive information on the planned utilization of the amount either on the basis of the method applied in the survey or in a different way. It could also be attempted to start from the concrete needs to be satisfied in the near future and subsequently to inquire after the extent of the amount that would be necessary for their satisfaction.

We intend to improve the above reviewed experimental research in Hungary both as regards its programme and methodology. Valuable additional results could be achieved if there were international data available on the subject. The continuation of the research could supply further useful and thorough information on the social reality and could promote the suitable preparation of

individual decisions in our economic policy. The knowledge of these relations, not only when preparing the decisions but also in the practical work, would be somewhat similar to northern magnetism in navigation. "Not everyone wants to travel north, but the concept of north and its measure by the magnetic pole assist all of us in our travels." [6. p.77.]

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ЖИЗНЕННЫЙ УРОВЕНЬ В СВЕТЕ ФАКТОВ И МНЕНИЙ ДОМАШНИХ ХОЗЯЙСТВ

Л. ЛЕНДЕЛ

Статья на основании данных постоянного статистического наблюдения над 400-ами домашними хозяйствами, ищет ответа на вопрос, какая взаимосвязь имеется между объективными фактами жизненного уровня различных слоев населения и субъективными мнениями относящихся к этим же слоям людей о собственном жизненном уровне. В статье вопрос трактуется в двух аспектах: а) *в динамическом аспекте*, при котором параллельно с имеющимися в распоряжении объективными данными, в сопоставлении с ними, рассматриваются субъективные ответы, полученные на вопрос, как оценивают люди: улучшился ли, ухудшился или остался без изменения их жизненный уровень, по сравнению с предыдущим годом и с имевшимся пять лет назад положением; б) *в статическом аспекте*, при котором показывается, как оценивается людьми занимаемое ими в иерархии доходов место, и как относится субъективная оценка относительной величины жизненного уровня к объективному факту относительного доходного состояния людей. В связи с этим вопросом автор пытается определить понятие и приблизительные размеры скрытых потребностей населения, установить некоторые закономерные взаимозависимости в связи со скрытыми потребностями и динамикой уровня доходов. Автор выявляет, что сумма, требующаяся для перехода на следующую ступень в иерархии доходов (L_a), является монотонной растущей функцией платежеспособной потребности (F), конкретно: $\log L = a + b \lg F$, где $0 < b < 1$), далее, что соотношение суммы, требующейся для перехода на следующую ступень, и платежеспособной потребности (L_a/F) является монотонной понижающейся функцией платежеспособной потребности (конкретно: $\lg L_a/F = \alpha - \beta \lg F$, где $\beta = b - 1$); и, наконец, что потенциальная степень удовлетворенности, требующейся для перехода на следующую ступень суммы, индуцированной постоянным приростом дохода (λ), является монотонной понижающейся функцией уровня доходов. $\lambda = f(F)$.

F. VÁGI

DIFFERENZIERUNG IN DEN LANDWIRTSCHAFTLICHEN PRODUKTIONSGENOSSENSCHAFTEN

Die Studie setzt sich zum Ziel, die Differenzierung der Produktion und des Bruttoeinkommens, sowie deren Veränderung für die Jahre nach der sozialistischen Umgestaltung der Landwirtschaft darzulegen. Die Untersuchung stützt sich auf die wichtigeren Produktions- und Einkommensangaben der auf verschiedenen Stufen des Wirtschaftens stehenden Produktionsgenossenschaften.

In unseren Tagen wird die Differenzierung der Produktion und ihre Veränderung immer öfter erwähnt. Dies ist kein Zufall. Die Lage der landwirtschaftlichen Betriebe, ihre wirtschaftlichen Ergebnisse werden, wenn auch nicht ausschliesslich, doch sehr stark vom Stand der Produktion bestimmt. Andererseits ist es eine alltägliche Erfahrung, dass sich die Erzeugung in den einzelnen Betrieben sehr unterschiedlich gestaltet und diese Unterschiede die Entwicklung der ganzen Landwirtschaft beeinflussen. Das dieser Frage entgegengebrachte Interesse ist verständlich. Auch sind bei der Leitung der Landwirtschaft vielseitige Kenntnisse über die betriebliche Differenzierung der Produktion in immer grösserem Masse notwendig, um im Besitz dieser mit den Gegebenheiten der Entwicklung der auf verschiedenen Stufen des Wirtschaftens stehenden landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften (LPG) rechnen zu können.

Was ist also unter dem Stand der Differenzierung der Produktion zu verstehen? In seiner heutigen Bedeutung ist der Begriff neu und erst aus den vergleichenden Untersuchungen der LPG entstanden, zum allgemein angewendeten Terminus geworden, ohne aber eine genaue volkswirtschaftliche Inhaltsbestimmung erhalten zu haben. Unter dem Begriff sind einerseits die Proportionen der Produktions- und Einkommenskennziffern der landwirtschaftlichen Betriebe — auf einen oder gleichzeitig auf mehrere Produktionsfaktoren berechnet —, andererseits die Rolle der nach der Grössenordnung irgendeines Faktors gebildeten gleichartigen Betriebsgruppen in der Produktion des ganzen Landes zu verstehen. Letzten Endes umfasst er also die verhältnismässigen Grössen und Abweichungen der Produktions- und Einkommenskennziffern je Einheit der Produktionsmittel der auf verschiedenen Produktionsstufen stehenden LPG sowie ihren Anteil an der Produktion des Sektors.*

* Bei der Bearbeitung des Themas verwende ich Daten aus der Veröffentlichung des Ungarischen Statistischen Zentralamtes [1]. Quellenhinweise gebe ich also nur im Falle von Angaben anderer Herkunft.

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Tabelle I

Differenzierung der Produktion in den LPG im Jahre 1964

	In LPG mit einer Bruttoproduktion je ha LN von								
	bis 2607	2608–3476	3477–4345	4346–5214	5215–6083	6084–6952	6953–7821	7822–8690	8691 und mehr
	ist dieselbe in % des Landesdurchschnittes der Genossenschaften								
	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.
	*Bruttoumsatz**								
auf 1 ha LN	50,6	68,3	82,4	96,1	110,3	121,5	126,6	152,5	192,4
auf 100 Ft Grundmittelfonds	79,2	84,9	90,6	99,1	104,7	107,5	112,3	117,0	113,2
auf 100 Ft Grund- und Umlaufmittelfonds	80,5	85,7	90,9	98,7	103,9	106,5	109,1	113,0	113,0
auf 1 Arbeitstag	22,3	82,2	92,0	100,3	105,7	110,4	111,6	114,6	117,4
auf 1 arbeitendes Mitglied	64,6	76,4	89,1	101,3	108,4	111,6	116,4	127,0	126,6
	*Bruttoproduktion**								
auf 1 ha LN	43,1	62,1	77,2	93,6	110,4	127,3	145,0	162,0	219,3
auf 100 Ft Grundmittelfonds	68,1	76,4	84,7	95,8	105,6	112,5	119,4	125,0	129,2
auf 100 Ft Grund- und Umlaufmittelfonds	69,2	78,8	86,5	96,2	105,8	111,5	117,3	121,2	128,8
auf 1 Arbeitstag	61,6	74,7	86,2	97,6	105,8	115,7	118,5	121,8	133,8
auf 1 arbeitendes Mitglied	55,0	69,5	83,5	98,6	108,5	116,9	123,6	134,9	144,3
	Verkaufserlös								
auf 1 ha LN	45,1	61,7	78,5	94,4	108,8	124,7	143,4	161,6	220,1
auf 100 Ft Grundmittelfonds	70,5	77,0	86,9	98,4	104,9	111,5	118,0	124,6	131,1
auf 100 Ft Grund- und Umlaufmittelfonds	72,7	79,5	88,6	97,7	104,5	111,4	115,9	120,5	131,8
auf 1 Arbeitstag	64,3	74,8	87,8	99,1	105,2	113,9	117,4	121,7	134,8
auf 1 arbeitendes Mitglied	57,6	69,1	84,9	99,5	107,0	114,6	122,3	134,6	114,9
	Verhältnis des Verkaufserlöses in %								
des Bruttoumsatzes	51,7	52,4	55,2	56,9	57,2	59,5	60,9	61,9	66,3
der Bruttoproduktion	89,3	84,7	86,7	86,0	84,3	83,5	84,3	85,0	85,6

(Im weiteren werden die Gruppen des Produktionswertes nur mit den römischen Zahlen I—IX. bezeichnet.)

* Der in Ungarn verwendete Begriff »gehäufter Produktionswert« und »ungehäufter Produktionswert« entspricht in der DDR den Bezeichnungen »Bruttoumsatz« und »Bruttoproduktion«.

1. Differenzierung der Produktion und des Roheinkommens in den LPG

Die Differenzierung der Produktion der LPG beleuchten die Angaben der Tabelle I. von mehreren Seiten.

Was sind die wichtigsten Eigenarten? *Erstens:* Die grösste Differenzierung zeigt sich in der auf eine Flächeneinheit entfallenden Produktion, dann verkleinert sie sich in folgender Reihenfolge: bei den auf ein arbeitendes Mitglied, auf den Aufwand an lebendiger Arbeit und endlich auf den angelegten Grundmittelfonds berechneten Produktionskennzahlen. Diese Reihenfolge gibt gleichzeitig die Rangordnung der Auslastungsunterschiede der in der Produktion angewandten Produktionsmittel, was man nicht als Zufall betrachten kann. In den guten LPG werden eben sämtliche Elemente der Produktionskräfte, sowohl einzeln genommen als auch zusammen, besser ausgenutzt als in den schwachen. Dass der Unterschied in der Ausnutzung des Bodens am grössten und so auffallend ist, muss eigentlich auf den verhältnismässig hohen Anteil der landwirtschaftlichen Bevölkerung an der Gesamtbevölkerung und auf die grosse Agrarbevölkerungsdichte zurückgeführt werden. In unserer Landwirtschaft kann heute als gesetzmässiger Zusammenhang gelten, dass von den angewandten Produktionsmitteln die Ausnutzung des Bodens im Vordergrund stehen, und die möglichst beste sein muss. Das erfordert schon der Grundsatz, dass die Bauern ein ihrer Arbeit angemessenes, zum Verdienst der Arbeiter und Angestellten mehr oder weniger abgestimmtes Einkommen erreichen sollen.

Zweitens: Die Differenzierung des sogenannten Bruttoumsatzes ist grösser als die der Bruttoproduktion. Der Bruttoumsatz und die Bruttoproduktion als statistische Kennziffern unterscheiden sich dadurch voneinander, dass der Bruttoumsatz auch den Wert der in der Produktion verbrauchten, gekauften landwirtschaftlichen Produkte enthält, was bei der Bruttoproduktion nicht der Fall ist. Die guten LPG kaufen zwar je Einheit der Bodenfläche mehr landwirtschaftliche Produkte als die durchschnittlich oder auf einer niedrigeren Stufe wirtschaftenden, nicht aber im Verhältnis ihrer Produktion. Je höher der Bruttoumsatz* je Flächeneinheit in einer Genossenschaft ist, in desto höherem Grad deckt sie selbst ihren Produktionsbedarf an landwirtschaftlichen Produkten. Da die Produktionsgenossenschaften an landwirtschaftlichen Produkten — unmittelbar vom Staat, oder durch seine Vermittlung, oder auch möglicherweise ohne dieselbe — von anderen Genossenschaftsbetrieben hauptsächlich Futter sowie Mast- und Zuchtvieh kaufen, hat in den besseren LPG die Futterbasis des Viehbestandes und der Nachschub von Mast- und Zuchtvieh einen festeren Grund. Letzten Endes sind also in diesen LPG die inneren betrieblichen Zusammenhänge der Produktion besser gestaltet und harmonischer als in den schwächeren, ohne dabei eine mehr universale

* Wortwörtlich im Ungarischen: »Produktionswert«.

Produktion zu haben. Bei uns ist das heute umso mehr gültig, auf je höherer Stufe die Genossenschaft produziert.

Drittens: In unseren Genossenschaften ist unter den Produktionskennziffern diejenige der Warenproduktion am meisten differenziert. Das wird aus den Verhältniszahlen des Verkaufserlöses der auf verschiedenen Stufen wirtschaftenden LPG ersichtlich, obwohl die Differenzierung der Erlöse nicht viel ausgeprägter ist als diejenige der Bruttoproduktion. Die gesteigerte Differenzierung der Warenproduktion ist leicht zu verstehen: der Verbrauch der selbsterzeugten Produkte für betriebliche Zwecke bzw. für den persönlichen Bedarf der Mitglieder steht in keinem geraden, sondern in umgekehrtem Verhältnis zum Produktionsstand. Eine entgegengesetzte Wirkung übt jener — bereits erwähnte — Umstand aus, dass in den besseren Wirtschaften der Anteil der Selbstversorgung im betrieblichen Verbrauch höher liegt, ausserdem die Mitgliederdichte grösser ist, also eine verhältnismässig grössere Anzahl von Menschen mit den wichtigsten landwirtschaftlichen Produkten unmittelbar versorgt werden muss. Die besseren Betriebe geben der Volkswirtschaft auf je eine Einheit der Produktionskräfte, aber besonders auf die Flächeneinheit berechnet, nicht nur in absoluten Mengen, sondern auch auf ihre Produktion bezogen mehr Produkte als die schwächeren.

In der — im Vergleich zu derjenigen der schwächeren LPG — höheren Bruttoproduktion je Flächeneinheit der guten landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaften drückt sich die Wirkung sowohl der je Flächeneinheit höheren Durchschnittserträge und Erträge, als der intensiveren Produktionsstruktur aus. Betrachten wir zuerst die Frage der Erträge (Vgl. Tabelle II).

Aus den Angaben der Tabelle ist ersichtlich, dass der durchschnittliche Weizenertrag mehr oder weniger verlässlich den Stand des Wirtschaftens anzeigt. Dies gilt dermassen, dass das gegenseitige Verhältnis des Ertragsdurchschnitts der Pflanzenprodukte sich beim Vergleich zwischen den guten und den schwachen Betrieben kaum von denen des Weizens unterscheidet. Auf die Proportionen der Erträge der tierischen Produktion gilt dies weniger. Davon abgesehen bestimmen die Ergebnisse des Pflanzenbaus den Stand der Tierzucht auf jeder Stufe des Wirtschaftens. Die Differenzierung der durchschnittlichen pflanzlichen und tierischen Erträge ist kleiner als diejenige sowohl des Bruttoumsatzes als auch der Bruttoproduktion. Dies ist verständlich, zeigt sich doch in der Differenzierung letzterer auch die Wirkung der Produktionsstruktur. Weiterhin ist zu ersehen, dass die Rolle des Pflanzenbaus in der Differenzierung grösser ist als diejenige der Viehzucht. Das bedeutet aber auch, dass die Modernisierung der Viehzucht auch in den besten landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaften unbefriedigend ist.

Auch in der Produktionsstruktur der auf verschiedenen Stufen wirtschaftenden LPG bestehen wesentliche Unterschiede. Welche sind darunter die wichtigsten?

Tabelle II

Erträge der wichtigsten pflanzlichen und tierischen Produkte in % des genossenschaftlichen Landesdurchschnittes im Jahre 1963

	In LPG Bruttoproduktionsgruppe								
	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.
Durchschnittliche Ernteerträge									
Winterweizen	73,0	84,6	92,3	100,0	103,8	109,6	114,4	122,1	122,1
Wintergerste	76,8	83,3	89,8	98,1	101,8	109,2	113,8	116,6	124,0
Mais	72,3	79,1	85,8	97,5	105,5	111,6	115,3	125,1	122,6
Zuckerrüben	82,4	86,3	88,3	95,4	102,5	105,8	112,9	114,9	118,1
Kartoffel	73,3	86,6	93,3	104,4	113,3	117,7	115,5	115,5	122,2
Luzerne	85,8	90,7	94,4	96,9	101,2	107,4	108,0	111,1	130,2
Sonnenblumen	69,2	78,4	86,1	98,4	110,7	116,9	129,2	133,8	127,6
Spezifische Erträge der tierischen Produktion									
Milch	77,2	84,1	91,5	98,1	103,9	109,8	112,8	115,8	124,4
Eier	76,9	73,6	84,6	91,7	106,5	103,2	119,2	67,5	158,7
Wolle	93,3	96,6	100,0	113,3	106,6	106,6	110,0	110,0	110,0
Lebendgewichterzeugung									
je ein St.									
Rindvieh	85,4	90,9	95,8	102,0	101,3	106,9	106,9	107,6	113,1
Schwein	89,2	93,1	97,0	98,0	101,9	103,9	103,9	105,8	106,8
Geflügel	95,1	102,4	109,7	92,6	97,5	97,5	100,0	112,1	92,6
Vieheinheit	73,4	84,1	91,7	101,2	104,5	111,5	115,2	116,7	118,2

1. Die bessere Ausnutzung der landwirtschaftlichen Nutzfläche nach Bodennutzungsarten. In den Genossenschaften, in denen ein höherer Bruttoumsatz je Flächeneinheit erreicht wurde, hat die Ackerbaufläche einen grösseren, die Wiesen, Weiden, Wälder und Rohrichte aber einen kleineren Anteil an der landwirtschaftlichen Nutzfläche (LN). Und abgesehen von den besten Produktionsgenossenschaften, ist auch der Anteil der Gärten, der Obstgärten und der Weingärten kleiner, was zweifellos im Gegensatz mit dem soeben gesagten steht. Die zuletzt genannten Bodennutzungsarten bilden aber — unabhängig vom Produktionsstand der Gruppe — zusammen nur einen kleinen Teil der landwirtschaftlichen Nutzfläche, sind mehr oder weniger gleichmässig verteilt und können deshalb die das Produktionsvolumen steigernde Wirkung des grösseren Anteils an Ackerfeld nicht neutralisieren.

2. Bessere Ausnutzung der Ackerfläche. Der Anteil der Brotgetreidefläche ist in jeder genossenschaftlichen Gruppe fast gleich. Dies ist eine Folge einer die Brotgetreidefläche regelnden administrativen Vorschrift, da dieser Anteil vor 1963 in den je Flächeneinheit höhere Produktionswerte erarbeitenden LPG in jedem Jahr kleiner, in 1963 und 1964 aber nur in einer einzigen — in der

besten — produktionsgenossenschaftlichen Gruppe kleiner als in den schwachen LPG war. Unter den besten Genossenschaften ist aber die Zahl der in der Umgebung der Hauptstadt oder der Grossstädte Blumen, Gemüse und andere Spezialprodukte erzeugenden Produktionsgenossenschaften sehr bedeutend und steht für Brotgetreide überhaupt keine, oder nur eine unbedeutende Fläche zur Verfügung. Im Gegensatz zum Brotgetreide bleibt, mit der Steigerung der Stufe des Wirtschaftens, der Anbauanteil des Maises, der Zuckerrüben, des Gemüses, der Schmetterlingsblütler und im allgemeinen der Halmfutter nicht nur unverändert, sondern erhöht sich erheblich; also der Anteil einerseits der je Flächeneinheit an sich eine hohe Bruttoproduktion ergebenden, sogenannten arbeitsintensiven Industriepflanzen, andrerseits des Kraft- und Halmfutters, Letzteres bildet, zusammen mit den höheren Erträgen, in den guten Produktionsgenossenschaften die Grundlage zu einer breiteren Futterbasis, zu einer grösseren Viehdichte und zu höheren Erträgen der tierischen Produkte.

3. Grössere Viehdichte und Zusammensetzung des Viehbestandes. Zur Erläuterung sehen wir zuerst die Tabelle III.

Tabelle III

Kennziffern der Viehdichte in % des Landesdurchschnitts des genossenschaftlichen Sektors im Jahre 1964

	In LPG der Bruttoproduktionsgruppe								
	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.
Rindvieh	64,5	87,1	95,0	101,7	109,6	111,0	118,8	132,5	118,8
davon Kühe	63,2	86,8	95,1	102,1	109,4	111,0	120,4	130,8	118,3
Schweine	51,9	71,0	85,7	102,2	115,2	123,4	137,7	147,6	142,0
davon Säue	59,7	73,9	96,6	102,2	114,6	119,4	132,6	142,3	132,4
Vieheinheit*	73,2	86,6	95,8	100,0	107,0	109,2	116,9	126,1	120,4

* Vieheinheit = 500 kg Lebendgewicht = Umrechnungskoeffizient für eine gemeinsame Mengeneinheit von Tierarten (auch Geflügel, Bienen usw.). 1 Rindvieh cca 0,8; 1 Pferd cca 0,8; 1 Schwein cca 0,114; 1 Hammel cca 0,07 usw.; Geflügel unberücksichtigt.

Die guten Produktionsgenossenschaften halten nicht nur mehr Tiere sondern haben auch im Verhältnis zu ihrem Viehbestand mehr Schweine. In diesem Betriebszweig ist die Summe der angelegten Mittel verhältnismässig kleiner, die Produktionsperiode kürzer und deshalb auch der Umlauf schneller. Diese Vorteile werden von den guten LPG besser ausgenutzt als von den schwachen und so ergibt es sich, dass innerhalb des Viehbestandes die Differenzierung beim Schweinebestand, und innerhalb dessen bei dem Mast- und bei dem zum Masten bestimmten Bestand am grössten ist. In den gut wirtschaftenden LPG ist aber auch der Rinderbestand dichter, was durch die Bodenkonservierung und die Erhaltung der Bodenfruchtbarkeit eine unerlässliche Vorbedingung

entsprechender Ernteerträge ist. In den besseren LPG sind — im Vergleich mit den schwächeren — die Ernteerträge höher, die Produktionsstruktur günstiger. Diese sind sowohl einzeln, als auch zusammengenommen sehr aktive Faktoren der höheren Bruttoproduktion je Flächeneinheit der guten LPG. Jenő *File* hat in seinem in der Statisztikai Szemle (Statistische Rundschau) veröffentlichten Aufsatz [2] schon in 1961 nachgewiesen, dass im genossenschaftlichen Sektor in 1959 der Korrelationskoeffizient zwischen dem Anteil Ackerfläche, Wein- und Obstgärten und dem Produktionsvolumen 0,90144, zwischen Viehdichte und dem Produktionswert noch enger, nämlich 0,99338 war. In 1958 waren diese Korrelationskoeffizienten im genossenschaftlichen Sektor 0,907 und 0,923. Besonders dann zeigt sich die wertprägende Rolle der Produktionsstruktur, wenn man die gemäss ihrer Produktionsrichtung gruppierten Produktionsgenossenschaften auf Grund der Gestaltung der Bruttoumsätze einander gegenüberstellt. Das Ungarische Statistische Zentralamt unterscheidet — die Produktproportionen, aber auch andere Gesichtspunkte berücksichtigend — vor allem allgemeine warenerzeugende (vielerlei, doch nichts vorrangig erzeugende), Pflanzenbau-, Viehzucht-, Gartenbau- und sonstige Genossenschaften. Unter diesen haben die Gartenbaugenossenschaften das grösste Bruttoprodukt je Flächeneinheit, dann folgen die durch Viehzucht gekennzeichneten Genossenschaften. Das Bruttoprodukt je ha war bei den ersteren um 33, bei den letzteren um 19% höher als der genossenschaftliche Landesdurchschnitt, sowohl in 1963 als auch in 1964. In den allgemeinen warenproduzierenden Genossenschaften steht die auf die Flächeneinheit entfallende Produktion auf der Höhe des Landesdurchschnitts; in den vorwiegend Pflanzenbau betreibenden ist sie ungefähr um 40% niedriger als der Landesdurchschnitt. Bei letzteren zeigt sich auffallend der Mangel einer entsprechenden Viehzucht; und auch die weitere Verwendung der pflanzlichen Produkte in der Viehzucht, sowie die Rückwirkung der Viehzucht auf den Pflanzenbau stehen auf einer sehr niedrigen Stufe.

Wie spiegelt sich die Differenzierung der Produktion der Produktionsgenossenschaften in den Kennziffern ihres Bruttoeinkommens? (Siehe Tabelle IV.)

Der Differenzierung der Produktion folgt genau die Differenzierung des Bruttoeinkommens. Es gibt aber auch Unterschiede. *Erstens* ist das Roheinkommen differenzierter als jedwede vorhergehend untersuchte Kennziffer der Produktion und der Warenerzeugung. Dies ist die Folge dessen, dass in den guten Genossenschaften der Anteil des Ersatzfonds und des Kostenaufwands an vergegenständlichter Arbeit im Bruttoumsatz geringer ist als in den schwachen LPG, und sich mit der Güte der LPG von Gruppe zu Gruppe verringert. In den guten LPG sind auch die Kosten der auf die pflanzlichen, tierischen und Durchschnittserträge entfallenden vergegenständlichten Arbeit geringer als in den schwachen Produktionsgenossenschaften. *Zweitens* — und wiederum im

Tabelle IV

Differenzierung des Bruttoeinkommens in % des Landesdurchschnitts des genossenschaftlichen Sektors im Jahre 1964

	In LPG der Bruttoproduktionsgruppe								
	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.
Bruttoeinkommen:									
auf 1 ha LN	44,0	59,9	75,1	92,4	110,5	129,1	147,6	167,3	224,0
auf 100 Ft Grundmittelfonds	68,3	75,6	82,9	95,1	104,9	114,6	122,0	129,3	131,7
auf 100 Ft Grund- und Umlaufmittelfonds	70,0	76,7	83,3	93,3	103,3	113,3	116,7	123,3	130,0
auf 1 Arbeitstag	63,6	72,7	84,4	97,4	106,5	118,2	120,8	126,0	137,7
auf 1 arbeitendes Mitglied	56,2	67,0	81,2	97,3	108,6	118,6	125,8	139,3	147,3
Ersatzfonds („C") in % des Bruttoumsatzes*	77,8	71,9	69,1	65,3	63,2	60,8	59,3	58,7	54,1

* Der Landesdurchschnitt beträgt 64,1%.

Zusammenhang mit dem Sinken des Anteils an vergegenständlichter Arbeit am Produktionswert — ist die Abweichung der Kennziffern vom Landesdurchschnitt der Genossenschaften im Falle des Roheinkommens bei den guten Genossenschaften nicht nur nicht kleiner, sondern sogar grösser als die Abweichung der Kennziffern der schwachen Produktionsgenossenschaften. Man kann also annehmen, dass auf der Seite der guten Produktionsgenossenschaften die Differenzierung des Roheinkommens noch stärker ist als wir es bei den Produktionsziffern sahen, und die Differenzierung des Roheinkommens der guten und der schwachen Produktionsgenossenschaften in noch grösserem Masse voneinander abweicht als im Falle der Produktionskennzahlen.

An sich ergeben die Proportionen der Produktions- und Roheinkkomenskennziffern keinen vollständigen Überblick über die Differenzierung der Produktion, dazu müssen wir noch wissen, in welchem Masse die auf verschiedenen Produktionsstufen stehenden Betriebe am gesamten genossenschaftlichen Sektor beteiligt sind.

Die Angaben der Tabelle V. spiegeln in sehr interessanter Weise die Differenzierung der LPG wider. Es seien hier nur zwei gegensätzliche Kennzifferpaare der überdurchschnittlich guten und der schwachen Produktionsgenossenschaften einander gegenübergestellt. Die guten Produktionsgenossenschaften haben den grössten Anteil an dem Netto- und Bruttoeinkommen und den kleinsten an der Zahl der LPG und ihrer Bodenfläche. Bei den schwachen Produktionsgenossenschaften gilt das genau umgekehrt. Wir erhalten also ein

Tabelle V

Anteil der zu den einzelnen Einkommenskategorien gehörenden LPG an den wichtigeren wirtschaftlichen Kennziffern des Sektors in %

Bruttoproduktionsgruppe	Betriebe	LN	Zahl der arbeitenden Mitglieder	Grund- und Umlaufmittel	Bruttoumsatz	Bruttoproduktion	Brutto-	Netto-
							einkommen	
I.	12,2	10,2	8,0	6,3	5,1	4,3	4,4	3,5
II. unter dem Durch-	14,2	13,2	11,8	10,4	9,0	8,1	7,9	7,2
III. schnitt	18,2	18,3	16,9	16,4	15,0	14,1	13,7	13,8
I+II+III. zusammen	44,6	41,7	36,7	33,1	29,1	26,5	26,0	24,5
IV. Durchschnitt	17,2	18,4	17,4	17,9	17,7	17,2	17,0	17,8
V.	13,4	14,4	14,7	15,1	15,8	15,9	15,9	15,9
VI.	8,6	8,8	9,7	10,0	10,7	11,2	11,4	11,9
VII. über dem Durch-	6,2	7,0	8,3	8,8	9,6	10,2	10,4	10,1
VIII. schnitt	3,8	3,9	4,7	5,2	5,9	6,3	6,5	6,5
IX.	6,2	5,8	8,5	9,9	11,2	12,7	12,8	13,3
V—IX. zusammen	38,2	39,9	45,9	49,0	53,2	56,3	57,0	57,7
LPG insgesamt	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

einseitiges Bild, wenn wir nur die Verteilung der Zahl und der Bodenfläche der LPG nach dem Stand ihres Wirtschaftens untersuchen, wie es bisher im allgemeinen üblich war.

Die Daten der Tabelle erhellen anschaulich, in welchem Verhältnis die nach der Grösse der Bruttoproduktion je Flächeneinheit gruppierten Produktionsgenossenschaften im gesamten genossenschaftlichen Sektor vertreten sind und welche Rolle sie bei der Erarbeitung der Gesamtproduktion und des gesamten Roheinkommens des genossenschaftlichen Sektors spielen. Das Rückgrat unseres genossenschaftlichen Sektors wird durch die der III., IV. und V. Gruppe, also der sogenannten mittleren Stufe angehörenden Genossenschaften gebildet. Diese betrugen in 1964 48,8% der Gesamtzahl und ergaben 46,6% des Roheinkommens des gesamten genossenschaftlichen Sektors. Obwohl die überdurchschnittlich guten Genossenschaften bezüglich ihrer verhältnismässigen Anzahl und Fläche hinter den schwachen zurückbleiben, tragen sie doch zur Produktion und zum Roheinkommen des genossenschaftlichen Sektors in grösserem Masse bei als die schwachen. Die wirtschaftliche Rolle und Stärke der guten Produktionsgenossenschaften ist heute schon bedeutender als die der schwachen und beträgt nahezu 60%. Dies ist ein bedeutendes Ergebnis in der Entwicklung des genossenschaftlichen Sektors. Die Entwicklung des

genossenschaftlichen Sektors beruht daher grundlegend auf den guten LPG und das muss man für die Zukunftsentwicklung positiv bewerten, umsomehr als man künftig in der wirtschaftlichen Leitung den schwachen LPG mehr Aufmerksamkeit wird schenken können.

Wir müssen uns mit den in die I. Bruttoproduktionsgruppe gehörenden Genossenschaften auch gesondert befassen. Diese bilden derzeit 12,2% des genossenschaftlichen Sektors. Der bedeutendere Teil dieser 417 Produktionsgenossenschaften produzierte nicht einmal so viel, dass der nach Abzug der staatlichen Zuschüsse verbleibende Wert ihres Bruttoumsatzes die Kosten der bei der Erzeugung verwendeten Grund- und Hilfsmittel gedeckt hätte. Diese sind also Produktionsgenossenschaften mit sogenanntem absoluten Verlust, die als Ergebnis ihres Wirtschaftens zu überhaupt keinem Einkommen gelangten. Der Grund dessen ist natürlich auch das derzeitige Preisniveau und in ihrem Fall muss man nicht nur das berücksichtigen, dass sie nicht gut wirtschafteten, sondern auch, dass sie unter ungünstigen Naturbedingungen produzieren und mit Mitteln (obzwar kaum schlechter als die schwachen Produktionsgenossenschaften durchschnittlich) ungenügend ausgestattet sind. Ihnen ähnliche — doch etwas erfolgreichere — Produktionsgenossenschaften gibt es auch in der II. Bruttoproduktionsgruppe. Bei diesen Produktionsgenossenschaften fehlen sogar die elementaren Vorbedingungen der Produktion, weshalb sie nur sehr schwer vorwärtskommen können und ihre Entwicklung langsam, ihre Erstarkung ungenügend ist.

2. Die Haupttendenzen der Differenzierung

Es ist eine besonders wichtige Frage im genossenschaftlichen Sektor, wie sich die Differenzierung der Produktion und des Bruttoeinkommens gestaltet. Dieser Umstand bewog mich diese Frage sehr gründlich zu untersuchen. Bei dieser Untersuchung gliederte ich die Produktionsgenossenschaften in drei Gruppen — in gute, mittlere und schwache. Die mittlere Gruppe nahm ich wieder auf drei Arten in Betracht. In der *ersten Variation* nahm ich aus der Gruppierung des Ungarischen Statistischen Zentralamtes gemäss der Bruttoproduktion je ha landwirtschaftlicher Nutzfläche in den nacheinander folgenden Jahren jene Genossenschaften für *mittlere*, die in dasselbe Wertintervall (mit Abstand von 500 Ft des Maximums und Minimums) gehörten, wie der Landesdurchschnitt der Bruttoproduktion. In der *zweiten Variation* ging ich auf dieselbe Weise vor wie in der ersten, nur mit der Abweichung, dass ich die *mittlere* Gruppe mit den beiden unmittelbar daneben liegenden (Wertintervall von 500 Ft weniger und 500 Ft mehr) zusammenfasste und so als Endergebnis die Gruppe der sogenannten durchschnittlich wirtschaftenden Produktionsgenossenschaften erhielt. In der *dritten Variation* habe ich die Angaben benutzt, die in der diesbezüglichen

Gruppierung der vom Landwirtschaftsminister veröffentlichten LPG-Schlussrechnungen zu finden sind. Laut letzteren sind jene Produktionsgenossenschaften schwach zu bezeichnen, in denen das Betriebsergebnis je Ackereinheit unter 1200 Ft liegt; als mittlere, wenn es zwischen 1200—2200 Ft ist; gute Produktionsgenossenschaften sind jene, deren Wirtschaftsergebnis über 2200 Ft liegt. Bezüglich der Differenzierung fand ich in allen drei Varianten dieselbe Tendenz. Abweichungen zeigten sich nur in Einzelheiten, weshalb ich im folgenden nur die Angaben der ersten Variation bekanntgebe:

Tabelle VI

Zunahme der Produktion im genossenschaftlichen Sektor in Verbindung mit dem Stand des Wirtschaftens in % des Jahres 1960

Bruttoproduktion je ha LN	in den Jahren			
	1961	1962	1963	1964
	Bruttoproduktion je ha			
Über dem Durchschnitt	103,3	98,0	116,9	120,2
Durchschnitt	99,9	93,2	114,2	113,9
Unter dem Durchschnitt	94,5	88,9	107,8	114,8
Landesdurchschnitt	94,4	97,7	105,8	120,2
	Grund- und Umlaufmittelfonds je ha			
Über dem Durchschnitt	113,8	125,9	161,2	181,5
Durchschnitt	107,8	120,7	157,2	174,5
Unter dem Durchschnitt	107,2	118,8	162,0	190,6
Landesdurchschnitt	106,2	125,3	154,2	185,7
	Auf ein arbeitendes Mitglied entfallende Bruttoproduktion			
Über dem Durchschnitt	103,1	101,0	115,9	132,1
Durchschnitt	99,1	97,9	118,6	131,0
Unter dem Durchschnitt	94,0	91,8	112,3	129,6
Landesdurchschnitt	96,0	100,6	111,2	134,2
	Grund- und Umlaufmittelfonds je Mitglied			
Über dem Durchschnitt	113,5	129,7	159,8	199,6
Durchschnitt	106,9	126,8	163,3	200,7
Unter dem Durchschnitt	106,6	122,6	168,7	215,1
Landesdurchschnitt	107,5	128,4	161,3	206,5

Nach der sozialistischen Umgestaltung der Landwirtschaft hat sich die Produktionszunahme im genossenschaftlichen Sektor bei den Produktionsgenossenschaften verschiedener Stufe, nach einem vorübergehenden Rückfall, in gleicher Richtung entfaltet. In diesem allgemeinen Vorgang haben sich die

guten Betriebe schneller entwickelt als die schwachen, deswegen vertiefte sich die Differenzierung auf eine sehr starke Weise. Es darf aber nicht ausser Acht gelassen werden, dass, wenn wir statt 1960 das Jahr 1962 zur Basis nehmen, wir ein etwas anderes Ergebnis erhalten würden. Verglichen mit 1962 erhöhte sich nämlich die Produktion in den guten und in den durchschnittlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften mehr oder weniger in gleichen Proportionen, wobei in den besten der Fortschritt etwas geringer war. In den schwachen LPG war die Erhöhung der Produktion eindeutig verhältnismässig grösser als in den besten oder mittleren. Die in 1962 begonnene und auch später gültige, gesteigerte staatliche Unterstützung der schwachen Betriebe, die teilweise Umleitung der staatlichen Unterstützung von den guten zu den schwachen Genossenschaften erscheint also in dieser Beziehung als erfolgreich. Diese Massnahme dürfte auch ihr Ziel erreicht haben, lässt sich doch aus dem überdurchschnittlichen Produktionszuwachs je ha der schwachen Produktionsgenossenschaften scheinbar auf eine verminderte Differenzierung schliessen.

Die Frage der Differenzierung verdient aber eine weitere eingehendere Untersuchung. Die Veränderung der Differenzierung werde ich im weiteren von einem zweifachen Gesichtspunkt annähern. Ich untersuche einesteils den Anteil der hier erwähnten LPG-Gruppen an den wichtigeren wirtschaftlichen Kennziffern des gesamten genossenschaftlichen Sektors, andrerseits das, auf welche Weise sich der absolute Unterschied der Kennziffern der guten und schwachen Produktionsgenossenschaften nach 1960 verändert hat.

Aus den Angaben der Tabelle VII. und auch der erwähnten anderen zwei Berechnungsvarianten sind kennzeichnende Entwicklungen zu erkennen. *Erstens:* die Verdichtung in die Gruppe der durchschnittlich wirtschaftenden, also auf mehr oder weniger mittlerer Stufe stehenden Produktionsgenossenschaften hat im wesentlichen nicht zugenommen und der Anteil der Gruppe — das Wesen der Sache betreffend — ist unverändert geblieben. *Zweitens:* Der Anteil der guten Produktionsgenossenschaften hat sich ein wenig erhöht, der der schwachen aber vermindert. Innerhalb dieser allgemeinen Tendenz zeigt sich aber sehr interessanterweise, dass die Zunahme bzw. Abnahme des Anteils der guten und schwachen Produktionsgenossenschaften mit jährlichen Schwankungen erfolgt. In 1961 und 1963 verminderte sich der prozentuale Anteil der guten Produktionsgenossenschaften, derjenige der schwachen erhöhte sich. In 1962 und 1964 erfolgte genau das umgekehrte. Hier zeigte sich auf Grund der Angaben des Landwirtschaftsministeriums ein etwas abweichendes Bild, da sich im Fall der guten Produktionsgenossenschaften durchwegs, bei den mittleren aber erst seit 1963 der prozentuale Anteil eigentlich ohne Rückfall erhöhte und noch immer erhöht. Der Unterschied ist leicht zu verstehen: — mit den Daten des Landwirtschaftsministeriums diente nämlich in jedem Jahr dasselbe Wertintervall zum Einreihungsmasstab der mittleren LPG, bei denjenigen des Ungarischen Statistischen Zentralamtes aber wurde auch das Wertintervall

Tabelle VII

Anteil der nach dem Stand des Wirtschaftens gruppierten LPG an den wichtigeren wirtschaftlichen Kennziffern des genossenschaftlichen Sektors

Bruttoproduktion je ha LN	1961	1962	1963	1964
Zahl der LPG				
Über dem Durchschnitt	30,1	38,6	27,0	38,2
Durchschnitt	14,8	19,1	16,9	17,2
Unter dem Durchschnitt	55,1	42,3	56,1	44,6
insgesamt	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Landwirtschaftl. Nutzfläche				
Über dem Durchschnitt	31,1	40,3	28,6	39,8
Durchschnitt	15,6	20,4	18,0	18,5
Unter dem Durchschnitt	53,3	39,3	53,4	41,7
insgesamt	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Bruttoproduktion				
Über dem Durchschnitt	47,9	56,8	44,3	56,0
Durchschnitt	16,3	19,2	19,2	17,3
Unter dem Durchschnitt	35,8	24,0	36,5	26,7
insgesamt	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Grund- und Umlaufmittelfonds				
Über dem Durchschnitt	41,7	50,7	37,4	48,8
Durchschnitt	16,4	20,3	18,9	17,9
Unter dem Durchschnitt	41,9	29,0	43,7	33,3
insgesamt	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Persönliches Einkommen				
Über dem Durchschnitt	48,4	56,7	44,7	56,6
Durchschnitt	16,3	18,5	19,0	16,8
Unter dem Durchschnitt	35,3	24,8	36,3	26,6
insgesamt	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

der mittleren Gruppe — der Zunahme des Landesdurchschnitts der Bruttoproduktion je ha entsprechend — erhöht. Was das Ergebnis betrifft, ist das Bild in beiden Fällen dasselbe. Hauptsächlich die guten LPG, aber auch die einigermassen mittleren sind gegenüber den schwachen vorgedrungen, zum Nachteil der letzteren. Nach den, nach der sozialistischen Umgestaltung vergangenen einigen Jahren lassen die guten Produktionsgenossenschaften die schwachen — was die Produktion und das Einkommen je ha und je Genossenschaftsmitglied betrifft — in gesteigertem Masse hinter sich, als zur Zeit der

Beendigung der Umgestaltung. Noch plastischer zeigen dies die folgenden Angaben. (Siehe Tabelle VIII.)

Tabelle VIII

Veränderungen der absoluten Unterschiede der wichtigeren wirtschaftlichen Kennziffern im genossenschaftlichen Sektor in % des Jahres 1960

LPG-Gruppen	1961	1962	1963	1964
Bruttoproduktion je ha LN zwischen den				
überdurchschnittlichen u. durchschnittlichen	111	109	123	135
durchschnittlichen u. unterdurchschnittlichen	112	102	128	112
überdurchschnittlichen u. unterdurchschnittlichen	111	106	125	125
Grund- und Umlaufmittelfonds je ha LN zwischen den				
überdurchschnittlichen u. durchschnittlichen	142	150	180	215
durchschnittlichen u. unterdurchschnittlichen	110	127	142	126
überdurchschnittlichen u. unterdurchschnittlichen	125	138	160	167
Bruttoproduktion je Person zwischen den				
überdurchschnittlichen u. durchschnittlichen	120	114	104	137
durchschnittlichen u. unterdurchschnittlichen	114	116	137	135
überdurchschnittlichen u. unterdurchschnittlichen	117	115	121	136
Grund- und Umlaufmittelfonds je Person zwischen den				
überdurchschnittlichen u. durchschnittlichen	250	190	87	176
durchschnittlichen u. unterdurchschnittlichen	109	147	137	132
überdurchschnittlichen u. unterdurchschnittlichen	139	156	127	142

Aus dieser Tabelle zeigt sich wieder ein sehr interessantes Bild und erscheinen neue Eigenarten bezüglich der Änderung der Differenzierung.

Erstens: Die Angaben lassen eindeutig erkennen, dass sich der absolute Betrag des Unterschieds bezüglich den wichtigsten wirtschaftlichen Kennziffern zwischen den guten Produktionsgenossenschaften erhöht. Im allgemeinen ist dies auch dann gültig, wenn auch möglicherweise die Zunahme des Bruttoumsatzes und anderer Kennziffern in den schwachen Produktionsgenossenschaften stärker sind als in den mittleren oder den guten.

Zweitens: Die guten LPG sind verglichen mit den mittleren in einem grösserem Masse vorgedrungen als gegenüber den schwachen. Daraus folgt natürlich auch, dass die mittleren LPG in der Entwicklung die schwachen um weniger überholten als die guten.

Drittens: Der Fortschritt der Differenzierung beruht entscheidend auf der Zunahme der Unterschiede zwischen der Grund- und Umlaufmittelausstattung, was daraus ersichtlich ist, dass nach der sozialistischen Umgestaltung

sich am meisten der Unterschied derselben erhöhte. Die guten und mittleren Produktionsgenossenschaften konnten nicht nur absolut, sondern auch relativ mehr akkumulieren als die schwachen.

Viertens: Die Steigerung der Differenzierung der Produktion — sei es je ha, sei es je arbeitendes Mitglied — überträgt ihre Wirkung auf das Roheinkommen der Genossenschaften und durch dieses auch auf die persönlichen Einkommen. Die Unterschiede zwischen den persönlichen Einkommen erhöhen sich ebenso, wie die Kennziffern der Produktion. Der Fortschritt der Differenzierung der persönlichen Einkommen widerspiegelt mehr oder weniger sogar die Grössenordnung der Differenzierung der Produktion. Dieser Umstand legt prinzipiell den Grund zur weiteren Differenzierung. Wenn wir noch dazunehmen, dass die Differenzierung innerhalb des genossenschaftlichen Sektors sehr hohe Masse erreicht, müssen wir zur Folgerung kommen, dass man das weitere Fortschreiten der Differenzierung der Produktion und der Einkommen mit wirtschaftspolitischen Massnahmen vorläufig noch nicht verhindern kann.

Der Vollständigkeit halber erwähne ich — was übrigens auch die Angaben der Tabelle zeigen — dass es Jahre gab, in denen der absolute Unterschied der Kennziffern zwischen den LPG verschiedener Wirtschaftsstufen nicht nur nicht zunahm, sondern sogar sank. Dies zeigt sich etwas stärker in dem Falle, wenn wir das Wertintervall der mittleren LPG ausdehnen. Dies ist aber in der Entwicklung nur eine vorübergehende Erscheinung, nur eine Episode, und die allgemeine Tendenz ist die Entfaltung des Differenzierungsprozesses. Und nicht nur bei den in den Tabellen angeführten Kennziffern zeigt sich dies, sondern ausserdem auch in den Kennziffern der Mitgliederdichte und des Aufwandes an lebendiger Arbeit. Bei dem Aufwand an lebendiger Arbeit ist die Steigerung des Unterschiedes nicht begründet und hat unbedingt eine negative Wirkung, weil die Entwicklung der Versorgung mit Grund- und Umlaufmittelfonds in den schwachen Produktionsgenossenschaften ein langsameres Tempo hatte als bei den besseren LPG. Der Grund der Zunahme der Mitgliedsdichteunterschiede ist, dass die Landflucht aus den schwachen Produktionsgenossenschaften verhältnismässig grösser ist, als aus den besseren. Dies ist auf Grund der niedrigeren und sehr oft weitaus ungenügenden persönlichen Einkommen verständlich und im ganzen eigentlich keine negative Erscheinung. Das Übel besteht darin, dass einerseits die Landflucht auch in den schwachen Produktionsgenossenschaften übertriebene Masse annahm, andrerseits darin, dass gleichzeitig die jährliche Arbeitsleistung der in den Produktionsgenossenschaften verbliebenen Genossenschaftmitglieder nicht ausreichend zunahm.

Ich habe die Differenzierung der Produktion und der Einkommen auf Grund von Daten eines einzigen Jahres dargestellt. Obzwar ich die Angaben hier nicht für mehrere Jahre mitteile, habe ich die Frage für einen längeren Zeitraum, die landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaften betreffend, beginnend mit 1958 untersucht. Die Angaben zeigen von Jahr zu Jahr die gleichen Zusam-

menhänge und Eigenarten; die in diesem Aufsatz gezogenen Folgerungen sind also für die Periode nach der sozialistischen Umgestaltung in Ungarn allgemein gültig. Die Differenzierung der Produktion und der Einkommen hat sich nach der sozialistischen Umgestaltung in dem genossenschaftlichen und staatlichen Sektor gleicherweise erhöht. Die Differenzierung der Erzeugung der volkseigenen Güter (VEG) geriet aber bisher noch nicht in den Mittelpunkt des Interesses. Dies ist verständlich, denn in diesem Sektor übt die Differenzierung weder auf die Akkumulierung der Wirtschaften, noch auf das persönliche Einkommen der Arbeiter eine Wirkung aus. Im genossenschaftlichen Sektor verursachte die Differenzierung auch eine Vertiefung der Unterschiede zwischen den persönlichen Einkommen und es sind deshalb in der Praxis wirksame Massnahmen zum Ausgleich der Differenzierung notwendig geworden. Diese sind aber sehr umsichtig anzuwenden und in den schwachen und mittleren Produktionsgenossenschaften die wichtigsten Entwicklungsgebiete so auszusuchen, dass die Steigerung des Grundfondsanspruchs ihrer Produktion diejenige der verhältnismässig besseren nicht übertreffe. Das ist keine leichte Aufgabe, denn je schwächer der Betrieb, desto schwächer ist auch die Qualität seiner Böden. Bisher gelang es nicht diese Aufgabe zu verwirklichen. Ihre Lösung setzt die individuelle Beurteilung der einzelnen Produktionsgenossenschaften, ihre gesteigerte Selbständigkeit und freie Entscheidungsmöglichkeiten voraus, um ihre Kräfte und die staatlichen Subventionen wirklich zur Entwicklung jener Produktionszweige konzentrieren zu können, in denen die materiellen Aufwendungen die grösste Wirksamkeit versprechen.

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ДИФФЕРЕНЦИАЦИЯ В СЕЛЬСКОХОЗЯЙСТВЕННЫХ ПРОИЗВОДСТВЕННЫХ КООПЕРАТИВАХ

Ф. ВАГИ

Статья состоит из двух основных частей: в первой характеризуется дифференциация продукции и доходов производственных кооперативов, во второй — показана динамика этой дифференциации в период после осуществленной в 1961 году социалистической реорганизации сельского хозяйства.

Между сильными и слабыми производственными кооперативами наибольшие расхождения наблюдаются в показателях продукции и доходов, приходящихся на единицу

территории, то есть из числа факторов производства первое место занимает использование земли. За ним следует использование рабочей силы, рабочего времени и лишь на последнем месте — использование основных и оборотных фондов. В сильных производственных кооперативах в больших объемах продукции, приходящихся на факторы производства, одновременно отражаются более высокие урожаи растениеводства и продуктивность животноводства, более эффективное использование земли, а также более интенсивная производственная структура. Дифференциация производства, таким образом, имеет исторически сложившиеся, прочные экономические основы. Она проявляется особенно в случае, если производственные кооперативы рассматриваются с точки зрения направления производства; наиболее высокий уровень производства наблюдается в садоводческих и животноводческих кооперативах, а наиболее низкий — в типично растениеводческих.

В показателях доходов наблюдается большая дифференциация, чем в производственных показателях, так как производство сильных хозяйств является менее фондоемким, чем слабых. В сильных производственных кооперативах на 100 форинтов продукции приходится меньше амортизационных отчислений и затрат на сырье и материалы, чем в слабых.

Доля производственных кооперативов, не достигающих среднего уровня, довольно высока и составляет около 45 процентов, в то время как их доля в общей продукции не достигает и 30 процентов. Сегодня меньшим числом производственных кооперативов производится около 60 процентов продукции кооперативного сектора. Практически, таким образом, производство кооперативного сектора, его будущее развитие в подавляющей мере зависят от сильных производственных кооперативов.

Дифференциация показателей продукции и доходов усилилась после завершения социалистической реорганизации. В кооперативном секторе это привело к углублению расхождений в личных доходах. Их нивелляция потребует эффективных мероприятий. В производственных кооперативах, ведущих хозяйственную деятельность на низком или среднем уровне, накопление должно сосредотачиваться в отраслях, развиваемых при наиболее благоприятных условиях, и, кроме того, соответствующим образом должна быть изменена и экономическая политика.

F. Molnár

SOME THEORETICAL PROBLEMS OF CONTEMPORARY CAPITALIST ECONOMY

Contemporary capitalism is state monopoly capitalism where economic planning exists also at national level. — Due to changes in the material basis of periodicity, reproduction is not necessarily cyclical any more. — Consequent upon changes in the pattern of employment, improductive wage-earners have become the most significant potential allies of the working class in the developed capitalist countries. The capitalist class is interested in increasing the living standard, the consumption of the exploited.

It is only understandable that the attention and research work of Marxian economists active in the socialist countries have been focussed on the practical and theoretical problems of, first building, then improving and completing the socialist economy. But the investigation of capitalist economies ought not to be neglected either. Its importance is justified by at least two main points:

a) Under circumstances of competition between the two world systems, the efficiency of the economic and political activities of the socialist countries *vis à vis* the whole of the capitalist world would be greatly reduced if it lacked scientific background. This, however, can only be ascertained by research, based on Marxian political economy, into the economic development of capitalist countries. Should research be inadequate, socialist countries may find themselves in a disadvantageous position in their links maintained with capitalist countries, which, in certain cases, might involve severe economic and political consequences.

b) If scholars of Marxian political economy cannot correctly depict *contemporary* capitalism, *i. e.* if they cannot adequately describe and analyse its current phenomena and reveal its laws of movement, this may mean a decline in the respect for the whole of Marxism in the eyes of the working class and the intellectuals of the capitalist countries. Although it would be the workers' movement in the capitalist countries that would directly suffer from the ideological and political consequences of such a loss of face, we are still not justified to take the stand that the research into the new problems appearing in the capitalist economy should be entirely the task of the Marxists in those countries. It would be least justified in a country like Hungary, in whose economic development external economic links, among them those with the capitalist countries play such a great role.

It is therefore, not exaggerated to claim that the importance for Hungarian economists of studying contemporary capitalist economy does not diminish with the progress of building socialism but, on the contrary, it grows. In the following some questions raised on hand of the investigations into the economies of *industrially developed capitalist countries* will be discussed.

The qualitative changes in the role of the state

Judging the character of contemporary capitalism and the closely related problem of fitting it into the historical development periods of capitalism are the most important groups of problems, where the reluctance to recognize apparent facts has for quite a time hindered successful research.

By the doubtless evidence of unbiased study, contemporary capitalism is state monopoly capitalism. The view was maintained for a long time, that state monopoly capitalism is only a tendency, that will not get completed (inasmuch as economic and historical processes may ever grow complete), it mainly concerns economic policies only, it does not lead to essential changes in the relations of production, and therefore, it can not be considered a new stage in the development of capitalism. Today it has become clear, that no economic question of contemporary capitalism can be studied successfully if the qualitative changes in the role of the state were disregarded. In order to support the phrase "qualitative changes", I would mention one single figure only. In the United States, the most developed capitalist country, *more than 60 per cent of the surplus value produced** has been controlled by the monopol-capitalistic state. It is known, that also in other developed capitalist countries the part of the national income channelled into the government budget, the weight of the state and of state-owned companies in production and investment have grown tremendously. It is *only historically* true, that state monopoly capitalism is first of all economic policy, since today it may already be demonstrated by statistics, that it is in the relations of production where an essential change has occurred.

As a result of these changes the development of the capitalist economy *entered a new stage within the phase of monopoly capitalism that may be defined as state monopoly capitalism as distinct from the previous stage of private monopoly capitalism.* This is a new stage, because relations of productions have essentially changed, but still, a new stage *within* monopoly-capitalism, because several of its Leninian criteria, and the most important criterion, the role of the monopolies, as it were, are still decisive (though, at the same time, some

* Computed by the author. For the method of computation, and for its application to the post-war American economy, *cf.* [1, 2].

of the criteria ceased to be valid as e. g. the territorial division of the world among imperialist countries; some others changed in significance or form, as *e. g.* the export of capital; or the economic division of the world between monopolistic groups). The reason for the reluctance to recognize the new stage was, no doubt, the dogmatic insistance *on the letter* of a Leninian thesis, *viz.* that imperialism is the last, the uppermost stage of capitalism.

In Engels' Anti-Dühring a guidance may be found which may prove useful even under present conditions with regard to monopolies and the economic role of the state, as well as the connection between these two aspects. Precisely in relation to the establishment of the preconditions of socialism, he wrote the following:

". . . In the trusts, freedom of competition changes into its very opposite — into monopoly; and the production without any definite plan of capitalistic society capitulates to the production upon a definite plan of the invading socialistic society. Certainly this is so far still to the benefit and advantage of the capitalists. But in this case the exploitation is so palpable that it must break down. No nation will put up with production conducted by trusts, with so barefaced an exploitation of the community by a small band of dividend-mongers.

In any case, with trusts or without, the official representative of capitalist society — the state will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production . . ."*

". . . But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies and trusts, or into state-ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint-stock companies and trusts this is obvious. And the modern state, again, is only the organization that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But, brought to a head, it topples over. State-ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution . . ." [3]

* "I say 'have to'. For only when the means of production and distribution have actually outgrown the form of management by joint-stock companies, and when, therefore, the taking them over by the State has become economically inevitable, only then — even if it is the State of to-day that effects this — is there an economic advance, the attainment of another step preliminary to the taking over of all productive forces by society itself." (Footnotes of Engels. Ed.)

What was a genial intuition more than 70 years ago, has been proved since, at least as far as the economic aspect of the question is concerned, although more than one nation still tolerates production to be led by trusts and the unveiled exploitation of the community by a handful gang of dividend-mongers. Engels also hinted at the fact that the growth of monopoly-capitalism into state monopoly capitalism is an absolute necessity, even if it materializes in more varied and intricate forms than what could have been guessed by Engels (at this juncture, I have in mind, first of all, the role played by the budget of the monopolistic state in the redistribution of surplus value and, generally, of national income). Engels' words also reaffirm our conviction that state monopoly capitalism, while meaning progress, something new in comparison to private monopoly capitalism, creates new forms of movement only for *capitalism*, a form of movement at that, in which the "relations of capital are not done away with, on the contrary, they are brought to a head".

Having recognised the qualitative change in the economic role of the state in contemporary capitalism, our standpoint on the possibility of planning under capitalism is subject to revision. We cannot claim that planning is quite alien to contemporary capitalism, incompatible with modern capitalist relations of production. In our days elements of planning as are significant both quantitatively and qualitatively may be found in more than one capitalist country. While these do not lend a basically, decisively planned character to the process of capitalistic reproduction, they still generate some sort of contradictory unity of planning and anarchy that is different from what could be described simply with the customary formula of: planned control at factory level — anarchy at social level. Nay, here both assert themselves at social level, and this must be definitely kept in mind when aiming at an adequate analysis of capitalist reproduction. This will, of course, not transform capitalism into any kind of socialism. In this respect, references should be made to statements made by Engels and Lenin three quarters, and half a century ago, respectively. Engels: "Kapitalistische Produktion durch *Aktiengesellschaften* ist schon keine *Privat*produktion mehr, sondern Produktion für assoziirte Rechnung von vielen. Und wenn wir von den Aktiengesellschaften übergehn zu den Trusts, die ganze Industriezweige beherrschen und monopolisieren, so hört da nicht nur die *Privatpoduktion* auf, sondern auch die *Planlosigkeit.*"* [4]

To this Lenin added the following remark in "State and Revolution", maybe the most fundamental work of Leninism: "The trusts, of course, have not created, do not create now, and cannot create full and complete planning.

* „Capitalist production by *joint-stock companies* is no *private* production any more, but production on the common account of several persons. And if, after joint-stock companies, we consider the trusts controlling and monopolizing whole sectors of industry, it will be seen that here not only *private production* but also its unplanned character comes to end." [4] (Italics in *op. cit.* — F. M.)

But to whatever extent they do plan, to whatever extent capitalist magnates calculate in advance the volume of production on a national and even on an international scale, and to whatever extent they systematically regulate it, we still remain under capitalism — capitalism in its new stage, it is true, but still, undoubtedly, capitalism." [5] Needless to say, defendants of capitalism made efforts already 50 years ago to interprete the "getting more planned" of capitalism to their own taste: ". . . the erroneous view that monopoly capitalism, or state monopoly capitalism is *no longer* capitalism, but can already be termed 'state socialism', or something of that sort, is widespread." [5] Conclusions to be drawn for Marxists are different. Namely: "The proximity of *such* capitalism to socialism should serve the genuine representatives of the proletariat as proof of the proximity, ease, feasibility and urgency of the socialist revolution, and not as an argument in favour of tolerating the repudiation of such revolution or in favour of making capitalism look more attractive, an occupation in which all the reformists are engaged." [5] (All italics from the original. — F. M.)

While it is clearly stated, that the existence of a certain extent of planning is far from being identical with economic planning embracing the whole of the national economy, much less with socialist economic planning, it might be added to what was said before that it may prove useful to utilise the results achieved in some capitalist countries in the solution of certain methodological and technical planning problems in the course of our work aimed at improving socialist planning.

The problem of the cyclical character of reproduction under contemporary capitalism

Similarly on grounds of refusing facts, the rigid insistance on the thesis on the cyclical character of the capitalist development brought about the erroneous view that contradicts the facts, namely that there was a world crisis in 1957—1958. This was essentially based on the fact that in this year the industrial production of the whole of the capitalist world decreased by approximately 2.5 per cent. But the simplest statistical analysis will show that this decrease is nothing but the reflection of the 1957—1958 crisis in the United States on the index of the world industrial production, owing to the big weight of the United States in it. When this index is computed *without the United States*, it immediately emerges that *during the last 20 years industrial production in the capitalist world never declined for one single year*, that is to say, *there was no economic world crisis, the development was not cyclical.*

Nowadays the uniform cycle of the whole world does no more exist, because the economic development of developed capitalist countries on one hand,

and of the so-called underdeveloped countries, on the other, is different (with regard to the latter, to support the absence of cyclical development I would only mention, that the industrial production of India, the largest underdeveloped country has not decreased in any single year since 1950). Among developed countries, however, three types of development may be roughly distinguished. To the first type belong the United States together with Canada economically closely tied up with her, their generally slow growth was several times interrupted by minor or major crises. England and a few highly devel-

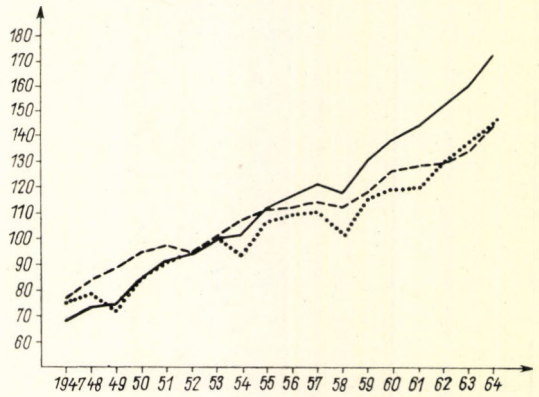

Fig. 1. Development of industrial production (1953 = 100)
——— capitalist countries; . . . . . United States; — — — United Kingdom

oped European capitalist countries (Switzerland, Sweden) may be classified into the second group; like that of the United States, their development was also slow but never interrupted by crises. The third group consists of some highly developed West-European countries (West Germany, Italy, France, etc.) and Japan whose development remained rapid and free from crisis-like interruptions following the restoration period after the second World War. The above-said are well illustrated by the graphs shown in figures 1., 2. and 3.

The neglect of the facts here outlined brought even E. Varga into the awkward situation that while in his paper dealing with the problems of the post-war cycle (this paper was printed in his last book) [6], he claimed that capitalist world economy today is already in the second cycle subsequent to the second World War, he would not tell, because it cannot be told, exactly when and how this second cycle really started.

In connection with the desynchronization of the uniform capitalist world cycle a *paradoxical phenomenon* is worth mentioning, namely, that though the economies of the individual capitalist countries became ever more intensively interwoven and though a growing proportion of products was marketed in the external trade in comparison to their production and consumption —

the international spreading of crises, recessions is far less marked than before. This is exemplified by the crisis of 1957—1958 in the United States which has not brought any serious consequences to the development of the economy in other capitalist countries, or also by the economic decline experienced in Italy in the past one year and a half or so which has not caused similar phenomena in other member-countries of the Common Market either. By now it is

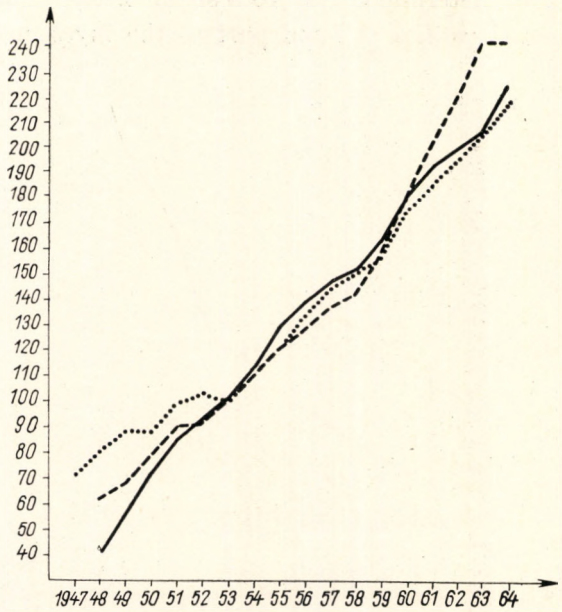

Fig. 2. Development of industrial production (1953 = 100)

——— German Federal Republic; .... France; — — — Italy

clear that 15 years after the completion of the post-war reconstruction period in the speedily developing West-European countries, this phenomenon may no more be attributed to the desynchronization of the cycle caused by the War. The reasons must hide deeper and their exploration calls for more intensive research.

What factors contribute under contemporary capitalism to the diminishing or discontinuation of the cyclical character of reproduction?

Let us start from the well-known statement of Marx according to which it is the cyclical character of the reproduction of fixed capital which provides the material basis for the periodicity of crises. That is to say, the periodicity of crises or, in other words, the cyclical character of reproduction is based on *two factors*. One of these is *social, viz.* the endeavours of capitalists *in pursuit of profits* are the motives for decisions on fixed capital investments. This is why investments and renewals of fixed capital are bunched to relatively short periods. The other factor is *technological*, it is based on the *tear-and-wear peculiar-*

ities of fixed capital. If these determining factors underwent essential changes, they cannot fail to affect the cyclical nature of reproduction.

The characteristic feature of the present situation is precisely that *the changes occurred with regard to both factors are working against cyclical development.* These changes are the following:

1. Among investments, the proportion of those projects is ever growing decisions on which are determined only to a small extent or not at all by the magnitude of expected profits. A good part of the investments is, namely,

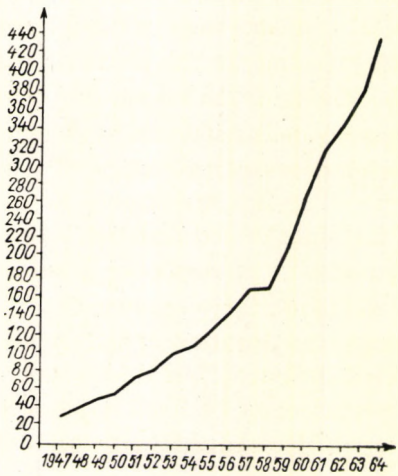

Fig. 3. Development of industrial production in Japan (1953 = 100)

carried out by state-owned companies from whose sight the profit motive is, if not completely lost, still diminished and this is why state enterprises continue or occasionally increase their investments even with decreasing rates of profit. The proportional weight has grown of investments from government funds, in case of which the profit motive is quite neglected, e. g. construction of military objects, roads, etc. This is why investments of such kind were not bunched to the pre-crisis phase, but are comparatively evenly distributed. If major fluctuations are still manifest, these are basically not determined by profit motives, in fact, frequently not by economic points of view at all and, consequently, they do not coincide with, and rather frequently even balance the investment fluctuations released by economic reasons.

2. In many a developed capitalist country, chiefly in the United States, the unutilized production capacities are considerable all the time. Consequently, a speeding up of the output may be achieved with comparatively less investment right on the basis of these reserve-capacities.

3. The proportion of replacement is ever growing within gross investment, together with a decreasing share of net investment to total investment.

The two latter phenomena result in a weakening of the accelerator effect of the changes in consumption on the changes in investments, both in a positive and in a negative direction.

4. Beside the actual physical tear-and-wear of the fixed assets, the technical obsolescence attains, due to the exceedingly fast technological progress of our times and to the cut-throat competition, an ever growing importance. Technological progress in the individual branches is, however, far from being even and, therefore, the national total of investments required because of obsolescence does not get so bunched as the replacement necessary merely on account of the physical tear-and-wear of fixed assets.

5. In the total of investments the share of improductive investments keeps growing, and the starting of their operation does not add to supply, or, in many instances, they provide satisfaction to demand free of charge.

6. The relative proportions of two kinds of purchases, whose effect on demand is similar to fixed capital investment have definitely grown, since they are generators of forceful derived demand, namely, of the so-called consumers' investments (purchasing of consumer durables and housing construction), on the one hand, and of military equipment on the other. The former does show a cyclical movement (the duration of the cycles was nearly exactly five years in the post-war United States), but this cycle is to a considerable extent independent from the replacement of fixed capital. The strongly fluctuating development of the latter is determined by factors next to purely non-economic. The resulting inherent desynchronization of the most important kinds of demand is also anti-cyclical in its effect.

In addition to all this and partly interrelated with the enumerated factors, the qualitative change in the role of the state and the deliberate anti-cyclical measures of economic policy manifesting themselves on the grounds of objective structural changes are also of great consequence. Would it follow then from the afore-said that the capitalist reproduction process shows under present conditions some unbroken, even growth path? Nothing of the sort, as is illustrated by graph No. 4.

It can be easily seen that in the reproduction process of capitalist countries major *fluctuations*, chiefly in the *rate of growth*, continue *to occur by necessity*. Fluctuations may be discovered both in the development of investment and of production. In Japan, for instance, whose growth since the Second World War was the quickest among developed capitalist countries, the annual growth rate of industrial production fluctuated in the course of some one decade and a half following the post-war attainment of the pre-war peak between 25.5 per cent (1960) and 0.6 per cent (1958). Although it did not happen in all developed capitalist countries during the period under examination, interruptions of growth by an *absolute decrease of production and investments* assuming the form of recesses or minor or major crises *also* occur *of necessity*.

This is best illustrated on hand of the data of the United States, but there is information about similar occurrences in a good many other capitalist countries. The extent of the reductions of growth rates or of the crises occurring in individual countries or in the whole of the capitalist world economy, and the

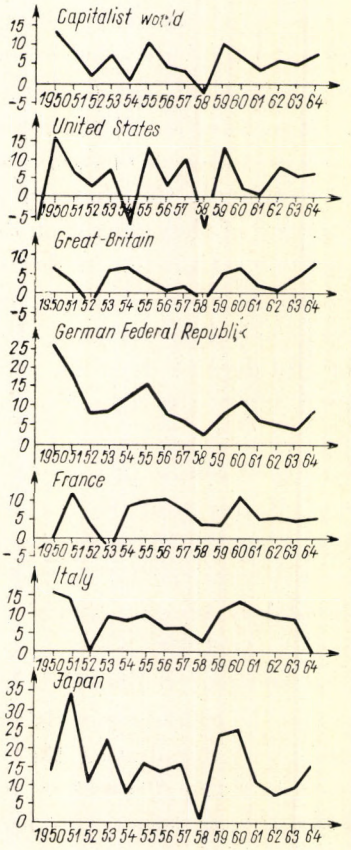

Fig. 4. Annual fluctuations of industrial production in major capitalist countries (percentages)

length of the period separating one crisis from the next one are, however, *determined by concrete, individual factors, by the given historical circumstances of individual countries and of world capitalism,* though they take place on the basis of the general necessity of the fluctuation of the growth rate and of occasional absolute recessions. This is why these cannot be explained *exclusively* on the grounds that they were brought about by the accentuation of the contradiction of production and effective consumption demand. Their nature and direct reason can be discovered only through the concrete analysis of the concrete situation.

The course of the reproduction process under contemporary capitalism is, therefore, — as regards both the aggregate of capitalist countries and the individual ones — *not all the time and everywhere necessarily cyclical* in the sense that the growth of production is interrupted by periodically recurring, crisis like declines.

It would, however, amount to a simplification of reality if the discussion of cyclical development were now considered concluded. On a closer examination of the development data of industrial production, or rather its annual fluctuation (See graph No. 4.) it strikes the eyes that in or around the years 1952, 1958 and 1961 at least a considerable decline in the growth rate of production, and in certain countries an absolute decrease of production was experienced in the developed capitalist countries. With this in view, the question might be raised whether this was not cyclical development appearing in a new form determined by new circumstances. Are we not faced with the situation that the general law of cyclical development valid for the full period of capitalism appeared earlier in the form of cycles beginning and ending with crises, (*i.e.* with major falls in production), whereas under contemporary capitalism it appears in a milder, modified form as a result of changed conditions and of the factors discussed above? This question, I would imagine, can not be answered without analysing the data of longer periods and without a wide discussion of the results obtained. Anyhow, if this hypothesis could be proved, it would mean the abandonment of the theory so far maintained by Marxists that *crisis and cycle were inseparably connected.*

Some significant consequences of high productivity

The rapid technological progress in contemporary capitalism, the scientific and technical revolution involving an ever spreading automation are processes of extraordinary significance. Here, I want to deal briefly with two, so far not satisfactorily studied, aspects of these processes. One is the effect of increasing productivity on the structure of employment. Its most important feature has been and still is a qualitative shift in proportions: the weight of whom Marxians term as productive workers is diminishing with a corresponding increase in the ratio of non-productive labour. In the United States employment in the improductive sectors outweighed those working in the spheres of production as early as the beginning of the 50's and their present ratio is near to 60 per cent. What is more, the late part of the 50's witnessed the development of a tendency that the number of productive workers decreased in absolute terms. The situation is similar in England. That means that in the two most developed capitalist countries, (and the rest is, of course, headed toward the same situation), it is already at present an *ever diminishing*

minority of workers who produce goods for themselves and for the improductive majority.

This change was made possible by increased productivity, but the self-contradicting form it assumes, *i. e.* the *enormous* expansion of the improductive sector, an expansion that is useless, even harmful and dangerous to the whole of mankind (bureaucracy, militarism), is the result of the capitalist, or more precisely the monopol-capitalist relations of production. The fact that the productivity of labour has reached this high level under relations of production loaded with heavy contradictions is of far reaching significance whose appreciation will be helped by the following statement of Marx: "A development of productive forces which would diminish the absolute number of labourers, *i. e.* enable the entire nation to accomplish its total production in a shorter time span, *would cause a revolution, because it would put the bulk of the population out of the running.* This is another manifestation of the specific limitations of capitalist production, showing also that capitalist production is by no means an absolute form for the development of the productive forces and for the creation of wealth, in fact, that at a certain point it comes into collision with this development." [7] (Author's italics — F. M.)

Now, as far as the development of productive forces is concerned, in America and England of to-day it has, according to the relevant data, reached and in the other developed countries it will in the not very distant future reach the stage mentioned by Marx. This is why to *provide employment and subsistence to those "put out of the running" is one of essential objectively necessary functions of state monopoly capitalism,* growing ever more important *in order to defer revolution, i. e. maintain capitalism.* If it employed these "put out" people in commodity-production, it would only add to the tendency of overproduction, render the market problem more accute and jeopardize the profit of monopolies. Hence, mainly imporductive employments are being provided for them by more or less direct measures.

This change in the structure of employment has far reaching ideological and political consequences and their neglection might harmfully affect the development of the labour movement in the developed capitalist countries. First of all it concerns the policy of seeking allies for the working class and their party. In the developed capitalist countries it has become an indispensable condition of overthrowing capitalism to rally the various non-productive social strata, an ever growing majority of working people to the maximum possible extent behind the working class. If it is also considered that among the productive workers, the number of the agricultural wage workers and self-employed farmers is heavily decreasing and becoming ever less important, we are led to the conclusion, that in the fight to overthrow capitalism the *main allies of the working class in the developed countries should no more be the peasants,* but this population group which though improductive, still lives on wages, selling its

labour-power, (definitely to be taken as proletarian on this account). This group consisting of intellectuals, all sorts of employees, is most heterogeneous, save for the above decisive, essential criterion, and could in no way be considered a separate homogeneous class. It also contributes to the objective foundations of such an alliance that the wages, and hence the living standard of sizeable layers of this group (first of all of commercial employees and of those in various service branches) is lower than that of workers and that these layers are being replenished to a considerable extent from workers' children. On the other hand, there are other groups who are also selling their labour-power (first of all the clerical staff of the bureaucratic state machinery) but living on the surplus value produced by the productive proletariat, and who are linked to the ruling class with many other ties.

These masses, precisely because they are heterogeneous, require a *highly differentiated treatment* by the working class and their party as far as both the ideological influence and the political leadership are concerned. Much more so, because the behaviour of their various groups will differ and change over time with the various historical phases of overthrowing capitalism and of the transition to socialism, and thus their role as allies shows a not negligible instability.

The stage that the change in the main ally of the working class has reached and how the process is to continue are of course subject to the level of development in the country concerned. To-day the above-said hold quite unambiguously true only for the United States and England, but things are quickly developing in this direction in the rest of the developed capitalist countries, and by now the relative weight and therefore the importance for the working class of the working peasants and of the clerical staff and employees is at least equal.

The increase of productivity has also made an extensive shift of consumers' demand towards services possible. For example, in the United States the purchase of consumers' non-durables exceeded in 1964 that of services by a mere 12 thousand million dollars, within a total consumption of 400 thousand million [8]. From the growing role of services it follows that beside the development of industrial and agricultural production more attention than previously should be paid to the examination of other commodity purchases and to investments in the improductive sectors, since the latter greatly affect employment, the generation of incomes and through these the whole course of economic growth.

New importance of an old contradiction

At one place in Vol. II of the Capital Engels made the following footnote: "In the manuscript, the following note was inserted here by Marx for future amplification: 'Contradiction in the capitalist mode of production:

the labourers as buyers of commodities are important for the market. But as sellers of their own commodity — labour-power — capitalist society tends to keep them down to the minimum price. . . ." [9]

The contradiction mentioned by Marx is really very important, and though its importance was not recognised for a long time, lately it has emerged in the Marxian economic literature partly in the course of discussions about the absolute pauperization, and partly during the investigation of problems of state monopoly capitalism. For instance, E. Varga adds the following footnote to a place in his book where he claims that the whole monopol-capitalistic bourgeoisie is interested in the maximum lowering of wages: "In the given case many more aspects have to be considered. Monopolies in various sectors have their own particular interests. All monopolies take efforts to make the wages of their workers as low as possible. Nevertheless, it is in the interest of the monopolies which turn out not vitally important consumers' goods for the broad masses (*e. g.* smaller cars, wireless sets, television sets, etc.) that the effective demand of the workers of the other monopolies should grow." [10]

No doubt, this is an attempt at a concrete application of the Marxian idea under conditions of contemporary capitalism. It reveals, however, only a part of the Marxian idea. Viewing the Marxian idea from a closer range, much more than this will unfold. The contradiction in question does in fact mean that capitalism is the first socio-economic system where the ruling, exploiting class is interested *to a certain extent* in the increase of the welfare and consumption of the oppressed, exploited class.*

In every preceding class society the chief aim of exploitation was to increase the consumption and more often than not, the luxury spending of the exploiting class. In capitalism the main objective is not this, but the increase of the exploiters' ability to accumulate in order to gain as high profits as possible. Their consumption is of secondary importance and with the progress of capitalism its volume is becoming ever less important in comparison to the other factor. This is why the endeavour, the inducement to exploit is not limited from the side of consumption. On the other hand, goods once produced have to be sold and, if end products are considered, the bulk of the buyers are the exploited themselves. Consequently, the relation of the capitalist and the worker is not only that of the seller and buyer of the labour-power, it is also the relation of the seller and buyer of consumers' goods and of course, the *dramatis personae* of this relationship have changed places in comparison to the former situation.

It should not be lost from sight that the relative weights or powers of the two sides of the Marxian contradiction are *historically changing*. There is no

* I believe that the validity of this statement is by no means impaired by the subjective intentions of a few members of the ruling class. *E.g.* there were already in the feudal societies well-known exceptions in the person of far-sighted and enlightened landlords who — last but not least, in their own interest — made efforts to improve the lot of their extremely exploited serfs.

doubt about it, that *e. g.* in the greatest part of the 19th century when the expansion of accumulation by all conceivable means was all-important for both the individual capitalist and for the class as a whole, the efforts to press wages down, to increase exploitation beyond measure was the dominant factor. The other side of the contradiction comes into the limelight when the market problem grows acute and, in lieu of accumulation, realization becomes the main worry of capitalists. Besides, this latter relationship is growing more and more important with the increasing share of the working class (and generally of wage and salary earners) in the total purchase of consumers' goods. In this context Marx still said in his "Wages, price and profit" that ". . . two-thirds of the national product are consumed by one-fifth of the population — a member of the House of Commons stated it recently to be but one-seventh of the population . . ." [11]

To-day this ratio is the reverse, at least in the developed capitalist countries. Thus the jingling of possibly much money in the pockets of the potential purchasers of their articles is music to the ears of the capitalists, monopolists — more directly of those selling consumers' goods, but indirectly of the rest as well. The individual capitalist is, naturally, even now interested in keeping wages at the minimum possible level in order to keep costs as low as possible. This contradiction between the interests of the individual capitalist and of the whole or at least majority of the capitalist class is an important and so far not sufficiently acknowledged stepping stone in the struggle of the working class for higher wages and a better living standard.

I believe, this point of view is worth serious consideration when examining both the absolute and the relative position of the working class under capitalism.

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НЕКОТОРЫЕ ПРИНЦИПИАЛЬНЫЕ ВОПРОСЫ СОВРЕМЕННОЙ КАПИТАЛИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ЭКОНОМИКИ

Ф. МОЛНАР

В вводной части статьи подчеркивается важность успешного изучения экономики капиталистических стран с точки зрения социалистических стран.

В первой части статьи, — при рассмотрении изменившейся в качественном отношении экономической роли современного капиталистического государства — подчеркивается, что капитализм наших дней является государственно-монополистическим капитализмом, представляющим собой новый этап по отношению к прежнему частно-монополистическому этапу, так как он внес существенные изменения в производственные отношения. Ссылаясь на замечания Энгельса и Ленина, автор указывает, что в современном капитализме возможна планомерность и в общественных масштабах, хотя это не равнозначно планированию, охватывающему все национальное хозяйство.

Во второй части статьи, при рассмотрении вопроса о цикличности воспроизводства при современном капитализме, автор, с одной стороны, дает статистический обзор, показывающий, что ход воспроизводства в Западной Европе и Японии не был цикличным со времени второй мировой войны и, с другой стороны, — теоретическое обоснование того, почему в настоящее время капиталистическое воспроизводство не должно быть обязательно всегда и везде цикличным. Исходя из известного положения Маркса, согласно которому материальной основой цикличности является специфика воспроизводства основного капитала, автор указывает, что за последние десятилетия в этой материальной основе произошли такие значительные изменения, которые противодействуют цикличности. Эти важнейшие изменения состоят в следующем: возросла доля государственных капиталовложений в общем объеме капиталовложений; из-за значительных неиспользованных производственных мощностей и сокращения доли чистых капиталовложений в общем объеме капиталовложений ослаб эффект акселерации; вследствие быстрых темпов технического развития возросла роль морального износа; увеличилась доля капиталовложений непроизводственного характера; возникла цикличность движения потребительских капиталовложений, отличная от цикличности вложений в основной капитал; расширились антицикличные мероприятия государства. В результате всего этого капиталовложения не скапливаются настолько и не колеблются так сильно, как раньше.

В третьей части статьи разбираются отдельные следствия высокой производительности труда. Одним их этих следствий является сдвиг структуры занятости в сторону роста числа непроизводительных работников. Значение этого явления с политической точки зрения состоит в том, что — по крайней мере, в развитых капиталистических странах — главным потенциальным союзником рабочего класса является уже не становящееся все более малочисленным трудовое крестьянство, а различные слои служащих непроизводственной сферы. Другим, важным с точки зрения воспроизводства последствием является сильный сдвиг потребительского спроса в сторону услуг; это вызывает необходимость уделения этому вопросу при исследовании воспроизводства гораздо большего внимания, чем раньше.

В заключительной части статьи, автор исходя из одного из положений Маркса, рассматривает большое значение в условиях современного капитализма противоречия, происходящего из того, что капиталисты, с одной стороны, стремятся сократить оплату труда рабочих, а с другой стороны, поскольку рабочие являются основными покупателями массы предметов потребления, они заинтересованы в том, чтобы рабочие располагали в качестве покупателей как можно большим количеством денег. В результате этого при современном капитализме эксплуататоры заинтересованы в известном повышении благосостояния, потребления эксплуатируемых. Таким образом, противоречие между интересами отдельных капиталистов и интересами всего класса капиталистов, по крайней мере, его большинства, является важной, недостаточно учитываемой базой борьбы рабочего класса за более высокий жизненный уровень, что необходимо серьезно учитывать и при исследовании абсолютного и относительного положения рабочего класса при капитализме.

REVIEWS

M. Dobb

MODERN "WESTERN" THEORIES OF ECONOMIC GROWTH*

In speaking of the apologetic aspects of bourgeois political economy it is a great mistake (I suggest) to depict it as "a homogeneous reactionary mass". Indeed, it is the conflict of divergent trends that reveals the contradictions within an ideology and is worth studying for this reason; and it is through this that one can appreciate contradictions both within a system of ideas and within the prevailing system of social relations.

With the increasing vogue of mathematical constructions, and the use of "models" to depict trends of growth or economic fluctuation, economic theory in Western Europe and America has become more formal in recent decades. For this reason it might be supposed that theory was becoming more remote from actuality and hence more independent of "ideological" issues. But this is not necessarily so. True, there may be in modern theory more preoccupation with questions of purely formal techniques; and formal mathematical techniques are not, of course, a monopoly of any one school of thought or of one system of ideology. Yet, it remains true that a central issue running through recent discussions of abstract "growth models" has been a very practical question: nothing less than that of the stability or instability of economic growth under unplanned capitalism.

The modern preoccupation of "Western" economists with theories of growth, or with dynamics, can be regarded as constituting a reversion, to some extent, to the standpoint of the early classical economists and of Marx, who, in addition to their concern with formulating a theory of value and of distribution, were crucially concerned with the causes and conditions of economic progress and with the economic policies calculated to sustain its momentum. In a formal sense this recent shift of focus from conditions of static equilibrium to dynamics was prompted by an interest in the relation between trend and fluctuation, arising from the studies of less-than-full-employment equilibria that followed the discussion around Keynes's *General Theory*. But in a more substantial sense, there can be no doubt that this new interest in dynamic problems was provoked by the different growth-rates in socialist and capitalist countries, as well as by questions of the economic development of the previously underdeveloped countries of the world. It reflects, accordingly, (at least in part) the "economic competition of two world systems".

* This is a somewhat abbreviated version of a lecture delivered at the Academy of Sciences in Budapest on March 24th, 1966. The lecture was based on a longer article which appeared in *Probleme Economice* (Bucureşti), December 1965, to which acknowledgement is due.

What is usually regarded as the pioneer in the field of modern growth-models is the theory of Harrod (of Oxford) as enunciated in the course of a series of lectures which was published as *Towards a Dynamic Economics* in 1948. This represented an attempt to state the conditions of steady growth (under capitalism) and to consider the results of departing from the path of growth so defined. The most striking feature of his model was that this growth-path (what he called the "warranted growth-rate") was *highly* unstable: once for any reason the economy diverged from this path, it moved cumulatively further and further away, whether in the direction of cumulative acceleration or of cumulative deceleration. Harrod described the "warranted growth-rate" as being "the entrepreneurial equilibrium: it is the line of advance which, if achieved, will satisfy profit-takers that they have done the right thing"; and he defined it by the simple equality

$$GC = s \left(\text{or alternatively } G_w = \frac{S}{C} \right),$$

where G stands for the growth rate, C for the capital output ratio and S for the savings-ratio, or proportion of the national income that is saved. It will be fairly obvious, I think, that if we introduce investment and income explicitly (writing I for investment, S for total saving and Y for income), we can translate this equation into

$$\frac{\Delta Y}{Y} \cdot \frac{I}{\Delta Y} = \frac{S}{Y}$$

and that this amounts to the famous Keynesian equality of saving and investment. In this sense the Harrod-equation is Keynesian in inspiration, putting into a dynamic setting the balance between income and expenditure necessary to keep aggregate supply and aggregate demand so adjusted as to permit the continuance over time of a certain rate of investment and hence a certain rate of growth of capital, of output and of income.

About the same date, and quite independently, Domar in America was putting forward (in the *American Economic Review* in 1947) a closely similar growth-rate formula, which (in his own words) emphasized that "the maintenance of a continuous state of full employment requires that investment and income grow at a constant annual relative (or compound-interest) rate equal to the product of the propensity to save and the average (to put it briefly) productivity of investment". This equality he expressed as

$$\frac{\Delta I}{I} = \alpha\sigma$$

(where α is the propensity to save — and hence $\frac{1}{\alpha}$ the Keynesian "Multiplier" — and σ is the productivity of investment, the inverse of Harrod's capital-output ratio). He adds: "It shows that it is not sufficient, in Keynesian terms, that savings of yesterday be invested today, or, as it is often expressed, that investment offsets savings. Investment of today must always exceed savings of yesterday. A mere absence of hoarding will not do . . . The economy must continuously expand." Although less explicit about instability than Harrod, the implication of his theory was similar: that such a growth-path was a very delicate and precarious one to maintain in an unplanned, free market economy.

But in addition to his so-called "warranted growth-rate", Harrod had also what he called the "natural growth-rate". This was the maximum possible, or "ceiling", rate of growth, set by the rate of increase of the labour-force and the rate of technical progress. And the second of the two main original features of the Harrod-theory was the use he made of the relationship between these two growth-rates. If the "warranted growth-rate" were *above* the "natural rate", the system would be prevented (by labour shortage and insufficiency of new technical openings for investment) from maintaining a rate of investment and of growth sufficient to offset its relatively high savings-ratio. Consequently it would relapse into chronic stagnation. In the converse situation where the "natural rate" was higher than the "warranted rate" there would be a persistent tendency towards boom and inflationary pressure. It should be emphasized that in his model there was no mechanism whereby the "natural" and the "warranted" growth-paths tended to converge as a long-run tendency. If they happened to be identical, this would only be by pure accident.

Before we speak of criticisms that have been made of the original Harrod-model and of attempts to build an element of stability into it, we should say something of the theory of Professor Joan Robinson as expounded in her *Accumulation of Capital* (1956). Her intention also is to propound the conditions for steady growth at a constant rate (what she terms "golden age" conditions); but like Harrod she stresses the *in*stability attending such a steady advance, and specifies the various snags and obstacles which may cause the system, operated according to what she calls "the capitalist rules of the game", to run downhill into depression, unemployment and chronic stagnation, or alternatively to explode into cumulative inflation. However, despite this emphasis, her analysis does include one or two at least potential stability-mechanisms that are lacking in the pure Harrod-model: in particular, the tendency of changes in real wages (relatively to profits) to cause shifts in what she terms "the spectrum of techniques". Thus if the labour supply increases less fast than capital accumulates, this may lead to a rise in real wages and thereby encourage a shift towards more labour-saving techniques; and conversely in the case where the labour supply grows faster than capital accumulates. But, although this *may* happen, she indicates that it will not necessarily happen: the result depends on circumstances, and in particular on how the investment-plans of firms react to changes in money wages. It is to be noted that in Prof. Joan Robinson's model, profits (and along with them *real* wages) are primarily determined by the rate of investment; and accordingly, profit and *real* wages cannot be immediately affected unless the rate of investment is affected (or else what she calls *rentier*-consumption).

Although her approach has clearly been influenced by Harrod, her ideas bear a resemblance in many respects to those of Rosa Luxemburg. Indeed, the influence both of Rosa Luxemburg and of Marx are much more apparent in her article in *The Economic Journal* of March 1952, entitled "The Model of an Expanding Economy", than in her subsequent book where she does not mention either. In this article she wrote:

"The meaning of a proposition depends very much upon what it denies. In this respect the model is two-sided. On the one hand, it shows that there is no inherent logical impossibility in conceiving of a capitalist system enjoying continuous expansion — it contradicts the view that there is an inescapable necessity for capitalism to run down. On the other hand, the model shows that

certain special conditions are required for continuous expansion, and so it contradicts the view that there is, in general, an automatic tendency for capitalism to keep going."

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It is scarcely surprising that the principal objection which the Harrod-model aroused was its implication that his "warranted" growth-path was characterised by what its critics have called "knife-edge instability". This implication of the theory was held to be rather "shocking", especially in America, and even as dangerously damaging to the case for a "free-market system". Some economists, in particular Robert Solow in America and Trevor Swan of Australia, have criticised this feature of the model as dependent on Harrod's assumption of a constant C (capital-output ratio). Stability could be given to the model, they argued, if a more traditional assumption were introduced about the flexibility of technical methods (and hence of the capital-output ratio) in response to changes in relative factor prices (wages and profits). This was equivalent to making use of a "production function" such as has played a crucial part in the theory of marginal productivity; whence the name of "neo-classical" attached to this school of thought.

If refashioned in this way, Harrod's "warranted rate" (it was maintained) would have a long-run tendency to converge upon his "natural rate" (or ceiling-rate); and for the system to grow thereafter at the maximum possible rate consistent with population-growth and technical progress. A high or low savings-ratio would then make no difference to the growth-rate (paradoxical though this may at first sound): it would merely influence the level of output and of consumption at any date, making this level respectively high or low. The mechanism by which this result was obtained was as follows. Let us take the case where Harrod's warranted rate (G_w) is *above* his natural rate (G_n). Then the high level of the former, by creating labour scarcity, will raise wages; and higher wages will provoke a transition to more capital-intensive techniques. This change in technique will, in turn, raise the C of Harrod's formula and accordingly *lower* G_w. It is also possible that the income-distribution shift from profits to wages will lower the average savings-ratio, s, which will make a further contribution to lowering G_w. A converse series of changes occurs in the opposite case where G_w is below G_n.

There is I think a rather simple objection to this so-called "neo-classical" argument, at any rate to the extent that it implies the existence of an automatic mechanism in a free market economy which brings G_w and G_n into accord with one another. The "neo-classical" result might ensue if actual growth were to persist at the warranted rate for any appreciable length of time. Then the series of adaptations we have mentioned might ensue. But it is the very heart of the Harrod argument that the G_w growth-path is highly unstable, and that actual growth may diverge from it; moreover, that in the situation envisaged ($G_w > > G_n$) it will have a definite tendency to diverge in a *downward* direction into stagnation with unemployment. Once it has done this, the effect on wages (and hence on technique) will be the precise *opposite* of what the neo-classical stabilising-mechanism requires.

Before leaving the Harrod model, one should mention another criticism of it from a very different angle: namely, a critique that was published by the Polish economist, Michal Kalecki, in *The Economic Journal* for March 1962. Whereas the "neo-classical" critique by Solow and Swan of which we have

spoken complained that the Harrod-model depicted growth as unstable, Kalecki's claimed that it was insufficiently dynamic: that the trend rate of growth it *appeared* to yield was no more than ephemeral and was tending always to relapse to a zero-growth position, unless a steady and continuous process of technical innovation was occurring to give the system buoyancy.

A further comment may be made on the Harrod type of model before we leave it. The crucial part played in it by the so-called savings-ratio will be noted. This ratio is regarded as being the average of the savings-propensities of all the individuals composing the community: in effect, of the individual savings of capitalists out of profit, or surplus-value. We have mentioned the Keynesian inspiration of this type of growth-theory. Evidently in this type of model the determinants of growth are conceived in terms of the income-expenditure balance. We may, perhaps, illustrate the significance of this by a contrast. The growth-model of the Soviet economist, G. A. Feldman, working in Gosplan on long-term planning and writing in 1928 and 1929 in *Planovoe Khozyaistvo*, used an equation that was, in a *formal* sense, the same as Harrod's. But there was a substantial difference, since Feldman expressed the growth-rate as dependent on the proportion of the productive capacity of the economy that was represented by the sector of industry producing capital goods: *i.e.*, he sought the main determinants of the rate of growth of an economy in its structure of production, and his growth-equation was a particular application of Marx's reproduction-scheme. I think this approach is clearly the right one in dealing with the problems of growth in a socialist economy.

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This account of growth-models would be seriously incomplete without some mention of Professor Kaldor's theory (first propounded in *The Economic Journal* for December 1957, and since reprinted in his *Essays on Economic Stability and Growth*, 1960). Unfortunately, time does not suffice to deal with this even in summary; and to do so must be reserved for another occasion. It must suffice to say that this model is different in its main emphasis from the others; that it emphasises convergence and stability, mainly as regards the characteristics of growth — in particular the capital-output ratio and the share of profit in total national income. The actual growth-rate is made to depend on what is called the "technical dynamism" of the economy. As he himself puts it: "The prime mover in the process of economic growth is the readiness to absorb technical change combined with the willingness to invest capital in business ventures." The relation of his own model to that of Harrod he sums up as follows: "The implications of our model in terms of Mr. Harrod's terminology could be summed up by saying that the system tends towards an equilibrium rate of growth at which the 'natural' and the 'warranted' rates are equal, since any divergence between the two will set up forces tending to eliminate the difference; and these forces act partly through an adjustment of the 'natural' rate and partly through an adjustment of the 'warranted' rate."

Thus, while Professor Kaldor comes out as a strong critic of the marginal productivity theory of distribution (since he denies any meaning to a static "production function", his emphasis on the "technical dynamism" of the capitalist *entrepreneur*, with a zeal for innovation, seems to make his theory fall into the Schumpeter-tradition. A critic could say, perhaps, that the Kaldorian

"technical progress function" plays the role of a *deus ex machina* in relation to all problems concerning the size of the growth-rate.

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I. VAJDA

A MEETING OF FRENCH AND HUNGARIAN ECONOMISTS IN PARIS (April 18—25, 1966)

When professor François Perroux visited Budapest in April 1965, we decided that under the cultural agreement existing between the two countries French and Hungarian economists should regularly meet to discuss professional questions. The work of organizing the meetings was undertaken on the French side by the *Institut de Science Économique Appliquée,* headed by professor Perroux, and on the Hungarian side by the Hungarian Economic Association. It was arranged that the first meeting would take place in Paris and its date was fixed for October 1965. Because of intervening and protracted other engagements of the Hungarian economists at home this was later changed by mutual agreement to April 1966.

In the course of the preliminary conversations the questions to be put to debate were outlined. It was agreed that the discussions would centre on the problems of economic planning and control, to be treated both from the French and Hungarian points of view but with due regard to world-economic criteria. We thought that each subject — the role of perspective in planning, the problems and techniques of sectoral and regional planning, the interrelations of technical progress and economic plans, the planning for structural changes in demand, price planning, the planning aspects of the international division of labour, etc. — would be approached collaterally from both sides in reports and commentary papers. On this occasion, it was the French economists who made their comments on the Hungarian reports, the subject matter of the conference being "The new methods of planning in Hungary". The second colloquy, to be held in Budapest next year, will hear the reports of the French economists.

Our reports and detailed theses had been sent out to Paris several weeks before the colloquy, to be hectographed and made available to those attending.

At the Paris colloquy, the following papers were read:

"Economic planning under the new system of economic control in Hungary" by Imre *László;*

"Sectoral and global planning" by Sándor *Ganczer;*

"Hungarian experiences in the field of price planning" by Béla *Csikós-Nagy;*

"The International division of labour and the plan" by Imre *Vajda;*

"Rational economic activity and planning in the three worlds" by József *Bognár.*

Beside those delivering the papers, György *Cukor* was also a member of the Hungarian team of economists.

The large hall of the Collège de France which was put at our disposal was from day to day filled with several hundred people. This was rather contrary to our original idea because we had assumed that the discussions would take place before a less numerous and more limited audience. In retrospect it may be

said, however, that the large number of those attending and the consequent wider participation in the discussions did not effect adversely the standard of the colloquy. On the other hand, it may have been the reason why — although each subject was commented on by several French participants as well as other nationals residing in France — Hungarian participation was in every case confined to the lecturer himself, with his concluding remarks and answers to the questions. A more limited debate would probably have taken a different course.

On each occasion the chair was occupied by prominent French personalities. On the first day Professor *Roche*, rector of the Sorbonne, presided over the discussions; on the subsequent events his place was taken by other prominent scientists, outstanding personalities in French economics and science who would also personally take part in the debates and occasionally even engage in a lively dispute with their own French colleagues. As partners in the discussions Professor François *Perroux* should be mentioned in the first place together with such prominent scientists as MM. Claude *Gruson*, François *Bloch-Lainé*, Jean *Marczewski*, Daniel *Dugué*, Jean *Dessau*.

It was an important feature of this meeting that — contrary to what is usually the case — our partners this time were not so-called sovietologists, i.e. economists specialized in the criticism of the socialist system. When relations were renewed after the interval that followed World War II, our first contacts were more or less limited to these circles. Even this had some advantages as many views could be cleared or rendered more realistic in the course of the controversies. But an international exchange of experiences embracing all domains of research and the establishment of scientific contacts on an equal footing required the discarding of dogmatic views on both sides and the mutual recognition of the changes which have taken place in the course of economic progress. This is what happened at the Paris colloquy. This time the discussions were carried on with French scientists who would pay attention to the ideas put forward by us not only to become acquainted with our special problems but also to utilize them in the field of economic planning in their own country. What they heard from us they would compare with their own experiences and draw their inferences from this confrontation — and we would do the same. This is what made the Paris meeting so instructive for both sides. Moreover, it was repeatedly pointed out that in spite of the differences in the political system there were many similarities between the two countries as regards the scientific and practical problems arising from the relationship of the market on the one hand and economic planning on the other — similarities which are primarily due to the importance of the state-controlled sector of the economy in France and to the specific economic and political traditions of centralism which are now increasingly manifesting themselves in that country.

The reports and the ensuing discussions covered, among others, the following principal subjects:

— the narrow limits of quantitative planning based on invariable prices and its inadequacy to follow the dynamism of growth;

— the decisive role of prices in planning based on value-indicators, and the existence and functions of free and of manipulated (fixed) prices;

— the application of shadow prices in long-term planning aimed at optimization (in the course of the debate, we presented the shadow prices worked out for sources of energy, giving a survey of their possibilities of application as well as of the criteria of the construction of price models);

— survey of new trends in planning and their comparison with the old model as a means to serve and to ensure the realization of rational economic activity, with the latter term including also the dialectic unity of macroeconomics and microeconomics in the three worlds;

— the substitution of the concept of exchange for the now prevalent one of cooperation in the international division of labour — a change which could reduce the inequalities in exchange and create real mutual advantages;

— the role of the state in the mobilization of social reserves and in the introduction of stimulating reforms.

The comments of Professor François *Perroux* in the course of the debate were of outstanding importance. There can be no doubt that he represents at present the most dynamic trends of thinking in French non-Marxian economics, that group of economists who are most intensively engaged in the problems of nation-wide planning and of the central role played by the state. The views of Professor Perroux are perceptibly influenced by Marxist thought, a fact which he did not fail to emphasize in his lecture given at Karl Marx University of Economics, Budapest, in April 1965. In the course of the Paris colloquy, too, he repeatedly pointed out the enormous power of Marxian conceptions. His thoughts and ideas — most instructive for us all — are reflected in his recorded sentences:

"A concrete plan is a social experience which *can never be reduced to a combination of neutral techniques.*"

"Dynamic investment is the work of the active entrepreneur or the active State. Dynamic industries are created by active industrialists or by the active State. In all these cases the word 'active' denotes those who would not submit to the anonymous and gloomy pressure of quantities and prices but deliberately modify them with the view of achieving an optimum for society as a whole, an optimum according to explicit and numerical norms. Should the active factors not be tested automatically by the market and the prices, they must be tested by reference to the norms implied in the plan. As soon as a plan exists, society will *become conscious of itself*, of all its activities and its component elements."

"In short, the 'democratization' of the plan presents itself to the objective observer either as an ideology of justification or as a genuine drive of an economic society. It tends primarily to make the workers and the creative scientists and technicians participate in a plan which has *not* basically been conceived for them, which reflects to a great extent the traditional economic and financial forces, not constituting as yet *the great organizational innovation* which will deflect the socio-economic *system* from its present course and change the *structure* of the flow of products and incomes."

"But, under another aspect, the plan testifies to the real changes in the economic society. The growth of an economy which — with its economic and financial groups, with the monopolies allied with those in power, and with the increasing relative weight of the public sector — is actually of a mixed character, requires measures of coordination and harmonization which will either add to the force of those in power *or* surpass it, accept their irrationality *or* question it, conflict with and follow one another incoherently *or* lend themselves to integration into a plan with all of its consequences." (Author's italics.)

At the end of the colloquy Professor Perroux expressed his appreciation of the high scientific standards of the Hungarian economists' reports and of

their answers to questions put to them in the course of the debate. He paid tribute to the mutual understanding and confidence prevailing among us. On behalf of his Institute, he undertook to publish the proceedings and to sponsor the publication of a volume of papers on the Hungarian economic reform.

In commemoration of the first meeting of Hungarian and French economists, he offered our team a most valuable gift: an autograph letter of Franz Liszt, a museum piece which will find its worthy place in the archive of the great Hungarian artist and composer in Budapest.

On behalf of the Hungarian team and the Hungarian Economic Association, the writer of these lines offered his thanks to the organizers and participants of the meeting and primarily to Professor Perroux.

The next meeting, where the reports of French economists will be put to debate, is to take place in Budapest, in the course of autumn 1967.

A. MÁTYÁS

THE KARL MARX UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS

Until 1948, the training of economists on the university level in Hungary was confined to the Faculty of Economics in the József Nádor University of Technical and Economic Sciences. In autumn 1948 an independent university — the Budapest Karl Marx University of Economics — was founded to provide for the teaching of the economic sciences on a Marxian basis. From the point of view of the internationally known forms of higher-grade economic instruction the Karl Marx University is a complex institution, uniting as it does within the scope of its activities the functions of a university faculty of political economy with those of the graduate schools of economics, planning, industrial management and business administration. The aim of the university is to turn out economists with a thorough professional training and suitable general education who, having mastered the fundamentals of their discipline, are able to put their expert knowledge to practical application. They must be trained to be able, after a certain period of practice, to analyse and to solve economic problems, and to take part in working out economic decisions. They must acquire a knowledge of the country's main economic problems, and prepare in the course of their training for the qualitative and quantitative analysis of economic processes both on the national and the enterprise level, of the efficiency of these processes and of the economic requirements of technical progress. They must study the basic problems of the world economy, develop clear ideas about the international economic relations of the country and the impact of the socialist world system on the country's economy.

The Karl Marx University of Economics comprises three faculties, those of general, industrial and commercial economics. In accordance with the requirements of the economy, the training of economists is taking place in ten different departments. Before 1948 there was practically no specialization in the training of economists; there was only one department — the so called "economic and commercial" department — to train specialists for all domains of the economy. True, there were two more departments, but one of these trained exclusively teachers for the secondary economic schools and the other officials for the public administration. In the Karl Marx University, on the other

hand, the students can pursue their studies, according to their special range of interest, in the following departments: 1. Pure economics and planning, 2. International economics, 3. Mathematical foundations of planning, 4. Finances, 5. Industrial economics (the department with the highest attendance in the University), 6. Transport and communications, 7. Home trade, 8. Foreign trade, 9. Agricultural economics, 10. Teachers' training.

In the departments of mathematical foundations of planning and teacher's training the period of study is five years, in other departments four years. In addition, there is a post-graduate course in economics for engineers with a university degree. This course has a special importance from the viewpoint of the unity of the economic and technical approach.

With their studies completed, the students will sit for a state examination and obtain a diploma. The certified economist will obtain his doctor's degree after having successfully defended his thesis and passed the university examination.

Those graduated from the University may find employment in a great variety of fields, such as planning, statistics, investments, labour management, accounting, fiscal administration, pricing, trade, data processing, business organization, programming, etc. in all branches of the national economy. Many of the University's several thousand graduates rose to high positions in the country's economy and more than one attained the rank of cabinet minister, deputy minister or university professor.

In the course of their studies, those attending the University are given basic scientific training with a twofold objective. On the one hand, the students will have to master the general scientific fundamentals of modern economic knowledge. They will have to become acquainted with the economic laws governing the growth of capitalism, especially of contemporary capitalism, and with the principles and characteristics of the construction of socialism and communism. Furthermore, they will have to become suitably familiar with the main tendencies in the history of economic thought, with special regard to present-day trends in bourgeois economic theory. The other objective of basic training is to provide a comprehensive knowledge in the student's selected special line. He will have to form clear ideas as to the practical importance and applicability of the body of knowledge comprised in the special subjects. In addition to a thorough knowledge of the economics of his special branch, every student must be well versed also in the other branches of economic science, besides being familiar with the economic and political principles underlying national economic planning as well as with the principal methods of their practical realization. He will have to acquire a certain knowledge in the major auxiliary sciences of economics (economic history, economic geography, commercial law, economic mathematics, etc.) and to become acquainted with the technical, technological, administrative and product aspects of his branch. He must be familiar with the basic mathematical methods and with the scope and possibility of their application in his special field. He will have to know the most important statistical and accounting principles used in practice and to acquire a skill in the application of the methods of statistical and accountancy recording, planning and computational procedures. He must have an understanding of the applicability of the modern machines used in economic data processing, efficiency calculations and programming. He must have sufficient command of two living foreign languages to be able to read the professional literature and adequately

to express himself. Practical training plays an important part in the education of economists. Its purpose is to reinforce the theoretical knowledge acquired at the university with direct practical experiences. In the course of practical training, the students will get acquainted with the modern processes of production and technology applied in their respective branches, with the economic relationships and operations reflecting these processes, and with the methods of analysis. Practical training is intended to develop the students' proficiency in economic work.

A system of seminars and practice lessons serves to intensify the students' knowledge of the subject-matter, to train them for independent thinking and to develop their skill in analysis. In the first grade, and partly also in the second, the seminars are of a preparatory character, with the main emphasis laid on the critical and analytical reading of professional literature and on forming the students' ability to proceed systematically in their work. Special seminars are attached in the second grade to the lectures in political economy, and in the third and fourth grades to those of the special subjects. In these seminars the students will work out on their own some problem within the scope of their special subject, with due regard to the requirements of economic practice. To enable intensive work, each special seminar is attended by a small number of students only, usually not more than seven to eight.

The Students' Scientific Club — a voluntary organization — is aimed at fostering the scientific progress of research-minded students. In the Club, under the guidance of professors, they are able to carry out individual or collective investigations of special scientific problems in greater detail and with a wider apparatus than in the seminars, or work out subjects not dealt with in the latter. The most remarkable papers produced by members of the Club will be awarded and read by their author at the national conference of students' scientific clubs.

To help the teaching of technological subjects and of those connected with the knowledge of goods, the University puts a number of laboratories and workshops at the disposal of the students. A recently established audio-visual laboratory serves the purpose of up-to-date language teaching.

The University Computing Centre, with its Ural-II type computer, provides an up-to-date computing-technical basis for the University's teaching and research activities. Besides, it serves also pedagogical purposes, enabling as it does the demonstration of its functioning to the students, part of whom must actually be trained in the practice of programming and in operating computers.

Both teachers and students are greatly helped in their work by the University's imposing library with its staff of fifty-two librarians and assistant personnel. The library houses some 300 thousand volumes and subscribes to 398 Hungarian and 560 foreign-language periodicals.

As regards attendance, in the academic year 1964/65 regular students numbered 2060; evening courses were attended by 1729 students; 630 people took part in correspondence courses; and the post-graduate course for engineers was visited by 206.

In the course of their studies, the students receive considerable assistance from the State. Every student whose results reach at least the "good" level is granted a general scholarship. In the last academic year, this scholarship was won by 611 students. A special form of benefits for students is the so-called social scholarship. These are offered by state enterprises and other state economic agencies, cooperatives, social organizations and publicly financed insti-

tutions. In the last academic year, 544 students benefited from this type of scholarship. The students with an average achievement marked "excellent", "very good" or "good" are exempt from payment of fees. The most outstanding of the regular students are awarded the Scholarship of the People's Republic. Those attending evening or correspondence courses are entitled, in addition to their normal paid holidays, to a study leave of 24 to 30 days yearly.

Post-graduate training of economists takes place within the framework of the University's extension courses. In the seven years since the extension courses were launched, 116 lecture series were given and the number of those attending totalled about 17,800. Some of the most interesting lecture series were: "The methodology of factual sociologic research"; "The basic principles of the theory of probability and the fundamentals of mathematical statistics"; "Modern mechanized plant administration"; "Market research"; "Programming methods in the economic sciences" etc., etc.

In accordance with the basic principles of the reform of higher education, work at the University was over the past few years, and still is, centred on the activities connected with that project. The major objectives of the reform are, among others, to bring about a closer cooperation between university teaching on the one hand and everyday practice and productive work on the other; to raise educational standards to the highest and most up-to-date level, and to realize a harmony between the scientific character of teaching and the practical requirements of the students' chosen professional line; to ensure that those engaged in practical work are given greater possibilities than up to now in professional training. The University's tasks as surveyed above reflect already the spirit of the reform. Taking into account, in accordance with the reform's intentions, the present-day requirements of socialist construction, the problems relating to economic control are, in connection with the new economic mechanism, given prominence in the University's programme.

In the current academic year the teaching staff at the University numbers 255, of which twelve are university professors, fifty assistant professors and the rest senior and junior assistant lecturers. In addition to their teaching and educational activities, the members of the staff are also engaged in extensive scientific work. As a matter of fact, profound scientific research constitutes a prerequisite of efficient teaching. The results of these research activities have been published in numerous books and professional journals. Reports on the scientific achievements of the University's faculties are also read to the scientific conferences which are periodically held with the participation of Hungarian and foreign specialists. The scientific work of part of the teaching staff is closely linked with the timely problems of the construction of socialism. The bibliography of the scientific works written by the University's staff — which covers the period since the country's liberation in 1945 to the present day — lists 2403 items [1]. The University edits two serial publications. One of these is the "Yearbook of the Karl Marx University of Economics" the last volume of which is in print [2]. The other one is "Publications of the Karl Marx University of Economics" which comprises up to now 10 volumes [3]. Also the proceedings of the scientific sessions are published [E.g. 4]. The members of the staff regularly attend the international scientific conferences held at universities and graduate schools abroad where they deliver their papers and contribute to the debates. In return, a great number of prominent foreign scientists both from socialist and non-socialist countries have given lectures at the University.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BRÓDY, A., *A termelés tőkeigényessége a kapitalizmusban.* (Capital Requirement of Production in Capitalism.) — RÁCZ, J., *Az állóalapok és a termelés összefüggése a magyar iparban.* (Interrelation between Fixed Capital and Production in the Hungarian Industry.) Budapest, 1966. Akadémiai Kiadó. p. 331.

Economists in the socialist countries are paying much attention to the interrelation between fixed capital and the volume of production. Finding out whether the capital intensity of production will increase or decrease over time and as a function of technological progress, and thus, whether we have to expect an increase or decrease in sacrifices for economic development and to what extent — is of basic importance both for the clarification of the general interrelations of economic development and for actual planning.

Akadémiai Kiadó (The Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences) published in one volume A. Bródy's and J. Rácz' voluminous papers approaching this problem from different aspects. Bródy presents statistical data relating to capitalist countries published already elsewhere and draws conclusions from these, J. Rácz composes new Hungarian time-series, analyses them to discover the laws and points out the possibilities for using the results in the actual planning work. The two studies are related to each other not only by their common topics and objective but also by the regular co-operation between the authors in the course of their research work.

Following the first introductory and explanatory chapter, Bródy deals in Chapter II with conceptional and methodological questions. According to his opinion the capital-output ratio is an indicator of the return of capital. As regards the starting data, he comes to the conclusion, that although theoretically it would be desirable to measure the net reproduction value of capital, in practice we must rest satisfied with gross purchase value, which seems to be the most reliable datum available. In Chapter III statistical data — from Colin Clark, Goldsmith, Grünig, Aukrust, Bjerke, etc. — are summed up, while conclusions are drawn in Chapter IV.

Here are the most important conclusions: the capital-output ratio for a short period is unstable and the marginal quotients have no interpretation; for a long period, however, it is highly stable and its trend is increasing until the industrialization of a country is completed, while afterwards it is decreasing. The increase at the beginning, and subsequent decrease is characteristic among the sectoral quotients also for those of the manufacturing industries and for mining. The need for capital is in case of transport and public utilities extraordinarily strong at the beginning, then there is first a rapid and later a slower decline. A very slow decrease of the quotient is characteristic of agriculture.

Such change of the quotient over time

can in no way be explained by changes in capacity utilization. Nor do aspects of technology give a satisfactory answer, as choices between technological possibilities are obviously based on economic considerations. The difference between the first and the second phases of industrialization is that the former is dominated by an extensive and the latter by an intensive development, which may be of decisive significance. According to the author, changes of the quotient are basically determined by the fact that the transition from small-scale commodity production to capitalist production brings about a sudden increase in capital intensity followed, however, by a possibility of reducing the quotient.

Rácz' paper endeavours to make it possible to plan production by starting from the side of fixed capital. To achieve this he uses the formula of "production = fixed capital × production per fixed capital ratio"* as a starting point. This formula, together with the formula of "production = employment × productivity", provides two methods for the planning of output, which are independent from each other and so there is a possibility of cross-checking the results. This method enables us, as the author claims, to do the work without making use of the production functions towards which the author feels — particularly as far as socialist countries are concerned — some mistrust.

The greatest difficulty with his method is that the production per fixed capital ratio greatly depends on fluctuations in the capacity utilization of fixed capital, so that the ratio must be netted of this fluctuation before being used for planning purposes. The mainly introductory first chapter is followed by Chapter II devoted to describing the time series used and how it was compiled. This time series is to depict the utilization of gross official work-time (according to calendar days) of fixed capital or — using the author's terminology — the extensive utilization of fixed capital. The time series is composed for the period of 1950 to 1963 and embraces all groups of Hungarian industry.

In Chapter III production per fixed capital coefficients and their computation are described. A great deal of work has gone into using and connecting series of various data available, some of them differing even in their nature, to elaborate several time series on fixed capital, again for all groups of Hungarian industry in 1950—1963.

Confronting these time series with those of the extensive utilization of fixed capital he computes the volume of fixed capital utilized. He defines the capital per production ratio with the help of this volume of fixed capital utilized, and *this* ratio reflects — according to his own terminology — but the fluctuations in the *intensive* utilization of fixed capital.

Based on these results it is now possible to find out the contributions to the growth of production by the increase in fixed capital and by changes in utilization, both intensive and extensive.

Plans of changes in extensive utilization and projections for the intensive one may be used in calculations to greatly improve the precision of long-range plans. The importance of distinguishing the two indicators from one another is well illustrated — the author claims — by the fact that a 1 per cent improvement in the extensive utilization of fixed capital will be equal to about 20 per cent of a year's investment. Accordingly, the planned measure of extensive utilization may necessarily become one of the most important indicators of planning work.

In Chapter IV the same problem is analysed from the point of view of live labour inputs and of productivity. The increment of production may be decomposed into factors also from this aspect. It is possible to find out to what extent the increase in the number of workers and in productivity contributed to the increase of production. It is, further, possible to calculate the role of fixed capital per

* the inverse of the capital-output ratio

worker, or production per fixed capital. This latter is again composed of the effects of changes in extensive and intensive utilization.

Finally, the paper deserves attention not only for the new series of data and planning methods presents. Excerpts included from other results of the author's research work over several decades are very interesting to those working in economic planning, to say nothing of economic historians.

GY. SZAKOLCZAI

CSIKÓS-NAGY, B.: *Szocialista árelmélet és árpolitika.* (Socialist Price Theory and Price Policies.) Budapest, 1966. Kossuth Könyvkiadó. p. 416.

The author wrote two similar books earlier. In 1958 "*Árpolitika az átmeneti gazdaságban*" (Price policies in transitional economy) and in 1961 "*Szocialista árképzés*" (Socialist pricing) were published.

These three works differ mainly in that they sum up problems and experiences of price policies prevailing in different periods. The first book analysed the question that arose in the course of preparations for the 1959 industrial producer price adjustments and those which had to be met while replacing the system of compulsory delivery by the state purchasing of agricultural products. In his second book the author could already sum up the experiences of the new price policy both in industry and agriculture. In the third book attention is focussed on the coming price reform of 1968. Since a comprehensive price reform cannot dispense with foundations laid by price theory, in his new book the author deals with price theory on a greater scale than he did in his previous works. This is already reflected by the title: "Socialist price theory and price policies". The whole book is, however, dealing with price policy. Theory is discussed only so far as it is regarded a starting point for price policy. The close relation of price policy to price theory appears most distinctly when general problems of price policy, affecting the whole national economy are to be solved. The author does not discuss these problems separated from price theory; on the contrary, he investigates them within the section devoted to price theory. This, in turn, enables him to discuss the part dealing with price policies already divided into branches of economy, thus having the possibility to illustrate with many examples, how considerations of price policy must be applied under the specific conditions of the various branches.

The author regards the labour theory of value as the starting point, from which considerations of price policies can be deduced, though not in an abstract and unambiguous way. He points out that price policy is closely connected with the whole of economic policy and the optimal solutions of various price problems will be different depending on different conceptions of economic policies. In case of an autarkic economic policy, for example, the national value will be considered by price policies as the basis for pricing, completely separated from international value relations, while in case of an economic concept based on the principle of the international division of labour, domestic prices of export and import goods must be fixed according to their valuation in the international trade.

According to the author, practice is the yard-stick for correct price policies. "We can form an opinion of economic policies" — and within it of the price policies as well — "on the basis of the attributes of a rational management of the economy. We consider economic policies to be scientifically founded when various economic categories of control — including prices — are kept functioning by the state in such a way that these categories are most efficient in their specific functions. Socialist planned economy is nothing but the deliberate economic-organizing activity of the socialist state, where the economic objectives

of the state are elements of some concept of economic policy, whether these elements are logically connected with the concept or not." (p. 168.)

In its logical setup the book starts from the concept of value, since socialist price theory is built upon Marx's labour theory of value, according to which value is determined by the quantity of labour socially necessary to turn out the product. The author distinguishes between value and price-centre. This latter may deviate from the value depending on the distribution of net income among various products. The various types of prices are distinguished on the basis of the price centre. When analysing the price-type, the problems of relative prices, costs, and profits realized in prices will arise. When dealing with questions of the price-types, the author treats at length the discussions about the price-type and the relation between the socialist price system and world market prices as well. He also points out that price centre in itself is not the actual price, and he examines the main features of price deviations from the centre. He will, however, discuss these latter problems more closely when dealing with price policies by sectors.

In the following chapter he analyses the socialist price mechanism, meaning by this the system of price formation, their regulation and functions. He describes the theory of the socialist economic model and in connection with it he characterizes the present changes in the management system of the socialist countries as a transition from a centralized model based on direct instructions to a market model relying on indirect regulation (*i.e.* on using means of inducement). He sums up the difference between the present and the new system of economic management this way: state planning of the national economy remains, the "breakdown" of targets to enterprises will discontinue. Plans on enterprise level will be prepared in the new system of management, too, but these will be compiled by the enterprises for their own use, taking into consideration the commodity and money relations.

Within the discussion of the price mechanism the author also deals with questions like the elasticity of prices, prices as a means of economic incentives, motivating personal interests. Some of the problems discussed here will be met again — though approached from a different point of view — in the following chapter where the functions of prices are examined. The price is a means of economic calculations, of regulating demand and income. These three functions are closely connected with the triple task of economic policies:

1. to ensure an optimal rate of economic growth,

2. to maintain conditions of economic equilibrium and stability,

3. to make sure that there is a regular rise in the standard of living.

Having elucidated general questions of price policies the author now discusses price policies of economic branches as follows:

I. Industrial price policy, including power, metallurgy, mechanical engineering, chemical industry, wood and paper industry, textile industries.

II. Price policies in agriculture and the food industries.

III. Prices in building and construction, transportation and services.

The book gives a detailed and still comprehensive analysis of the Hungarian price system and price policies and of their expected tendencies of development.

É. RADNÓTI

Az MSZMP Közgazdasági Elméleti Munkaközösségének vitái. (Дискуссии Рабочего коллектива по вопросам экономической теории при ВСРП.) Budapest, 1965. Kossuth Könyvkiadó.

Az eszközlekötési járulék bevezetéséről. (О введении платы за фонды.) стр. 71.

Az árképzés közgazdasági alapjai. (Экономические основы ценообразования.) стр. 191.

Важным форумом дискуссий венгерских экономистов с давнего времени является рабочий коллектив по вопросам экономической теории при Венгерской социалистической рабочей партии. О дискуссиях этого коллектива и ранее издавались публикации и обзоры, но весьма несистематически. В прошлом году эти дискуссии впервые стали публиковаться в виде серии брошюр, из которых до сих пор вышли две: одна — о введении платы за фонды, а другая — об экономических основах ценообразования. Хотя освещаемые дискуссии и протекали в том же коллективе, большей частью при тех же участниках, и при этом рассматривался аналогичный круг проблем, однако, две публикации значительно сходятся по своему характеру.

В первой из них излагается дискуссия, состоявшаяся в ноябре 1963 года, целью которой было обсуждение частного мероприятия, осуществленного два месяца спустя. Выступавшие, все без исключения, были согласны с тем, что введение платы за фонды правильно, хотя о теоретически желательной ее величине и можно было бы спорить в рамках дискуссии об общей системе ценообразования, однако, в данный момент, учитывая практические аспекты и данные условия, желательным представляется, действительно, введение предлагаемой платы по относительно низким процентам. Были сделаны также некоторые замечания по поводу темпов и методов введения этого мероприятия.

Дискуссия о вопросах экономической основы ценообразования протекала в октябре 1964 года. За основу дискуссии были приняты разработанные *Белой Чикош-Надем* тезисы: «Экономические основы ценообразования на настоящем этапе построения социализма».

В тезисах и в последующей затем дискуссии эта и без того обширная проблема рассматривалась в еще более широком плане, в аспекте вопросов развития системы хозяйственного управления. С другой стороны, более глубокий анализ требует некоторого сужения этой обширной темы так, чтобы ею, по существу, охватывались лишь оптовые цены промышленности, а проблемы сельскохозяйственных розничных цен затрагивались лишь постольку, поскольку они связаны с первыми. Цель дискуссии заключалась в том, чтобы путем обсуждения принципов ценообразования, занимающего центральное место в экономическом механизме, была создана теоретическая основа для преобразования системы хозяйственного управления. В то же время не ставилось требование окончательного завершения дискуссии о ценообразовании и системе цен. Целью обсуждения было «побуждение общественного мнения экономистов и инженеров продолжать исследования и дискуссии и вместе с тем придание дальнейшим дискуссиям такого направления, чтобы уже решенные вопросы излишне не обсуждались, а о еще открытых вопросах были начаты или продолжены более интенсивные и конкретные дискуссии» (стр. 7).

Дискуссия сосредоточилась на обсуждении следующих проблем:

1. *Тип системы цен.* За исключением одного выступавшего, желавшего в основу отечественных цен положить сопоставление с ценами мирового капиталистического рынка, все участники дискуссии согласились в том, что исходные цены должны содержать часть созданного трудом чистого общественного дохода пропорционально стоимости вложенных в производство средств. В некоторой мере различные мнения высказывались о том, что следует понимать под общественно-необходимыми затратами труда, и что учитываемые при ценообразовании факторы являются ли при-

чинами отклонения цен от их центра, или же они действуют в направлении отклонения самого центра цен.

Участники дискуссии были единодушны и в том, что хотя получаемые путем математического программирования цены — по крайней мере, сегодня — еще и не могут быть введены в жизнь, однако могут дать ценообразованию ряд ценных информаций, и они могут успешно послужить научному обоснованию ценообразования.

2. *Механизм цен.* При обсуждении механизма формирования, регулирования и функционирования цен все выступавшие согласились с тем, что ликвидация недостатков механизма цен требует обеспечения большей гибкости механизма. Спорили о том, до какой степени следует допускать гибкость системы цен, а также каким образом и насколько следует сочетать применение методов политики цен и финансовой системы.

3. При рассмотрении проблем *внутренних и внешнеторговых цен* сложилось мнение, что в интересах приспособления к потребностям внешних рынков, достижения современного уровня и высокого качества на производстве, стимулирования создания более эффективной производственной и экспортной структуры следует расширить сферу влияния внешнеторговых цен.

Единое мнение высказали участники дискуссии и в том отношении, что между системой цен и хозяйственным механизмом имеется тесная и диалектическая взаимосвязь.

4. Рассматривая важнейшие аспекты *взаимосвязи системы цен и хозяйственного механизма* обсуждался вопрос о том, должны ли цены ориентировать, в первую очередь, при принятии решений в масштабе народного хозяйства, или же — предприятия. В связи со стимулированием предприятий детально анализировалась взаимосвязь между ценами и материальной заинтересованностью предприятий. В дискуссии указывалось и на взаимосвязь ценообразования и планирования, например, на то, что при новом механизме цен станет излишним пересчет плановых показателей по мере изменения цен. Метод планирования и хозяйствования по текущим ценам предъявляет повышенные требования планирующим и выполняющим планы органам. Они должны будут обеспечить увязку планов с системой цен таким образом, чтобы цены ориентировали и стимулировали в рамках плана, определяющего основные направления народнохозяйственного развития.

5. В связи с проведением *реформы цен* на совещании был внесен целый ряд конкретных практических предложений, причем указывалось, что из-за наличия тесной взаимосвязи между системой цен и хозяйственным механизмом новая система цен в рамках старого механизма не сможет дать устойчивых желаемых результатов, но реформу хозяйственного механизма можно начать с изменения системы цен с тем, что за ним последует изменение самого механизма.

Э. РАДНОТИ

Colloquium on Applications of Mathematics to Economics. Budapest, 1963. Akadémiai Kiadó. p. 367.

The Bolyai János Mathematical Society organized the colloquium of "The Applications of Mathematics in the Science of Economics" with the aid of some other organs. This was the first colloquium on an international scale organized in a socialist country which dealt with the application of mathematics in economics. More than 180 participants included 80 foreigners from 18 various countries.

In the 5—6 years preceding 1963 operations research began its great development in the socialist countries, too. Up-to-date computer centres have come into existence — this process is still going on — each of which represents a scientific centre of operations research. The accumulated theoretical and practical results in the field of research work, created the possibility for organizing this colloquium.

This volume contains full length texts of 41 lectures delivered at the colloquium.

The themes represent a great variety and it is not an exaggeration to state that one can find a lecture from each sphere of applications (transport problems, sorting models, linear-, integer-, stochastic-, and dynamic models, the game theory, etc.).

We have, of course, no possibility to deal with the contents of each single paper, but for the sake of information we present the list of the themes of the lectures and the names of the lecturers.

Balas, E. and Ivanescu, P. L.: The generalized transportation problem; Bánkövi, G. and Sarkadi, K.: 5/16 replication of a 4^4 factorial experiment; Bellman, R.: Dynamic programming and mathematical economics; Bereanu, B.: Distribution problems and minimum risk solutions in stochastic programming; Bittner L.: Eine Verallgemeinerung des Verfahrens des logarithmischen Potentials von Frisch für nichtlineare Optimierungsprobleme; Bod, P.: Lineare Optimierung mittels simultan gegebener Zielfunktionen; Bródy, A.: The model of expanded reproduction; Dalenius, T.: Potential research objects in sample survey theory and methods; Dienkelbach, W.: On convex integer programming; Fazekas, F.: Rekursive Matrizenformeln zu mathematischen Programmierungsproblemen; Ferenczy, E. N.: The partitioning of graphs into equally weighted trees; Fortet, R.: Programmes linéaires stochastiques; Ghosal, A.: Stochastic treatment of inventory problems; Hájek, J.: Asymptotic theory of rejective sampling from a finite population; Iosifescu, M. and Theodorescu, R.: Linear programming under uncertainty; Ivanescu, P. L., Rosenberg, I. and Rudeanu, S.: Problems of Pseudo-Boolean programming; Ivanovic, B.: Application des méthodes de I-distance pour faire un plan optimal des investissements; Jándy, G.: Die quadratische Programmierung mit zyklischer Approximation; Канторович, Л. В.: Математические проблемы оптимального планирования; Kádár, I. and Németh, L.: Mathematische Modelle für Standortbestimmung komplexer industrieller Grossbetriebe; Kádas, K.: Die mathematische Begründung der Transporttarifermässigungen zur Erhöhung der Verkehrsrentabilität; Kondor, G.: Comments on the solution of the integer linear programming problem; Korda, B.: Ein spezieller Algorithmus zur Lösung einfacher Standortverteilungsmodelle; Kovács, L. B.: Gradient projection method for quasi-concave programming; Krekó, B.: Über einige neue Untersuchungen in der Theorie der mathematischen Optimierung; Kuhn, H. W.: Locational problems and mathematical programming; Lipták, T.: Two-level programming; Mack, C.: The equivalence of assuming exponential service-times to assuming an unrealistic queue discipline and how to take advantage of this; Малков, Ч. Х.: Решение больших задач линейного программирования (ЛП) на электронных вычислительных машинах (ЭВМ); Manas, M.: A generalization of the gradient non-linear programming method; Martos, B.: Optimierungsprobleme mit Betragssummen linearer Formen; Олейник, Ю. А.: Работы вычислительного ВЦ АН СССР по внедрению математических методов и электронных вычислительных машин в практику решения экономических задач; Пагачев, В. Ф.: Модель многоступенчатой системы оптимального планирования; Prékopa, A.: Reliability equation for an inventory problem and its asymptotic solutions; Resh, M. and Naor, P.: An inventory problem with discrete time review and replenishment by batches of fixed size; Seiffart, E.: Ein Reihenfolgeproblem; Stahl, J.: An existence theorem for polyhedral games; Theiss, E.: Interrelation of programming and demographic models; Tintner, G., Narasimham, G. V. L., Patil, L. and Raghavan, N. S.: A simple stochastic process for the explanation of the trend of regional development; Wintgen, G.: Über den Zusammenhang der Uzawa-Methode der linearen Optimierung mit der Methode der vollständigen Beschreibung.

At the end of each article a list of references is attached. The volume was edited by András Prékopa.

J. Szép

SCHMIDT, Á.: *A személyi jövedelemelosztás a szocializmusban.* (Personal Income Distribution in Socialism.) Budapest, 1964. Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó. p. 361.

The population's financial situation and standard of living have so far been expressed mainly in gross averages (of real income, real wages, real consumption, etc.) and in our literature comparatively little attention was paid to the economic laws and processes underlying the gross averages within the individual social strata and to the important changes in the proportions of the individual income groups which may leave the average unaffected. However, the degree of differentiation in the population's standard of living, the rank according to income occupied by individual persons (families) within the population (or its individual groups), constitutes an immanent part of the trend in living standards. Accordingly, the tracing and solution of the theoretical and methodological problems of the degree of differentiation in the living standards of the various strata and of their income distribution constitute an important domain of investigation.

In Chapter I of the work under review, the author outlines the fundamental concepts, basic principles and major methodological problems of personal income distribution. Starting from national income, he proceeds to investigate first the income of the population as a whole, then the income distribution of individual persons and groups, analysing finally the basic concepts of income distribution. The fundamentals and principles of personal income distribution are dealt with in great detail.

Chapter II, which bears the title "Some major problems of personal income distribution under socialism" and constitutes the backbone of the author's analysis, lays bare the differences between socialist and capitalist countries as far as the structure of personal incomes is concerned. A comprehensive analysis is given of the trends in income structure over time, together with a detailed survey of the macro-elements (social and economic factors) and the micro-elements (wage incomes, fringe benefits, proportion of earners and dependants within the family etc.) of income distribution in a socialist planned economy. The substantial and formal characteristics of income distribution under socialism are given. The author would consider as substantial characteristics the changes in the income structure brought about by transformed relations of production as well as the planned character of income distribution which actually asserts itself through the planning of the individual types of income. As a further substantial characteristic, he points to the tendency of a more even distribution of incomes as demonstrated by a comparison of income distribution in prewar and present-day Hungary. The present-day pattern of income distribution in Hungary is presented with respect to the wage-earning classes (workers and employees), farm-cooperative families and other population groups. The factors working towards a log-normal distribution are analyzed: the multiplicative effects of factors independent from each other; the summation of incomes of a heterogeneous character; in the field of wage incomes: working-place structure and the evaluation of performance conform to it; a fixed lower limit of wages, etc.

The author points out the dangers of voluntarism in income distribution on the one hand and the necessity of its purposeful shaping on the other. As part of the latter he mentions the planning of the consumption fund and the working out of basic principles as well as more comprehensive and concrete objectives of an income distribution policy.

From the point of view of forecasting trends in the development of income distribution, the author would distinguish between endogenous and exogenous factors. The exogenous factors are the relations of production and changes in the sectoral structure of the national economy which may be expected to work towards a more even distribution of wages. The endogenous factors include conceptual changes

concerning the principles and proportions of distribution (e.g. in respect of the allocation of fringe benefits), etc.

The author reaches the important conclusion that proportionality and rationality must be the guiding principles in determining the correct income distribution. The application of the principle of proportionality means the working out of the right proportions between total income and a certain basis (e.g. work performance) as well as between the individual incomes themselves. The principle of rationality requires that income distribution should contribute to the more effective utilization of the nation's economic resources.

Examining the connections between planning and income distribution (Chapter III), the author proposes a "balance of income earning and income spending", an improved model of the balance of the population's money income and expenditure, as a means to calculating the effects of income distribution. In this model, the groups formed on the basis of socio-economic classification and income brackets are combined with those based on income types. The income (earnings) side of the balance comprises a synoptic scheme of distribution. The author passes in review the possible and necessary elements and methods of income distribution planning (on the basis of income balances or distribution models).

In the Appendix, based on an extensive literature, the author deals comprehensively with the main characteristics, specific factors and trends of personal income distribution in capitalist societies. After a concrete demonstration of income distribution in the United States and the United Kingdom, some relationships between the distribution of income and wealth are discussed.

The Supplement contains detailed data — in many cases the author's own elaboration — concerning income distribution in Hungary as well as in capitalist countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the German Federal Republic, Denmark etc. An extensive bibliography is added. J. BERÉNYI

CSENDES, B.—VÁGI, F., *Jövedelmezőség és termelés a szövetkezeti gazdaságokban.* (Profitability and Production in Cooperative Farms.) Budapest, 1964. Kossuth Könyvkiadó. p. 312.

The improvement of the management of the economy and connected with it the law of value as well as the investigation of commodity relations and of profitability have in recent years come more and more into the foreground of economic research activities in socialist countries. Also this book dwells on that subject. It analyses how the rules of commodity production affect the cooperative sector of socialist agriculture, how economic policy should rely on them and what should be done in order to apply material interestedness consistently and successfully in cooperatives.

The book has been written by two authors; still, its parts fit harmoniously together. The main chapters are: concept of cooperative incomes; principles and methods of profitability analysis; interrelations of intensive farming and profitability; fundamental problems of cost accounting in cooperatives; the problem of calculating the costs of live labour in cooperatives; profitability of agricultural products and the pattern of production; the impact of producers' prices and profitability in cooperatives; characteristics of the agricultural price system; impact of farm and personal incomes on production, the essence of material interestedness in cooperatives; the effect of profitability on plant cultivation and animal husbandry in cooperatives.

The basic pillar of the authors' analysis and statements is the correct recognition that material interestedness is realized in cooperatives in a way different from state-owned enterprises and this affects the whole of farming, the analysis of profitability and the planned influencing of production.

It is a fundamental feature of cooperative farming that the cooperatives form their fixed and working funds, and pay income allotments of their members sepa-

rately, by farms, depending on production results. The socialist state does not forsake the cooperatives but — as against the practice in state enterprises — neither does it guarantee the income or pay of workers. This is why we say that cooperatives are farming on their own account.

The form of cooperative farming connects most favourably the common and the individual interests of members as well as those of society and the farm precisely through the fact that the income allotments and personal interests of members depend on the development of gross income of the farm. Economic policy and, particularly, indirect control are the more efficient, the more they take into account this fundamental relationship. Its essence was formulated by the authors in their book as follows: the direct and future material interests of the membership of cooperatives are objectively linked to the maximization of gross income.

But as compared to what should gross income be maximized? In cooperatives neither the size of the land nor the manpower available can be changed at will. The main source of livelihood for cooperative members is, however, the cooperative farm. It follows that cooperatives are interested — when members are employed to a normal extent and perform a normal amount of work — in the maximization of per capita gross income. If they achieve a bigger gross income per head, the annual income of members will grow and also the cooperative will be able to accumulate more. In order to reach maximum income per member the cooperatives have to weigh incessantly the gross income attainable by the individual products.

The authors investigate profitability in cooperatives with the aid of the following four main indicators: gross income per head, per unit of area, per work-day and per unit of assets used.

From the point of view of improving the economic control of cooperatives not only the theoretical theses of the book, but also the profitability analyses and the investigations into the price system proved to be of great help in Hungary.

The authors have processed a rich material of data. All problems have been investigated on the basis of ample statistical evidence and therefore the book presents a true picture also about the results and difficulties of the Hungarian cooperative movement at the beginning of the sixties.

E. CSIZMADIA

VAJDA, I., *The Role of Foreign Trade in a Socialist Economy*. Budapest, 1965. Corvina Press. p. 336.

The volume comprises several essays which — written in the period 1960 to 1964 — are dealing with the basic problems of the Hungarian economy, with special regard to the foreign-trade aspects of the subject. The author does not confine himself to discussing the facts of and the relationships within the economy but also draws from them the necessary conclusions for economic policy. Furthermore, he successfully applies the method of international comparisons, treating as he does the growth problems of the Hungarian economy against an international background and contrasting them with the trends prevailing in the world economy — a method which adds to the authenticity and the value both of the analysis and of the conclusions arrived at.

Of the twelve essays in the volume, the reader's attention should especially be drawn to the following ones.

The paper entitled "The progress of Hungary's economic consolidation from 1957 to 1960" (published in 1960) gives not only a description of the consolidation process but also a criticism of the numerous shortcomings of the economic mechanism, such as the defects of the profit-sharing system; the lack of co-operation between the enterprises due to a lack of interest; the inelasticity of the price mechanism; the protracted completion of in-

vestment projects; the backwardness of the technical and scientific apparatus of economic control.

In the essay "The Second Five Year Plan in Hungary; problems and perspectives" the author analyses the objectives and perspectives of the second five-year plan as well as the circumstances and economic conditions under which it was drawn up. At the same time, a comprehensive analysis based on international comparisons is given of the development of Hungary's economic structure. The essay also provides an insight into the system and working methods of economic planning and control and of the socialist planned economy as a whole. — In a postscript written 3 years after the publication of the essay, the author gives a critical evaluation of the results achieved by then under the second five-year plan and of the difficulties and tensions arisen during the plan period. The essay is completed by a comprehensive statistical table presenting the situation and progress of the Hungarian national economy.

The paper "Foreign Trade" (1963) analyses, among others, the historical process of the emergence of state foreign-trading monopoly in Hungary as well as its changing functions. The author points out the mistakes and excesses committed in the interpretation and practice of state monopoly.

In "International division of labour in metallurgy"(1963) the author gives a many-sided summing-up of the trends in the progress of metallurgy on the international level, analysing the relationship between technological development and economic efficiency, and the major phenomena of international specialization which can be observed in this branch. The most important economic experiences gained in the European Steel and Coal Community are generalized, and the development cooperation between the socialist countries in the field of metallurgical production and steel trade are described. The author gives a critical analysis of the advance of socialist international division of labour in the domain concerned, pointing out the factors responsible for the insufficient progress of specialization and outlining the economic and organizational conditions of rendering cooperation more intensive.

"Present problems and forms of economic cooperation between socialist countries", an essay published in 1963, examines the problems and trends of trade between the CMEA countries. The author underlines the fact that as far as trade between the socialist countries is concerned the growth of demand manifested itself in recent years in the sector of raw materials and agricultural products rather than in that of machinery and equipment — a phenomenon contrary to the long-term tendencies of the capitalist world market. — The author demonstrates the insufficiency of the planning methods based on balances in natural units of measurement to meet modern requirements, and takes a stand on an increased role of the value approach and of orientation by the international markets as a basic condition of accelerated technological progress.

In the paper "Socialist foreign trade and modern economic theories" (1962/63) the author examines the theory of comparative costs and the problems of demand elasticity and terms-of-trade calculations primarily from the point of view whether the related economic considerations are applicable to the questions of trade between socialist countries.

Professor Vajda's book offers extensive information on the intricate problems of the progress of Hungary's economic growth, problems of which he is an analyst of the highest standard. His book gives expression to the fact that this country's economic progress is highly dependent on the intensity and efficiency of its international economic relations, that the rate of her further economic growth will primarily depend on her participation in the international division of labour.

A. RÁBA

VARGA, I., *Az újabb magyar pénztörténet és egyes elméleti tanulságai.* (Die neuere Geschichte des ungarischen Geldsystems und einige theoretische Folgerungen.) Budapest, 1964. Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó. p. 218.

In den Bibliographien der Wirtschafts- und Finanzgeschichte nehmen die Werke über die Geschichte des Geldsystems nur einen geringen Platz ein und das steht im Gegensatz zur wichtigen Rolle, die das Geldsystem in der Geschichte der Menschheit innehat. Am ehesten werden noch die Währungsformen in ausführlicheren Studien erörtert, Monographien jedoch, die sich mit der Entwicklung des gesamten Geldsystems eines einzelnen Landes, oder mit vergleichender Geschichte des Geldsystems befassen, begegnet man höchst selten. Die allgemeine Geldtheorie könnte aber gerade aus solchen Werken Folgerungen ziehen und auch die Praxis, namentlich die Währungs-Gesetzgebung bedarf ihrer. Auch in unseren Tagen befindet sich das juridische Gerüst der Währungssysteme in Bewegung; seine bisher autonome Regulierung wird durch eine internationale währungsjuridische Regulierung mitbeeinflusst, auch neue Geldsysteme entstehen — z. B. im Zusammenhang mit der Entstehung neuer Staaten. Die Luxemburger Université International des Sciences Comparées hatte die Bedeutung der Einholung der internationalen Erfahrungen und einschlägigen Theorien richtig erkannt und lud in 1962 den seither verstorbenen Professor Stefan *Varga* zwecks Abhaltung einer Vortragsreihe über diesen Themenkreis ein. Das Material dieser Vorträge — eine wertvolle geistige Hinterlassenschaft — erschien seither in einem posthumen Werk, das unter Mitwirkung von Adam *Schmidt* als Redakteur und bei den vom Autor unvollendet hinterlassenen Teilen als auch Mitverfasser zustandegekommen ist und das als Quellenmaterial für die weitere Forschung auf dem Gebiet der Finanzwissenschaft und ihrer sämtlichen Zweige dienen kann.

Die Geschichte des Geldsystems stellt eine Reihe von Währungsreformen dar, ihr richtiges Verstehen und mithin auch das der Wirtschaftsgeschichte wird jedoch nur durch die Kenntnis der hinter diesen Reformen verborgenen politischen und wirtschaftlichen Hintergründe ermöglicht. Der Verfasser untersuchte, indem er die geschichtliche und die vergleichende Anschauungsweise gleichermassen anwendete, mit einer komplexen (finanzwirtschaftlichen, ökonomischen, juridischen statistischen) Methode die Entwicklung des Geldsystems vom Zeitalter des Kapitalismus an bis fast zu unseren Tagen. Er widmete im Buch, indem er über die auf den Zerfall der Österreich-Ungarischen Monarchie folgenden Ereignisse berichtete, auch dem Geldsystem zweier Nachfolgestaaten etliche Kapitel, womit der nicht uninteressante Weg beschrieben wurde, den das Geldsystem eines kapitalistischen Staates verfolgte, wobei die Währungen seiner Nachfolgestaaten in der Welt der kapitalistischen und sozialistischen Geldsysteme weiterleben. Es tritt auch aus den geschichtlichen Fakten klar zutage, dass auf die Entwicklung der Geldsysteme vielerlei Faktoren einwirken, unter ihnen auch internationale (aussenpolitische) Faktoren; eine Tatsache, die deshalb hervorzuheben ist, weil dieser Gesichtspunkt — soweit sie die Vergangenheit behandeln — von den meisten Verfassern ausser Acht gelassen wird. Das Buch untermauert die These, dass die Geschichte der Währungssysteme keineswegs bloss aus den, die neuen Währungen konstituierenden Gesetzen aufgebaut werden kann; der Begriff der Währungsreform soll vielmehr breiter ausgelegt werden. Auch eine Devalvation, eine Währungsstabilisierung oder Währungssanierung kann eine Währungsreform sein. Deshalb kann der Verfasser — nach Klärung dieser Begriffe — feststellen, dass das Phänomen, das die Wirtschaftspolitik und Wirtschaftsgeschichte bisher Währungssanierung genannt hatte, in Wirklichkeit Währungsstabilisierung war, oder dass eine Währungsreform auch

durch Massnahmen bewerkstelligt werden kann, die sich nicht direkt auf das Geldsystem, sondern auf andere, mit den Funktionen des Geldsystems zusammenhängende Gebiete und Kategorien der Wirtschaft — wie z. B. die Preis- und Lohnverhältnisse — beziehen. Eine von dieser Betrachtungsweise geleitete Untersuchung unseres Geldsystems stellt in der ungarischen Wissenschaft ein Novum dar. Aus den gesagten lässt sich unschwer die Forderung an die Theorie ableiten, dass es keineswegs genügt, wenn man nur die in der Vergangenheit wirksam gewesenen Ursachen einer Währungsreform aufdeckt, sondern man vielmehr auch jene volkswirtschaftlichen Kategorien ermitteln muss, deren Ermessung, beziehungsweise gleichzeitige Reformierung einen unerlässlichen Bestandteil einer jeden Währungsreform darstellen.

Der Verfasser skizziert in den Kapiteln I—VI. die Geschichte des Geldsystems des ungarischen Staates. Die ungarische Wissenschaft hatte bisnun die Geschichte des ungarischen Geldwesens nur bis zum Abschluss des frühen Mittelalters umfassend untersucht, und in den diesbezüglichen Werken wiegt noch eine numismatische und fiskale Aschauungsweise vor. Deshalb ist es nicht überflüssig, wenn man die Aufmerksamkeit von neuem auf die Vorgeschichte des Währungssystems der Monarchie lenkt; so z. B. darauf, dass dieses System bereits vor 1868 eine Papiergeldkrise durchlebte, und diese Krise die erste Valorisationsmassnahme der Währungsgeschichte hervorrief (1811). Diese Epoche war es, in der unser Geldsystem einen nationalen Charakter gewann, obzwar die Staaten der Monarchie damals noch auch die Münzen der anderen Staaten als gesetzliches Zahlungsmittel benutzten; das im Jahr 1857 erlassene Gesetz über den österreichischen Gulden wurde auch mit einer interstaatlichen monetären Vereinbarung verknüpft. Der Verfasser stellt, indem er die ökonomische Lage der nach 1868 entstandenen Monarchie schildert, den Übergang zur Goldwährung im Jahre 1892 (die Krone stellte eine Golddevise dar) als eine Notwendigkeit hin. In der bündigen geschichtlichen Skizze der Periode des ersten Weltkrieges werden auch die vielfältigen Ursachen der sich auslösenden Inflation aufgedeckt. Nach dem Zerfall der Monarchie entstanden neue nationale Geldsysteme. Der Verfasser beweist nun, dass diese auf eine „internationale Unterstützung" angewiesen waren, was unter anderen juridische Möglichkeiten zu einer mit der staatlichen Suveränität nicht zu vereinbarenden internationalen finanziellen Kontrolle ergab. Indem der Verfasser das Schicksal des Geldsystems weiter verfolgt, erschliessen sich die Gründe, die zu verschiedenen Valorisationsversuchen führten und schliesslich die Einführung der Pengő-Währung bewirkten. Es ist bereits aus den bisher erwähnten Kapiteln ersichtlich, dass mit monetären Verordnungen allein eine erfolgreiche Geldreform garnicht durchzuführen ist, sondern dazu vielmehr auch das Steuersystem, die Staatsausgaben, die Devisenwirtschaft, das Gehaltssystem der öffentlichen Angestellten und — in bezug auf Deckung bzw. auf die Staatskredite — auch die Notenbankpolitik geregelt werden müssen. Dazu gehört aber auch noch die Ausbalancierung der Zahlungsbilanz, die ihrerseits wiederum die Überprüfung der nach dem Ausland gerichteten Finanzpolitik erfordert. Anlässlich der Schaffung der Pengő-Währung hatte man diese Gesichtspunkte berücksichtigt und man hatte sie auch in die Praxis umgesetzt, aber die schwindelerregende Ausmasse annehmende Inflation des zweiten Weltkrieges zertrümmerte das alte Geldsystem, dessen Sturz dann in die am 1. August 1946 erfolgreich durchgeführte Stabilisierungsreform einmündete. Interessant sind die sich auf die theoretischen und praktischen Probleme der Vorbereitung der Stabilisierung von 1946 beziehenden Hinweise des Buches (Ausbildung des industriellen Preisniveaus und des Lohnniveaus; Schätzung der zu erwartenden Entwicklung des Nationaleinkommens usw., usw.), bei denen sich Professor Varga meistens auch auf

seine eigenen Erfahrungen berufen konnte und die eine vollkommenere Bewertung dieser Währungsreform ermöglichen. Der Verfasser sieht in den Vorgängen des Jahres 1946 nur eine Währungsreform und er spricht nur im Zusammenhang mit dem erst viel später, nach Abschluss und zufolge der im Jahre 1951 vorgenommenen Preis- und Lohnverordnungen zustandegekommenen volkswirtschaftlichen Gleichgewicht über eine Währungsstabilisation. Die Geschichte des Geldsystems wiederholt sich zwar nicht, aber ihre Lehren können auch von der sozialistischen Geldtheorie verwertet werden. Diesem Gedanken ist das VII. Kapitel gewidmet, das sich mit dem Wesen und den Funktionen des Geldes im Sozialismus befasst. (Das Geld der sozialistischen Planwirtschaft ist keine Goldwährung.) Nach Varga stellt „die sozialistische Geldeinheit einen aliquoten Bruchteil dessen Teiles des in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft zustande kommenden Sozialproduktes (und des Nationaleinkommens), der entgeltlich veräussert wird und zugleich einen aliquoten Bruchteil des Geldeinkommens der Bevölkerung" dar. Ohne uns in eine Diskussion einzulassen zitieren wir auch die Feststellung des Verfassers darüber, dass das Geld auch im Kommunismus nicht verschwinden wird; die Bevölkerung wird auch dann nur durch Vermittlung des Geldes in Besitz der für ihre Konsumtion notwendigen Güter gelangen können. Auch bei ihm taucht der Gedanke auf, dass die Konvertierbarkeit der sozialistischen Währung wirtschaftliche und politischen Vorteile hervorrufen würde.

Das VIII. Kapitel untersucht bereits das Schicksal des österreichischen Geldsystems nach dem Zerfall der Monarchie. Der Verfasser stellt fest, dass das österreichische Geldsystem seit dem zweiten Weltkrieg langsam im Begriffe ist sich an die westlichen Geldsysteme anzubinden; bei der Entwicklung der österreichischen monetären Lage spielten die Auslandshilfe, später der Anschluss an die EPU eine Rolle und seit Erlangen der IMF-Mitgliedschaft ist auch diese Währung nicht mehr gänzlich autonom regulierbar. (In 1953 wurde die Parität des Schillings bestimmt.) Gleich einem Gegenpol zeigt das IX. Kapitel die Entwicklung des polnischen Geldsystems, in derem Gang sich die grundlegenden Reformen mit den Wandlungen in der Geschichte der Erreichung der nationalen Selbständigkeit verknüpfen. Nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg kam es in Polen in den Jahren 1945, 1950 und 1953 zu Währungsreformen, die zur Sanierung und Stabilisierung führten.

Dem letzten Kapitel ist eine kurze Erörterung über die intervalutären Kurse angeschlossen, die sich nicht nur auf das polnische Währungssystem bezieht, sondern ihre Gültigkeit — mit kleineren Abweichungen — auch auf die Verhältnisse der anderen Volksdemokratien bewahrt. Das Kapitel schliesst — nach Erörterung des angedeuteten Problemenkreises — mit der Aufforderung an die Wissenschaftler, die sich in unseren Tagen mit Geldproblemen befassen, eine weitere Arbeit auf dem Gebiet der vergleichenden Geldsystematik und der Geldtheorie entfalten zu wollen.

Die das Werk beschliessende Erklärung der Fachausdrücke (Seiten 203—210.) erleichtert die Benutzung des Buches zu Lehrzwecken. Das angeführte Schrifttum enthält für den Forscher eine reiche Auswahl von Werken zur Geschichte der Geldsysteme.

T. NAGY

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