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15 February 1980

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 4/80)

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USSR REPORT  
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS  
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NATIONAL

FEDOSEYEV DISCUSSES NATIONALITIES AND LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

Moscow VESTNIK AKADEMII NAUK SSSR in Russian No 12,1979 pp 33-49

[Article by Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Academician P. N. Fedoseyev: "Theoretical Problems of the Development and Growing Together of the Socialist Nations"]

[Text] The 1977 USSR Constitution consolidated in legislation the outstanding results of the implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy of the CPSU and the successes in national-state construction in our country which have been achieved on this basis. The solution of the nationalities question in the USSR -- the elimination of the national inequality of nations and the establishment of the friendship and fraternal cooperation of the peoples of our country -- is of world historical importance for the progress of all mankind.

The importance and scope of the nationalities question can be judged from the following data. At the present time more than 2,000 nations and peoples exist on our planet. Certain linguists believe (taking account of all dialects and accents) that there are no less than 8,000 different languages in the world. Yet, there are only 150 states on earth. It is completely obvious that most (one can say, the vast majority) nations, peoples, and ethnic groups now live in multi-national states. This bears witness to the fact that the nationalities question occupies a very important place in the contemporary development of mankind.

In the bourgeois world, in the midst of the deepening general crisis of capitalism, an important exacerbation of nationality relations is taking place.

In recent decades we have become the witnesses of unprecedentedly powerful explosions of racial and national conflicts in various parts of the capitalist world. The racial clashes in South Africa, the growing movement against racism in the United States, the bloody battles in Northern Ireland, the constant tensions between the Scotch and the English, the national and ethnic conflicts in Canada and Belgium, and the lingering

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national and religious antagonisms in the Near East -- all of this testifies to an increasing exacerbation of national and racial relations.

History has shown that the bourgeoisie has been incapable of solving the nationalities question. The multi-national states and colonial empires created by it have disintegrated.

Reformist parties have also proven to be bankrupt in the solution of this problem.

The English Laborites who for many years led the government did not move the country a single step forward in the solution of nationality problems. The fall of the Laborite government and the defeat of the Laborites in the last parliamentary elections was to a considerable extent the result of their inability to put forward and carry out any kind of satisfactory program on the nationalities question in whose solution the country's progressive forces and disadvantaged nationalities -- the Irish, the Scotch, and others -- are interested.

The anarchistic and terroristic acts to which extreme nationalist groups are resorting in a number of countries cannot lead to a solution of the nationalities question; they only exacerbate inter-national tensions which are used by reactionary forces in their struggle against democratic transformations.

The workers of our country have every reason to be proud of the fact that national relations in the USSR are characterized, on the one hand, by the comprehensive flourishing of each nation and, on the other, by processes which are bringing them close together and involving them in cooperation. All of this is a real confirmation of the free and equal development of all of the peoples of our country. Thanks to our Leninist Nationalities Policy, all of the socialist nations of the Soviet Union have achieved enormous successes in economic, social, and spiritual development, including the development of their national cultures and languages. The fraternal cooperation of the socialist nations and nationalities of the USSR, and their contribution to the common national economic complex and scientific and technical potential of our country and to the common treasure-house of Soviet culture also ensures the continuous growth of the might and stability of our single multi-national state -- the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. For this reason, at the current stage of the development of national relations in our country the chief task is to harmoniously combine international and national interests.

The historic successes in resolving the nationalities question in the USSR can rightly be placed in the same category as such magnificent achievements as the destruction of the exploitation of man by man and

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the establishment of the social unity of society on the basis of a union of the working class, the working peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia. It should be especially emphasized that the solution of the nationalities question in our country became possible only as a result of the destruction of private ownership of the means of production and the elimination of exploiting classes. The establishment of the friendship of peoples is a result of the formation and development of public production, the growth of socialist ownership, and a strengthening of the union of all of the classes and social groups of Soviet society.

The leading role in the socialist transformation of the country, in solving the nationalities question, and in establishing the social and internationalist unity of society belongs to the working class. The Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class -- the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which has united the Soviet people under the standard of proletarian internationalism -- has become the ideological inspirer and political leader of the workers of all nations. Under its leadership and with the disinterested and comprehensive help of the Russian people all of the previously oppressed nations and peoples of Tsarist Russia have eliminated during the years of Soviet power their previous backwardness and have risen to the heights of contemporary civilization.

The creation of a single multi-national state -- the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics -- has to an enormous extent accelerated the development of the economy of the country as a whole and also the leveling out of the levels of economic development of all of the national republics and oblasts. "The unification of the Soviet Republics into the USSR," it is stated in the preamble to the 1977 Constitution, "has multiplied the strength and possibilities of the peoples of our country in the construction of socialism."

The fraternal friendship and mutual assistance and cooperation of the peoples of the USSR in all of the fields of social life has endured the test of time and has been tempered and grown stronger in the struggle for the victory of Soviet power, in the constructive years of the first five-year plans, in the harsh circumstances of the Great Patriotic War, and during the difficult times of the restoration of our war-torn economy. And in our day also life provides a large number of very vivid examples of the friendship and cooperation of the peoples of our motherland in the construction of communism.

The great Lenin saw the prospects for the coming together of nations under socialism very clearly and even spoke metaphorically about their merging, having in mind their voluntary unification in a single-multi-national socialist state. "The goal of socialism," he wrote, "is not

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only the destruction the fragmentation of mankind into little states and of any kind of isolation on the part of nations, not only the coming together of nations, but their merging."<sup>1</sup>

Lenin contrasted the voluntary unification and coming together of socialist nations to annexation -- the violent merging and violent joining together of nations by imperialist states. Lenin emphasized here that the complete liberation of all oppressed nations and their right to self-determination had to be the necessary precondition for the voluntary and democratic coming together and merging of nations. Basing himself upon the party's program position in the nationalities question, Lenin wrote: "The proletarian party strives to create the largest possible state, for this is advantageous for the workers; it strives for the coming together and merging of nations, but it wishes to achieve this goal not by violence, but exclusively through a free and fraternal alliance of the workers and toiling masses of all nations."<sup>2</sup>

It is clear from all of Lenin's statements on the questions of national and state construction that he understood by the voluntary merging of nations not the elimination of national differences, but a closer unity and a fraternal alliance of socialist nations. He stated that national differences will hold on for a very long time yet, even after the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world scale.

Lenin's theory and policies in the nationalities question received a further profound development and concretization in the decisions of the Congresses of the CPSU and the Plenums of the CC, in the legislation of the Soviet State, and in the statements of L. I. Brezhnev, especially those connected with the celebration of historic dates -- the victory of Great October and the formation of USSR -- and also with the preparations for and adoption of the new USSR Constitution. In accordance with Lenin's nationalities policy, the Communist Party has developed and implemented the principle of the economic development and siting of the productive forces of the country, and also measures to improve national and state construction. The fundamentally important conclusion regarding the emergence of a new historic community -- the Soviet people -- has been thoroughly validated. The experience connected with the development of national cultures and the formation of a single general Soviet culture has been theoretically generalized. Lenin's ideas regarding socialist patriotism and internationalism have been further developed.

The most important theoretical problems of national relations, the historic experience connected with resolving the nationalities question in the USSR, and the process of the development and the coming together of nations under socialism are constantly at the center of the attention of all Soviet scientists, including the scientists of the union republics. In recent years there has been an even greater interest in



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these problems on the part of all of the detachments of our social scientists.

In Moscow, and also in a number of capitals and large cities of the union republics scientific theoretical conferences were successfully held (especially in connection with the 60th anniversary of Great October) at which many of the important problems of improving national relations in a mature socialist society were examined. A result of the study of these problems was a publication of such basic collective works as "Leninism and the Nationalities Question Under Present-Day Conditions" (Moscow), "National Relations in the USSR at the Current Stage" (Moscow), "The Triumph of Lenin's Ideas of Proletarian Internationalism" (Tashkent), "The Historical Experience of the CPSU in its Struggle to Strengthen Peace and the Friendship of Peoples" (Alma-Ata), "The Work of the Communist Organizations of the Trans-Caucasus in the International Education of Workers" (Tbilisi), "The International and the National in Socialist Society" (Kiev), "Belorussia in the Union of Soviet Russia" (Minsk), "The Fraternal Friendship of Peoples -- the Great Gain of October" (Ashkhabad), "Great October and the Nationalities Question" (Yerevan), "In the Single Family of Fraternal Peoples" (Baku), "Problems of the Nationalities Policy of the CPSU Under Developed Socialism" (Kishinev), "The Soviet People -- the Builder of Communism" (Frunze), "Inter-National Relations and the Interaction of the Cultures of the Peoples of the USSR" (Tallin), and many others.

It should be especially noted that all of our social scientists -- historians, economists, sociologists, philosophers, jurists, ethnographers, philologists, and psychologists -- are working intensively on a scientific solution of the problems of national relations. The process of the creative integration of social scientists from all specialties and the increased number of overall studies has become a characteristic feature of recent times. The overall character of the work which has been prepared by specialists from various fields of knowledge has made it possible to have a more profound examination of the processes of the relationships between the class and the ethnic and the national and the international of this sphere of social life and to more clearly demonstrate the dialectics of the interaction of the various aspects of the life and activities of the people of our multi-nationalist state.

However, we must not be satisfied with the results which have been achieved. The Central Committee of the CPSU and Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally are calling the attention of the party and the people to the fact that it is necessary to constantly keep all of the processes and tendencies of the development of national relations in view, to study

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them carefully, to draw the necessary practical conclusions in time, improve the economic and political forms of the fraternal cooperation of the peoples of our country, and to ensure all the necessary conditions for the further development and coming together of the socialist nations.

The initial basis for the study of the processes of the development of national relations obviously has to be a deeper study of the problems connected with the emergence of the new historical community -- the Soviet people.

The Soviet people is a new historically developed social and international community of people whose basis is made up of the indestructible alliance of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia with the leading role of the working class and the juridical and actual equality and fraternal friendship and cooperation of all of the nations and peoples of our country.

Recently there have appeared in certain works definite vaguenesses and idle talk in the interpretation of this problem which, of course, have to be dispelled. For example, opinions to the effect that the Soviet people is allegedly some kind of new single nation have arisen and received a certain currency. With this kind of incorrect interpretation of the problem one can come to the conclusion that the emergence of the new historical community -- the Soviet people -- is leading to the absorption by this community of present-day socialist nations and to their disappearance. In fact, however, the appearance of the new historical community does not lead to the destruction of the existing nations, but has become a model for the organic unification of people of different nationalities while maintaining the socialist nations and peoples themselves and their independence, language, and culture. Moreover, the Soviet people as a new historical community is a most effective and fruitful form for the further development and flourishing of the material and spiritual forces for every nation and people.

In his report on the draft the USSR Constitution at the Extraordinary Seventh Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 9th Convocation, L. I. Brezhnev resolutely rejected the concept of a "single Soviet nation." "The social and political unity of the Soviet people," he emphasized, "does not at all mean the disappearance of national differences."<sup>3</sup> On the basis of the successes of communist construction in our country, a steady coming together and mutual enrichment of the spiritual life of the socialist nations is taking place. However, the party warns us about the impermissibility of artificially forcing this objective process.

The tendencies which have appeared in certain places toward a definite national and cultural apartness and an artificial detainment of the

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processes of the internationalization of social life are a peculiar reaction to the hasty and incorrect judgments on this issue.

Of course, both of these extremes can represent a definite danger for our social development if we do not oppose to them the active working out and extensive propagandization of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the problems of national relations under developed socialism.

The chief direction of research in the field of national relations can briefly be formulated as follows: What are the prospectives in the further development of the nations and peoples of the USSR as a result of the progressive internationalization of all of the aspects of social life, and what are the ways and means of strengthening the friendship and cooperation of peoples during the process of the gradual development of socialism into communism?

Our program and policy in the field of national relations consists of continuing to follow the path of a further coming together of nations and peoples while at the same time not diminishing and not erasing their national and cultural independence and creating the most favorable conditions for the unprecedented flourishing of each of them. This is the nature of the dialectic treatment of the problem of national relations at the stage of a developed socialist society which is building communism. Marxist-Leninist science proceeds from the idea that in communist society there will be no classes and special social groups and that all traces of class differences will disappear, but that nations and national differences will remain for a long time under communism also.

The processes of the comprehensive development of socialist nations are speeded up even more in a mature socialist society. They are based on the steady growth of the economy's scientific and technical potentials of each soviet republic in the general development of the economic and scientific and technical complex of the entire Soviet Union. Such superstructure phenomena as national socialist statehood and culture also have an important influence on the successful development of the nations and peoples of our country. The native language plays a considerable role in this process.

Simultaneously with the flourishing of nations and peoples in a developed socialist society, international processes are strengthened -- the processes of the consistent coming together and comprehensive cooperation of all of the Soviet peoples and of the strengthening of their indestructible fraternal friendship. The conditions and means of accelerating these processes have been the single material and technical base of socialism, a single all-union state, a single Soviet culture

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which is socialist in its content, national in its form, and international in its essence, and the wide dissemination of the language of inter-national communication.

The development and coming together of nations are not separate, parallel, and interconnected processes which express the single international essence of socialist society. The conditions for the national development and coming together of nations develop and can successfully develop only when they are in organic interaction. For this reason, it is very important that at the stage of a mature socialist society which is building communism there should be no stop to the further development of all of the potentialities of nations and that international processes do not lag behind the processes of national development. In other words, national and international processes have to develop in an optimal combination. And this requires a deep study of economic, socio-political, and cultural conditions of the development of nations and of their progressive coming together.

It has to be admitted that many of the economic aspects of the development of the national republics and oblasts have not yet been sufficiently illuminated and theoretically understood. It is also necessary to have a deeper analysis of the social aspects of the development of the Soviet people as a new historical community, particularly, the conditions for the progressive eradication of differences between the basic social groups of our society and for the establishment for its complete social homogeneity. Studies of the socio-psychological and everyday moral aspects of national and international development are especially lacking with us.

The construction of the material and technical base of communism represents a strengthening and comprehensive development of our general state national economic complex, which is an important factor in the further strengthening of the friendship and cooperation of all of our socialist nations and peoples.

At the stage of mature socialism the task of equalizing the economic development levels of the Soviet republics has already been basically accomplished. Each of them is now capable of making their own important contribution to the development of the common economic organism of the USSR. In our scientific studies it is necessary to reveal more fully what role was played in the process by the rational siting of the country's productive forces which took account of the needs of our socialist state as a whole and of the task of developing the economies of previously backward outlying districts. By conducting a scientific study of our natural resources on a broad front our socialist state developed the intensive construction of industrial complexes in Central Asia and Kazkhstan, the Trans-Caucasus, in Siberia and the Far East,

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and in the Volga region and the Urals in order to rapidly develop these regions whose populations were to a large extent previously oppressed nations.

Despite the appreciable progress in the study of this problem (including in the union republics), our scientists still have to do quite a bit in this direction. In particular, little work has as yet been done on inter-republic and inter-oblast economic cooperation and integration, especially on the problems of the management of large economic complexes. The same can be said about the development of a system of methods of determining and comparing the levels of the economic and cultural development of our republics.

The study and correct interpretation of the processes of the equalization of the levels of the socio-economic, political, and spiritual development of our nations and peoples are especially important. Sometimes this problem is interpreted in an over-simplified manner as a question of the equality of republics and of the peoples who populate them with regard to various individual indicators. However, it cannot but be considered that the absolute equality of nations and peoples with regard to all indicators cannot exist. For each of them is characterized by different conditions of life and different features of economic development, particularly, as a result of climatic characteristics and the availability of natural resources, distances from industrial and cultural centers, and so forth. But this does not exclude, but absolutely presupposes the overall development of the economies of each of the republics, for all of the branches of their economies are component parts of our all-union national economic complex.

In this connection, the question arises of the relationship between a republic's or a people's own sources of economic development and those sources which are provided by the entire country and by other fraternal peoples. Only with the joint planned use of the natural resources of the entire country, with regard to the needs of the Soviet Union as a whole, and also of the national republics and oblasts which are a part of this, can the tasks of the progressive development of all of Soviet society and of all of the nations and peoples of the USSR be successfully accomplished. A study of the economic bases of the unity and coming together of the socialist nations is one of the important tasks of Soviet social science.

One of the theoretical problems which requires further creative work is the movement of our society toward full social homogeneity and the strengthening of the unity of Soviet society and of the international fraternity of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

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The creation of a socialist economic system fundamentally changed the character of the relationships between people, put an end forever to the antagonisms which are inherent in an exploiting society, and ensured the formation of the socio-class community of toilers, a fellowship of creators and builders, whose vanguard social force has been and continues to be the working class. It is on this basis that there occurred in our country for the first time in history an organic unification of nations and peoples into a single fraternal family of people.

The equalization of the social structures of the Soviet republics, especially the rapid growth of the working class in those of them where in the past the proportion of workers in the basic mass of population were much smaller than in the central areas of the country, may be regarded as a qualitative new factor of developed socialism. A substantial increase in the proportion of indigenous workers within the working class of the republics has become a noteworthy tendency of our development.

The equalization of the social structure of Soviet society is also characterized by the growth of qualified cadres in the republics. Whereas in the past certain republics did not have their own national production and scientific and technical intelligentsia, now they possess numerous cadres of engineers and technicians, agronomists and doctors, and scientists and specialists in all fields of the economy.

Thus, under developed socialism in the USSR a steady coming together of all of the socialist nations and peoples is taking place on the basis of the equalization of their class structure and a growing social homogeneity, and on the basis of a deepening of the content and expansion of the social base for the triumph of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet practice of national-state construction is of world historical significance.

The formation of the USSR as a single multi-national union state based on the principle of socialist federation has become an example of the voluntary unification of the workers of all nations and peoples in their joint struggle for their common interests and communist ideals. The implementation of the great Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism has unified all of the nations and peoples of our country into an indissoluble union of free and equal peoples.

The new USSR Constitution and the Constitutions of the union republics have consolidated the profoundly democratic bases of the national-state

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organization of our country. The principle of socialist federalism is given especial emphasis in Article 70 of the USSR Constitution. In his report at the Extraordinary Seventh Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the Draft of the USSR Constitution L. I. Brezhnev spoke about the essential erroneousness of proposals by certain comrades to limit the sovereignty of the union republics. Article 76 of the USSR Constitution says: "The Union Republic is a sovereign socialist state which has been united with other Soviet republics in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," and in Article 81 it is written: "The sovereign rights of the union republics are protected by the USSR." In addition the 1977 USSR Constitution has given official status to such new rights for the union republics as their right to participate in the decisions of all-union bodies on questions which have been placed under the jurisdiction of the USSR and their right to legislative initiative in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

All of this requires further work on the important socio-economic and legal problems of the current stage of our national-state construction.

Our moral and psychological climate is an important factor in the development of the Soviet people as a new historical community,

In this connection, constant attention has to be given to a study of how national relations are reflected in the consciousness of the Soviet people as a whole and in the individual socialist nations and peoples, and also in the consciousness and daily moral life of every Soviet person. The organic combination of the national and the international in social and individual consciousness should concretely be brought to light here.

The national characteristics of each nation and each people manifest themselves today above all in their cultures and languages, in their national consciousness and national psychology, and in their everyday life, traditions, and customs. And it would be incorrect to believe that the coming together of nations is leading to the erasing of all of these distinctive characteristics. It can be said that the Soviet people has never before possessed such great possibilities for the progressive development of national factors, for their renewal and enrichment. The task is not to somehow limit the role of these factors, but to understand these processes in a genuinely deep way and to have a clear idea of where they may lead and of how they can be influenced in the interest of the development of our entire society.

Take, for example, the question of historical traditions. Never before have people possessed such a high level of knowledge about the history

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of the development of their own and other peoples. However, in the history of any people there are quite a few not only positive, but also negative examples from the life and relationships of nations (including examples of their past tensions, discord, and clashes). An historian has to show a high level of principle and genuinely Leninist partynost' in order to objectively and without bias illuminate historical events and thereby help to educate patriots and internationalists.

Our current generations receive knowledge about the historical past of their peoples primarily during the period of their school education. A large number of teaching aides and monographs have been published, quite a few novels, stories, plays and poems have been written, and a large number of movie and television films have been made on the history of peoples. But it would be naive to believe that all of these materials contained only positive knowledge and emotions. It cannot but be remembered, for example, that in the recent past individual works presented a one-sided idea of the time of Peter the Great as an era of the flourishing of the Russian state and society. Facts which testified to the very cruel land-owner oppression and autocratic despotism of that time were completely ignored here. On the basis of certain publications one could develop the impression that, for example, there was no more happier time in the history of the Ukrainian people than the Zaporozhskaya Sech', no happier time in the history of the Kazakh people than the time of its nomadic life, and no happier time in the past of the peoples of the Trans-Caucasus than the reign of a certain Tsar or Tsarress. In certain works the personalities of bloody conquerors like Timur and Nadir-Shakh were prettified. Matters have gone so far that certain historians, in their endeavor to flatter the national pride of their peoples, have put the origin of one or another nation in the period of primitive tribal society, forgetting that nations developed much later -- with the development of stable economic relations and of an economic community during the era of the birth and development of capitalism.

As is known, Marxist-Leninists are in no way opposed to the preservation and development of national characteristics and traditions. But, firstly, they resolutely struggle against certain negative features of this national distinctiveness, against what may negatively influence the social progress of a people and weaken its fraternal relations with other peoples. Secondly, communists are in favor of national development only on an international basis.

It is from the positions of internationalism that we resolutely reject both national nihilism and national isolation. We are for the full development of national life and, at the same time, for the comprehensive

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and full development of international values. The growth of these values and their increased role in the life of peoples does not at all mean that national development is sacrificed to international development, as our ideological opponents assert. The fact is that the genuinely international does not contradict but, on the contrary, enriches the national life of peoples and, moreover, the concept of national itself does not remain unchanged, but is constantly changing and is being enriched.

The problems of the cultural development of nations and of the further progress of all of Soviet culture merit especially great attention in research work.

A large amount of work has been performed in the central and republic scientific institutions to generalize the experience of the cultural revolution in the Soviet Union and basic works have been published on the history and theory of Soviet culture, on the special characteristics of national cultural construction in our country, and on the achievements in the spiritual life of the socialist nations and peoples of our country. At the center of attention of researchers here has been overall work on the mutual influence and mutual enrichment of national cultures at the contemporary stage -- one of the important aspects in the further coming together of the socialist nations.

The contribution of each nation and people to our common Soviet culture during the process of the equalization of their cultural levels is steadily growing. In all of the republics of the USSR artistic works are now being created which are deeply national in form and at the same time Soviet, socialist, and internationalist in content. They become the possession of our entire society.

The flourishing of the literatures and art of the peoples of the USSR convincingly proves that the national cultures of all nations and peoples develop especially successfully in the common channel of international socialist culture by absorbing everything valuable from the spiritual heritage of past centuries and of world civilization. In this report "On the 50th Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" L. I. Brezhnev observed: "Today we can already say with every right that our culture is socialist in content and in the main direction of its development, diverse in its national forms and internationalist in its spirit and character."<sup>4</sup>

Soviet culture which is continuously being enriched and is organically fused with the ideology of the international fraternity of all of the peoples of our country is a great possession of socialism and one of the leading channels for the further growing together and the achievement of the complete unity of the socialist nations.

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The preparation and publication of the six-volume "History of Soviet Multi-National Literature" which throws light on many very important aspects of the development and coming together of the socialist nations is an example of the fruitful joint creative scholarship of the scholars of the fraternal republics of our country in working on these themes.

It is not possible to completely understand many complex contemporary cultural processes, including in the field of literature, without a profound analysis, generalization, and consideration of the processes which occurred in the past. We know what an enormous influence the historical cultural relations of the peoples of our country have exercised on the spiritual life and education of the masses. Russian classical literature played an outstanding role in the struggle against nationalistic prejudices and for strengthening the mutual understanding and cultural communication of the peoples of Russia. The great Russian poet Pushkin spoke perspicaciously "about future times when peoples, having forgotten discord, will unite into a great family!"

The new multi-volume work on the history of the literatures of the peoples of our country during the pre-October period whose preparation has been begun by the Institute of World Literature of the USSR Academy of Sciences jointly with literary scholars of all the fraternal republics will be of considerable value in revealing the progressive traditions of the past. The creation of this work will be a new inter-national contribution by them to our domestic culture.

Our multi-national Soviet culture is in complete accord with the social norms and requirements of our society. Its social unity does not lead to a leveling of the national cultures of the peoples of the USSR, for it truly serves the interests of the workers of all of the nationalities which populate our great homeland.

The Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences has performed the study "The Optimization of the Social and Cultural Conditions for the Development and Coming Together of the Soviet Nations" (on the basis of the example of the Georgian, Moldavian, Uzbek, and Estonian SSRs and certain autonomous republics and oblasts of the RSFSR). The materials which have been obtained eloquently testify to the fact that the Soviet nations in our day, despite all their national differences, have acquired many common features, that similarities have arisen in a number of basic social and cultural elements, and that the level of such basic cultural indicators as education and profession is equalling out (this can be seen especially clearly with the younger generation).

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The data of concrete (primarily ethno-sociological) studies shows that the essential differences which once existed between people of different nationalities (both in town and in country) with regard to the level and intensity of their acquisition of various types of spiritual culture have now almost completely disappeared. In other words, all types of culture are not only being spread among the nations and peoples with equal intensity, but are completely being taken up by them.

The chief thing is that people of different nationalities have a common world view and they are united by a common goal -- the construction of a communist society -- and also by the internationalist principles of Marxism-Leninism which are more and more penetrating the social consciousness and psychology of people.

And in this respect a large role is played by the system of education and of ideological educational work in our country. The unity of syllabi in educational institutions of the country (first of all, for history and literature -- in the secondary school; for Marxism-Leninism, political economy, philosophy, and the theory of scientific communism -- in the vuzes) and of the materials which are disseminated by the mass information media actively influences the formation of a single materialist world view in people of all of the nationalities which populate our country and helps to gradually push out the traditional ideas which were characteristic of the world view of people of different nationalities in the past (religion, everyday prejudices, and so forth).

Of course, every nation and people has its own special national consciousness and national pride in the values which have been created by it and in its contribution to the common treasure-house of world civilization (especially to the construction of socialism and communism). However, there can be no question about the fact that during the course of the joint accomplishment of the common tremendous tasks of the establishment of a new historical community of people -- the Soviet people -- the peoples who are a part of this develop a common internationalist consciousness whose basis is socialist ideology which is both an alloy of the common features in the national consciousness of each nation and people and their common international value.

The international consciousness of the peoples of the USSR has now reached a quite high level. However, to date we, unfortunately, have not yet made a sufficiently deep study of its nature and role in the development of our society and of its relationship to the national consciousness of nations and peoples. This includes as yet insufficient work on clarifying the relationship between national consciousness,

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national psychology, and national character and social consciousness, social psychology, and Soviet character.

In emphasizing the present necessity for activating scholarly work in studying the problems of national consciousness, national psychology, and national character one must also consider the fact that it is precisely in this field that the basic reasons for the preservation of certain nationalistic prejudices and bias are now rooted.

A study of the spiritual life of nations is important not only from a theoretical point of view; it is essential first of all to ensure the harmonious development of all forms of social consciousness on an internationalist basis and to prevent the possibility of the appearance of negative tendencies.

The process of the interaction and interpenetration of national cultures, of their mutual enrichment, and of the development of a common Soviet culture as an international culture of all of the socialist nations is of great scientific and practical interest.

But Soviet culture is not a non-national and single-language culture, but a multi-national and multi-language culture; it is embodied and disseminated in all of the languages of the peoples of the USSR.

The existence in our country of a large number of languages creates certain difficulties for communications between people, but at the same time it is a favorable soil for the growth of the spiritual wealth of Soviet society and a mighty source for the many-faceted and multi-colored display of multi-national socialist culture. The development of their national languages has been a very important condition and the basis of the outstanding achievements of all of the peoples of the USSR in the political administrative, economic, cultural, and other spheres of life. At the same time, the dissemination of the language of inter-national communication is becoming increasingly important. As a result of objective historical conditions, the Russian language has become this language.

In a struggle against the colonizer policies of the Russian autocracy and the hypocrisy of bourgeois liberals in the nationalities question Lenin and the Bolshevik Party defended the complete freedom and complete equality of languages. Lenin regarded the abolition of a mandatory state language as a program demand of the party.<sup>5</sup>

The bourgeois liberals justified the necessity for maintaining a privileged position for the Russian language as the state language by the fact that it "is great and mighty" and for this reason all of the inhabitants of Russia must know it. Objecting to the liberals, Lenin

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wrote: "All of this is correct, gentlemen liberals -- we reply to them. We know better than you that the language of Turgenev, Tolstoy, Dobrolyubov, and Chernyshevskiy is great and mighty. We want more than you for the closest possible communication and fraternal unity to be established between the oppressed classes of absolutely all of the nations which inhabit Russia. And we, of course, are in favor of every inhabitant of Russia having the opportunity of learning the great Russian language. There is only one thing we do not want: the element of coercion."<sup>6</sup>

Lenin explained that the institution of a state language signifies coercion, and this does not attach people of other nationalities to it, but repels them from it. He wrote that it was essential to understand psychology which is especially important in the nationalities question. The slightest coercion in the language question "...will defile, dirty, and nullify the indisputable progressive significance... of a single language."<sup>7</sup>

The October Socialist Revolution put an end to the language inequality in which the Russian language was a privileged state language and was forcibly imposed upon other nationalities. Since that time the Russian language has not enjoyed any privileges and has not been invested with any special legal right.

The study and use of the Russian language by people of other nationalities is taking place on the basis of their free and voluntary decisions. The dissemination of the Russian language is a result of the fact that it is a language which is used by the majority of the population of the country and which services the common needs of the economic and political life of the peoples of the entire country and serves the scientific and technical and cultural development of all of the nations and peoples of the USSR. People of different nationalities live and work in all of the union and autonomous republics, all of the oblasts, and cities, and villages of our country. The language of inter-national communications has developed for them into a necessary condition for joint production, social activity, and everyday life.

A consistent observance of Leninist principles in the realization of our nationalities, including language, policies has become the basis for a general intensification of the linguistic life of the peoples of the USSR under the conditions of mature socialism. The principle of the equality of languages and peoples has been elevated to the rank of a constitutional law. It is reflected in Articles 34, 36, 45, and 159 of the 1977 Constitution. The realization of the legal rights of the peoples of the USSR is ensured by the policy of the comprehensive development and coming together of all nations and peoples, and also "...by the possibility of using one's native language and the languages of the other peoples of the USSR" (Article 36).

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At the stage of developed socialism and as a result of the further internationalization of all of the aspects of social life, the language of inter-national communication is becoming an important condition for the further coming together and cooperation of the peoples of the Soviet Union in the fruitful development and mutual enrichment of national cultures and languages and the comprehensive assimilation and multiplication of the achievements of modern civilization.

The All-Union Scientific Theoretical Conference on the Problems of Improving the Study of the Russian Language which took place in Tashkent at the end of May 1979 convincingly demonstrated the necessity for a further organic combination of the development and use by all peoples of their native languages, the enrichment of their social functions and, at the same time, a wide dissemination of the Russian language -- as the means of inter-national communication.

In the greetings by L. I. Brezhnev to the participants of the conference a profound substantiation was given of Leninist nationalities policy in language construction and of the role of national languages and of the language of inter-national communication. In particular, it emphasizes: "Under developed socialism, when the economy of our country has turned into a single national economic complex and a new historical community -- the Soviet people -- has arisen, there is an objective increase in the importance of the role of the Russian language as the language of inter-national communication in the construction of communism and the education of the new man. The fluent mastery, in addition to one's native language, of the Russian language which has been voluntarily accepted as a common historical possession by all Soviet people promotes the further strengthening of the political, economic, and spiritual unity of the Soviet people."<sup>8</sup>

The work of the conference took place under the motto of "The Russian Language -- The Language of the Friendship and Cooperation of Peoples." Of course, the Russian language performs this inter-national function not by virtue of any special qualities it possesses, but as the language of the inter-national communication. In the report of the Candidate Member of the Politburo of the CC CPSU Sh. R. Rashidov, and in the subsequent reports and speeches at the conference there was a thorough examination of basic theoretical problems and of practical measures to improve language construction and to improve the teaching in the national schools of both the native and the Russian languages. The conference discussed and adopted recommendations which set forth a harmonious system for the teaching of the Russian language beginning with childhood and at all later stages of education and self-education.

The dissemination of the language of inter-national communication in the fields connected with scientific and technological progress is of especially great importance.

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In our day science and technology has an international character. Scientific and technological progress is a powerful factor in the development of nations and the internationalization of all aspects of life. The exchange of achievements between the scientific institutions of all of our republics is a necessary condition for the growth of the general scientific potential of our country. Without this scientific exchange we would not be able to successfully accomplish the tasks of increasing the scientific and technical potential of our republics and of fully achieving the organic unification of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of developed socialism.

The fact that a substantial number of works of a general scientific character are still being published in the republics only in the national languages cannot be acknowledged as normal. As a result, these works are accessible only to a limited circle of readers.

All of this testifies to the necessity for the wide use of the language of inter-national communication in disseminating the scientific achievements of the union republics, particularly of our republic academies. For this reason, in addition to the publication of scientific works in the national languages, it would be advisable to have a parallel publication of all works which are of general scientific importance in the Russian language.

One of the very great achievements of socialism and of socialist culture is the very successful development of national languages and the expansion of their social functions through which it has become possible to describe the most complicated scientific concepts and theories in them. At the same time, the necessity for exchanging scientific achievements in the language of inter-national communication is becoming increasingly important. It should be considered that not only the most important studies of Soviet scientists are published in the Russian language, but also translations of the most important works published in other countries. Foreign periodicals and books in the natural and social sciences are also abstracted in the Russian language.

Marxist-Leninists proceed with the idea that with the present high level of the development of national culture, especially national languages, in which they perform the widest social functions there is no danger at all the publication of scientific works or the teaching of special subjects in the Russian language in the higher educational institutions of the national republics can to any extent lead to an infringement of the rights of national languages or have a negative effect upon the development of national cultures.

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The question of the further development of research on the problems of the functioning and study of the Russian language in the national republics has been repeatedly discussed at meetings of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences and also at meetings of the Council for the Coordination of the Scientific Work of the Republic Academies. In particular, the Institute of the Russian Language of the USSR Academy of Sciences was charged with developing with the participation of the philological centers of the academies of sciences of the union republics a long-term program of scientific research and of practical measures on the topic of "The Russian Language as a Means of Inter-National Communication."

A most important condition for the successful functioning of a language of inter-national communication and for the dissemination of the Russian language in the union and autonomous republics is a consistent application of the principle of bilingualism. As is known, bilingualism has received wide recognition not only in our country, but in many countries of the world. However, in socialist society equal dual language possession as one of the forms of bilingualism, is built on a fundamentally different basis than in the capitalist countries. Bilingualism creates a linguistic environment in which there occurs a further development and enrichment of the national language along with an increasing need to master the Russian language as a means of inter-national communication.

It is important to continue to explain consistently and well-directedly that with bilingualism, national-Russian dual language possession, there in no way takes place an infringement of national interests, but on the contrary, a favorable linguistic situation arises which leads to the harmonious combination of the inter-national and the national in the cultures of peoples.

Equal dual language possession, as one of the most important principles of language construction in the USSR, requires further development and a broad application at the various levels of public education, especially in the national schools and vuzes. Psychology and pedagogical practice have proven the invalidity of the opinion that the study of a second language in childhood hinders the assimilation of the native language. In fact, the consistent use of bilingualism in the national schools and the teaching of the Russian language leads to the creation of the kind of natural atmosphere of living communication which ensures especially favorable conditions both for the development and enrichment of the native language and for the rapid mastery of the skills of spoken Russian. All of this eliminates many hindrances to a subsequent study of the language of inter-national communications in the vuzes of the national republics.



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In the next few years scientists must also give more attention to theoretical work on and the study in the schools of the language of the indigenous population of the union and autonomous republics. The development of national languages is not only an indicator of their equality; what is most important is that it is easier and faster in one's native language to assimilate knowledge and cultural values. The languages of all of the nations and peoples of the USSR play a very important role in the successful development of culture, in public education and in the training of national cadres for the union and autonomous republics and the autonomous oblasts and districts of the country.

It is known that a national language is in the real sense of the word the creation of a people and the basic form for the expression of national culture. However, the erroneous idea that the study and dissemination of the Russian language as a means of inter-national communication allegedly leads to a certain extent to pushing out the national language and to infringing on national culture can create definite difficulties. In fact, however, the principle of bilingualism and the study and dissemination (along with the native one) of a language of inter-national communication serves common social goals -- the goals of the further coming together of nations and of the cultural development and the flourishing of each nation. For this reason, an explanation of the principle of bilingualism as being progressive from the social and cultural-historical points of view is one of the important tasks of scientific institutions. It is important to emphasize that national-Russian bilingualism is being disseminated in our country on the basis of the principle of the equality of all of the languages of the country -- a principle which has been elevated to the rank of constitutional law.

The goal and task of the language policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state is to provide maximally favorable conditions both for the development of national languages and for the dissemination of the Russian language and the formation on this basis of a national-Russian bilingualism. A correct understanding of the role of bilingualism and the role of the Russian language in our multi-national state is one of the basic factors in the fruitful dissemination, study, and teaching of a language of inter-national communication.

The linguistic wealth of the peoples of the USSR, as the most vivid indicator of the development of their national cultures, more convincingly than anything else refutes the invention of anti-Soviet people about the extinguishing of the national independence of the peoples of the USSR and their unification. It is not superfluous to recall that only after the victory of Great October 50 peoples of the USSR acquired

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their own writing and developed highly developed literary languages. In our day teaching in the country's educational institutions is conducted in 52 languages.

Cultural and language construction in the USSR is an achievement of world historical importance.

Nations as historically developed communities serve and will serve for a long time yet as one of the forms of social progress. The essence of the matter is for the development of nations to be combined with the accomplishment of the common tasks of our socialist state and with the struggle to attain the highest goal of the Soviet people -- the construction of a communist society.

In the organization of research on nationality problems, more than in any other field, it is necessary to have the coordination of the efforts of all of our social scientists who are working in the scientific institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the academies of sciences of the union republics, in the academic branches, in the autonomous republics, and in the country's higher educational institutions. Great hopes are being placed upon the Scientific Council on Nationality Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A study of these problems presupposes the use both of union data, summary materials for the entire Soviet Union, and of republic sources which characterize the results and processes of the national development of each of the peoples of our country. A deep study of all of the aspects of this complex problem requires the enlistment, in addition to scientists from our central scientific institutions, of specialists in various fields of knowledge from the national republics.

Only in this way is it possible to overcome, on the one hand, the abstract and very schematic approach to the problem which frequently shows up in works published by the central scientific institutions, and, on the other, tendencies toward an excessive localization of research topics which sometimes leads to a one-sided treatment of a number of questions, which is characteristic for certain works by republic scientists. It is necessary to state, unfortunately, that certain works devoted to a study of the history and also of the level of the material and cultural development of individual republics sometimes do not take sufficient account of the contribution of the entire country, of the multi-national Soviet people, to the progress of an individual nation or people. Frequently the achievements of one or another union or autonomous republic are isolated from the overall progress of the entire Soviet state.

It is also hardly possible to regard as correct the fact that statistical handbooks on the development of the republics do not mention and, even

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more, do not sufficiently reveal the enormous and constantly growing contribution which is being made by the entire country to the national development of a specific republic.

A mandatory consideration of the indisputable fact that in the life and national development of each people a decisive role is played by the achievements of our entire country and of the entire fraternal family of its nations and peoples has to become one of the central principles of research work.

The dialectics of history is such that the comprehensive flourishing of the socialist nations on the basis of the realization of the principles of Lenin's nationalities policy leads not to their isolation from one another, but to their further coming together. We can proudly note that today not only the Soviet Union as a whole, but each of its component union republics represents a multi-national family of workers of the most diverse nationalities who are united by the common ideas of Marxism-Leninism and by single goals in the construction of the bright edifice of communism. This is one of the life-giving sources of the strength of socialist society.

The mutual respect and mutual trust of people of different nationalities who associate with one another in production and in everyday life, the fraternal mutual assistance of the members of multi-national labor collectives, and genuine inter-nationalism in human relations are inseparable features of the socialist way of life.

Lenin's principles of proletarian internationalism and of the indestructible friendship and fraternal cooperation of the workers of different nations are embodied in the development of the entire world socialist commonwealth. New and historically unprecedented close relations in the fields of economics and politics which are based on common class interests and goals and on complete equality, fraternal mutual assistance, and cooperation have been established between the socialist countries. The principles of the USSR's relations with the socialist countries are fixed in the Basic Law of the Soviet State: "The USSR as a component part of the world's socialist system and of the socialist commonwealth develops and strengthens friendship and cooperation and comradesly mutual assistance with the socialist countries on the basis of the principle of socialist internationalism and actively participates in economic integration and in the international socialist division of labor" (Article 30).

A study and generalization of the historical experience and achievements of the world socialist commonwealth in the creation of a new type of international relations is one of the very important tasks of the social scientists of a socialist country. For this reason it is natural that

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the problems of socialist internationalism and of the development of the socialist nations occupy a prominent place in the plans for international scientific cooperation.

A combat sector in the work of our social scientists has been and continues to be a struggle against bourgeois and revisionist falsifications of the historical experience in solving the nationalities question in the USSR and in the system of the world socialist commonwealth, and a principled criticism of various nationalistic and racist conceptions.

In his day Lenin repeatedly reminded Marxists that the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties try with all their strength to disunite the workers of different nationalities, to instill in them distrust for one another, and to upset the international alliance and fraternity of the workers of the world. However, he was confident of the fact that through patient, persistent, and stubborn work our party would succeed in time in stopping the intrigues of bourgeois nationalists, dispelling nationalistic prejudices of all types, and demonstrating to the workers of the entire world an example of a genuinely strong alliance of workers and peasants from various nationalities in the struggle against the oppression of the exploiting classes and for the construction of a new state and new society.

The CPSU has successfully accomplished this great historical task and has demonstrated an outstanding example of the realization of the principles of proletarian internationalism in the liberation struggle and in the construction of a new society and in strengthening the world socialist commonwealth and the international solidarity of communists, and also of all of the workers of the different countries and peoples.

The consistent realization of Lenin's nationalities policy, the education of the workers in the spirit of proletarian nationalism, and the unmasking of the reactionary ideology of bourgeois nationalism, racism, and cosmopolitanism is regarded by the CPSU as its program task and as an immutable obligation of all party organizations.

The decree of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers "On a Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" speaks of the urgent necessity for developing in all Soviet people a feeling of pride in their socialist fatherland, of the indestructible fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR, respect for the national dignity and national culture of each people, and intolerance towards any manifestations of nationalism. All of this will undoubtedly promote a further strengthening of the unity and solidarity of our great Soviet people.

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FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol. 27, p. 256.
2. Ibid., Vol. 31, p. 167.
3. L. I. Brezhnev, "On the USSR Constitution," Moscow, 1977, p. 39.
4. L. I. Brezhnev, "Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles," Vol. 4, Moscow, 1975, pp. 59-60.
5. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol. 24, pp. 294-295; Vol. 25, p. 146; Vol. 31, p. 440; Vol. 32, pp. 142, 154.
6. Ibid., Vol. 24, pp. 294-295.
7. Ibid., Vol. 48, p. 234.
8. PRAVDA 23 May 1979.

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NATIONAL

SHAKHNAZAROV DEFENDS SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Moscow SOVETSKAYA DEMOKRATIYA V PERIOD RAZVITOGO SOTSIALIZMA in Russian 1979  
signed to press 3 May 79 pp 168-196

[Chapter 6 of book: "Professionalism and Democratism in Management";  
Izdatel'stvo "Mysl"]

[Text] Democracy and "Technocracy"

As a rule, bourgeois and social democratic sociologists link socialism with technocracy. Many of them allude here to the idea of the founders of Marxism-Leninism that the state and political power under communism will die away and that the place of the management of people will be taken by the management of things. Bourgeois propaganda has need of the "technocratization" of socialism not, of course, to acknowledge the important role of specialists in the management of the socialist society. The concept of technocracy as applied to socialism is employed chiefly as proof of the formation of a "new ruling class."

How do matters stand in reality?

K. Marx and F. Engels saw as the most important distinguishing feature of the coming socialist society the fact that it would be organized on a scientific foundation and that it would open broad prospects for the introduction of science in all spheres of human activity. V. I. Lenin repeatedly pointed to the gigantic role of science in the building of socialism and communism. He came out with the idea of extensively using of bourgeois specialists and said, addressing scientists: come to us for it is precisely we who have assumed the labor of transforming the country and uplifting the people from darkness to light.

The concerns of Soviet power were expressed by a populous scientific and technical intelligentsia devoted to the ideas of communism and inseparably connected with the working class and kolkhoz peasantry. Millions of highly skilled specialists are managing industrial and agricultural enterprises, organizing consumer services and working in the system of public education, the health service and in all fields of state administration.

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But neither in theory nor in practice has scientific communism linked itself with a state system where in power has belonged to specialists as an independent political force. All documents of the CPSU and the Marxist-Leninist parties of other socialist countries invariably emphasize that until total communism has been built, the leadership of society by the working class and its revolutionary party is essential.

Where could room be found here for a "dictatorship of specialists" or a regime of technocracy, one wonders.

And it is not only a matter of theory, moreover. Bourgeois ideologists assert that the practice of socialism far from corresponds to the theory and that the latter is retained merely as a verbal screen in the face of the real historical process, which has allegedly not proceeded as predicted by the founders of scientific communism. They repeat the version of the "social elite" or "new class"<sup>1</sup> which has taken shape in the USSR and other socialist countries.

Marxist-Leninist parties resolutely repudiate this slander against socialism. To be convinced of its groundlessness it is sufficient to formulate the question thus: the formation of a new ruling class should have entailed the replacement or, at least, a qualitative metamorphosis of the forms of ownership and production and other relations. Nothing of the kind has occurred either in the Soviet Union or in other countries of the socialist community; production relations have developed everywhere from the same original foundation laid by the socialist revolution.

Further. Such a fundamental change in the nature of political power as the formation of a new ruling class should have entailed a renunciation of the goals of the revolution. But the communist and workers parties are striving consistently and unswervingly for the realization of goals based on Marxist-Leninist theory and recorded in their program documents.

Finally, a principal feature of a ruling elite is its more or less stable composition. However, it is known that leader cadres in the socialist countries are constantly being replaced. A natural process of an increase in the competence of managerial personnel in accordance with the requirements of the new stage of social development is underway; together with an improvement in managerial concepts there is a change in the type of worker.

It is important to emphasize that management is by no means a kind of permanent privilege of this section of society or the other. The social milieu of specialists supplying personnel for the managerial apparatus is reinforced from all classes and social groups.

But probably the most interesting piece of evidence against the "new ruling class" thesis is the acknowledgment of Z. Brzezinski and S. Huntington that, in contrast to American practices, in the past decade the overwhelming majority of high political leaders in the Soviet Union has come from worker or peasant families.

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Over 80 percent of union republic Communist Party central committee, kraykom and obkom secretaries and council of ministers and krayispolkom and oblispolkom chairmen and approximately 70 percent of USSR ministers and state committee chairmen began their activity as workers and peasants. Of the directors of the country's biggest industrial enterprises, more than one-half were formerly workers. The situation is approximately the same in other socialist countries also. Thus in Hungary almost 300,000 former workers have become leaders in various spheres of public life.<sup>2</sup>

In speaking of an "elite," bourgeois sociologists most often cite instances of bureaucratism and violation of the standards and principles of socialist state administration. However, it is well known that from the first days of Soviet power V. I. Lenin and the Bol'sheviki proclaimed an active struggle against the most tenacious and dangerous of the legacies of capitalism--bureaucratism.

The CPSU is waging a resolute struggle against bureaucratic tendencies, against which the managerial apparatus is not entirely insured even under socialism.<sup>3</sup> The CPSU Central Committee Report to the 25th party congress said: "The majority of workers of the state apparatus are skilled, conscientious and attentive people. Their work deserves a high evaluation and respect. But it has to be admitted that there are still soulless officials, devotees of red tape and boors. Their behavior is giving rise to Soviet citizens' justified anger. Relying on the support of the public, the party is struggling and will continue to struggle resolutely for an elevation of work standards for the administrative apparatus."<sup>4</sup>

Active propaganda of the democratic methods of management, for example, is contributing to the surmounting of bureaucratism. Precisely, as a result of the inculcation of respect for competent and highly skilled managerial work, it is possible to create the necessary social atmosphere for a successful struggle against all manifestations of bureaucratism.

Managerial functions are growing increasingly complex all the time and are demanding increasingly extensive and diverse training, high skills and definite talent. Socialist society has a vital interest in insuring that current managerial questions be decided with the broadest participation of scientists and skilled specialists. And this does not in the least threaten a dictatorship of an intellectual elite, a "scientocracy," for management in this society loses the command function and is exercised under general control. And the question of the fate of management and managers in the future is settled by Marxism-Leninism with regard for two principal ideas. The first is that everyone, to a man, must participate in management. The second is that in communist society the state will die away and the need for the management of people will disappear together with it.

"Capitalist culture," V. I. Lenin wrote in the work "Gosudarstvo i revolyutsiya" [The State and Revolution], /"has created/ [This and subsequent words in slantlines in italics.] large-scale production, factories, railroads, a postal system, telephones and so forth, and /on this basis/ the vast



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majority of functions of the old 'state power' have been so simplified and may be reduced to such very simple operations as registering, recording and checking that these functions will become perfectly intelligible to all literate people, that these functions may be exercised perfectly well for the customary 'worker's wages' and that any suspicion of anything privileged and 'authoritative' may (and must) be removed from these functions."<sup>5</sup>

And further: "We are organizing large-scale production, proceeding from what has already been created by capitalism; we /ourselves/, the workers, relying on our work experience and creating the strictest, iron discipline supported by the state power of the armed workers, will reduce state officials to the role of simple executants of our assignments and responsible, replaceable and modestly paid 'supervisors and accountants' (with technicians of all grades, types and levels, of course)--this is /our/, proletarian task, this is where we can and must /begin/ in accomplishing the proletarian revolution. This beginning, on the basis of large-scale production, will of itself lead to the gradual 'dying away' of all officialdom and to the gradual creation of an order, not a so-called order resembling hired slavery, but an order wherein the increasingly simplified functions of supervision and accounting will be performed by all in turn, will then become a habit and, finally, will lose validity as /special/ functions of a particular stratum of people."<sup>6</sup>

What is the essence of Lenin's idea? First, that managerial functions in communist society will not be connected with any privileges. Second, that all will perform the functions of supervision and accounting in turn. In another part of the above work V. I. Lenin expressed the same idea thus: "...an immediate transition to the point where /all/ perform the functions of control and surveillance, where /all/ become 'bureaucrats'<sup>7</sup> for a time and where, for this reason, /no one/ may become a 'bureaucrat'."<sup>8</sup> Thus for V. I. Lenin it was constantly a question of supervision, accounting and surveillance. And this is perfectly natural because in a work devoted to service of the state and designed to comprehensively substantiate and develop the idea of K. Marx and F. Engels concerning the dying away of the state under communism V. I. Lenin draws attention to what is to secure the maintenance of the discipline of social labor when there will be neither capitalist, supervising official nor gendarme. And he replies: conscious self-discipline.

It is not a question here of the functions of the organization of the economy, education and so forth, which are becoming increasingly complex and need trained specialists.

From our viewpoint, the possibility of retaining professional managerial personnel under communism is perfectly permissible insofar as it is by no means a question of political professionalism, which will inevitably die away, but scientific professionalism.

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It is obvious that under communism management will be neither a more nor less honorable occupation than any other and a regular branch of scientific learning with its applied sphere.

The following idea of the organization of managerial work in the future is perfectly logical: "The principle of the masses' universal participation in management under communism will not signify an anarchical replacement of occupations and types of activity and the asystemic enlistment of citizens in public administration, for this would contradict the principles of highly organized production. Whence ensue two fundamental conclusions. First, the citizens' participation in the activity of this public organ of administration or other will proceed from their capabilities, interests and knowledge. Second, the universality of the enlistment of the masses in management will not exclude the presence of certain persons engaged, together with other work, in exercising the functions of technical administration--planning, accounting, distribution of labor resources and so forth.... It is a question of highly experienced specialists capable of insuring the daily performance of duties in the organization of social production."<sup>9</sup>

It is rightly emphasized here that the highly organized communist society will be unable to reconcile itself to an anarchistic replacement of occupations, including (and, perhaps, even particularly) with respect to a sphere of activity of such exceptional importance for its development as management.<sup>10</sup>

However, future communist society will itself manage matters on this score in the optimum manner. It is not in the traditions of Marxist thought to speculate about the details of its organization, and if we attempt to put forward certain essential principles, it is only to have an opportunity of making a reverse projection into the present and of rechecking the trends which have made themselves known in present-day reality. This trend amounts to the fact that the optimum performance of the managing-organizing function in socialist and, subsequently, evidently, communist society demands the participation of specialists of various branches of learning and increasingly high skills and, furthermore, with experience of managerial work, that is, those specializing for a second time.

Whence arise at least two problems. The first concerning the methods of the participation of the broad popular masses in management in connection with the complication of its functions. The second concerning the conditions insuring the high competence of managers.

#### Democratic Control--A Form of the Masses' Participation in Management

Putting forward the task of the development of socialist democracy, V. I. Lenin wrote: "We demand that /instruction/ in state administration be undertaken by conscious workers and soldiers and that it begin immediately...."<sup>11</sup> The implementation of Lenin's instructions is the prerequisite of the masses' participation in management (given certain material conditions). It is impossible to participate in decisions on affairs of state

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without having a clear idea of the arrangement and functioning of the state mechanism and the contents of the constitution and the basic areas of the law and without knowing the principles of the contemporary science of management.

In the initial period following the socialist revolution objective conditions existed preventing the masses' conscious participation in the affairs of state. "...We have not yet," V. I. Lenin said, "reached the point where the working people's masses may participate in management--besides the law, there is a further cultural level which can be subordinated to no law. This low cultural level is making for the fact that the soviets, being, in accordance with their program, organs of administration /via the working people,/ are in fact organs of administration /for the working people/ via the advanced stratum of the proletariat..."<sup>12</sup>

This state of affairs was overcome as a result of the cultural revolution and the unfolding of a most extensive system of public education. Universal literacy, an all-embracing system of political education organized by the party and Komsomol organs and the teaching of social science in the school and social science and political economy in the secondary specialized academic institutions and political economy, Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the theory of scientific communism in the VUZ's--all this is insuring the high level of the working people's political competence.

But management is growing constantly more complex and demanding increasingly great professionalism. The question, consequently, amounts to a search for the most effective methods of further extending the working people's participation in management. The key to its solution is contained, in our view, in the following idea of V. I. Lenin: "The more resolutely we must now stand up for ruthlessly firm authority and for the dictatorship of individual persons /for certain processes of work/ and in certain features of /purely executive/ functions, the more diverse must be the forms and methods of control from below in order to paralyze any suspicion of the possibility of the perversion of Soviet power and to repeatedly and constantly root out the weed of bureaucratism."<sup>13</sup>

He points here, first, to the variety of forms and methods of control. Indeed, different forms of the masses' participation can and should correspond to different managerial functions. When we speak of the participation in management of all citizens of the socialist state, this by no means signifies that everyone must participate in management at once or everyone always. It is important only that each basic element of the managerial process be under the control of the working people and that each citizen be enlisted in participation in this form of control or the other.

Second, the quoted statement of V. I. Lenin contains the exceptionally important directive concerning the impermissibility of interference in certain managerial processes requiring one-man management and sole responsibility.

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We shall attempt in this connection to examine the process of management from the viewpoint of the stages thereof (sections, sectors) at which mass control is necessary and permissible and of what its most adequate forms might be.

1. Collection of information. Being well informed, a knowledge of the facts and a clear idea of the true state of affairs have always been and remain today an initial condition and a kind of prerequisite both for successful management and for the realization of its democratic principles.

This task has been made extraordinarily more complex as a result of the gigantic increase in the flow of information. But the possibilities of control on the part of the broadest masses are also increasing thanks to the development of data-processing equipment and techniques. Information which has been processed and sorted and selected according to the degree of its importance may be brought to the attention of the entire readership and audience.

2. Evaluation of information. The evaluation of information in all its interconnections and with regard for the multitude of secondary facts is an extraordinarily complex business which requires specialized and in-depth knowledge of the subject and the use of ancillary technical facilities (for comparing this aspect or the other of new information with some data collected earlier, for example).

3. Formulation of the problem. This is an important stage of the managerial process on which the success of the entire undertaking largely depends. The precise and clear formulation of the problem is a prerequisite of its most rational solution. It is natural that the management organs themselves are interested in obtaining the assistance of the public and eliciting whether the necessary importance is really being attached to this problem or the other. It is precisely the formulation of the problem, which is inevitably accompanied by a reference to source data and contains their evaluation, which makes it possible to set up oblique control over the foregoing stage of the managerial cycle, that is, the evaluation of information, and make the necessary amendments thereto.

Whence it is not difficult to draw the conclusion of the possibility and desirability of the use at the stage of the formulation of the problem of the most diverse means--from discussion at sessions of soviets of people's deputies and in standing and interim commissions to the organization of a debate in the press.

4. Preparation of the draft decision. A stage which should be entrusted entirely to manager-specialists with the sole condition: make it incumbent upon them to heed the observations and proposals expressed during the formulation of the problem (in the press, at conferences and so forth).

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5. Adoption of the decision. From the viewpoint of the science of management, the adoption of a decision is the most important stage of the managerial cycle. But precisely by virtue of its exceptional importance the decision-making stage is the most precisely regulated. Together with the constitution there is a multitude of special laws or decrees, statutes, directives and other legislative instruments which indicate with precision (for different authorities and categories of officials) who has the right to make a decision, how it should be made official, what its force in time and space is, to whom should be given preference in instances where decisions clash and are in contradiction and so forth. Precise and strict observance of the laws of the socialist state and other legislative rules regulating decision-making is the first and most important condition of the fact of this stage of the managerial process being under control.

The most diverse forms of the masses' participation in management exist at enterprises in the USSR, as in other socialist countries. However, it would be advisable, in our view, to carry out a sociological study for an evaluation of their effectiveness and submit proposals on their improvement in accordance with the requirements of our times and on the creation of a well-balanced and streamlined system of democratic institutions in production. There are appreciable reserves here for the working people's direct participation in management and at a most crucial stage, moreover--that of the adoption of decisions on which the position of the labor collective and, consequently (to a greater or lesser extent), all its members also depends.

6. Organization. This stage sees the accomplishment of a multitude of tasks which are reflected in a highly material manner in the results of the managerial cycle, and, consequently, the working people's control also could play its positive part here. But it is also necessary to take account of certain negative consequences here. First, the insertion of the discussion element can delay the organization of operations and introduce right from the start a lack of confidence in the actions of the managers. Second, in striving for the implementation of its recommendations the public would thereby remove responsibility from the officials and deprive itself of the moral right to demand statements of account and mete out punishment for shortcomings.<sup>14</sup>

7. Current control. As distinct from control in the broad sense, it is a question in this instance of control as a definite stage of management. From the viewpoint of cybernetics, this could be called the feedback stage: the controlling organ verifies on the basis of this how precisely the set parameters and criteria of the path toward the goal are being observed.<sup>15</sup>

Current control is exercised both by the concerns of the managerial organ itself and special local and central organizations whose activity embodies a most important function of the socialist state--that of accounting and control--the people's control organs.

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8. Regulation. Like organization, this stage of the managerial process is most in need of a system which relies on one-man management and sole responsibility (after a note has been made of the material of current control and the essential conclusions have been drawn therefrom, of course).

But if interference in the process of regulation is undesirable, it is absolutely obligatory, in our view, to notify the public of the very fact of this regulation. If the appropriate managerial organs do not notify the public of the measures adopted for the realization of observations and proposals and, in the broad sense, for the adjustment, amendment and improvement of matters, this serves as legitimate grounds for a second check and, where necessary, for proceedings to be instituted against the culprits.

9-10. Verification of fulfillment and the evaluation of results. Although the two final stages in the managerial process are intrinsically different, they may be amalgamated if it is a question of democratic control.

The collective, which has participated in the practical realization of a given managerial target, has a most direct interest in participating in the summing up and evaluation of the results, primarily because this determines the extent of the financial and moral encouragement (or, on the other hand, the penalty) for the applied labor. In addition, not only the collective but also the whole of society may obtain information as to what section of the forward plan has been covered, whether it will be possible to keep to the planned rate of development and what the most typical shortcomings are from the viewpoint of the organization and quality of the work that has been done.

Thus the extent and forms of the working people's participation in management cannot be identical for all stages of the managerial process. The greatest possibilities for participation in management and for effective control and the greatest need for this control arise at the following stages of the managerial cycle: formulation of the problem, adoption of the decision, control and the evaluation of the results.

The following instructions of Lenin provide the fundamental methodological basis for the solution of the problem of the combination of the specialization of managerial work with the expansion of the working people's participation in management: "The democratic principle of organization--in that highest form in which the soviets' realize the proposals and demands of the masses' active participation not only in discussion of general rules, decrees and laws and not only in the supervision of their fulfillment but also directly in their fulfillment--means that each representative of the mass and each citizen must be given such conditions that he may participate in discussion of the laws of the state, in the elections of its representatives and in the implementation of state laws. But it by no means follows from this that the least chaos or least disorder may be permitted as regards who is responsible in each individual instance for definite executive functions, for the implementation of definite instructions and for

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the management of a definite process of general labor for a certain interval of time. The mass must have the right to elect for itself responsible leaders. The mass must have the right to replace them and the mass must have the right to know and check every least step of their activity. The mass must have the right to promote all working members of the mass without exception to supervisory functions. But this does not signify in the least that the process of collective labor may remain without definite leadership, without the precise determination of the responsibility of the leader and without the strictest order created by the leader's unity of will."16

Thus the increasing complexity of management does not pose obstacles to the constant growth of the broad popular masses' participation in management. The scientific-technical revolution never has been nor will be an enemy of democracy, on the contrary, it is the ally of the sovereignty of the people for it makes it possible to satisfy people's material and spiritual requirements increasingly fully and to secure the conditions for the comprehensive development of the personality.

The complication of the management process and the emergence and development of a special managerial science are incapable of undermining the democratic principles which have been made the foundation of the socialist system. They merely give rise to the need to commission the powerful reserves of democratism contained in the communist mode of production: not only making more extensive use and perfecting the existing forms of the masses' participation in management but also revealing new ones.

Another important problem, which has been mentioned above, is also being successfully solved on this basis: how to insure a constant increase in the competence of the managerial apparatus and the most efficient and democratic selection of leader cadres.

Democratic Methods of the Selection and Placement of Leader Cadres.

As has already been mentioned, at the dawn of the revolution V. I. Lenin demanded that an immediate start be made on instructing the working people in the business of state administration. This expressed the urgent task of that time on which the fate of the socialist revolution directly depended. It was a question of whether the Bol'sheviks would hold on to state power or, having held out against the interventionists and White Guards, would, shivering under the onslaught of hunger, devastation and epidemics, yield its positions to a petit bourgeois element with its age-old anarchism and lack of discipline and organization.

With malicious irony bourgeois propaganda mocked the idea of admitting "every cook" to the administration of the state. Flagrantly distorting the meaning of Lenin's slogan, it tried to persuade people that it was a question of a cook who had been torn away from the stove who was holding the rudder of the state. Meanwhile the socialist revolution had put forward a task which was truly majestic in scale: instructing the broadest popular masses

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in the principles of management and enlisting them in active participation in political life and selecting from their midst the most talented people capable, following the appropriate training, of providing the country with a high scientific standard of leadership.

The enormous attention which V. I. Lenin and the Communist Party devoted to the formulation of consistently scientific principles of the structure of the apparatus of the socialist state and the forms, methods and manner of controlling different processes of social development, the persistence with which the leader of the revolution called for study of the Taylor system and all other innovations of bourgeois scientists in the field of the scientific organization of labor and the concern which he displayed for the creation of research establishments and the publication of management handbooks--all this bore fruit.

The fact that the Soviet science of management was formed not only and not so much as a response to the requirements of conventional managerial practice is particularly important. For it was a question of a completely new economic and political system. For this reason from the very start "it took shape as a militant, party-based science created on a Marxist methodological basis."<sup>17</sup>

A central place in the science of management was rightly occupied by the question of the training, selection and placement of cadres, primarily management personnel--people who plan the development of the national economy, organize the work of different areas of state administration and head the enterprises and establishments and their subdivisions in industry, agriculture, culture and the services sphere. "The 'owner' now is the worker-peasant state," V. I. Lenin emphasized, "and it must organize extensively, in planned fashion, systematically /and openly/ the business of selecting the best workers for economic building and administrators and organizers of the special and the general and of a local and all-state scale."<sup>18</sup>

This was an unusually acute question since the revolution was to raise Russia from the depths of backwardness to the pinnacles of progress, and the number of trained specialists on which it could rely was infinitesimal in the full meaning of the word. And it was a completely different type of worker which was needed: not simply a skilled specialists willing to do that with which he was entrusted for a goodly remuneration but a person captivated by the ideas of communism, an enthusiast, an organizer of the masses capable of giving of himself to the utmost, a seeker and an innovator. To the party vanguard which, together with V. I. Lenin, created the new statehood and to the representatives of the scientific-technical intelligentsia who came to serve the great cause of the country's socialist transformation it was necessary to add hundreds of thousands of such specialists. The party spared no forces and no resources for the accomplishment of this task, and it was accomplished as a result of the cultural revolution.



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The problem of skilled personnel today is entirely different from the problem in the first years of Soviet power. Our country has a multimillion-strong army of skilled specialists in all spheres of activity. These are representatives of the generations which have grown up under Soviet power, who have been raised in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and who are devoted to the cause of communism. In other words, there are tremendous opportunities for selecting people most worthy of exercising managerial functions. "Currently," L. I. Brezhnev said in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 23d party congress, "we have truly inexhaustible opportunities for insuring that the party and state organs and economic and public organizations be headed by skillful organizers who are profoundly conversant with matters and who enjoy authority among the communists and nonparty people. The interests of the cause demand the bolder promotion of young, energetic workers. We must also remember here the need for the correct combination of old and young cadres."<sup>19</sup>

What "techniques" should be applied in order to realize most fully in practice the principles of the party's cadre policy?

In our country there are hundreds of thousands of industrial enterprises, construction sites, sovkhoses and kolkhozes and establishments of the most varied production specialization—from administrative main administrations to theaters and hospitals. Within these enterprises and establishments there are shops, departments, sectors and other independent areas of activity. And the popular interests demand that all these areas be headed by cultured, energetic and enterprising people with a sound knowledge of their work. In other words, the main task of the work with cadres is to insure that the most capable people be promoted to management positions.

In recent years the press has raised increasingly often and persistently the question of the need for the purposeful training of commanders of production and managerial apparatus workers. Proposals are being put forward for the organization of special academic institutions to train managers and the introduction in VUZ programs of the science of leadership, which could help yesterday's students who are joining the labor collectives as organizer-specialists to find the key to people, promote the establishment of healthy relations among the workers and win authority. The correct placement of cadres begins with their training, which, in turn, should be undertaken during the instruction of the specialist, and, even more, at the very start of his practical activity.

This approach is also advisable in the respect that it makes it possible to more boldly and confidently promote to management positions young people with a large store of energy and physical forces.

The definite requirements currently being made of management can only be of significance on condition that society possess objective criteria making it possible to determine the presence of the corresponding attributes with a great degree of reliability. The results of previous activity are

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undoubtedly the best and most reliable of them. The characteristics of the collective--party, trade union and Komsomol organizations--must be taken into consideration here. Finally, psychological tests making it possible to determine such qualities as powers of observation, memory, selectivity of thinking and the ability to distinguish periodicity, collate facts, analyze, combine and so forth could also be useful. A variety of logical tasks which help reveal the worker's capabilities in this specialized sphere or the other could be employed together with the tests.

The following conclusions may be drawn in this connection. Specialized knowledge is needed for the scientific organization of the entire work on training and promoting personnel. There is no less significance in the training of specialists for work with the personnel who could render the party and state organs skilled assistance in the training, selection and placement of people.

Methods of the selection and placement of managerial workers which have been proven in practice exist in the socialist society. At the same time the experimental verification of various improvements, with regard for the specific features of this category of managerial work or the other, of course, is underway. Thus in recent years there has been a considerable expansion of the circle of position filled on a competitive basis.

Experience shows that the procedure of the appointment of officials by responsible state authorities is the most expedient form of the placement of leader cadres in the administrative and economic apparatus. This procedure correspond to the requirements of the managerial process and the principles of one-man management and sole responsibility, on whose strict observance success depends to a decisive extent. At the same time it does not prevent the development of democratic initiative since the party organizations, which accumulate the sentiment of the labor collectives, have an opportunity of actively influencing all personnel appointments and controlling the actions of the administration of the enterprises and establishments.

The fundamental basis for promotion to management positions is clearly set forth in Lenin's demand concerning the approach to workers: "a) from the viewpoint of conscientiousness b) from a political standpoint c) knowledge of the work d) the capabilities of an administrator..."<sup>20</sup>

The party has viewed and continues to view the correct training and placement of cadres as a principal field of its activity. A special section of the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 25th party congress was devoted to questions of cadre policy. "It is essential," L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "that we continue to improve this entire work. It is evidently worth pondering how to raise the training of leading party cadres, particularly for the ideological front, to a new, higher level and how to effect a constant upgrading of the ideological-theoretical and professional level of the comrades currently employed in leading party work. The activity of the central party academic institutions must be further improved. It is necessary here both to recall the experience of the past and give thought to

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new, contemporary forms of the training of cadres with high skills. The main thing is to insure that the party possess an even broader reserve of experienced, theoretically mature comrades."<sup>21</sup>

#### Democracy, Management and the Ideological Struggle

The problems of management and democracy are the object of acute ideological antagonism. Attempting to debase socialism and prevent the spread of its magnetic influence, bourgeois theoreticians assert that such phenomena as technocratism, bureaucratism, elitism and the excessive concentration and abuse of power are rooted in the nature of the socialist system. They speculate here on this violation of democratic principle or the other in the process of the socialist development of individual countries and completely ignore the essential differences between the early and higher stages of the new social system.

Particular urgency in this connection is attached to the question of the objective prerequisites of democracy in management. Insofar as public ownership of the means of production, which constitutes the foundation of socialism, presupposes the concentration of economic might in the hands of the state, to that extent, bourgeois ideologists argue, the concentration of absolute political power and the establishment of an individual or group dictatorship is inevitable. This dictatorship may be benign or harsh, enlightened or obtuse, but it is inevitable because, they say, the society's economic system lacks the prerequisites for democratic practices. Such prerequisites exist, in their opinion, under competitive capitalism, which represents "a system of economic freedom and an essential condition of political freedom." The bourgeois theoretician M. Friedman supplements this assertion with the conclusion that "a society which is socialist cannot simultaneously be democratic in the sense of a guarantee of personal liberty."<sup>22</sup>

Such arguments appear to correspond to the requirements of a scientific methodology of an analysis of social phenomena, and, indeed, the nature of the political institutions is deduced not of itself and not even from this ideology or the other but from the economic system and the society's material living conditions. But the point is that what we have here is only a semblance of a scientific approach and an attempt to utilize Marxist methodology to refute Marxist theory.

Bourgeois theoreticians attempting to identify democracy with capitalism (and only with capitalism, moreover) primarily take as their basis, as the Canadian Marxist S. [Rayerson] has observed, "an increasingly unreal model of capitalism."<sup>23</sup> It is known that capitalism long since passed from the stage of free competition to the final, monopoly, stage of its development. Although this does not rule out competitive struggle, it is precisely the concentration of the resources of production and the centralization of capital and the domination of powerful financial and industrial concerns which determine the nature of the economic system of modern bourgeois society.

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And if it is only competition which is capable of serving as the foundation for democratic practices, then bourgeois theoreticians ought at least to acknowledge that state-monopoly capitalism is by no means conducive to these.

Irrespective of how consistent or inconsistent bourgeois theoreticians are, the point of departure for their arguments about democracy is an equals sign between it and competitive capitalism. To what extent does this correspond to reality?

It is indisputable that the establishment of the capitalist mode of production opened the possibility of and engendered the need for the democratization of society's entire political life. As is known, the basic economic condition of capitalism's existence is the availability in the labor market of free manpower sold and purchased as a commodity. For such a deal to be made without hindrance what is needed is, first, the freedom of each individual to dispose of himself at his own discretion and, second, the formal equality of all before the law. The proclamation of these two principles was a most important result of the bourgeois revolution: it signified an end to the serf-owning system of the exploitation of the peasants and the feudalism which was based on its group-hierarchical system.

But if the capitalist system cannot exist without formal equality and the free buying and selling of manpower, it does not require anything more. The capitalist economy functions successfully given the presence of these two conditions and irrespective of the form of government and whether or not there exists universal suffrage, freedom of the press, trial by jury, a government answerable to parliament and so forth. All these democratic institutions may exert an opposite influence on the economy, spurring it on in some instances and hindering it in others.<sup>24</sup> But they are not a condition of its existence.

The absolute value of competitive capitalism as a foundation of democracy is determined by formal equality and the freedom to buy and sell manpower. These principles derive directly from the economic system of capitalist society and stand, as it were, at the intersection of economics and politics. All other democratic principles and institutions, the sum of which it is customary for bourgeois democracy to name, are not immanent in capitalism and are the result of the working people's class struggle for their rights (and to a certain extent, as mentioned above, also the result of the struggle for power between different strata of the ruling class).

The formation of monopolies and their undivided sway in the economy in practice reduce to nothing the chances of other strata of the bourgeoisie in the struggle for power. Defending and protecting the fundamental conditions of the entire class of the bourgeoisie as before--private ownership and the system of the exploitation of labor--the state becomes an instrument of political domination and of the protection of the specific interests no longer of the entire class but only of its monopolist ruling clique.

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Ruining the small businessmen and materially infringing the interests of the middle bourgeoisie, pursuing a policy of militarism and forcing the nation to wage war now and again in the name of its profits, the monopoly bourgeoisie counterposes itself to all other strata of the population. An opportunity is opened for the creation of a unified antimonopoly front headed by the proletariat.

This threat constantly hanging over the monopolies, which becomes increasingly real as the organizational unity of the working class strengthens, stirs the monopolies to reaction. Of course, it would be an oversimplification to present matters such that the monopolies always and everywhere strive for the establishment of reactionary political regimes. On the contrary, they would prefer to dominate under the canopy of bourgeois democracy for they understand full well that reaction inevitably limits their own possibilities also. For a terrorist dictatorship represents nothing other than an extreme form of power of a class (or a stratum of it), which has its own iron logic and demands the utmost discipline and a readiness to accept certain sacrifices of the ruling class itself. Hitler was the servant of the Thyssens and Kirdorfs and had to wait for a certain length of time in waiting rooms until he was issued a ticket. But having become Reichskanzler, he began to command these gentlemen also. If any of them just stepped out of line, Hitler did not shun the most extreme measures, to which his reprisals against the rebellious generals are sufficiently clear testimony. Fascism is a guarantee of the preservation and prosperity of the monopolies and the monopolist ruling clique as a whole which stands behind them, but by no means a guarantee of the personal security or, even less, of the independence of individual members of this group.

Insofar as the monopolies succeed in preserving their domination with the aid of the mechanism of political parties, generous bribery, advances toward the intermediate strata and other proven means of the bourgeois-democratic system, to that extent they are prepared to preserve and welcome democratic institutions. But where and when a political crisis brews, the nightstick is drawn and attempts are made to introduce emergency laws. The success or failure of these attempts is determined by the correlation of forces, but, whatever the case, here also the monopolies display an aspiration toward reaction.

We must also take into consideration the political struggle which is continuously being waged within the ruling stratum itself. This is on the one hand a struggle of different viewpoints customary for any class and any social group on what means can best secure common interests and, on the other, a struggle for predominant influence in the state. This is again determined by economic reasons--the direction of the activity of this monopoly group or the other. Naturally, the trend toward reaction is expressed most consistently and fervently by the monopolies which have specialized in arms production and colonial plunder.

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What organizational form is assumed, as a rule, by the political regime as soon as the most aggressive and reactionary circles of imperialism succeed in gaining the upper hand over the working people's democratic resistance? The answer to this question requires no particular deliberation; it has already been provided by historical practice. Everywhere where reaction triumphs, if only temporarily, it adopts the form of individual dictatorship. This was the case in fascist Germany, Italy and Portugal. Thus is it in a number of Latin American countries and certain other contemporary bourgeois states.

The explanation for this is to be found primarily in the very nature of the reactionary political regime. Any extreme form of power, as already said, demands the strictest organization and discipline on the part of the ruling class brought to the limit of one-man command and centralism. The natural culmination of the machinery of rule is the individual leader, who holds the keys to all the screws of the state mechanism and stands above the law insofar as he himself formulates the regime's goals and the means of achieving them.

However, it is not simply a matter of the inner logic of the reactionary political regime itself. The monopolies' aspiration to reaction cannot be realized by means of the simple abolition of democratic institutions: it would yield for its instigators absolutely nothing and, on the contrary, would be a signal for the cohesion of all democratic forces and for their resolute actions in defense of their rights. So is it that the principal task of reactionary political regimes is to artificially extend the social base of the domination of the monopolist ruling clique.

Such an artificial extension can only be achieved by means of appealing to the nationalist sentiments of the petit bourgeois mass and only under the flag of national and social revival. In order to "capture" the petit bourgeois element and direct its energy into the desired channel and convert it into a prop of the regime a leader is needed. An exalted personality from the same milieu which it has to mobilize is best suited for this purpose--a storekeeper, sausage maker or simply one of the Lumpenproletariat. Thus emerge the Hitlers, Rockwells and Poujades,<sup>25</sup> who promise the small businessman, who is crushed by indigence, prosperity and lead him away from his natural ally--the proletariat--and reconcile him with his natural enemy--the monopolies--and set him against the communists, socialists, democrats, foreigners and so forth.

Thus the tendency toward absolute rule is deeply rooted in the very nature of capitalist society, particularly in state-monopoly capitalism. It is an inevitable product of socioeconomic conditions wherein an exploiter minority (which diminishes even more in the era of imperialism) dominates the majority of society, and on each occasion that danger threatens this domination, it aspires to establish extreme forms of totalitarian dictatorship. Buonapartism was such a form for the period of free competition,<sup>26</sup> fascism for the era of monopoly capital.

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There incontestably ensues from this conclusion another, no less important, conclusion: following capitalism's attainment of maturity and the crystallization of this system's economic and political forms, the contraction of the social base of the bourgeois state and, consequently, the gradual degeneracy of bourgeois democracy are inevitable. Within the framework of the economic and political omnipotence of the monopolies the democratic institutions of themselves cease to play the part of guarantees against totalitarianism: their capacity for playing such a part depends entirely on the degree of organization of the working people and on their readiness to offer resistance to reaction.

In addition, these institutions are utilized increasingly frequently and readily by reactionary circles both to conceal their domination and also for a transition to extreme forms of totalitarian dictatorship. The deceived majority of the nation gave the Nazis a majority in the Reichstag and the right to form a government.

Communists have never renounced the use of democratic institutions merely on the grounds that the bourgeoisie has been able to adapt them to its domination. Universal suffrage, the system of representation, executive organs of authority accountable to the elective organs, the judges' subordination to the law, the principle of inviolability of the person—all these and many other democratic institutions are employed extensively in the political system of socialism and will increasingly effectively serve the tasks of building the communist society.

Socialism is also creating entirely new forms of democracy and unprecedented democratic institutions. It is broadening the very concept of democracy: under socialism it is not confined merely to the political sphere but extends to all spheres of the life of society, including the economy and culture and the entire system of the management of society.

A most important feature distinguishing the socialist state from any state of exploiter formations is that the sole form adequate for it is socialist democracy. Democratism is rooted in the very nature of the new social system, and the arena of its manifestation enjoys an extraordinary extension, beginning with the very sources of the origin of socialism. Only the socialist revolution enlists in conscious historical creativity not only individual strata or classes but also the mass of working people and the exploited. While opening a broad field of activity for the politically active section of the people it at the same time awakens the bulk thereof and accustoms it to the discussion and solution of public affairs.

Any revolution imparts to a society a powerful democratic charge. But only a socialist revolution is capable of guaranteeing the further development and expansion of democratism. Primarily because it did not culminate in but only began with the winning of political power, after which follows a period of the fundamental transformation of capitalist society into a socialist and communist society. The great goal engenders great energy. Each upward step toward the pinnacle of social justice and of the surmounting of the obstacles on this path calls forth new stimuli to the political

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activeness and creative independence of the popular masses. Such a part was played by the struggle for the country's socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, the accomplishment of the tasks of the cultural revolution, the defense of socialist gains in the 1941-1945 Great Patriotic War and the building of the developed socialist society.

The insistent need for the development of democratism is being engendered by the new material living conditions and the system of production relations of socialism and its class structure. As is known, public ownership of the means of production, which in practice rules out the possibility of man's exploitation of man, constitutes the economic foundation of socialism. In whatever sector of production people may be employed and whatever the nature of their activity, they labor not as capitalists but for themselves and all of society. The liberation of labor from exploitation based on private ownership represents a basic condition of the freedom of the individual.

But it is more than this. Public ownership also signifies public management of property. Exercising the planned leadership of socialist production, accounting and control over the measure of labor and the measure of consumption, the state operates in behalf, at the instructions and in the interests of the collective owner of the means of production--the entire people. Thus the public system of the organization and management of the economy is not a precondition of a restriction of democracy, as ideologists of the bourgeoisie assert, but, on the contrary, a principal condition of the genuine sovereignty of the people.

And one further aspect of the question. Democratism is not only a most important goal of the new society but also a universal means of achieving all its goals with the use of whose advantages the entire system of management is being constructed. Socialism's socioeconomic system does not simply engender the conditions for the democratization of all public life; it insistently demands such democratization.

Socialism cannot linger over the creation of its own democratic system corresponding to the new conditions and contributing to the accelerated development of social relations. But nor is it in a position to accomplish this task immediately. Socialist democracy is not born in ready-made form but goes through various stages of improvement. The formation and development of socialist democracy is an objective process.

A fundamental feature distinguishing the political system of socialism from that of capitalism is that the former develops in a line of ascent. The new system's democratic institutions are suffused with increasingly real content as its socioeconomic relations acquire maturity.

However, before reaching a certain maturity, socialism, like any other phenomenon, has to experience a maturation stage. The founders of Marxism-Leninism repeatedly warned against Utopian calculations of the socialist revolution immediately solving all problems confronting society. V. I.

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Lenin wrote: ".../only/ with socialism does there begin a swift, real, truly mass ongoing advance, with the participation of the /majority/ of the population and, later, of the entire population, in all spheres of public and private life."<sup>27</sup>

Socialist democracy has already graphically proven its superiority to all other forms of society's political arrangement. "We now know," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 25th party congress, "not only from theory but also from many years of practice that as genuine democracy is impossible without socialism, so socialism is impossible without the constant development of democracy."<sup>28</sup>

A most major landmark on this path was the adoption of the new USSR Constitution--the Basic Law of the world's first socialist state of all the people. L. I. Brezhnev observed in the report at the CPSU Central Committee May (1977) Plenum that the USSR Constitution on the one hand collates the entire constitutional experience of Soviet history and, on the other, enriches this experience with new content corresponding to the requirements of the modern era and that //"...the principal direction of that which is new in the draft is the extension and deepening of socialist democracy"//<sup>29</sup> [words in double slantlines in bold face].

If the further progress of democracy--the broadening of the working people's participation in the settlement of state and public affairs, equal relations and the rights and freedoms of the individual--is the first task of the development of the political system of socialism, another task is an improvement in the state mechanism and optimization of the entire managerial process. These tasks are interconnected. The working people have a vital interest in insuring that the country as a whole and each sector of its public economy be managed in the best manner. On the other hand, the enlistment of increasingly broad popular masses in participation in management serves as an effective means of improving the managerial activity of the state organs. The development of democracy and the improvement of state administration are basic processes determining the present and future of socialism's political system.

The 1977 USSR Constitution provides for a further upgrading of the role of the labor collectives, which, it may be said, have now acquired an official political statute. Article 8 of the new Basic Law indicates their broad rights and also duties, among which is concern for a rise in the political consciousness, culture and professional skills of the working people.

The articles of the constitution determining the procedure of the organization of people's control are of no less significance for the combination of democratism and professionalism in management. A well-balanced system of organs combining state control with the working people's public control is being created at enterprises, on kolkhozes and in establishments and organizations (article 92).

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The constitution makes it incumbent upon the soviets of people's deputies and the organs which they create, that is, practically the entire state and administrative-economic apparatus, to regularly notify the population of adopted decisions and to carry out their work on the basis of the collective, free and businesslike discussion and solution of questions, publicity and regular accounting (article 94).

We have cited only individual articles of the Basic Law of the Soviet state of all the people insuring the possibility of the organic combination of an upgrading of the quality and competence of management with the extended participation of the working people in the affairs of the state, society and the collective. However, all the other provisions of the new constitution also contribute directly or indirectly to the accomplishment of this important task.

Thus Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of communist building give a precise and clear idea of the development prospects of the society's political system. It is not technocracy but comprehensive socialist democracy.

FOOTNOTES

1. See, for example: A. G. Meyer, "The Soviet Political System," New York, 1965, p 11; Jean Dru, "De l'etat socialiste," Paris, 1965.
2. See PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA No 3, 1974, p 25.
3. See L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [Following Lenin's Policy], vol 2, p 409.
4. "Materialy XXIV s"yezda KPSS" [Material of the 24th CPSU Congress], p 78.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 33, p 44.
6. Ibid., pp 49-50.
7. Here the expression "bureaucrat" is used in the sense of government official, which corresponds to the word's initial origin.
8. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 33, p 109.
9. "'Teoriya gosudarstva i prava.' Osnovy marksistsko-leninskogo ucheniya o gosudartsve i prave" ["Theory of State and Law." Principles of Marxist-Leninist Teaching on State and Law], Moscow, 1962, p 523.
10. In this connection it is wrong to believe that the thesis of the "dying away of the management of people" is the equivalent of the elimination of all means of the organized influence of society on its members (standards of morality apart). For the very process of the organization of labor is simultaneously a process of the organization of the working people.

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11. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 34, p 315.
12. Ibid., vol 38, p 170.
13. Ibid., vol 36, p 206.
14. There is a certain tendency to "overburden" the managerial process with control, and this is, of course, just as harmful as insufficient control. This tendency also exists in the system of management itself, where frequently excessively narrow specialization leads to an abundance of special control organs.
15. "Feedback from the executive organs to the controlling organs is essential for monitoring the operation of the system and for registering the influence of external factors.  
  
"The principle of the hierarchical nature of management insures the economical nature of the structure and stability of the functioning of the system" (A. I. Kitov, "Cybernetics and Management of the Economy," "Kibernetiku na sluzhbu kommunizmu" [Cybernetics in the Service of Communism]). Collection of articles. Moscow-Leningrad, 1961, p 206).
16. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 36, pp 156-157.
17. See Ts. A. Yampol'skaya's introductory article to Ye. Staros-tsyak's book "Elementy nauki upravleniya" [Elements of the Science of Management], Moscow, 1965, p 12.
18. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 43, p 280.
19. "Materialy XXIII s"yezda KPSS" [Material of the 23d CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1966, p 75.
20. See V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 53, p 97.
21. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Material of the 25th CPSU Congress], p 71.
22. Quoted from "Kommunisty i demokraty" [Communists and Democrats]. Material of an exchange of opinions conducted in the editorial office of the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, Prague, January 1963, Prague, January 1964, pp 183-184.
23. See *ibid.*, p 183.

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24. This impact, which is opposite in nature, is determined mainly by market conditions. For example, in the period of preparations for wars and an orgy of militarism democratic institutions may be used by progressive forces for the propaganda of antiwar slogans and for exerting a certain restraining influence on government policy. It is for this very reason that militarism is invariably accompanied by an aspiration to stifle democratic freedoms, as was done by the Nazis in Germany. The same signs were observed in the United States, where the arms race was accompanied by the orgy of McCarthyism, the persecution of communists and all democrats in general and the flagrant violation of the democratic principles proclaimed by the country's constitution.
25. The process of the "formation" of a leader is brilliantly described in H. Wells' and Sinclair Lewis' novels "The Autocracy of Mr Parham" and "It Can't Happen Here." F. Engels once wrote that it was possible to get a better understanding of the social picture of French society from the novels of Balzac than from corresponding research. The above works also expertly reveal the mechanics of "fooling" the petit bourgeois mass and making a small, insignificant person sovereign over the people's destiny.
26. It is significant that Buonapartism relied essentially on the same social strata as fascism (with regard, of course, for the changes that had occurred in the petit bourgeoisie over a century). "Buonaparte," K. Marx said, "as an executive power which became an independent force, believed himself called upon to secure the 'bourgeois system.' The strength of this bourgeois system lies in the middle class. He therefore considered himself a representative of the middle class and promulgated the corresponding decrees. But, on the other hand, he only became something because he had smashed and continued to daily smash anew the political power of this middle class. He considered himself for this reason an opponent of the political and literary power of the middle class. But in protecting its material strength he thereby again called into being its political power" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 8, p 214).
27. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 33, p 99-100.
28. "Material of the 25th CPSU Congress," p 85.
29. L. I. Brezhnev, "Following Lenin's Policy," vol 6, p 379.

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SHAKHNAZAROV'S BOOK 'SOCIALIST FATE OF MANKIND' REVIEWED

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V SSSR in Russian No 6 1979 pp 11-15

[Review by L. P. Gvozdev of the book "Sotsialisticheskaya sud'ba chelovechestva" by G. Kh. Shakhnazarov, 79.06.001, Moscow, Politizdat, 1978, 462 pages]

[Text] This monograph studies the trends and prospects for the development of contemporary society and attempts a socio-political analysis on the strength of the regular laws of socialism and capitalism.

In the first chapter, "Study of the Future," the author distinguishes three methods for social forecasting. The first method is Utopian: some ideal social organization which is engendered by the requirements of life is constructed. Utopism (impossibility of realization) is characterized by the means for attaining the ideal. The second method is hypothetical: here, a particular hypothesis is worked out which would seem to reproduce one of the possible versions of the historical process. The third method is prognostic. It is the most reliable since the possibility of forecasting here is based on a determination of the historical process. In changing from the general theory of the typology of forecasting to an analysis of contemporary bourgeois futurology, the author notes that its basic flaw is that it is not based on an integral scientific theory of social development.

Marxism provided an integral impression of society and the laws of its development for the first time. The author notes among the factors which contribute to today's increase in the prognostic force of Marxism the rise in the communist movement, the existence of the world socialist system, and the broad dissemination of Marxist ideas.

The author mentions as the main tasks of social forecasting the evaluation of the world revolutionary process as a totality of factors which contribute to the disappearance of the old and the emergence of new social relations; determination of the prospects of world socialism; evaluation of capitalism's resources and the diagnosis of crisis phenomena; and the evaluation of the overall correlation of forces in the world (p 49). The span of these tasks also includes the study of the special features in the development of the NTR [scientific-technical revolution] and its ties with social revolution.

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In the second chapter, "The Socialist System: Achievements, Problems, Horizons," the author defines the concept of real socialism. The latter includes not only socialist countries, but also "the components of world socialism in which the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are already embodied in specific socio-economic transformations and political institutions" (p 75). The prospects for world socialism and the change in the correlation of forces are determined by the condition and development of the socialist system. The tables and numerical data presented by the author demonstrate the economic superiority of socialism.

In criticizing the thesis of bourgeois sociology concerning the "organic ineffectiveness" of the socialist economy, the author stresses that socialism's effectiveness is manifested in the ability to accelerate the rates of social development, and he discloses possibilities for an increase in socialism's effectiveness. Here, he notes that from the historical point of view socialism is just beginning. It has become a reality only in some of the countries of the world and, consequently, has not had the opportunity to enrich its economic, political, and any other content through aggregate international experience. Finally, socialism is only the first phase of communist formation.

Developed socialism opens up new possibilities for social development. Here, we have an increase in the role of the programming activity of communist parties and long-range planning for ever more distant periods, which is also connected with the development of the scientific-technical revolution. The author stresses that this activity can be successful "if it is based on integrated and branch scientific studies of the future" ( p 96).

In tracing the changes occurring in the social structure of Soviet society, the author notes the strengthening of elements of social homogeneity and the gradual erasure of class differences between city and country and between physical and mental labor. The specific nature of developed socialism's social structure consists of the high degree of social equality. Here, the author distinguishes the concepts of actual equality and legal equality of rights. Socialism solves these two tasks simultaneously: it brings the principle of equality of rights to a logical conclusion and begins the movement toward social equality. A trend toward the convergence of income levels of different social groups, the increase in national consumption funds, and the expansion of the social security system is observed.

In the solution of the national question, socialism proceeds from the principle of actual equality which, however, was never reduced to sameness by Marxists. The guarantee of legal and actual equality is the new Soviet constitution which contains a most complete list of civic rights, indicates the material guarantees and obligations of the state, and secures civic responsibilities for all (p 134).

In analyzing the concept of "socialist way of life," the author proceeds from the fundamental difference of two social systems which are characterized by different correlations of the material and spiritual basis in the

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life of man as well as of the social and personal in the vital activity of people, classes, and society.

The main trends in the development of socialism's political system are characterized by an increase in the role of the representative organs of authority; by improvement of the electoral system; by the expansion of the capabilities and growth in the activity of public organizations; by the expansion of information and consideration of public opinion; by strengthening legality and strengthening peoples control; and by an increase in the leading role of the CPSU (pp 183-202).

The drawing together of the socialist countries bears an integrated character and contributes to the strengthening of their sovereignty. Here, the processes of drawing together within the framework of the world socialist system and under conditions of a multinational socialist state proceed differently. The convergence does not presume any unification of the forms of public life. The basis of the convergence is the accumulation of the material preconditions and its condition--the voluntary participation of the fraternal parties of the working class and of all workers (p 233). In the course of this process, a new type of international relations is being formed. Among the trends in the development of the world socialist system the author distinguishes stable economic growth on a planned basis; the assertion of ever more complete social equality; the formation of a socialist way of life; further democratization and an increase in the effectiveness of the political system; and the deepening of economic integration and overcoming the alienation of individual countries from the world socialist system (pp 247-248).

The third chapter, "The Capitalist System: Strength and Collapse," analyzes the contemporary stage of capitalism's general crisis. It is noted that contemporary capitalism still has some resources to which the following pertain: the predominance of capitalism in a number of the most economically and scientifically-technically developed countries of the world to include countries having long-term democratic traditions and a developed workers movement; satisfaction of part of the working class' requirements through a developed economy and unequal exchange with former colonies; the possibility to manipulate public consciousness using mass information media; exploitation of the riches and labor of the peoples of former colonies; and state regulation of the economy (pp 240-260). However, the presence of these resources does not reduce the general crisis of capitalism which is manifested in a reduction in the rates of economic growth, unemployment, the crisis of the political system, and so forth.

Examining international relations within each of the world's systems, the author notes that characteristic of socialism is the predominance of a centripetal trend, and in the capitalist system--"the competing influence of a centrifugal and centripetal trend" (p 303). Integrating processes (the development of multinational corporations, political blocs, alliances, and so forth) are opposed by a centrifugal process which is engendered by contradictions between imperialist powers and the competition of the monopolies.

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The fourth chapter, "Strengths of Social Renewal," is devoted to an examination of the role of contemporaneity's basic revolutionary forces: the communist movement, the national-liberation movement, and the world socialist system. Today, the interaction of the national-liberation movement and the socialist system has been transformed into the most important factor of social progress. The general socialist direction of the movement steps forth more and more here. "The world socialist system is called upon to play the role of proletarian vanguard for the liberation movement in peasant countries" (p 439). Under conditions for the existence of world socialism and the new correlation of forces in the world, the role of the proletarian vanguard in the movement along the socialist path in the liberated countries can be accomplished by other social strata and the revolutionary parties which they create (p 440).

In conclusion, the author distinguishes a number of basic trends in contemporary social development. The transition from capitalism to socialism is continuing and is assuming an ever more global character, but here, under contemporary conditions we cannot count on the simultaneous initiation of the revolutionary process (p 446). The international situation is playing an increasing role in this process. The joining of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism will have an ever larger role for the acceleration of the process of social changes (p 447). The bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries will strive to prevent the development of crisis phenomena. Here, a restraining function will be born by social democracy whose position will shift to the left (p 449). Today, international relations are having a decisive influence on the problem of preserving peace and the very existence of mankind, becoming "an important element of the future" (p 450).

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BOOK ON NATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE USSR REVIEWED

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V SSSR in Russian No 6, 1979 pp 106-111

[Review by A. F. Tsyркun of the book "Natsional'nyye otnosheniya v SSSR na sovremennom etape," based on materials of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, 79. 06. 018. Editorial board: V. P. Sherstobitov (editor-in-chief) et al.; USSR Academy of Sciences, Institute of History of the USSR; Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, Institute of History. Moscow, Nauka, 1979, 312 pages]

[Text] The book consists of an introduction, six chapters, and a conclusion.

The first chapter (by Z. G. Arifanov) examines the overall problem area which is connected with the formation and development of the Soviet people as a new historic community.

The second chapter is "The Economic Bases for the Development and Drawing Together of Nations" (by V. G. Chebotarev). An important factor in strengthening the community between nations is the disposition of productive forces and their integrated development and specialization in the country-wide division of labor. If a radical technical reconstruction is now the basic trend in economic development for the industrially developed European part of the USSR, for Central Asia and Kazakhstan it is the broad development of the still unused natural resources and high rates of further industrialization. Taking place here are the active economic development of the territory, expansion of the cotton belt of the USSR, the organization of big all-union raw material and power bases, the creation of new industrial centers, especially of the processing industry with country-wide specialization, and the solution of water problems. The 10th Five-Year Plan contemplates a considerable growth in the economic potential of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan as well as an extension of their specialization.

"Internationalization of the economy is an objective process of the deepening division of labor which is connected with the further socialization of production (p 62).

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Economic relations between nations step forth as a necessary, vitally important condition for the reproduction of output in republic national-economic complexes.

Socialist Integration in our country is a new phenomenon in the practice of relations between nations. Its most important socio-economic prerequisites were: a high level of development of productive forces, developed territorial division of labor and inter-republic specialization, and the NTR [scientific-technical revolution]. It is characterized by: the mutual adaptation and interweaving of the republics' internal production structures, the creation of an inter-nation national-economic complex on a USSR scale, the extension of the inter-nation combination of production resources, the formation of optimum production complexes, a systems approach to the solution of important national-economic tasks, long-term long-range planning which combines national and inter-nation interests, and the optimum structure of the country-wide division of labor.

The economic mechanism for integration consists, in particular, of the centralized redistribution of national income through the USSR state budget.

Although they have drawn together substantially, the republics' levels of economic development are nevertheless different at the present time. If the country-wide level for 1970 is taken as 1.0, then for the RSFSR, Latvian SSR, Estonian SSR, and Kazakh SSR this index is higher than 1; the Turkmen SSR, Belorussian SSR, Armenian SSR, Ukrainian SSR, and Lithuanian SSR--0.831-1.0; Uzbek SSR, Georgian SSR, and Azerbaijan SSR--0.751-0.830, Moldavian SSR, Tadzhik SSR, and Kirgiz SSR--up to 0.750.

The index of industrial development for 1970 (country-wide--1.000)--Estonian SSR--1.150, RSFSR--1.138, Latvian SSR--0.999, Ukrainian SSR--0.975, Armenian SSR--0.904, Belorussian SSR--0.872, Lithuanian SSR--0.851, Kazakh SSR--0.724, Azerbaijan SSR--0.695, Georgian SSR--0.629, Kirgiz SSR--0.560, Uzbek SSR--0.521, Moldavian SSR--0.489, Turkmen SSR--0.435, and Tadzhik SSR--0.403. The gap reaches 1:2.2.

The index of agricultural production (country-wide--1.0) for the Kazakh SSR--1.993, Armenian SSR--1.857, Estonian SSR--1.598, Moldavian SSR--1.285, Latvian SSR--1.198, Lithuanian SSR--1.180, Belorussian SSR--1.136, RSFSR--1.017, Azerbaijan SSR--1.003, Georgian SSR--0.908, Uzbek SSR--0.873, Kirgiz SSR--0.849, Ukrainian SSR--0.705, Tadzhik SSR--0.586, and Turkmen SSR--0.433, that is, the gap is more than 1:4. This factor is substantially influenced by natural factors as well as by the capital-labor ratio and others. In 1971-1973, income per rural worker was 954 rubles in the Baltic republics and 454 rubles in the Ukraine.

The rates of growth in total volume of production in 1971 as a percentage of 1940 were: in Uzbekistan--955, Kirgizia--2,123, Tadzhikistan--1,090, Turkmenia--753, RSFSR--1,145, and the USSR as a whole--1,282 percent.

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The per capita volume of national income (mean-union--1.000) for 1970 was: RSFSR--1.0850, Ukrainian SSR--0.923, Belorussian SSR--0.834, Uzbek SSR--0.753, Kazakh SSR--1.061, Georgian SSR--0.793, Azerbaijan SSR--0.826, Lithuanian SSR--0.945, Moldavian SSR--0.569, Latvian SSR--1.0803, Kirgiz SSR--0.714, TadzhiK SSR--0.653, Armenian SSR--0.866, Turkmen SSR--0.882, Estonian SSR--1.278.

The productivity of social labor for 1970 was (in percent of the country-wide): RSFSR--109, Ukrainian SSR--98, Belorussian SSR--87, Uzbek SSR--85, Kazakh SSR--92, Georgian SSR--77, Azerbaijan SSR--83, Lithuanian SSR--105, Moldavian SSR--84, Lithuanian SSR--124 [sic], Kirgiz SSR--82, TadzhiK SSR--75, Armenian SSR--91, Turkmen SSR--80, and Estonian SSR--120 percent. The rates of productivity growth in the Central Asian republics are below the country-wide rates. For agriculture, these rates in 1966-1974 were, for example, from 7.8 to 9.5 percent in the Baltic region, 2.2 percent in Uzbekistan, and 2.8 percent in Kirgizia.

In accordance with overall level of economic development, in the table presented by the author the republics are in the following sequence: Estonian SSR, Latvian SSR, Lithuanian SSR, RSFSR, Kazakh SSR, Ukrainian SSR, Belorussian SSR, Georgian SSR, Armenian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Kirgiz SSR, Turkmen SSR, Uzbek SSR, Moldavian SSR, and TadzhiK SSR. It is obvious that the Central Asian republics and Moldavia are facing great tasks in equalizing this level. The all-union state is assisting in this in every possible way. Thus, in the Soviet budget for the 1960's-1970's withholdings for turnover tax revenues for the Central Asian republics were almost 100 percent, and for the RSFSR, the Ukraine, and Latvia approximately 20-30 percent.

The third chapter is "The Influence of Changes in the National and Social Structure of the Population on the Further Drawing Together of the Peoples of the USSR" (by A. Yu. Ibragimov). The population in Central Asia and Kazakhstan is growing at outstripping rates: respectively by 30 and 53 percent from 1939 through 1959 (with 9.5 percent for the USSR), and by 45.9 and 40 percent from 1959 through 1970 (with 15.8 percent for the USSR). The birth rate level here is twice as high as in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, and the Baltic region.

The Central Asian region is less urbanized--for 1970 the urban population was 36-48 percent here with 56 percent for the USSR; in this regard, after 1959 the rates of urbanization dropped somewhat here. For example, from 1965 through 1970 it remained at the former level in Turkmenia while in Kirgizia it dropped by 1 percent, which was caused by the specialization of the republics' farms, the predominant type of occupations of the population, and by the ethnic factors. In contrast to the country as a whole, where the rural population is being reduced, it is growing rapidly here (for example, in TadzhiKistan in 1953-1970 by 76.6 percent, in Uzbekistan--by 38.7 percent).

The 1970 census showed that the proportion of native nationalities in the population of Kazakhstan and in all Central Asian republics is growing. The

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numbers of the non-native population are also growing (but less rapidly), and the indicated republics are becoming more multinational. Bilingualism is spreading. The socio-class homogeneity of the socialist nations is increasing. Although, for example, for 1970 the portion of workers in Uzbekistan was 45.7 percent, in Turkmenistan--42.9, and in Kirgizia--53.6 percent with 57.6 percent for the country as a whole, the growth in the number of workers was respectively 7.6, 9.4, and 8.3 percent with 4.7 percent for the country. The proportion of native nationality among the workers of these republics is growing. The proportion of kolkhoz workers was reduced in 1959-1970 for the USSR as a whole from 33.3 to 15.5 percent, in Uzbekistan--from 45.5 to 29.9 percent, in Kirgizia--from 43.4 to 22.5 percent, in Tadzhikistan--from 57.1 to 35.5 percent, and in Turkmenia--from 44.2 to 33.0 percent. The socio-professional structures are converging.

The fourth chapter is "The Development, Drawing Together, and Mutual Influence of National Cultures" (by G. Ye. Trapeznikov and R. A. Azimov). One of the most important conditions for intensifying the mutual influence of the cultures of the Soviet peoples is the rise in the level of popular education. The republics have drawn together substantially for this index. In 1970, per 1,000 persons employed with a higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) education there were from 711 persons in Georgia to 496 in Lithuania with 653 for the USSR as a whole; here, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenia exceed the country-wide level for this index. Education, science, and socialist culture play an important internationalizing role.

The fifth chapter is "The Effect of the Processes of Internationalization in the Economy and Culture on National and Ethnographic Groups" (by V. G. Chebotarev). The process of drawing together with socialist nations is proceeding actively among the ethnographic groups which are parts of big nations and nationalities. But ethnic groups which are not connected with a given nation ethnically are also drawn into the channel of national consolidation. Mixed marriages, the posterity from which has a split ethnic self-consciousness, have a strong influence on this process from the very beginning.

If the process of consolidation of ethnographic groups with nations has already been accomplished, this cannot yet be said in full measure about national entities which are not ethnogenetically connected with the surrounding nation, but the consolidation of the latter will be strengthened in the future. The development of nations through the merging of related ethnic groups as well as foreign ethnic national groups with them is a "qualitatively new feature of the ethnic processes in a society of mature socialism" (p 225).

If we should speak of the interaction and convergence of cultures as applicable to the culture of nations, then as applicable to national groups we can now speak of the combination of two cultures, and for a number of them--about the partial or complete merging of their cultures with the cultures of other peoples. As a result, ethnic seclusion and splintering are eliminated and the multi-national, interethnic community of the Soviet people is improved.

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The sixth chapter (by R. Kh. Aminov) discloses changes in the living conditions and consciousness of the Central Asian peoples and that feudal-Islamic traditions and views have basically given way to international and socialist traditions and views, but that the struggle against the relapses of the former should be actively continued.

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GEORGIAN PARTY JOURNAL DEFENDS 'PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM'

Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS KOMUNISTI in Georgian No 9, Sep 79 pp 11-18

[Article by Prof G. Bregadze, GSSR Honored Scientist, under rubric "The 25th CPSU Congress: Problems of Marxist-Leninist Theory": "Proletarian Internationalism and Today"]

[Summary] One of the main aims of ideological-indoctrination work is to root out all bourgeois nationalistic tendencies. Before the revolution, Lenin said: "Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism are two mutually hostile slogans which correspond to the two big class camps of the capitalist world and reflect two policies (more: two world-views) in the national question" ("Works," Vol 20, p 13).

In the era of transition from capitalism to socialism, uncompromising struggle must be waged from positions of proletarian internationalism. At the 25th congress, Brezhnev noted that unfortunately some people claim that not much remains of internationalism---that the internationalism substantiated and advocated by Marx and Lenin is outmoded. But to deny proletarian internationalism is to discard a powerful tool and play into the hands of the class enemy.

Bourgeois and imperialist ideologues and apologists and their ilk look for a remedy in nationalism, struggle against proletarian internationalism, conflict between socialist countries to save capitalism from its worsening crisis. M. Cone [Cohn?] sees the 20th century as a time when "all mankind has gone over to the position of nationalism," which is "the dominant phenomenon of our time." The authors of "Nationalism in Today's Latin America" say that "mankind is now experiencing global nationalism," and V. Kolars thinks that "nationalism is the only salvation for a capitalist world on the brink of perishing," that "communism can be finally defeated only as a result of the growth of nationalism on a world-wide scale."

Hence the importance of proletarian internationalism in the face of bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalistic forms like chauvinism, racism, Zionism, imperialistic cosmopolitanism, anti-Sovietism, "national communism, and Maoism.

We take issue with Italian communists M. Rossi and A. Rubi, who claim that to define internationalism as "proletarian" is too narrow and restrictive; also with French communists who claim that their party was

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almost destroyed by its closeness to the USSR and accuse M. Thorez of dogmatism deriving from "the Stalin era." Yet in the 1946 elections, communist candidate G. Duclos missed being elected president by only 2 percent of the votes. No communist party has ever been damaged by absolute fidelity to proletarian internationalism.

Lenin defined its tasks in April 1917: "Internationalism is one, and only one indeed: dedicated effort in one's own country to strengthen the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle, to support (with propaganda, sympathy, materially) the same struggle, the same line, and only it, in all countries without exception" ("Works," Vol 24, p 70).

The situation in the present era of ascendancy of the world socialist movement makes even more vital the role of communist and workers' parties fighting to bury all forms of nationalism. The CPSU, and under its leadership the whole Soviet people, has the richest experience in the struggle against all harmful vestiges of the past. But the most resistant of capitalist vestiges is bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalism, cloaked in national dress, encouraged and fomented by the imperialist states and nourished by their table scraps and slanderous propaganda.

"Proletarian, socialist internationalism has nothing in common with national nihilism and rootless cosmopolitanism, which considers what is national to be an outmoded superstition and even denies nation. Today, the chief nest of cosmopolitanism is the United States, which spreads so-called Americanism. According to this aggressive imperialism--in reality, racism--the country is a refractory vessel in which all nations 'are fused together through Americanization.' Only Anglo-Saxons, apparently, are immune to this process."

Marxism-Leninism and socialism reject the denial of national interests and sovereignty. The party resolves all issues of national relations on the basis of the Leninist nationality policy.

In this regard, the party's programmatic tasks include: Fostering the development of all socialist nations and nationalities, ensuring closer fraternal cooperation and rapprochement, strengthening the Soviet Union; ensuring the right of every Soviet citizen to speak any language and bring up his children in any language, allowing no privilege, restriction, or coercion in the use of any language, fostering the voluntary use of Russian as the best way to provide access to others in the Soviet Union and the world; fostering proletarian internationalist principles and continuing to fight all vestiges of nationalism, chauvinism, national exclusiveness, and idealization of the past.

The bourgeois ideologues declare that the formation of the Soviet people means russification of the non-Russian nations and claim that so-called denationalization is taking place by force in the Soviet Union; in fact, however, specific national characteristics are encouraged etc, etc.

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In our internationalist indoctrination work one of the main tasks is to unmask Maoism, which is one of the most aggressive of big-power hegemonistic threats.

"The importance of crushing nationalism was correctly evaluated and theoretically substantiated by our first Marxist-Leninists--I. Stalin, A. Tsulukidze, L. Ketskhoveli, M. Tskhakaya, P. Makharadze, A. Dzhaparidze, S. Shaumyan, N. Narimanov, M. Kalinin, S. Kirov, S. Ordzhonikidze, M. Orakhelashvili, and many other professional revolutionaries, who left us a precious legacy." We must cherish these traditions.

In the past 6 years, the party's central committee and the republic's Council of Ministers have passed more than 50 resolutions on the education, cultural development and health care of all nations and nationalities living in Georgia. Broad efforts are being implemented to strengthen friendly relations among ethnic groups in the spirit of internationalism. One example is seen in the GCPCC's decrees on measures to improve instruction in Georgian, Russian, Abkhazian, and Ossetian.

"The internationalist character of our people cannot tolerate nationalistic and chauvinistic tendencies, pseudo-patriotism, and national arrogance, although unfortunately we do observe such phenomena here and there. For this reason, the CPSU CC's June 1976 decree concerning the work of Georgia's party organizations clearly states that efforts must be stepped up against the nationalistic manifestations that are still sometimes encountered."

As Shevardnadze stressed at the 26 June 1970 party aktiv, "Marxism-Leninism has always taken account of national characteristics and traditions.... We are in favor of national development on an internationalist basis. But from the position of internationalism we reject national nihilism and national exclusiveness and arrogance."

We must fight the enemy not in a general and superficial way but with concrete, substantiated facts, with militant enthusiasm and crushing force:

We must remember that the enemy will take advantage of any mistakes made by workers on the ideological front. People under the influence of nationalism not only hinder the internationalist indoctrination of the working people but also, wittingly, help the imperialists.

To ensure the ultimate victory of proletarian internationalism, we must make "the maximum use of subjective factors" and secure the unshakable unity of all our forces.

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ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS IN KAZBEGSKIY RAYON

Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS KOMUNISTI in Georgian Sep 79 pp 68-76

[Article by H. Khvadadze under rubric "The Tenth Five-Year Plan: Social-Economic Problems": "Kazbegskiy Rayon's Prospects Today and Tomorrow. Economic Development of the Mountainous and High-Mountain Rayons Is a First-Priority Task"]

[Summary] The October Revolution has made a reality of the age-old dreams of Kazbegi's great men. Poverty, ignorance, and violence have been wiped out. The rayon has 15 primary, 8-year, and secondary schools, and employs 146 teachers and indoctrinators [vospitatel']. There are eight kindergartens and nurseries. There are 26 doctors, 63 middle-link medical specialists, three hospitals, 16 preventive clinics, two drugstores, and an epidemics control center.

Inhabitants of the rayon have labored well in the Tenth FYP. In 1978 they sold the state 701 tons more meat and 56 tons more wool than the year before; they overfulfilled the coarse feeds plan and reduced the prime cost of livestock products. Personal incomes and wages rose.

Because of the rayon's physical characteristics, sheepraising is the dominant sector and shapes the rayon's social-economic profile. It is the source of livelihood and the romance of heroic deeds. The narrow feeds base does not permit winter grazing in the area; the animals have to be herded up the fields of Nogay and the pastures of Kizlar, which accommodate a grand international family and provide all the necessary production and living facilities. Kazbegi alone sends more than 120,000 sheep and 600 shepherders.

Nevertheless, there are acute problems with regard to the high mountain area's flourishing, the full use of labor resources. The republic's leadership has made efforts to achieve proportioned, balanced social-economic development. One such is the GCP CC and GSSR Council of Ministers decree of 4 January 1979 "Measures To Further Develop the Economy and Culture of Kazbegskiy Rayon."

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In particular, it stipulates the following targets with regard to farm goods production and procurement and increased herds: Farm goods output in 1985 is to surpass 1977 by 135.6 percent, meat by 142.7 percent, and herd population (public sector) by 130 percent. State purchases are to rise by 155.8 percent, coarse livestock production feed threefold, and so on.

In social-economic matters, a 40-apartment building, a central boiler facility, sewer and treatment facilities, a consumer services combine, and a water system will be built in Kazbegi Town, a 7-year school in Arsha, kindergartens and nurseries in Arsha and Sioni, standard buildings for a polyclinic, a rayon hospital, and an epidemics control center in Kazbegi Town, and various clubs and libraries, bathhouses, a ferroconcrete channel for the Terek, bridges, sheepraising facilities and sheepherders' housing, stores, and so on.

These tasks require the efforts of the rayon's workers and the management personnel of the republic's organs, ministries, and departments. They were the subject of the Kazbegskiy Raykom's Fourth Plenum, which discussed the party organization's tasks in implementing the GCP CC's decree. It was participated in by E. A. Shevardnadze, P. G. Gilashvili, and ministry and department officials. They were interested in the opinions of local managers, workers, and party members; they wanted to find out the mood and thinking of the working people.

The keynote speaker, First Secretary G. Shikhashvili, noted that a sociological survey and speeches at party meetings indicated that Kazbegi's workers perceive the decree as a program of action. Officials of the raykom, the buro, the rayispolkom, the primary organizations, and the kolkhozes are playing a bigger role; party demands on cadres and performance monitoring have been stiffened.

The speaker noted that the sheep kolkhozes ended last year with a profit of 484,000 rubles; the feeds association had a profit of 84,000. Nevertheless, the necessary breakthrough has not been achieved. Last year none of the kolkhozes met wool, meat, and herd growth targets. There are both objective and subjective reasons. In 1957, [as printed] for example, 4,700 ha of land were taken unjustly from the rayon, so that its hectarage was 53,800 ha less than in 1953--yet the sheep herd had increased by 40,000 head, almost double the per-hectare load. Accordingly, from a per-sheep yield of 3.2 kilograms in 1953 the wool output declined to 2 kg in 1978. Sheep weight also declined. Pasturage allocation will have to be revised.

A few years ago Kazbegi's young men and women launched an initiative with regard to mountain sheepraising and formed Komsomol-Youth brigades. This year they're thinking of creating five more, mostly from high school graduates.

Unfortunately, they lack adequate working and living conditions. Moreover, cultural and educational facilities are deplorable. Movies are rare, TV

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reception is poor, journals and magazines are late. Trade services, health care, and other essentials are equally inadequate.

In discussing these shortcomings, Kazbegi's party members promised republic officials to do their utmost to rectify them. In turn, officials of the GSSR Local Industry Ministry, Housing and Communal Operations Ministry, Motor Highways Ministry, Communications Ministry, Agriculture Ministry, Tsekavshiri [Tsentrosoyuz], Health Care, and other departments promised the rayon's party members and workers to heed the criticism and do more to implement the decree's stipulations.

E. A. Shevardnadze's speech at the plenum was reasoned and inspirational as he analyzed the rayon's numerous problems.

These include the fact that many animals are dying and having to be slaughtered due to improper tending. Artificial insemination and pedigree work is poor. Hayfields and pastures are neglected. Kolkhozes are not paying wages on time. Advanced forms of material and moral incentive are not being introduced. Competition is a mere formality. Sheepherder housing and livestock facilities are inadequate. Vet service and feed preparation are poor. There is a shortage of specialists, recommendations and directions are not being carried out.

With regard to the benefits to be gained from greater efficiency, Shevardnadze noted that just bringing losses down to the average level would yield a substantial boost in meat production--700 to 800 tons.

Shevardnadze also urged local farmers to take up beekeeping, which yields much with little difficulty and low costs. This suggestion was enthusiastically taken up. We are told that 145 high-productivity colonies are being brought in.

Now that the prospects have been laid out, an integrated working plan [kompleksnyy rabochiy plan] has been drawn up delineating the problems, setting timetables, and designating the specific executors [ispolniteli].

The decree was broadly discussed at party and workers' meetings. Rayon gatherings of lecturers, speakers, and agitators, as well as a rayon culture workers' conference, were held. These people explained the importance of the various measures to the working people. Displays on "Kazbegskiy Rayon in the 10th and 11th FYPs" were set up.

Town and village soviets held rural intelligentsia meetings on the theme "The Role and Tasks of the Rural Intelligentsia in the Rayon's Economic and Cultural Development." Raykom buro and department meetings regularly hear reports by trade and consumer service officials and party buro secretaries on what they are doing to carry out the tasks.

There have been appreciable shifts in cadre policies. Incompetents who failed to do their job have been properly dealt with. Kolkhoz chairmen,

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stock farm managers, selsoviet chairmen, the kolkhoz construction council chief, the consumer services combine chief, and others have received party punishment and been dismissed from their posts.

Nevertheless, raykom, soviet, and administrative bodies will have to do more about party members' responsibility and the struggle against negative phenomena. Irresponsible party members with an unhealthy attitude are to blame for the fact that selsoviets, kolkhoz officials, and party organizations do not speak up against--indeed, they often conceal and cover for--those who own hundreds of head of sheep which they graze in the mountains without paying yet take no part in tending the kolkhoz herds.

In the past 3 years, 88,000 sheep have died or had to be slaughtered on the kolkhozes because of improper tending and other violations, for which no one is made to answer. In 3 years, Goristsikhe Kolkhoz managers "wrote up" 2,500 head; similar instances took place on Kazbegi and Sno kolkhozes. There have been cases of property misappropriation and other gross criminal acts.

In addition to punishment, the rayon's new officials have taken steps to improve indoctrination work. A recent party aktiv discussed the party organization's tasks in light of the ideology decree and the decisions of the republic party aktiv, and examined the progress being made in implementing the raykom buro's integrated plan.

Fruitful work is being done by the raykom's ideological work commission which coordinates planning and searches for appropriate forms.

Atheist propaganda has been much improved. Shepherders' Day and Kazbegoba celebrations have been instituted to counter religious holidays. Unfortunately, outmoted religious festivals are still held. Icon worship and animal sacrifices occur, accompanied by drunkenness, fighting, and crimes. The Komsomol organizations and selsoviet commissions to combat harmful vestiges are not doing enough.

The shepherders of Kazbegi, whether wintering on the shores of the Caspian or in summer pastures, must be the object of concern of our writers and our information media people. Yet agitation crews and lecturers rarely visit the winter pastures. Many homes lack radio or TV. Telephone and newspaper services are inadequate.

The hard work of the shepherders is appreciated. Since January of this year, state purchase prices of agricultural products have been increased by party and government decree. Much of the increased earnings from this will go to pay higher wages and improve living conditions.

But this is not enough. The progressive wage system is not being introduced fast enough. Hired labor is still used. No clear determination has been made as to what percentage of planned and above-plan output should go to the direct producer in addition to wages. This is why Shevardnadze

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told rayon officials that they must motivate the shepherders toward the results of their labor and use various forms of incentive, citing the example of Abashskiy Rayon. Adopting the Abasha experience can bring benefits to Kazbegi's livestock farmers as well.

Referring to the wonderful scenery along the Georgian Military Highway, Shevardnadze remarked that this "highway of friendship and brotherhood" has played a great role in Georgia's history. Now, with the approach of the 200th anniversary of the Georgievsk Treaty, it must be declared a monument-highway, a museum-highway.

Thanks to the efforts of the various republic organs in highway construction and maintenance, Kazbegi is no longer cut off from Tbilisi in the winter time. Tourist centers and roads are to be built, also other facilities to make life better for the inhabitants and accommodate travelers and tourists.

The rayon has numerous curative mineral springs, for which bottling plants should be built. Technical documentation and designing must be speeded up.

The Sno River Valley is to be channeled in ferroconcrete, with 800,000 rubles of work to be carried out this year. But the project lacks manpower and equipment. Fortunately, Tbilisi's Pervomayskiy Rayon has sent equipment and building materials as part of its shefstvo efforts.

As to the benefits of all this, Shevardnadze said it will not only halt out-migration but also bring back those who have left. These expenditures will pay back a hundredfold, the people will work and prosper.

Kazbegi's shepherders will have much better conditions in the Kizlar winter pastures. In response to the republic's concern for them they plan to raise the number of socially-owned sheep and goats to 126,000 head by the end of the year and sell the state more meat and wool.

The mood of the Kazbegians is that all who are able must use their strength and talent to make the mountains prosper. There must be an end to idle villages and communities. Let the 4,000 who settled in Tbilisi and the lower valleys, and the 2,000 who settled in the North Caucasus, heed our voice. We need 27 doctors, 23 middle-link medical specialists, and lots of teachers. Come back to your native valleys and villages, breathe life into the mountains!

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DUSHETSKIY RAYON SHEEP RAISING PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS

Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS KOMUNISTI in Georgian No 9, Sep 79 pp 77-81

[Article by Sh. Badzhelidze (special correspondent): "Raise More Sheep, the Wealth and Abundance of the Mountains"]

[Summary] Dushetskiy Rayon has made much economic progress in recent years, thanks especially to the dedicated hard work of its sheepraising workers. Livestock productivity is high. Local industry and construction are proceeding apace. Cultural, educational, and health care institutions are being built.

But a major factor has been the republic's concern for the prosperity of our mountainous and high-mountain regions. The raykom has been constantly involved in implementing the 28 December 1976 GCP CC and GSSR Council of Ministers decree "Measures for the Further Development of the Economy and Culture of Dushetskiy Rayon." Efforts are being made to strengthen party and state discipline, to implement scientific principles of organizing economic administration, to establish exemplary order everywhere, and to raise material and moral incentives.

The results have been outstanding, with steady growth in farm output. Sheepraising is on the upsurge, and prospects are even bigger for the next five-year plan. Party groups and primary organizations are striving to enhance responsibility on all fronts, improve living and working conditions, and perfect organizational-party and ideological efforts. Sheepherders are getting good housing, special clothing, food, and tools. More facilities for them are being built in the winter sheep facilities of Kizlar [in Dagestan].

One main concern now is the improvement of sheep breeds, the renovation of the Tushi breed begun 5 years ago. Why? Well, excessive cross-breeding some years ago with soft-wool rams and extensive introduction of the new mixed breeds led to a decline in herds of the hardier Tushi breeds. But now they are on the comeback, thanks to joint efforts by experienced sheepbreeders and republic institute specialists initiated by the raykom and rayispolkom.

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At present, nevertheless, there are a number of tough problems. The Kizlar winter pastures have been neglected. Some farms do not have enough mother sheep, others lack adequate tending and vet care. Breed improvement is lagging in some places, live weight of animals sold to the state is too low, and so on.

Progress in sheep raising is the concern of both local officials and republican organs. In April of this year the raykom plenum discussed the CPSU CC and GSSR Council of Ministers 28 December 1976 decree and how well it is being implemented. The plenum was participated in by Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman P. Gilashvili, various ministers and deputies, and sector officials.

Major efforts have been made in recent years to improve sheep breeds and develop the sector, launched on the basis of a feed procurement association formed on the Kizlar pastures. As a result of this, feed costs declined by 50 percent compared with purchased feeds. But hay procurement depends on weather, and droughts sometimes last 5 or 6 months. Hayfields and pastures must be irrigated; canals need work; Georgia must have adequate water allocations. Plenum participants stressed that some of the sheep drive routes are unprotected or have been plowed up, grazing areas have shrunk, and the animals have to go long stretches without eating.

In mapping out ways to tackle these urgent problems, attention was focused on the introduction of advanced forms and techniques of party supervision and further vigorous involvement of the local soviets, people's deputies, and primary party organizations.

The raykom and primary organizations are paying attention to the task of bolstering party ranks with leading ideologically and politically trained workers of the sheep raising business. Party groups have been set up in the primary organizations of the Mleti, Gudamakari, and Pasaauri kol-khozes; they are doing excellent work with party members and stock farmers in the Kizlar winter pastures. The Kizlar Feed Procurement Association has set up its own primary organization headed by the association's zoo-technician. Raykom buro members take turns in the winter pastures, supervising organizational-political work among the shepherders and reporting back to the raykom.

Cultural services and agitation team activities for shepherders are outstanding. Party and Komsomol organizations are doing a great deal to ensure the success of socialist competition. Young shepherders regularly meet with labor veterans and prize-winning shepherders and the like.

Similar contributions are made by the local people's deputies, who spend most of the year in the winter pastures. Raykom and rayispolkom members who travel frequently to Kizlar inform the shepherd deputies of events and decisions in the republic and the rayon and respond to their requests. For example, the deputies asked for better cultural and consumer services,

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health care, and trade; measures have been taken and the situation is much better.

The rayon's young people launched the initiative "Patriotic Concern for Socially-Owned Sheep Raising," now emulated in other rayons. Every year, dozens of high school graduates accept Komsomol assignments to herd sheep. Conditions are created so that they can go to college without quitting productive work. They are given the royal treatment. Annual sheep-shearing contests are held for them in Shuapkho, the winners receiving cash prizes and honors. School Komsomol and Pioneer organizations provide shefstvo to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes in sheep tending and feed production.

Shepherding in Dushetskiy Rayon is an ancient and honorable tradition, and there are family dynasties in the profession. The party's and government's concern for the people's wellbeing is indicated by the fact that farms, sections, and shepherders winning in republic competition last year received 5,800 rubles in bonuses, and farms gave individual leaders 1,612 rubles. Last year's sheepraising income was 597,000 rubles higher than in 1976, and shepherd output was about 300 rubles higher.

All this has come about through the adoption of advanced forms and techniques of party supervision of the sector and efforts to back up plans with the necessary ideological work.

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