

Labour resources and manpower policies in the Byelorussian SSR

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Byelorussia¹ provides an interesting illustration of how employment and the use of manpower are evolving in a developed socialist society. In this article an attempt is made to throw light—subject to the limitations of space and available data—on some of the problems that have given rise to particular concern in the Republic in the past 10 to 15 years. These issues relate mainly to the demographic setting, the size and composition—both present and future—of the labour force, and the need for a more rational and efficient utilisation of labour.

1. The demographic situation

Population growth rate

During the past 15 years average annual rates of population growth in the Republic have dropped by nearly half, to around 0.5 per cent.² This trend, especially in recent years, is the result of a number of factors that have had the effect of depressing the birth rate.

First and foremost are the far-reaching consequences of the Second World War, during which Byelorussia lost a total of around 2.6 million people;³ it was 25 years before the pre-war size of the population was restored through natural increase and the return migration of those who had left the territory during the war. The effects of these tremendous losses are felt even today and put limits on population growth. Firstly, those now reaching adulthood belong to the generation born in the early 1960s, a period when there was a fall in the birth rate as the diminished wartime generation reached childbearing age. Secondly, women who were born in the pre-war period of relatively high birth rates have in recent years been moving out of the most reproductive age groups.⁴

In addition, according to Byelorussian and other Soviet experts,⁵ fertility has been lowered by such factors as accelerated development

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(economic, industrial, social, etc.), increased mobility of the population, greater female labour force participation, rising levels of education, culture and well-being, the decline in child mortality, the increase in average life expectancy, the later marriage age, growing urbanisation (leading, among other things, to a decline in the number of men in rural areas), and so on.⁶

The interaction of these factors influences the pattern of reproductive behaviour. The 1970 population census and subsequent calculations revealed that more than half the families in the Republic in which the wife was under 20 years old or 50 and over were childless; the predominant family groups were those with one child whose mother was 20-29 years old, with two children whose mother was aged 30-44, and with one child whose mother was aged 45-49.⁷ As a result, the Byelorussian SSR has one of the lowest birth rates in the USSR (around 15 per thousand) with a net reproduction rate of about 1.0 or even less.⁸

Thus it is clear that, at least during the 1980s, the best that can be expected is that the population growth rate will stabilise at a fairly low level, and it may even decline towards the end of the century. Consequently the supply of labour for the Republic's economy is likely to diminish.

Population structure by age and sex

The distribution of population in Byelorussia by age and sex sheds light on another range of current and emerging problems.

Table 1 gives a fairly detailed picture of the population structure in the Republic by age group between 1959 and 1974. A major long-term trend is the increased ageing of the population; this is due to a number of factors, including outward migration of younger age groups and the decline in mortality resulting from better health services and the like. Indeed, during that period the total size of the population increased by 15 per cent, while the number of persons aged 60 and over grew by 51.8 per cent; the proportion of this group in the total population rose from 10.7 to 14.1 per cent.

At the same time the decline in the birth rate and out-migration depleted the younger age groups and hence the number of new entrants into the labour force.

The population structure by sex is also a matter for concern. In 1959 men and women accounted for 44.5 and 55.5 per cent of the population respectively; in 1978, with 53.6 per cent of the total,⁹ women continued to outnumber men substantially and this imbalance is likely to subsist for several decades, illustrating the extremely prolonged consequences of the Second World War.

Rural-urban shifts

The Byelorussian economy is undergoing rapid expansion, particularly of its industry and infrastructure. To take only one indicator of this

Table 1. Distribution of the population of Byelorussia by age group, 1959-74

Age group	Number ('000)			% of total ¹		
	1959	1970	1974	1959	1970	1974
Total	8 055.7	9 002.3	9 267.8	100	100	100
0-9	1 767.9	1 653.8	1 484.0	21.9	18.4	16.0
10-19	1 311.3	1 724.4	1 852.6	16.3	19.2	20.0
20-29	1 480.9	1 110.8	1 267.7	18.4	12.3	13.7
30-39	1 125.5	1 425.4	1 266.2	14.0	15.8	13.7
40-49	760.0	1 178.8	1 351.6	9.4	13.1	14.6
50-59	747.9	723.7	737.4	9.3	8.0	7.9
60-69	500.6	696.7	739.8	6.2	7.7	8.0
70-79	275.7	342.3	409.9	3.4	3.8	4.4
80-89	72.9	127.7	158.6	0.9	1.4	1.7
90+	12.4	15.2		0.2	0.2	
Working age ¹	4 447.0	4 765.7	5 139.6	55.2	52.9	55.4

¹ Men: 16-59; women: 16-54.

Source: *Narodnoe khozyaistvo Byelorusskoy SSR 1975. Statistichesky ezhegodnik* (Minsk, 1975), p. 16.

process, the size of the employed labour force more than doubled between 1960 and 1975, rising from 568,000 to 1,194,000 in industry, from 157,000 to 360,000 in construction, and from 214,000 to 440,000 in education, culture and science.¹⁰ Meanwhile, agriculture has become a sector of rapid technological advance. All this has posed problems in regard to the reallocation of rural labour and has sparked off an intensive urbanisation process.

The ratio of urban to rural population has changed from 21:79 in 1940 to 55:45 in 1979; over this period urban population increased by 173 per cent and rural population dropped by 40 per cent.¹¹ The average annual growth of urban population between 1960 and 1979 was 3.7 per cent. Table 2 gives an idea of the dynamics of urban population and its distribution by size of town. These data point to the rapid growth of the urban population and its concentration in the larger towns. There were ten towns with 50,000 and more inhabitants in 1959, 13 in 1970, and 19 in 1978. During the period 1959-79, the population of the capital of the Republic, Minsk, increased by 151 per cent; of Gomel, by 128 per cent; of Vitebsk, by 101 per cent; and of Mogilev, by 138 per cent.¹²

Lack of data does not allow a more thorough examination of the above changes, particularly with reference to their structure by age and sex. However, it is clear that the shifts in question have reduced both the size and the reproductive potential of the rural population, and that this has had serious effects on the supply of labour for agriculture.

Table 2. Distribution of urban population by size of towns, 1959-76

Size of towns by number of inhabitants	Number			Population ('000)		
	1959	1970	1976	1959	1970	1976
All towns	184	204	205	2 480.5	3 907.8	4 868.1
< 3,000	45	55	50	106.2	116.8	105.1
3,000-4,999	57	50	36	233.2	204.1	139.3
5,000-9,999	50	51	62	331.5	357.8	427.4
10,000-19,999	15	20	26	216.3	265.7	347.0
20,000-49,999	7	15	12	219.7	496.7	343.5
50,000-99,999	6	4	9	425.8	260.5	577.0
100,000-499,999	3	8	9	438.3	1 299.1	1 754.1
500,000 +	1	1	1	509.5	907.1	1 174.7

Source: *Narodnoe khozyaistvo Byelorusskoy SSR 1976. Statistichesky ezhegodnik* (Minsk, 1976), p. 13.

Migratory movements

The demographic situation in Byelorussia has been influenced not only by the large-scale internal rural-urban shifts examined above but also by the long-term flows of outward and inward migration. The immediate postwar return migration gave way during the 1950s and until the mid-1960s to a net outward migration totalling more than 1 million persons.¹³ This process resulted mainly from the planned reallocation of manpower to assist in the development of the less populated eastern regions of the USSR; naturally, it principally involved the younger age groups.

In the subsequent years of intensive economic and social development in Byelorussia outward migration began to fall off considerably, while inward migration increased. However, the fact that there had been a net outflow for many years seriously retarded the growth of the population during the period 1959-74, particularly of the age groups 20-29 and 30-39 (see table 1). This also contributed to the decline in the birth rate already noted.

The need for an effective demographic policy

The developments and problems briefly examined above call for the implementation of effective demographic policies in Byelorussia.

In order to encourage childbearing, working women are already granted leave covering pregnancy and confinement for 112 days on full pay. It is also planned to introduce partially paid maternity leave until the child is a year old, and to provide wider opportunities for mothers to work part time. In this connection, many new kindergartens and nurseries are being built in the Republic under the Tenth Five-Year Plan (1976-80).

Among other measures with a bearing on demographic policy and the desired increase in the birth rate are those designed to improve health protection and conditions of work and life, including housing, to level up urban and rural living standards and to raise the social status of the family.

As far as rural-urban shifts are concerned, the more even geographical distribution of industries, the modernisation of agriculture and its combination with industrial activities in the form of agro-industrial complexes, the regulation of urban growth, the levelling-up of less developed regions—all these, combined with the above-mentioned social measures, have begun to slow the urbanisation process. The continuation of this trend forecast by Byelorussian experts may lead to stabilisation of the ratio of urban to rural populations in the Republic at around 60:40, which is considered quite favourable for the industrial-agrarian pattern of economic growth.

The economic and social measures mentioned here have also had a considerable influence upon migration flows. According to calculations made by L. E. Goncharenko and A. A. Rakov, the number of people migrating (including both internal rural-urban flows and migration into and out of the BSSR), which stood at 523,300 for the period 1971-75, is expected to decline to 380,000 in 1976-80, 230,000 in 1981-85, and 190,000 in 1986-90.

2. Size and composition of the labour force

The core of the labour force is constituted by the able-bodied population of working age, which in Byelorussia is defined as the period between completing secondary education (16 years) and retiring on pension (60 for men, 55 for women).

Other components of the labour force consist of (a) men and women of pensionable age who are still economically active, and (b) young people aged under 16 who are employed in undertakings, offices, collective farms, etc., in exceptional cases provided for by the law and with the consent of the trade unions.

Quantitative trends

As can be seen from table 1, the population of working age in the Republic increased between 1959 and 1970 by 7.2 per cent, and between 1970 and 1974 by 7.8 per cent. During the years 1959-65, however, the average annual growth of the working-age population was insignificant, partly because this was the time when the very limited cohorts born during and immediately after the war were reaching working age, partly because of outward migration, and partly because of a large increase in the number of persons reaching retirement.

An aggregate effect of the above shifts and trends was that the proportion of persons of working age was practically the same in the mid-1970s as it was at the beginning of the 1960s, i.e. just over 55 per cent (see table 1). Since then the situation is likely to have improved somewhat, firstly on account of the rising growth rate of the working-age population, and secondly because a higher proportion of the population of working age now consists of men.

However, in view of the over-all demographic situation outlined above, the long-term quantitative prospects as regards the supply of labour are not on the whole very promising. In order to improve them somewhat, various steps are being taken to encourage increased labour force participation by pensioners, housewives and the disabled. But, however useful these additional sources may be, the contribution they can make to modern industry, construction and agriculture is necessarily limited. In these circumstances emphasis has to be placed on improving labour productivity and hence on the qualitative aspects of labour resources.

The qualitative aspects

The "quality" of a nation's labour resources is to be seen above all in the state of its people's health and in the level of their education, training and culture.

With regard to health, several indicators can be used, including longevity, death rates, and the state of the health services. As to longevity, its average level in the BSSR is 72 years. One may assess the "health potential" of a country's population, and accordingly of its labour resources, by the proportion of old people in the total population: we have already seen that this increased considerably during the period 1959-74. Recent Byelorussian history has been marked by a steady reduction in the death rate, e.g. from 13.1 per thousand in 1940 to 9.0 per thousand in 1974.¹⁴ Other important factors are free health services and the increase in the number of doctors per 10,000 population from 16.4 in 1960 to 31.8 in 1977; the number of hospital beds per 10,000 population rose from 67.9 to 121.2 over the same period.¹⁵

Some recent trends in the field of education and training can be seen in table 3. Between 1960 and 1978 alone the number of people following some form of education or training rose by 89.8 per cent to 3.5 million, or 37 per cent of the Republic's population.¹⁶ In recent years, together with the extension of universal general secondary education, high priority has been given to developing vocational-technical training and specialised secondary and higher education in order to meet the growing need for qualitative improvements in the labour force. More and more pupils are being channelled after eight years of general schooling into specialised educational establishments or vocational schools; between 1976 and 1980 it is envisaged that enrolment in vocational schools in the Republic will more

Table 3. Basic indicators of the development of education and training in Byelorussia, 1960-78

Type	Number of establishments			Number of pupils/students ('000)		
	1960/61	1970/71	1977/78	1960/61	1970/71	1977/78
General education ¹	13 063	11 246	7 977	1 382	1 852	1 616
Vocational-technical training ²	103	152	194	33	83	128
Specialised secondary education	102	128	132	63	146	162
Higher education	24	28	31	59	140	168

¹ These schools have been enlarged, with a consequent decrease in their number. ² The data refer to 1961, 1971 and 1978 respectively.

Source: *Narodnoe khozyaistvo Byelorusskoy SSR. Yubileiny statistichesky ezhegodnik* (Minsk, 1978), pp. 176, 177, 258 and 262.

than double and that the total number of skilled workers graduating from them will exceed 344,000.¹⁷ Additional teaching personnel for the vocational schools is being specially trained at higher educational institutions.¹⁸ From 1980 onwards practically all pupils of the vocational-technical schools will be given a general secondary education as well as learning a trade.

Between 1960/61 and 1977/78 the proportion of the total population studying at higher and specialised secondary educational establishments more than doubled, rising to 177 and 171 per 10,000 population respectively.¹⁹ The number of students at higher educational establishments rose by 183 per cent, and by 375 per cent at establishments teaching industrial and construction skills; enrolment in economics faculties, preparing graduates for planning, managerial and similar functions, rose by 200 per cent.²⁰ It is also worth noting that the proportion of women students at higher educational establishments during the above period increased from 41 to 53 per cent.²¹

There are still a number of measures that need to be taken, however, to improve the quality of the present and future labour force.

In the sphere of education and training, for example, priority is being given to the provision of more sophisticated equipment and teaching materials and better qualified personnel, the closer combination of schooling with actual work experience so as to inculcate a positive attitude to work, the extension of programmed education and training at all levels, and the improvement of civic education and vocational guidance. Illustrative of the action already taken is a governmental decree of December 1977. This requires the general schooling system to give greater emphasis to labour education and vocational guidance, in close co-operation with enterprises, so that pupils can, through better knowledge of the skills most

needed in the economy, make a well founded choice of occupation and thus adapt more easily to working life.²²

Labour shortages

However effective all the measures being taken to improve the quantitative and qualitative state of the labour force may be, the Byelorussian economy, like that of the USSR as a whole, is faced with growing labour shortages for the simple reason that the additional demand for labour generated by rapid and continuous socio-economic and cultural development far outstrips the supply. Two main factors are responsible for this shortfall.

Most important is the demographic situation, which was considered earlier.

The other is the effect of educational advance. Particularly noteworthy in this respect are the percentages of secondary school-leavers who decide to continue their education—28.5 in 1960, 47.3 in 1970, 40.7 in 1973 and 35.8 in 1977.²³ Notwithstanding some slowing down in recent years, this process obviously diminishes the availability of labour resources for the Republic's economy. Besides, the figure already quoted of 3.5 million people following various forms of education or training certainly includes a substantial proportion of the working-age population.

These factors combine to produce a decrease in the availability of labour resources for the economy, and accordingly lead to *absolute* labour shortages in the BSSR. Hence constant efforts are devoted to devising ways of augmenting the Republic's labour resources and, in particular, improving them qualitatively so as to cope with current and long-term development tasks.

Relative labour shortages should also be taken into account. Temporary and local factors such as uneven distribution of the population and migration may give rise to certain labour shortages in various urban and rural localities, in remote regions, etc. However, the impact of these factors on present and especially future labour resources appears to be losing its importance because of a more even distribution of undertakings as well as of housing, education, health services and cultural facilities, and as a result of the levelling-up of less developed regions. The less developed western districts of Byelorussia, for example, are receiving considerable priority in industrial development: approximately 40 per cent of all new enterprises are being located there under the current Tenth Five-Year Plan.²⁴

The various changes affecting the size and quality of the labour force that have been examined above, together with a number of related problems and complications, make it imperative to achieve a more rational and efficient utilisation of manpower, as well as of all other factors of development. To this problem we shall now turn.

3. Efficient labour utilisation

According to the State Committee for Labour of the BSSR, more than 91 per cent of the able-bodied population of working age are already employed in the Republic's economy; it is practically only women of that age group with small children who remain outside the sphere of public labour, and many of these go to work and leave their children in the care of public nurseries and kindergartens.²⁵

The changing pattern of employment

In the conditions of full employment existing in Byelorussia there has been a continual increase in the size of the employed labour force: between 1960 and 1978 it doubled from 1.9 million to 3.8 million.²⁶ Apart from the natural increase in labour resources, the principal sources of this growth are: (i) the entry into employment of persons previously engaged in household occupations and individual subsidiary farming; and (ii) the shift to non-agricultural sectors of collective farmers and their families. This change in the employment pattern is the result of the rapid over-all development of the economy and the most advanced branches of production and services, their high demand for labour, the planned allocation and reallocation of labour resources, and manpower planning. Together with these economic and organisational factors, particular social significance attaches to the right (laid down in the BSSR's Constitution) of all citizens to work in accordance with their inclinations, abilities, training and education, having due regard to the needs of society.

The rate of economic growth in Byelorussia is nearly twice as high as that of employment, which means that the average productivity of labour is rising very fast. If we examine the above-mentioned increase in the number of employed workers more closely, we find that the average annual rates of increase for three consecutive periods, 1961-65, 1966-70 and 1971-75, were 5.2, 4.7 and 3.1 per cent,²⁷ which shows clearly that employment growth is slowing down. This is no doubt due both to supply factors (full employment and the progressive exhaustion of labour reserves) and to demand factors (technological advances, mechanisation and automation leading to lower staffing requirements).

Main structural changes in employment by branch

The above sectoral shifts and changes in labour supply and demand, combined with economic and social advances—in particular the further specialisation and growth of new branches and regions, the acceleration of educational and cultural development, the improvement of working and living conditions, measures to preserve the natural environment, etc.—, have resulted in sizeable changes in the structure of employment by major

Table 4. Percentage distribution of the working population of Byelorussia by major branch, 1965-75

Branch	1965	1970	1975
Total working population	100	100	100
Industry and construction	26.8	32.9	35.0
Agriculture and forestry (including individual subsidiary farming)	46.1	36.6	31.3
Transport and communications	6.3	6.9	7.4
Trade, public catering, procurement, material and technical supply and distribution	5.3	6.3	6.9
Public health services, physical culture and social security; public education; culture and arts; scientific activities	11.4	12.8	14.2
State administration, administration of co-operative and mass organisations, credit and state insurance institutions	1.7	2.0	2.2
Other branches (housing and communal services, services to the population, etc.)	2.4	2.5	3.0

Source: *Narodnoe khozyaistvo Byelorusskoy SSR 1976. Statistichesky ezhegodnik* (Minsk, 1976), p. 155.

economic branch. Table 4 points to a steady shift away from agriculture (principally) and towards the non-production spheres of employment, especially health services, education, science, state administration, public transport and other services to the population. More precisely, during the period 1965-75 the employment share of production fell from 84 to 79 per cent while that of the non-production sphere rose from 16 to 21 per cent.²⁸

This tendency reflects shifts in the allocation and reallocation of manpower, the increasing efficiency of production branches and the rising demand for manpower in non-production sectors of priority social significance: health, culture, education, science, services to the population and the like. However, by 1975, 35 per cent of the Republic's working population (compared with less than 27 per cent in 1965) were engaged in industry and construction, more than in any other sector. Shifts in employment structure within the industrial sector were also remarkable. Between 1960 and 1975 the number of workers employed in industry as a whole increased by 110 per cent, and by 77 per cent in electricity, 500 per cent in chemicals and petrochemicals, 211 per cent in engineering and metalworking, 7 per cent in timber, woodworking, pulp and paper, 95 per cent in light industry, 59 per cent in food, and 67 per cent in building materials.²⁹

As employment in industry and construction increases, so that in agriculture and forestry decreases (see table 4), reflecting both the accelerated technical modernisation of the agricultural sector and the reallo-

cation of manpower to the other spheres of the economy. The latter process has resulted, in particular, in a decline in the proportion of farmers in the working population of the Republic from 32 per cent in 1965 to 20 per cent in 1975.³⁰

The increasing use of manpower in such branches as transport, communications, trade, public catering, etc., is also noteworthy. This reflects a desirable extension of the social infrastructure, the consequent allocation and reallocation of the workforce, and the growing attraction of jobs in such branches, where working conditions are rather easier than in a number of industries and in construction or, especially, in agriculture. Finally, there is a rise of employment in health services, education, the arts and science, as well as in administration and related spheres.

Trends in labour force structure by age, sex and skill

Over one-third of all workers employed in the Byelorussian economy are under 30 years of age.³¹ Most of these are in the technologically more advanced branches which are of decisive importance for the economy, particularly in industry, construction and various forms of scientific activities. The number of women in employment has steadily expanded and in 1977 they accounted for 53 per cent of all employed workers, a figure that may be compared with their 53.6 per cent share in the total population.³²

In the light of data given earlier, it is clear that the skill level of the labour force is steadily rising. It is estimated that during the period 1976-80 the proportion of workers with combined vocational and general secondary education in the total supply of skilled workers will more than double.³³ The number of workers with a higher or specialised secondary education more than trebled between 1960 and 1977, rising from 276,200 to 912,700,³⁴ and it is forecast that the proportion of such personnel in the labour force will continue to rise from 18 per cent in 1975 to 21 per cent in 1980.

Areas for improvement

The Byelorussian economy is beset with a number of problems regarding the employment and use of manpower.

The recruitment of manpower and its allocation and reallocation between areas and sectors are still giving rise to much concern. Although special placement services exist in the cities to help find jobs for those seeking a change of employment, as well as for school leavers, housewives and pensioners, and also to assist enterprises and offices in meeting their manpower needs, the workforce is mainly recruited by the latter themselves in accordance with their manpower plans. Numerous improvements still need to be made in the present system, especially as regards planning, co-

ordination, the elimination of mistakes and the avoidance of hasty and ill-considered job choices.³⁵ This is particularly important in connection with the efforts being made to mobilise additional labour reserves from the ranks of students, housewives and pensioners.

The skill levels of the labour force are in quite a few cases still lagging behind the needs of development and are not keeping up with scientific and technical progress. The roots of the trouble seem to lie mainly in the education and training system, which cannot always cope rapidly and fully enough with the demand for manpower possessing particular levels and types of skills. Shortcomings in vocational guidance and in the labour education provided by the schools also play a part. Moreover, the adaptation of trained personnel, especially young persons, to the complexities of skilled work is by no means a rapid and smooth process. Another contributory factor is the less than perfect co-operation between manpower and educational planning. Finally, with the spread of higher education, the ratio of medium- to high-grade manpower has changed from 1.5:1 in 1960 to 1.3:1 in 1977 and there is now a growing shortage of medium-grade specialists.

Other problems arise from losses of working time in enterprises due to inadequate supplies of materials, the malfunctioning of machinery and equipment and deficient work organisation and management. Similar losses are caused by the type of labour turnover that results from the workers' desire for higher pay and other remuneration than that warranted by their actual jobs or skills; from their refusal to do hard and complicated work or to undergo the necessary training or retraining; and from their psychological predisposition to frequent changes of home and workplace. Between 200,000 and 300,000 workers quit their jobs each year for one or other of the above reasons (men more often than women, and most frequently in the age group 16-29); there is, however, some indication that this type of labour turnover is now on the decline.³⁶

The emphasis on integrated action

The need to make more rational and efficient use of manpower imposed by the realities of Byelorussia's economic and manpower situation calls for a major integrated effort to increase production efficiency, raise labour productivity, improve branch structure and the location of undertakings, and economise labour and other resources. Great hopes are pinned, in all these respects, on agro-industrial integration aimed at developing large-scale modern enterprises combining agricultural and industrial activities and thus providing more rational and economical employment, bringing social progress to the rural areas, etc.³⁷

Under the Republic's and the USSR's development plans, and particularly the current Tenth Five-Year Plan (1976-80), as well as other programmes and governmental decisions,³⁸ special emphasis is being given

to increasing the efficiency of capital investment through appropriate concentration, more effective allocation and use of material and labour resources, promoting consumer industries and services, improving transport and communications, reducing the duration and costs of building, expanding and modernising existing undertakings and improving research and development activities. More mechanisation and automation is under way or planned in all branches, especially in industry and agriculture, since the reduction of manual labour is considered of fundamental importance.

Steps are already being taken to achieve better balanced and more realistic planning and management at all levels, both in general and specifically in relation to the mobilisation, allocation and utilisation of manpower. There is a pronounced tendency to cover more and more aspects of social development in the planning process.³⁹ In regional planning the prevailing line is to bring jobs to people rather than the reverse, although this cannot of course be done in all cases, especially in less populated regions and those being newly opened up.⁴⁰ Measures are also being taken to achieve a better match between manpower demand and supply, and greater efforts are being made at the same time to upgrade the workforce and further expand and improve its retraining. Much attention is also being given to the dissemination of economic education, especially for young workers, to give them in-depth knowledge of enterprise management and work organisation.

More emphasis is being placed upon improving management and the organisation of work and production at the enterprise level. Reduction of down time, fuller utilisation of capacity, better maintenance, more regular supplies, lower labour turnover, the elimination of arduous and unpleasant jobs, and improvements in working conditions—these are the main measures being adopted to achieve more efficient manpower utilisation. The experience of the Shchekino Chemical Combine⁴¹ and other advanced methods of work organisation are also being widely applied. All these measures would be more effective if they were better co-ordinated throughout the Republic, and the need for a single, comprehensive system for the management of manpower resources is gaining recognition.⁴²

Some of the measures already taken or envisaged, in particular under the Tenth Five-Year Plan, have been described earlier. In addition, reference should be made here to others, such as higher pay, differentiated material and moral incentives, the provision of housing as near as possible to places of work, the construction of cultural and sports facilities in enterprises themselves, safety innovations, and further improvements in the conditions of working women, the young and the elderly.

It is widely believed in Byelorussia that the consequences of the various integrated measures mentioned above will make themselves felt in the very near future. However, it is clear that both the immediate and long-term results depend largely upon the application of comprehensive

manpower policies. The success of these policies will, in the final analysis, be largely predetermined by the labour force itself, at all echelons and levels, and particularly by its education, training, commitment and discipline; it is these aspects, therefore, that are taking on more and more importance in the development strategies and practices of Byelorussia, as indeed they are throughout the USSR.

Notes

¹ The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic was set up on 1 January 1919 and became one of the constituent Republics of the USSR on 30 December 1922. Among the 15 Union Republics of the USSR, Byelorussia is the sixth largest in area (207,600 square kilometres) and the fifth in population (9,559,000 on 17 January 1979).

² *Narodnoe khozyaistvo Byelorusskoy SSR. Yubileiny statistichesky ezhegodnik* (Minsk, 1978), p. 17. See also V. G. Kostakov (ed.): *Trudovye resursy. Sotsialno-ekonomicheskyy analiz* (Moscow, 1976), p. 21.

³ In the period 1941-45 Byelorussia lost over 2.2 million people, i.e. every fourth citizen perished. This direct human loss was proportionately three times greater than for the USSR as a whole and higher than in any other State in the world. Another 380,000 persons were forcibly driven away by the Nazis. For details see A. A. Rakov: *Naselenie BSSR* (Minsk, 1969), pp. 11-26; A. V. Manulik: *Dolgoletie naselenia Byelorussii* (Minsk, 1977), pp. 7-48; and *Narodnoe khozyaistvo Byelorusskoy SSR 1975. Statistichesky ezhegodnik* (Minsk, 1975), p. 11.

⁴ V. A. Borisov: *Perspektivy rozhdaemosti* (Moscow, 1976), p. 91; and *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta* (Moscow), No. 4, Jan. 1977, p. 10.

⁵ See Rakov, op. cit.; F. I. Gilitsky: *Sotsialno-ekonomicheskie problemy trudovykh resursov Byelorusskoy SSR* (Minsk, 1977); Manulik, op. cit.; S. G. Strumilin: *Problemy ekonomiki truda* (Moscow, 1957), Vol. 3; D. I. Valentei: *Problemy narodonaselenia* (Moscow, 1961); B. T. Uralnis: *Problemy dinamiki naselenia SSSR* (Moscow, 1974); and L. A. Kostin (ed.): *Trudovye resursy SSSR* (Moscow, 1979).

⁶ All these factors can be reduced to a common denominator, namely the "intensification of social life". Indeed, the rate and intensity of the individual's participation in the development of society are increasing tremendously, and this affects the desire to have children. See A. Y. Kvasha (ed.): *Upravlenie razvitiem narodonaselenia v SSSR* (Moscow, 1977), p. 74.

⁷ L. P. Shakhoto: "Demograficheskaya kharakteristika semi v BSSR", in A. A. Rakov and Y. I. Rubin (eds.): *Problemy narodonaselenia i trudovykh resursov* (Minsk, 1976), Vol. VII, pp. 9 and 12-13.

⁸ Borisov, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

⁹ *Narodnoe khozyaistvo Byelorusskoy SSR. Yubileiny...*, op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁰ Ibid., 1975, p. 13; and 1976 (Minsk, 1976), p. 12.

¹¹ Ibid., 1978 (i.e. *Yubileiny...*), p. 17; and *Izvestia* (Moscow), 22 Apr. 1979.

¹² *Narodnoe khozyaistvo Byelorusskoy SSR. Yubileiny...*, op. cit., pp. 19-20; and *Izvestia*, 22 Apr. 1979.

¹³ A. A. Rakov: *Byelorussiya v demograficheskom izmerenii* (Minsk, 1974), p. 11.

¹⁴ *Narodnoe khozyaistvo Byelorusskoy SSR. Yubileiny...*, op. cit., p. 21.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 288-289.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 17 and 252.

¹⁷ *Narodnoe Obrazovanie* (Moscow), No. 1, 1978, p. 14; and *Rabochaya Smena* (Minsk), No. 7, 1976, p. 2.

¹⁸ *Vestnik Vysshei Shkoly* (Moscow), No. 3, 1978, p. 8.

¹⁹ *Narodnoe khozyaistvo Byelorusskoy SSR. Yubileiny...*, op. cit., pp. 17 and 253.

- ²⁰ Ibid., p. 264.
- ²¹ Ibid., p. 269.
- ²² *Shkola i Proizvodstvo* (Moscow), No. 3, 1978, pp. 3-8.
- ²³ Gilitsky, op. cit., p. 146; and *Shkola i Proizvodstvo*, No. 4, 1979, p. 12.
- ²⁴ M. G. Kireenko: *Industrialny kompleks respubliki* (Minsk, 1977), p. 43.
- ²⁵ *Sotsialistichesky Trud* (Moscow), No. 2, 1978, p. 95; and No. 8, 1977, p. 19.
- ²⁶ *Narodnoe khozayaistvo Byelorusskoy SSR. Yubileiny...*, op. cit., p. 169.
- ²⁷ Ibid.; the rates have been calculated by the author.
- ²⁸ Ibid., 1976, p. 155.
- ²⁹ *Promyshlennost Byelorusskoy SSR. Statistichesky sbornik* (Minsk, 1976), pp. 58-59.
- ³⁰ *Narodnoe khozayaistvo Byelorusskoy SSR 1976*, op. cit., p. 155.
- ³¹ Ibid., 1975, p. 222.
- ³² Ibid., 1978, pp. 18 and 169.
- ³³ *Rabochaya Smena*, No. 9, 1976, p. 3.
- ³⁴ *Narodnoe khozayaistvo Byelorusskoy SSR. Yubileiny...*, op. cit., p. 171.
- ³⁵ Gilitsky, op. cit., p. 138; and A. Kotlyar: "Sotsialisticheskoe raspredelenie rabochei sily", in *Ekonomicheskie Nauki* (Moscow), No. 3, 1978, pp. 30-31.
- ³⁶ *Sotsialistichesky Trud*, No. 9, 1978, p. 14.
- ³⁷ For details see *International Labour Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1978, pp. 762-764.
- ³⁸ In July 1979 the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR adopted far-reaching decisions aimed at further strengthening the economic machinery at all levels by emphasising the role of state planning, improving investment efficiency, and wider application of comprehensive accounting methods (*khozraschet*) and material incentives. For details see *Izvestia*, 28 and 29 July 1979.
- ³⁹ See, inter alia, P. G. Luitko: *Planirovanie i analiz struktury obshestvennogo proizvodstva respubliki* (Minsk, 1976), pp. 3 and 68-73.
- ⁴⁰ A. D. Pavlova: *Pokazateli dlya optimizatsii vnutriraionnogo razmeshchenia promyshlennosti* (Minsk, 1975), p. 64.
- ⁴¹ For details see *Social and Labour Bulletin* (Geneva, ILO), No. 3, 1977, pp. 264-265.
- ⁴² For further discussion on this point see, inter alia, Gilitsky, op. cit., pp. 108-117; and Kostin, op. cit., p. 33.