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The draft program of the CPSU is perfectly clear about the development of the Soviet agricultural institutions. The collective farms will not be amalgamated or absorbed by the state farms, as many western observers had persistently predicted. Rather, both the collective and state farms will continue to develop side-by-side as socialist enterprises and gradually develop into communist social structures in the countryside. The document puts no date on this ultimate transformation. Rather, the 18 million collective farm households are solicitously assured that the gradual changes will materialize only as the output of farm products becomes more abundant. This follows the Marxist-Leninist line, and repeated in the 1919 program, that a creation of communist society rests essentially on the achievement of physical abundance. Thus the present document repeatedly exhorts the collectivized peasantry <sup>to produce more and more</sup> at ever decreasing costs, a slogan well worn since the socialization of agriculture over thirty years ago. So in the final analysis all progress towards the Party's goal is wholly dependent on the expanded output and industry of the peasantry. The classical rhetorical gesture of Lenin to his then uncollectivized peasantry is repeated:

"the elimination of socio-economic and cultural distinctions between town and country and the differences in their living standards will be one of the greatest gains of communist construction".

The experience of the past thirty years does not assure greater abundance when sloganeering becomes the primary input - a lesson in store for the satellites when they reach a corresponding stage on the midroad toward a communist countryside.

In line with the basic tenets of the 21st Party Congress the Program restates the processes by which the gradual union between collective-cooperative property will merge into all national property: the expansion of communal husbandry and a diminution of private plots, inter-kolkhoz production links including the sovkhozy, a rise in the collective's non-distributable assets, and the expansion of electricity and technology in agriculture.

The collective farmers are firmly warned, however, "that their contribution toward the building of a communist society must increase." They must adhere to a step-up in the volume of deliveries of farm products to the state at prices determined by the authorities to build up the investment resources of industry and agriculture.

Great significance is to be attached to perfecting methods of setting work norms and payment of labor on collective farms, the application of supplementary payments to labor, and other forms of material (not moral) incentives for economic results.

The economically weak and backward collective farms - fully a third of the total - are promised to be turned into rich farms by means of the Party's organizational work and measures of economic policy. This is a new development and either presages abrupt changes or more likely further exploitation of the backward farms as price incentives are ruled out.

On the private plots the old assurance is offered that when through a flowering of communal production the needs of collective farms are fully met by the kolkhoz' own resources, the private plots will become redundant and the peasantry will voluntarily reject them. The realization of this goal is visionary - as the vigor of private farming so convincingly demonstrates.

Only after the hozannah of abundance of farm products has been reached, the program concludes, will the rank-and-file collective farmers enjoy the privileges of pensions and leaves, communal eating in canteens, cultural amenities, and when the kolkhoz villages will become enlarged locations of an urban nature (agrogorods). All this mosaic of promises is dependent on the greater industry of the peasantry. The past history of collectivization has not given a favorable answer to a solution of the rural problem in socialist-communist societies in the making.