



# ANALYSIS OF THE AGRARIAN LAND REFORM IN UZBEKISTAN DURING THE SOVIET ERA AND AFTER TRANSITION

# ANALÝZA AGRÁRNYCH PÔDNYCH REFORIEM V UZBEKISTANE POČAS SOVIETSKEJ ÉRY A PO TRANSFORMÁCII\*

Aygul ISMAILOVA \*\* - Elmurod BAYNAZAROV \*\*\*

### I. Introduction

Land tenure is based on establishing of different kinds of land reforms. Therefore, the land reforms are flexible and necessary tool for implementation of land management. Establishment of good legal foundations and consequently its fulfilment can lead to good distribution of farm structure and supports the rights of users as well as owners. Therefore, the role of land reforms was identified as the main instrument in agricultural land management.

In the framework of the research, the land reforms in Uz-bekistan were chosen as research object. The main objective of this research paper was to analyze the development of the land reforms pre, during and after socialistic regime and to study the impacts of land reforms on the farm structure.

### II. Materials and Methods

The methodology of the research was based on theoretical knowledge in the field of the investigated study, which were obtained by studying of applicable domestic and foreign literature. The methods of examination, analysis and compari-

### Abstract (EN)

The aim of this paper is to review the development of land tenure process in Uzbekistan from the times of socialism up to current days. Based on the results of the analysis we found out that structure of land tenure in Uzbekistan before 1917 was different. After the implementation of the agrarian reforms in December 1925 by Soviet government, the land was nationalized in Uzbekistan. However, during transition period the structure of land tenure after the establishment of new land reforms was significantly diversified in Uzbekistan. Success of the land reforms is very important for Uzbekistan in providing stable growth in the country. Given analysis is based on data from official statistical organizations, international organizations and other research materials.

### Keywords (EN)

reforms, land tenure, planned economy, market economy, agriculture

son were dominantly used. This research methodology required relevant data collection from the specific documents and compiling databases in order to analyze the material and reach more complete understanding of the land tenure and its impact on structure of farms. Data were mainly obtained from the Statistical Office of Uzbekistan. Moreover, the following legal regulations were used: The Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan (December 8, 1992); The Land Code N599-1 from 30.04.1998; The Law N 97-XII "On Land" from 20.06.1990 (with amendments and additions entered by the Laws of the Republic of Uzbekistan from 20.4.91, 20.11.1991, 7.05.93, 6.06.94, 23.09.94, 6.05.95 and 31.08.95); Law on "Peasant Farms" adopted in July 1992; The Law on "Peasant farms" from 30.04.1998 with amendments from 2004; The Law on agricultural cooperatives from 30.04.1998; The Law on "Dekhkan farms", adopted in 30.04.1998 and others.

## III. Results and Discussion

The Importance of Land Reforms

Agricultural economists emphasized land reforms as one of

## Abstrakt (sk)

Cieľom príspevku je priblížiť vývoj vlastníctva pôdy v Uzbekistane od čias socializmu po súčasnosť. Štúdia potvrdila, že štruktúra vlastníctva pôdy v Uzbekistane bola pred rokom 1917 odlišná. Po tom, ako sovietska vláda zaviedla v decembri roku 1925 agrárnu reformu, došlo v krajine k znárodneniu pôdy. Počas prechodného obdobia, po zavedení nových pôdnych reforiem, bolo vlastníctvo pôdy v Uzbekistane značne diverzifikované. Úspešné zavedenie pôdnych reforiem je v Uzbekistane nevyhnutné pre zabezpečenie stabilného rastu. Predkladaná štúdia je založená na údajoch z oficiálnych štatistických organizácií, medzinárodných organizácií a iných výskumných materiálov.

### Kľúčové slová (SK)

reformy, vlastníctvo pôdy, plánovaná ekonomika, trhová ekonomika, poľnohospodárstvo

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<sup>\*\*</sup> Slovak University of Agriculture in Nitra.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> National University of Uzbekistan.

the most important processes. Thus, they claim that there is a close relationship between land reforms and agricultural performance. However, land reforms mean different things for different people and in different circumstances. For some countries as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Slovakia, the privatization of communal or state land in order to make it available for commercial use is introduced as land reform. However, for others, it is state ownership or partial state ownership (Uzbekistan, Belarus, and Turkmenistan).(1)

Many other authorities brought more restricted definitions. For example, according to the following authors as Ghai, Khan, Lee and Radwan (1979), the "Land reforms"

- 1. Compulsory takeover of land, usually,
- a. by the state
- b. from the biggest landowners
- c. with partial compensation;
- 2. State can have transferred rights to land, for example it may sell it or rent for private farming in smaller units than before (distributions reform); or the land may be cultivated jointly as co-operative, collective or state farming (collectivist reform).(2)

Csáki and Forgács<sup>(3)</sup> reviewed from the Rodrick's paper that the impact of individual decisive factors of performance cannot be taken as a cross-country study. The performance is constrained according to the individual conditions in different countries. Taking this fact into consideration, it seems inevitable to place priority on land reforms in countries where market relationships do not work properly and where the public sector has not been set up to provide public goods urgently needed in rural areas for making private investment profitable and for provision of social services, which are so far provided by large farmers.

To summarize, the land reforms could be defined in different ways by various researchers, but as a whole, it serves as a strong strategy for encouragement, economic development and inducing of the environmental quality.

### The Historical Background of Land Reforms

Historically, social changes and economic development had considerable impact on the land reforms. Between the 18th and 19th centuries, the transformation from feudalism to the commercial capitalism experienced uncountable changes in the field of land reforms. For example, the class cooperation by enclosure laws of the 19th century created a new era of industrialization and economic growth in England. However, in France peasant resistance did not lead to the capitalism

(1) Wegren, S. Land reform in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Taylor and Francis library, 2005. ISBN 0-203-75681-9, pages 6 - 8, 17.

but to "renter landlordism". If dating back to Asian countries, throughout the 19th century, for example, Japanese path observed a class of the battles between landlords and peasantry. Thus, tax and rent system, charged by landlords and state, led to the development of industrialization. (4)

The main land reforms during the 20th century happened under unusual circumstances, namely, as part of a social revolution (Mexico, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Cuba, Russia in 1917, China in 1949), as the outcome of war (Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Eastern and Central Europe after 1945), as part of the process of liberation from a colonial power (Kenya, Algeria, eastern and central Europe after 1989) or as part of a process of systemic change (Ethiopia, Vietnam, China in 1978).<sup>(5)</sup>

At the beginning of the 21st century, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (hereafter referred to as CIS) generated creation of new land tenure in many of these former blocks. Therefore, the land reforms became one of the main tools of the transition program. It is particularly similar for the CIS countries because of their outstanding agrarian nature, which leads to a high dependence of the rural population on agriculture and land. The land reform in CIS included privatization of land (which belonged to the state during the Soviet era) and restructuring of large-scale collective farms - the hallmark of Soviet agriculture - into family farms or other market-oriented organizational forms. This approach to land reform emphasized individualization of agriculture and not just privatization of land in the formal sense of ownership transferred from the state to private owners or the establishment of sophisticated land titling and registration systems. Despite the generally common form of inherited structure from soviet era, different countries followed different implementation paths, which resulted in a substantial divergence of outcomes.(6)

### The Land Reforms during the 20th Century in Uzbekistan

Before the era of communist rule, the Uzbek territory had its own inherited land structure. There were different types of land ownership for example: waqfy<sup>(7)</sup>, mulk<sup>(8)</sup> and state land<sup>(9)</sup>. The Khan or Emir owned all undeveloped land and the public land was administered locally. All the children in-

- (6) Lerman, Z. 2008. Agricultural Development in Uzbekistan.
- (7) Waqf (Arabic) in Muslim countries property (preimusch. land), tax-free and inalienable, granted in the form of a gift or bequest or religious charities. by EdwART,, 2009. http://dic. academic.ru/dic.nsf/dic\_fwords/43833/%D0%B2%D0%B0% D0%BA%D1%84#sel=5:1,6:9
- Mulk (hold) view private ownership of land in the countries of the Middle East in the middle ages and modern time from Historical dictionary. 2000. http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/ hist\_dic/12170
- (9) Hojamuradov, U. R. 2013. Formation and development of the farming movement of Uzbekistan. Journal of Scientific publications and post-graduate students. ISSN 1991-3087. 10.10.2006.

<sup>(2)</sup> Ghai, D. P. - Khan, A. - Lee - Radwan 1979. Agrarian system and rural development. London: Macmillan, 1979. 375 p. ISBN 0-333-27343-5.

<sup>(3)</sup> Csáki, C. - Forgács, C. 2008. Agriculture in Central and Eastern Europe. After One Half Decade of Transformation. In Proceedings of a Joint IAAE-EAAE Seminar (Volume I). Leibniz: Institute of Agricultural Development in Central and Eastern Europe, 2008, pages 4 - 7.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>left(4\right)}$  Wegren, S. Land reform in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Ob. Cit.

Griffin, K. - Aziznur R. K. - Ickowitz, A. 2001. Poverty and the Distribution of Land [online], 2001. [cit. 2001-04-29]. Available on the internet: http://economics.ucr.edu/papers/papers00/00-09.pdf

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herited the land(10).

After 1917, when Uzbekistan became one of the socialistic countries, the land structure and its usage started to change radically. Thus, on the base of these reforms the land was nationalized in December 1925 in Uzbekistan.

In Uzbekistan as in all other Soviet republics, mainly two types of farms dominated during the system of the Soviet Union. Most of the area was cultivated under the control of collective farms (kolkhozes) and state farms (sovkhozes)<sup>(11)</sup>. Subsequently, the farmers lost all rights to land and turned into a "mercenary" who carried the state order.

Thus, the farms (fermerskie hozyatva or peasant farms)<sup>(12)</sup> were formed on a plot, which was rented by kolkhozes. In fact, the first farms were considered as tenants at collective and state farms. Manufactured goods were handed on the base of the contract to the collective or state farms. The Soviet power, thus, bound these tenants with the large scaled farms by taking full control over their activities. Another case was farms created on base of loans received from the state. Additionally, there were cases of farms created by using of private funds. Most farmers had a bank accounts and paid taxes.

Mainly, these farmers were accountable for the state. This situation prevented the free development of farming. Despite all the difficulties, farming in Uzbekistan was growing fast and it was difficult to stop this gait<sup>(13)</sup>.

Besides tenants and large scaled collective farms, there were also so called small private farms<sup>(14)</sup> (before the adoption the Law on "Dekhan farms" in 1998, they did not have defined legal status). Much smaller area was cultivated by household, which means plots of small private farms with area smaller than one hectare. The 'owners' of these plots were allowed to produce their own products<sup>(15)</sup>. Despite the fact, that these farms were using only small piece of land, their role increased considerably during the last decades of the Soviet era. They cultivated just 3% of arable land, however, gross agricultural product annually accounted for 20-

- (10) Eckert, J. Elwert, G. (1995). Land Tenure in Uzbekistan. Study for the Guiding Principles: Land Tenure in Development Cooperation. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zuzammenarbeit (GTZ).
- (11) Soviet law distinguishes the two forms in the following way: sovkhozes are state-owned enterprises that employ workers similarly to a Western corporation; kolkhozes are collectivelyowned and managed enterprises that the members have entered voluntarily and share the profits. In later Soviet times, there was little real difference between the two types (Bloch, 2002).
- (12) After adoption "Law on Peasant farms" in 30.4.1998 they were renamed as peasant farms in Uzbekistan.
- (13) Hojamuradov, U.R. 2013. Formation and development of the farming movement of Uzbekistan. Ob. Cit.
- (14) After adoption "Law on Dekhan farms" in 30.04.1998 they were recognized as Dekhkan farms in Uzbekistan.
- (15) Djanibekov, N. Lamers, JPA. Bobojonov, I. 2010. Land consolidation for increasing cotton production in Uzbekistan: Also adequate for triggering rural development? In: Labar K, Petrick M, Buchenrieder G (eds.): Challenges of education and innovation. Proceedings of the Fourth Green Week Scientific Conference. IAMO Studies on the Agricultural and Food Sector in Central and Eastern Europe, Vol. 56, Halle, 140 149.

25% between the years 1980 and 1990. These household plots were mainly concentrated on livestock production. For example, since 1970, the households in Uzbekistan owned more cattle than collective and state farms together. Except livestock production, small household plots specialized in horticulture. For instance, they were producing 30% of the total output of potatoes, 45% of vegetables, 60% of fruits and barriers throughout the period from 1980 till 1989. The main producers of cotton and grain were coexisted large-scale collective and state farms. Thus, these small household plots produced only 5% of grain production to feed their animals. Basically, they sold their production to the three main consumers: local large-scale farms (i); state - controlled consumer crop network (ii); nearby town so called BAZAARs (local markets) - the rest of the production (iii)<sup>(16)</sup>.

In conclusion, the history of land reforms is really saturable and manyfold so that each period reflects its specific impact on individual country.

# The Legislative Framework for Agrarian Reforms after 1989

In Uzbekistan, early land reforms started, before reaching Independence (1991). The Law "On Land" N 97-XII from 20.06.1990 and later on the amendments and additions to the Law "On Land" N439-XII from 20.11.1991, Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan from 26.04.1996 N 231-I, Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan from 23.09.1994 N 2022-XII, as amended by Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan from 06.05.1995 No. 70-1 of the Republic of Uzbekistan were one of the first legalisations (but now they are dead letter from 1998, after adoption of the Land Code N599-1) where the land stated to be owned by the state, except the following cases. Land plots may be transferred into ownership:

- legal and physical persons, including foreign, in the privatization of objects of trade and services, together with the land plots on which they are located;
- foreign legal and natural persons employees of diplomatic corps, journalists, accredited in the Republic of Uzbekistan, staff of permanent missions, firms, companies and international organizations of the persons working on a permanent basis in enterprises with foreign investments, as well as a person permanently resident in the Republic and having views residence during the implementation of the premises, together with the land plots on which they are located; (Part entered in accordance with the Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan from 23.09.1994, N 2022-XII, in edition of Law from 06.05.1995, No. 70-1)
- diplomatic missions and equivalent international organizations accredited in the Republic of Uzbekistan, when implemented in ownership of buildings or parts of buildings used for space missions including the residence of the head of the mission, together with the land plots on which they are located, as well as land plots for construction of buildings these offices. (Paragraph introduced in accordance with the Law of the Republic

<sup>(16)</sup> Lerman, Z. 2008. Agricultural Development in Uzbekistan. Ob. Cit.



Table 1: The Share of the Categories of the Agricultural Land to the Total Area of the Country

| The structure of agricultural lands is Uzbekistab (01.01.2012) | % from the total<br>area of agricultural<br>land | % from the total area of the country |
|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| Arable land (82% of the irrigated, rainfed 18%)                | 19,7   | 9,1                                  |
| Perennials (fruit, vines, mulberry and others)                 | 1,6  | 0,8                                  |
| Farmstead lands (Priusadebnie hozyastva)                       | 3,0  | 1,4                                  |
| Meadows  | 0,5  | 0,2                                  |
| Grasslands   | 53,8   | 25,0                                 |
| Afforestation (shelterbelts, poplar plantations)               | 1,03   | 0,5                                  |
| Shrubbery  | 0,15   | 0,07                                 |
| Lands under reclamation construction                           | 0,35   | 0,20                                 |
| Fallow land  | 0,38   | 0,20                                 |
| Unused lands   | 19,3   | 8,9                                  |
| Total area of agricultural land (24,473,500 ha)                | 100  | 46,1                                 |
| Total land area of the cointry (44,410,300 ha)                 | 100  |                                      |

Source: own processing. UNDP, Uzbekistan. Project document, page 6.

Table 2: Main Characteristics and Changes in the Farms Structure in Uzbekistan

|                           | Dekahn farms<br>on the base of<br>the Land Law<br>in 1990<br>(now it is a dead<br>letter from 1998,<br>after adoption of<br>the Land Code<br>N599-1) | Dekhan<br>farms after<br>adoptions<br>of the Land<br>Code in 1998 | Peasant farms on the base of Land Law in 1990 (now it is a dead letter from 1998, after adoption of the Land Code N599-1) | Peasant farms after<br>adoptation of the<br>Land Code N599-1<br>in 1998   | Shirkat<br>(agricultural<br>enterprises) in 1998   |
|---------------------------|--|---|---|---|--|
| Definition                | a partially commercial farms<br>based on a household plot  |   |   | an independent commercial farm organized as a legal body  | a large scale corporate<br>farms based on member-<br>ship shares with private<br>ownership of assets |
| Labor                     | family members   |   | no rights for<br>hired labour   | mainly family labor + rights for<br>hired labour  | members, hired workers   |
| Land allocation           | arrable land in the village  |   |   | prime shirkat land aquired in return for membership shares; also reserved land, utilized shirkat land, lands of unprofitable shirkats, land in particular irrigated areas | prime agricultural land around villages  |
| Land tenure               | lifetime inheritable possession  |   | lease period<br>max. 10 years   | long term lease from 10-50 years  | permanent possession for agricultural purposes   |
| Owners                    | workers of agricultural<br>enterprises, rural employers,<br>pensioners   |   |   | any adults person with sufficient<br>agricultural qualifications or ex-<br>perience; typically former worker<br>of agricultural enterprise                                | members - shareholders   |
| Production specialization | livestock, vegetables  |   |   | any crop or livestock   | mainly, scale crops<br>(wheat, cotton)   |
| Size of land              | 0.25 ha for irrigated land, 0.5 ha for non irrigated land  | 0.35 ha is the fixed size of land for these farms                 |   | 0.45 ha -30 ha. The plor dependence on the usage purpose  |  |

**Source:** Own proceeding on the base of the Table 2.1 from the Discussion Paper No. 7.08 Agricultural Development in Uzbekistan: The Effect of Ongoing Reforms by Zvi Lerman, 2008, page 5.

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- of Uzbekistan from 26.04.1996, N 231-I).
- Citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan shall have the right to a land plot, which are defined by this Law and other the legislative acts of the Republic of Uzbekistan (Article 2 from the Law "On Land" N 97-XII, 1990).

Additionally to those above-mentioned legal acts, there was a change in the structure of the farm and the new farm structure - the peasant farm - began to emerge in 1991, as members of large-scale collective and state farms. The Organization of farms was carried out step by step with an evolutionary method. On the base of the new "Law on Peasant Farms" adopted in July 1992 was ensured the legal status of this new form of family farms. The implementation of this new law led to a significant increase in the number of registered peasant farms from less than 2,000 in 1990 - 1991 to 50,000 in 2000 - 2001 and then to nearly 200,000 in 2006. The average size of peasant farms doubled over the years, rising from less than 10 hectares in the early 1990 to about 20 hectares of arable land in the early 2000s (comparable to the average farm of 20 ha in Ukraine and 40 ha in Russia)<sup>(17)</sup>.

### Land State Ownership in Uzbekistan

The adoption of the new Uzbek Constitution in December 1992 reaffirmed the land ownership and subsequently approved its culminated power after the implementation of the new Land Code in 1998<sup>(18)</sup>. According to this Code, agricultural land is allocated to the users by the state, but without any transferred rights. Lifetime inheritable possession of land handed by families cannot be sold, given away as a gift, or exchanged; land leased from the state by individual users cannot be subleased (a form of subleasing - "intrafarm leasing" - is allowed only to worker families within a shirkat). Users pay for the use of state-owned land in the form of land tax of lease payments, but no "down payment" is required when land is allocated<sup>(19)</sup>.

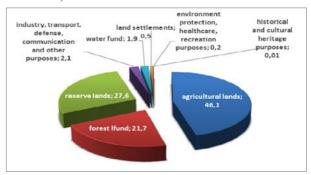
### The Structure of the Land Fund in Uzbekistan

According to the structure of the Land Fund of the country, the major categories of land (Fig. 1) are agricultural land (46.1%); forest lands (21.7%), as well as reserve lands (27.6%). These three categories cover more than 42 million hectares (95% of the country).

As it can be seen from the Fig. 2 the major categories of the agricultural land with the total area of 20 473 500 ha (100%) represent the grasslands with an area of 11 018 800 ha (53.8%), arable lands with an area of 4 045 600 ha (19.7%) and unused lands with an area of 3 954 600 ha (19.3%).

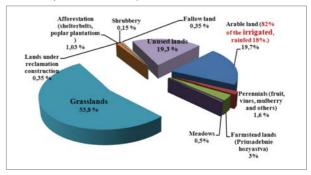
Despite the fact, that the total land area(20) covers an area

Fig. 1: The Structure of the Land Fund in Uzbekistan (as of 01.01.2012)



Source: UNDP, Uzbekistan. Project document, page 6.

Fig. 2: The Structure of the Agricultural Land Use in Uzbekistan (as of 01.01.2012)



Source: own processing. UNDP, Uzbekistan. Project document,

of 44 41.3 thousand km<sup>2</sup>, only 4 045.6 thousands ha is arable land which accounts for 9.1% of the total area (Table 1). Furthermore, the agricultural production fully depends on irrigation because of arid climate and about 18% of all arable land is rainfed (Fig. 3). Moreover, the majority of the territory covers the arid and semi-arid areas (70%), mountains (20%) and the remaining part of the country is heavily irrigated valleys along the two main rivers of the country (Syr Darya and Amu Darya). The largest desert of Central Asia, the Kyzyl Kum, covers most of the lowlands and plains in the west and south<sup>(21)</sup>. The grasslands represent the most shares of the agricultural lands (53.8%) (Tab. 1), as well as forest fund (32.27%) and reserved fund (51.5%) in the country(22).

## Changing of Farm Structure after 1998

The culmination process of the agrarian reforms reached in 1998. During this year there were adopted a number of crucial laws that led to the significant changes in the farm structure afterwards. For example: the Land Code from, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(17)</sup> Yusupov Yu. B - Lerman, Z. - Chertovitskiy, A. S. - Akbarov O.M. Livestock Production in Uzbekistan: Current State, Challenges and Prospects Review in the context of Agricultural Sector Development Trends "Nasaf" publishing house 2010 Kashkadarya Region Pages 28-31 ISBN 978-9943-18-080-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(18)</sup> Lerman, Z. 2008. Agricultural Development in Uzbekistan. Ob.

<sup>(19)</sup> The Land Code N599-1 from 30.04.1998

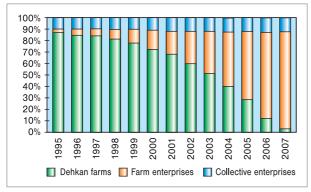
<sup>(20)</sup> The total land area is all land areas within the borders of the Republic of Uzbekistan (agricultural land, land settlements, land

for industry, transport, defense, environment protection, healthcare, recreation and lands for other purposes, lands for historical and cultural heritage purposes, for forest and water funds, and reserve land (Statistical Collection, 2013)

<sup>(21)</sup> UNDP, Uzbekistan.project document, page 6. Available from; http://www.uz.undp.org/content/dam/uzbekistan/ docs/projectdocuments/EEU/un\_prodoc\_\_Rus.pdf

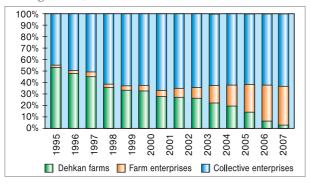
<sup>(22)</sup> Ibid.

**Fig. 3:** Specific proportion of crop land (sown areas) by types of farming entities, %



Source: The State Statistics Committee in Yusupov et al, 2010. Page 31

Fig. 4: The agricultural output in value terms by types of farming entities, %



**Source:** The State Statistics Committee in Yusupov et al, 2010. Page 31

Law on "Peasant farms" but was amended in 2004, the Law on "Agricultural cooperatives", the Law on "Dekhan farms" were adopted in April 30, 1998. On the base of these new legislations, the three types of farms were formulated in Uzbekistan. The traditional household plots (with less than one hectare of land during soviet era and they cultivated just 3% of arable land, however gross agricultural product accounted for 20 - 25% annually between 1980 and 1990) were renamed as "dekhan farms" (23). The large - scale collective and former state farms were recognized as agricultural production cooperatives (Shirkats)(24). The Law on "Peasant farms" defined in more details the difference between peasant farms and dekhan farms, however, even before there was not a big difference. For instance, in peasant farms, the land was leased, however in dekhan farms, it was owned. After the implementation of these new laws the objects and functions started to enlarge and diversify significantly. Thus, Table 1 characterizes the changes in these three main types of farms

after 1998.

According the Table 2 size of the dekhan farms enlarged to 0.10 ha for irrigated land. As for the peasant farms lease period was increased by 50 years.

The following agrarian reforms took place between 2003 and 2007. The main persecuted aim of the reforms was to replace collective land use by private land use, actually, which was mainly reached (Fig. 3). Therefore, the dekhan farms and farm enterprises are the main cultivators of the majority part of the arable land during that period. The last, but not the least important stage took place from 2008 - 2009 and from 2009 it is expected to continue through present time. The main purpose of that reform was amalgamation of small farms into medium–sized farms. They both became the main agricultural producers of the country, as the share of agriproduction constitutes more than 95 % (Fig. 4)<sup>(25)</sup>.

## IV. Conclusion

The paper focused on analyzing the impact of the agrarian land reforms on the structure of the agricultural farms over the period from soviet era till the current period. According to this analysis, land reforms in Uzbekistan had to face different stages throughout the monitored period. As it can be seen from the survey, the main changes in the structure of the agricultural farms could be seen after the implementation of new land and water reforms in December 1925, where Soviet government nationalized the land. In that period of time new collective and state farms were created and their role started to increase. Beside these two types of farms, there were also private small-scaled farms and peasant farms. Private farms owned less than 1 ha of land and they were mainly specialized in the livestock production. The peasant farms mainly leased land plots from these dominated new two types of collective and state farms and strongly depended on them. After getting independence in 1991, the increase of the size of land plots led to the growth of the agricultural production. Basically, there were implemented four main agrarian land reforms throughout the last two decades. The main peak changes were observed after the adoption of Land Code in 1998, where three main types of farms were recognized.

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<sup>(23)</sup> Dekhkan (small farms) is a family of small-scale farms that produce products based on personal labour of family members.

<sup>(24)</sup> Agricultural Cooperative (shirkat) (agricultural entreprises) – an independent economic entity with the rights of a legal entity, based on mutual basis and mostly family (collective) contract, voluntary association of citizens for the production of agricultural products (Statistical Collection, 2013).

<sup>(25)</sup> Djanibekov N, Lamers JPA, Bobojonov I. 2010. Land consolidation for increasing cotton production in Uzbekistan: Also adequate for triggering rural development? Ob. Cit.

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#### Contact address/ Kontaktná adresa

### Ing. Ismailova Aygul

Department of Law, Faculty of European Studies and Regional Development, Slovak University of Agriculture in Nitra Tr. A. Hlinku 2, 949 76 Nitra, Slovakia e-mail: Aygul1988@mail.ru

### Ms. Baynazarov Elmurod

Department of Economics, Faculty of Economics, National University of Uzbekistan, University str. 4, Tashkent, Uzbekistan e-mail: elm\_1980@mail.ru