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В книге дается ответ на актуальный вопрос – какая модель выведет экономику и общество из кризиса? Для этого необходимо понять генезис раздаточной матрицы и природу квазирынка как основу капитализмов в России. Конфронтация идеологий либерализма и социализма устраняется новой парадигмой, в которой рынок и раздаток рассматриваются как универсальные механизмы развития. Их интеграция в модели «контрактного раздатка» приводит к балансу экономической свободы и социальной справедливости.

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English summary

Over the last 100 years numerous attempts were made to explain the processes of the development of Russian economy with the help of foreign theories that proved to be unsuccessful. Russia needs its own theory of the institutional development, the one explaining the logic of social processes and changes that are taking place. This theory can be formulated only with the recognition of the objective character of Russian economic and social relationships.

The basic propositions of a new theory of the institutional development of Russia are presented there. From the point of view of this theory, Russian economic system represents a progressively developing razdatok-economy going through a period of institutional renewal in the 1990s.

Modern economy in Russia is a logical result of the evolutionary development of economic relations. Specific features of these economic relations, which were formed at initial stages in the history of the Russian state, were conditioned by the features of the environment and the methods of its development.

The reasons that didn't allow the development of a market economy in Russia are well-known. Historic literature has accumulated considerable evidence of impassable roads, enormous distances, and severe climate. The general conclusion about undeveloped market relations in Russia was drawn from the fact that «loss at exchange would exceed profit»¹. Under these circumstances, attention to individual gain at exchanges and in trading could not serve as the basis for economic relations as was usual in the development of a market economy.

¹ Braudel F. Vremya Mira (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1992). Vol. 3. P. 19 (in Russian).

In conditions of low fertility of cultivated lands, emergence of *a razdatok-economy* system (Russ.: *razdavat'*, to give) helped the ancient Russian state to survive. Over its centuries-old history, razdatok-economy provided for the restoration of the land and replenishment of other natural resources, these being the sources of public wealth.

Economic institutions unique only to the razdatokeconomy system have been established in the course of its evolution. They secured the basic relationship between the people involved in the process of developing the new lands and the management of the economy.

A service-labor system was the basis for the razdatokeconomy. It defined the rules of economic activity for all the members of the society who were involved in using the public resources.

Under a service-labor system, any kind of public labor, either productive, managerial, military, or any other acquired features of service-labor. It was obligatory in character and predetermined by conditions independent of any man. It meant fulfilling certain functions defined by the society. For Russia, a service-labor system meant that the state assigned certain obligations to all layers of society. Schematically these obligations were divided into two main types. Some had to be in service (economic or military), all others had to feed those who served. Thus, the service-labor system embraced all the population of the Russian state.

In the X century the first Russian grand dukes had to serve the tribes which called upon them; namely, they had to protect Russian land and acquire more land for Russia. In response, the Slavonic tribes committed themselves to the payment of tribute to provide for the grand duke and his armed force; if necessary, they were ready to serve in the armed forces themselves. Over the whole history of Russian society, the service-labor system maintained this distribution of duties. The service class and the tribute-paying population of the Russian

Empire have been replaced today by the state employees and workers-and-peasants class.

Thus, the service-labor system in Russia embraced all the population, from the Emperor and landlords to the peasants and workers. From the very beginning, the service-labor system implied the idea of serving; and this idea was always shared by the majority of the Russian population. At the same time, the content of this common idea was different and changing at different stages of historic development – from Christianity to communism, from 1917–1985.

Service-labor meant that all the layers of the society put forth their labor efforts in various forms in the volume required. To perform their service all the members of the society, in their turn, received the right to use a particular part of the public resources; first in the grand duke's possession, then in the Emperor's, and finally in the state's possession.

Starting in the XI century, land was actively used by the grand dukes to enlist people into their service. From the XIV century, the connection between land and service became indistinguishable. Gradually, the rule that «the one who serves uses land» acquired the reverse side, i. e., «the one who uses land serves». This principle made Russian Emperors broaden the state borders with new land grants. Russian land of that period became both the condition and the goal of service, acquiring to the full a service nature. By the XVII century, the property was differentiated according to the rights the land possessors received with the land grants. The property was subdivided into fixed-date, estate, and allodial patrimonial lands. Fixed-date lands were apportioned for a certain period of time. Estate lands were given for lifetime possession. Allodial patrimonial lands were heritable and could be either bought or sold. During the soviet period in Russian history not only land but also almost all public resources, such as factories, housing, communications, and the social sphere acquired a service nature and could not be alienated from the state into the possession of private citizens. Thus, state property with a public-service nature was formed on the territory of Russia. Centralized production systems were increasingly used to develop the territories. They helped to finally shape the communal nature of the material-technological environment.

Thus, throughout Russian history, the property of citizens and economic entities was formed as a result of *razdacha* (Russian *razdacha* giving) or distribution in the form of *grants, Emperor's rewards* etc. In the past, along with *land distribution*, there also existed *bread distribution* and *money distribution*

The rules and norms of distribution have been formed during the whole history of the formation of the Russian economic system. In the early period, distribution manifested itself in the form of a donation to the duke's armed forces who received their food, clothes, horses and arms from the duke. Later, in the XIII-XV centuries, land became the principle object of distribution. The principles of the first land distribution had been worked out on the basis of two criteria. According to the first of them, for example, a duke's heirs could only have possessed the land formerly in the possession of their father. The second rule was stated in the chronicle: «land possession was conditioned by the status of a person on the patrimonial scale of rank». These two conditions were combined and formed the first historical name for land possession, namely votchina (Russ.: vot- father + -china rank), ancestral lands. Votchina is property received according to the genealogical rank passed from the father to the son.

From the second half of the XV century, the rules for land distribution for possession were formed. As the Great Russian historian of the XIX century, V. Klyuchevsky formulated, the amount of distribution also began to be dependent on the term and quality of service. It could be seen from this formula that complex principles were formed in the razdatok-economy

system to provide for its inner development and balancing. By the end of the XVIII century, when job promotion was mostly determined by the term in service, the land distribution formula became distribution only according to rank

During the early soviet period, the normative basis for distribution in kind, i.e., in the form of goods, housing, and social services was formed. The wage scale for salary distribution was also formulated then: now the amount of goods and money distribution corresponded to the official position of employees. Thus, the rule of distribution worked out at the early stages of Russian economic evolution: «to everyone according to his rank», has not lost its universal nature in Russia and is the indispensable principle of the razdatok-economy system.

The rules of tribute (Russian *sdacha* handing over) in the system of public-service ownership were formed concurrent with the elaboration of the rules of distribution. Tributes formed the basis for the treasury income, first for a duke, then for an Emperor and later for the state. It is both the source for the operation of state services and for financing general economic expenses.

From the very beginning of the existence of the treasury in Russia, it was mainly formed from tribute. Its essence was a voluntary or compulsory tribute of foodstuffs or labor. When dukes came into power, the Slavonic tribes gave them honey, furs and wax as well as fulfilled various conscription.

During the XIII–XV centuries, a specific form of production tribute, «kormlenye» appeared. Periodically, regional officials collected meat, baked bread, and hay from people in their localities. A share of the collected tribute was sent to the treasury for the benefit of the dukes and central governors. During the period of reforms of the local government system introduced by Ivan The Terrible, kormlenye was first standardized, and then later replaced by

state *obrok*¹. Up until the end of the XIX century, the Russian population was liable for different *obroks*. They were so various in form and content that their natures were a constant source for discussions. Having analyzed the essence of the discussions, P. Miluykov formulated their general feature: «obrok is a tribute on the land»² collected for the right to use the land

At different stages of reforms in the razdatok-economy of Russia, an adequate way to measure the part of the product produced to be given as tribute was sought. The reformers at any period in history were governed by the same main principle, namely, by a general levying of the population in proportion to the abilities of each and everyone in accordance with the public needs. Up until the XIX century these abilities, as a rule, were determined by the size of the distributed land allotment and the number of family members capable of work. The mechanism of reallotment through the Russian peasant community, for example, was used to adjust the volume of tribute paid by peasants under changing conditions. Analyzing the essence of the peasant community, V. Klyuchevsky understood it as a financial mechanism exclusively, where community land was distributed in proportion to the working and tribute ability of peasants. That is, land was distributed among the homesteads according to the number of working people and it was compulsory³.

¹ Obrok payment in kind of a part of the annual peasant income, was one of the relatively easy forms of peasant duties, for details see Rybakov B. Kievan Rus (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1989). P. 195.

² Miluykov P. Russian State Economy in the First Quarter of the XVIII century. The Reform of Peter the Great (S.-Petersburg: Balashov's Publishing House, 1892). P.45 (in Russian).

³ Kluychevsky V. A Course in Russian History, 9 vols. (Moscow: Mysl, 1990). Vol. 3. P. 212–215 (in Russian).

The productive population of the Russia Empire from the point of view of the treasury had to give tributes in return for distribution. What this meant was that everyone had to give a part of what was produced according to the distributed production conditions, i.e., according to what had been given. The planned soviet economy of the XX century was always controlled so that the production and tribute of goods to the state was proportionate to the distributed resources, both fixed and current assets, available to the primary economic organization. In other words, the same principle of tribute was observed in the planned economy; and it could be explained by the inner logic of the razdatok-economy.

In the course of spontaneous evolution, the principle of tribute and distribution relations has been worked out in the razdatok-economy system. This principle is: «from everyone according to what had been given, to everyone according to his rank». This relationship should have provided for the effective functioning of public-service ownership because it was assumed, first, that performance of every function would be adequately rewarded, and secondly, that these functions would be performed with the required public benefit. That is why the development of distribution systems is only possible if the *law of correspondence between tribute and distribution* is observed

The logic of this law suggests that if the amount of distribution to any branch or territory exceeded the standard level, then there would be a particularly strong desire to go to this place. These circumstances were always used by the Russian government both for the development of new lands and new branches of industry. Thus, in the XVI century, the settling on the monastic lands went on much more successfully as land grants were combined with generous privileges. The practices of the Soviet power are also widely well-known. The population was involved in the development of new lands by increasing the money and material distribution there, in comparison to the standard level elsewhere.

The functioning of the law of tribute and distribution during the whole period of development of Russia also manifested itself in a search for an effective ratio between the two groups of population: those who were in service and those who had to feed those who served. In modern history it means a search for an effective ratio between the administrative and production workers. Thus, the law of tribute and distribution works both for all the economic entities and the employed workers.

Money and prices are the immanent attributes of the razdatok-economy that serve the tribute and distribution relations. However, money here has origins and nature different from that in a market economy.

The word «money» (Russian den'gi) came from the Tatar language under the Tatar-Mongol yoke. It described everything that the conquered Slav tribes had to give as tribute. But even after their liberation, the term «den'gi» was used in Russian finance as a synonym for «tribute». Money was used both in tribute and distribution flows. Money distribution was quite broadly used; it was distributed according to the rank, land estate, character and the term of service.

Although, with the development of the Russian state, money started playing a more and more notable role, the tribute and distribution flows in the XVI–XIX centuries were predominantly in kind. By the XX century, the razdatok-economy system acquired mixed goods and money character as money distribution became a considerable addition to the distribution of goods. During the Soviet period, distributions in kind to the population took the form of free housing, medical services, education, etc. Organizations received distribution in kind, i. e., in the form of industrial buildings, land sites and fixed assets.

The tribute and distribution flows were regulated by establishing the scale of prices. They helped to alter the distribution of resources in favor of this or that farm or

territory, for example. It was first practiced by the Moscovy state in the XVII century. At that time, a double scale of prices was introduced for bread delivered to the treasury. The first scale was tribute price and the second was distribution price. Soviet pricing was also based on two types of prices. First, tribute prices, the prices at which the state bought the production, and second, distribution prices, the prices at which the production was distributed. Thus, in the course of economic evolution, the razdatok-economy system started using money as an economic instrument, i. e., tribute-distribution flows in kind were being replaced. At the same time, prices became a measure of tribute and distribution.

In the historical development of tribute and distribution relations, three stages can be distinguished in the degrees of public labor division and economy localization (within the framework of separate peasant homesteads, within a large estate or within the state economy as a whole).

At the first stage, part of the production in Old Russia was given to the dukes in form of tribute with no changes in the process of community or family production. Traditionally, the process was organized and managed by the clan elders. An elected elder was in charge of employment, kept the public treasury, paid duties, distributed food and clothing, and punished wrong doings. At the second stage, during estate-land tenure, all land and part of production means i. e., livestock, sowing seeds, were distributed step-by-step from the Emperor to the landlords, and then from the landlords to the peasants. There were two flows of tribute from the producer: one flow to the state treasury in the form of tribute and labor conscription, another one to the landlord. At the third stage, under the conditions of a unified state razdatok-economy, all goods produced are tributed to the state and all production means and articles of consumption are distributed either in kind, or in monetary form. It is the case of the most complete labor division together with the dominance of state provision.

Each stage in the development of the razdatok-economy had its own *mechanism of balancing tribute and distribution*. It manifested itself in the main economic document of that time. At the first stage, the rules of tribute collection were defined in the duke's deed. At the second stage, tribute and distribution flows were coordinated at two levels, at the state level with the help of a state roster, and locally with the help of special «tribute and distribution books» which were kept by every landlord and cloister. At the third stage, the state plan became the unified state «book» of tribute and distribution.

In defining the Russian economic system as razdatok-economy, the diversity of economic relations should not be oversimplified. In the course of Russian history, relations other than razdatok-economy existed and developed as well. In a broad sense, non-distribution relations are really distribution exchanges, i. e., exchanges of what was received in distribution, or exchanges of what was produced with distributed production means. Exchange relations of this type are often looked at as market relations, though their nature differs fundamentally.

Interaction between distribution and non-distribution relations takes place in different forms: conflict, shadow, and partner. In the XVI century, for example, the government stimulated the development of bread trade by partially replacing tribute in kind with money tribute. Likewise, by giving the right to buy and sell estates, it created possibilities for land allotment trade. In XVIII–XIX centuries estate exchanges with money additions were widely spread. Housing exchanges in the sphere of state housing are today's analog to the relations of that time. But non-distributive relations only served to maintain a certain balance in the razdatok-economy system.

The mechanisms of the operation of the razdatok-economy conditioned the specific features of its management bodies which began to form in the early stages of Russian history. These management bodies were called *vedomstvo*¹. Russian *vedomstvo*'s existed all the way from the duke's period, to Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, and to the ministries of the Soviet period. The logic of spontaneous emergence of new *vedomstvo*'s clearly illustrates how, with changes in Russian borders and the expansion of its foreign and domestic goals, new ministries grew and developed. It made it possible to structure the complicated economic reality of the razdatok-economy.

This form of organization demanded a certain order in the coordination of the functions in each *vedomstvo* and gave birth to a managerial hierarchy. Each hierarchical level had its own set of duties and responsibilities. Managerial function was performed by different classes of society at different historical stages. During the duke's period this function was performed by the *boyars* or duke's officials. They were guided in their activity by a special list which defined the nobility of the clan and the rank within the clan. By the XVIII century, the *boyars* were replaced by the *dvoryane*, nobility. The *Table of Ranks* determined which posts they could occupy. During the Soviet period, the position of bureaucrats were determined according to the name on their roster, *nomenclatura*. This roster was a list as well and was approved at the top management level.

Vedomstvo's and the managerial hierarchy were indispensable to the management model characteristic of

¹ Vedomstvo (<Russ.: vedat', know) is a branch, a part of the state management making up the whole, a range of subordination and activities (Dal V. An Explanatory Dictionary of the Great Russian Language. Vol. 1. P.329). On the eve of perestroika, modern vedomstvos included ministries together with trusts and enterprises subordinated to them. Thus before the market reforms, the enterprises in Russia belonged to a particular vedomstvo and were subordinated to the middle-management level, trust, which, in its turn, was supervised by the ministry.

Russian razdatok-economy at all the stages of its historic development.

Complaints, being the most widely spread and active reaction to the incompatibility of tribute and distribution flows and the defects in the managerial system, played the role of feedback. If it is possible to get something only by distribution in the system, it means that there is a necessity to ask for it, i. e., to complain. This was exactly how the Russian population acted when it was not satisfied with a particular situation. Petitions and complaints were so commonly used during the whole history of Russia that they can serve as one of the most important historic documents of any period. Over the whole period of development of the Russian state, the feedback mechanisms typical of the Russian economic system were being perfected. The most adequate methods to inform about deviations from the norm were being looked for and found. This mechanism took the form of complaints made by all layers of society and from all the management levels.

Even the first Russian dukes with their armed forces went to the tribes subordinated to them to «carry out their duties to the population», as S. Soloviov, a great Russian historian of the XIV century, put it¹. In response to the complaints of his subjects, a duke would administer justice, mete out punishment, and alter the amount of tribute. At a period when *kormlenye* existed, the order of official responsibility for complaints was worked out. There is historical evidence attesting to the fact that when the term of a local governor in office expired, people who had suffered from him could complain about his wrong doings. As a result, many local governors who lost the suit also lost not only their property but also their hereditary property to pay for the plaintiff's loses and court fines

¹ Soloviov S. The History of Russia from the Ancient Times, 18 vols. (Moscow: Mysl, 1988). Vol. 1. P. 215 (in Russian).

At zemscky councils of the XVII century, complaints took the form of reports of petitioners' representatives «about different needs of the brotherhood». A special department, reketmeysterstvo, dealing with petitions and complaints, was established during the reign of Peter the Great. The right to complain was granted or taken away in the same way as with property tributes. Thus, during the reign of Catherine II, serfs' right to complain against their landlord was canceled by a special verdict.

During the Soviet period of razdatok-economy, complaints remained the main signaling element. Any complaint incorporates three basic components. These are: dissatisfaction with the situation, its substantiation, and a request to resolve it. Thus the whole complex of complaints at any given period gives a complete picture of the problems in any particular branch of the economy. For example, in the 1960s, while industry was developing relatively successfully, the housing and social spheres were lagging behind. Eventually the flow of complaints helped to initiate the housing reform.

The Soviet economy developed the mechanism of complaint consideration and resolution to perfection. Every individual and economic executive manager had the right to complain, but not every complaint served as a guide to action. A critical mass of complaints at every hierarchical level was necessary for them to be considered at the next level. The higher the rank of the person who complained, the greater the authority the complaint had. The situation could be easily explained. The higher the level of management hierarchy, the greater the number of economic units that needed coordination of their tribute and distribution flows. The order of priority and the quantity of resources allocated to resolve any particular complaint depended on the weight it gained. The quantity of complaints served as an indicator of balance in the system as a whole and at its levels in particular. Their minimization was the criterion of effectiveness of a manager's activities in razdatok-economy.

Thus, complaints appear to be not only a phenomenon of common culture of the people but also the most important signaling mechanism of operation for the razdatok-economy system.

Historic analysis of the development of the Russian economy shows how the razdatok-economy system formed and developed under objective conditions. The laws of this system are 1) service-labor organization, 2) balancing tribute and distribution flows, and 3) a mechanism of complaints which played the role of feedback. At every stage in the history of the Russian razdatok-economy, a specific management system was formed. It had to provide for the effective functioning of the razdatok-economy system as a whole. Periodically, with changes in the conditions of running the economy and a complication of the social structure, the management model becomes ineffective in dealing with the problems of economic development. The Russian economy has been experiencing one such period during the 1990s, at the stage of market reforms. As before, in the current stage of development a spontaneous search for new effective organizational forms is going on. As a result, razdatokeconomy institutions will be improved.

Razdatok and the market represent two alternative institutional systems which are formed in different societies to organize the economic life. Both razdatok and market economies must provide effective production of goods and services according to the demands of the population. If the USA represents a classic example of the market economy, then Russia is a prominent example of razdatok type of economy. The reasons for the formation of either type of economy lie with the features of natural environment and means of its development formed at the initial stages in the history of each state. In the course of its development, each economy strengthens the features typical of it, while the expediency of the appropriate economic system is reliably consolidated in the consciousness and social values of generations.

Cyclic development is typical of all economic systems functioning according to the laws of either market, or razdatok economy. Each institutional cycle is characterized with economic institutions, types of organizations, and management models of its own. The ones which make it possible to realize the basic economic laws and provide for the sustainable economic development to the largest extent. In a market economy such institutional environment provides for the realization of law of supply and demand, while in a razdatok economy it provides for the realization of the law of balancing sdacha and razdacha flows for all the sectors of the state economy.

At periods when the formed elements of the institutional environment can no longer guarantee the functioning of the basic economic laws, the economic systems and all their branches enter the period of crisis, while the system of economic relationships enters the period of institutional changes. The common feature of these periods is the testing and the introduction of institutional elements of alternative types of economies which make it possible to overcome the crisis. For example, after the deep crisis of the 30s in the countries with market economies, state regulation methods typical of razdatok economies began to be actively used

In the course of historic development of the razdatok economy in Russia, at periods of institutional changes, introduction of methods of organization of economic life from the current experience of economies of the market type took place. Usually as well, the names of new types of organizations and economic methods were borrowed to the extent that the names of these historic periods were extended to the economic historiography of Russia. For example, the period of institutional changes in Russian razdatok-economy of the XII–XV centuries was called feudalism and the period from the late XIX to the early XX century was called capitalism

When a new management model was found and all the elements of the institutional environment were renewed, then the period of institutional changes is finished and a new cycle began. It made it possible to provide the functioning of the basic economic laws and the growth of economic effectiveness in changed historic conditions. For example, the essence of the previous period of institutional changes in the economy of Russia which started in the end of XIX century and finished in the early 30s of the XX century, was transition from serfdom management model to the administrative one. The essence of the current period of the institutional changes called the period of the market reforms is the replacement of ineffective administrative management model and the formation of a new mechanism regulating and balancing sdacha and razdacha flows.

Ineffectiveness of the administrative management model in the razdatok-economy at a period of crisis resulted from the character of redistributive-bureaucratic financial mechanism which developed during the 70 and 80s. The functioning of the redistributive-bureaucratic mechanism was described for the first time in this book. It led to the excessive growth of the management expenses, reduction of money for the main production activity, deterioration of the labor motivation on a mass scale, and reduction in the quality of the public reproduction.

The current period of the market transformation in the razdatok-economy of Russia has demonstrated the regularities of institutional renewal. At the first stage the introduction of alternative economic institutions takes place. At this period institutional environment is characterized by the presence of elements of market and razdatok nature as well as their various combinations which exist on equal grounds. Some of them turn to be institutionally stable and correspond to the razdatok nature of the macroeconomic environment, while the others come into conflict with the communal nature of the material

and technological environment and the domineering etatization potential of the population. The essence of the second stage of institutional renewal is the modernization of the basic state property institution on the basis of sustainable combinations of institutional elements.