

IGA-677 / RusNatSecPol / Lecture 5

Collectivization, Industrialization, Famine

Yuri M. Zhukov
Visiting Associate Professor of Public Policy
Harvard Kennedy School

September 21, 2023

Today's objectives

1. *Define*: collective farms, and how they were supposed to work
2. *Discuss*: why collectivization was so difficult in practice
3. *Deconstruct*: how collectivization laid foundation for collective punishment and mass repression

Policy area	War Communism	New Economic Policy
<i>Agriculture</i>	Grain requisitioning	Grain taxation
<i>Heavy industry</i>	Nationalization	Nationalization
<i>Light industry</i>	Nationalization	De-nationalization
<i>Private property</i>	Forbidden	Small private enterprise allowed
<i>Private trade</i>	Forbidden	Permitted
<i>Foreign trade</i>	State monopoly	State monopoly
<i>Banks</i>	State monopoly	State monopoly
<i>Economic goals</i>	Mobilize resources for war	Stop economic crisis
<i>Political goals</i>	Establish party dictatorship	Maintain party dictatorship

Discussion:

In what ways was NEP an economic success, but ideological failure?

Results of NEP

1. Industry, agriculture recovers
 - output returns to prewar levels
2. But couldn't reap full benefits of capitalism or socialism
 - no employment expansion beyond what market allows
 - no incentive for peasant communes to consolidate, fully feed urban industrial class
3. Ideological divide in party
 - leftists see NEP as heresy
 - NEP creates new "class enemies" (NEPmen, kulaks)



Figure 1: The NEPman

Policy area	New Economic Policy	Five Year Plan
<i>Agriculture</i>	Grain taxation	Collectivization
<i>Heavy industry</i>	Nationalization	Nationalization
<i>Light industry</i>	De-nationalization	Nationalization
<i>Private property</i>	Small private enterprise allowed	Forbidden
<i>Private trade</i>	Permitted	Forbidden
<i>Foreign trade</i>	State monopoly	State monopoly
<i>Banks</i>	State monopoly	State monopoly
<i>Economic goals</i>	Stop economic crisis	Rapid industrialization
<i>Political goals</i>	Maintain party dictatorship	Consolidate Stalin's rule

Collectivization and Industrialization

How collective farms worked

Why collectivize?

Problem:

How to fuel mass industrialization in cities?

Solution:

- transform small private farms into large, high-yield cooperative farms



Figure 2: Part of the plan

Types of collective farms

1. *Sovkhoz* (Soviet argo enterprise)
 - state farm
 - on state-owned land
 - farmers had salaries/wage labor
 - government-funded investment, more mechanized than kolkhoz
2. *Kolkhoz* (collective argo enterprise)
 - cooperative farm
 - on formerly private land (former communes)
 - revenues divided between members of cooperative



Figure 3: Future is here



Figure 4: But not yet here

Three types of kolkhozy in 1918

1. *kommuna* (commune)
 - everything communally owned (no private gardening)
 - proceeds distributed "to each according to his needs," not proportional to labor/investment
2. *artel'* (cooperative farm)
 - means of production communally owned (livestock, equipment, etc)
 - private property includes home, garden for household consumption
3. *tovarishchevstvo* (association)
 - only land, labor in communal use
 - proceeds distributed in proportion to labor, investment

artel' became main form of collective farm



Figure 5: Work the fields



Figure 6: for greater good

How kolkhozy were organized

1. Membership
 - everyone over 16 (except kulaks)
2. Governing body
 - general assembly
3. Head of farm
 - *in theory*: chairman, elected by general assembly
 - *in practice*: directors were often urban workers sent from cities

How kolkhozy operated

- farms got rigid, non-negotiable quotas
- surrender all grain to state, keep only surplus above quota
- no cushion for bad weather, crop failure
- failure to meet quota →
higher quota next harvest →
black list (everything confiscated)



Figure 7: Bread to state

Pre-1928: collectivization was voluntary

- incentives:
 - 0% interest loans
 - government-financed farm machinery
 - tax benefits

Post-1928: mass, forced collectivization

Discussion:

Why the switch?

Would collectivization have been possible in a democratic state?

Would collectivization be possible today?



Figure 8: Kolektyvizuysya!

Did collective farms work?

How successful was collectivization in fueling industrialization?

Not very, according to data from NEP days

- in 1926, 47% of farms were collectives
- they accounted for 1.7% of production

Post-NEP: agricultural surplus was negative
(sales to industry < purchases from industry)

- decline in livestock (need machinery)
- unfavorable terms of trade (low agro prices, high manufacture prices)
- limited state-funded capital investment



Figure 9: Meet the quota!

Problems before collectivization

- small, subdivided land holdings
- reliance on manual labor, very little mechanization
- production not scalable

Problems after collectivization

- *gigantomania*: emphasis on large agricultural enterprises, big acreage
- *low mechanization*: dependence on manual labor (sickles still dominant technology of harvest)
- *low crop yield*: grain rots before it is collected, processed and shipped
- *monocultures*: plant same crop over large plot, no diversification

why were these “problems” problematic?



Figure 10: Plowing ahead!

Dekulakization and Famine

Kulaks

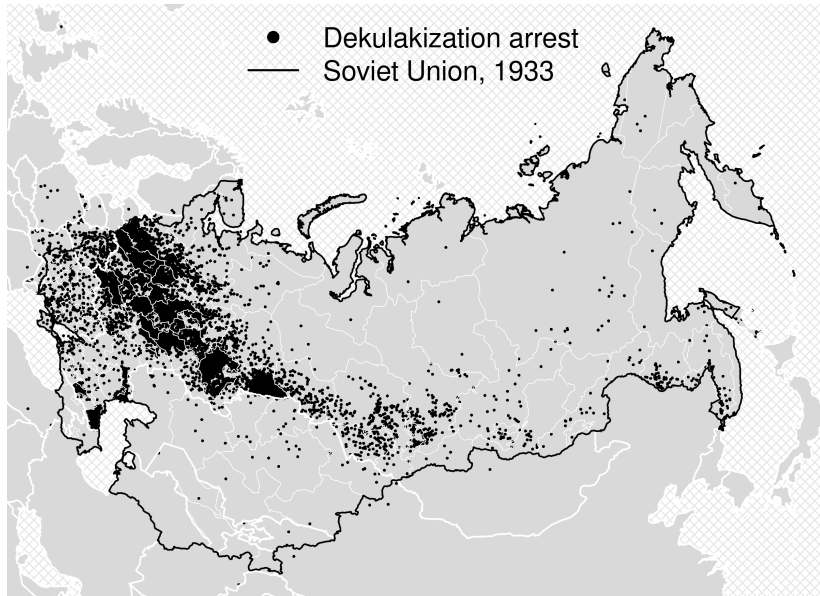


Figure 12: Geographic distribution of dekulakization

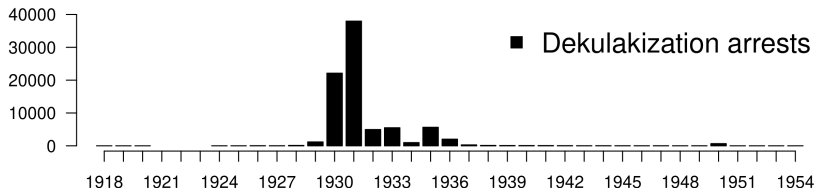


Figure 13: Temporal distribution of dekulakization

Who was “dekulakized”? (data from Memorial NGO)

1. Occupation

- 93.7% farming
- 5.9% services
- 0.4% other

2. Nationality

- 76% Russian
- 9% Ukrainian
- 2.5% Tatar
- 12.5% other

4. Party affiliation

- 48% no party
- 6% Communist

5. Education

- 47% none/illiterate
- 52% primary
- 1% secondary
- 0.2% higher

Holodomor

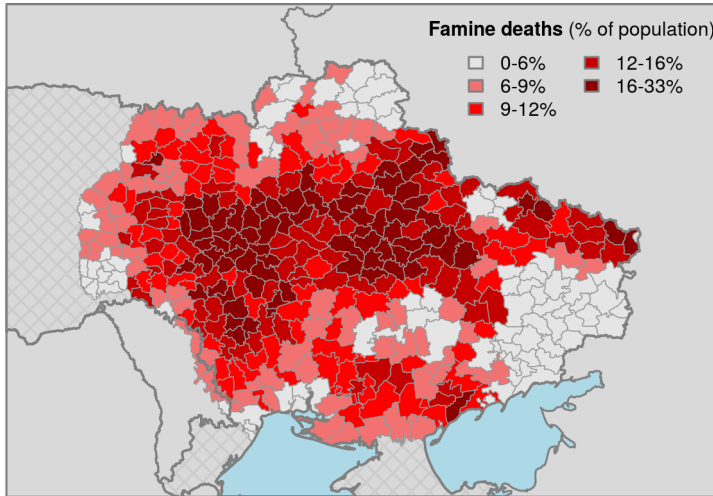


Figure 14: Famine deaths in Ukraine (1933 borders)

Explanations for 1933 Ukrainian famine

1. Bad weather
 - unusually cold, wet spring
 - unusually hot, dry summer
 - early frost in fall
 - disrupted sowing, germination
2. Bad policies
 - collectivization
 - rural brain drain due to dekulakization
 - punitive production quotas
 - confiscation of grain, livestock
 - internal passports
 - use of hunger as punishment
3. Ethnic discrimination
 - punitive measures stricter in Ukraine than in other regions
 - more excess fatalities in Ukraine than in other regions



Figure 15: De zerno?



Figure 16: Os' de zerno!

Discussion:

How could famine have been avoided?

- a) reduce pace of industrialization?
- b) reduce quotas?
- c) reduce exports of grain?
- d) return to market system?
- e) go easy on the kulaks?
- f) accept foreign aid?



Figure 17: Avoidable?

NEXT MEETING

Forced Labor and the Gulag (Tu, Sep. 26)

- mass bondage machine
- things to consider:
 - what parallels and difference do you see between the Gulag and other forced labor institutions we've covered?
 - what came first: demand for forced labor, or supply of forced laborers?