

CENTRE AND SOUTH OF RUSSIA IN THE SECOND PART OF 1960-IES AND THE FIRST PART OF 1980-IES: ECONOMIC MODERNIZATION OR IDEOLOGICAL INTERACTION?

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In this article a problem of the Soviet state development history in the second half of 1960-ies and the first half of 1980-ies is investigated. Up to modern day it has been considered that within this period of «stagnation» exclusively conservation of both social-political and economic areas took place. However, under a closer look it becomes obvious that there were alterations in the country and they were linked to an activation in regional social initiative. Economic development was a component of state ideology and represented as a necessary control instrument for authority over regional society and was aimed to preserve territorial unity. Along with it, the development of economic modernization and ideological impact of the centre upon regions went along an ascending swipe – a command from the centre activated regional society that, in its turn, forced the centre to correct state ideology and alter the economy.

Keywords: economic modernization, ideological interaction, Centre and South of Russia

A gap between the expectations of the centre and regional realities mainly reflected in the realization of the national initiative thesis development within a new economic system.

In the second half of 1960-ies along with actively used forms (socialistic competition, handing of passing red banners) the centre provided for the creation of new social initiatives in regions – «marches of the thrifty», campaigns like «workflow without falling behind», etc.

The idea that campaigns, aimed for struggling in efforts to fulfill a state plan in the economic system were considered by both centre and regions as a necessary component of the state ideology is proved by the fact that their realization in regions was under responsibility of party structures [11, P. 29]. For example, the XVI Rostov regional party conference reported to the centre that according to the results of July (1970) Plenum of Soviet Union Communist Party Central Committee arose problems in all areas of economic construction – production of milk, meat, eggs, construction in the area of improving the culture of fodder lands farming, etc [11, P. 150].

The state actively used information on mass regional assistance in economic development in purposes of ideological influence. For the Southern region in the second half of 1960-1970-ies it focused on livestock sector, poultry keeping, coal sector, and was aimed for an assistance in constructing and mechanizing large enterprises [11, P. 153]. In the beginning of 1980-ies the centre considered the modernization of regional economies from the position of conscious work discipline, it was studied, in particular, by Y. Andropov [7, P. 53].

No less important was to spread the information of those favourable results that were achieved with a central aid in regions. Particularly, the «Agitator Notebook» reported in 1971 that in result of the introduction of coal combines the level of mechanized coal loading

grew up to 73,5 %. Mining crews-millionaires of the enterprise «Rostov-coal» of M.P. Chikh and R.G. Muftakhov on the mine «Southern №2» prospected 8 million 950 thousand tons of coal» [11, P. 71]. In 1983 Y. Andropov in his interview for the newspaper «Pravda» speaking of the necessity of labour discipline, provided some positive examples from the social life of the Southern region – statefarm «Pridonskiy» of October (village) region... in 1982... for each cow milked over 3500 kg, thus decreasing its cost [7, P. 53].

Regional and territorial party institutions in their turn, strictly within the limits of covertly accepted protocols, reported to the centre that «... in 1968 52,1 % of regional industrial enterprises worked according to the new system of planning and economic stimulating, and in 1970 such enterprises formed 92 %» [11, P. 61]. This tradition persisted in the beginning of 1980-ies. It is known that by 1983 city and district party committees actively reported to regional committees on development and realization socialistic competition ideological provision under various slogans: «Work without falling behind», «Build on time – develop ahead of time»... According to official data, more than 500 thousand people participated in such initiatives in Rostov-on-Don [7, P. 7-8].

In this case the publication of data on regional social initiative activation that supported state orders was necessary. The same «Agitator Notebook» reported that Rostov region accepted an obligation to sell 525 thousand tons of grain over plan to the state [11, P. 158]. Besides 483 thousands of workers, engineering-technical employees and specialists took part in the «March of the thrifty». As a result, the state funds economy from the introduction of concepts in 1969 equaled 95,8 million rubles. In five years were saved: 35518 tons of ferrous metal, 76 million kV per hour of

electric energy, 498,6 thousands of conditional fuel, etc. [11, P. 67].

And, finally, it was a necessary term to demonstrate to regional society that the best and the most consecutive members of the society will be encouraged. Traditionally winners of social competitions were awarded in the studied period with honorable letters, passing red banners, material labour stimulation wasn't encouraged [12, R. 2890, L. 37].

To strengthen ideological translation downwards, into working groups, traditionally successes were translated into mass media means. Thus, in the report of the Rostov regional committee of Soviet Union Communist Party for 1976 that was published in the regional newspaper «Hammer», it was pointed out that, regardless of weather conditions, in the ninth five years positive results were achieved... Collective and state farms sold to the state 13,9 million tons of grain that is 2 million tons more than in years of the eighth five years [6].

Traditional forms of the regional response for a central initiative were various «appeals from innovators». With various applications made statements miners and farmers, pig tenders and mechanization experts. Even in the beginning of 1960-ies such type of social activity was mostly required by the centre in order to prove the ideology efficiency upon mass social consciousness. Usually information from sites on this problem was accompanied by statements about «inexhaustible initiative, aimed for the quickest accomplishment of objectives» that were set by one or another congress or described in a resolution [12, R. 2920, L. 27].

The most expressed example can be considered consecutive events that took place in relation with an accomplishment of a protocol decision of the Ministry Council Presidium of the 30th of January 1979 (protocol №5) «On the appeal from production innovators of Rostov, Krasnodar, and Stavropol region that was published in the newspaper «Soviet Russia» of the 18th of January 1979».

In their application innovators of the South of Russia expressed the idea to start a socialistic competition for an accomplishment of 1979' objectives and five years on the whole on each technical economic indicator «in all sectors of national economy, within each work group, on each workplace». In the appeal in was outlined that to achieve this goal only records of pacemakers are insufficient – «a pacemaker's limit today must become the standard for everyone tomorrow» [2]. A particular interest for understanding the regional community position in this case draws an appealing reprise that «workers who work... as it has always been... considered their duty to contribute as

much as they can into the solution of common problems» [3, L. 134].

Detailed data on state and regional mechanisms of this social initiative realization is contained in the foundation A-259. Ministry Council of RSFSR. A special meaning in the analysis have the original reports of regional national deputy' councils on the decision accomplishment in each region and also detailed statistic data on the majority of Southern Russia regions [3].

In the process of activation of ideological impact took part all corresponding central bodies – various ministries, agencies, party structures in whose competence it was meant to influence regional social consciousness.

In particular, the foundation A-259 contains data, according to which in order to fulfill the protocol decision of the Ministry Council Presidium of the 30th of January 1979, Ministry of industry on the 9th of February 1979 sent a letter №17-537 to the main production administrations, dependent industrial and production unions on the production of coal and peat, constructing trusts, ministries of fuel industry of autonomy republics, the administration of autonomy republics Ministry Councils on fuel industry, regional executive committees. With this letter, signed by the chief executive of fuel industry group V. Smuriakov, Ministry of fuel industry RSFSR obliged leaders of enterprises and organizations to discuss the described application together with social organizations in all labour groups, provide for an active participation of each worker for a common increase in production efficiency and work quality, non-accepting facts of lack of organization, squandering, non-accomplishment of plans, for an achievement of high final production results and fulfillment of accepted socialistic obligations. The Ministry organized socialistic competition between work groups on enterprises, construction sites for a preterm plan fulfillment and production effectiveness increase objectives [3, L. 7].

An active part in the studied process took the state committee of RSFSR on the material-technical provision (State Provision Committee) that outlined that labour groups of enterprises and organizations of RSFSR State Provision Committee while fulfilling the decisions of the XXII congress of Soviet Union Communist Party, November (1978) Plenum of Soviet Union Communist Party Central Committee, conclusions and arrangements, contained in the speech of L.I. Brezhnev at the Plenum, «involved into the socialistic competition for a successful fulfillment of the tenth five years goals» [3, L. 8]. RSFSR State Provision Committee by a circular letter of 13.02.1979 № 27/22-C also informed the dependent enter-

prises and organizations of the appeal by the production innovators of Rostov, Krasnodar, and Stavropol region. State Provision Committee reported to the Ministry Council that the corresponding message is already sent to regions its active realization is underway. In the letter, signed by K.A. Boldinov it has been underlined that organization and politic-training work takes place within work groups on workers' involvement into active fight for the best work results, resources' and time economy, productivity increase, and successful fulfillment of socialistic obligations. More than 20 thousand people or 87,7% of system organizations' and enterprises' workers actively participate in the socialistic competition. In the movement for a communistic attitude to work take part more than 40% of workers and employees [3, L. 8-9].

In the development of the discussed aspect also took part RSFSR State Committee of production-technical agriculture provision and Republic committee of RSFSR agriculture trade unions that, in their turn, sent the corresponding letter of the 33th of February 1979 №1/17 to sites. In it organizations obliged leaders of unions, enterprises to «actively discuss the appeal of innovators..., provide an active participation of each worker» together with social organizations [3, L. 23].

In order to secure the fulfillment of plan objectives by all enterprises and organizations the board of RSFSR State Agricultural Technics in May 1979 also discussed the problem of the Rostov regional agricultural technics work experience and initiated a corresponding order of the 14th of June 1979 №442 «On a wide spread of Rostov region agricultural technics work experience on the fulfillment of plan obligations by all unions, enterprises, and organizations» [3, L. 23].

Reports of the fulfilled obligations from sites appeared in the Ministry Council 6 months later – in January. Executive committee of Krasnodar region national deputies sent data to the Ministry Council of the 30th of January 1979 in which reported that Krasnodar regional national deputy councils had carried out a definite work on the deployment of socialistic competition for the fulfillment of objectives of 1979 and the five years on the whole in all technical and economic indicators and all national economy sectors, «in each work-group, on each workplace» [3, L.25]. Region councils together with social organizations have «widely discussed» innovators' appeals in within labour groups of enterprises, organizations, collective and state farms. Here a special attention was paid to the development of the movement «Work without falling behind» and to an accept of individual socialistic obligations. According to the data by the Executive

committee, while in 1976 socialistic competition took part 320 workgroups and pacemakers who processed 78 thousand hectares of soil, in 1978 they turned into more than 5 thousand and the area increased up to 521 thousand hectares [3, L. 25]. In accordance with the accepted traditions the politic centre also received a report from the Council of Stavropol national deputies. It said that in the region the socialistic competition had deployed «even wider», more than 900 thousand people took part in it. Of them, 13 thousand pacemakers had already fulfilled their four-year objectives, and 1500 – the whole five years [3, L. 61]. Little different from these reports' data was the information from the Ministry Council of Kabardino-Balkarskaya ASSR in which, regardless of the statements of a wide republic support of Rostov, Krasnodar, and Stavropol region experience, negative facts were registered – «not all reserves and possibilities» had been used to fulfill plans and socialistic obligations. Moreover, Ministry Council of Kabardino-Balkarskaya republic confessed that six-months plan of the current year was not fulfilled by two enterprises in realization that equaled 1,7% of their total number, and by a number of enterprises in labour efficiency [3, L. 83-85].

By the first half of 1980-ies the centre more and more encourages the activization of regulated initiative in regions, allocating new aspects of state ideology in it. The resolution of the Central Soviet Union Communist Party Committee Plenum of the 15th of June 1983 suggested to broaden the practice of workers' participation in preliminary discussions of project solutions in different aspects of state and social life, thus officially claiming the strengthening of the society's independence, its promotion in the role of state control [1, P. 131].

In 1960-ies reports, the telegrams from workers on the central objectives' accomplishment, were traditional. Here examples of Rostov and Stavropol region are demonstrative. In 1962 Rostov worker were among first to report the achievement of the boundaries, set by CC plenums and the preliminary fulfillment of the year plan [13, R.3, L.85.] Group from the Lenin state farm of the village Gorkaya Balka in Stavropol in its telegram reported a preliminary fulfillment of the pre-congress (XXIV congress of the Soviet Union Communist Party) obligations [10].

In a number of cases representatives of the politic centre took an active part in the discussion of problems that were described by the regional society. Facts of dialogue were widely reproduced and discussed within groups and at party meetings. They were a part of ideological impact, an indicator of the existence of democratic trends in the soviet state. Such

method was actively used from the second half of 1970-ies, as it was also a way to preserve the control over society that started to weaken.

Particularly, L.I. Brezhnev systematically sent congratulation telegrams to workers into regions «to mark the occasion» – accomplishment of bread sales to the state plan [5, P. 362], fulfillment of grain sales obligations [9], all-Union meeting of productive workgroups [8], etc. One of the main dialogue elements was the «hot response» from workers to the general secretary of Soviet Union Communist Party Central Committee [5, P. 376-377].

Nevertheless, facts of obligations' non-fulfillment in Southern region were numerous. All of them were caused mainly by excessively high plans that were set by the centre and also by heavy obligations that workgroups had to accept under the influence form above.

Rostov regional committee of Soviet Union Communist Party reported to the centre that a number of mines of the same enterprise «Rostov coal» had not fulfilled their obligations of the socialistic competition by more than 29% [12, R. 2890, L. 38]. At the all-Union conference on problems Soviet Union Communist Party secretary L.F. Ilyichev, operating with facts that were provided by Southern region party organizations, outlined that «far not each collective farm had become a true «school of communism», as facts were known about «market sales for speculative prices of not only farm products, but also a collective farmers' assets» [4, p. 82].

State had to «zero» its requirements from the society in several cases in order to preserve the traditional order of the economic modernization management. One of the most famous measures is the write-off of collective farms' debts in 1965 after the Resolution of Soviet Union Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in RSFSR and the Ministry Council of RSFSR №641 of the 21st of May 1965 «On financial aid to collective farms». Rostov regional committee of the Soviet Union Communist Party on the 27th of July 1965 cancelled the debt of the collective farms of the long-term loans from the State bank that was discharged for capital investments in sum of 300 thousand rubles [13, R. 87, L. 26].

Thus, economic modernization on the second part of 1960-ies and the beginning of 980-ies was a component of the state ideology and was used more as a necessary instrument to strengthen the party's control over the regional society and to preserve territorial unity.

In ideological impact upon regions ideological, not economic structures of the centre played the leading role. Regional party bodies served as translators of ideas to citizens. The main trend was to impose forms and methods of economic modernization to regional society on sites.

In the studied period initiative of regional society also frequently was a result of an active impact from central organs. In major in developed in a number of ways. First of all, as a form decisions realization that were accepted on plenums and conferences of central state and party authority bodies, or supreme documents – Soviet Union Communist Party programmes, USSR constitution, etc. Secondly, regions' activity developed within the limits of creation and activity of social initiative measures. Thirdly, in the direction of economic interaction and realization of economy development plans, set by the centre within a region and the country on the whole.

A gap between ideological settings from above and local social-economic realities that became bigger, led to a decrease in regions' interest to orders from the central authority. State could not ignore it so it had to correct its course of economic policy and ideological settings on the whole.

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