

# IGA-677 / RusNatSecPol / Lecture 5

## Collectivization, Industrialization, Famine

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## 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
- resource transfer from agrarian sector to industrial sector



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. *kommuny* (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. *tovarishchestsvo* (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 the 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



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)
- terms of trade (low agro prices)
- limited state-funded capital investment
- pure losses in lives, crops



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

## Who were the kulaks?

- *in theory*: wealthy peasants who used hired labor and engaged in rural usury
- *in practice*: peasants (broadly defined)

Dekulakization: “destroy kulaks as a class”

- Politburo order, Jan 30, 1930
- arrest kulaks, confiscate their property
- sentencing quotas:
  - 60,000 to concentration camps
  - 150,000 resettled to remote areas
  - death penalty for kulaks in “counterrevolutionary core”



Figure 11: Death to kulaks!

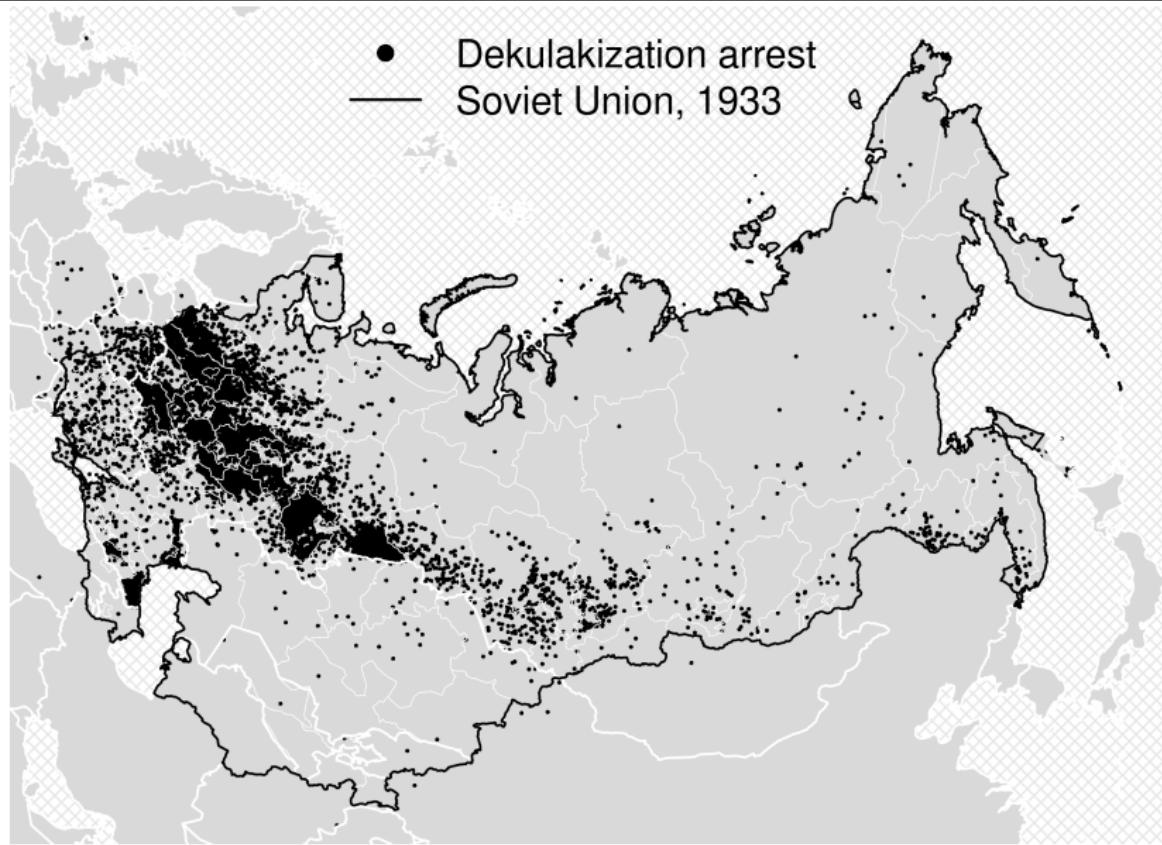


Figure 12: Geographic distribution of dekulakization

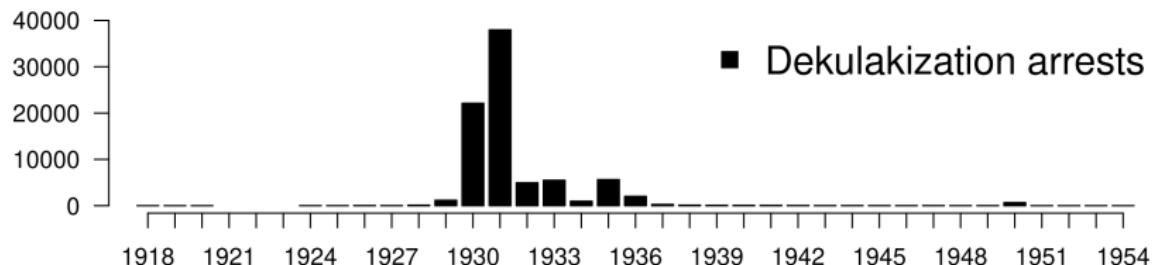


Figure 13: Temporal distribution of dekulakization

## 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
3. Party affiliation
  - 48% no party
  - 6% Communist
4. Education
  - 47% none/illiterate
  - 52% primary
  - 1% secondary
  - 0.2% higher
5. Education

# Holodomor

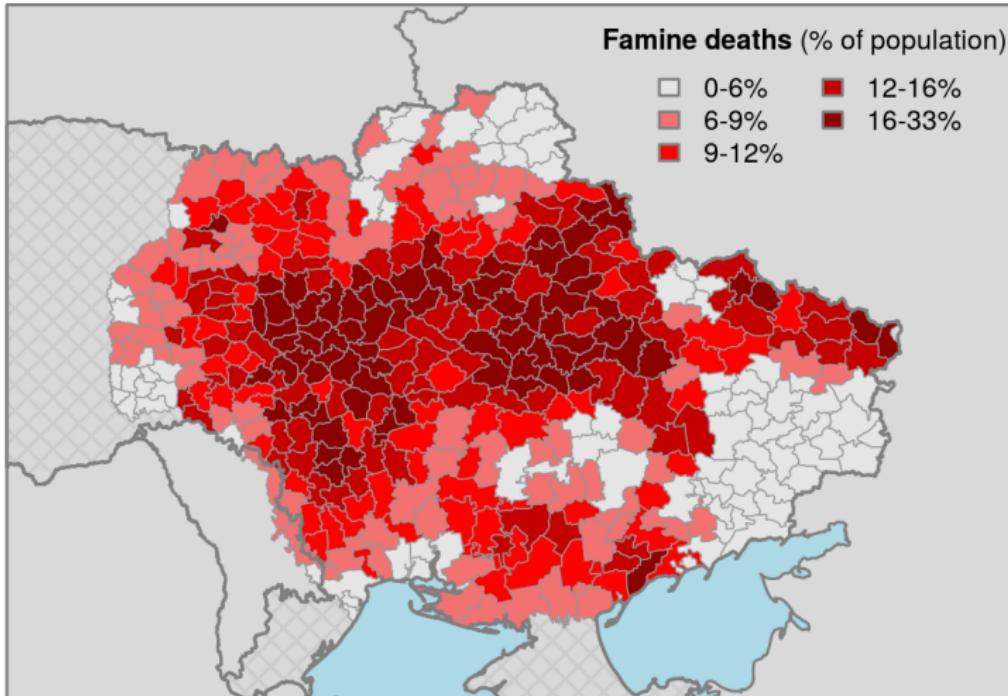


Figure 14: Famine deaths in Ukraine (1933 borders)

## 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
- production quotas
- forcible requisition of grain, livestock, seeds, anything edible
- 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?