

THE SOVIET AGRICULTURE TODAY

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1. *The Trend of Agricultural Production.*

Agricultural production reached a peak in 1928 during the period from the revolution to World War II (1917—41) (Table 1). Since 1928 farming grew regularly to reach at a level of 1940, then suffered from World War II (1941—45). On the other hand, stockbreeding reached a peak in 1928, which was never surpassed by the World War II (Table 1).

Table 1 (A) *The development of agricultural production*

(1913=100 unit : %)

years	items	the total agricultural production	farming	stockbreeding
1913		100	100	100
1917		88	81	100
1920		67	64	72
1921		60	55	67
1926		118	114	127
1927		121	113	134
1928		124	117	137
1929		121	116	129
1930		117	126	100
1931		114	126	93
1932		107	125	75
1933		101	121	65
1934		106	125	72
1935		119	138	86
1936		109	118	96
1937		134	150	109
1938		120	120	120
1939		121	125	119
1940		141	155	114
1945		86	93	72
1946		95	100	87
1947		122	140	89
1948		136	158	96
1949		140	156	109
1950		140	151	118
1951		130	133	126
1952		142	148	129
1953		146	148	141
1954		153	153	153
1955		170	175	160
1956		193	201	177
1957		197	198	196
1958		218	227	205
1959		219	215	221
1960		224	216	219

Data: "National Economic Statistics of U.S.S.R. of the Year 1960" (1961), p. 362.

See pp. 882—883 of the above statistics to know the method of making the indexes, where the rise of rates of commercialisation make the indexes of each year comparatively higher.

Table 1 (B)

(1953=100)

years	items	the total agricultural production	farming	stockbreeding
1953		100	100	100
1954 ¹⁾		105	103	108
1955		117	118	113
1956		132	136	126
1957		136	134	139
1958		151	154	146
1959		151	146	157
1960		155	153	156

Data: "National Economic Statistics of U.S.S.R. of the Year 1960" (1961), p. 363.

Note: ¹⁾ Values figured out from Table A.

Table 2 Annual output of the staple stockbreeding products

years	items	meat and animal oils and fats ²⁾ (million tons)	pork in the said meat ²⁾ (million tons)	milk (million tons)	eggs (milliard pieces)	wool (thousand tons)
1909—13 (annual average) ¹⁾		4.8	1.7	28.8	11.2	192
1913 ¹⁾		5.0	1.8	29.4	11.9	192
1928 ¹⁾		4.9	1.6	31.0	10.8	182
1940		4.7	1.7	33.6	12.2	161
1945		2.6	0.6	26.4	4.9	111
1949—53 (annual average)		4.9	1.7	35.7	12.9	198
1953		5.8	2.3	36.5	16.1	235
1955		6.3	2.5	43.0	18.5	256
1956		6.6	2.7	49.1	19.5	261
1957		7.4	3.3	54.7	22.3	289
1958		7.7	3.3	58.7	23.0	322
1954—58 (annual average)		6.9	2.9	48.7	20.1	272
1959		8.9	3.6	61.7	25.6	355
1960		8.7	3.3	61.7	27.4	357
1961		8.8	...	62.5	29.0	...
1965 (planned production)		16	...	100—105	37	548

Data: 1) "Statistics of Agriculture" (1960), pp. 26—27, p. 198.

2) "National Economic Statistics of U.S.S.R. of the Year 1960" (1961), p. 462.

3) "The carried out results of 1961's plan for developing national economy".

Note: ¹⁾ Figured out by the present territory. ²⁾ Buchered weights.

Tables 3 Annual outputs of the staple agricultural products

years	grain		wheat in the said grain		corn in the said grain million tons	sugar beet/raw cotton million tons	flax million tons	sunflowers million tons	potatoes million tons	vegetables million tons	fruits million tons	grapes million tons
	million tons	million tons	million tons	million tons								
1909—13 ¹⁾ (annual average)	4.4	72.5	1.3	21.0	...	10.1	0.68	316	0.75 ²⁾	30.6	...	0.59 ²⁾
1913 ¹⁾	5.3	86.0	1.6	26.3	2.1	11.3	0.74	401	0.75	31.9	...	0.59
1940	5.8	95.5	1.9	31.7	5.1	18.0	2.24	349	2.64	75.9	2.71	1.13
1945	2.9	47.3	0.8	13.4	...	5.5	1.16	150	0.84	58.3	1.88	0.52
1949—53 (annual average)	4.9	80.9	2.1	34.5	5.3	21.1	3.49	227	2.04	75.7	1.23	0.84
1953	5.0	82.5	2.5	41.3	3.7	23.2	3.85	162	2.63	72.6	2.16	1.04
1954	5.2	85.6	2.6	42.4	3.7	19.8	4.20	218	1.91	75.0	...	...
1955	6.5	106.8	2.9	47.3	14.7	31.0	3.88	381	3.80	71.8	...	1.17
1956	7.8	127.6	4.1	67.4	12.5	32.5	4.33	521	3.95	96.0	2.22	1.22
1957	6.4	105.0	3.5	58.1	7.0	39.7	4.21	440	2.80	87.8	3.55	1.40
1958	8.6	141.2	4.7	76.6	16.7	54.4	4.34	438	4.63	86.5	3.43	1.73
1954—58 (annual average)	6.9	113.2	3.6	58.3	10.9	35.5	4.19	400	3.42	83.4	2.83	1.34
1959	7.7	125.9	4.2	69.1	12.0	43.9	4.64	364	3.02	86.6	3.46	1.73
1960	8.2	134.4	3.9	64.3	18.7	57.7	4.30	425	3.97	84.4	...	1.87
1961	8.4	137.3	4.0	65.5	24.1	...	4.50	...	4.7	...	...	...
1965 (planned products)	10—11	164—180	...	...	...	76—84	5.7—6.1	580	...	147	7	6.9

Data: 1) "Statistics of Agriculture" (1960), pp. 26—27, p. 198.

2) "National Economic Statistics of U.S.S.R. of the Year 1960" (1961), p. 412.

3) "The carried out results of 1961's plan for developing national economy".

4) "National Economic Statistics of U.S.S.R. of the Year 1958" (1959), pp. 418—419.

Note: 1) Figured out by the present territory. 2) numbers in 1913.

After World War II, farming rose above the level of 1940 in 1948 and stockbreeding in 1950. The whole agricultural production rose above the level of 1940 in 1949 (Table 1).

After the war, agricultural production which had been regularly restored was stagnant till 1952.

The year 1953 made an epoch in the history of agricultural policies and the process of agricultural production of the Soviet Union, for Stalin died in March of the year. This can be confirmed by the new agricultural policies hammered out one after another since 1953 and the growth of agricultural production since the year (Table 1—3). The Soviet agricultural production made rapid growth during the years 1953—1958.

2. Agricultural Policies Since 1953.

Main points on agricultural policies of the Soviet Government from 1953 to 1958 are as follows:¹

Table 4 *The investments in agriculture*

(comparative price unit: a hundred millions rouble)

periods	items	the national investment	the kol-khoz investment	the total investments in agriculture		the ratio of investment in agriculture in the ratio in the total investment in national economy
				the sum total	average per year	
1918—28 ¹⁾		1.0	0.2	1.2	0.12	7
The first Five-Year Program's period (1929—32) ²⁾		9.0	3.0	12.0	2.8	17
The second Five-Year Program's period (1933—37)		12.0	9.8	21.8	4.4	13
The third Five-Year Program's period (1938—1941. 6)		7.9	13.0	20.9	6.0	13
The war for great fatherland (1941. 7. 1—1946. 1. 1)		3.0	14.8	17.8	4.0	11
The fourth Five-Year Program's period (1946—50)		25.1	31.2	56.3	11.2	15
The fifth Five-Year Program's period (1951—55)		64.0	66.7	130.7	26.1	18
	1951 in the above period	10.2	9.1	19.3		16
	1952	9.7	10.6	20.3		15
	1953	8.8	11.7	20.5		15
	1954	15.4	14.3	29.7		18
	1955	19.9	21.0	40.9		22
1956		21.2	22.4	43.6		20
1957		23.4	21.8	45.2		19
1958		22.8	28.2 ³⁾	51.0		19
The seven years from 1952 to 1958		121.2	130.0	251.2	35.9	19
The five years from 1954 to 1958 in the above seven years		102.7	107.7	210.4	42.1	20
1959		19.8	35.0 ³⁾	54.8		18

Data: "Agricultural Statistics" (1960), p. 387.

All prices are ones after the denomination in 1961.

Note: ¹⁾ Exclude the 4th quarter of 1928. ²⁾ Include the 4th quarter of 1928. ³⁾ Exclude the sum that bought agricultural machines from M.T.S. (as it was included in the former national investment.)

¹ For want of space, I refer much more to the agricultural policies after 1959 than to those during the years 1953—58 which I have once referred to.

- 1) Aug. 8, 1953 A revision of agricultural taxes
- 2) Sept. 3, 1953 A general meeting's decision of the central committee of Communist Party, 'On the policies to make further development of the Soviet agriculture'
- 3) Mar. 2, 1954 A general meeting's decision of the central committee of Communist Party on a policy for cultivation of uncultivated lands and suspended lands
- 4) Mar. 11, 1955 A joint decision of the central committee of Communist Party and the Council of Ministers on the alteration of agricultural planning system
- 5) Mar. 10, 1956 A joint decision of the central committee of Communist Party and the Council of Ministers on a system of monthly prepayment to the members of kolkhoz
- 6) May 22, 1957 Khrushchev's manifestation at Leningrad on a plan of agricultural competition between the Soviet Union and the United States
- 7) Mar. 31, 1958 A decision on a re-formation of M.T.S. at the 1st session of the 5th Supreme Soviet
- 8) July 1, 1958 A decision of the Council of Ministers on the abolishment of compulsory delivery and a system of payment in kind to M.T.S. and a introduction of a system of general purchases of agricultural products by the government

These policies are itemized as follows: 1) An increase of government investment in agriculture. 2) Cultivation of uncultivated land and suspended land. 3) Revisions of agricultural taxes and prices of agricultural products and the procurement system. 4) Reformation of M.T.S. 5) Education for the staff and reinforcement of the activities of organizations for scientific researches on agriculture.

(1) An increase of government investment in agriculture. The first work the government did to promote agriculture was to increase government investment in it (Table 4). The total of government investment from 1918 to 1950 was 5 billion 800 millions rouble (shown at the price after the denomination in 1961; prices recorded hereafter are those of after the denomination), while 6 billion 400 millions rouble was invested for only five years of the 5th five-year program. Nearly 2 billion rouble per year was invested in agriculture during the years of 1918—50. This means the investment of these three years is equal to that of 33 years from 1918 to 1950. These figures show since 1953 the investment in agriculture has increased rapidly. Since then the government has begun to invest much money in agriculture which it had left undone.

(2) Cultivation of uncultivated land and suspended land. A general meeting of the central committee in March, 1954 decided a policy to cultivate uncultivated land and suspended land in Kazakhstan, Siberia, the districts along the Volga, Ural and other steppe areas in the eastern part to increase the acreage of agricultural land. Since then Communist Party and the government have put much stress on the policy. According to a decision of a general meeting of the central committee on Mar. 9, 1962, 42 millions hectare of uncultivated land and suspended land had been cultivated till that time (Table 5). Khrushchev says in his report covering the activities of the central committee to the 22nd party congress, "More than 3000 new sovkhoz have been made in the 7 years (from 1954 to 1961) and the number of sovkhoz has risen to nearly 8000 now in all." Most of these sovkhoz seem to

Table 5 *The increase of sowing area*
(unit: a million ha)

years	sowing area	index number shown as 1953=100
1913	118.2	
1940	150.4	
1945	113.8	
1953	157.2	100
1955	185.8	118
1958	195.6	124
1959	196.3	125
1960	203.0	129
1961	204.6	130

- Data: 1) "Agricultural Statistics" (1960), p. 292.
 2) "National Economic Statistics of U. S. S. R. of the Year 1960", (1961), p. 389.
 3) 'The carried out results of the 1960's plan for developing national economy of U.S.S.R.' announced by the Central Statistic Bureau "Statistic Reports", p. 7 the Feb. 1962 issue. 47 millions 400 thousand hectare is left, if you subtract the sowing area in 1953 from that in 1961.

cultural taxes, prices of agricultural products, repeal of a system of compulsory delivery of kolkhoz and a payment system in kind to M.T.S. and promoted to increase agricultural products. These policies to increase production from circulation side finished once at least by 1958 and reached to the limit.

(4) Re-formation of M.T.S. I have explained on another occasion of the process and causes of reformation of M.T.S.², so I should like omit them here. Only one point I hope to stress here is that the re-formation of M.T.S. is a prelude of the coming policies for increase of agricultural production where the state policies are directed to the sphere of production than of circulation. In other words, the re-formation is sales of machines belonging to M.T.S. to kolkhoz, which result in an enforcement of kolkhoz systems as units of production.

In the second place, the subject of function, which M.T.S. carried out—to lead the production of kolkhoz and to be the center of supplying agricultural products, that is, two functions to manage and lead production and to supply agricultural products—disappeared and a new function which took its place was not established by 1962. I will give a full account of it, as this seems to be causes of the stagnation of the Soviet agriculture since 1959.

The decision of the central committee in March, 1962 on the functions to lead the production of kolkhoz says, "Far from releasing responsibility, the re-formation of M.T.S. cast a heavy responsibility on the organization of kolkhoz. At a certain stage M.T.S. acted

² "Records of the 22nd Party Congress of U.S.S.R." Shinnihon Shuppansha, 1962, p. 90.

³ cf. Kazuo Nonomura, "The Structure of Soviet Economy", Aoki Shoten, 1959, pp. 328—329. Kazuo Nonomura, "The Economic Power of the Soviet Union", Iwanami Shoten, 1961, pp. 91—95.

have been newly organized as a result of cultivation.² The report says yields of the new cultivated lands as of the year of 1961 amount to 40% of the whole grain purchased by the government. We may consider the policy of cultivation which was proceeded with the order of the day in spite of the objection of the so-called 'anti-party group' has succeeded in expanding the whole agricultural production by enlarging agricultural land.

(3) Revisions of agricultural taxes, prices of agricultural products and the procurement system. Since 1953, the government arose materialistic concern of kolkhoz farmers by some reformations in circulating side such as the reduction of agri-

for an organizer for the production of kolkhoz to some extent..."⁴ After the abolishment of M.T.S., the subject of function as an organizer to kolkhoz disappeared, which caused some stagnation of agricultural production with no proper leading organization to sovkhoz when more than 3000 big sovkhoz were being built in the country with the cultivation of virgin soils.

M.T.S. was an important way and means to supply agricultural products by the government through payments in kind to M.T.S. by kolkhoz (Table 6). To supply agricultural products by the government will envisage a serious problem, if this way is taken away and no necessary measures are taken.

Tables 6 *The every routs of national procurement for grain*

(unit : %)

routs of procurement	1953	1956
obligatory payment	25.9	17.2
payment in kind to M.T.S.	58.2	47.2
state purchase	5.2	23.9
other accepting	10.7	11.7

Data: И.С. Кувшинов, М.Н. Гумеров, Я.А. Ловков, «Экономика социалистического сельского хозяйства», Сельхозгиз, Москва, 1957, стр. 386.

(5) Education for the staff and reinforcement of the activities of organizations for scientific researches on agriculture. There are few leading staffs in agriculture and organizations for scientific researches on agriculture are not sufficiently organized yet and they are centralized to main towns and not in agricultural spots. Since 1953, the government often took necessary measures to improve these, which are directly connected the re-formation of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1961. I will refer to this lately.

3. *Agricultural Policies Since 1959.*

The growth rate of the Soviet agriculture has become slow or has gone back since 1959.

Tendencies appeared in the agricultural production since 1959 are detailed as follows: (1) Stagnant tendencies of agricultural production and no fulfilment of plans (Table 7). (2) A notable stagnant tendency of grain production in comparison with other groups of production. (3) Unattainment of economic competition between the United States and the

Table 7 *Plans and results of the agricultural products*

items	(A) the estimates of the seven-year program	(B) real products	$\frac{B}{A}$ (%)
grain (a milliard pood)	9.4	8.4	89.4
meat (butchered weights) (a million tons)	11.8	8.8	74.6
milk (a million tons)	78.4	62.5	79.7

Data: Kruschev's speech to the general meeting of the Central Committee in Mar. 1962 ("Pravda" Mar. 6, 1962).

⁴ The Mar. 11, 1962 issue of "Pravda".

Table 8 *The comparison between the stockbreeding outputs of U.S.A. and one of U.S.S.R.*

years	meat and animal fat (butchered weights)			milk			butter			butter (outputs in manufactory)		
	(A) U.S.S.R.	(B) U.S.A.	$\frac{A}{B}$ (%)	(A) U.S.S.R.	(B) U.S.A.	$\frac{A}{B}$ (%)	(A) U.S.S.R.	(B) U.S.A.	$\frac{A}{B}$ (%)	(A) U.S.S.R.	(B) U.S.A.	$\frac{A}{B}$ (%)
1953	5822	15000	38.8	36475	54667	66.7	497	729	68.2	382	640	59.7
1957	7374	16700	44.2	54750	57108	95.9	754	703	107.3	635	641	99.1
1958	7675	16320	47.0	58770	56807	103.5	778	685	113.6	659	629	104.8
1959	8900	17400	51.1	62000	56400	109.6	845	653	129.4	722	603	119.7
1960	8700	17800	48.9	61700	55800	110.6	848	671	126.4	737	630	117.0

Data: 1) "National Economic Statistics of U.S.S.R. of the Year 1958", (1959), p. 469.
 2) "National Economic Statistics of U.S.S.R. of the Year 1959", (1960), p. 111.
 3) "National Economic Statistics of U.S.S.R. of the Year 1960", (1961), p. 192.

Table 9 *The comparison between the stockbreeding outputs per head of the population of U.S.A. and one of U.S.S.R.*

years	meat and animal fat (butchered weights)			milk			butter			butter (outputs in manufactory)		
	(A) U.S.A.	(B) U.S.S.R.	$\frac{A}{B}$ (%)	(A) U.S.A.	(B) U.S.S.R.	$\frac{A}{B}$ (%)	(A) U.S.A.	(B) U.S.S.R.	$\frac{A}{B}$ (%)	(A) U.S.A.	(B) U.S.S.R.	$\frac{A}{B}$ (%)
1937	18	71	25.1	157	368	42.7	1.8	7.4	24.3			
1950	27	90	29.8	195	351	55.6	2.6	4.9	53.1			
1953	31	94	32.4	192	342	56.1	2.6	4.6	56.5	2.0	4.0	50.0
1955	32	98	32.7	219	338	64.8	2.9	4.3	67.4	2.4	3.8	63.2
1956	32	102	29.9	245	343	71.4	3.4	4.2	81.0	2.8	3.8	73.7
1957	36	97	37.1	269	330	81.5	3.7	4.1	90.2	3.1	3.7	83.8
1958	37	94	39.4	284	321	88.5	3.8	3.9	97.4	3.2	3.6	88.9
1959	42	98	42.9	293	313	93.6	4.0	3.7	108.1	3.4	3.4	100.0
1960	41	99	41.4	288	310	92.9	4.0	3.7	108.1	3.4	3.5	97.1

Table 10 *The demand quantity of products of agriculture and stockbreeding per head of the population*

(unit : kg)

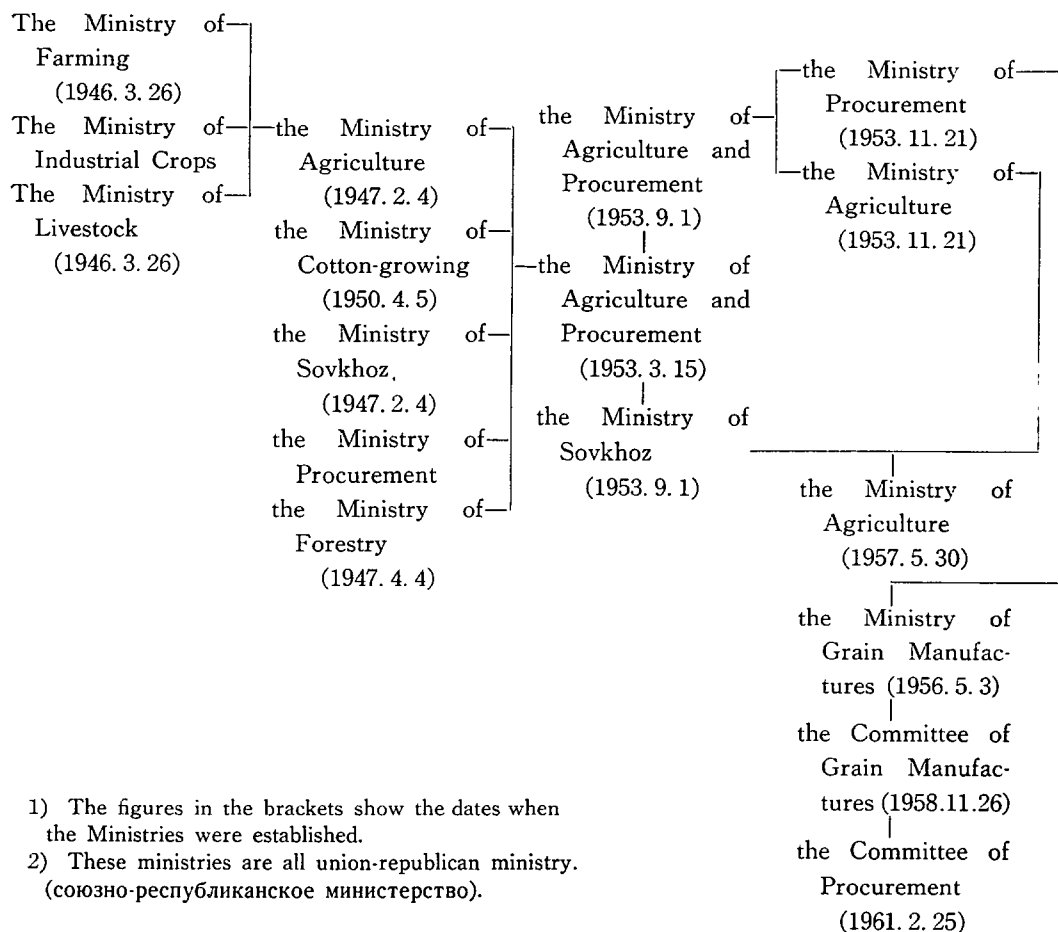
years	meat and meat manufactures	milk and milk manufactures	eggs (pieces)	sugar
1962	42	266	127	34
1963	58	343	135	38
1964	61	365	142	41
1965	64	386	150	44
1970	90—100	467	260	44
1980	90—100	467	365	44

Data: Khrushchev's speech to the general meeting of the Central Committee in Mar. 1962
 "Pravda" Mar. 6, 1962.

Table 11 *Necessary outputs of products of agriculture and stockbreeding*

years	grain	meat	milk
	a milliard pud	(butchered weight) a million tons	a million tons
1961 (actual outputs)	8.4	8.8	62.5
1962	10.0	12.9	85
1963	10.5	14.0	92
1964	11.0	15.0	99
1965	11.7	16.1	105
1970	14.0	25.0	135
1980	18—19	30—32	170—180

Data: the same as the data in Table 10.

Picture 1 *The Changes of the Central Organization of the Agricultural Control*

Soviet Union in the stockbreeding group (Tables 8—9). Notable tendency of unbalance of demand and supply for stockbreeding (Tables 7, 10—11).

An improved demand for agricultural products and stockbreeding is looked for. Two reasons are thought of for the increasement.—(1) Increase of population, especially that of cities. (2) Rise of real wages. Demands and necessary supplies of agricultural products and stockbreeding in near future are shown at Tables 10—11. So the Soviet Government fears lest necessary yields should be supplied hereafter, taking the present stage of the Soviet agriculture into consideration.

The Soviet Government held a general meeting of the central committee three times, July 1959, Jan. 1961, and March 1962, to meet these tendencies of agricultural production. I think the agricultural policy of the Soviet Government has entered upon a new stage since a general meeting in Jan. 1961, much different in quality that of since 1953. I will summarize the special features and problems of the new stage of the Soviet agricultural policy since 1961.⁵

I. Reorganization of the Agricultural Administration. Here I will deal with changes of the central organization of agricultural administration since Mar. 15, 1946, retroacting soon after the abolishment of People's Commissariat (Народный Комиссариат) and Council of People's Commissars (Совет Народных Комиссаров СССР) and the establishment of Ministries (or the Cabinet) and the Council of Ministers (Совет Министров) (cf. Picture 1).⁶

In a word, before the general meeting of Jan. 1961, the central administration of agriculture was the dual system of the Soviet Ministry of Agriculture and the Committee for Grain Manufactures of Council of People's Commissars.

As a result of the general meeting held Jan. 1961, a reorganization was carried out in Feb. 1961. The gist is as follows.

(1) Reorganization of the Soviet Ministry of Agriculture. Functions and powers of the Soviet Ministry of Agriculture which was an administrative and planning organization covering the whole agriculture of the Soviet Union were transferred into each Republic partly and the Soviet Gos Plan partly. The Soviet Ministry of Agriculture has changed from the central administrative organ covering the whole Soviet Union into an organ which leads agricultural experimental farms and has control of schools for agricultural specialist.

(2) The Committee of Grain Manufactures was reorganized into the Committee of Procurement. Contracting purchase system was adopted to purchase agricultural products. The Department of National Inspection for Purchases (государственная инспекция по закупкам) was established to lead and inspect purchases of agricultural products by the Committee of Procurement. The person in charge of the Department is the chief of national inspectors (главный государственный инспектор) who take charge of purchases.

(3) The establishment of Союзсельхозтехника. Союзсельхозтехника (All Soviet Agricultural Machines Supplying Combination) was set up as an organized center to sell agricultural machines, parts, mineral manure and other raw materials and to repair and utilize

⁵ No reference is made here on the general meeting of the Central committee in June 1959.

⁶ Here I explained only of the central organizations in the government such as the department of kolkhoz or procurement and not of those of each republic.

It is impossible to take account for them commonly. For it is usual for each republic to have the departments in the government which was belonging to both the government and the republic, but some republics has not them or the old departments remain in some republics after abolishment of central departments in the government.

machines under the Council of Ministers.

The gist of the reorganization of agricultural administration in March 1962 is as follows.

(1) New Organizations

(a) The Office of Production Control (территориальные производственные колхозно-совхозные или совхозно-колхозные управления Kolkhoz=Sovkhoz or Sovkhoz=Kolkhoz Production Control Office by Regional Groups). This is established in each province (область), each territory (край) and each republic. All-union office is not established. In principle, it is an organ covering several districts and leads and administrates kolkhoz and sovkhov within the districts. At a district where kolkhoz is powerful, it is called Kolkhoz=Sovkhoz Production Control Office, and at a district where sovkhov is powerful, it is called Sovkhoz=Kolkhoz Production Control Office. The leading office of these organs is called Soviet Production Control Office (Совет производственного управления).

The members of the Production Control Office consist of the head of the Production Control Office (the chairman), the party organizers of the central committee, the territorial committees and provincial committees of the Communist Party of the republics composing the Soviet Union, union organizers of the central committee, territorial committee, and provincial committees of the Young Communists' Unions of republics, the chairmans of kolkhoz and sovkhov, the first secretaries of territorial executive committees of Young Communist's Union and leaders of Сельхозтехника.

The work of the Production Control Office is to lead production and supplying activities of kolkhoz under its control, thinking much of the independency of kolkhoz.

(b) Agricultural Committees (комитеты по сельскому хозяйству). These are leading organs of agriculture established in provinces, territories, self-governing republics, republics consisting of the Union, and the whole Soviet Union.

Each agricultural committee of provinces, territories, and self-governing republics consist of the first secretaries (chairmans) of committees of provinces and committees of territories of the party, the first vice-presidents who are in charge of agriculture of the executive committees of and provinces executive committees of, the first vice-premier taking in charge of agriculture of the Council of Ministers of self-governing republics, the Minister of Agriculture and Procurement, agricultural directors of the committees of the provinces and committees of territories of the Communist Party, the chairman of сельхозтехника and the heads of the examination rooms of the provinces and territories and republics.

The agricultural committees of republics consist of the first vice-premiers taking in charge of agricultural problems of Council of Ministers of, the republics agricultural divisions of the central committee of the Communist Party of the republics, the chairman of сельхозтехника, the Minister of Agriculture, and agricultural directors of Gos Plan of the republics.

The whole Soviet Committee of Agriculture consists of vice-premier taking in charge of agriculture of Council of Ministers (the chairman of the agricultural committee), the chairman of the national Committee of Procurement Council of Ministers, the chairman of Союзсельхозтехника, the vice-president of Gos Plan of the Soviet Union, and the vice-president of the Gos Econom. Soviet.

(c) The Ministries of Production and Procurement of Agricultural Products of the republics composing the Federation the self-governing republics (министерства производств и заготовок сельскохозяйственных продуктов) and offices of control of production and procurement of agricultural products of provinces and territories (управления производства и заготовок

сельскохозяйственных продуктов). These organs were established in place of the Ministries of Procurement, the Bureaus of the Whole Sovkhoz Control, the Ministries of Sovkhoz of republics and the Ministries of Agriculture, the Bureaus of Procurement, the Ministries of Sovkhoz and the Bureaus of Sovkhoz Control of self-governing and the Divisions of Agricultural Control, Divisions of Procurement and Sovkhoz Trust. The work of the above organs is to procure agricultural products.

The first vice-premier of the congress of the Cabinet ministers of a republic, the first vice-premier of a self-governing republic and the first secretary of the executive committee of a region and a state become the head of each organ. These organs fall under the jurisdiction of the National Procurement Committee of the Congress of the Soviet Cabinet ministers and seem to take charge of the procurement of agricultural products.

(2) Organs continuing as before

(a) the Ministry of Agriculture. The Ministry of Agriculture of the Soviet Union and the Ministries of Agriculture of the republics continue to exist. The Ministries of Agriculture of self-governing republics are abolished. (b) Сельхозтехника Союзсельхозтехника and others continue as before. (c) The National Procurement Committee of the Congress of the Soviet Cabinet Ministers. This committee continues but other procurement organs in the republics of composing the Union and others were abolished as mentioned before. The new procurement organs in the republics and others seem to be lower organs of the Committee.

(3) Organs to be abolished.

(a) The Division of National Purchase Inspection. The organs covering the whole Soviet Union and republics continue, while an inspection division of each region is abolished and newly set up a director=an inspector instead of it in the division of agricultural production control.

In short, the new organization of agriculture administration and control established as a result of the general meeting in March is as follows. (1) The system of agriculture control is made up of the division of production control of a republic—the division of production control of a region or a state. They come under the control of each republic. (2) The system of agricultural guidance is a made up of the Agricultural Committee of the Soviet Union—the agricultural committee of a republic—the agricultural committee of a self-governing republic—the agricultural committee of a region or a state. (3) The system of technical guidance of agriculture is made up of the Ministry of Agriculture of the Soviet Union—the Ministry of Agriculture of a republic, under which fall each institute of agriculture and so on. (4) The procurement organization of agricultural products is made up of the National Procurement Committee of the Congress of the Soviet Cabinet ministers—the ministry of production and procurement of a republic—a division of production procurement control of a region or a state. (5) The inspect organization of procurement of agricultural products is made up of the inspect division of national purchase of the Soviet Union—the inspect division of national purchase of a republic—inspectors=organizers in the division of agricultural production control of a region or a state. (6) The distribution organization of agricultural machines is each organ of Союзсельхозтехника.

The following characteristics can be seen from the above reformation of control organization of agriculture. (1) The new reformation of agricultural control organization is a reorganization of agricultural control organization to fill a blank of M. T. S. which was abolished in 1958. It is important significance to be compared with the reorganization of

industrial control in 1957. (2) Its purpose is to bring the organization of agricultural control close to the actual farming spots to make them realistic and functional as was said in the joint decision of the Central Committee of the Communists and the Government on Mar. 22, 1962. (3) Nevertheless the new reformation seems to be temporary steps. Mutual relations between the organ of each system and each class is ambiguous. Further reformations will be repeated hereafter.

II. *A Reformation of the Farming System.* The general meeting in March 1962 decided to repeal the grass rotation system (травопольная система) which is a non-intensive agriculture and adopt the intertilled system (пропашная система) which is an intensive agriculture to cultivate more crops with a good harvest.

The decision says, "The general meeting of the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party criticizes the grass rotation system as a system not based on science and useless for socialistic agriculture." The system which was formally criticized by the Party was originated in the 1920's by W.R. Williams (Василий Робертович Вильямс), a Soviet scholar in soil.

The characteristics of this system are as follows: (1) To cultivate a mixture of perennial grass of the rice family and the bean family. Rotation is made up of 7-9 fields. (2) To cultivate deeply (more than 20 cm). (3) To use organic manure and a compost and to control the use of chemical fertilizer. (4) To make woodland to prevent суховей' (arid wind).

In a word, this is an economical system of agriculture. It was suitable for the Soviet Union in the 1930's when they had a tendency not to invest heavily in agriculture. It began to spread early in the 1930's and Stalin expressed his approval to it at the 19th party convention held in Jan. 1934. In his general report of the central committee to the convention, he says, "One of the present problems on agriculture is to introduce a proper rotation system to every branch of agriculture and enlarge complete suspended land..."⁷ After his speech, it had been adopted for thirty years as an authorized agricultural system in the Soviet Union uniformly all over the country. Williams was conferred the Order of Lenin in 1934.

Also in postwar the system was widely put into practice. At the general meeting of the central committee on Feb. 1947, it was widely adopted again.⁸ That the reconstruction plan of nature began in 1948, Khrushchev says, is based on the system which advocates to make woodland to prevent суховей'.⁹

There was not without objection to the system during the past thirty years. According to Khrushchev, Mendeleev (Д. И. Менделеев), Timiryazev (К. А. Тимирязев), Pryanishnikov (Дмитрий Николаевич Прянишников) etc. advocated the adoption of an intensive agriculture by mechanization and introduction of chemicals, universal use of mineral and organic manure, and cropping vegetables of the bean family. However, after it had once been adopted as 'a general system all over the country' (Khrushchev) at the command of Stalin, some of these scholars who objected to Williams were called enemies to the people and the objections came to an end.

It was in 1950, Khrushchev says, that protest against the Williams' system appeared again in Stalin's lifetime. At that time it was still limited only several defects of the system were

⁷ "The Complete Works of Stalin" vol. 13, p. 328.

⁸ "Collected Directions of Economic Problems" vol. 3, p. 172.

⁹ "Pravda" Mar. 6, 1962 issue.

pointed out and criticism on the system itself did not appear yet.

The general meeting of the central committee in Mar. 1954 said a reduction in cropping area of grain, especially that for feed was due to equal application of the system in disregard of regional peculiarities of the country¹⁰ and called the Gos Plan, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Sovkhoz to account. However it is not the grass rotation system itself but its equal application that was criticized in 1954.

Then what defects has the system and by what reason is it forced to be abolished?

The defect of the system is grass rotation results in uneconomical use of land. According to Khrushchev's speech at the general meeting in March, 1962, land cropped perennial and annual grass was 36 million 100 thousand hectare, land cropped oats 11 million 500 thousand hectare, and complete suspended land 16 million 100 thousand hectare. The total 63 million 700 hectare was, he says, 29% of the whole cultivated land. He gives Leningrad 53%, Moskva 90% and Novgorod 39% as examples of region where the rates of grazing land to the whole cultivated land is high.

According to his illustration, feed got from 52 million 200 thousand hectare, the total of grazing land and suspended land is 25 million ton. He says, if they take out 11 million hectare as grazing land out of this 52 million hectare and cultivated the remained agricultural land to raise intertilled crop for feed of good yield, for instance, 18 million hectare for corn, 9 million hectare for peas, 7 million hectare for sugar beets and 7 million hectare for feed of the bean family, at least 2 billion and 20 million of feed can be gained.

Khrushchev's opinion is that 8.8 times of feed can be got from the same area by changing the composition of cropping area. And he contends the intertilled rotation system must be adopted instead of the grass rotation system to change the composition.

Then how can we estimate the change of the agricultural systems? First it means since 1962 they decided to abandon the Williams' system which had been taken as an emergency measure on account of the low standard of the Soviet national economy in the 1930's, or the low possibility of supplement manure and agricultural machines. It had been keenly felt for years that the system had got to the bounds. I think a vigorous demand for agricultural and stockbreeding products of the Soviet people wanted to break through the bounds of the old agricultural system. The agricultural reformation touched the core of agricultural 'production' at last.

Secondly, however, the success of the change of systems owes to the sure possibility of the supply of chemical manure and agricultural machines. I may say the development of the Soviet manure and agricultural machine industries made possible the change. Without the prospective support from the industrial side, the change is impossible, or will reduce the agricultural production than before.

III. *The Meaning of These Policies.* In short it is as follows: On and after 1961 the Soviet agricultural policies have given priority to the production than to the circulation to break the stagnation of agricultural production since 1959. The reformation of agricultural production control and the reformation of farming system are, as I mentioned before, very drastic policies towards production. It is obvious that these two reformations were carried out as a matter of course.

In this point, I can not agree with the Khrushchev's thought, 'Kill or Cure gamble.'¹¹

¹⁰ "Collected Directions of Economic Problems" vol. 4, p. 166.

¹¹ Rinjirō Harako, 'Khrushchev's Gamble' "Sekai Shūhō" Mar. 27, 1962 issue, p. 15.

It is not a matter of a statesman's own choice which to prefer but is an inevitable one in the process of the development of the Soviet agricultural policies.

This is a reformation based on the result of the Soviet agricultural policies since 1953, succeeded to it and to surpass it. In this sense I oppose the opinion that 'reformations up to now are hardly effective'.¹² Khrushchev rejected this way of thinking in his last speech of Mar. 9, 1961 to answer the foreign criticism saying that there was no agricultural crisis in the Soviet Union then and it was only a correction of the backwardness of the Soviet agriculture.¹³ Surely there are many difficulties in the future of the development of the Soviet agriculture. Russia is not blessed with natural circumstances. There is a hard work to remove bad results of the policies of disregard for agriculture in Stalin's age. Consequently of a large-scale mechanized agricultural management merit of kolkhoz system which is the proper has never been made the use fully until now. And the task of economic competition in agriculture between the Soviet Union and the United States had never been carried out by 1961. However it is wrong to think that the Soviet agriculture will keep stagnant hereafter and the agricultural and stockbreeding products will be lacking more and more in the country to be re-examined the kolkhoz system.

¹² *ibid.* p. 20.

¹³ "Pravda" Mar. 11, 1962 issue: