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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 26/81)



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USSR REPORT  
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NATIONAL

JURIDICAL FOUNDATIONS OF PRIVATE PLOTS EXAMINED

Moscow SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO in Russian No 8, Aug 81 pp 37-45

[Article by M. I. Kozyr', head of a sector of the Institute of State and Law, USSR Academy of Sciences; doctor of juridical sciences and professor: "Improvement in the Legal Regulation of Private Subsidiary Farms of Citizens of the USSR"]

[Text] The presence of the private subsidiary farms of kolkhoz farmers, workers, employees and other citizens, side by side with public production in kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm [mezkhkozyaystvennyye], agro-industrial and other enterprises and associations, is an important feature of the socialist agriculture of the USSR. The basic source to meet the country's constantly increasing requirements for foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials is their production in socialist enterprises and associations, but full utilization of the resources of citizens' private subsidiary farms for the production of meat, milk, eggs, potatoes, vegetables, fruits and other agricultural output is of great importance.

There are approximately 34 million families managing private subsidiary farms in the USSR, including more than 13 million kolkhoz farmsteads [kolkhozny dvor], more than 10 million families of sovkhoz workers, and about the same number of families of workers and employees in other sectors of the national economy (2). As of 1 November 1979, 8.48 million hectares of land were in the private use of kolkhoz farmers, workers and employees (3). According to TsSU [Central Statistical Administration] data, as of 1 January 1981 there were 22.9 million head of cattle (including 13.2 million cows), 14.3 million hogs, and 29.2 million sheep and goats on the public's private subsidiary farms (4).

Development of the private subsidiary farms of rural workers where the correct combination of public and private interests exists is not at variance with the present stage of development of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Moreover, this makes it possible to make use of the reserves in the increase in production of agricultural products without any kind of additional capital investments by the state to meet the public's increasing effective demand for food products. For this reason, it is not coincidental that the Basic Trends of Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the period up to 1990 set the task of increasing production of a number of important forms of agricultural output on the public's private subsidiary farms and of rendering their owners assistance in purchasing younger animals, fodder, seed and fertilizers. Appropriate legal regulation also has been called upon to contribute to a solution of this task.

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The right of citizens to manage a private subsidiary farm has been guaranteed by Article 13 of the Constitution of the USSR. Public relationships which take shape in the field of managing a private subsidiary farm are regulated in detail by the norms of state, land, civil, kolkhoz, family and financial legislation. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees "On the private subsidiary farms of kolkhoz farmers, workers, employees and other citizens and on collective orchard and garden cultivation" of 14 September 1977 (5) and "On additional measures to increase the production of agricultural output on citizens' private subsidiary farms" of 8 January 1981 (6) have been devoted to utilization of the reserves of private subsidiary farms to increase the output of agricultural products on them. These and other normative formal documents, when they are duly put into effect, unquestionably are called upon to promote the increased production of agricultural output on citizens' private subsidiary farms. However, it would be incorrect to consider that legal measures to consolidate the private subsidiary farm do not need further development and improvement. Substantial improvement also is required in applying the law pravoprimenitel'naya deyatel'nost' in this broad and complex field of public relationships in the countryside.

The concept and socioeconomic nature of citizens' private subsidiary farms.  
in boldface The private subsidiary farm is a transitional socialist form of production based on public ownership of the land and private ownership by the workers of a socialist society of certain means of production and of their personal labor (7). Guided by this definition, we can formulate the following characteristics of citizens' private subsidiary farms: 1) it is a form of production which is based on exclusive ownership of the land by the Soviet state and the private property and personal labor of the kolkhoz farmer, worker, employee and members of his family, and consequently has a labor character; 2) the private subsidiary farm derives from and is dependent on development of the public sector of the kolkhoz, sovkhoz or other socialist enterprise (association), and has assumed its socialist nature; 3) it supplements public production, is subsidiary to it in nature, and serves as an additional source of income for workers; and 4) it can and should be utilized also to increase the production of livestock and other output (potatoes, for example) based on a contract for kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

In spite of the presence of features which resemble a small-scale private farm (the individual process of labor, the primitive nature of the means and implements of production, and the like), the private subsidiary farm differs in principle from a small-scale private farm by its continuous and indissoluble connection with public socialist production, since it cannot give rise to any kind of independent class or social group or regenerate man's exploitation of man.

In the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress, L. I. Brezhnev again stressed: "Kolkhozes and sovkhozes have been and remain the basis of socialist agriculture. But this in no way means that we can disregard the resources of private subsidiary farms. Experience attests to the fact that such farms can be of considerable help in producing meat, milk and certain other products. The gardens, orchards, poultry and cattle belonging to the workers are part of our common wealth."

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By its socioeconomic and legal nature the private subsidiary farm cannot and should not, in our view, be identified with citizens' individual labor activity. At the same time, while the state has taken upon itself the legal responsibility with regard to the private subsidiary farm of rendering assistance to citizens in managing it (Art 13 of the Constitution), the Constitution of the USSR contains another statement with regard to individual labor activity: "The state regulates individual labor activity, providing for its utilization in the interests of society" (Art 17). Individual labor activity in the USSR is permitted by law in the field of small handicraft industries, agriculture (in managing individual peasant farms where they have been retained), and everyday services for the public, as well as in other fields based exclusively on the personal labor of citizens and members of their families. And although in its socioeconomic nature it is personal labor activity, by its character the production relationships which emerge in the process, in our view, are still not socialist.

At the same time, we fully share the opinion of G. I. Shmelev and other agrarian economists that the private subsidiary farm is a part of socialist agriculture both as a subject and an object of economic management, as well as by the character of production relations (8; 7; 9). "Its socialist nature," writes G. I. Shmelev, "is determined by important social functions, namely: by participation in reproduction of the labor force of the public sector of production, by the interlacing and reciprocal replenishment of reproductive processes in the public and private subsidiary farms, and by participation in the establishment of a statewide resource of food output. Expansion and extension of the many-sided direct and indirect links, including commodity ties, of public and private farms make the socialist character of production relationships in managing the LPKh (private subsidiary farm--M.K.) all the more obvious." (2, pp 33-34).

It should be added to what has been said that, in conformity with the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On additional measures to increase the production of agricultural output on citizens' private subsidiary farms" of 8 January 1981, private subsidiary farms have the right, on a strictly voluntary basis, to conclude contracts with kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other agricultural enterprises for the breeding and subsequent sale to these enterprises of cattle and poultry, as well as for the purchase of surplus milk. At the same time, it has been established that the number of cattle raised under agreements with kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other agricultural enterprises, as well as with consumer cooperative organizations, can be kept above the established norms in the private ownership of a kolkhoz farmer (kolkhoz farmstead), workers, employees and other citizens. Thus, the private subsidiary farms of citizens who raise cattle and poultry under a contract for kolkhozes and sovkhoses should be considered as distinctive affiliates of these socialist agricultural enterprises.

Socialism radically changes the economic composition of the private property which is the basis for managing citizens' private subsidiary farms. It expresses relationships of comradely collaboration and mutual assistance devoid of the exploitation of persons, and that is why it itself has a socialist character.

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It is necessary, however, to more efficiently consolidate the socialist nature of the private subsidiary farm and the right of property for its ownership in the legislation in force, particularly in the Bases of Civil Legislation of the USSR and of union republics and the GK [civil code] of union republics when they are brought into conformity with the Constitution of the USSR and of union republics and autonomous republics.

This will make it possible to extend the basic statutes and rules applied in the socialist national economy as a whole (planning, crediting, and the like) to the public relationships which take shape in the management of a private subsidiary farm.

Let us note that different views are expressed in the juridical literature (in contrast with economic literature) on the question of the social nature of private property for the ownership of a private subsidiary farm. Thus, A. A. Rubanov, by correctly emphasizing in an article devoted to the constitutional bases for the right of private property in the USSR that "the Constitution provides for the multiplanning social role of private property which also is realized in life," nevertheless assumes that the use of objects of private property in performing individual labor activity, managing a subsidiary (domestic) farm, and in individual house construction and garden and orchard cultivation does not change the nature of private property (10). It is difficult to agree with this. It appears that while the social nature of private property in individual labor activity, stipulated by Article 17 of the Constitution of the USSR, really is not changed, it becomes a variety of socialist property when a private subsidiary farm is managed in conformity with Article 13 of the Constitution of the USSR.

In the economic and legal aspects, the private subsidiary farms of members of kolkhozes, regulated by the Model Kolkhoz Bylaws of 1969 and the bylaws of specific kolkhozes, differ from the private subsidiary farms of workers, employees and other citizens working and living in a rural locality. The size of the plots of land in use and the maximum number of cattle which can be on the private subsidiary farms of citizens who are not kolkhoz members are established by the laws of union republics.

**/What is new in the legal regulation of citizens' private subsidiary farms./**  
**[in boldface]** In recent years the party and the government, on a parallel with development of measures providing for the increase and consolidation of public agricultural production and its intensification, concentration and specialization on the basis of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration, have been actively supporting and promoting the development of Soviet citizens' private subsidiary farms. Measures to increase agricultural production on private subsidiary farms include: 1) ensuring more complete utilization of private plots and other available plots for the management of a private subsidiary farm; 2) rendering assistance to citizens in the construction of housing, garden sheds and farm buildings; 3) rendering of assistance to citizens by kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other agricultural enterprises in managing private subsidiary farms through expansion of the sale to the public of young hogs, cattle, poultry and rabbits for raising, the allocation of plots of land for grazing cattle and growing hay, as well as additional plots of land for producing fodder, tilling of private plots,

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and the like; 4) organization and improvement of production facilities on private subsidiary farms by organizations of the USSR Goskomsel'khoztekhnika and the ministries of domestic services of union republics; 5) increasing the production and sale to the public of small mechanized implements, bricks, lumber, crushed stone and gravel, sand and other local construction materials, planting stock for fruit and berry crops, grapes, seeds and seedlings for vegetable crops and orchard and garden implements, mineral fertilizers and toxic chemicals in packaged form, and the like; 6) improvement of consumer cooperative activity in the purchase of animal and agricultural products on citizens' private subsidiary farms in accordance with the prices agreed upon, as well as measures to expand and reinforce the material base of kolkhoz markets with the aim of providing citizens with the necessary conditions for the sale of surplus agricultural products which they have available.

In conformity with the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On the private subsidiary farms of kolkhoz farmers, workers, employees and other citizens and on collective orchard and garden cultivation" of 14 September 1977, sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises and organizations should now stipulate measures in production and financial plans to provide the workers and employees of these farms and the pensioners who previously worked on them, as well as the teachers, physicians and other specialists working and residing on the territory of the farms cited, with coarse and succulent fodders for cattle and poultry, tilling of private plots and other measures to render assistance to them in the established procedure in the management of private subsidiary farms. It also has been recommended that kolkhozes stipulate appropriate measures in their own production and financial plans.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree of 8 January 1981 substantially develops the right of land use by citizens. Kolkhoz farmers, workers, employees and other citizens who conscientiously participate in public production and pensioners who have cattle, sheep and goats on private subsidiary farms will be granted plots for raising hay and grazing cattle for an extended period when possible. For these purposes, agricultural land resources of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the lands of the state reserve and state timber resources and of industrial, transport and other nonagricultural enterprises and organizations will be utilized in the established procedure. Kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other enterprises should render assistance to citizens in increasing the productivity of these land resources.

An important innovation in the decree cited is the recommendation that kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises grant to the kolkhoz farmers, workers, employees and other citizens who have concluded contracts with these farms, as well as with consumer cooperative organizations for the output of animal products, additional plots of land for cultivating fodder crops, both with private plots and lands temporarily unused by farms when necessary. The legal practice of granting citizens additional plots of land (which, by the way, are not subject to taxation either under the agricultural or income tax for revenues received from the use of such plots) needs to be studied.

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It should be kept in mind that when compact construction of rural settlements is in progress, citizens are apportioned small private plots near their houses (apartments). The remaining part of the plot of land is granted to them outside the limits of the settlement's residential area. In a number of union republics, in the Belorussian SSR and the Lithuanian SSR, for example, the experience of kolkhoz farmers and sovkhos workers has been accumulated in organizing mechanized cultivation of these plots of land in large common tracts, which deserves careful study and wider dissemination.

New measures providing for retention of cattle in citizens' private property were outlined by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree of 8 January 1981. Kolkhozes, sovkhos and other agricultural enterprises should provide for the raising of young cattle and poultry and their sale to the public in a quantity which meets the need for it by citizens' private subsidiary farms, taking into account the raising of cattle and poultry under contracts with kolkhozes, sovkhos and other agricultural enterprises and with consumer cooperative organizations. Sovkhos and other enterprises have been authorized under an agreement with the trade union committee to repay up to 50 percent of the credit granted for the acquisition of cows and calves for workers and employees who are working conscientiously in these enterprises, as well as for teachers and physicians working and residing on the territory of these enterprises, and for pensioners who have worked for an extended period in these enterprises, through the assets of economic incentive funds. Local authorities should authorize construction of livestock accommodations in settlements on cooperative principles to keep the cattle which are the private property of citizens.

In conformity with the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree of 8 January 1981, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Procurement, Ministry of Finance, and Central Statistical Administration drew up and on 12 March 1981 approved standard contracts for the raising and purchase of cattle and poultry and for the purchase of milk surpluses on citizens' private subsidiary farms.

With regard to introduction of the contract form of purchases of agricultural products being implemented on citizens' private subsidiary farms, agrarian-legal science is confronted with the task of making known the legal nature of these contracts, analyzing their content, summarizing the contracting experience and working out valid recommendations for their refinement. And although these contracts have as their final objective the sale of animal products produced on the private subsidiary farm, they cannot and should not, in our view, be identified with the civil-legal sale and purchase contracts, since they are primarily indirect participants oposreduyut in the very production of agricultural output, while receiving appropriate assistance of agricultural enterprises to provide the citizens' private subsidiary farms with young cattle and poultry, as well as with fodder and in providing pastures, hayfields, and other services, which is the legal responsibility of the enterprise which concluded such a contract. The presence of the production side in the contract under consideration brings it closer to a contract agreement for agricultural output. However, in contrast with the contract agreement as a planned agreement, in accordance with the reason for its existence, contracts for the raising and purchase of cattle and poultry and for the purchase of milk from the public are concluded on a strictly voluntary basis, and consequently are not planned contracts. In addition, contract agreements are concluded only between socialist organizations.

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All this provides grounds for considering the contracts for the raising and purchase of cattle and poultry and for the purchase of milk from the public as new, independent forms of contracts previously unknown in civil legislation. This form of contract relationship, in our view, must be provided for in the Bases of Civil Law and the civil codes of union republics. In a standardized procedure it also is advisable to establish the forms and extents of property responsibility of the sides for nonfulfillment or inappropriate fulfillment of obligations under the contract. Precisely this responsibility is referred to in Paragraph 5 of the Standard Contract for the raising on private subsidiary farms of cattle and poultry belonging to kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other agricultural enterprises, approved on 12 March 1981.

The number of cattle raised under contracts with kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other agricultural enterprises, as well as contracts with consumer cooperative organizations, may be kept above the established norms for keeping cattle in the private ownership of the family of a kolkhoz farmer (kolkhoz farmstead), workers, employees, and other citizens.

It is important that the rule has been established by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree of 8 January 1981 that cattle, poultry and milk surpluses purchased by kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other agricultural enterprises under contracts with kolkhoz farmers, workers, employees and other citizens are sold by these farms to the state and are taken into consideration by it as production and in fulfillment of the state plan for purchases of agricultural output, with the payment of established markups for quantity and quality indicators. This will encourage enterprises to conclude such contracts.

On the other hand, for the persons concluding such contracts, equally with payment of the difference between the stipulated postanovochnyy and delivery weight of the cattle being raised, a definite number of days off vykhododni are counted up with all the legal consequences resulting from this.

It has been recognized as expedient in determining the groups by wage of the leading workers and specialists of sovkhoses and other state agricultural enterprises to include in the production volume and sale of output of these farms the cost of the cattle, poultry and milk purchased by sovkhoses and other state agricultural enterprises under contracts with citizens. It has been recommended that kolkhozes adopt such a procedure.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree of 8 January 1981 has directed the attention of the central committees of communist parties and the councils of ministers of union republics, party kraykoms and obkoms, the councils of ministers of autonomous republics, krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms and party raykoms, rayispolkoms, economic organs, heads of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and other agricultural enterprises, the Tsentrosoyuz, and republic and local consumer cooperative organizations to the fact that, at the same time that measures are being taken to increase the production of animal products on citizens' private subsidiary farms under contracts with kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other agricultural enterprises, expansion should be ensured in the procurement activity of consumer cooperative organizations and development should be ensured in commission trade and

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trade at kolkhoz markets in meat and other agricultural products. The USSR Gosplan has been charged with providing, in the drafts of the state economic and social development plans of the USSR, beginning in 1982, apportionment to the Tsentrosoyuz of concentrated fodders for reciprocal sale to citizens who have concluded contracts with consumer cooperative organizations for the purchase of cattle and poultry. It has been proposed that the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and the ispolkoms of kray, oblast, rayon and city soviets of people's deputies carry out measures to expand and reinforce the material base of kolkhoz markets in order to establish the conditions necessary for citizens to sell the surplus agricultural products which they have available.

Additional measures also will be worked out to increase the production and sale to the public of orchard and garden implements, crates, packing materials, and small mechanized implements for agricultural operations.

/On the necessity for standardization of the legal regulation of the private subsidiary farms of citizens of the USSR./ **Up until adoption of the Constitution of the USSR in 1977, the legal status of a kolkhoz member was characterized by the presence of a special legal institution—the kolkhoz farmstead.** The legal characteristics of the property of a kolkhoz farmstead differ from the legal characteristics of the joint community property of spouses typical in the interrelations of the family of a worker or employee. In the Soviet countryside two different procedures, in essence, function for regulating property relations on the private farms of kolkhoz farmers and workers and employees which, in our view, do not exist because of economic necessity. A significant part of the rural population now consists of the workers of sovkhozes, other state enterprises, and the rural intelligentsia. Most of them have private plots and manage a private subsidiary farm. However, their farms are not called farmsteads.

The living and working conditions of the collective farm peasantry and the working class have substantially converged. Kolkhoz farmers, like the workers of sovkhozes, receive basic incomes for labor on a public farm, but only supplemental income from a private plot of land. The sizes of private plots of land in private use and the number of cattle owned by kolkhoz farmers and sovkhoz workers in many regions are almost identical, too. Under these conditions, the presence of different norms to regulate property relations on the private farms of kolkhoz farmers, on the one hand, and of workers and employees on the other, is difficult for the rural dweller, especially the youth, to comprehend. It is also characteristic that farmsteads in their legal sense have completely disappeared in the reorganization of kolkhozes into sovkhozes. At the same time, no negative consequences of any kind took place for the management of private subsidiary farms.

In our view, it is time to repudiate the retained but still formal distinctions between the kolkhoz farmstead and the private farms of workers and employees and to introduce the appropriate changes in legislation. It is doubtful whether the concept of a "farmstead" can even be used terminologically. In many kolkhozes, compact construction of a village is under way, and two- and four-story and multi-story houses are being built side by side with single-family houses. It would be incorrect to call the kolkhoz farmers and members of their families living in separate apartments in such buildings a kolkhoz farmstead.

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The formation of new families and acquisition of their independent farms is a beneficial process, since it contributes to consolidation of the youth in the countryside and to normal reproduction of labor resources in agriculture. Young families must be supported in every way, rendered assistance in house construction, have apartments made available, and be provided with private plots of land. It is not coincidental that, with the aim of increasing the motivation of young families to establish and develop private subsidiary farms, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers decree of 8 January 1981 has authorized sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises to give--and has recommended that kolkhozes give--these families young cattle free of charge through the farm and to provide assistance in erecting farm outbuildings under the condition that members of these families work in the enterprises cited.

Progress in development of the Soviet economy and the entire sociopolitical system and the consolidation of kolkhozes make it possible to more fully implement the Leninist behest "to eliminate the difference between the working class and the peasantry, and to make /everyone workers"/ *[in italics]* (1).

All this attests to the fact that it is necessary to equalize the legal characteristics of the private subsidiary farms of kolkhoz farmers and workers and employees by introducing the appropriate changes in legislation. This has been done, in our view, in the new Constitution of the USSR and the constitutions of union and autonomous republics, although views have been expressed against such a solution in the press (11). In contrast with the Constitution of the USSR of 1936, which confirmed the kolkhoz farmstead as the subject for the right of land use and the right of private property (Art 7), the 1977 Constitution of the USSR no longer provides for the institution of the farmstead, having confirmed the single right of citizens' private property, including for a house and a subsidiary farm (Art 13). For this reason, the members of a kolkhoz, in our view, now should be recognized as the subjects of the right of ownership of a subsidiary farm in kolkhozes, and the extents of land use and the number of cattle in private ownership should be standardized for the family, similar to the way these problems are resolved in sovkhozes. The land, civil, kolkhoz, family and other laws on the kolkhoz farmstead in force, in our view, must be brought into conformity with the Constitution of the USSR, and the concept of "the subsidiary farm of a kolkhoz member" must be juridically consolidated. At the same time that we strive to retain a labor force in the countryside, we should study the problem of the advisability of preserving for the families of kolkhoz farmers and disseminating to the families of workers and employees of state and interfarm agricultural enterprises the procedure of property inheritance established today by civil law for the property of the farmstead after the death of the last member of the farmstead. The Model Kolkhoz Bylaws of 1969 recognize: "the family of a kolkhoz farmer (the farmstead)" as the subject for the right to a private subsidiary farm. However, the use of this term in the Model Bylaws attests only to the family aspect of the kolkhoz farmstead, which does not give rise to any meaningful legal consequences, for the family is the nucleus of relation and as such is not the subject for a right. Only spouses are considered as such.

It is important to establish a social climate everywhere in which kolkhoz farmers, workers, employees and other citizens become aware that by raising cattle and

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poultry on a private subsidiary farm and by engaging in the cultivation of orchards and gardens they are performing useful state work.

At the same time, of course, the well-being of those who manage a subsidiary farm also is increased, because they are receiving additional income from it above their basic earnings in the kolkhoz or sovkhoz.

By carrying out the course of utilizing the resources of the private subsidiary farms of kolkhoz farmers, workers, employees and other citizens to increase the production of agricultural output, the party and the government are pointing to the necessity of providing for the correct combination of social and private interests in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, particularly of conducting a decisive struggle against the exaggeration [razduvaniye] of private plots to the detriment of public production.

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NUMBERS, STRUCTURES OF LITHUANIAN KOLKHOZ POPULATION DESCRIBED

Vilnius TRUDY AKADEMII NAUK LITOVSKOY SSR. SERIYA A in Russian No 2 (75) 1981  
(signed to press 14 June 1979) pp 109-119

[Article by T. M. Tarshilova, Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian SSR: "The Number, Sex, Age and Professional Composition of Kolkhoz Farmers in the Lithuanian SSR in 1971-1975"]

[Text] Introduction

The rapid growth of production forces at the current stage of development of the socialist society and the improvement of production relations have resulted in profound changes in the socio-economic status of kolkhoz peasants and in their social and professional structure. The overall study and elucidation of these changes is one of the main goals of Soviet social scientists.

The social changes in the development of the modern kolkhoz village have become the subject of study by the historical, economic, sociological and demographic sciences. A large number of works devoted to various aspects of the problem have appeared.

The general tendencies in the development of the kolkhoz peasantry as a class and changes in its social-professional structure have been reflected in the works of many Soviet researchers.<sup>1</sup>

Research scientists of the Lithuanian SSR have published a number of works on the dynamics of the population's numbers in rural areas and on the social structure of kolkhoz farmers under conditions of scientific-technical progress in agriculture.<sup>2</sup> An important place in the works of Lithuanian researchers has been occupied by the question of the nature and direction of migrations of the rural population and its effect on the social structure of the village.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, there are still some little-studied questions on the dynamics of the size of the population and the social structure of kolkhoz farmers in Lithuania during the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

The purpose of the present article is to determine the basic tendencies and directions of change in the population size and in the sex, age and professional composition of kolkhoz farmers in the Lithuanian SSR in 1971-1975.

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The basic sources for the study are the summarized annual reports from Lithuanian kolkhozes which record the results of kolkhoz operations as economic and social units. They contain abundant statistical material and can be utilized to elucidate various aspects of the problem of the development of kolkhozes and of the kolkhoz peasantry. Kolkhoz statistics provide information on their production, economic and financial activities, on the population of the kolkhoz according to sex and age and on duties and professions, thus enabling us to utilize the reports in studies of the social structure of kolkhoz farmers.

The Population and Age-Sex Composition of Kolkhoz Farmers

Changes in the population of kolkhoz farmers under conditions of developed socialism are the results of two interrelated processes--qualitative changes in agricultural production and the intensive development of urban economy.

One of the most important characteristics of the development of agriculture under conditions of developed socialism is scientific-technical progress within the branch. Another is the industrialization of agricultural labor. These processes are most clearly reflected in the changes in the material-technical base of agriculture.

During the Ninth Five-Year Plan the kolkhozes of the Lithuanian SSR had a significant quantity of technology at their disposal. In 1975 the machine-tractor fleet belonging to kolkhozes included 29,495 tractors, 7,096 grain combines, 13,684 trucks and other agricultural equipment, or 17, 15 and 22 percent more respectively than in 1970.<sup>4</sup> The use of powerful and quick K-700, K-701 and T-150K tractors and highly efficient combines has provided the foundation for technical progress in kolkhozes. In 1975 the power supplies of kolkhozes increased by 36.9 percent in comparison with 1971 per 100 hectares of agricultural lands. The levels of energy supplies in Lithuania's kolkhozes were higher than the national average. Thus, in 1974 17.5 horsepower energy capacity was available per kolkhoz worker in the republic as compared to 11.8 horsepower in the USSR as a whole.<sup>5</sup>

During the Ninth Five-Year Plan complex mechanization in farming and livestock raising was introduced at a rapid pace. In 1975 in the kolkhozes of Lithuania the milking of cows on farms was completely mechanized (99 percent), the water supply for farms raising large-horned cattle is 78 percent mechanized and that on hog-raising farms is 95 percent mechanized. In farming operations such as the sowing of vegetables, the mowing of vegetation for green fodder, the harvesting of sugar beets and potatoes and the loading and application of mineral fertilizers have been almost completely mechanized.<sup>6</sup>

The primary result of production mechanization has been the curtailment of labor expenditures per unit of production. In 1975 Lithuanian kolkhozes used an average of 2.29 man-hours for the production of 1 quintal of grain, and 1.54, 2.73, 6.16, 31.7, 26.76 man-hours respectively for the production of sugar beets, potatoes, milk, weight gain in large-horned cattle and weight gain in hogs. In 1972 the corresponding figures comprised 2.94, 1.63, 3.27, 7.89, 36.4 and 30.15 man-hours.<sup>7</sup> Labor productivity has also increased noticeably. In 1975 one average kolkhoz farmer produced 21.7 percent more of the gross product than in 1971.<sup>8</sup>

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On the one hand the level of development of the material-technical base of kolkhozes was the reason for the liberation of the work force from the public economy. On the other hand, the process of industrialization with the subsequent continued urbanization of the economy had a significant effect on the changes in the population of kolkhoz farmers. Up until 1970 over half of the population of the republic that was involved in material production was concentrated in rural areas. The change began in 1970, when for the first time in the history of the economic development of the Lithuanian SSR the urban population, comprising 50.2 percent, surpassed the rural population. At the same time the proportion of the population living in cities in the Latvian SSR was 62.5 percent, and in the Estonian SSR--64.9 percent.

The pace of industrial development in Lithuania becomes graphic when we examine the indicators for the degree of involvement of the urban population in material production. In 1971 the proportion of workers and employees in the sphere of material production was 56 percent; in 1975--57.4 percent.<sup>10</sup> The rapid growth of the urban population reflected the level of the division of public labor in the republic's national economy.

During the Ninth Five-Year Plan the changes that took place in the kolkhoz villages of the Lithuanian SSR characterized the development of kolkhoz farmers during the period of mature socialism. There was a continuation of the process of a decrease in the absolute and relative population of kolkhoz farmers (Table 1). The periodic outflow of the population from kolkhozes resulted in a drop of 8.6 percent in the population of kolkhoz farmers over a period of 5 years. The drop in the absolute kolkhoz population was associated with a general decrease in its proportion of the republic's population from 15.1 percent in 1971 to 13.3 percent in 1975.

Table 1  
The Population of Kolkhoz Farmers in the Lithuanian SSR in 1971-1975

Indicator	Year					1975 compared to 1971, %
	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	
Number of kolkhoz members, thousands of people	478.1	468.7	460.4	447.1	436.9	91.4
Proportion of kolkhoz members in total population of Lithuania, %	15.1	14.6	14.2	13.7	13.3	
Number of able-bodied kolkhoz farmers, thousands of people	272.6	265.4	260.4	252.3	244.4	89.7
Proportion of able-bodied kolkhoz farmers in total kolkhoz population, %	57.0	56.7	56.4	56.0	55.9	

The table was composed from data of summarized annual reports of kolkhozes of the Lithuanian SSR (AMSKh LitSSR [Archives of the Ministry of Agriculture of the Lithuanian SSR], Form 1, List 14, File 1046, Line 2; File 1184, Line 2; File 1343, Line 2; List 4, File 200, Line 3; File 427, Line 1 (as of 1 January of the subsequent year) and from data in the annual "Economics and Culture of the Lithuanian SSR in 1975," page 11.



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The average annual number of people who have been resettled has been about 10,000. A characteristic feature of the Ninth Five-Year Plan was the accelerated pace of migration of able-bodied kolkhoz farmers, whose numbers decreased by 10.3 percent. The proportion of able-bodied kolkhoz farmers in total membership in the agricultural sector decreased from 57 percent in 1971 to 56 percent in 1975. Able-bodied kolkhoz farmers were one of the primary sources for the reinforcement of the ranks of workers in industry and other branches of the urban economy. Rural cadres of working age comprised over 90 percent of the population that resettled in various cities of the republic.<sup>11</sup> This circumstance undoubtedly affected the qualitative characteristics of the population involved in kolkhoz production.

The most intensive migration of kolkhoz farmers was observed in areas with developing regional centers. Thus, in Alitusskiy Rayon an average of 272 kolkhoz farmers moved to the cities each year; in Kapsukskiy--477; in Plungeskiy--174 and in Yurbarkskiy--235 kolkhoz farmers. In other rayons the migration of kolkhoz farmers was relatively small. In Shal'chininskiy Rayon 44 kolkhoz farmers moved to city enterprises to work each year on the average; in Zarasayskiy--67 and in Varenskiy--90 kolkhoz farmers.<sup>12</sup>

While there has been a drop in the absolute numbers of kolkhoz farmers in the Lithuanian SSR, their general population per single kolkhoz has increased by an average of 30.9 percent; the increase of able-bodied kolkhoz farmers has been 28.4 percent.<sup>13</sup> This was the result of the enlargement of kolkhozes and the reorganization of some kolkhozes and sovkhoses. As of 1 January 1972 in the Lithuanian SSR there were 1,384 kolkhozes, with an average of 345 members per kolkhoz; as of 1 January 1976 there were 966 kolkhozes with 452 members per kolkhoz.<sup>14</sup> The concentration of the work force in kolkhozes was based on the industrialization of agriculture and the improvement of production organization.

The changes in the population of kolkhoz farmers result not only from economic factors. Demographic factors occupy an important place in characterizing the processes of development of the kolkhoz peasantry. Modern scientists note the overall drop in the birth rate of the rural population, which affects its natural growth. In the Lithuanian SSR the birth rate coefficient of the rural population was 15.7 percent in 1975 as compared with 17.6 in 1970.<sup>15</sup>

The sex and age structure of kolkhoz farmers in Soviet Lithuania has also changed (Table 2). During the Ninth Five-Year Plan the labor resources of kolkhozes were considerably reduced. The number of women in the total number of able-bodied kolkhoz members decreased at a more rapid pace. Judging by the annual reports of the kolkhozes 19 percent of the population consisted of 16-59 year old men in 1971 and 19.8 percent in 1975; 16-54 year old women--19.9 and 19.1 percent respectively; men and women 55 (60) years old and over 29.3 percent in 1971 and 30.7 percent in 1975; children up to 12 years of age--22.7 and 20.3 percent respectively; and children 12-16 years old--9.1 and 10.1 percent respectively.<sup>16</sup>

The growth in the proportion of men of working age was advantageous from both the demographic and economic points of view. The fact is that for the development of the agricultural economy a great deal of importance is placed not only on the availability of labor resources but also on the amount of work time spent on work in the public sector. Since the participation of able-bodied men in the production

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Table 2  
The Sex-Age Structure of Kolkhoz Farmers in the  
Lithuanian SSR in 1971-1975 (thousands of persons)

Year	All kolkhoz populations	Men, ages 16-59	Women, ages 16-54	Men, 60 years and over; Women, 55 and over	Children up to 12 years of age	Children, ages 12-16
1971	701.3	133.3	139.3	205.4	159.4	63.9
1972	685.6	131.1	134.3	202.8	152.5	65.1
1973	671.3	129.4	130.9	200.0	145.6	65.4
1974	652.0	126.3	126.0	194.8	137.4	66.5
1975	627.9	124.2	120.2	192.5	127.4	63.9
1975, compared to 1971, %	89.5	93.2	86.3	97.3	79.9	99.5

The table was comprised from data of summarized kolkhoz reports of the Lithuanian SSR (AMSKh LitSSR, Form 1, List 14, File 1046, Line 2; File 1184, Line 2; File 1343, Line 2; List 4, File 200, Line 3; File 427, Line 1 (as of 1 January of each subsequent year).

processes of kolkhozes is expressed in the large quantity of man-days worked, then naturally, the increase in their proportion in the total number of able-bodied kolkhoz farmers will have a positive effect on the results of public production. In 1971 on the average in the republic able-bodied males worked 235 man-days; in 1975--242 man-days. Females worked 163 and 182 man-days respectively.<sup>17</sup>

A characteristic feature of the kolkhozes during the period under examination is the "aging" process of the kolkhoz population. Between 1971 and 1975 the smallest percentage curtailment in the group of kolkhoz farmers of retirement age was noted--2.7 as compared with 10.3 in the group of able-bodied. This was encouraged not only by the lesser mobility of older people. To a certain degree the role of stabilizer was played by the improvement in the social circumstances of kolkhoz farmers.

The data on changes in the population of the coming generation is interesting from the point of view of the future development of labor resources in Lithuanian kolkhozes. The large drop in the number of children up to 12 years of age is the result of the migration of kolkhoz farmers with their families.

#### The Social and Professional Structure of Kolkhoz Farmers

As a result of the qualitative changes in agriculture an unavoidable process of professional differentiation and division of labor in kolkhoz production took place. This process was reflected in changes in the social-professional structure of kolkhoz farmers in the direction of a growth in the number of trained professionals

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in agriculture, of the development of new professions and the dying-out of old professions in rural areas and in a drop in the proportion of manual and untrained labor.

The primary structure-determining characteristic establishing the internal boundaries among social-professional groups of kolkhoz farmers are type and nature of agricultural labor. The social changes that have occurred in professional groups of kolkhoz farmers are examined in the given article primarily from the point of view of the differentiation of kolkhoz farmers according to the type of job and its place within the organization of kolkhoz production. In the given case the research encompasses all categories of workers involved in public production (Table 3).

Among the professional groups that determine the profile of modern kolkhoz production an important place is occupied by machine operators and agricultural specialists, the growth in the ranks of whom symbolizes the future kolkhoz sector.

In the kolkhozes of the Lithuanian SSR the number of machine operators, which includes tractor operators-machinists of a broad profile and drivers, increased by 13.1 percent during the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Their proportion of the total population working in agriculture was 11.8 percent in 1971 and 14.5 percent in 1975. The machine operators in agriculture are the chief figures in the modern rural region. Their work, which is based on a coordination of physical and intellectual labor and on work with complicated agricultural equipment has acquired elements of an industrial nature.

The republic's kolkhozes are being reinforced annually with cadres of workers who are trained in machine labor. In 1971 each kolkhoz needed 18 tractor operators-machinists and eight drivers; in 1975--30 and 20 respectively.<sup>18</sup>

The introduction of complex mechanization had a considerable effect on the number and composition of workers in livestock raising. The achievement of a high level of mechanization in different production operations within livestock raising was accompanied by a rapid growth in the proportion of workers involved in specialized labor. Thus, during the Ninth Five-Year Plan there was a sharp increase in the percentage of milkmaids involved in mechanized milking operations. Whereas in 1971 55.5 percent of all kolkhoz milkmaids were involved in machine milking, in 1975 the percentage had increased to 94.8.<sup>19</sup>

Mechanization in livestock farming has enabled us to free a certain number of the branch's workers from production. A decrease in the number of milkmaids as a whole accompanied by a constant growth in the number of milkmaids involved in machine labor in mechanized sections of production was characteristic of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The number of cowherds-shepherds, swineherds and other livestock workers has decreased. This was related to the enlargement of livestock-raising farms and to the construction of livestock-raising complexes. At the same time the growth in the herd of calves and the low level of mechanization of a number of production operations (feed distribution, the cleaning of facilities, etc.) necessitated an increase in the number of calfwomen.

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Table 3  
The Social-Professional Structure of Workers in  
Kolkhoz Production in the Lithuanian SSR

Indicator	1971			1975			1975 as compared to 1971, %
	Average annual number of workers, thousands of persons	% of total number of average annual workers	% of number in their group	Average annual number of workers, thousands of persons	% of total number of average annual workers	% of number in their group	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Administrative-management personnel (total)	20.3	6.4		20.4	6.9		104.0
a)Managers of the higher links (kolkhoz chairmen, their deputies, senior specialists)	4.4		21.6	5.4		26.5	122.7
b)Managers of the middle link (brigade leaders in farming, farm directors, brigade leaders of construction brigades, directors of repair shops)	9.1		44.8	8.3		40.7	90.8
c)Accounting personnel (bookkeepers, office accounts personnel, economists, planners, accounts workers in brigades, on farms)	6.8		33.6	6.7		32.8	98.5
2.Specialists (total)	6.58	2.1		7.85	2.7		119.7
Agronomists	0.9		13.7	1.2		15.3	134.5
Zootechnologists	1.1		16.7	1.4		17.8	130.9
Veterinarians	1.18		17.9	1.15		14.7	97.5
Engineering technologists, mechanics, electricians	3.4		51.7	4.1		52.2	120.6
3.Machine operators (total)	37.7	11.8		42.7	14.5		113.3
Tractor operators-machinists	25.9		68.7	29.2		68.4	112.7
Drivers	11.8		31.3	13.5		31.6	114.4

(Continued on following page)

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Table 3 (Continued)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
4. Workers in livestock raising (total)	68.0	21.4		69.1	23.4		101.6
- Milkmaids	19.5		28.7	16.8		24.3	86.1
- Including those in mechanized milking	10.1		14.9	15.9		23.0	157.4
Cowherds, shepherds	7.1		10.4	6.8		9.9	94.8
Calfwomen	9.1		13.4	9.4		13.6	103.3
Swineherds	7.9		11.6	7.4		10.7	93.3
Other workers in livestock raising	14.3		21.0	12.8		18.5	89.5
5. Workers not involved in agricultural work (workers in repair shops, construction brigades)	24.5	7.7		25.6	8.7		104.5
6. Auxiliary and service personnel (firemen, guards at field camps and farms, packers, expeditors, refueller, field patrolmen, typists, cafeteria directors, etc.)	11.8	3.7		11.6	3.9		98.3
7. Workers of cultural-domestic institutions (total)	0.24	0.07		0.28	0.09		116.0
8. Workers involved in manual operations and operations using horses in farming (total)	148.9	46.8		117.4	39.8		78.7
Total	318.0	100.0		294.9	100.0		92.7

The table was composed from data of summarized annual reports of kolkhozes in the Lithuanian SSR (AMSKh LitSSR, Form 1, List 14, File 1046, Line 29; List 4, File 427, Line 10) (as of 1 January of each subsequent year).

Parallel with the tendency to curtail the number of some groups of workers in livestock raising there was an improvement in the special training and professional mastery of livestock farmers. In the rural areas a new profession developed, that of master of livestock raising. In 1975 there were 4,268 of them in Lithuanian kolkhozes, including 729 with Class I qualifications and 3,539 with Class II.<sup>20</sup>

During the Ninth Five-Year Plan there was a continuation of the increase in the number of agricultural specialists--agronomists, zootechnologists, veterinarians and veterinary surgeon's assistants and engineers-mechanics. Despite the small proportion of this group among kolkhoz farmers (2.1 percent in 1971 and 2.7 percent

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in 1975), it is difficult to overestimate the significance of specialists in the organizational-production operations of the enterprise. Considering the profile of the republic's kolkhozes, the basic role in the organizational and technical management of production belongs to specialists in livestock raising. In 1971 every 10 kolkhozes in the republic had eight zootechnologists, eight veterinarians and veterinary surgeon's assistants; in 1975 as a result of the concentration of production and the growth in the number of specialist cadres these indicators increased to 14 and 15 respectively. The availability of agronomists was somewhat lower: in 1971 10 kolkhozes shared 7 agronomists; in 1975--13, despite the fact that the fastest growth pace occurred for this group of specialists.<sup>21</sup>

During the Ninth Five-Year Plan the tendency to decrease the number of workers involved in manual operations and operations using horses in farming did not change. In Lithuanian kolkhozes this contingent of kolkhoz farmers decreased by 21.2 percent over a 5-year period and in 1975 comprised 39.8 percent of the total number of average annual kolkhoz farmers. This circumstance is the result of the very same process of saturating agriculture with energy and technical capacities, thereby easing manual labor out of production operations to an even greater extent. Nevertheless, this group of kolkhoz farmers still remains the largest within the social-professional structure of all kolkhoz farmers.

The direct result of the party policy of enlarging kolkhozes and of production concentration and specialization has been a drop in the number and proportion of several categories of workers in the administrative-management apparatus. Thus, there has been a decrease in the number of kolkhoz chairmen, farming brigade leaders and some groups of accounting workers.

However, the strengthening of the kolkhoz economy, the more and more extensive inclusion of kolkhozes in general state planning and the growth in kolkhoz independence have increased the role and significance of some groups of workers within the administrative-management apparatus. Particularly noteworthy is the growth in the absolute and relative numbers of senior kolkhoz specialists (by 44.2 percent), released deputy chairmen of kolkhozes (by 54.5 percent) and directors of livestock-raising farms (by 12.6 percent).<sup>22</sup>

In order to more fully characterize the labor resources of the village we present an analysis of the educational and professional levels of workers in kolkhoz production (Table 4).

In the republic's kolkhozes the majority of trained cadres had a specialized education: in 1971--53.3 percent; in 1975--60.7 percent. During the Ninth Five-Year Plan as a whole the number of workers with a specialized education increased by 41 percent (together with practical workers). The proportion of specialists-practical workers decreased in connection with the constant improvement in their educational level.

The relatively small percentage of specialists with a higher education and of higher-class tractor operators indicates that the kolkhozes of Lithuania have a significant reserve for growth in the educational and professional level of workers.

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Table 4  
Level of Education and Training of Workers in Kolkhoz  
Production in the Lithuanian SSR in 1971-1975

Indicator	1971	1975	1975 compared to 1971, %
Number of workers having a higher, secondary special education and practical workers involved in the public economy, persons	16,857	23,775	141.0
Specialists with a higher education, %	10.4	11.9	
Specialists with a secondary specialized education, %	53.3	60.7	
Specialists-practical workers, %	36.4	29.9	
Proportion of specialists-practical workers training in higher and secondary special educational institutions, %	15.1	14.7	
Number of tractor operators-machinists (total)	25,081	29,182	116.3
Class I, %	-1	25.8	
Class II, %	-	38.8	
Class III, %	-	34.4	
Unclassified, %	-	0.96	

<sup>1</sup>No data available

The table was composed according to data from statistical journals: "The Availability of Management Workers and Specialists According to Jobs in Kolkhozes, Sovkhozes and Other State Enterprises as Well as Machine Operators in Kolkhozes as of 1 April 1971, Vilnius, 1971, pp 4-8, 10; "The Number of Management Workers...as of 1 April 1975, Vilnius, 1975, pp 4-8, 10.

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## Conclusions

1. On the basis of an analysis of summarized annual reports from the kolkhozes of the Lithuanian SSR in 1971-1975 it has been established that during the Ninth Five-Year Plan there was a drop in the absolute and relative population of kolkhoz farmers in the republic's kolkhozes. In 5 years the population of kolkhoz members decreased by 8.6 percent; their proportion of the total republic population dropped from 15.1 percent in 1971 to 13.3 percent in 1975.

2. As a result of scientific-technical progress in agriculture and of the industrialization of all branches of the republic's national economy the number of able-bodied kolkhoz farmers decreased by 10.3 percent.

3. There were changes in the sex-age composition of kolkhoz farmers. The number of able-bodied women and able-bodied men decreased at a rapid pace (by 13.7 and 6.8 percent respectively). The group of older kolkhoz farmers experienced the smallest decrease in numbers (2.7 percent).

4. Noticeable changes occurred in the social-professional structure of kolkhoz farmers. The proportion of workers involved in manual labor and labor using horses dropped from 46.8 percent in 1971 to 39.8 percent in 1975. There was a rapid increase in the number of specialists in agriculture (19.7 percent in 5 years) and in the number of workers involved in machine operations, especially machine operators (13.3 percent increase). During the Ninth Five-Year Plan there was a curtailment in the number of some groups of workers in livestock-raising as a result of the mechanization of some production operations in livestock-raising and of the construction of complexes. Thus, the number of milkmaids decreased by 13.9 percent; of cowherds-shepherds--by 5.2 percent; of swineherds--by 6.7 percent; and of other workers in livestock raising--by 10.5 percent.

There was an increase in the general education level of workers in kolkhoz production.

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REGIONAL

FIRMER PLANNING, CONTROL NEEDED IN RESETTLEMENT OF NONCHERNOZEM POPULATION

Moscow SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO in Russian No 8, Aug 81 pp 29-36

[Article by I. T. Khlamov, senior scientific worker of the Saratov Economic Institute and candidate of judicial sciences: "The Planning and Development of Rural Settlements in the Non-Chernozem Area"]

[Text] The "Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and in the Period to 1990" foresee the continuation in the Non-Chernozem Region of the RSFSR of the realization of a complex program directed at transforming it into an area of highly productive farming and livestock raising and at developing the corresponding branches of industry there. The complex development of agricultural production and social change in this largest region of the country during the period up until 1990 is expounded in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures to Continue the Development of Agriculture in the Non-Chernozem Region of the RSFSR," of 20 March 1974 (1). The program affects the working conditions, everyday life and standard of living of many millions of people.

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On the Continued Development and Improved Effectiveness of Agriculture in the Non-Chernozem Region of the RSFSR in 1981-1985," published on 15 April 1981 (2), additional measures were determined to further strengthen the material-technical base, to provide social development for the village and to increase agricultural production output in the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of this important area of the country.

The resolution notes that in 1976-1980 31.2 billion rubles of capital investments were allocated for the development of the zone's agriculture; this is an increase of a factor of 1.6 over the Ninth Five-Year Plan. During the 11th Five-Year Plan capital investments in the zone will increase to 39.9 billion rubles.

The Non-Chernozem Region is characterized by relatively favorable conditions for agricultural management; in comparison with other regions in the Soviet Union it is better supplied with labor resources. At the same time there are problems here that make agricultural management more difficult. The historical settling pattern is a considerable hindrance to improving agricultural production in the zone. The settling of rural people in small settlements is now, like in no other region of the country, in sharp contradiction to the level of development of agricultural production and to the needs for cultural-consumer services to rural people.

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The new requirements for territorial organization of agricultural production in the Non-Chernozem Zone cannot be realized without the redistribution of the rural population. In connection with this it is planned to redesign and reconstruct over 20,000 promising settlements with ~~the~~ goal of resettling over 170,000 families from farms and small villages (3).

This article attempts to investigate some of the legal questions related to the planning and development of rural settlements as regards the Non-Chernozem Zone as well as to the acceleration of residential construction in the rural areas of the given region.

Regional planning is very important in implementing the complex program for the Non-Chernozem Region. From the moment of confirmation the regional planning design becomes a legal document, on the basis of which the corresponding region is developed. For this reason it is important that all planning decisions have a scientific basis. In the process of planning the project regional differences, specific economic conditions and prerequisites as well as the financial, material, natural and labor potential of specific sections in the region and of individual enterprises and settlements must be taken into account. Regional planning should be viewed as the connecting link between national-economic planning and city-construction design.

The main tendency in the reorganization of the rural resettlement in the Non-Chernozem Region, which has been legally confirmed, is the transition from a network of small settlements, with their gradual elimination, to a system of interdependent, larger settlements in accordance with the future territorial organization of agricultural production and cultural-consumer services for the population. The retention of the network of small rural settlements in the Non-Chernozem Zone would unavoidably have resulted in a lack of focus in construction and in a drop in the effectiveness of capital investments. It would have made it more difficult to introduce amenities into the towns and would have brought doubt to the idea of transforming them into settlements with an urban organization of public services.

A differential approach to enlarging rural settlements must be taken for different natural-economic conditions of the Non-Chernozem Zone. Otherwise this can result in the growth of transportation expenses in the cost of production, or in a number of cases this can encourage the exclusion of relatively small land tracts in agricultural rotations. In developing regional planning projects production effectiveness must be used as an evaluation criteria, that is, producing the maximum quantity of agricultural products with minimal expenditures. Social criteria must also be considered--the curtailment of travel time to work, rest, education and medical, cultural-consumer and trade services. Practical experience in regional planning and development confirms the validity of economists' calculations in regard to the fact that there are minimal capacities for institutions and enterprises. The construction of structures and buildings with less area is not expedient either economically or from the point of view of basic conveniences for the population. For example, the minimal capacity of a preschool is 25 places for a settlement with a population of 250-500; of an elementary school that is not completely full--192 places for pupils; and of a club--150 places for a settlement of 1,000 persons. Under comparable conditions when a settlement's population grows from 250 to 1,000 the expenditures per resident decrease by 12 percent when organizing cultural-consumer services; when

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the population increases from 1,000 to 3,500 expenditures decrease another 15 percent (4). In accordance with the predictions of scientific and planning organizations the most promising settlements here will have populations of from 500 to 4,000 residents (5). These parameters for settlements at the next stage of development in the Non-Chernozem Region must be legally confirmed.

No less important is another aspect of the problem, requiring the gradual implementation of measures for collective settlement, namely the necessity to consider the private enterprise as an important source of income for rural residents.<sup>1</sup> In accordance with a resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers dated 20 March 1974 by 1980 the first stage should be completed with the resettlement of 170,000 families in well-designed settlements; by 1990 the second stage must be completed. In connection with this it would be expedient to determine the specific stages of reorganization of rural resettlement with a consideration of real resources allocated for this purpose for each oblast and autonomous republic in the Non-Chernozem Region.

The question of limits to the population of rural settlements is directly related to the amount of land used by kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the direction of their specialization, future development and other factors. However, uniform norms for the zone have not yet been developed to solve these problems in the best possible way. Even within one specialization within the Non-Chernozem Zone the amount of land that is used by an enterprise will differ from that used by another enterprise. Such differences do not always have an economic basis and are not always justified by regional differences; under the conditions of agricultural production their origin was frequently arbitrary and accidental, resulting in frequent changes in the sizes and boundaries of enterprises and in the inefficient utilization of capital investments. The invalid enlargement and diminution of enterprises, changes in their specialization as well as in the boundaries of agricultural regions make it necessary to alter regional planning projects and decrease their significance as legal documents. For this reason the time has come to legally regulate the optimal area of enterprises in various regions of the Non-Chernozem Zone on the basis of scientifically-valid socio-economic calculations.

Regional planning designs acquire great practical significance in realizing goals involving the efficient utilization of lands and the optimal distribution of agricultural structures and complexes. At the same time these are legal documents which determine the basic directions of planning and development in the region. The "Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and in the Period Until 1990" point to the necessity of improving the quality of planning, architectural and construction decisions.

There are shortcomings in the development and realization of planning designs in the Non-Chernozem Region which decrease their quality. All existing possibilities are not always considered, the principle of gradual resettlement of the rural population

<sup>1</sup>Over 36 percent of meat and milk is produced in private enterprises of the rural population in the Non-Chernozem Region at the present time; 30 percent of the total family income of a kolkhoz farmer comes from the private enterprise (5, p 186).

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is violated and frequently proposals are made to centralize settlements too much. Thus, the plans for the development of agriculture, which is the basis for rural resettlement, and for solving other problems regarding the eradication of considerable differences between the city and country, encompass a period of 10-15 years, whereas the developmental period for rural settlements is foreseen as 25-30 years (6). This type of lack of correspondence in future planning limits the possibilities of technical-economic bases for planning decisions in the required period. As a consequence, some projects do not include valid predictions of the population of a region or of an individual settlement.

In our opinion, in order to curtail the plan development schedule and to improve the quality of designs and construction it is essential to develop complex projects for the most typical regions. In an oblast (autonomous republic) there are usually not many of these (three-four). This type of project, which is developed for a given region with a consideration of specific conditions, can then be extended to other regions in the oblast (autonomous republic).

The time has come to extensively utilize mathematical methods and computer technology (EVM) when developing planning and development projects. On the one hand this will enable us to increase the productivity of labor of planners; on the other--to utilize scientific principles in regional planning.

In order to successfully deal with these problems and to radically improve all planning operations in rural regions it is essential to unify the efforts of planning organizations that are under Gosstroy, of interkolkhoz construction associations and of other organizations which perform planning work for rural construction into a single center for complex rural planning having corresponding affiliates locally. The creation of such a center will enable us to pursue a single technical policy when developing regional planning projects, general plans for settlements, residential housing and structures for production and cultural-consumer services.

The existing law has established the procedure for confirming general plans dealing with the construction of rural settlements. The general plan is examined first of all by rural (settlement) soviets of people's deputies together with representatives of corresponding sovkhoses, kolkhozes and agricultural and construction organizations and then by the executive committee of the rayon's soviet of people's deputies, which presents it for confirmation to the ASSR Council of Ministers and the oblast executive committee (kray executive committee). The existing procedure for confirming general construction plans needs to be improved by further democratization. It seems that all of the citizens of a future or existing settlement should be able to participate in evaluating the plans. Only with a consideration of their desires can the best and most economical variant of the general construction plan for their settlement be selected. Consequently, the law must provide for an additional stage preceding the confirmation of general settlement projects, that of an evaluation of projects by all rural residents (7).

However, the development of scientifically-based designs for planning and development and of general plans is of itself no guarantee that the plans will be implemented. Practical experience attests to the fact that in rural areas many plan violations and violations of construction discipline are tolerated during construction work and the guilty parties remain unpunished. Existing laws regarding the development of

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rural settlements in the RSFSR (8) and other union republics do not designate any sort of responsibility for such violations of the law. There is also an absence of sanctions for the putting together of low-quality planning documents.

In our opinion, an effective means of fighting for quality in planning documents and of observing development rules is the establishment of full material responsibility for errors in planning documents and for violations of the rules of development as well as the establishment of corresponding material incentives for rural planning organizations and developers for quality, scientifically-based plans and for following them precisely during the implementation process (9). The non-effectiveness of legal norms (8) concerning the planning and development of rural settlements attests to the presence of considerable shortcomings in the mechanism of legal regulations of the given interrelationships. For this reason, radical measures are needed to eliminate the shortcomings. First of all we should clearly establish the competency of the USSR and union republics in questions regarding the planning and development of settlements. It would seem that the fundamental resolutions concerning planning and development should be contained in a single act of union significance and the details should be in the acts of union republics. In our opinion, it would be expedient to systematize laws on planning and development on the basis of union laws concerning capital construction and by including the corresponding independent section for them. This section should include norms for regulating relations having to do with the settlement of rural residents, with the planning of urban facilities and developing villages, with the conservation and use of natural riches while developing settlements as well as other norms, the effectiveness of which is tested in practical terms.

According to the "Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development of the USSR," during the 11th Five-Year Plan one of our goals is "The rapid development of construction of residential housing, highways and structures for social-cultural and communal-domestic purposes."

During the 10th Five-Year Plan 5.6 billion rubles of capital investments, or 1.9 times more than during 1971-1975, were directed at residential and cultural-domestic construction in the rural areas of the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR. Residential housing with a total area of 22.8 million square meters was constructed. In 1981-1985 9.9 billion rubles will be allocated for this purpose. A total area of 33.5 million square meters of residential housing alone will be constructed.

In the rural areas of the Non-Chernozem Region residential construction takes place in three legal forms--state, kolkhoz-cooperative, and individual. Individual residential here comprises 90 percent of the total rural residential fund, state and kolkhoz-cooperative--10 percent (5, p. 184). Primarily these are few-storied structures with simple amenities. The data attests to the fact that state and kolkhoz-cooperative residential construction have not been extensive here and are just in their initial stages. The reason for this is the shortcomings in the planning of capital investments. Centralized and non-centralized resources of enterprises were previously directed mainly into production construction. Residential construction and the inclusion of amenities in rural settlements were not given any attention. This tendency in the planning of capital investments of kolkhozes and sovkhoses under modern conditions cannot be considered correct.

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The constant growth of the economic power of sovkhozes and kolkhozes in the zone enables them to increase total capital investments from year to year directed at cultural-domestic and residential construction. In solving the problem of accelerating the pace of residential construction in rural areas a large role will be played by party and state measures for strengthening the production bases of rural construction organizations and for increasing their technical equipment.<sup>2</sup>

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On the Continued Development and Increasing Effectiveness of Agriculture in the Non-Chernozem Region of the RSFSR in 1981-1985," admits the necessity of focusing the capacities of contractual construction organizations on constructing residential housing, educational buildings, structures for cultural-domestic purposes and for agricultural enterprises and branches of industry that are related to it in the rural areas of this zone. It is also planned to further increase the volume and improve the quality construction of residential housing and structures used for municipal management and cultural-domestic purposes and to improve the supplies of engineering equipment for these structures.

The practical experience of several krays and oblasts in the country as well as the prospects for the development of a construction base in the Non-Chernozem Region convince us of the fact that the contractual agreement form of development as the most progressive must also play a leading role here (10, 11). A growth in the scale of cultural-domestic and residential construction in the rural areas of the zone will result in its concentration, i.e. in the planning and construction of groups of residential houses, residential quarters and microneighborhoods by large planning and contractual organizations. The concentrated, complex development of settlements is an important direction in rural construction which secures a high effectiveness of capital investments.

However, the complex development of the Non-Chernozem Zone is not yet in full swing for a number of reasons, the main one of which, in our opinion, is the lack of unity in financing sources. As practical experience demonstrates, this shortcoming can be eliminated if a single order service is created within the boundaries of the rural administrative rayon. For example, a single order service for rural construction has been created for all of the rayons of the BSSR and it has fully justified itself in practice. Its function is realized by the administrations of capital construction of executive committees of rayon soviets of people's deputies. They control the capital investments of ministries and departments for production, residential, municipal and cultural-domestic construction and they conduct technical surveys of the construction of structures in kolkhozes using the management method. Together with the office of the regional architect the administrations of capital construction are responsible for complex development in accordance with the basic

<sup>2</sup>Suffice it to say that 85 percent of construction-installation work planned for the Non-Chernozem Zone must be completed by the contract method. Here a large role must be played by the rural construction combines that are developing everywhere and that specialize in the production of structural members for agricultural production buildings and for large-panel housing construction. No fewer than 60 percent of residential houses in the zone will be constructed from completely prefabricated sections (5, pp 101-105).



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proposals of regional planning projects, general plans and schemes (14). A single order service in rural areas enables us to move toward extensive cooperation in material resources belonging to all types of developers within the region and to simplify development. However, in the practical experience of cooperation (participation through shares) for rural construction many unclear and debateable questions arise (concerning the forms and sizes of shares, etc.) (15). In connection with this, we feel that for rural areas uniform state norms should be developed concerning the shared participation of developers; their rights and obligations should be specified. It seems to us that the fulfillment of the residential program in rural areas of the zone will require the maximal development of all forms of residential construction.

It is possible to solve the problems of reorganizing rural areas not only under conditions of a thorough working through of the ways to move toward promising forms of development with a consideration of the progressive directions of agricultural development but also with an efficient coordination of public and individual housing construction as well as the forms of organization of private enterprises for rural residents. The artificial restraint of individual construction and the under-estimation of cooperative residential construction in the zone in the near future could become serious hindrances to residential construction in the Non-Chernozem Region.

The "Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development of the USSR" emphasize the necessity of increasing the role of residential-construction cooperation, of further improving the living conditions of the population and of expanding the possibilities for individual construction of homes in rural areas. With this goal in mind it is proposed to aid workers in cooperative and individual housing construction using the incentives funds of associations and enterprises. This is one of the guarantees that will give citizens a real opportunity for housing, as confirmed in the Constitution of the USSR (article 44).

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers of 20 March 1974 foresaw the awarding of privileges to individual developers who moved to perspective settlements. They are given credit for construction over a 15 year period with payments beginning 3 years after the loan was obtained (0.2 percent annually).<sup>3</sup> Under certain conditions some large enterprises of the Non-Chernozem Zone will give credit to individual developers. For example, some kolkhozes issue loans of over 5,000 rubles for individual construction, to be paid back over a period of 25 years (13). This type of credit is available for every rural resident. For this reason with the aim of stimulating individual and cooperative construction in the rural areas of the Non-Chernozem Zone it would be expedient to provide legal rights for individual developers and members of ZhSK's [Housing construction cooperatives] to interest-less state credit with a loan repayment period of up to 25 years. It is very important that with the overall stimulation of individual construction and an increase of its proportion by only 1 percent of the residential fund planned in the enterprises of the Non-Chernozem Zone we economize on public resources in a sum of

<sup>3</sup>Resettlers of the Non-Chernozem Zone are awarded other privileges as indicated in the resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers dated 4 January 1966 (12).

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approximately 200 million rubles (16). Individual developers and ZhSK's must be completely freed from repaying loans for the construction of exterior engineering structures and for the beautification of the settlement. Expenditures for this part of the work should be covered by sovkhoses, kolkhoses and local soviets of people's deputies.

Worthy of attention is the widespread dissemination in the Non-Chernozem Zone of the experience of individual construction in Moscow Oblast. The cost of construction here is calculated according to the prices and norms established to determine the estimated cost of state residential construction. The initial contribution of the funds of individual developers comprises 20 percent of the estimated cost of building a house with outdoor structures. By agreement with trade union organizations the directors of enterprises have the right to decrease the total initial contribution to 10 percent for demobilized soldiers and young people and for workers of mass professions in enterprises that are experiencing an acute labor shortage.

It would be expedient to give shareholders of ZSK's in the Non-Chernozem Zone the right to interest-less state credit at a rate of 70-80 percent of the cost of a cooperative apartment.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, individual developers and members of ZhSK's who have worked well and for a long period of time should be given grants (from general incentives funds) in quantities necessary for partially or completely covering the differences between total state credit and the total cost of the apartment.<sup>5</sup> In our opinion, in order to prevent abuses the law should stipulate the norms in accordance with which the resources issued as free material aid for the construction of cooperative and individual housing are subject to recovery in cases in which the developer (ZhSK member) leaves the enterprise of his own free will, for violations of labor discipline or in connection with crimes committed.

In our opinion, the acceptance of the complex of proposed measures will maximally encourage the development of residential construction and the securing of cadres in the kolkhoses and sovkhoses of the Non-Chernozem Region of the RSFSR. These measures are just examples and are by no means exhaustive. Moreover, for some of them the very formulation of the question is controversial.

<sup>4</sup>In connection with this the practices of individual construction of housing in the rural areas of Bulgaria are interesting. The developer selects a model design for his future house, which is constructed by the agricultural cooperative in accordance with a contractual agreement. When the house is ready the developer receives the keys to it. At this point he begins repaying an interest-less loan over a period of 20 years, which is partially repaid from the cooperative's resources (17).

<sup>5</sup>The experience of rural cooperative construction in the Lithuanian SSR as well as in Moscow Oblast attests to the fact that additional privileges available for ZhSK shareholders significantly activate this form of construction in rural areas.

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RELIGIOUS SURVIVALS IN FAMILY MUST BE ELIMINATED

Alma-Ata QAZAQSTAN AYELDERI in Kazakh No 6, Jun 81 p 14

[Article by K. Nurmaghambetov: "The Education of Children in the Family and Religion]

[Text] Construction of communism, the grand future of all humanity, is a complex dialectical process that takes place in the spiritual, as well as the material, realm. Communist ideology, as a form of social reality, has a direct influence upon members of society working with a distinct goal in mind based on an activist stance in life. It was pointed out in the resolution "Concerning Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Education Work" of the CC CPSU and in the decisions of the 26th Party Congress that the scientific-materialist world view of Soviet citizens has become strengthened in carrying out a continual, merciless struggle against remnants of the old order. Comrade D. A. Kunayev, member of the CPSU CC Politburo and first secretary of the Kazakhstan CP CC, emphasized in his report to the 15th Congress of the Kazakhstan CP CC and Kazakhstan CP that: "It is no secret that all kinds of remnants and harmful customs of the old order that shame man's honor and intelligence still exist among us. Such unacceptable manifestations must be eliminated once and for all, irrevocably."

Thus the scientific atheism education system, which combats both remnants of the old order in men's thoughts and deeds and their blind faith in untruthful religion, must educate all classes of people in a spirit of militant atheism, but particularly children and young people so that they do not adopt religious world views. The class and social foundations nourishing religion have been overthrown in our country. Although most Soviet people are non-believers, nevertheless religious survivals continue to be preserved among the people, even among children and young people. Results of sociological research in individual schools in Alma-Ata, Taldy-Kurganskaya, Kzyl-Ordinskaya and Chimkentskaya Oblasts show that the number of school students listening to religious agitators and religious teachers and praying had reached two to five percent. It was also revealed that parents, brothers, sisters, and other relatives were the sources of such religious lies. These facts prove that there are serious problems in providing children atheism education in the family.

We can neither know nor understand anything about things not existing in this world. A human being only understands and grasps when he can see, feel, hold or

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hear. In this way a person begins to have a knowledge of the world. Likewise a man cannot always have a correct conception of what he sees or hears. The reason is that it is not easy to get to the bottom of natural secrets, a variety of phenomena and various relationships among people. In addition certain elders and parents believing in religion pour religious sayings such as "There is a God who created the world," "Respect God," "Everything is in Allah's hands," "Man is God's slave and the prophet is Muhammad" and "Everything is fated" into the ears of children. The evil consequence of this are many. A child involuntarily develops habits of deceit and dissimulation. The reason is that while, on the one hand, they must listen to teachings at home from their parents on "God" and "the creator," on the other hand, they are trained in knowledge opposed to these ideas in school. Such children gain two educations; they seek to go in two directions at once and learn cunning.

"At home my father spoke about the formation of the world and various animals in an interesting way, and everything that he said seemed to have foundation. But when I began to study at school, everything he had taught me turned out to be wrong. I couldn't understand this, but I didn't say anything to anyone. I understood everything when I grew up." Thus. T. I., a ninth grade teacher of Vhamalghan Middle School, informed us.

We received a long letter from Alma-Ata Oblast tenth grade teacher Smaghul Tengizbaev of No Two Middle School of Talghan City about how his father was greatly offended when he failed to keep a fast.

To be sure, respect for elders, caring for juniors, being polite and listening to the words of elders are honorable characteristics for any generation. However, elders and parents must not forget that perversion of the younger generation towards false religion merely to retain the good characteristics runs counter to the needs of the times. A. C. Makarenko, the noted father of Soviet education, wrote regarding children's education that: "Although people and things both play an educational role, man--especially parents and teachers--is, most of all, the richest source of support to education.

Some parents who practice religious customs such as begging or traveling as mendicants strive to teach this to their children. Going from door to door in 40 houses to beg still goes on during religious festivals. It is wrong to train the younger generation in such obsolete customs. Children cannot prepare their lessons on time during such uproar--they join the ranks of the unprepared and suffer consequently.

Islam, like all religions, is reactionary; it divides the world into believers and infidels. It is well known how historically such teachings create hostility between peoples and give rise to distrust. As a result, various serious mockeries and sayings arise against the national honor of some peoples; authors of these sayings are religious lords holding to Islam, such as Mollah, Hoja and Ishan and the rich. In their view, adherents of Islam are superior to adherents of other religions. Religious representatives have taught that infidels and Moslems are bitter enemies and must therefore live apart from one another. It is rather common that religious parents pass on such views to their children.

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Parents must be wary of introducing religious customs and traditions that have strangled and humiliated women for centuries into their children's family education. Some families discriminate in the way that they treat boys and girls. Sayings and proverbs such as "Don't trust the horse in front of you or the woman in your embrace;" "Plop, plop, as natural as snow falling, he has found an evil wife," and "A black headed man is better than a golden headed woman," are recited by fathers who can do no wrong in the eyes of their children. These sayings create unpleasant thoughts in boys and girls hearing such "guidance." A boy begins to think that he is better than a girl, and this becomes a life-long habit. This is one reason why such children later encounter family "problems."

For example: when ninth grader Serikpen of Kaskelen Middle School was speaking about the family he said: "Fellows, love has nothing to do with it. Somebody must cook the meals. The woman must be under the man's control." Later when we visited his house, we saw that this view was his father's.

Today the arrival of a child, his naming, his marriage--the most important festivities of a person's life are celebrated. In rural areas such occasions are still, though rarely, observed according to custom in the Muslim manner. Also during celebrations, there are cases where Mollahs teach the Koran and Islamic practices. These "customs" cannot help but influence the younger generation.

What religion teaches cannot be perceived by man. It causes young men to suffer and separates them from joy, laughter and friendly intercourse. Thus, every family must establish a close connection with schools and efforts must be made to raise apathetic children as active fighters for our ideals.

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