# Land reform and farm sector restructuring in the former Soviet Union and Russia

#### CSABA CSAKI AND ZVI LERMAN

#### I. Introduction

Soviet agriculture has gone through a series of reforms during the years of its existence, all aimed at improving the productivity and efficiency of collective and state farming. The recent changes in the former Soviet Union and Russia have focused again the attention on the need for agricultural reforms, this time reforms that will be consistent with the development of a market-based economy and integration of Russian food production into the world food system.

This paper surveys the process of agricultural land reform, the restructuring of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and the emergence of individual farming and agricultural cooperatives in the former Soviet Union as represented primarily by Russia, its largest component. Land reform and the restructuring of the Russian agricultural sector cannot be separated from the process of transition to a market economy and nation-wide privatization; reform in agriculture must be synchronized and made consistent with the general process of privatization in other sectors of the economy. Land reform and general restructuring of the agricultural sector can succeed only if the minimum conditions of an operating market for agricultural products and inputs exist. In addition to development of infrastructure facilities and distribution channels, these minimum conditions also include decontrol of farm and retail prices, reduction of subsidies, creation of financial services, and eventual abolition of direct state intervention in agricultural production and food markets.

#### II. Initial Conditions: Main Features of the Agricultural System

#### A. Soviet Land and Farming Policies\_

State ownership of land has been the foundation of the Soviet administrative command system in agriculture for over seven decades. Within days of the accession of the Bolsheviks to power in October 1917, land was nationalized and land distribution was decreed. Autarky and industrialization goals motivated the state to strive for full control over food production, food distribution, and the use of agricultural products, while maintaining generally low prices and wages.

Collectivization of agricultural production was promoted as a means of achieving central management (it also, of course, ensured political control). While 97% of all agricultural land was farmed individually between 1917 and 1928, rapid collectivization after 1928 virtually eliminated individual farming; by 1940, 97% of all farms were worked collectively. The only remnants of individual farming were the small household plots that collective farm members were allowed near their dwellings for "individual subsidiary farming".

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## **Table of Contents Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union**

- 1. Understanding the eBook Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union
  - The Rise of Digital Reading Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union
  - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
- 2. Identifying Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union
  - Exploring Different Genres
  - o Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
  - Determining Your Reading Goals
- 3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
  - Popular eBook Platforms
  - Features to Look for in an Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union
  - User-Friendly Interface
- 4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union
  - Personalized Recommendations
  - Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union User Reviews and Ratings
  - Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union and Bestseller Lists
- 5. Accessing Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union Free and Paid eBooks
  - Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union Public Domain eBooks
  - Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union eBook Subscription Services
  - Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union Budget-Friendly Options

- 6. Navigating Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union eBook Formats
  - o ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
  - Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union Compatibility with Devices
  - Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
  - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union
  - Highlighting and Note-Taking Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union
  - Interactive Elements Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union
- 8. Staying Engaged with Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union
  - Joining Online Reading Communities
  - o Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
  - Following Authors and Publishers Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union
  - Benefits of a Digital Library
  - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
  - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
  - Minimizing Distractions
  - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union
  - Setting Reading Goals Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union
  - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union
  - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Moving To Market Restructuring Transport In The Former Soviet Union
  - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
  - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
  - Exploring Educational eBooks
- 14. Embracing eBook Trends
  - Integration of Multimedia Elements

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