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Development of socially and privately owned holdings

Contemplated in terms of land tenure and ownership of the means of production, there are two types of holding in Yugoslavia's agriculture i.e. the socially and privately (individually) owned holdings. In the economic sense of the world socialy owned holdings are large work organizations which use modern means of production and achieve high productivity levels. The so-called individual or private holdings whose average size is about 4 hectare of cultivable land and which will henceforth also be referred to as smallholds are primarily a family concern.

Yugoslavia's concept of farm policy is based on the principle that it is essential to promote and increase overall agricultural production on all holdings, and to assure the development of such social relations as will preclude exploitation in any form whatsoever or the acquisition of income of any other basis than work. It is on such a basis that the socialization of agriculture is taking place in accordance with the development and growth of the productive forces of society and the economic interest of the individual farmers. Such a policy has yielded satisfactory results thus far with regard to the promotion of material production and the development of socialist self-managing socioeconomic productive relations.

10 hectares cultivable land, and the tota surpluses expropriated under the provisions of this law, —about 275,000 hectares in all— distributed to the socialized holdings and cooperatives.

Since 1953 the socially owned holdings expanded their land area by the purchase and rent of land from the private farmers as well as by various soil reclamation i.e. irrigation and drainage schemes, and other measures implemented in the economic interest of the social organizations and other owners of land (Table 1). An increasing number of privately owned holdings have embarked on long term cooperation i.e. concluded co-production contracts with the socialized sector of agriculture. Such contracts render the private farmers eligible for old-age pensions. Many have also placed their land at the disposal of the socially owned holdings. The land thus handed over is considered a contribution to the old age and retirement insurance funds.

TABLE I

Expansion of Land Area of Socially Owned Holdings

(In thousand hectares)

	Purchase	Soil reclamation schemes, ploughing up of virgin land, etc.				
1958	10	5				
1959	30	36				
1960	37	57				
1961	34	44				
1962	47	25				
1963	136	32				
1964	83	27				
1965	37	7				
1966	17	7				
1967	20	5				
1968	21	14				
1969	24	8				
1970	19	3				
1971	12	13				
Total	527	283				

SOCIALLY OWNED HOLDINGS

Genesis and Expansion of Socially Owned Holding

Two distinct stages may be discerned in the expansion of the land area owned by the socialized holdings. Stage one which lasted from 1945 to 1953 was marked by the expansion of the socially owned land area by institutional measures i.e. the agrarian reforms of 1945 and 1953. The enforcement of the Law on Agrarian Reform of August 23, 1945 resulted in the creation of a large socially owned land pool from which about 600,000 hectare were used for the creation of socialized holdings commonly referred to as state farms at the time in agriculture. Later on in 1953, in conformance with the provisions of the Law on the Socially Owned Land Pool the maximum size of privately owned holdings, was reduced to

TABLE II Development Indicators of Socially Owned Holdings

Indicator	1952	1957	1962	1967	1972
Number of holdings Cultivable surfaces in millions of	17.943	7,586	3,600	2,238	1,772
hectares	2,401	828	1.110	1,340	1,401
Average of holdings (in hectares)	248	415	449	939	1,219
Number of people employed (in thousands)	149	182	257	256	205
(at 1966 prices)	2,570	3,963	10,626	18.164	30,516(*)
Investments (in millions of dinars)	36	521	1,187	1,684	
Mechanical power (in thousands of HP).		471	2,202	2,844	2,770
Livestock numbers (in thousands)	519	226	475	464	464
Consumption of artificial fertilizer in thousands of tons (active					
matter)		101	196	273	287

(*) 1971.

	TABLE III	
Development of	Agricultural	Production

	, ,	Hold	lings
	Total	tal Social Priva	
Index Numb	pers of Agricultural	Production (1954	= 100)
1930-1939 1947 1954 1957 1962 1967 1972	106 94 100 150 157 191 202 e Annual Growth		
1954-1972 1963-1972 1954-1962 1958-1962 1963-1967 1968-1972	4.0 1.7 5.8 4.5 2.5 2.4	10.9 6.5 15.4 18.9 9.1 5.3	2.9 0.6 4.7 2.9 1.0 1.6

Development of Socially Owned Holdings

There were 1,772 social holdings with a total 1,401,000 hectares of cultivable land and an average size of 1,219 hectares. The number of holdings is tending to decline; meanwhile their size is increasing steadily, as testified by the fact that the average size of socially owned holdings was only 248 hectares in 1952. A continuous growth of economic potential in terms of value of fixed assets, investments, mechanical power, productivity etc., was also registered on these holdings (Table II).

Owing to their rapid rate of development the social holdings are acquiring an increasingly important place in Yugoslavia's agriculture. In 1972 these holdings owned 14.9 per cent total arable surfaces, 8.1 per cent of total livestock numbers, 42 per cent of total mechanical power, while accounting for approximately 40 per cent of total artificial fertilizer consumption. The share of these holdings in total agricultural deliveries has reached 45.2 per cent. These organizations also supply 66.3 per cent of total marketable wheat surpluses and 55.6 per cent of maize surpluses.

The socially owned holdings yield 23.9 per cent of total agricultural production. Needless to say, this share varies appreciably by individual republic and province. Thus for example it was in the environs of 9 per cent in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 10 per cent in Montenegro, 25 per cent in Croatia, 30 per cent in Macedonia, 23 per cent in Slovenia, 26 per cent in Serbia, 44 per cent in Vojvodina and 16 per cent in Kosovo.

Output on the socially-owned holdings registered an annual growth rate of 10.9 per cent in the 1954-1972 period. So high a growth rate over so long a period of time as a result of the continuous rise in productivity levels as well as the sustained expansion of cultivable land and overall volume of agricultural production. A distinct tendency in this respect, is noticeable during the period under review. More exactly, the exceptionally vigorous growth rate recorded up to 1962 has tended to slow down since then. Thus for example an annual growth rate of 15.4 per cent was registered in the 1954-1962 period, 6.2 per cent from 1965 to 1972, and 5.3 per cent in the 1969-1972 period. Yet even at the time when production growth rates in the socialized sector of agriculture tended to decreate moderately they none the less remained three-fold higher than those achieved by the privately owned holdings.

The socially owned holdings are becoming increasingly important suppliers of individual agricultural products (Table III). The share of the socially owned holdings in total wheat production was 9.9 per cent in 1957, while rising to 37.6 per cent in 1972. In the case of maize the figures are 10.4 and 17.0 per cent respectively.

The share of the socially owned holdings in the total output of sugar beet was 27.1 per cent in 1957 and 72.8 per cent in 1972. The share of these holdings in total output



Socially Owned Holdings by Size

TABLE IV

	Total	Under 50 hectares	50-100 hectares	100-300 hectares	300-500 hectares	500-10000 hectares	1000-2000 hectares	2000-2500 hectares	2500-5000 hectares	Over 5000 hectares
		P	ercentu	ial shar	e of ho	oldings				
1959 1972	100 100	59.0 39.9	11.1 9.2	14.4 15.5	5.1 5.7	5.0 9.3	3.4 6.7	0.6 2.2	1.1 5.8	0.3 5.7
		Perce	ntual c	listribu	tion of	land a	rea			
1959 1972	100 100	2.9 0.3	3.9 0.6	11.8 2.3	9.1 1.8	16.4 5.4	21.1 7.7	6.1 4.0	16.3 17.3	12.5 60.6

of sunflower seed rose from 15.1 per cent in 1957 to 58.5 per cent in 1972.

The socially owned holdings supplied 25.2 per cent of total meat production in 1972 as against only 7.9 per cent in 1957. The share of the socialized sector in total egg production was only 0.7 per cent in 1957 while rising to 25.1 per cent in 1972.

Average cropyields per hectare registered the most conspicuous increase. Average wheat yields increased from 23.0 metric centners per hectare in 1957 to 36.5 in 1972. Meanwhile the average maize yields rose from 38.4 to 55.9 metric centners per hectare, sugar beet from 286 to 459, sunflower seed from 13.5 to 17.6 metric centners per hectare, etc. Output of milk increased from 2,279 litres per cow in 1957 to 3,937 litres in 1972.

Outstanding progress has also been made by the socialized holdings in the use of modern farming methods and techniques in various sectors of production. Consumption of artificial fertilizer, pesticides, herbicides and other chemicals for crop protection has also reached a high level on these holdings. An average 200 kilograms of artificial fertilizer per hectare is used on the socialized holdings (as against 50 kilograms on the privately owned small holds). Annual consumption of herbicides, pesticides etc., and other chemicals averages 16 kilograms against 1 kilogram per hectare in the private sector.

Types of Socialized Holding

The socially owned holdings consist of so-called agroindustrial combines (i.e. integrated or factory farm), agricultural estates, cooperatives and various specialized, experimental and model farms. The factory farms are invested with the most important role in the promotion of total agricultural output. The activity of these organizations comprises both primary production, processing and marketing.

There were 293 factory farms, socialized estates and farms (17 per cent of the total number of socially owned holdings) which owned 1,498,000 hectares of farmlands (or 69 per cent of total cultivable surfaces in the socialized sector), in 1972, as well as 906 farm cooperatives (51 per cent) with 492,000 hectares i.e. 23 per cent of land. There were also 573 (32 per cent) specialized, experimental and model farms managed and operated by various scientific research institutes, schools, etc., with 185,000 hectares or 8 per cent of land.

The average size of an agroindustrial combine i.e. factory farm is approximately 5,200 hectares while the biggest organizations of this kind may have as much as 100,000 hectares. Eighty four such farms have vielded over 50,000 tons of wheat, while 34 supplied marketable surpluses of over 7,500 tons of beef. The high productivity levels achieved on these holdings, are primarily a result of up to date technological methods. In 1968 an input of 1.4 hrs human and 0.4 hrs mechanical labour was required for the output of 100 kilograms of wheat, while the output of 100 kilograms of maize required an input of 2.5 hrs human and 0.4 hrs mechanical labour. Many production processes have been fully mechanized. Thus for example 94 and 54 per cent of the total wheat and maize yields respectively were obtained by the complex mechanization of all processes in 1968. A high level of mechanization has also been achieved in the production of sugar beet, sunflower seed, potatoes, milk, etc.

Of a total 906 cooperatives registered in 1972, 746 have their own land, white virtually all cooperatives are engaged in the sales-purchase of agricultural produce and various forms of cooperation with the private sector.

Land Tenure Patterns of Socially Owned Holding

Several interesting trends are noticeable in land tenure patterns in the socialized sector of agriculture. A strong and continuous tendance to the concentration of land in a smaller number of holdings (Table IV) is evident in the first place.

Almost 90 per cent of total cultivable surfaces are already concentrated in about 20 per cent of all holdings at present. This process will undoubtedly continue at an even more rapid rate in the forthcoming period as a result of sustained technological development.

Cooperation of Socially and Privately Owned Holdings in the Sphere of Agricultural Production

A more vigorous and intensive development of cooperation with the privately owned holdings in the production of various agricultural commodities, livestock breeding, etc. as a specific form of socialization and promotion of agricultural production in the private sector began in 1957. The number of private farmers who embarked on various forms of cooperation in the crop farming sector increased rapidly during the initial phase which lasted till 1958. The number of coproduction contracts declined subsequently owing to

Photo Office du Tourisme Yougoslave. Mladen Gréević

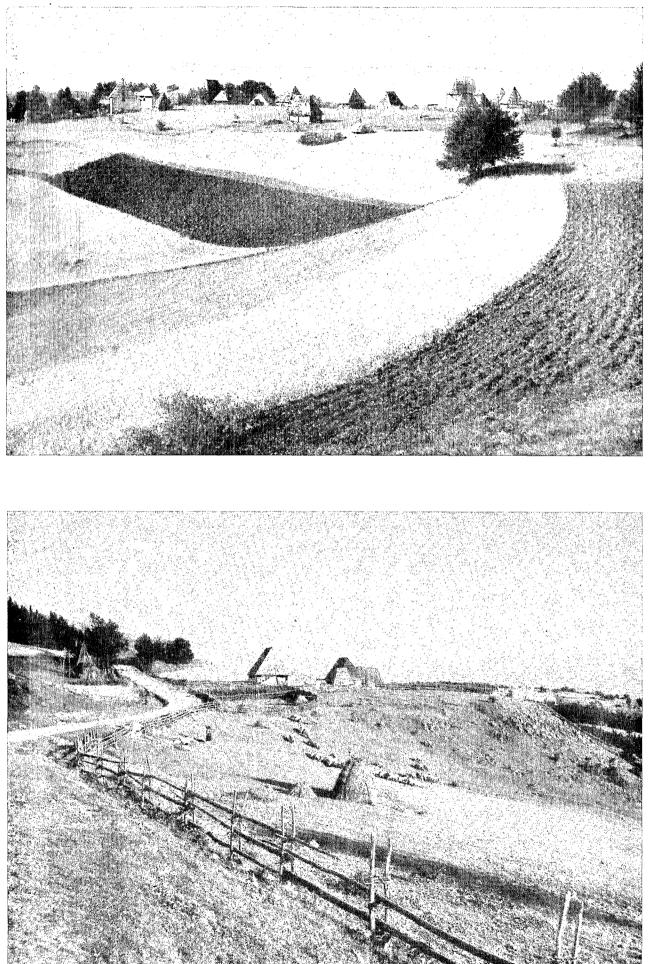


Photo Ambassade de Yougoslavie



the purchase of tractors and mechanization by the private farmers and the smaller number of farming operations carried out by tractor (various types of deep plowing, etc.).

Cooperation between the socialized and private sectors in the sphere of livestock farming developed at a more even and stable pace. In this case too, the number of private farmer-contractors declined, but the scope and volume of cooperation is increasing continuously as is the importance of co-production in assuring the supply of marketable livestock products.

As in the case of crop farming, the rapid rise in livestock production is a result of cooperation between the two sectors. Particularly satisfactory results have been achieved with regard to the selection and improvement of livestock, i.e. the introduction of highly productive breeds of livestock particularly of beef cattle, poultry and pigs. Domestic breeds of chicken have virtually disappeared in the sector of poultry farming and conventional production methods of poultry breeding replaced by mass production in incubators (Table VI).

As indicated by the foregoing survey the socialized sector of agriculture is contributing in a twofold manner to the development and increase of overall farm production. Firstly, they are continuously raising output levels by increasing the volume of production per unit of land area and by the expansion of cultivable surfaces. Secondly, they are steadily promoting production on the privately owned holdings by means of coproduction contracts and various other forms of cooperation.

The Privately Owned Holdings (Smallholds)

The private sector of agriculture consists of the privately owned agricultural holdings i.e. smallholds of which there were 2,600,000 in 1969. (Every tract of cultivable land of over one thousand sq. meters used for agricultural production is classed as a holding by Yugoslav statistics). These holdings account for about 85 per cent of total cultivable surfaces, about 92 per cent of conditional livestock numbers, approximately 58 per cent of mechanical power, and yield about 76 per cent of total agricultural production.

Three distinct periods are discernible with regard to the numerical development of the privately owned holdings. Up to 1940 the number of holdings, particularly smallholds increased steadily as a result of the slow rate of economic development. The number of holdings remained more or less stationary during stage two which lasted from 1949 to 1955. After 1955 the number of holdings declined in the economically more advanced regions, while rising moderately in the economically backward areas where rural overpopulation is heavier and rural households consist of two or more families with large numbers of dependants. During the past few years however, the number of holdings is inCooperation Between the Socialized Sector and with Privately Owned Holdings in Crop Farming

	1962	1967	1972
Number of private farmer contractors (in thousands) Farming operation:	730	872	588
Standard and deep plowing, harrowing and plowing up (in thousands hectares) — Sowing on 000's hectares — Harvesting on 000's hectares — Threshing in 000's tons	937 222	931 282 305 1,687	399 307 316 977
 Supply of farmers with raw materials and other producers' goods: Wheat seed in 000's tons Maize seed in 000's tons Fruit seedlings in 000's Artificial fertilizer in 000's tons Crop protection chemicals in 000's tons 	169 4 985 588 6	86 14 942 989 12	67 18 1,275 1,067 9

TABLE VI

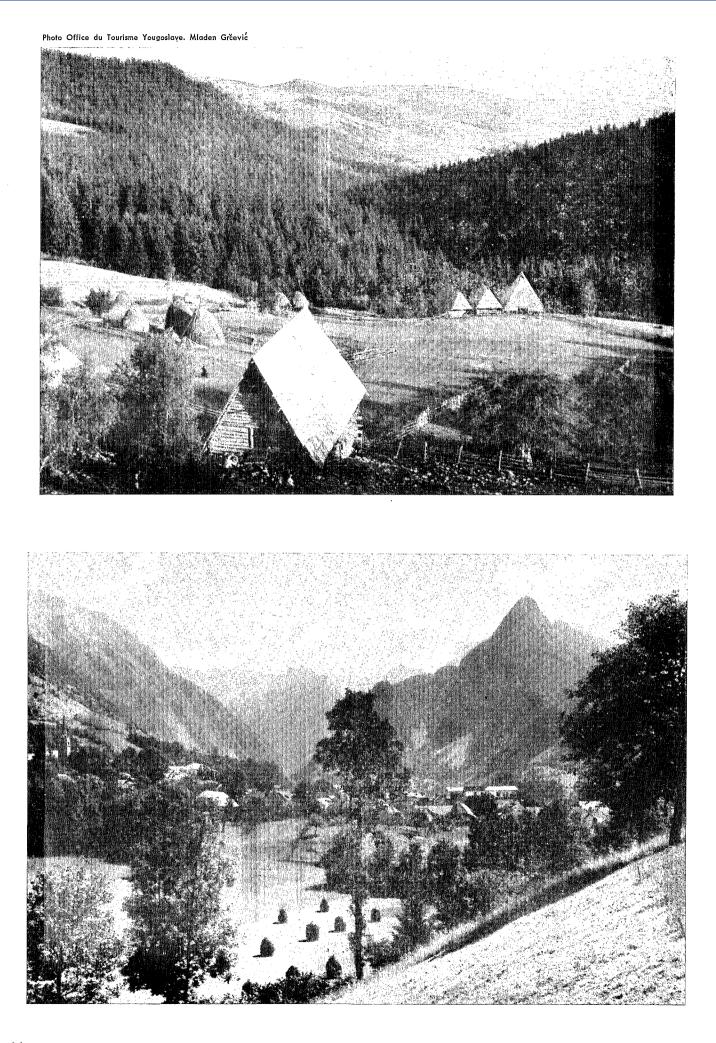
Cooperation with Private Sector in Livestock Farming

	1958	1962	1967	1972
Number of farmer-contractors (in thou- sands) Livestock numbers delivered by privately owned smallholds (in 000's):	70	244	279	287
— Beef cattle	54(*) 1,238(*) 212(*)	763	1,078	422 1,479 23,208
Supplies delivered to private farmers: — Concentrated cattle feed in thousands of tons		102	343	573
Purebred stock: — Beef cattle	6,857 41,437	3,998 21,107	14,076 31,535	
Sheep	9,354	18,163	26,030	3,157

(*) In 1959.

creasing also in the economically more advanced regions as a result of immigration from the highland regions of the country.

As the economically more advanced areas are in a position to absorb a considerable labour force, the members of the younger generations tend to leave the farm thus depleting the rural areas of their manpower reserves. This is why the number of holdings cultivated by old people is also highest in these areas, or more exactly this is where the downward tendency in the total number of holdings is the most conspicuous. Rural households are also smaller in number in the economically advanced areas and usually consist of one family only so that there is no need to subdivide the land among the heirs. In the economically less developed regions rural households consist of



two or more families, thus resulting in widespread subdivision and fragmentation of land. This also explains the different tendencies notes with regard to the increase or decrease of the total number of holdings per individual region. It is interesting to note, however, that up to 1941 the number of holdings increased rapidly owing to widespread subdivision and the tendency to the fragmentation of land entailed by the ever stronger penetration of capitalist relations in agriculture. According to the estimates made in 1941, there were 2,636,000 holdings which means that the number of holdings increased by about 600,000 since 1931.

Some rural households are orientated primarily to market production and the expansion of their land area, some gravitate to non-agricultural activities, while others tend to leave the farm or convert it into a mere garden plot, etc. It has also been noticed that the larger holdings tend to expand by the purchase and rent of land and thus increase output on larger surfaces. Rural households whose members earn income outside the farm tend to sell part of their land or rent it.

Changes have occurred with regard to the share of the smallest and largest holdings in the interval between the two censuses (1949 and 1969). The increase in the number of holdings of less than 2 hectares resulted in a larger share of this group in the total number of holdings (Table VIII).

The decrease in the number of larger holdings also resulted in a proportionate reduction of their share in the total number of holdings. Such tendencies in land tenure patterns are due to the massive and continuous migration of the rural population and labour force to urban and industrial areas.

Two distinct tendencies are discernible since 1955 with regard to land tenure patterns in the private sector of agriculture. One tendency can best be defined as a gradual polarization of holdings (the larger ones tend to expand, while the smaller reduce their land area even further). Meanwhile the tendency to strengthen and expand the socially owned holdings as the basic protagonists of large scale socially organized production, progress prosperity and various forms of coproduction, cooperation and socialization is evident throughout the country.

Employment outside the holding. Three groups of holdings can be distinguished according to the vocational orientation of economically active persons, namely those whose owners and household members earn their income exclusively from agricultural production; those whose members are gainfully employed outside the holding (so-called mixed holdings) and thirdly holdings owned by nonagri-cultural households. The owners of about 42 per cent of the total number of holdings are permanently employed outside the farm. These are the so-called mixed holdings which derive income also from nonagricultural sectors of activity. The number of mixed holdings differs by region depending of ownership structure, econo-

TABLE VII

Number of Holdings by Republic

(In thousands)

						1949	1960	1969
Yugoslavia - total .	 	•			- -	2,605	2,629	2,600
Bosnia-Herzegovina	 					412	461	497
Croatia	 					670	656	615
Macedonia						165	158	158
Montenegro	 					73	65	62
Serbia	 					1,078	1.094	1.085
Serbia proper						658	680	694
Kosovo	 					93	102	108
Vojvodina	 					327	312	2.83
Slovenia						197	195	180

TABLE VIII

Holdings by Land Area in 1969

	Hole	dings	Land area		
Group of holding	Number	Percentual	In 000's	Percentual	
	in 000's	share	hectares	share	
Total holdings	2,600	100.0	10,096	100.0	
	1,013	38.9	983	9.7	
	926	35.6	3,122	30.9	
	384	14.7	2,438	24.1	
	276	10.6	3,552	35.1	

mic development levels attained, regional distribution, location of industrial and prosperity areas, transport and communications, etc.

The structural changes currently under way are extremely important for the socialization of agricultural production and land as they also assure the necessary conditions for such processes.

About 1,420,000 persons living on privately owned holdings are permanently employed outside the farm (80 per cent of these people work outside and 20 per cent in their place of residence). As already mentioned the owners of about 42 per cent of the total number of holdings or members of their households are permanently employed outside the farm. Such smallholds are commonly referred to as "mixed holdings" as income is derived fromtwo or more sources. Mixed hodings in agriculture are a corollary of rapid economic development and a characteristic feature of all industrially advanced countries.

The reasons underlying the genesis and proliferation of mixed holdings are many and various, among which low income levels in nonagricultural sectors of activity and on the farm, instability in the agricultural market, the tendency to keep the

TABLE IX

Structure of Holdings According to Vocational Orientation of Economically Active Persons

							· · ·	(Total — 100
-						Agricultural holdings	, Mixed holdings	Non- agricultural holdings
Yugoslavia - total .						59		7
Bosnia-Herzegovina					•	55	35	10
Croatia							36	8
Macedonia							39	8
Montenegro							28	10
Serbia						64	29	7
Serbia proper							30	4
Kosovo							31	7
Vojvodina							27	14
Slovenia						49	43	8

TABLE X

Market Production Levels by Individual Holding in Terms of Social Structure in 1969 (*)

Type of holding	Number of holdings	Land area	Share of market production		surp	l value
1.			Gross	Net	Gross	Net
Agricultural Mixed: — predominantly	58	69	40.7	+ 109.5	+ 57	+ 38
agricultural — predominantly	11	13	37.1	+ 12.1	+ 53	+ 21
nonagricultural	15	12	12.9	- 5.4	+ 44	10
Nonagricultural	10	3	3.8	15.7	+ 31	- 64
Devoid of labour for-		_				
ce	6	3	5.2	— 0.5	+ 42	- 4
Total	100	100	100	100	+ 53	+ 23
			۱ <u></u>	1	1	

(*) The gross market production figures denote the total quantity of agricultural produce sold in the market, while the net figures denote the value of these sales after the deduction of food purchases

> holdings, a slower rate of urban growthetc., should be cited among the most important.

> Mixed holdings which derive an income from agriculture and other sectors of activity are formed as a result. This category comprises many transitional forms, depending on the share of income derived from nonagricultural activity, place of work, etc. There are also notable regional variations in the number of mixed holdings depending on economic development levels attained, size holding, of development of the communications and transport system, location of industrial projects, etc.

As a result of overall economic progress this type of holding tended to abandon agricultural production and decrease in size, thus gradually changing into the garden plot of factory workers and office employees in terms of land area and production patterns. Production for the market is tending to decline or develop on a smaller scale on this type of holdings as its owners and household members are gainfully employed outside of the farm and therefore in a position to increase consumption and spending. In the economically less developed regions where the market is insufficiently developed and opportunities for the sale of agricultural produce limited, the owners of such holdings tend to invest more heavily in the farm and promote intensive production methods because they have regular income from work outside the holding.

A certain number of mixed holdings (namely those predominantly engaged in agricultural production) have achieved a balanced budget but the majority are operating at a loss, as their total purchases exceed the value of sales (Table X).

As indicated by the foregoing survey the agricultural holdings yield almost the total net market production. Deficits were registered in certain number of agricultural holdings however, although this is not shown above as average figures are cited. The agricultural holdings, i.e. those whose owners and dependants derive their income exclusively from farm production may be considered the foremost market producers. In the mixed holding group 35 per cent have market surpluses. Deficits have been noted in the other categories with the smallest land areas.

The rapid increase in the number of mixed holdings which formerly belonged to the category of the smaller and smallest holdings tends to mitigate the sharp economic differentation in rural areas entailed by increased output and commodity production.

As already stated, the mixed and nonagricultural holdings are decreasing in size in many regions and are gradually changing into garden plots in terms of size and production patterns. In the economically less developed regions the mixed holdings reinvest the money earned outside the holding in the promotion and modernization of agricultural production.

Contemplated as a whole, production mixed and nonagricultural holdings is declining owing to the reduction of the holding or deterioration of output.

About 80 per cent of persons permanently employed outside the holding work outside their place of residence. In some cases their place of work may be over ten kilometers distant. The majority of these persons commute to work every day. As their workday is far longer than that of the average worker who lives in the city, their productivity levels are also correspondingly lower. Work conditions are least favourable in those regions where the transportation of workers from their village to their place of work has not been organized in a satisfactory manner.

In the majority of workers' and office employees' holdings women bear the brunt of farm work.

TABLE XI

Market Production Levels by Size of Holding in 1969

Size of holding	Percen- tual share	Land area	produ	ket Iction Tels	produc	f market tion in output
J	Share		Gross	Net	Gross	Net
Less than 2 hectares 2-3 hectares 3-5 hectares 5-8 hectares Over 8 hectares	35 15 21.3 16.2 12.5	10.5 11.9 23.6 26.4 28.3	15.7 12.1 22.8 25.8 23.6	18.2 7.6 29.2 38.3 42.1	+ 43 + 49 + 53 + 58 + 59	22 + 13 + 28 + 43 + 44
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	+ 53	+ 23

The rapid increase of the number of mixed holdings, a category with two or more sources of income is invested with a profound social and economic significance as it denotes for reaching changes in rural socio-economic patterns.

By remaining on the holding i.e. in the village, these people have reduced the need for investments in housing construction and the urban services which would be substantial if all who work outside their place of residence would want to leave the village.

A distinct tendency on the part of the larger holdings to purchase or rent land from "old people's" and mixed holdings is also noticeable. Similar tendencies to differentiation by size are also noticeable with regard to the creation of income, receipts and expenditures (Table XI).

The smaller holdings are actually operating at a loss or more exactly their purchases of agricultural and food products exceed sales of these commodities. Holdings of over 5 hectares may be considered the principal market producers.

Holdings of less than 2 hectares are largely operating at a loss, although they may achieve a small surplus in some years.

During the past ten years receipts from the sale of agricultural products have tended to rise most slowly on the smallest holdings. These receipts tend to increase concurrently with the size of holdings. This is entirely natural as the larger holdings are in a better position to develop commodity production.

Thus for example 26 per cent of total receipts on holdings of less than 2 hectares are spent on the farm, while the remaining 74 per cent is spent on the standard of living of the respective household. The share of farm expenditures tends to increase parallel with the size of the holding, the current ratio being 49:51 on holdings of over 8 hectares.

Differentiation According to Market Production Levels

The data on the value of sales of farm produce by type of holding afford a better insight in the market production levels attained by the different types of holding. A survey of these tendencies indicates that a smaller group of holdings yields the largest share of marketable surpluses.

It is also evident that about 48 per cent of the total number of smallholds are devoid of net marketable surpluses and that their actual balance is negative. On the other hand, about 13.5 per cent of the total number of holdings with higher production levels actually supply 84 per cent of net marketable production. These 1.35 per cent also own about 25 per cent of the total land area. About 48 per cent of holdings operating at a loss own about 32 per cent of total cultivable surfaces. The data available indicate that only a certain number of the total 2,630,000 statistically registered holdings are actually producing for the market and that their share in total marketable surpluses is increasing steadily from year to year.