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BY
LEONARD E. HUBBARD

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

RUSSIA is still an agricultural country in spite of the enormous industrial achievements of the Bolsheviks. Possibly the prosperity of the nation is not so dependent on the harvest as it was in pre-War times, but good and bad harvests still make a difference to the urban and industrial population as well as to the agricultural population. As the production of industrial consumers' goods expands, the importance of the rural market will increase, and therefore it is to the interest of the whole people that the productive capacity and the purchasing power of the agricultural population should increase *pari passu* with the expansion of industry. The old Bolsheviks, although they concerned themselves primarily with emancipation of the industrial proletariat, realised that the unscientific and primitive methods of the independent peasant farmer were incompatible with a prosperous socialist State; both the industrial workers and the agricultural workers must advance together. The general lines on which industry should be organised in the socialist State have now been fixed. In agriculture the Collective Farm has been adopted as the standard form of farm enterprise, but so far it has not proved an unqualified success. The fact that even now, ten years after the decision to base agriculture on the collective farm, it is necessary to legislate against excessive private

enterprise among the collectivised peasants * shows that the principle of collectivisation has not met with the entire approval of the peasants. In the following pages I have tried to set out as impartially and objectively as possible the advantages and disadvantages of collectivisation from the peasants' point of view. It seems probable that further amendments will have to be made in the system before its final form is fixed.

* See Appendix III.

L. E. H.

June 1939.

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APPENDIX I

SURPLUS LABOUR IN KOLHOZY

THE December 1938 number of *Planned Economy*, not issued until Februray 1939, and received after the foregoing chapters had been completed, contained an article " Concerning the Balance of Labour in Kolhozy ", providing some interesting information and figures relating to the total number of active kolhozniki in the Province of Voronezh, the number of days' work performed on kolhoz farm land and on the kolhozniki's own garden allotments, etc.

Voronezh is a medium-sized province lying south-east of Moscow and mainly in the Black Earth zone. Over 50 per cent of the whole area is under crops and the agricultural population is moderately dense for European Russia. In fact, Voronezh Province is typical of the Central Russian grain-producing regions. In 1937 there were in the whole province 1,053,000 able-bodied kolhozniki of both sexes between the ages of 16 and 59, of whom 477,100 were men and 576,200 were women. According to *Socialist Construction* in 1935 there were 8927 kolhozy and 909,200 kolhoz dvory and the total area of the kolhoz land under crops was 4,904,000 hectares, of which 3,901,000 were under grain. Presuming that the number of kolhozy, etc., were approximately the same in 1937 as in 1935, the following facts emerge :

Average number of active workers per kolhoz	123·4
„ „ „ dvor .	1·16
Average number of hectares under crops to each worker	4·7
Average number of hectares under crops to each dvor	5·4

Allowing for public holidays, leave, sickness, etc., the theoretical maximum number of working days in the year

would be for men 281·5, and for women 278·5. The average number of labour-days earned in respect of a day's work was 1·36, in connection with which it is worth noting that the value of an average day's work during the period 1933 to 1937 increased as follows :

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Average labour-days earned per day's work . .	0·96	1·06	1·11	1·20	1·36

According to provincial statistics, presumably compiled from kolhoz returns, the total number of labour-days credited to all kolhozniki in 1937 came to 226,973,000, which at the ratio 1·36 : 1 represent 166,892,000 actual days' work. This, however, includes labour-days earned by the casual work of old people and youngsters under 16. The proportion of total work performed by the various age groups was :

	Per cent
Young persons between 12 and 15 .	4·82
Old people over 60 . . .	5·20
Able-bodied men between 16 and 59 .	58·00
Able-bodied women between 16 and 59	31·98

Thus the total number of days' work performed by able-bodied men was 96,797,000 and by able-bodied women 53,372,000, or 203 days on the average by each man and 93 days by each woman.

July is the month in which, on account of harvesting, farm work reaches its peak. In July 1937, 21,529,000 days' work were performed by all groups in the following proportions :

	Per cent	Days
Young persons . .	7·95	1,711,600
Aged persons . .	4·88	1,050,600
Able-bodied men . .	46·53	10,017,400
Able-bodied women .	40·64	8,749,400

Thus each man worked 20 days and each woman 15 days on an average out of a theoretical monthly maximum of 27 working days in peak periods.

The total time devoted by kolhozniki to cultivating their own allotments and attending to their own livestock amounts to 29·8 per cent of the time worked on the kolhoz farm. The women, rather naturally, do most of the work on the family allotment, spending 68·8 per cent of the number of hours worked on the kolhoz farm on their own little enterprise compared with only 8·2 per cent spent by the men. Obviously the kolhoznik cannot confine his attentions to his own allotment to those days when he is not working for the kolhoz; tending his livestock is a daily job, and even his cabbage-patch will receive attention after his day's work with his brigade is ended. So when trying to determine how much employment the private holdings provide, that is employment during normal working hours which might otherwise be idle, the so-to-speak overtime or spare-time work should be disregarded. Assuming that the kolhoznik spends the same amount of time on his allotment every day, only those days on which he is not employed by the kolhoz will count as employment, and since there are about 80 working days in the year when the men are not with their brigade and about 190 when the women are unemployed, the actual time worked on their own allotments that can legitimately be regarded as employment is for men 2·4 per cent and for women 46·9 per cent of the total time spent in working for the kolhoz. This line of reasoning does not seem particularly convincing, because one would naturally imagine that the kolhozniki spend a lot more time on their allotments on their free days than on days when they are working for the kolhoz. But anyway, the average time during normal working hours spent by the kolhoznik on his own affairs must be very largely a matter of guesswork, and one way of guessing is probably as good as another. In the whole province the total number of days' work provided by private allotments, according to the above premises, comes to 2,323,000 for men and 25,031,000 for women. The following tables show the total amount

of employment provided by kolhoz and private farming and the difference between this and the full theoretical labour capacity :

	Men	Women	Both Sexes
1. Total numbers of able-bodied workers of working age (16–59) in thousands . . .	477·1	576·2	1,053·3
2. Utilisation of available labour resources :			
(A) On kolhoz land, in thousands of man working days .	96,797	53,372	150,169
In thousands of full "labour years" * .	343·9	191·6	535·5
(B) On private allotments, in thousands of man working days . . .	2,323	25,031	27,354
In thousands of full "labour years" * .	8·3	89·9	98·2

* Taking a man's full working year as 281·5 days and a woman's at 278·5 days.

The amount of total theoretical labour resources not utilised would be :

	Men	Women	Both Sexes
Full labour resources in thousands of "men labour years" . .	477·1	576·2	1,053·3
Actual utilisation of labour in men-years :			
(A) On kolhoz land .	343·9	191·6	535·3
(B) On private allotments . . .	8·3	89·9	98·2
Total .	352·2	281·5	633·5
Unutilised labour :			
(A) In men-years .	124·9	294·7	419·8
(B) In percentage of full available resources . .	26·2	57·1	39·8

It must again be emphasised that the above is merely a theoretical calculation, and even if it corresponds approximately with the actual facts, does not mean that the men are idle for about a quarter or the women for about half of the working time. A certain number of men and perhaps a few of the women are always absent on employment elsewhere, a certain number of men and women are engaged in some sort of subsidiary enterprise or in handicraft and, of course, the women must spend a certain amount of their time on domestic affairs, making clothing, etc. According to the kolhoz returns in January and July 1937, the following proportions of total labour resources in adults of working age actually took part in kolhoz farm work :

	January	July
Men . .	68·2	84·8
Women .	21·2	68·2

Thus, even in the busiest month of the year about 15 per cent of the men and about 30 per cent of the women were surplus to labour requirements on the farms. Returns for July 1938 show that in that month about 148,500 kolhozniki (27,200 men and 121,300 women) took no part in any work connected with their kolhozy. The average for the whole year would, of course, be considerably higher. According to the annual returns for 1937, it appears that at the end of the year 195,500 persons in all were on *othod*, that is employed in industry or in some other way away from home, of whom about 148,200 were men. This figure would be above the average because it refers to wintertime. If during the whole of 1937 there were some 125,000 potential man-years labour unutilised on the kolhozy, there cannot have been much absolute idleness, because about an equivalent amount of labour found employment elsewhere. In regard to the women one would naturally expect to find a much higher degree of theoretical unemployment, because domestic occupations are not taken into consideration. It would seem that the women spent about half their working time in looking after their houses, their children, cooking for their families,

etc., which seems by no means an unreasonable allowance.

The above figures are further corroborated by returns of labour-days earned in 1937, from which it appears that 126,400 kolhozniki of working age of both sexes did not earn a single labour-day and that 285,300 earned between one and fifty labour-days only. It seems fairly reasonable to suppose that most of the 126,400 who never earned a single labour-day were men on othod, while the 285,300 who earned from one to fifty labour-days apiece were women who just did an odd day's work for the kolhoz in an emergency or when their domestic duties gave them the time. It is worth noting that these figures agree fairly closely with the theoretically calculated unutilised labour given in the above table.

Apparently there is not much absolute idleness on kolhoz farms, at any rate in Voronezh Province. But it is clear that the kolhoz population is, even in present circumstances, considerably in excess of actual labour requirements and it is almost certainly the case that a good deal of labour is often employed on more or less unproductive and uneconomic tasks because it costs nothing. Soviet newspapers and illustrated journals are very fond of publishing photographs of large parties of men and women enjoying an *al fresco* lunch in the harvest fields, with a row of combine harvesters in the background. What they do is a mystery, for the combine only requires two men, and the lorries to pick up and carry off the full sacks another two men apiece, while the number of people in the photograph would be enough to do all the cutting, binding and stooking by hand. The area of crop (4·6 hectares) per able-bodied kolhoznik is considerably larger in Voronezh than the average for the whole of the country, judging by the conclusions arrived at in Chapter XXII. But nearly 80 per cent of crops is grain which requires much less labour than, say, sugar beet. If labour and machines were employed to the best advantage and with proper efficient organisation it seems fairly safe to conclude that quite 50 per cent of the labour power of kolhozy would be surplus to absolute requirements.

A point of some interest brought out by the above is

that the number of adult workers per dvor is considerably lower than the number, about 1·74, quoted on page 218 and based on 1935 statistics. This lends some support, somewhat tenuous perhaps but still significant, to the supposition that kolhoz families are declining.

APPENDIX II

NORMAL TASKS AND REMUNERATION OF TRACTOR DRIVERS

A DECREE of the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Party, dated 8th March 1939, rescinded the rules for payment of tractor-drivers given at the end of Chapter XVII and also requires certain modifications to Chapter XVI.

The preamble of the new Decree, explaining that the previous system (see page 179) proved to be too complicated and confusing, substitutes the following:

The Commissariat of Agriculture determines and lays down the normal task per shift (*i.e.* the number of hectares to be ploughed, etc.) for tractor-drivers according to republics and provinces. The Council of People's Commissars of the republics and the provincial governments may increase or reduce these standards for individual M.T.S. by not more than 15 per cent, having consideration to the depth of ploughing, nature and condition of the soil, etc. The directors of M.T.S. may likewise increase or reduce up to 10 per cent daily tasks in their own MTS on account of the state of the soil, etc., in particular areas, provided that any such reductions do not involve decreasing the total task laid down for the whole M.T.S.

Remuneration of tractor-drivers for all forms of work, excluding harvesting and thrashing, is based on a flat rate of four labour-days per shift when working with wheeled tractors and five labour-days per shift when working with caterpillar tractors. Tractor-drivers who have been working for M.T.S. for not less than one year and who have qualified as first-class drivers receive a bonus of 10 per cent over the flat rate for all classes of work.

Progressive premiums are paid on the following scale: For exceeding the normal shift task by 25 per cent, 25 per cent over the basic rate: for exceeding the normal shift task by more than 25 per cent and less than 50 per cent, 1½ times the

basic rate: for exceeding the normal shift task by more than 50 per cent, twice the basic rate.

In order to prevent a tractor standing idle the director of the M.T.S. may in exceptional cases allow overtime to be worked, for which payment is made at 1½ times the standard rate.

In addition to the above, tractor drivers who exceed their total seasonal task, provided their work is satisfactory, receive for every excess hectare (in terms of ploughing soft soil) a bonus of half a labour-day if working with wheel tractors, and a fifth of a labour-day if working with caterpillar tractors.

Tractor-drivers do not receive any payment for unproductive work, such as driving their machines from the premises of the M.T.S. to the fields. Tractor-drivers who do not plough to the proper depth are fined an amount equal to 50 per cent of the value of the fuel consumed, and the brigadier in charge is fined 10 per cent of the cost of the fuel. Double rates are paid both to tractor-drivers, brigadiers and their assistants who work on the fields during the first few days after the official opening of the spring sowing season.

In addition to the guaranteed money payment of R.2·50 per shift payable monthly by the M.T.S., according to the Decree of the 13th January 1939 (see page 153), tractor-drivers, brigadiers and their assistants shall receive from the kolhozy on whose land they have worked a grain dividend per labour-day equal to that distributed to the kolhozniki, or three kilograms of grain, whichever is the greater; while should the money value of the kolhoz labour-day dividend exceed the guaranteed minimum of R.2·50, they shall be paid the difference by the kolhoz. Kolhozy engaged in producing fruit, vegetables, industrial raw material or other kinds of special crops which are unsuitable for distribution as dividends in kind, must pay, in lieu of the dividend in kind, a money dividend of not less than R.2·50 (that is, in addition to the guaranteed money payment of the same amount). The brigadier and assistant brigadier of a tractor brigade whose work is of high quality shall receive from the M.T.S. monthly premiums amounting to 75 kopeks and 50 kopeks respectively for every labour-day earned.

The tractor-brigadiers shall be credited with 30 per cent, and assistant brigadiers with 20 per cent more labour-days for the same time worked than the average number of labour-days earned by the tractor-drivers. Each tractor brigade shall consist of not less than four wheel tractors or not less than three tractors, if one or more is a caterpillar tractor.

Tractor-drivers who reduce their fuel consumption below the official allowance receive a premium amounting to 50 per cent and the brigadier 20 per cent of the cost of the fuel saved. On the other hand, the extravagant tractor-driver is fined 1½ times and his brigadier 10 per cent of the cost of the excess fuel consumed.

While tractors are working on its fields, the kolhoz shall provide the brigadiers and drivers with food (except bread) at prices no higher than those ruling in the local co-operative or State shops. The quantity of bread consumed shall be deducted from the grain dividend earned.

APPENDIX III

RESTRICTIONS ON PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

THE abuse of the kolhoznik's right to private property had become so widespread in the spring of 1939 that a special decree was issued on 27th May entitled, " Concerning Measures for protecting the Communal Land of Kolhozy from being squandered ".

This decree began by stating that gross breaches of the Communist Party's policy and the collective farm statutes were being committed, in that many kolhozniki had in practice reverted to individual enterprise, taking little or no part in the activities of their kolhozy. Not only were the private allotments larger than the collective farm statutes permitted, but were so interspersed among the kolhoz farmland that it was often hard to say which fields belonged to the kolhoz and which to the individual kolhozniki. Extra land was obtained " by the fictitious separation of the kolhoznik's family, so that the dvor fraudulently obtains allotments for each separate member ". (The statutes lay down the maximum amount of land in the private use of the dvor, that is the household, irrespective of the number of persons. A kolhoznik is entitled to a separate allotment only when he leaves the family dvor and sets up his own establishment. Presumably what occurred was that, on reaching the age of sixteen, the young kolhoznik ostensibly left the family home and set up on his own account so as to be in a position to claim his separate allotment. In fact, however, the allotment was added to the family property and worked by the family as a whole for its collective benefit.) Apparently, too, kolhozniki who for some reason could not and did not wish to work their allotments, were in the habit of renting them to other kolhozniki able to make use of extra land.

As a result of these illegal extensions of private property many kolhozniki found little time to work on the kolhoz; these sham kolhozniki earned perhaps twenty or thirty labour-days in the year and a few did not even trouble to earn any at all. At the same time they enjoyed all the advantages and privileges of membership of a kolhoz, the chief being the much lower rate of taxation compared with the authentic independent peasants. The alleged shortage of labour in kolhozy was entirely due to many kolhozniki taking practically no part in the collective work. If all kolhozniki worked as and when required there would be a large surplus of agricultural labour.

The decree specifically forbids the allotment of more than the maximum amount of land per dvor and directs that all private allotments shall be segregated from the kolhoz land by definite boundaries. Leasing of land by one kolhoznik to another is prohibited, and the leasing of hay-fields and woods by the kolhoz to kolhozniki or other private persons will result in the kolhoz president being expelled and charged with a breach of the law.

In some parts of the country, where individual peasant farms of the hutor type existed, the peasants when collectivised continued to live in their cottages in the middle of the kolhoz fields. Naturally their private allotments consisted of the land around the cottage. These kolhozniki are now to be congregated together in some convenient spot (presumably in the village if one already exists on the farm) and will receive new allotments where they are resettled. Apparently their old cottages and buildings will be pulled down and the sites incorporated into the kolhoz fields.

In future every able-bodied kolhoznik must earn a given minimum number of labour-days in the year: in the cotton regions, 100; in a number of specified provinces, including the northern half of European Russia and some parts of Siberia, 60; and in the rest of the country, including the Ukraine and the central and southern agricultural regions, 80 labour-days. It is not stated in the decree whether these minima are to apply to all able-bodied kolhozniki indifferently. While

a man would not be half employed if he earned no more than 80 labour-days, representing 60 to 80 days' actual work, his wife, especially if she had several children, would probably find it a tax on her time and energies to earn 80 labour-days ; which would probably mean 80 to 100 days' actual work, since the labour-day task is the same both for men and women, and in field work a woman would scarcely perform as much in a given time as a man. Kolhozniki who do not earn their minimum number of labour-days will be expelled.

The decree also deals with the remnants of the individual peasants, limiting the farm-land they may occupy exclusive of the homestead to the following :

In cotton regions when irrigated, $\frac{1}{10}$ hectare ($\frac{1}{4}$ acre).
In cotton regions when not irrigated, $\frac{1}{2}$ hectare ($1\frac{1}{4}$ acres).
In vegetable and sugar beet regions, $\frac{1}{2}$ hectare ($1\frac{1}{4}$ acres).
In all other regions up to 1 hectare ($2\frac{1}{2}$ acres).

In irrigated districts the land occupied by the peasant's cottage, outbuildings, etc., must not exceed $\frac{1}{10}$ hectare (a space roughly 30 × 40 yards), in all other places $\frac{1}{5}$ hectare. (This reduces the amount of land an independent may hold to about the same as the private allotments allowed to kolhozniki.)

In conclusion, the decree states that, as there are some regions where the population is so dense that there is insufficient land to give full employment to the kolhozniki and no more reserve land from which to give them private allotments, a resettlement of the surplus population in sparsely populated areas (mainly in Asiatic Russia) must be undertaken. For this purpose a special Resettlement Administration will be established under the Council of People's Commissars with corresponding organs in all republics and provinces.

GLOSSARY

Artel. An association for co-operative employment for wages, for handicraft production, or for farming a bit of land. The word is not strictly suitable to a collective farm, whose organisation differs in various respects from the typical artel of pre-Revolutionary date.

Barstchina. Compulsory labour performed by serfs for their masters, not only on the land but in handicrafts and even in factories.

Batrak. A drudge, hireling; a casual agricultural labourer.

Brigade. Term applied to a working party or gang under a brigadier, corresponding more or less to a foreman. Farm brigades may contain as many as a hundred workers and large brigades are subdivided into *svena* (*q.v.*).

Dessiatina. The Russian measure of land surface, equal approximately to 2·7 acres. Nowadays the metrical hectare is more commonly used.

Dvor. Court, yard, courtyard. Applied (1) to the Court of the Tsar, (2) to the courtyard of a house, or (3) to a peasant homestead, and, by implication, to the peasants living together in one homestead.

Dvorianin (pl. *dvoriane*). A courtier, nobleman, member of the aristocratic class.

Hutor. A freehold enclosed peasant farm on which the owner actually lived. See *otrub.*

Kholop. A slave as distinct from a serf. Originally enslaved prisoners of war or purchased slaves, usually employed in a nobleman's household, but sometimes on the land.

Kolhoz. From Kollektivnoe Hozyaistvo, collective economic enterprise: usually connotes a collective farm, but sometimes applied to other collective enterprises such as associations of fishers, fur hunters, etc.

Kolhoznik. Collectivised peasant; member of a collective farm.

Kopek. The hundredth part of a rouble (*q.v.*).

Krepostnoe pravo. Serf-right, the institution of serfdom.

Krestianin (pl. *krestiane*). Peasant, a member of the peasant class or order.

Kulak. Lit. a fist. Originally applied to a grasping and profiteering peasant lending money, goods or implements

to his poorer neighbours at high interest rates. By the Bolsheviks applied to any industrious and prosperous peasant.

Kustar (adj. *kustarny*). From *kust*, a bush. A handicraft or cottage worker working with primitive tools and appliances. Cf. English "hedge carpenter".

Lapot (pl. *lapti*). Bast sandals made by *kustari* usually from the inner bark of the birch and worn by the poorer peasants.

M.T.S. Machine-Tractor Station, a State organisation for supplying tractors, combine harvesters and some other types of power-driven machinery to the surrounding kolhozy. On an average a machine-tractor station serves some 25 or 30 kolhozy.

Mir. Lit. world, universe; also applied to the peasant commune.

Moujik. Lit. a little man. A term formerly applied to a man of the lower and labouring class, usually but not exclusively to peasants.

N.E.P. The New Economic Policy, under which a considerable amount of private commercial enterprise was tolerated; was inaugurated in March 1921 and lasted more or less until the First Five-Year Plan began in October 1928.

Nadiel. Lit. a share or portion. The land allotted to the peasant communes at the emancipation.

Narodnik. From *narod*, the people. A term applied to a liberal society of educated persons formed about 1870 to bring education and culture to the peasants. Owing to Government opposition the *narodniki* were compelled to work by stealth and subsequently developed revolutionary tendencies.

Oblzo. Oblastnoe Zemelnoe Otdelenie, Provincial Agricultural Department.

Obrok. (1) Rent in kind, usually a portion of the crop, paid by serfs for the use of their masters' land. (2) A money payment to his master by a serf for the right to engage in trade or work for a third party in return for wages.

Othozhy promysel. Lit. retired or separated industry. Term applied to work in industry undertaken by pre-War peasants and present-day kolhozniki to supplement their earnings from the land.

Otovarivanie. More or less a settlement by payment in kind. As applied to sales of produce by peasants to State enterprises the system differed from barter in that the buyer

did not actually supply goods in exchange for produce but paid for the latter in money, at the same time undertaking to give the peasant seller the opportunity to buy manufactured goods with the money thus earned.

Otrub. A freehold peasant farm consisting of two or more separate bits of land, the owner living in the village and not on his own land. See *hutor.*

Pogrom. Lit. devastation, destruction, pillage. Any popular disturbance with violence, but chiefly applied to the violent anti-Jewish outbreaks during the latter years of the Tsarist régime.

Politodel. Politicheski Otdel. Political section, generally consisted of three members attached to railway depôts, State farms, M.T.S., to ginger up the workers and see that no schismatic political tendencies develop.

Pomestchik. Originally the holder of a *pomestie, q.v.* Later any landed proprietor.

Pomestie. Originally an estate granted by the early princes to their vassals in return for service, usually military, to be held for life or during the period of service only. Later, loosely applied to any landed property excluding peasant land.

Pud. Russian standard of weight consisting of 40 Russian pounds, approximately equal to 36 lb. avoirdupois, or 16·38 kilograms. Under the Soviet régime the metric system is in general use.

Rayon. A Soviet territorial division. In cities more or less equivalent to a ward, in rural districts to the German *Kreis* rather than to the English county. See *volost.*

Rayzo. Rayonoe Zemelnoe Otdelenie — district agricultural department, the section of the district local Government board dealing with agricultural matters.

Rouble. Monetary unit. Before the War the exchange value of the rouble was about 2s. 1d.: the Soviet rouble at the present time has an official exchange value of about 9d. but a purchasing power of about 2½d.

R.S.F.S.R. Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. Russia proper, including Siberia. The R.S.F.S.R. covers about 93 per cent of the total area of the U.S.S.R. and contains about 68 per cent of the total population.

Samogonka. Self-distilled, *i.e.* home-distilled and emphatically illicit alcohol.

Selpo. Selski Potrebitelny Obstchestvo, village consumers' co-operative society.

Smychka. Joining or fitting together. By Lenin used to connote the interdependence and mutual reliance of town and country.

Sovhoz. From Sovietskoe Hozyaistvo, Soviet or State economic enterprise. Used exclusively in connection with State agricultural enterprises, *i.e.* State farms.

Stakhanovetz. From Stakhanov the name of a coal-miner who in September 1935 astonished the Soviet Union by hewing an incredible quantity of coal in one shift. His secret was the better rationalisation and organisation of labour. This principle was adopted, *mutatis mutandis*, by other industries and in agriculture, and every worker who succeeds in this way in producing or performing so much more than the average output receives the title of Stakhanovetz and the privileges attaching thereto.

Starosta. From *starost*, old age. The elder or headman of a village or *mir*. Sometimes applied to an estate bailiff or overseer.

Sveno. Lit. a link, the smallest labour unit in a *kolhoz*, a subdivision of a brigade.

Svenovod. The leader of a *sveno*, a sub-foreman.

Tovarishchestvo. From *tovarishch*, a comrade, partner; hence a company or association.

Tsentrosoyus. The central organisation of the consumers' co-operative system.

Ukaz. An imperial edict or decree, now applied to an order or instruction issued by a Government department.

Ulozhenie. A statute, law or code. Now obsolete.

Volost. In Tsarist Russia a rural district comprising a number of villages. The affairs of the *volost* were managed by a council consisting exclusively of peasant delegates from the constituent villages. The Soviet *rayon* is the modern version of the *volost*.

Zakoupka. Purchase, the State's purchases of grain in addition to compulsory deliveries.

Zemstvo. Originally a local or cantonal council created by Peter I to help in the task of local government. The Zemstvo as a local self-Government institution was created in 1864. Delegates to the Zemstvo were of three classes, representing individual landowners, village communities and urban population. Their functions included the administration and control of education, health services, etc., as well as affording practical assistance to the peasants.

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