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USSR Report

HUMAN RESOURCES
(FOUO 3/81)



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LABOR

NEW LABOR MANAGEMENT SYSTEM DETAILED

Moscow VOPROSY EKONOMIKI in Russian No 3, Mar 81 pp 131-142

[Article by D. Karpukhin: "The Economic Mechanism and Labor"]

[Text] It was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress that the decree adopted in 1979 by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on further improving the economic mechanism, on improving the planning system, anticipates the creation of a suitable economic atmosphere and suitable organizational relations. They must be systematically actualized. At the same time, we need to go further and solve the problems which have accumulated.

The decree formulates decisions of a fundamental, long-term character and defines the concrete forms of management as applicable to the conditions of the 11th Five-Year Plan. It is therefore very important to analyze how the ministries, departments, associations and enterprises are preparing to resolve the tasks set, to take steps to ensure implementation of the socioeconomic program and overall strategy of developing the USSR national economy.

Labor is of primary, determining importance in the development of socialist society. Many important provisions of the decree on perfecting the economic mechanism are oriented towards solving the pivotal problems of labor and perfecting the labor management mechanism. This also applies to sections on planning, working out comprehensive target programs, developing cost accounting and incentives, and others.

By the conclusion of the 10th Five-Year Plan, we had a definite underfulfillment of the labor productivity plan. Under these conditions, additional workers were enlisted to implement plans in terms of production volume. For example, in 1978, the total number of workers and employees in all enterprise and organization plans exceeded the demand for them as adopted in national economic plan calculations by more than two million people. Objective conditions (including deteriorating mining and geological conditions for mineral extraction and lower contents of valuable components in mineral ores, structural changes in production and others) unquestionably had a definite influence on labor productivity. However, the primary reason for the lag in labor productivity growth was the incomplete use of reserves, caused by shortcomings in production management and administration methods. These include delays in building facilities and utilizing production capacities, lag in enterprise renovation and equipment modernization. Failure to carry out new equipment plans has been a determining factor retarding labor productivity growth.

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The proportion of those employed at manual labor is dropping slowly. Given nonful-fillment of the labor productivity plan, wages have grown significantly. During 1976-1979, the average wage increment per one-percent increment in labor productivity in industry was 0.8 percent, instead of the 0.59 percent calculated in the five-year plan. Given growth in the wage fund, underfulfillment of the trade turnover plan occurred. Postponed demand is increasing. This has a negative impact on the material interest of workers in the results of their labor and reduces the stimulus role of wages on increasing labor productivi and improving work quality. Large reserves for labor productivity growth are inherent in organizing it better, in setting rates and wages better, in improving material and moral incentives, in developing a creative attitude towards labor and in strengthening discipline.

The 11th Five-Year Plan anticipates faster labor productivity growth rates than were actually achieved in the 10th Five-Year Plan. Under these conditions, improving the labor management mechanism to bring labor productivity growth reserves into play is of special importance.

According to the "Basic Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development in 1981-1985 and Through 1989," which were adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress, an economic and social development plan will be worked out for the 11th Five-Year Plan. On the one hand, the projects, by year of the five-year plan, must be taut, and on the other, they must be realistic. Ine fact is that in five-year planning practice, we have come to distribute assignments by year at increasing rates of increment, from the start to the end of the five-year plan. In the 10th Five-Year Plan, the 1980 labor productivity increment plan anticipated for industry was to have exceeded the 1976 increment planned by more than two-fold. The results of five-year plan fulfillment bear out that rates actually fluctuate by year, with a tendency to drop towards the end of the period.

Ministries and departments adjust annual plan indicators downward. As a check by the USSR People's Control Committee showed, the USSR Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool-Making Industry reviewed labor productivity plans for each enterprise an average of eight times in 1978. Such adjustments are often made without adequate foundation and are essentially aimed at reducing a lag permitted, to drive the assignment down to actual fulfillment. Ministries and industrial associations often redistribute plan assignments to ensure plan fulfillment by the branch, subbranch, or at least to come close. As a result, the prestige of the state plan decreases.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers Decree "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Improving Production Efficiency and Work Quality" anticipates a system of measures called upon to raise the level of planning work in the area of labor, as well as the interest of enterprise and association workers in adopting taut plan assignments to reduce labor expenditures, in seeking out reserves. To this end, we plan to create a system of interlinked long-range and current plans in which the indicator of labor productivity, as the most important indicator at all levels of the national economy, must be substantiated in detail, foremost in five-year plans, which are the primary form of leadership of the country's economic and social development and the basis of the economic activity of enterprises, associations and branches. The plan must be drawn up on the basis of progressive technical-economic norms and normatives.

This decree singles out labor and social development planning indicators in particular. They include: labor productivity growth, growth in deductions based on

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normative net output or another indicator which more accurately reflects labor expenditure changes in individual branches; the normative wage per ruble of output; limits on the numbers of workers and employees; normatives on the formation of material incentives funds and funds for sociocultural measures and housing construction; assignments on reducing manual labor. The aggregate of these indicators is called upon to facilitate resolving socioeconomic tasks in the labor field.

How is the planned program being implemented? In what manner are the indicators reflected in the economic and social development plans of branches, associations and enterprises? What is the status of the development of normative documents which were prepared in developing the decree, what is their value, what are their shortcomings, and what needs to be done for them to fully reflect the demands inherent in the new economic mechanism? It is important to answer these questions now, when existing shortcomings can be overcome with minimal expenditures. The normative documents were called upon to concretize the fundamental provisions of the decree and to create a normative basis for securing and actualizing them, for ensuring the functioning of the new economic mechanism. An analysis made by associates at the Scientific Research Institute of Labor bears out that, in spite of the development of normative documents for all lines and indicators outlined in the decree on the economic mechanism, they are not fully in practical use yet, and certain ministries have not communicated these normative documents to their enterprises, nor have they worked out documents with consideration of the specifics and features of their own production and labor organization. A survey of a large number of enterprises bears out that the bulk of them are slow in changing over to the new management conditions. Approximately one-third of the enterprise leaders could not answer a question about the time involved in the change-over.

The difficulties arising in changing over to the new management procedure include foremost a lack of branch methods materials and recommendations concretizing the decree as applicable to the specifics of particular branches, enterprise leaders maintain. They cite as other reasons slowness in refining existing norms and normatives to bring them into line with the demands of the decree and the absence of a link between the indicator levels set by the ministries and enterprise opportunities.

Great hopes are being placed on the indicator of normative net output. Scientifically substantiated planning of collective work results evaluations and the rewards for those results will depend largely on the indicator of labor productivity.

The USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building and the USSR Ministry of Power Machine Building have summed up the results of an experiment in planning production volume and labor productivity using the indicator of normative net output.

The range of ministries and periods for transferring them to planning and evaluating activity on the basis of normative net output have been determined. According to the 1981 plan, the USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Stockraising and Feed Production will change over to its use this year and 42 basic Union ministries will change over next year. Seven Union ministries have been granted the right to experimentally verify the use of this indicator in 1980-1981. Among them are the Ministry of Chemical Industry, Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry, Ministry of Food Industry, Ministry of Fish Industry and others in which the experiment in using normative net output as an indicator was not conducted.

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In the course of organizational-economic and methods preparations for the change-over to normative net output, as was anticipated by the methods instructions approved, the ministries must work out branch methods instructions (directions), draft net output normatives for the entire products list and their approval, as well as calculations of production volume and labor productivity indicators based on the new normatives for the base and planning periods.

Methods instructions on the procedure for developing and using normative net output planning indicators have undergone significant changes as compared with the methods recommendations for calculating that indicator in branches where it was used experimentally. Therefore, it has been necessary in nearly all branches to implement a complex of measures ensuring their introduction, both in those where the experiment was conducted earlier and in those where it was not. As a check of industrial ministry preparations for changing over to planning and evaluating their activity using normative net output in accordance with the procedures and schedules established by normative documents showed, there are s'gnificant shortcomings. They are manifested in the incomplete methods and organizational readiness of ministries to do the work which preceeds the large-scale change-over to use of the new indicator.

Of the 16 industrial ministries surveyed, only the USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Stockraising and Feed Production had worked out net output normatives in accordance with the methods instructions approved in 1979 and had begun their experimental verification at its enterprises. In the remaining ministries, they continue to use or are experimentally verifying the net output normative worked out using the old 1975 method. The normatives do not correspond to the principles adopted for calculating them and are generally individual in nature.

The latter circumstance is very important, for the new methods instructions on the procedures for developing, using and planning net output anticipate the use of branch normatives based on a unified base with constant wholesale prices. Such an approach enables us to retain the principle of evaluating labor effectiveness by comparing individual expenditures with average branch indicators and to ensure the reducibility and comparability of this indicator at various levels of social production. In a majority of the ministries surveyed, the principles for calculating normatives adopted in the new methods instructions are not always followed and there is an effort to differentiate their value by enterprise, which does not provide an opportunity to change over from the individual to the branch level. That is facilitated by the provisions in the methods instructions which permit the extensive use of individual normatives instead of branch ones. In our opinion, in order to conform to the branch level of the net output normative, changes and refinements must be made in the methods instructions so as to anticipate a minimum number of exceptions and to define the conditions for their use.

As the survey shows, the organization of work to create and develop the branch methods base also needs improvement. Only half the ministries surveyed had worked out branch instructions on calculating normative net output; the remaining ministries formally relied on using interbranch methods instructions, though they lack concrete recommendations as applicable to branch specifics on a number of questions.

Deviations from interbranch methods instructions on solving a number of problems are permitted by the branches in calculating normatives: choice of methods of calculating individual elements of the normatives, bases for determining profit, methods of

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reflecting product quality and others which determine in considerable measure the character of the normatives being used and their differentiation for identical output being manufactured under different conditions.

This situation is to be explained largely by the fact that the methods instructions on using normative net output were based on an analysis of materials for machine building and did not take into account the features of other branches. In particular, the new methods instructions changed the methods of determining profit in the net output normative, and foremost the base for calculating it by item. The basis for calculating that profit is net cost minus materials expenditures, which helps reduce the differing profitability of new branch net output normatives in terms of profit, since it excludes that proportion of it previously accounted for by materials. At the same time, in our view, there are deviations in recommendations on using the profit calculation base as compared with the above-cited CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree. The decree anticipates its use only in processing industry, but the methods instructions for calculating the net output normative anticipate using it in all branches of industry.

While evaluating positively the attempt to set the amount of normative net output with consideration of existing differences in cooperative delivery amounts, we must at the same time not fail to note that the methods instructions contain no concrete recommendations on the methods for taking them into account. They define only possible general approaches to adjusting normative net output amounts dissimilar even in individual production associations (enterprises), which is associated with average working conditions and changes in cooperation terms as compared with those taken into account when setting wholesale prices and net output normatives. In the one case, they assume a corresponding differentiation of branch normatives with consideration of differences in the level of branch expenditures stemming from different cooperation terms outlined in the plan; in the second, they assume change in existing normatives by the value of the normative approved under established procedures for semi-finished products, parts, subassemblies and assembly components procured at associations (enterprises) specialized for their production, that is, the best manufacturing conditions are used.

Not one of the branches surveyed was working out net output normatives for semi-finished products, subassemblies and other assembly components, and they proposed adjustments on the basis of individual labor expenditures. In the machine-building ministries with individual and series-type production, given a single wholesale price, they established several net output normatives based on number of plants producing a given product. It was difficult to check the substantiation for such differentiation. We cannot be confident that it was based solely on differences in amount of cooperation.

In view of the difficulties which have arisen, it would be more appropriate, in our view, not to adjust net output normatives, but to take into account labor expenditure changes resulting from changes in amount of cooperation, when substantiating on the basis of production volume and labor productivity increment.

Ministries are lagging in meeting schedules for carrying out the complex of preparatory work on changing over to the use of normative net output. For a number of ministries, this situation is linked to delay in working out wholesale price lists and net output normatives in the raw material branches.

The study shows deviations from established procedure for approving net output normatives simultaneously with wholesale prices. The ministries of timber, wood processing, chemical industry and fish industry have already adopted wholesale price lists without normatives.

A number of fundamental deviations from the general methods instructions have been revealed. They basically concern methods of calculating individual elements of the net output normative, as for example, methods of calculating the amount of profit. In some instances (timber and wood processing, pulp and paper industry and power machine building), the amount of profit being included in the net output normative is being calculated in proportion to the wages of production workers. In other instances (chemical industry), the amount of profit is being determined on the basis of the profitability norms relative to overall production outlays. At the same time, a new procedure for calculating amount of profit has been adopted for use when wholesale prices are set — relative to processing cost, with a view towards some equalizing of the nonhomogeneity of producing individual types of items.

All these factors must be taken into account and corrected as we prepare to change over to the new indicator of calculating output volume and labor productivity. Economic evaluations of production volume and labor productivity using the new net output normatives have yet to be made by a single ministry. It is therefore impossible to imagine what changes will appear in the level and dynamics or labor productivity when the new normatives are used. Based on the results of a check at individual enterprises, we have succeeded in evaluating the dynamics of these indicators to some extent, as well as in evaluating the influence on those dynamics of the differing profitability of cost comparisons given shifts in the assortment of output being released. The comparisons projected for introduction (wholesale prices and normative net output) reveal a closer interrelationship between one another than current prices and normatives, a result of the unified methods of determining them. The new wholesale prices and net output normatives are characterized by a relative diminution of differing profitability in terms of materials-intensiveness by excluding a portion of the profit from the calculation, but on the whole, its value is not weakened, given retention of existing differences in production conditions. The dynamics of the indicator of normative net output therefore need corresponding adjustment in the planning process.

Labor indicators include a limit on the number of workers and employees. The necessity of introducing it into the indicators being approved results from ever-increasing difficulties in providing the national economy with manpower. In this connection, the demand that it be used at enterprises (associations) increases, and the limit on numbers, together with other measures of economic influence, must predetermine the fuller actualization of intraproduction reserves.

In 1980, the USSR Gosplan approved limits on the numbers of workers and employees in average-annual terms for USSR ministries and departments and for Union republic Councils of Ministers, which in turn approved limits on numbers for subordinate associations and enterprises, distributing them by quarter and type of activity.

As the analysis shows, limits on the numbers of workers and employees have been approved for a majority of the enterprises of Union subordination, but all enterprises of republic ministries are covered by them in only four Union republics (Belorussian, Kazakh, Latvian and Tajik). In some republics, these limits were established only for enterprises of individual branches in 1980.

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In order to ensure normal production conditions, the limit on the number of workers and employees must correspond to the enterprise's actual manpower demand. In this connection, the degree of conformity of actual numbers of workers and employees to the limit, the level of production plan fulfillment and the status of manpower use at the enterprises should be revealed. At the enterprises surveyed by the Scientific Research Institute of Labor, the actual numbers of industrial production personnel turned out to be below the limit in a majority of instances. At the same time, enterprise production plans were fulfilled or overfulfilled. This situation can be explained either by the fact that the limit on numbers being approved currently does not create the necessary tautness in manpower use or the contrary, by the fact that production program fulfillment is being achieved by heightened tautness.

With introduction of the new indicator, the number of ministries, enterprises and associations which maintain above-limit numbers of workers and employees has risen sharply. In the first half of 1980, the number of ministries with above-plan numbers increased nearly four-fold as compared with 1979. This situation resulted from the following. Prior to the introduction of limits, the planned numbers of workers and employees in the individual branches was a sum of the planned numbers of the enterprises. But the enterprises, when planning their numbers of workers and employees, strove to create freer conditions for carrying out the production program. With the institution of limits, it became necessary for the ministries to organize more precisely their work on revealing and using intraproduction reserves. The organization of this work also determined the level of fulfillment of plans (limits) on the numbers of workers and employees at enterprises and associations subordinate to them.

In the ministries and departments with above-limit manpower available to them, the proportion of enterprises not fulfilling the labor productivity plan has reached a third of the total number of enterprises. The conclusion can be drawn that ministries not only can bring the numbers of workers and employees into conformity with the established limit, but can subsequently lower that limit.

The introduction of a limit on the numbers of workers and employees into the indicators being approved requires improvement first of all in the procedure for determining that limit and communicating it to the ministries, enterprises and associations. Some experience has already been accumulated in establishing such limits. At enterprises of Moscow and Leningrad, these limits have been established since the start of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

Setting limits on numbers must be closely linked to the labor productivity indicators being planned. The fact is that the number of workers needed to carry out production plans is a value derived from the labor productivity level. If the anticipated production volume and labor productivity level take intraproduction opportunities into account sufficiently precisely, implementation of the plan of organizational-technical measures will in the final analysis permit ensuring conformity of the established number to the number needed as well.

Along this line, there is the procedure adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers, under which association and enterprise leaders are deprived of a portion (up to 50 percent) of their bonuses for annual work results if there is an above-plan number of workers and employees.

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Reduction in manual labor is another new labor indicator. Under present conditions, it is necessary for a precise determination of ways of reducing those employed at manual labor. But the primary thing is to link this indicator in every branch and at each enterprise and association with the target comprehensive program for reducing manual labor. That program is called upon to ensure a sharp reduction in the number of workers employed at manual, heavy physical and low-skill labor and to ensure increased worker satisfaction with their labor based on retraining those freed from manual jobs and transferring them to jobs involving skilled, mechanized labor.

From the viewpoint of labor resources use, the effectiveness of this program is determined foremost by how quickly workers freed from manual labor are retrained, redistributed and placed in jobs, as the duration of that process is directly proportional to the amount of outlays for society and the worker.

The effectiveness of reducing manual labor is also determined by the extent to which the use of workers thus freed is combined with their interests. It can be assumed that a portion of the workers, especially the elderly, who do not have adequate general educational preparation will not make an effort to change over to mechanized jobs requiring retraining in a new occupation. Consequently, it might become necessary to seek out for such workers jobs to which they are accustomed. At the same time, it is evident that special incentives will be required for workers thus freed to change occupations, places of work and places of residence.

In accord with the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers Decree "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Improving Production Effectiveness and Work Quality," the brigade form of labor organization and stimulation must become the basic form in the 11th Five-Year Plan. As of 1 August 1980, the brigade form covered 48.6 percent of the workers in industry as a whole. This form has been introduced most extensively in ferrous metallurgy (61.5 percent), food industry (60.9 percent), power machine building (58.2 percent) and paper industry (58.1 percent). More than half of all workers have been combined into brigades at enterprises of lumber, automotive, light, meat and dairy industries, heavy machine building, building materials industry and the fish industry. In these branches, use of brigade labor organization most often results from the nature of the technological and production processes. However, the brigade form of labor organization must also be introduced where individual labor organization (machine tool operation, welding, and others) has until recently been the traditional form.

What does the brigade form of labor organization and stimulation offer? Worker mastering of related occupations is considerably expanded, worker skills are improved (especially for young workers), labor and production discipline are strengthened and production planning and management are improved. As a result, certain conditions are created for increasing the labor productivity of each worker and, in so doing, of the brigade and of shop and enterprise collectives. Moreover, the brigade form of labor organization and stimulation facilitates the creation of a favorable microclimate in the labor collectives and the resolution of a number of social tasks associated with developing high moral qualities, a creative attitude towards labor, mutual assistance and responsibility for one another, greater labor discipline, and so on.

^{1.} Manua! labor reduction assignments will be approved in the form of indicators of the proportion of workers employed at manual labor involving machines and mechanisms and not involving machines and mechanisms.

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The change-over to the brigade form of labor organization and stimulation is not always painless. Much preparatory work aimed at creating conditions for highly productive labor in the brigades is therefore required.

The demands on the level of rate-setting increase with the change-over to the brigade form of labor organization and stimulation. The numbers and occupational-skill composition of brigade workers are calculated and the work results of the brigade as a whole and the contribution of each worker are evaluated on the basis of branch and interbranch normatives. In this connection, technically substantiated norms are established for each operation in each job at leading enterprises with the brigade form of labor organization and stimulation and comprehensive norms are calculated on their base, with consideration of the advantages of the brigade form of organization. At the same time, comprehensive norms are set at some enterprises without appropriate calculations on the basis of labor productivity actually achieved.

Survey materials bear out the great diversity of forms of labor payment in brigades. The primary task is for the wage system for workers using the brigade organizational form to combine interest in end results and interest in increasing the contribution of each worker to the attainment of those end results.

There are three large groups of branches in terms of type of brigade wages. The first group is represented by mining industry, continuous-apparatus processes in chemical industry, production on automated lines and units and other jobs in which each brigade member performs certain fixed functions, but their labor results are common. In this case, the wage form is primarily one based on single job authorizations, with the total wage being distributed based on rate category and time worked.

The second group is represented by textile, garment and footwear industry, in which each worker performs separate operations. Wages based on individual piece-work rates for finished products released by the brigade predominate here. Bonus amounts are set with consideration of the work results of the brigade as a whole.

The third group encompasses primarily machine building, in which wages are calculated based on brigade end results and the total wage is distributed using a labor participation factor.

In December 1980, a USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Questions and AUCCTU resolution established "Standard Provisions on the Production Brigade, Brigade Leader, Brigade Council and Brigade Leader Council." The provisions note that development and expansion of the sphere of application of the brigade form of labor organization and stimulation must be done along two lines: continued improvement in brigade labor organization in branches and at production facilities in which it is predominant and traditional and the creation of brigades in those branches and at those production facilities in which individual labor organization is being used.

A certain work volume in terms of end product released or a portion of end product released (machine subassembly, set of parts, brigade-set) must be assigned the brigade and evaluating and paying for brigade labor must be done based on end product, which will ensure strengthening overall interest in and responsibility for the effectiveness of collective labor. Instead of the product of an individual worker's labor being the planning, accounting and payment unit, that unit will be the end product of the brigade's labor. That will require serious work on restructuring labor productivity organization, rate-setting and payment, planning and accounting.

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The organizational form of the brigade, its numerical and occupational-skill composition, are determined by the content and complexity of the production process and the labor-intensiveness of the work, which is established on the basis of interbranch, branch and other progressive labor normatives, the requirements of scientific labor and production organization, the technical and organizational means being used, and other factors. Brigades can be either specialized or multipurpose.

The "Standard Provisions" define the internal organization of brigade work, the planning system, the procedure for changing over to cost accounting, wages, the basic rights and duties of the brigade leader, the production brigade council, the brigade leader council and its functions. At present, the Scientific Research Institute of Labor is preparing the methods principles of the brigade form of labor organization and stimulation in industry. They have been developed with a view towards offering ministries, departments, associations, enterprises and organizations methods assistance in working out and implementing measures to extensively develop the brigade form of labor organization and stimulation.

Questions of improving worker wages and material incentives occupy a special place in the overall system of measures outlined by the decree on improving the economic mechanism.

According to the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree of 12 July 1979, the five-year plans of economic and social development will establish for the industrial ministries, associations and enterprises long-term wage normatives per ruble of output (broken down by year). Universal use of the normative of wage expenditures per ruble of output released to create the wage fund is called upon to link its size to work results and, in so doing, to strengthen its role of achieving the best end results in enterprise production-economic activity, to arouse collectives to using every production reserve, to work with the least number of workers. The wage fund must become an active lever of planned regulation and stimulation to improve production indicators.

Beginning in 1981, some 18 ministries will be transferred to the normative method of wage planning. However, attention is called to the fact that a large number of ministries do not have precise schedules for changing over to the new system. Several ministries and departments are not planning at all for the change-over to the new normative method of wage planning.

This situation is to be explained by a number of factors, and foremost by the fact that conditions suitable to introducing normative wage fund planning have not been created. Methods work must be completed. We have now established, as is known, a procedure for setting long-term wage normatives per ruble of output. But it contains only the general principles of normative planning. We need to develop concrete methods of determining normatives for production associations and enterprises which orient enterprises towards setting up efficient systems of labor organization, rate-setting and wages. The substantiation of the wage fund size will depend on the correctness of these methods.

The shortcomings noted above could be eliminated by the establishment of wage expenditure normatives differentiated as a function of the link between wages and individual groups of workers as a result of changes in production volume, rather than all

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industrial production personnel. The method worked out by the Scientific Research Institute of Labor¹, which can be recommended as a basis for developing branch methods of normative wage fund planning, anticipates such differentiation of normatives.

The amount of funds due enterprises for worker wages must be made dependent not on the total volume of output released, as is presently the case, but on fulfillment of the delivery plan in accordance with contracts, using for this purpose the mechanism of bank monitoring of the issuance of wage funds to enterprises, which must be reflected in corresponding normative documents.

Much attention is paid to questions of forming and using economic incentives funds in the decree on improving the economic mechanism. The principles of forming incentives funds laid out in the decree and in normative documents adopted in accordance with it are a result of a creative search for ways in which to improve the fund-formation mechanism which has been undertaken over the course of the last three five-year plans en route to better consideration of how to stimulate indicators characterizing production end results, including qualitative indicators on stimulating the adoption of taut plans, and the development of an incentive fund for adopting counter plans.

As distinct from the procedure previously in effect for forming the material incentives fund, the 11th Five-Year Plan anticipates using stable normatives established for each enterprise as a function of labor productivity growth and increasing the production of output in the highest quality category. With consideration of branch specifics, the material incentives fund can be formed based on such indicators as material resources saved, increased return on capital and others. In the 1981 plan, the material incentives fund amount is determined on the basis of established normatives, generally in percentages of profit, and fund-generating indicators for the 1981 plan as compared with their average annual growth rates in 1976-1980.

Eighteen of 30 industrial ministries must use indicators of labor productivity growth and proportion of output in the highest quality category in overall production volume; a branch fund-generation method has been approved for four ministries. An indicator of output in the highest quality category as a proportion of overall production volume has not been approved for all ministries. Thus, 13 ministries have been set growth in production volume as a fund-generating indicator.

Such a combination of fund-generating indicators (labor productivity and production volume growth) is appropriate in the raw material and extractive branches, in our view, as they need to stimulate output growth not only by increasing labor productivity, but also by increasing the number of workers. At the same time, those ministries also include a number of machine-building ministries.

Instead of labor productivity growth, the indicator of production volume growth has been established for the USSR Ministry of Light Industry.

Ministries and departments can also establish other fund-generating indicators for individual subbranches, associations and enterprises, with consideration of the

^{1.} See: "'Normativnoye planirovaniye fonda zarabotnoy platy.' Methodicheskiye re-komendatsii" [Normative Wage Fund Planning. Methods Recommendations], Moscow, Scientific Research Institute of Labor, 1979.

specifics of their work: saving material resources, higher return on capital and higher shift index, level of profitability, and others. In branches in which output quality cannot be used as an indicator, lower expenditures per ruble of output is used as a second fund-generating indicator in all instances. The influence of this indicator is detected in considerable measure by the profit indicator and is taken into account when forming the material incentives fund, inasmuch as the deductions normatives are set as percentages of profit. In this connection, it is appropriate for the indicated enterprises to broaden the range of fund-generating indicators being used and to take into account, along with reduced output net cost, other indicators more important for those enterprises, including lower raw and other material expenditures.

For a number of branches of industry, the use of normatives calculated as a percentage of the wage fund is anticipated, as an exception. This permits the use of unified branch normatives in these branches, as was accepted in the 10th Five-Year Plan. This concerns the USSR Ministry of Food Industry, USSR Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry, USSR Ministry of Fish Industry, individual associations and industries of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, and a number of machine-building ministries.

This article has examined only some of the questions related to the system of labor management. Also of important significance are analyzing the development of scientific labor organization and increasing its effectiveness, the status of preparation of technical-economic norms and normatives by type of job and expenditures on (savings of) labor, the introduction of full labor intensiveness, the development of labor balances, analyzing how associations (enterprises) use the right to pay more than wage rates and salaries through wage fund savings obtained above the established normative or planned wage fund, the development of new forms of socialist competition, and others. But the primary thing we need to reveal is how the entire aggregate of labor and social questions indicators operates in increasing production efficiency and labor productivity growth. In this regard, as was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, the search must continue, especially along the line of improving management at the association and enterprise level.

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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ECONOMIC GROWTH, PUBLIC WELL-BEING EXAMINED

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English Vol 23 No 13, 11 Jun 81 pp 1-21

[Article by G. Sarkisyan, originally published in Moscow VOPROSY ECONOMIKI in Russian No 5, 1981]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress stressed that the party approach, the political approach to the economy has invariably been based on the programmatic requirement—everything for the same of man, for the benefit of man. Hence, the emphasis on a more thorough regearing of the national economy to meet the tasks of raising the living standards.

In pursuance of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the country accentuates the greater social orientation of economic development and more effective use of production and scientific and technical potentialities to facilitate the growth of public well-being. It has now become more necessary than ever to ensure the positive feedback of social progress and growing public well-being to promote an economic advance and higher production efficiency.

Today the rates and proportions of the growth of production on the basis of its intensification are the central problem of economic and social development. High growth rates expand possibilities for increasing the social orientation of the economy, manoeuvring with resources and making progressive structural changes in social production. Better economic proportions are an effective tool for stepping up economic progress and increasing resources allocated for extensive reproduction and the growth of public well-being. The scale and effectiveness of the solution of economic and social tasks depend on the way intensive growth factors are used.

Developed socialist society is characterised by the plan-based growth of the economy, the dynamic development of key economic sectors, and, the corresponding increases in public well-being. Under the Tenth Five-Year Plan, the USSR used over 1.6 trillion roubles from national income to boost public well-being. This nearly equals the funds used for the purpose under the Seventh and Eighth Five-Year Plans taken together.

However, in the past few years economic growth rates have slowed down because of a low increase in production efficiency and the domination of extensive

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development factors. Production expenditures, that is, investment and fixed capital, were outpacing national income and, hence, resources allocated for consumption. Compared with 1970, in 1980, with national income, used for consumption and the accumulation of capital, having increased by 55 per cent, investment went up by 66 per cent and fixed capital by more than 100 per cent.

A major additional source of raising public well-being was an increase in the share of the consumption fund in national income (in current prices), which rose from 70.5 per cent in 1970 to 75.3 per cent in 1980. However, this did not make up fully for a fall in the increment of the resources used for consumption because of a drop in the growth rate of national income, which resulted in lower relative increases in some indicators of the growth of public well-being. Real per-capita income increased by 17 per cent under the Tenth Five-Year Plan, compared with 24 per cent in the previous five years, and non-productive fixed assets by 32 per cent, as against 37 per cent, respectively.

Overcoming the downward trend of economic development rates registered in recent years, stepping up these rates, and improving correlation between the growth of production resources and the results of economic performance is a major prerequisite for the stable rise of public well-being in the future.

L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress said that "making the economy more intensive and efficient consists, above all, in having production output grow faster than inputs, in achieving more while involving relatively fewer resources in production." Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, with the relative increase in investment to be more than halved, and fixed capital to be reduced by 50 per cent, national income will remain approximately on the level of the previous five years, while the output of industry, agriculture and other sectors will exceed the relevant figures for the Tenth Five-Year Plan. As a result, whereas in the past five years 10 per cent of the increment in investments accounted for 7.2 per cent of the increment in national income, and 8.3 per cent of the increment in industrial output, under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan these figures will grow by 13-15 per cent and 19-22 percent, respectively. In 1976-1980 10 per cent of the increment in basic production assets were responsible for 4.8 per cent of the increment in national income and 5.6 per cent of the increment in the industrial output, in 1981-1985 these figures will be 5.8-6.5 per cent and 8.4-9.0 per cent respectively. Better correlation between these indicators with smaller relative and absolute increases in investments can be achieved under the current five-year plan only by substantially raising investment efficiency, a major prerequisite of high and stable growth rates in the 12th five-year period.

Economic intensification enhances the role of labour productivity in increasing production and raising public well-being. In the 1980s higher labour productivity becomes particularly important because of a sharp fall in the increment in man-power resources due to birth drops in the 1960s and a simultaneous increase in the number of people reaching pensionable age. In the 11th and 12th five-year periods, the active population is expected to grow by 3.3-3.2 million as against 11.2 million under the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

In 1981-1985, the rates of increment in labour productivity will average 3.2-3.7 per cent a year, compared with 3.2 per cent in 1976-1980. Specifically, labour productivity will go up by 4.2-4.6 per cent in industry (3.3 per cent) and 2.8-3.2 per cent (2.2 per cent) in construction, respectively. Labour productivity in agriculture will grow, as a yearly average, by 22-24 per cent under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, compared with 16 per cent in the previous five years. Higher labour productivity will account for no less than 80-90 percent of the increment in national income and over 90 per cent in the increment in industrial output, as against 76 per cent and 75 per cent, respectively, under the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

More rational use of materials, checking the downward trend of the outputassets ratio and reducing material intensiveness are very important, if we are to accelerate economic growth and improve its end results. Hindering the growth of production efficiency, the falling output-assets ratio limits the scale of increasing production and, in the final account, the economic possibilities of solving social tasks. Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, the rates of reduction in the output-assets ratio are to be slowed down, compared with the Tenth Five-Year Plan. However, this trend will not be overcome in full. Despite the accelerated growth of labour productivity, its growth rates will fall short of increases in the fixed assets-per worker ratio which for the five years will rise 32 per cent in industry, 38 per cent in agriculture, and 20 per cent in construction. Tapping new resources and possibilities for raising labour productivity, the output-assets ratio and reducing material intensiveness in the process of elaborating and carrying out the Eleventh Five-Year Plan is important for further stepping up the growth of the output of consumer goods, developing services, increasing resources to raise public well-being and, at the same time, for making the manpower situation less tense.

More effective use of production potential will increase the favourable impact of structural changes on economic development and the growth of public well-being.

The Eleventh Five-Year Plan provides for further improvements in the structure of national income and also for increases in the resources directly used to boost public well-being. In 1981-1985 the share of the consumption fund's increment in the overall increase in national income will reach 84 per cent. Over 90 per cent of the increment in national income, compared with 82 per cent in the previous five years, will be used for current consumption and construction in the non-productive sphere. As a result, the share of the consumption fund in national income will grow to 77.3 per cent, as against 75.3 per cent in 1980 and 73.4 per cent in 1975. This will allow us to channel over 10 billion roubles in extra funds in consumption, which makes almost two-thirds of the total to be spent in 1981-1985 on new centralised initiatives to raise living standards. An increase in the share of resources used directly to promote the well-being of the people is an indicator of better performance results and higher production efficiency.

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In the future, structural policy will be aimed at ensuring the priority development of the capital goods sector, especially its segments decisive for scientific and technical progress, and at promoting qualitative changes in the material and technical foundation of society.

A more resolute turn of the economy to raising public well-being requires the accelerated growth of consumer goods output and the faster rates of growth of both the consumer goods and capital goods sectors. Under the Eighth Five-Year Plan, the rates of increment in the output of capital goods and consumer goods, which were almost equal (51 per cent and 50 per cent) made it possible to raise the share of consumer goods in overall industrial production from 25.9 per cent in 1965 to 26.6 per cent in 1970. In the ninth five-year plan period, the priority rate of increment in capital goods rose, compared with the relevant figure for consumer goods, to 1.24 times. Under the Tenth Five-Year Plan, this priority became stabilised, and in the past ten years the share of consumer goods fell insignificantly, to 26 per cent. In 1981-1985 the output of consumer manufactures will grow by 27-29 per cent and that of capital goods by 26-28 per cent. The rates of increment in capital goods, projected for the current five-year period, exceed the relevant indicator for the previous five-year plan by more than thirty per cent.

Like under the previous plan, in the 11th five-year period the fastest rates of growth in the consumer goods group will be shown by cultural and household commodities. The output of the food industry will be stepped up considerably and the rates of growth of light industry will be stabilised. For the five years, the manufacture of cultural and household goods by heavy industry will grow by almost 40 per cent, the output of the food industry by 23-26 per cent, which is above the figure for 1976-1980, and the output of light industry by 18-20 per cent.

Accordingly, structural changes will be made within the consumer goods sector. Under the Tenth Five-Year Plan, such changes manifested themselves in the growing share of consumer goods, primarily cultural and household articles, manufactured by heavy industry, with the share of light industry going up a little and the output of the food industry decreasing. The share of heavy industry increased from 26.2 per cent in 1975 to 29.1 per cent in 1979, that of light industry from 27.0 per cent to 27.5 per cent, and that of the food industry fell from 46.8 per cent to 43.4 per cent. The share of cultural and household articles in the overall output of consumer goods grew from 13.6 per cent in 1965 to 15 per cent in 1979. The Eleventh Five-Year Plan will see a further increase, albeit a relatively smaller, in the share of heavy industry, a reduction in the share of light industry, as well as a drop in the share of the food industry which will fall at decelerated rates.

The further growth of public well-being is largely determined by the development of the agro-industrial complex and more effective cooperation between all its segments in order to achieve better economic results, first of all, to solve the food problem. The goal of the food programme is the satisfaction of the Soviet people's reasonable requirements for foodstuffs, the achievement of a consumption level corresponding to scientifically grounded standards, and a considerable increase in the quality of food. Tentative estimates show that

the full implementation of the food programme will, apparently, go beyond the current decade. However, the decisive step towards its fulfilment should be made in the current decade, primarily in the 11th five-year period, which provides for better provision of the public with foodstuffs, fuller satisfaction of public requirements, and a substantial increase in the consumption of more nutritious foods.

In agriculture, the current five-year plan accentuates the growth of the output of cereals, fodder, and livestock products, the effective storage of farm products and their sale in the best marketable form. In 1981-1985, average annual farm output will grow by 12-14 per cent, as against 9 per cent in 1976-1980. In accordance with the decisions of the July 1978 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan the annual output of cereals is to average 238-243 million tons, compared with 181.6 million tons in 1971-75, and 205 million tons in 1976-1980 in order to bring per-capita production to a ton.

In the past few years the redistribution of investments in favour of agriculture has ensured the faster rates of growth of the basic fixed assets of agriculture, compared with the relevant national average. Under the Tenth Five-Year Plan, agricultural investments made over 27 per cent and under the Ninth Five-Year Plan, 26 per cent of overall investments, as against 23 per cent for the Eighth Five-Year Plan and 20 per cent for the Seventh Five-Year Plan. In accordance with the decisions of the July 1978 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the Guidelines for 1981-1985 say that the share of agriculture in overall economic investments should not go below today's level. A major emphasis is laid on more effective use of the resources channelled in agriculture, which is very important for improving national economic performance in general.

As the efficiency of production, particularly agriculture, will grow, conditions will emerge for increasing resources to expand the non-productive sphere and develop its material and technical foundation.

In the future the country will see a further redistribution of manpower between the productive and non-productive sectors. However, of decisive importance will be more rational use of the manpower currently employed in the non-productive sector. Under the Tenth Five-Year Plan, the number of factory and office workers in the non-productive sector grew by 4.8 million, more than the expected overall increase in the workforce under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan. This underscores the importance of raising manpower efficiency in the non-productive sector, the retooling and modernisation of enterprises and a sharp reduction in the share of manual low-skilled work which in this sector is 50 or 100 per cent above the corresponding figure for the productive sector. The faster growth of assets in the non-productive sector and an increase in the funds earmarked for this sector are important for the successful solution of this task.

The 26th CPSU Congress stressed that the foundation for tackling social tasks is being laid in the economic field. Today it is necessary to ensure a closer contact between a real increase in living standards and the growth of production and labour productivity. The role of the social factors of economic growth, that is money and more stimulants to work, has grown, as has their impact on the development of production and the attainment of high end results.

The vast programme of social development and the growth of public well-being, mapped out by the 26th CPSU Congress, aims at solving major social problems and, at the same time, at increasing the impact of rising living standards on the growth of the volume and efficiency of production. This approach makes it necessary for the social programme to center on transformations in work which constitutes the basis of the socialist way of life and which is the main condition for the all-round development of the individual. For these purposes, it is envisaged to further raise labour productivity, make work more useful and better working conditions, on the one hand, and increase the interdependence of the growth of living standards and the end results of work, on the other.

To meet public requirements and, simultaneously, to raise the effectiveness of economic and moral incentives, it is necessary to step up the reduction of the volume of manual work, especially work requiring great physical effort, and to make work more useful and creative in all fields. This is crucial for gradually overcoming substantial differences between manual and mental work and for turning agricultural work into a variety of industrial labour.

The solution of this problem largely determines possibilities for raising labour productivity, the wages and cultural and vocational standards of manpower, for making the spiritual life of workers richer and increasing their satisfaction with work. A falling share of manual work will help substantially alleviate the manpower problem, reduce labour turnover, and save on compensation payments for adverse working conditions.

Compared with 1969, in 1979 thanks to mechanisation and automation, the share of people doing mechanised jobs rose by 3.7 points in industry and 7.6 points in construction. However, the share of manual work in the economy is still large. The share of manual labour goes down slowly and not infrequently this process is accompanied by increases in the overall volume of manual work. At present, the following shares of manpower do manual jobs in different sectors: nearly two-fifths in industry, excluding machinery repairs and adjustment; over half in construction, and nearly two-thirds in agriculture.

It is particularly necessary to mechanise the manual jobs of auxiliary workers who account for 50 per cent of industrial manpower. The work of 64 per cent of manpower employed on basic operations in industry have been mechanised. However, the relevant figure for auxiliary jobs is only 29 per cent. Studies show that the mechanisation of auxiliary jobs and the release of the same number of workers for employment elsewhere requires a fourth or a fifth of the means invested in the mechanisation of basic operations. However, nearly 80 per cent of the funds allocated for the mechanisation of manual work are claimed by basic operations and only 20 per cent go to auxiliary jobs.

More effective solution of these problems in the 1980s will be ensured by the accelerated retooling of the economy, making the social orientation of scientific and technical progress more pronounced, shaping and carrying out a specific integrated programme for reducing manual work.

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Attaching great importance to transformations in the sphere of social labour, it is also necessary to emphasise the rationalisation and greater efficiency of work at subsidiary individual holdings which today account for nearly a quarter of national farm output. At present, nearly 40 million families of collective farmers and office workers have subsidiary individual holdings. Two-fifths of the manpower in this sector are pensioners and over half are people of the working age groups. Nearly 90 per cent of them combine work in social production with the tilling of their subsidiary individual holdings. Greater output of machinery custom-made for such holdings, better provision of their owners with mineral fertilisers and greater technical aid to them in doing labour-intensive jobs will considerably facilitate their work, reduce time spent on subsidiary individual holdings and increase their output. All this, in its turn, will help promote the labour activity of people in social production and raise labour productivity in the socialized sector.

One of the main economic and social tasks today is to fuller meet consumer demand, promote the growth of consumption, the quality of goods and the expansion of their assortment.

In the past few years, the money incomes of the working people were growing faster than commodity trade, mostly due to the underfulfilment of agricultural assignments. Compared with 1975, in 1980, with the output of consumer manufactures having increased by 21 per cent and retail trade by 24 per cent, the wage bill went up by 27 per cent and the public consumption fund by 29 per cent. Imbalances between public incomes and commodity resources undercut the efficiency of measures for raising living standards, intensify the spontaneous redistribution of incomes between people, and undermine motives for work.

Meat, milk and other livestock products and fruits are in heightened demand. In 1971-1979, per capita consumption of meat and meat products grew by 10 kilograms, milk and dairy products by 12 kilograms, and eggs by 74. However, over the recent years the rates of growth and sale of these products have become decelerated, which could not but have adversely affected the dynamics of the provision of the public with these foodstuffs and their consumption. Thus, in 1979 the sale of meat and meat products by state and cooperative shops made 10.2 million tons, the increase of 40 per cent on 1970. However, in 1979 the relevent figure remained on the level of 1975. In 1971-1979, milk and dairy products sales increased by a third, and by as little as 6 per cent in the first four years of the Tenth Five-Yea- Plan. Demand for milk and meat was increasing not only because the growth of the population was outstripping output, but also because of a marked fall in the role played by subsidiary individual holdings and changes in the demand pattern of villagers. In 1976-1979, the output of meat and meat products by subsidiary individual holdings did not increase, while that of milk continued to fall. Whereas in 1979 collective farmers' subsidiary individual holdings yielded more potatoes, other vegetables and fruit, eggs, and milk than their owners consumed, 92 per cent of meat output was consumed by producers. Also, demand for more nutritious foods rose considerably because of increases in the incomes of the less well off families, which were growing particularly rapidly in the past 10 or 15 years.

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The social programme of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan gives a first priority to the fuller satisfaction of consumer demand and overcoming the shortage of some goods. The solution of this problem requires, on the one hand, the faster growth of commodity resources vis-a-vis the money incomes of the population, a better structure of commodity trade, and strict adherence to plan targets for the growth of incomes, above all, to the wage bill, and more effective control in this field, on the other. More extensive use of the possibilities of subsidiary individual holdings and reducing the losses of farm produce will help improve the provision of the public with foodstuffs.

In the current five-year period, retail state and cooperative trade will grow by 22-25 per cent and its absolute increment will be much greater than in the previous five years, while the volume of everyday services to the population will increase by about 40 to 50 per cent. In 1981-1985, the money income of the population will go up by 20-23 per cent.

By 1985, the output of meat will reach 17-17.5 million tons (slaughter weight), as against 14.8 million tons in 1976-1980. The production of milk will reach 97-99 million tons, compared with 92.6 million tons for the previous five years, and the output of eggs will make no less than 72 billion, as against 63.1 billion. The corresponding increase in sales will considerably improve the supply of the public with livestock products. The production and consumption of vegetables and fruit will also increase.

Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, the sale and consumption of consumer goods other than foodstuffs will grow appreciably, and the provision of families with cultural and household goods will increase. Public demand for these goods could be fuller satisfied even with today's volume of trade, if we raised quality of output. However, the share of goods with state quality mark is still low: at the enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, it was 12 per cent in 1980 (2.2 per cent in 1975).

Consumer demand will be met fuller, while the state retail prices of basic foodstuffs and manufactures will remain stable. According to the USSR Central Statistical Administration, in 1979, compared with 1970, the index of the state retail prices of consumer goods stood at 102 per cent. The prices of essentials, particularly foodstuffs, do not change. Rent, utility rates and city transit fares also remain on the same level. Since these commodities and services account for the bulk of the spending of the family, the stability of prices, rent rates and fares largely predetermines the dynamics of the general level of consumer prices. In this period, the prices of some nonessentials increased, as did prices on the collective farm market. These are cases of goods being priced higher, although their quality has not been improved. Sometimes more expensive commodities are marketed, while cheaper goods, although they are in demand, of the same category disappear from sale. That is why the Guidelines for 1981-1985 point to the necessity of considerably increasing the putput and sales of inexpensive high-quality goods which are in demand, intensifying state and public control over prices, and raising the responsibility of the heads of industrial associations, factories and other organizations for the strict observance of prices.

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The growth of the consumption of goods and services, taking into account the stability of prices in the 11th five-year plan period, will make it possible to increase real per capita incomes by 16-18 per cent, to exceed the 1970 level by 1.7 times. At present nearly 75 per cent of real incomes of the public comes from labour remuneration. With the projected increase in labour productivity, under the current five-year plan the wages of factory or office workers will increase by the average of 13-16 per cent and the labour remuneration of collective farmers from the socialised sector by 20-22 per cent. The average monthly labour remuneration of collective farms will make almost 75 percent of the wages of factory and office workers, as against 70 per cent in 1975, and 63 per cent in 1970.

The 26th CPSU Congress stressed the necessity of ensuring in 1981-1985 the priority growth of labour productivity vis-a-vis wages, a major condition for increasing production and raising public well-being. The point is that in the past five years the growth rates of labour productivity came unduly close to those of wages, mostly due to the underfulfilment of plan assignments for labour productivity, which fact created new difficulties with balancing money incomes and commodity resources. Thus, 1976-1980 one per cent of the increase in labour productivity in industry accounted for 0.82 per cent of the increase in wages, compared with 0.64 per cent in 1971-1975. The relevant figure in construction was 1.43 per cent (0.62 per cent). Also, in these years the wages in the non-productive sector grew faster than in production. Under the current five-year plan, the projected 13-16 per cent increase in the average wages of factory or office workers will be ensured with a 22-25 per cent rise in labour productivity in industry and a 15-17 per cent productivity increase in construction.

It is very important to improve the correlation between the growth of labour productivity and labour remuneration in agriculture, particularly in the collective farm sector, where labour remuneration was growing much faster than productivity for a long time. Thus, compared with 1970, in 1979, with labour productivity in the socialised sector of agriculture having grown by 23 per cent, the wages of state farm workers increased by 45 per cent, and the labour remuneration of collective farmers by 52 per cent, with the lead being 2-2.3 times. Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, with the projected growth of labour productivity in the social sector of agriculture by 22-24 per cent, the labour remuneration of collective farmers will rise 20-22 per cent.

To increase the effectiveness of incentives, it is necessary to establish closer dependence of wages on the performance of every worker and that of an enterprise as a whole, raise the role of incentives as a productivity stimulant, better the quality of output, ensure the fuller saving of resources of all kinds, further raise the role of the wage-rate system, improve the forms and system of wages in close contact with more effective quota-setting, increase control over the measure of work and the measure of payment, and ensure the necessary dependence of bonuses on the performance of a worker and that of an enterprise as a whole.

Another major direction of improving labour remuneration is to rationalise rations between the wages of different categories of workers, taking into account the complexity and importance of work, its conditions and intensity, and also sectoral and regional specifics. It is a pressing matter to raise the wages of engineers and technicians and to improve the correlation between their wages and those of shopfloor workers. The wages of engineers and technicians exceeded those of shopfloor workers by 45.9 per cent in industry and 48.2 per cent in construction in 1965; 36.3 percent and 34.7 percent in 1970; and 15.9 per cent and 4.3 per cent in 1979.

In raising wages, particularly those of low-bracket workers, great importance is attached to the raduction of manual and low-skilled work, to the growth of skills, and the combining of jobs. This is the main way to reduce the absolute numbers of low-paid workers and their proportion in the national labour force, raise their wages, and cut down gap between the labour remuneration of different categories of workers. At the same time, a greater emphasis on incentives and better performance, specifically higher quality standards, may eventually increase the difference between the wages of various categories of workers, which will promote the more consistent implementation of the principle of equal pay for equal work.

In the future, the role of the public consumption funds in solving production and socio-demographic problems will grow, as will the efficiency of using the means allocated for these purposes. In the current five-year period, the public consumption funds will grow by 20 per cent to 138 billion roubles in 1985.

The social programme of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan accentuates demographic problems, particularly the higher social role and prestige of the family which is the primary cell of socialist society, higher birth rates and the longer life-span and active life of the people. The Soviet population grows at high rates, by an average of over two million a year. In birth rates and natural increase of the population, the USSR holds one of the first places in the world. The Soviet Union is among the countries with low death rates. In 1979 natural increase per thousand was 8.1 in the Soviet Union, 7.1 in the United States, 3.9 in France, 3.1 in Italy, 0.4 in Britain, and 2.1 in West Germany.

In recent years, the sex and age composition of the population has worsened, particularly in the countryside, and birth rates have gone down substantially in the European part of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic republics. Whereas in 1961-1979 the population of the Soviet Republics of Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Transcaucasia increased by 52 per cent, the relevant figure for the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic republics rose as little as 14 per cent. In the 1980s, in view of the after-effects of the 1941-1945 war and the aging of the population, regional differences in population dynamics may grow, which will affect the regional distribution of manpower. Increment in the active population will remain relatively high in the Soviet Republics of Central Asia and Azerbaijan, and partly, in Armenia, Georgia, Moldavia, Southern Kazakhstan and some autonomous republics of the Russian Federation. In the current decade, almost the entire increment in the active Soviet population will come from these republics.

Of late, unfavourable trends have grown in the field of family and marriage relations. The number of divorces has increased, as has that of single men and women. The absolute number and the proportion of families with one child or without children keep growing. According to the 1979 population census, of the 66.3 million families, 58.6 per cent consisted of two or three persons and most of them were families with one child or without children.

Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, steps will be made to improve the material well-being and living conditions of families with children and young couples, grant them greater privileges and material aid, improve the education of children as members of society and family, better medical aid and health-building facilities. It is particularly important to create more favourable conditions for women to allow them to combine active participation in social production with their role as mothers, improve their working conditions, rationalise and reduce household work, develop children's facilities in every way possible, and introduce a paid leave of absence for women to look after the child. In the first place, we shall increase privileges and advantages to working women with children.

The development of social security schemes will be aimed at further improving the conditions of life and work of pensioners, the promotion of their labour activity, the growth of pensions, particularly minimum pensions and the bringing closer together of the conditions and levels of the pensions of industrial workers and collective farmers. In 1981-1985 it is planned to gradually draw closer together the size of the earlier established pensions and those fixed for the workers of similar skills at present. The pension is calculated as part of the wages of a worker at the time of his retirement and the size of the pensions of this manpower category does not change, as a rule, in the future. As a result, we have substantial differences between the pensions of the workers of similar skills, fixed in different years. The average size of the old-age pension established in 1979 was 12 per cent higher than that of 1975, 36 per cent above the 1970 pension and 60 per cent above the 1965 pension. That is why the correlations between these pensions and present-day wages differ, although they were nearly equal at the time when these pensions were established. Raising the earlier pensions, with an eye to the growth of wages, will make it possible to improve correlations between pensions granted in different years.

The social programme of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan provides for the solution of the housing problem, a major social issue. In the current decade, the task is to give every family an unshared flat. In 1980, 80 per cent of the families in cities lived in unshared flats, compared with 75 per cent in 1975. In 1985 the per-capita provision of Soviet citizens with housing will average 13.7 square metres. Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, we shall complete the change-over to the construction of housing to standard designs with better layout and built-in amenities. (In 1979 the new generation of blocs of flats accounted for 40 per cent of the housing built by the state.)

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Along with state-financed housing, it is necessary to increase attention to housing construction by building societies and individuals. The importance of this segment of housing construction is particularly great now because it can become an extra source of ensuring balance between money incomes and commodity resources. Apart from that, housing construction in this sector can be conducted with the participation of would-be owners. However, plan assignments for housing construction by building societies are not carried out in full and its proportion in the overall volume of new housing has been dropping for the last few years.

Rational use of working time and an increase in leisure time are very important for the harmonious development of the individual and for fuller satisfaction of the spiritual requirements of the public. The importance of this problem is explained, on the one hand, by the rising requirements of people, particularly by the rapid growth of their social and spiritual requirements, and, a considerable share of household work in overall time free from work in production, on the other.

Reducing the volume of household work and removing its most arduous forms is the main reserve of increasing leisure time, particularly that of women. On a national scale, household work takes nearly 180 billion hours a year, slightly less than time spent in production. The development of services, better housing and the provision of families with all the necessary efficient domestic appliances will considerably reduce time spent on household work and increase leisure time, particularly that of women, which will favourably affect labour activity and productivity in social production.

The growth of public well-being is organically connected with the further consolidation and development of the socialist way of life, the fuller demonstration of its advantages, and the moulding of the new man.

Moulding the new man requires the harmonious combination of growing material well-being with the enrichment of spiritual life, the cultivation of the sound and rational requirements of the comprehensively developed individual. In this connection it is important, first, that the material and spiritual opportunities of every working person should be determined, above all, by the extent of their participation in social production, their labour performance and their relevant share of the consumption fund; second, the satisfaction of the requirements of the public should meet the principles of the socialist way of life; third, these requirements should be increasingly geared to the interests of the comprehensively developed individual. The creation of conditions for the gradual turning of work into the main vital requirement of man plays a particularly important role in this respect.

Growing public well-being favourably influences social production, and stimulates its fast development. The impact of growing public well-being on the development of production has always been recognised in the theory and practice of socialist construction. However, as a rule, an emphasis was laid on the dependence of the growth of living standards on production, whereas their feedback to production was frequently reduced to the stimulating function of wages.

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The importance of higher public well-being for promoting economic progress has become particularly great in connection with the growing role played by the subjective factor of social production in the context of the scientific and technical revolution, i.e., the role of the worker, the harmonious development and use of his abilities. Hence, the necessity of ensuring the more integrated impact of public well-being on social production and the growth, on this basis, of the stimulating role of public well-being.

The growing impact of the public well-being on production now that the latter is being intensified, makes it necessary to further improve the ways of raising living standards and the methods of implementing social undertakings. In this connection priority is given to the ways directly connected with the fuller use of intensive growth factors, labour productivity growth, and the improvement of the quality of work. A particularly important role is being assumed by more efficient use of resources directly used for raising public well-being. The solution of these tasks requires the profound substantiation of structural changes in the redistribution of the increment in resources under every new plan, closer connection between the growth of the well-being of different public strata and categories of the working people and the extent of their participation in social production, and the improvement of the planned-based mechanism used to carry out social undertakings.

Attaching the prime importance to transformations in the character of labour and to raising its productivity, the 26th CPSU Congress stressed the necessity and importance of improving the distribution of goods and services between individuals, first of all, distribution of goods and services according to one's labour performance to consolidate the socialist way of life, raise public well-being and, simultaneously, increase production. As the main form of the implementation of the principle of the distribution of goods and services according to one's work, labour remuneration has the leading role to play in promoting public welfare and in stimulating social production economically.

To stimulate production it becomes more and more important to use such ways of raising public well-being as better housing, further rationalisation of the allocation of housing, improvements in the content and conditions of work, fostering the creative initiative of advanced workers, longer holidays and conditions for adequate recreation geared to the labour performance of workers, higher pensions, etc. At the present stage the growth of the stimulating effect of living standards on production is inseparably connected with the promotion of labour discipline and raising the responsibility of people for their jobs.

The growth of public well-being and its stimulating impact on production are accompanied by the intensification of the former's social aspects, thanks to which it becomes possible to ensure closer interaction between the economic and social functions of public well-being. The most optimal case is their coordinated development, with the stimulating effect of living standards on production growing in inseparable connection with the solution of social problems. However, the stimulating function of public well-being can develop if only it does not hinder social development. At the same time, the preference is given to social development which increases stimuli to work.

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At all stages of the construction of socialism and communism, the economic development of Soviet society proceeded in organic unity with social development and was subordinated to the solution of major social tasks. Under mature socialism, economic growth becomes increasingly aimed at satisfying the material and spiritual requirements of the people and creating the best possible conditions for the all-round development of the individual. Simultaneously, the growth of living standards produces an ever greater impact on economic development. Ensurance of optimal interaction between economic progress and the growth of public well-being, a greater stress on the social orientation of the economy and fuller use of the social factors of production development are major conditions for stepping up the advance of the society of mature socialism.

(VOPROSY EKONOMIKI No 5, 1981. In full.)
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DEMOGRAPHY

U.S. ANALYSES OF SOVIET DEMOGRAPHY CRITIQUED

Moscow ISTORIYA SSSR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 81 pp 219-225

Article by V. K. Bagdasarov and V. Z. Drobizhev: "New Books by American Demographers about Population Movement in the USSR"

/Text/ The reproduction of the population is a problem which represents a toppriority scientific interest. Data on the birth rate, mortality rate, number of persons entering upon marriage, etc. reflect extremely important shifts in society's socioeconomic structure. On the other hand, the type of population reproduction exerts an influence on the size of labor resources and on the course of the most diverse social processes.

During the last few years there has been an increased interest on the part of Soviet scholars in the problems of the historical demography of the USSR. More and more attention is also being paid to these problems in the West. Active work along this line is being conducted at the Center for the Study of Russia and the Eastern European Countries at the University of Birmingham (Great Britain) as well as at a number of universities in the United States. This is testified to by the publication in 1976--1979 of three detailed monographs devoted to the population of Russia and the Soviet Union during the 19th and 20th centuries; we will discuss them in this survey.²

The interest on the part of American historians in population movement within the USSR is explained by the attempt to discover the common factors accounting for the lower birth rate in the contemporary world. Thus, the book by A. Coale, B. Anderson, and E. Harm was written in accordance with the plan adopted in 1963 by the Center for Population Study of Princeton University. This plan has provided for the study of birth rates in Portugal, Italy, Belgium, France, and the USSR.

On the other hand, American authors have turned to the historical demography of the USSR in order to reveal the interconnection between the processes of the so-called "modernization" of society and the change in the country's population. Moreover, it is emphasized throughout that the laws of population do not depend on a society's economic or social structure. Thus, R. Lewis and R. Rowland declare the following: "We have adopted a universal or common approach in analyzing the population changes in Russia and the USSR, inasmuch as we are convinced that population changes...are completely unconnected with the political or ideological system or with the cultural or historical factors inherent to any one country."

To be sure, there are a number of factors (an increase of cultural standards among the population, women being drawn into production work, etc.) which exert an equal influence on the population's reproduction in countries with differing social systems, but there are also radical differences. Socialism does not know exploitation, crises and unemployment, enormous property differentiation, or any significant gaps in the level of education of various classes and social groups. The social policy of a socialist state is aimed at carrying out the optimum rates of population dynamics. This is why Marxists emphasize the historical conditionality of a population's type of reproduction. "The conditions of human multiplication," wrote V. I. Lenin, "depend directly on the structure of various social organisms." To pose the question in a social-historical context, he stressed, means "studying the principle of the population of each historical economic system individually and studying its connection and relationship with the given system."

Denying the specific influence of the mode of production on the population's reproduction leads to a situation whereby in all the works under consideration here nothing is said about the influence of people's way of life under the conditions of socialism on the demographic processes. The American demographers' field of vision comprises the period from 1897 through 1970, which is regarded as a unity. "Dropped out" herein is such an extremely important milestone in world history as the October Revolution, which brought about radical social transformations in our country.

The books by the American demographers have thoroughly analyzed the results of the Censuses of 1897, 1920, 1926, 1939, 1959, and 1970. And although certain authors make stipulated qualifications concerning the incompleteness of the census data, they regard them, on the whole, as a reliable source base for studying population reproduction. Considerably poorer use is made of materials derived from the current accounting of population movement. Practically no mention is made of the statistical reference works which were published during the 1920's on the birth rate and mortality rate in the USSR, nor of specialized publications on the USSR's population which were issued during the period from the 1950's through the 1970's. The periodical publications of the TaSU /Central Statistical Administration/ also remain outside the field of vision. This certainly impoverishes the works under review.

The books by the American demographers have utilized quite an interesting mathematical apparatus to characterize population movement. With the help of computers they have calculated various age indexes of birth rates, mortality rates, marriage rates in regional and republic-wide cross-sections over the extent of the Soviet state's entire period of existence.

One of the basic problems of the topic under consideration is the demographic policy of the Soviet state. Several of the American authors pay lip service to the influence of the Soviet regime's socioeconomic policy on the demographic processes. In essence, however, they avoid this question during the course of their investigation. The matter is presented as if the processes of migration and urbanization have been directed by the Soviet state for the sole purpose of strengthening the Russians' domination over the other—non-Russian and non-Slavic—peoples. Of course, such an interpretation of one thrust of the Soviet socialist state's social policy has nothing in common with the actual facts. Well known are the truly titanic efforts of the Soviet state directed at eliminating national

inequality and strengthening the international unity of all the peoples of the USSR.

A very great achievement of the Soviet system has been the elimination of the economic backwardness of the previously oppressed peoples of Russia; but R. Lewis, R. Rowland, and R. Clem try to present this as merely the result of the fact that the distribution of industry in our country was dictated solely by considerations of defense and the need to move production closer to the raw-material bases. Of course, the factors of economic feasibility and strengthening the country's defense played a role, but in the given instance nothing is mentioned about one of the basic aspects of the Soviet state's socioeconomic policy—a whole complex of measures undertaken to eliminate the economic and cultural backwardness of the former colonial outlying areas of pre-revolutionary Russia. In this connection numerous facts could have been cited from the research of Soviet historians, which are fully accessible to the American authors. In the fact that these facts have been passed over in silence we cannot fail to see bias in the treatment of a number of basic problems.

Finally, the opinion is uttered that the USSR, so to speak, has not worked out a policy with regard to the various aspects of population movement. "In the USSR there does not exist a policy of urbanization in the sense in which we understand it," R. Lewis and R. Rowland point out, "that is, Soviet policy in this regard nowhere mentions that the level of urbanization will increase by such-and-such a percentage in a given year or in a given period." 10

First of all, it must be noted that Western historians have passed over in silence the widely known measures taken by the Soviet state with respect to regulating demographic processes. Was not the mass development of the virgin and long-fallow lands of Kazakhstan, regions of Siberia, and the Far East, which were successfully carried out in the USSR, the result of the state's activity?! Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to present demographic policy in the USSR as a direct control over the population's birth rate, marriage rate, migration, and urbanization. All attempts at such interference by the state in the extremely complex socio-demographic processes, as historical experience has shown, suffer failure. The state possesses instruments which indirectly influence population movement. This is a matter of specific material, moral, political, and social devices and methods which are capable, in the final analysis, of influencing the development of demographic processes. The American authors refuse to analyse these measures of the Soviet regime, directed at regulating the demographic processes, and they assume the boldness of speaking about the lack of a social-demographic policy in general in the USSR.

The demographic policy of the Soviet state consists of a system of measures (economic, social, legal, ideological), directed at maintaining and increasing the country's human resources, augmenting the life span, forming a new type of population reproduction based on the conscious regulation of family size. Demographic policy is based on population statistics organized on a statewide scale.

The work by A. Coale, B. Anderson, and E. Harm is specially devoted to the dynamics of the birth rate, marriage rate, and mortality rate in Russian and the USSR. This book investigates the processes of population reproduction primarily on that territory which comprised the European part of Russia prior to 1917, and with

regard to the postwar period numerous data are adduced concerning population dynamics in the eastern republics of the USSR. The authors consider that the most important demographic shifts over the period 1897--1940 were the following: increase in the life span, decrease in the birth rate as a result of improved living conditions, development of medical care, and a fall in the percentage of the mortality rate in all age groups. The book cites interesting tables showing birth-rate dynamics. Moreover, it is pointed out that the reduction in the birth rate was particularly significant during the years of World War I, the Revolution, and the Civil War, on the eve of and during the Great Patriotic War. The data on the birth rate in Russia and the USSR are adduced in comparison with analogous information on other European countries.

Though the utilization of statistical material does not present any objections whatsoever, the treatment of certain data obtained does not always seem convincing to us. Thus, for example, the authors notethe reduction in the birth rate in 1940.12 They mention further that the partial mobilization of 1939--1940, along with the disruption of normal life along the borders, constituted the main reason for the sharp fall-off in the birth rate. But those events mentioned by A. Coale, B. Anderson, and E. Harm could hardly have had a real effect on significantly reducing the birth rate, as observed in 1940. It seems to us that the principal factor has been omitted. At the end of the 1930's the generation of people who were born during the years of World War I and the Civil War were coming of marriageable age. The reduction of the birth rate at that earlier period led to a sharp limitation on the contingent of persons entering into marriage in the late 1930's. This is also testified to by the data on marriages which the American demographers themselves cite.

The monograph by A. Coale, B. Anderson, and E. Harm characterizes the influence of the Great Patriotic War on the birth rate, mortality rate, and marriage rate of the population. Based on the materials of the 1959 and 1970 Censuses, data are cited on the losses among the male population in various age groups during the wartime years. The authors devote a great deal of attention to the regional differences in the population's birth rate and marriage rate during the postwar years. In particular, a high level of birth rate is noted in those territories where the predominant religion is Islam.

In this connection, it should be emphasized that analysis of the factors which influence population reproduction is a problem of top-priority scientific importance which has still not been sufficiently developed neither in the works of Soviet demographers nor in those of foreign researchers. So far this matter is limited merely to postulating the influence of certain factors without a precise scientific determination of the weight to be assigned each of them.

In their book R. Lewis and R. Rowland assert that the reduction of the birth rate in the USSR during recent years has posed a number of serious economic difficulties. 13 It is certainly true that the lowering of the birth rate and the exhaustion of free labor resources has advanced new economic and social problems to the fore. In working out its prospective plans for development, however, the Soviet state has taken these factors into consideration. In the report entitled "Basic Directions for the Development of the USSR's National Economy during the Period 1976--1980" it was emphasized that during the 1980's the natural increase in manpower would be reduced. This comprised one of the fundamentals of the problem set

forth—to achieve a rational utilization of labor resources during the tenth and succeeding five—year plans. "The more dynamic the national economy, the faster its sectorial and territorial structure changes," the report stated, "and the more acute is the problem of coordinating the development of material production and the non-production sphere with the presently available labor resources." 14 A realistic appraisal of the state of affairs allowed the Soviet state to provide for the difficulties which arose and thus to balance the development of the economy in order to avoid any possible disproportions. A planned economy is a powerful lever for raising the effectiveness of social production and increasing the role of intensive factors of development.

Certain Western specialists have attempted to interpret the factor of regional differences in the birth-rate level from the point of view of increased internal contradictions in the Soviet Union. "The increase in the Muslim population," write, for example, R. Lewis and R. Rowland, "has influenced the nationality composition of the army.... Questions of loyalty and the suitability of the Russian language may pose a threat." 15 Experience has shown that the change in the nationality composition of the USSR in the direction of an insignificant reduction in the proportion of Russians (from 53.3 percent in 1970 to 52.4 percent in 1979) has, to be sure, exerted some influence on the nationality composition of the army, labor groups, etc. But this in no way has led to national frictions or any diminution of the role of the language of international exchange. In this regard data of the 1970 and 1979 Censusses, as adduced in the table below, are characteristic.

Proportion	of	Persons	of a	. G1	.ven	Nationality
-	Who	Speak	Russi	an	Flu	ently*

		(in %))		<u> </u>
Nationality	1970	1979	Nationality	1970	1979
Ukrainians Uzbeks Belorussians Kazakhs Azerbaijani Armenians	36.3 14.5 49.0 41.8 16.6 30.1	48.9 49.3 57.0 52.3 29.5 38.6	Georgians Moldavians Tajiks Lithuanians Turkmens	21.3 36.1 15.4 35.9 15.4	26.7 47.4 29.6 52.1 25.4

^{*} Population of the USSR according to data from the All-Union Census of 1979. Moscow, 1980, p 23.

One of the most important indicators of population movement is the development of urbanization.

The American investigators acknowledge that in its rate of urbanization the Soviet Union has overtaken all the countries of the world. "The process of urbanization occurred at a rapid rate, not only much more rapidly and higher than the average world level, but even higher than any other developed modern country," R. Lewis, R. Rowland, and R. Clem note in their book. 10 These authors emphasize that the

Soviet urbanization was the most rapid in the entire world. Its rate slowed down only during the time of World War II, but it increased again beginning in the 1950's and continued to grow over the course of the 1970's.17

As confirmation of their conclusion, the American authors adduce data concerning the level of urbanisation in the USSR and in the most important regions of the world in 1920, 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970. 18 Particularly high rates of urbanisation marked the period from 1926 through 1939. In connection with industrialisation the growth of the urban population occurred primarily in the eastern regions of the RSFSR, in Kasakhstan, the Donbass, and the Dnepr Region. Only the period of the Great Patriotic War was characterized by a certain reduction in the rate of urbanization.

The problem of urbanization is examined in the works under review in close connection with an analysis of the migration processes. First of all, it should be noted that in the latest American historical-demographic investigations acknowledgment is made of the groundlessness of the thesis concerning the compulsory nature of the migration processes in the USSR. Bourgeois Sovietologists have frequently attempted to treat the organization of labor in the USSR as if it were based on compulsion. Now R. Lewis and R. Rowland acknowledge that the organized migration "constitutes a process under governmental supervision: the recruitment of manpower, agricultural resettlement, popular appeals, work after the completion of studies, etc. If work after graduating from an educational institution is not considered as obligatory, then it could be said that migration in the USSR is not compulsory."19

The period of socialist reconstruction of the national economy, they write, is characterized by mass migration processes, directed, in the first place, from the village to the city, and in the second place, from the western to the eastern regions of the country. 20 During the period from the 1950's through the 1970's a new tendency of migration processes manifested itself. Less than half of all the migrants were now accounted for by rural inhabitants. "Thus," write R. Lewis and R. Rowland, "the USSR attained such a level that the migration from city to city became more significant than from village to city."21 Noted herein is the effect of the special measures developed by the Soviet state which were aimed at eliminating the excessive outflow of manpower from the village. 'Beginning with the Eighth Five-Year Plan up to the present time, the government has continued to significantly increase capital investments in agriculture, raise wages, improve working conditions, raise the level of mechanization and electrification, grant more free time, improve and expand housing construction in rural areas, improve education, transportation, and all types of services, as well as to construct industrial enterprises in rural regions. In brief, all these measures are aimed at fully transforming rural life in the USSR. Great attention was also paid to the non-chernozem zone in the 10th Five-Year Plan."22

Along with the realistic analysis of the principal trends of the migration processes in the USSR, the works under review by the American authors also reveal attempts to misrepresent the influence of these processes on the ethnic situation in the USSR.

During the course of economic development the Russian people rendered fraternal aid to the previously backward peoples of the USSR. In the cities of the country's many national regions a considerable number of highly skilled workers, engineers, and technicians were employed; they were of Russian nationality. The process of the migration of Russian population into the regions of Central Asia, Transcaucasia facilitated the strengthening of friendship between the peoples of the USSR and the mutual enrichment of the cultures of the Soviet nationalities; it also assisted in speeding up the rates of economic and social progress. However, in the opinion of the bourgeois authors, these migration processes led only to an intensification of international frictions. R. Lewis, R. Rowland, and R. Clem declare that the arrival of the "outsiders" in a nationality region and "discrimination in hiring for work in the developed areas of production—all this provoked dissatisfaction among the ethnic groups."23

Not a single sentence is true in these utterances. In the first place, it was not outsiders who came into these nationality regions but rather working people, permeated with an awareness of internationalism. In the second place, not a single fact has been registered in Soviet history testifying to any discrimination in hiring against the members of an indigenous nationality. Furthermore, in all the Soviet republics preference was given to training groups of skilled workers and engineering-technical personnel drawn from members of nationalities which had been oppressed in the past. And, finally, we cannot help drawing attention to the fact that the absence of facts testifying to tension in international relations within the USSR as a result of urbanization and the development of migration processes has compelled the bourgeois authors to "predict" certain ethnic frictions in the USSR in the future. Thus, several times in the book cited above, in forecasting the development of demographic processes in the future, the American authors predict that the USSR will be confronted with a serious problem of ethnic conflicts. This will supposedly be caused both by the migration of the Russian population into the national republics as well as by the predicted flow of migration from the Central Asian republics and Transcaucasia into the country's central regions.24

"Modernization and an increase in inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic ties," write R. Lewis and R. Rowland, "are leading to a heightened ethnic watchfulness (concern and an increase in the 'we-they' division)."25

These "assumptions" contradict the actual facts of Soviet reality, which testify to the increasing unity of the Soviet people and the internationalization of the way of life in the USSR. Since 1971 the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences in conjunction with the republic-level academic institutions, has conducted research on the problem of "Optimizing Socio-cultural Conditions of the Development and Drawing Closer Together of the Nationalities of the USSR." Within the framework of this project mass questionnaires were conducted (more than 30,000 persons) in Moldavia, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Estonia, and the RSFSR.26 This research has demonstrated that the process of drawing cultures closer together during the course of the industrial process and urbanization of society constantly expands the objective base for friendly international exchange. Evening out the levels of education has created a basis for satisfying national interests and has led to an agreement in the acceptance of reality, as well as in supply and demand.27 The unity of the entire Soviet people is a notable trait of the socialist way of life.

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Analysis of works by American historians regarding population movement in the USSR testifies to a number of positive shifts in American historiography. There are works, based on an analysis of Soviet statistics, which characterize the birthrate, mortality rate, sex-age structure of the Soviet people. They reveal in quite a circumstantial manner the demographic consequences of World War I, the Civil War, and the Great Patriotic War. These works contain a detailed characterization of the processes of urbanization and migration of the population; they apply interesting methods for calculating the specifics for population reproduction at various stages, as compared with other countries and regions of the world. Nevertheless, they also contain a frequently distorted presentation of the processes of the Soviet state's social policy, and they likewise falsify international relations within the USSR often in forms which have become traditional for bourgeois Sovietology.

FOOTNOTES

- See, for example: "Problemy istoricheskoy demografii SSSR" /Problems of Historical Demography of the USSR, Tallin, 1977; V. Z. Drobizhev, Yu. A. Polyaż. kov, "Population of the USSR and Social Progress," VOPROSY ISTORII, 1974, No 2; S. I. Bruk, "Ethno-demographic Processes in the USSR (Based on Materials of Post-War Population Censuses)," ISTORIYA SSSR, 1980, No 6.
- 2. I. Lewis, R. Rowland, R. Clem, "Nationality and Population Change in Russia and the USSR. An Evaluation of Census Data: 1897--1970," New York--Washington--London, 1976; R. Lewis, R. Rowland, "Population Distributuin in the USSR. Its Impact on Society: 1897--1977," New York--Washington, 1979; A. Coale, S. Anderson, E. Harm, "Human Fertility in Russia Since the Nineteenth Century," Princeton, 1979.
- 3. R. Lewis, R. Rowland, Op. cit. p 2.
- 4. V. I. Lenin, "PSS" [Complete Collected Works], vol 1, p 478.
- 5. Ibid., vol 2, p 104.
- 6. See: R. Lewis, R. Rowland, Op. cit., p 2.
- 7. See: I. Lewis, R. Rowland, R. Clem, Op. cit., p 96.
- 8. Ibid., p 13.
- 9. See, for example: Yu. F. Vorob'yev, "Vyravnivaniye urovney ekonomicheskogo razvitiya soyuznykh respublik" /Evening Out the Levels of Economic Development of the Union Republics/, Moscow, 1965; M. I. Kulichenko, "Natsional'nyye otnosheniya v SSSR i tendentsii ikh razvitiya" /Nationality Relations in the USSR and Trends of Their Development/, Moscow, 1972; "Sovetskiy narod--novaya istoricheskaya obshchnost' lyudey. Stanovleniye i rasvitiye" /The Soviet People--A New Historic Community of People: Emergence and Development/, Moscow, 1975.
- 10. R. Lewis, R. Rowland, Op. cit., p 15.

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- 11. For more details about this see the following: A. Ya. Kvasha, "Problemy demograficheskogo optimuma" /Problems of the Demographic Optimum/, Moscow, 1974; "Upravleniye razvitiyem narodonaseleniya v SSSR" /Regulating Population Development in the USSR/, Moscow, 1977; N. B. Tatimov, "Razvitiye narodonaseleniya i demograficheskaya politika" /Population Development and Demographic Policy 7 Alma-Ata, 1978.
- 12. A. Coale, B. Anderson, E. Harm, Op. cit., p 19.
- 13. R. Lewis, R. Rowland, Op. cit., p 407.
- 14. "XXV s"yezd Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza. Stenogr. otchet" /25th CPSU Congress: A Stenographic Report/, vol 2, Moscow, 1976, p 20.
- 15. R. Lewis, R. Rowland, Op. cit., p 407.
- 16. I. Lewis, R. Rowland, R. Clem, Op. cit., p 134.
- 17. R. Lewis, R. Rowland, Op. cit., p 159.
- 18. Ibid., p 173.
- 19. Ibid., p 19.
- 20. Ibid., p 103.
- 21. Ibid., p 199.
- 22. Ibid.
- 23. See; I. Lewis, R. Rowland, R. Clem, Op. cit., pp 94, 346.
- 24. Ibid., p 173.
- 25. R. Lewis, R. Rowland, Op. cit., p 346.
- 26. On the program of research see: Yu. V. Arutyunyan, "Social and Cultural Aspects of the Development and Drawing Closer Together of the Nations of the USSR," SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, 1972, No 3.
- 27. See: VOPROSY ISTORIYA, 1979, No 11, p 15.

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EDUCATION

UDC 406.2

USE OF RUSSIAN IN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION ANALYZED

MOSCOW VESTNIK AKADEMII NAUK SSSR in Russian No 3, Mar 81 pp 97-101

[Article by Doctor of Philological Sciences V. V. Ivanov: "Russian Language as a Means of International Communication. Important Aspects and Problems"]

[Text] The experience of history shows that no multinational state can do without a single communication resource common to all of its peoples, since otherwise it cannot perform its functions, it cannot develop normally, and it cannot protect the interests of its citizens. In our country, being the most widespread and developed language, Russian was voluntarily chosen by all nationalities as the common resource of international communication.

"We want a voluntary union of nations," wrote V. I. Lenin, "a union which would not permit any violence of one nation upon another—a union which would be based on the fullest possible trust, on a clear awareness of fraternal unity, and on fully voluntary consent."*. These premises of Lenin's nationalities policy were laid at the basis of our country's linguistic development, at the basis of practical development of national languages and cultures.

The Soviet Union is a multinational and multilingual state. All of its peoples have close economic and cultural ties with one another. They engage in daily exchange of experience, and they share the knowledge they have accumulated in production, engineering, and culture, without which social progress would be impossible. In terms of the organization of the economic life of the Soviet republics and their close union, Russian is a means of communication between groups of people speaking different languages, facilitating mutual understanding, accelerating exchange of information, and thus promoting introduction of all innovations and progressive ideas into social labor. A tremendous volume of scientific-technical literature published in all countries of the world is available in Russian. Scientific-technical and other information is translated into Russian from all national languages, thus making such information available to all peoples of the USSR. A knowledge of Russian, its fluent use in production, and its active use in professional training and in communion with special literature in all areas of knowledge are now becoming prerequisites of high-quality personnel training. As a rule, owing to fluency in Russian, all Soviet people

* Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 40, p 43.

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can now claim access to the world achievements of science and technology, and to the great works of world culture. This is why it is now true that "a knowledge of Russian is an inseparable aspect of the training of the complete engineer and physician, pedagog and agronomist, and all specialists in industrial and agricultural production, in science, in public health, and in culture."*

Russian is the language of Lenin, the language of progressive democratic thought, and the successes of socialist development, the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, and the conquest of outer space are associated with it.

Russian is the language of Pushkin, Turgenev, Nekrasov, Tolstoy, Gor'kiy, Mayakovskiy, and many other great artists whose creations have enriched the treasure-house of world literature. A reader of any nationality in our country can acquaint himself with the works of the best foreign writers translated into Russian; at the same time, translations into Russian promote a broad awareness of the remarkable works of the national literatures of the peoples of the USSR, both here and abroad.

In addition to functioning jointly with national languages, Russian favorably affects their development, it reinforces their social importance, and it promotes their improvement. Under its influence the lexical and phraseological funds and stylistic resources of the national languages are enriched, their grammatic structure is improved, and a necessary amount of differentiation of functional styles and certain changes in the phonetic system of languages occur. The creativity of writers producing works in both Russian and their native language plays a major role in the enrichment of the national languages.

In the course of parallel usage, Russian experiences the reciprocal influence of national languages. This is especially obvious in vocabulary—the most pervious area of language. As a result of active interaction between Russian and national languages, these languages form a common lexical—phraseological fund, which serves as an indicator of their convergence and mutual enrichment. But formation of common traits in languages is not limited to just creation of a common lexical—phraseological fund. It affects phenomena at different linguistic levels, ones having different effects upon different levels of linguistic structure. Thus a harmonious combination of international and national features is established in the development of Russian and other languages in our country.

Improvement of Soviet society's social structure and formation of a historically new community of people—the Soviet people—are making it increasingly more important to study Russian as a means of international communication, and to improve its instruction in the schools and VUZ's of the national republics.

A number of new tasks have recently arisen before Soviet linguists in this area. Most important is the need for determining the social functions of Russian and national languages, of studying the social spheres of their function. In turn, this task has made it necessary to provide a careful, comprehensive linguistic description

^{*} Rashidov, Sh. R., "Russian--a Language of Mutual Communication and Cooperation Among All Nations and Nationalities of the Soviet Union," in "Russkiy yazyk--yazyk mezhnatsional'nogo obshcheniya narodov SSSR" [Russian--the Language of International Communication Among Peoples of the USSR], Moscow, 1976, p 23.

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of the most important areas of use of Russian in every union and autonomous republic and in every autonomous oblast, with the goal of developing, in the end, practical recommendations aimed at reinforcing the social functions of Russian in different spheres, and at broadening the spheres of its application.

Investigation of the way Russian and national languages interact in the course of their parallel function is acquiring special significance. Within the framework of the problem of interest to us, such an investigation presupposes, first of all, analysis and description of the concrete ways national languages influence the vocabulary and phraseology of Russian literary language, the way they enrich its vocabulary, and the way such interaction leads to development of a common lexical-phraseological fund on one hand, and the way a national language influences the Russian speech of non-Russians (the interference it creates) in terms of phonetics and phonology, word-building and morphology, and syntax and style on the other.

We should note that the way native languages cause interference in word-building, syntax, and style can be revealed most distinctly in texts written in Russian, while the way native languages influence phonetics and phonology reflects itself mainly in pronunciation. Were we to examine the principal avenues through which national languages influence the Russian speech of non-Russians, and were we to account for the most important results of such influence, we would be able to create a dependable linguistic basis for teaching Russian to representatives of non-Russian nationalities.

Investigation of the quality of Russian speech within the framework of national-Russian bilingualism can lead to solution of a number of theoretical and practical problems. In order that Russian could optimally perform its mission as a means of international communication, we would need to constantly raise the quality of Russian speech in all republics. The problem of upgrading the quality of Russian speech in a multinational state thus acquires universal significance, becoming the most important factor of all of our country's cultural development.

Russian-national and national-Russian dictionaries and phrase-books of various types and purposes may play a great role in this effort. The lexicographic aspect of the problem of studying Russian as a means of international communication presupposes that we generalize the experience of bilingual (Russian-national and national-Russian) lexicography in the republic, and that we continue to systematically search for the ways and possibilities of improving the principles of compiling, selecting, and presenting linguistic material in bilingual dictionaries. We also need to continue our comparative-typological investigations of Russian and national languages, since this would have a direct bearing on creating an optimum system for teaching Russian to non-Russians, and on developing the scientific principles behind the methods of teaching Russian in an environment characterized by national-Russian bilingualism.

When we write Russian language textbooks for national schools and VUZ's, we must do so with regard to the specific difficulties representatives of different nationalities may have in assimilating Russian. By comparing the Russian and native language systems, we can penetrate to the roots of these difficulties. Comparative-typological investigations, which reveal the general and specific characteristics of languages being investigated, thus serve as a linguistic foundation for creating Russian language textbooks for national schools and VUZ's.

As we can see, all of the directions of research listed above have practical significance. The main aim of this effort is to provide practical assistance to the national school, to the VUZ's, and to all people of the union and autonomous republics in their assimilation of Russian. But this help would be effective only in the event that the study aids, dictionaries, and phrase-books (that is, all Russian language training literature) are written on the basis of data acquired from an examination of a concrete linguistic situation, and in the event that the specific features of Russian and different national languages are systematically and strictly accounted for; in other words a good linguistic foundation must be laid beneath all study aids and dictionaries. This is why development of theory, which is a generalization of practical experience, is becoming an object of special concern on the part of Soviet linguists working on the multifaceted problem of studying Russian language as a means of international communication.

It cannot be said that serious attention had not been devoted to this problem previously. On the contrary, in the years of Soviet rule domestic linguists have done very much to reveal the role of Russian in the life of the peoples of our country, and its interaction with national languages. Comparative grammars of Russian and national languages, numerous bilingual (Russian-national and national-Russian) dictionaries of various types, textbooks, study aids, references, and so on have been created for students of Russian in the national republics. We can see today, however, that what has been done is not enough.

The principal shortcoming in the study of Russian language as a means of international communication continues to be the fact that the great deal of effort which has been exerted in this direction by various scientific institutions and institutions of higher education has not proceeded within the framework of any sort of general program, and it has not been coordinated in any way whatsoever. The Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences has now ordered the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Russian Language to compile such a program and coordinate research in this area. A special sector has been created at this institute to deal with this problem. Help would also be provided in this direction by the sociolinguistics sector of the Linguistics Institute and the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on the Complex Problem "Laws Governing Development of National Languages in Connection With Development of Socialist Nations".

Back at the beginning of 1977 the Council for Coordination of the Scientific Activities of the Academies of Sciences of the Union Republics recommended that all of the linguistic institutions of the republic academies organize Russian language sectors (divisions, groups) or coordination councils, which are now working in close contact with the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Russian Language and with other scientific institutions in the country dealing with the problems of learning and teaching Russian language.

Today the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Russian Language is conducting an extensive research program on the problem "Russian Language as a Means of International Communication", intended as a long-term effort, and called upon to help us correctly organize the work of all appropriate scientific subdivisions of the USSR Academy of Sciences, its branches, and the republic academies. The program consists of the following sections: problems associated with the function of Russian language in an environment of national-Russian bilingualism, interaction of

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of Russian language with the languages of the peoples of the USSR, problems associated with the quality of Russian speech in an environment of national-Russian bilingualism, the linguistic problems of studying the language of bilingual writers, Russian-national and national-Russian lexicography, and comparative-typological analysis of Russian and national languages. Every section of the program contains, first of all, a brief description of the status of research on a particular important aspect of the problem, and of the paths of further scientific inquiry; second, each section contains a tentative list of the basic problems that must be studied; third, each section contains a list of the most important projects in this area of science.

The choice of important research directions and the sequence of inspection of specific problems must be determined in each republic depending on the concrete conditions, on the status of research on the problems, on the scientific potential of the institute (sector, division, group, coordinating council), and on other local factors. If we are to correctly plan the scientific work of such sectors (divisions, groups, councils), it would be important to reveal what has been done in the republic on the given problem, so that we might determine the status of research on the problem, and determine the aspects of this work that are most significant in theoretical and practical respects. The most important task of the Russian language sectors (divisions, groups, councils) of the union and republic academies of sciences and branches of the USSR Academy of Sciences is to introduce the achievements of modern Russian philology into the practical teaching of Russian to peoples of different nationalities. This means that every subdivision must structure its work in close contact with the appropriate institutions of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the republic's institutions of higher education.

Recall that the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Russian Language and the linguistic institutions of the republic academies of sciences possess plans for the scientific organizational and scientific research efforts of their Russian language sectors (divisions, groups) and for their Russian language coordinating council for 1981-1985, and that these plans were used as the basis for creating a summary five-year plan for the entire Soviet Union, one foreseeing completion of the most important tasks associated with the study of Russian as a means of international communication.

This plan foresees practical activities aimed at improving the teaching of Russian language in national schools and VUZ's, at creating textbooks, dictionaries, and various reference aids tailored to philological instructors of national republics, and at broadly publicizing knowledge of the Russian language.

We would hope that greater attention of our country's academic institutions to the study of Russian language, development of their ties with institutes of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the higher educational institutions of the national republics training specialists in Russian philology, and close contact among linguists, pedagogs, and methodological experts in this effort would be a real stimulus for improving the study and instruction of Russian in national schools and VIIZ's.

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