

Russian Security State

GOVT-5519 / IPOL-3519 / REES-5519

Lecture 07. 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



Figure 2: Part of the plan

Types of collective farms

1. Sovkhoz (Soviet agro enterprise)

- state farm
- on state-owned land
- farmers had salaries/wage labor
- government-funded investment,
more mechanized than kolkhoz

2. Kolkhoz (collective agro 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 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 manufature 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

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!

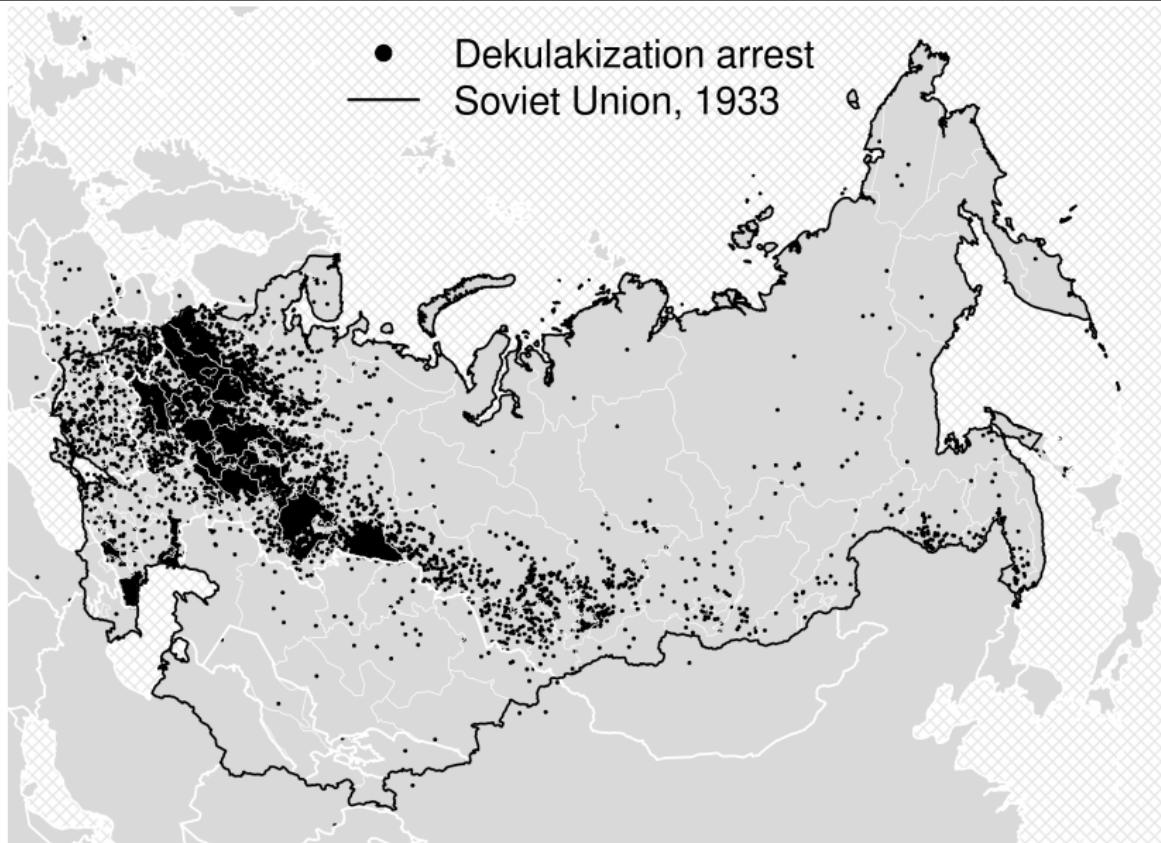


Figure 12: Geographic distribution of dekulakization

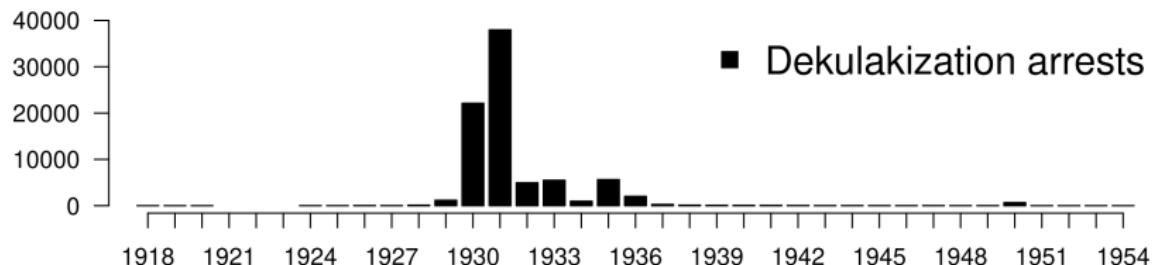


Figure 13: Temporal distribution of dekulakization

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

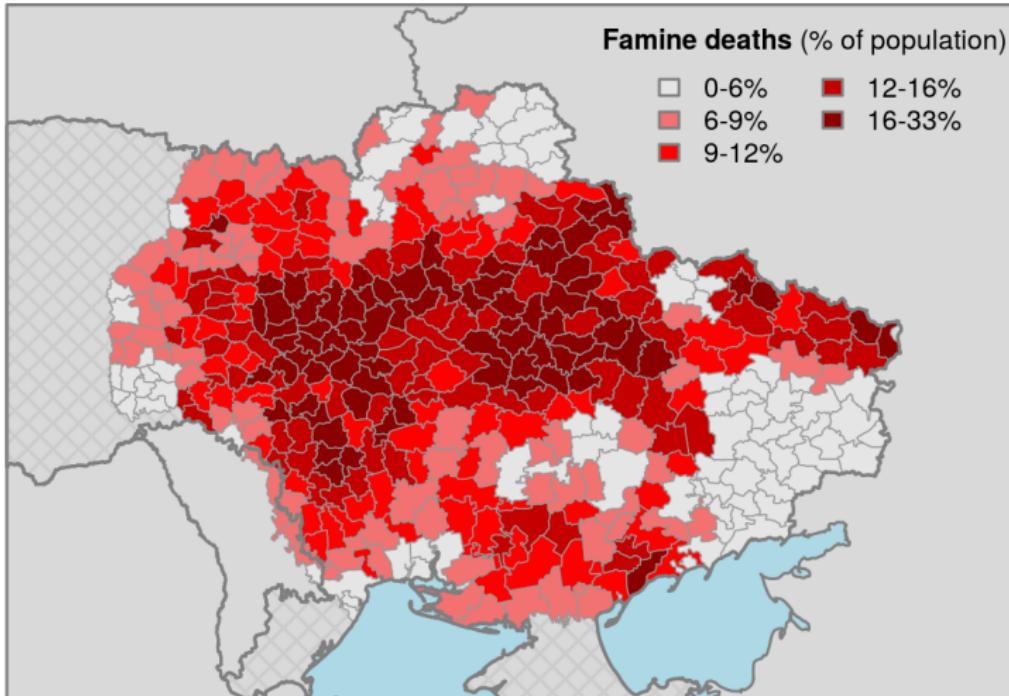


Figure 14: Famine deaths in Ukraine (1933 borders)

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
 - 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, Oct. 1)

- 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?