CHAPTER III

PATTERN AND PROCESSES OF AGRARIAN RECONSTRUCTION

On the eve of the revolution, agriculture made up practically the whole of national economy of Tajikistan and the peasants formed the overwhelming majority of its population. The forefathers of the Tajiks had created a well developed agricultural civilization as early as second millennium B.C. and according to the archeological evidences a complex irrigation system was built in the region similar to those of ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt. Tajiks throughout the history maintained their skill and largely remained agriculturists, although the level of production had been very low during the late medieval and early modern centuries. Already backward economy marked by low level of agriculture further declined to a dangerously low level immediately after the October Revolution. The political chaos that arose during the first two years after the revolution led to economic disintegration and alarmingly low level of agricultural production throughout Central Asia. The disruption of transport linkages with Central Russia, the then major supplier of food grains to Central Asia, caused widespread famine and
The civil war in Tajikistan in the form of Basmachi movement further aggravated the situation resulting in a serious loss not only of agricultural production and livestock but also of its population in general. Consequently, the agrarian problem became acute and formed the core of the national liberation struggle. The revolution to the natives, basically meant the breakdown of the alien hold over their scarce land and water resources. The economic dimension of the Bolshevik nationality policy, which included among other things, redistribution and equalisation of the economic opportunities, thus, acquired further significance in the context of Central Asian reality. The removal of existing inequalities between the immigrants and the indigenous people emerged as the prime objective of the Soviet nationality policy immediately after the revolution in the region. It was a vital input in the process of political integration of the area with the rest of the country.


2. For details see, P-I. Lyashchenko, History of National Economy of Russia (New York, 1949), p. 104; Teresa, R.H., Russia of Nationalism in Central Asia: A Case Study of Turkistan.
In order to reorganise the economic structure and to uplift the region along with achieving equality with more developed parts of the country, there was a need of special efforts for the eradication of the patriarchal-feudal structure of its economy. It was impossible to abolish it by one revolutionary act once for all because of the complete unpreparedness of the population for any radical change. Such a radical change needed a lot of preparation whereby conditions could be created for eventual revolutionary change. Of course, the task proved to be long and difficult, nevertheless, was completed in a comparatively shorter period. The agrarian reforms became an important instrument for achieving these objectives. The necessary steps were taken in this direction in a phased manner. In order to comprehend the whole process of agrarian transformation in Tajikistan, therefore, it is essential to analyse:

i) the objectives of the land and water reforms implemented immediately after the consolidation of Soviet power in the region. And the corresponding socio-economic changes brought in the villages of Tajikistan through these reforms of the 1920s.

ii) The more radical changes which led to collectivisation completely transformed the agricultural scene of Tajikistan. The important features, pace and methods of collectivisation need a closer scrutiny to understand the process.
iii) The developments those took place immediately before and after the second world war. The momentum of agrarian reconstruction was quite impressive till the start of the war when it suffered losses. But soon after the war the process of recovery and of further agricultural reforms started.

iv) The intensification of agricultural output and the scientific-technical advancement which took place in 1970s and 80s in Tajikistan. It was in this period of 'mature socialism' that new goals were set and major achievements attained which need to be looked into to assess the final outcome of the agrarian rebuilding programme in the republic.

Due to political uncertainty and chaos, the early agrarian laws of the Soviet government such as the 'Decree of Land' (November 8, 1917) abolishing private ownership of agricultural land and the 'Fundamental Law on the Socialization of Land' (February 19, 1918) encouraging the organisation of collective farms had little effect in Central Asia. Not only that the unequal distribution of land continued, the new immigrants also enhanced their
encroachments on the indigenous lands. Similarly, the 'law of socialisation of land' became an instrument of colonization at various places in Turkestan whereby it led to confiscation of land from the indigenous population and its transfer to 'communes' or 'artels' of Russian immigrants often Kulaks. Serious effort in the direction of economic reconstruction in Tajikistan could start only after the appointment of the Turkestan Commission in October, 1919, and the economic unification of the whole of Central Asian region under 'Central Asian Economic Council' set up in March, 1923.

After restoring the transport linkages with Turkestan in the end of 1919, the Soviet government strongly felt the need of "establishment of correct relations with the people of Turkestan". The Commission suggested two important measures on economic front:

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3. The total number of Russian immigrants in this region increased considerably during 1926-39. Influx of Russian settlers in this period in all was of 17,000,000 persons. The share of these immigrants in Tajikistan was less comparatively but even than Russian population in the republic rose from less than one per cent in 1926 to 9 per cent in 1939. See, W. Kolarz, Russia and Her Colonies (London, 1952), p. 14; Frank Lorimer, The Population of Soviet Union (Geneva, 1946).

4. E. zeikina, Ocherki po agrarnuem vooprosu v Srednej Azii (Moscow, 1930); cited in R.R. Sharma, n. 2; p. 69.
1) that the land which had been arbitrarily seized by settlers since the revolution or that kept aside for future settlements by the former administrators, be redistributed among the natives;

ii) that all former members of the Tsarist bureaucracy and supporters of the imperialist policies along with those party members infected with colonialist mentality and Great Russian chauvinism be expelled from Turkestan.

The Polit bureau of Russian Communist Party accepted these recommendations of the Commission and adopted a resolution to this effect on June 29, 1920.

The economic integration of Central Asia was suggested in 1921 for more effective economic planning. It meant that Bukhara and Khiva should come under the direct jurisdiction of the Turkestan Commission. The suggestion could not be accepted immediately because of political reasons. Thus, the region could achieve economic unification only after a lapse of two years i.e. in 1923. Now onwards the Commission was responsible for the overall management of the economic affairs of all the three areas.


6. Ibid.
The immediate task was to check the downward slide in Central Asian agriculture and to create favourable condition for its revival. Efforts were made to restore the much damaged irrigation system and decisions were taken to provide financial and technical help to the indigenous peasantry. The land and water reforms undertaken in two phases during 1920s helped to put a stop to the disintegration of the agricultural economy of the region.

The Agrarian Reforms of 1920s - A Step Forward:

The main objective of the reforms of the first phase was land-redistribution. Although it was not expected that these would solve all the problems of agriculture in the region, yet the Bolsheviks quite rightly believed that it would clear away the patriarchal and feudal forms of economy. Thus, it would eventually open the way for the development of co-operative farming for the building of future agriculture on socialist lines. It was felt that as an immediate gain it would improve the lot of the poor peasantry. The principle of equalised land tenure was essentially a petty-bourgeois principle. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that equalised land tenure by itself, without radical restructuring of agriculture along socialist lines, could not free the peasantry from poverty and hunger. 7

Nonetheless, the principle had broad support among the masses and the Bolsheviks did not reject it in the period of transition to socialism.

In the first stage of the first phase of agrarian reforms, the main emphasis was on eliminating the colonial remnants from the agrarian economy. The second stage (1925-29) included removal of pre-capitalist relations in land and water usage. The broad programme of the reforms was outlined by the Central Committee of the RCP (B) by its resolution adopted on June 29, 1920 under a general heading 'on the mains task of the RCP (B) in Turkestan'. The programme was further elaborated by the decisions of the fifth and ninth Congresses of the Soviets of Turkestan. It was decided to take away all land from the immigrant peasants seized after the revolt of 1916. It abolished private property in land and directed redistribution of the nationalised land. In the redistribution of land, the first priority was given to the landless agricultural labourers and to the share croppers. The turn of the small peasants came after them. Some of the state land was used to organise agricultural communes, artels and co-operatives etc. The right to cultivate land was given only

8. n. 5, p. 538.
to self tillers. Buying, self selling, mortgaging, leasing out land or water were strictly prohibited. The immigrant peasants were deprived of all special privileges over indigenous in sharing the land and water resources of the region. The native peasants persecuted by the Tsarist government were rehabilitated. Furthermore, immigration in the territory of Turkestan and any seizure of the land of the natives were forbidden.\(^9\)

The decisions of the Turkestan government were first implemented in the Semirechy oblast in 1921 as the concentration of the colonizers was the highest in this area. The reforms were introduced in 1922 in Fargana, Syr-Darya and Samarkand oblasts, parts of which were included in present Tajikistan. Nearly 182 thousand dessyatins of land in Fargana oblast, accounting for about 10.5 per cent of the total cultivated area, were confiscated. The figure for Syr-Darya oblast was 150.6 thousand dessyatins.

Land reforms were introduced at a slower pace in those parts of Tajikistan which earlier were under the Emirate of Bukhara. It was mainly because the Khanate came under full Soviet control only in 1920. Moreover, the problem of the Russian settlers occupying the indigenous

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9. B. Tulebaev, Socialist Agrarian Reforms in Central Asia (Moscow, 1986); p. 68; R.R. Sharma, n. 2, p. 68.
land was not very serious in the Khanate. The first step in this direction was taken in 1922, when the Central Revolutionary Committee of the Bukharan National Socialist Republic issued a 'Decree on Land'. Through it Bukharan government ordered the nationalisation of land, water, forest and other natural resources. A further order was issued to confiscate the Emirate land, wakf land and land belonging to the large land owners. It was also decided to redistribute the confiscated land among the landless and poor peasants. However, since conditions for land reforms were not yet ripe in the republic, most of the decisions remained on paper. Most of the nationalised land, in actual practice remained in the possession of few large owners due to political favouritism and widespread evasion of the decree. The poor dehkans received little of the new land. However, the abolition of the high rents paid to the Emir and his officials took off a great burden from the poor peasants and made life easier for them from economic point of view.

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11. A.G. Park, n. 1, p. 327; Tulerbaev, n. 9, p. 70.
In all, during the course of implementation of the reforms, a total of about 48,700 dessyatins of land consisting 8,084 farms were distributed among the indigenous peasants of Turkestan. Whereas, by the end of 1921 as much as 1,696,970 dessyatins of land had already been turned over to the state. It means that only a small part of the confiscated land was handed over to the native dehkans. Most of the confiscated land remained as part of the state owned lands and was given to village communities and Soviet institutions for collective use.\(^{12}\)

The few poor peasants, who did receive land under the reforms, had no means of getting the required implements and other necessities. Thus, they were either unable to make any fruitful use of the land or for want of necessary equipment etc., were forced to hand over their share to the beys and work as share croppers. Implementation of reforms suffered from another lacuna. The redistributed land was not given straight to the individual peasants but was handed over to tribal and communal units for further disposition among the peasants. The commune and tribal chiefs in many cases either utilised it for their own

\(^{12}\) Tulexbaev, n. 9, p. 69; V. Solodonikov and V. Bogeslovsky, Non Capitalist Development (Moscow, 1975), p. 49.
benefit or distributed it without observing the Soviet
laws on labour basis of land tenure. Therefore, the
fruits of land reforms failed to reach the indigenous
masses properly.

Water reforms, during the first phase of the
agricultural reforms, constituted mainly the regularisa-
tion of the existing procedures and norms for water
allocation. The efforts were also made to do away with
the common abuses such as bribery and favouritism etc.
in the distribution of water. The water statutes of
Turkestan government enacted in February 1921 and 1922,
created legal basis to curb these malpractices. Water
was made state property through these enactments. These
forbade the separation of the use of water from that of
the land which it irrigated. The water codes defined
the individual's right to irrigation water. The right was
restricted to its 'labour use' only.

Efforts were made to educate the masses and to
expose them to the purpose and scope of the reforms in
order to make these a success and to avoid the use of
force. Special brigades of party workers were dispatched

13. Tulerbaev, n. 9, p. 69.
to these areas and a 'Central Party Commission' was created to supervise the implementation of land reforms. Such commissions were also set up at the oblast, uyezd and volost levels. Conferences of non-party peasants were held to propagate the scope and usefulness of reforms. Friendly assurances, not only at the party level but also by the Turkestan government, were given to the people. The Turkestan Commission stated in September, 1921, 'let Russian peasants clearly understand that any talk of further immigration is a counter revolutionary fib. Let every dehkan strongly remember that in future no unauthorised grabbing will be permitted ... working peasants! dehkans! start working for the revival of your ruined agriculture. There is no return to the past. The road in front of you leads to peaceful development and strengthening of economy.'

In the final analysis, the reforms of the first phase had stronger political significance than the economic. It abolished the privileges of the colonialist elements in the sphere of land-ownership and land use. The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government succeeded in abolishing national

inequality in agricultural sector of the economy of Turkestan. The policy helped in making the natives accept the new regime and gave them reasonable ground to trust the Soviet government. The reforms helped in educating the indigenous masses and in sharpening their social consciousness which in its turn evoked deep hatred for the propertied class specially the immigrant Kulaks. However, as mentioned before, the reforms had limited economic impact. These did not go very far in reorganising a new structure of agrarian relations among the natives. The reforms were mainly a governmental reversal of the colonial policies of the Tsarist regime. Despite so many decrees and regulations, the principle of private property in land remained. The measures to divide land had not affected the interests of the indigenous landlords. Therefore, the reforms could not generate class-struggle within the indigenous society. A substantial section of peasants was still landless or had very little land. Feudal and semi-capitalist forms of exploitation still persisted specially in the areas which formed the republic of Tajikistan. At best, it can be said that the reforms initiated the shaking up of the traditional society; static since long time. The land reforms with a wider scope, affecting the estates of local exploiters, were undertaken during the next phase between 1925-29.
In view of the above, the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (B) when met in its plenary session in April 1925, noted in its decisions that "social relations since the revolution have remained practically unchanged in the villages of Central Asia". It further noted, "the land remains a means of exploitation of the poor by the big landlords. With few exceptions, the land reform and land allocation has not even been started."\(^{15}\) The 12th Congress of the Turkestan Soviets decided to abolish the estates and the exploitation of the natives by their feudal class by carrying the reforms into the predominantly indigenous areas. The main task was the elimination of medieval forms of land ownership through nationalisation and redistribution of land. Although, the equal land distribution was not an end in itself for the final goal of socialist economy, yet, the measures were used to deepen and aggravate the class struggle among the indigenous peasantry.

At the second stage again, the necessary preconditions for the successful implementation of the new reforms were lacking. It was mainly because the toiling dekhans, insufficiently conscious of their rights, were inactive and unorganised and were not ready to support the reforms.

Besides, the local Soviet bodies were still weak and party organisations were small. The purpose of the reforms was not just to set an unruly peasant war against the landlords but to attain an organised elimination of the feudal remanents from the agrarian structure without effecting the agricultural production. Therefore, the Soviet government could not afford to act without proper preparations. Necessary arrangements and preparations had to be made before an 'organised agrarian revolution' could be brought from above. Specially in case of Central Asia a prolonged educational work was required in this direction. The idea of seizing land from the rich land owners was completely alien to the indigenous peasantry as the class consciousness or class conflict had not deepened among them. The laws of shariat also did not allow the confiscation of the private property of another individual without his will.

In order to rally the working dehkans in the struggle against the Kulaks and the beys, the party organisations began to set up associations of the poor peasants; subsequently these were merged into a single union 'Koshchi'. This mass organisation of the landless and poor peasants was already working in the direction of land redistribution. Land reforms became a major issue of 'Koshchi' programme.
after 1923 and they demanded complete reorganisation of land holdings. The Koschi was also taking measures based on direct action. It encouraged the peasants to take away land from the landlords forcibly and thus helped in spreading class conflict and class antagonism among the peasants. The organisation enjoyed the tacit approval of the government for 'illegal seizure' of land. During the period of land reforms, numerous branches of Koschi were working in the villages of Turkestan which took an active part in their implementation.16

The religion of the Central Asian people was also used as an instrument during these preparatory years. Though, religion as such was attacked and indifference was shown to it by the Soviet authorities but often Islamic laws and traditions were cited in support of redistribution.17 In this context, the Islamic belief that land belongs to those who work on it was highly emphasised to support the Soviet programme of agrarian reforms. A group of Muslim devouts who approved the land reforms was organised and sent to the country side to persuade the peasahtry.18

18. Ibid., pp. 190-92
A statistical commission was appointed to collect all necessary information and statistics to bring the figures up to date. A preliminary survey of all land, agricultural implements and of livestock had been undertaken by the end of the year 1924. The completion of the national delimitation programme in 1924 further cleared grounds for the intensification of campaign for redistribution of land.

The first constituent congress of the Soviets of the Tajik ASSR (December 1926) in Tajikistan, confirmed the measures decided on by the 9th Congress of Soviets of Turkestan ASSR. Under the decree 'on land and water reforms' the land holdings covering forty or more dessyatins of irrigated land and its livestock along with the farm implements were confiscated. The land holdings of less than forty dessyatins of irrigated land, but not tilled by the owner himself or members of his family, were also confiscated along with the livestock and farm employments. These absentee landlords were generally big traders living in cities most of the time and got their land cultivated by hired poor peasants. Even the farmers who lived in the

village but were not self tillers come under this category. The agricultural land belonging to Muslim religious institutions or the wakf lands were also confiscated. This document thereby led to the practical implementation of the Lenin’s decree on the nationalization of land in Tajikistan.

The reforms were implemented in the various parts of Tajikistan at different times depending on the readiness of the organizational infrastructure and preparedness of the masses in general. At first, the reforms were introduced in Fargana and Samarkand oblasts. These areas, previously under the direct control of the Tsarist regime, had experienced the rudiments of capitalism before the revolution. Therefore, class hostilities had aggravated to a considerable extent and the required organisational network had also been created. Districts of Tajikistan, formerly under the Bukharan Khanate, were yet not prepared for the reforms. So the work was put off in the remaining parts till the end of 1926. Traditional leaders, the upholders of feudal patriarchal socio-economic structure were still quite strong in these areas and due to it, class struggle was hardly visible.

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20. Ibid., p. 78.
The 'land and water commissions', created by the republic's central executive committee, was the main agency which carried out actual execution of the reforms. These commissions, although consisted of the party members who were mainly city dwellers but efforts were made to enlist peasant cooperation at the local level as well. Local 'Committees of Assistance' from among the peasant population were formed. A big propaganda campaign was held in Zerafshan region where 1,472 dehkan meetings were attended by 221,000 persons. Similarly, 1,080 such meetings were attended by 2,160,000 persons in the Fargana Valley. Many poor peasants and hired farm labourers came out willingly to help in implementation of the reforms. However, the willing cooperation of the middle peasants was more important in the Central Asian context. "As the middle peasant was central political and economic figure in the village (of Central Asia) and his support was essential to the success of reform programme." The middle peasant were quite apprehensive of the Soviet designs in the beginning. They feared that the Soviet government which was expropriating the bey's land at that

time would rob away their possessions at a later stage. The government had to put in great efforts in assuring that their property would remain intact. It was after repeated assurances that the middle peasantry started participating in the work of the 'Committee of Assistance'. The Soviet government's differential tax and credit policy with regards to different social groups also played significant role.

About 56,830 peasant households in Uzbekistan had been provided with land acquired from the beys by March, 1926. Nearly 4,629 landed estates were completely confiscated and excess land was taken away from 2,287 bey farms. In all 270,000 hectares of fertile irrigated land was distributed among peasants having a little or no land. Out of this, nearly 52,000 hectares formed newly irrigated land developed by the state. The distribution of this newly acquired land among the peasants further increased the total number of beneficiaries from these reforms. About 3,800 heads of cattle were confiscated and another 8100 heads purchased to be distributed in the Fargana, Tashkant, Samarkand and Bukhara regions of Uzbekistan.

22. Tajikistan at that time formed a part of Uzbekistan as an Autonomous Republic.
24. Tulerbaev, n. 9, p. 79; Kuntiz, n. 17, p. 187.
25. Ibid., p. 79.
The northern rayons of Tajikistan at that time formed part of Fargana and Samarkand oblasts of Uzbekistan and the southern parts were included in the Khodjent Okrug. Here, the liquidation of the big estates started in the beginning of 1926 itself. 545 complete estates of big beys and the surplus land of about 625 beys were confiscated. The total land thus acquired amounted to 3,518 dessyatins which was given to poor and landless farmers. The farmers also received a considerable amount of land from the state land funds. Altogether, 2,740 households received 5,616 dessyatins of land amounting to 2 dessyatins per household on an average. The situation differed in other parts of Tajikistan (eastern part); where because of the hostile activities of the basmachies and the bourgeois-nationalists, the land reforms could not be implemented right upto 1929.

The feudal-patriarchal remnants, in spite of all efforts, persisted right upto the end of 1920s. These greatly retarded the development of productive forces in the villages. The land problem in Tajikistan could finally

26. Istoriia Tadzhikskovo Naroda, Vol. 3; Book 2; p. 212.

be resolved through collectivisation which effectively abolished all feudal survivals. The report of the Organisational Bureau of the 1st all Tajik party conference held in 1928, stated that:

i) comparatively large holdings were common in Tajikistan and many constantly employed hired labour;

ii) the number of dehkans with none or little land was particularly large. They were forced to rent land and pay for it with part of the produce;

iii) the middle peasant strata was comparatively small.\(^{28}\)

The agrarian reforms of 1920s, on the whole, certainly produced more profound effects and changes than those brought by the revolution. The October Revolution had only affected the political set up but the agrarian reforms shook the very roots of the society, changing its basic structure. The effect, however, was uneven and varied over different parts of Central Asia. Tajikistan was in the category of comparatively less affected areas. On the whole, the downward trend of Central Asian agriculture, experienced during the civil war period, was checked and the reforms led to rapid increase in the area under cultivation and

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\(^{28}\) *Vsetadzhickoe Partikonferentsia*, (In all Tajik party conferences) (Dushanbe, 1928), pp. 10-11; cited in Tulepbaev, n. 9; p. 187 ff.
wider distribution of livestock and agricultural implements. The poor peasants immediately benefitted from the reforms as leasing of land was put to an end. The poor farmers of Uzbekistan who were paying an amount of 2,860,000 roubles per year as land rent before the reforms, were released of this burden to a great extent after the reforms. The position of the native Kulaks i.e. beys and clergy was definitively undermined.

In spite of the above benefits, the reforms did not give a serious blow to the existing land relations and to the institution of private property, particularly so in Tajikistan. The reforms involved just a transfer of some land from the feudal lords to the poor peasants. The resulting increase in the number of small land-holdings through such redistribution was not conducive to the growth of agricultural production through mechanisation of the production process.

Collectivisation - A Complete Transformation:

As stated earlier, the enforcement of the land and water nationalisation decree proved to be quite difficult in Tajikistan till the end of 1920s. It was mainly due to the fact that both the economy and the Soviet power were

29. V. Solodonikov, V. Boglovsky, n. 12, p. 53.
still weak in the republic. Nearly 6.6 per cent of all
peasant households owned 31 per cent of the irrigated land,
22 per cent of dry land and 15.1 per cent of draft
animals. As against this, 29 per cent peasant households
were cultivating less than one hectare of land. Besides
this concentration of land in the hands of beys, economy in
general experienced sharp decline during early 1920s due
to the Basmachi movement. Normal conditions in the republic
could prevail only after 1926; when after the defeat of
the major chunk of "counter revolutionaries" Soviet power
stood on stronger footings in the region. By 1929, in a
short period of three years, considerable gains were achieved.
The following tables show the fluctuation in the size of
cultivated land and in the number of draught animals during
these years of disturbance and rehabilitation.

30. B.A. Antonenko, "Podgotovka Massovoi Kollectiviza-
tisil V Tadzhikistane" V Ocherki no Istorii Tadzhiki-
### TABLE 3.1

**SOWN AREA IN TAJIKISTAN BEFORE 1930**

(Thousand Hectares)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total land under cultivation</th>
<th>Irrigated Land</th>
<th>Unirrigated Land</th>
<th>Land under grain crop</th>
<th>Land under cotton crop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>648.6</td>
<td>317.9</td>
<td>330.7</td>
<td>430.9</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>664</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>493.1</td>
<td>67.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 3.2

**NO. OF DRAUGHT ANIMALS IN TAJIKISTAN**

(Thousand heads)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>All Important draught animals</th>
<th>Sheep and Goats</th>
<th>Horses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>739</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>2526</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>878.3</td>
<td>2456.8</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows that the sown area within Tajikistan reached the pre-war level and the area under cotton increased by 74 per cent in the same period. The territory included in Tajik republic had an area of about 35 thousand hectares under cotton crop in 1914. It rose to 67000 hectares by 1929. This rise was particularly impressive in view of the fact that the area under cotton had shrunk by 9 thousand hectares in 1925-26. The number of draught animals also reached the pre-war level.

By the end of 1929, the collectivisation programme came up and was being implemented in various parts of the country. Although, the programme could not be implemented in Tajikistan in the same year but the following important measures were taken to facilitate transition to collective farming:

1) the rich beys were gradually heavily taxed while special agricultural credits were made available to the poor peasants;

2) many Tajiks who had fled to Afghanistan under the pressure of Basmachi movement now returned to their home land. It is reported that of 43,000 households that fled in the civil war period, some 7000 returned

by 1930. Arrangements were made to settle these displaced Tajiks, along with many more from the higher regions of Pamir, in the new settlements in the southern valleys of Tajikistan. Fifty new Kishlaks most of them in the newly irrigated parts of the southern Tajikistan, had been established by the end of 1930.

iii) Various types of agricultural co-operatives were introduced and membership in these was made economically advantageous.

Importance of co-operatives was clearly stressed by both Marx and Lenin during the intermediary stage "we believe" wrote Karl Marx, "that the co-operative movement is one of the forces transforming the present day society based on class antagonism. The movement's great merit is that it shows in practice the possibility of replacing the contemporary despotic system of the subordination of labour to capital with a republican and beneficial system of association of free and equal producers." 32

Lenin also warned his party men that "socialism cannot be imposed upon peasants by force", "only through example and day today experience, gradually, they could be won over to Socialist agriculture". 33 The way showed by him was through gradual


co-operation. He suggested that to begin with the task should be started with the simple forms of co-operative organisations for the sale of farm products, supply of good for the peasants and the credit co-operatives etc. Later on, these could be turned into large collective farms equipped with modern machines and employing the latest farming methods.

Co-operatives in the sphere of supply, marketing and credit raising were more popular than production co-operative in the region. In 1928-29 alone, the Tajik peasants sold over a million roubles worth of goods to the state through co-operatives and bought goods worth 600,000 roubles. About 155,000 households, accounting for 75 per cent of all peasant households in Tajik SSR, belonged to some form of co-operatives.\(^3^4\) Almost all cotton growers of the region joined these sale, purchase and credit co-operatives. Through this, the cotton growers had united about 44,100 farms by 1928-29.\(^3^5\)

The co-operatives for collective production (Toz), whereby the peasants were required to pool their land,

\(^{34}\) V. Solodovinikov, V. Bogosolovsky, n. 12, pp. 59-60; Briskin, *Strana Tadzhikov*, p. 60.

However, were not very popular among the Central Asian peasants. As it means a complete break from the prevailing institutional structure. Such co-operative (Toz) of the early period were established only by the poor farmers mainly to obtain agricultural implements confiscated from the big estates and to get the government subsidies. These Toz farms in other words can also be called collective farms. The number of these farms was barely one and a half per cent of the total collective farms in late 1929 when mass collectivisation was picking up in the rest of the country. The following table shows the exact position of collectivised farms in Tajikistan in October 1929.

**TABLE 3.3**

**STATE OF COLLECTIVISATION IN TAJIKISTAN IN OCTOBER 1929**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Collective Farms</th>
<th>No. of Households attached to these farms</th>
<th>Percentage of the Total No. of peasant households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hissar/Gissar</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgan Tyube</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kylyab</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ura Tyube</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panzhikant</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khodzhent</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>1277</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>209</strong></td>
<td><strong>2888</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Based on data collected by K.P. Marckov (ed.) in Ocherk Istorti Kolkhozov Stroitstvo, p. 45.
The above table shows that Tajikistan started with a very low percentage of households working on collective farms in late 1929. A total of 209 collective farms united 2888 families mainly of poor peasants. The number of collected farms was more in Khodzhent and Hissar regions where the number of cotton cultivators was higher. The Table 3.4 shows that landless and poor peasants covered more than 60 per cent of the total number of farmers who joined collective farms in all the regions of the Republic. The figure was still higher showing about 71 per cent farmers belonging to landless and poor peasant category in Kurgan-Tyube and Panzhikant and about 80 per cent in Kylyab collective farms. Although, figures for the other two important okrygs i.e. Urba-Tyube and Khodzhent show only 62 per cent farmers in the first two categories but it may be pointed out that figures given in a different source vary considerably from the above. R.K. Rakhimov puts the number of landless and poor peasants at 88 per cent in Urba-Tyube and 74 per cent in Khodzhent.36

TABLE 3.4
SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF COLLECTIVE FARMERS IN MARCH, 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Landless Peasants</th>
<th>Poor Peasants</th>
<th>Middle Peasants</th>
<th>Total No. of Collective Farms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hissar/Gissar</td>
<td>1231 (21)</td>
<td>2052 (35)</td>
<td>2581 (44)</td>
<td>5864 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurgan-Tyube</td>
<td>1802 (22)</td>
<td>4015 (49)</td>
<td>2377 (29)</td>
<td>8194 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kylyab</td>
<td>393 (16)</td>
<td>1584 (64)</td>
<td>501 (20)</td>
<td>2478 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandzhikant</td>
<td>437 (16)</td>
<td>1499 (55)</td>
<td>791 (29)</td>
<td>2727 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ura Tyube</td>
<td>308 (22)</td>
<td>595 (40)</td>
<td>585 (38)</td>
<td>1488 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khodzhent</td>
<td>1511 (22)</td>
<td>2748 (40)</td>
<td>2631 (38)</td>
<td>6872 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gram</td>
<td>48 (25)</td>
<td>83 (45)</td>
<td>56 (30)</td>
<td>185 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokal</td>
<td>51 (29)</td>
<td>55 (32)</td>
<td>69 (39)</td>
<td>175 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>5778 (20.7)</td>
<td>12631 (45.2)</td>
<td>9574 (34.1)</td>
<td>27983 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The collective farms of 1929-30 were weak organizationally as well as economically as they had neither modern farm machines nor the necessary specialists. The first tractor came to Tajikistan in 1926 in its Kylyab region. There were only 4 Machine Tractor Station in 1930, working in four important cotton growing rayons namely; Aral, Shartyz, Chiptyrin and Sarai Kumar of Tajikistan. Other areas were almost completely deprived of modern agricultural machines. However, the few collective and state farms along with the large number of agricultural co-operatives provided essential basis for launching mass collectivisation in the republic. It began in Tajikistan in 1930 but its pace till 1932 was slower compared to that in other republics of Central Asia, specially in Uzbekistan and USSR as a whole. The task of collectivisation in Tajikistan could be completed only during the second five year plan period i.e. between 1932-37. The Table 3.5 shows the pace of collectivisation during the two five year plans period. The table shows that Tajikistan not only began with a lower percentage of collectivised peasant households in 1929, the

37. Some state farms were also set up in Tajikistan in 1929. These included, The Dangarin Grain State Farm, Vakhsh Cotton Farm, Ura-Tyube Grain Farm, Gissar Seed Farm and Dushanbe Vegetable State Farm.
### TABLE 3.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Tajikistan Peasant Households</th>
<th>Tajikistan Sown Area</th>
<th>Uzbekistan</th>
<th>USSR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>68.2</td>
<td>61.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>89.9</td>
<td>98.3</td>
<td>95.0</td>
<td>93.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>97.6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>98.9*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>96.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures include the membership in all kinds of collective organizations, Kolkhoz or Sovkhoz and Toz* (Societies for Joint Cultivation of land).

* Till the end of 1937, the number of land cultivation societies (Toz) was much higher than agricultural artels in Tajikistan. The ratio changed drastically by January 1940, when 83.3 per cent of the collective farms were artels and only 15.7 per cent land cultivation societies.

Pace of collectivisation in the republic remained slower throughout the first five year plan period. At the end of 1932, when the collectivisation programme was almost complete in USSR as a whole and Uzbekistan succeeded in uniting more than 81 per cent peasant households; Tajikistan remained far behind with a figure of 41.9 per cent of peasants households working on collective farms. The collectivisation picked up real momentum during the second five year plan period. 98.3 per cent sown area came under collective farming in 1937.

The collective farms movement in Tajikistan faced many difficulties during the first five year plan period. Although it succeeded in uniting some peasants but area under crops fell down leading to state target of crop production remaining unfulfilled. Tajikistan not only failed to meet the state target for cotton production in 1932, but area under its cultivation also declined from 134,700 hectares in 1931 to 119,600 hectares in 1932. This was the direct outcome of the hostile activities of those opposing collective farming and the negative activities

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39. Tulerbaev, n. 9, p. 118.
of the nationalists. The use of force by both sides has been mentioned in some studies.\textsuperscript{40} Beys, Mulas and middle peasants joined hands against collectivisation and spread all kinds of rumours against the programme to frighten the poor peasants. Taking help from Basmachis they even put up armed resistance.\textsuperscript{41} Grave mistakes were committed by the Soviet authorities as well in the process of dekulakisation. The peasants were forced by various methods to join the collective farms and were punished by punitive actions in case of their refusal.\textsuperscript{42} Attacks on middle peasants, along with beys and Mulas, hardened their attitude against collectivisation. Many members of the Tajik Communist Party and its government officials (of local origin) were also against collectivisation and tried to oppose it from within.\textsuperscript{43} Similarly, many beys penetrated the collective farms and occupied top positions and tried to harm the movement.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid., p. 194.
\end{enumerate}
To strengthen the collective farms organisationally and economically, the decisions taken by the Joint Plenum (January, 1933) of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the RCP(B) played an important role by improving the party guidance in this direction. It was decided to set up 'political departments' at all MTS and state farms to improve political consciousness in the countryside; to eliminate the shortcomings in the movement; to strengthen the farms organisationally and economically and to step up the struggle against class enemies. 44 Twelve such political departments were organised in Tajikistan. With the help of these departments more than 30,000 kulak elements were exposed and expelled in 1933 in Tajik SSR. 45

Collectivisation and introduction of advanced technology led to rapid agricultural development in the second and third five year plan. Area under crops expanded, yields rose and livestock number increased. Specially, cotton cultivation grew at a faster rate. The total area under cultivation increased from 494,300 hectares

44. MTS are Machine Tractor Stations; set up and owned by the government to provide tractors and other agricultural machinery to the collective farms.

45. Kommunist Tadzhikistana, 14 January 1934.
in 1913 to 807,100 hectares in 1940; an increase of over 60 per cent. The area under cotton rose four times during the same period.\textsuperscript{46} The backward tribal and feudal relations of production were replaced by more productive socialist relations. It paved the way for non-capitalist path of economic development in Tajikistan along with other Central Asian republics. It tremendously increased the level of agricultural mechanisation. The peasants of the republic using primitive ploughs before the revolution were operating 3,984 tractors and 51 machine and tractor stations in 1940.\textsuperscript{47} Within a decade i.e. from 1930-1940 the agrarian structure of the republic was completely transformed. Of course, the transformation was brought about not just with the help of republic’s own resources but by using large subsidies extended to Tajikistan from all union budget of Soviet Union.

Collectivisation and reconstruction of agrarian economy in Tajikistan is inseparably linked with development of irrigation facilities during 1930s. Irrigation, more than anything else, revived the area and regenerated it. Water had always been vital for cotton growing in particular

\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Sovetckie Tadjikistan za 60 let.} (Dushanbe, 1984), p. 12.

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
and for agriculture in general throughout Central Asia. Immediately after the political and administrative reorganisation of the republic, reconstruction of old irrigational systems was undertaken and within just one year i.e. 1926-27, irrigated land in Tajikistan grew by more than 50,000 hectares.48 The irrigated land in Tajikistan was 173,000 hectares in 1913; during the disturbed period of civil war it dropped to 105,000 hectares (1925) but within a short period of five years, the area under irrigation was more than doubled i.e. 253,000 hectares in 1930.49 The irrigated land further increased to 302,000 hectares in 1940. The major capital investments in the construction of irrigation systems were made between 1930-35; when a sum of 14.9 million roubles were spent for its construction.50 The major irrigation work started in the republic after

48. M. Irkaev etc., Ocheri Istorii Sovetskova Tadzhikistana (Stalinabad, 1957), p. 150. The major source of water for irrigation in the republic are the river Pyandzh in the south, the river Vakhsh in the south-west, Zarafshan in the Centre and Syr-Darya in the north. (See Map No. 2).


50. During the preceding five years (1925-30) only 0.6 million roubles and in the succeeding five years (1935-40) 8.6 million roubles were spent for the construction of irrigation system in the republic. Ibid., p. 144.
1930 was in its Vakhsh Valley. Most of this was then a vast desert plateau situated between two mountain ranges. But for want of water, it was believed to be very suitable for growing valuable long staple cotton varieties. Over 8,000 miles of canals were built in the valley often through solid rocks and by 1934, the canals were irrigating around 420,000 hectares of land. Other important works included sections of the Great Fargana Canal, the Grand Hissar Canals and the Kairakam water storage lake. The total length of the canals constructed in this period was about 20,000 kms. irrigating nearly half a million hectares of land. 51

Completion of these irrigation projects was followed by massive migration of people to newly irrigated areas. In many mountain areas only subsistence farming was practised and in the absence of proper facilities, the local population was facing even starvation. The situation in Garam and Kulyab districts was particularly disturbing. Hence, measures were taken to encourage and facilitate migration of peasants having no land or enough land to these areas. With this migration, large tracts of earlier neglected land were brought under cultivation. Out of 50

51. M. Irakaev, etc., n. 47, p. 210; Tulepbaev, n. 9, p. 141.
newly settled villages, 36 were situated in the Kurgan-Tyube district designed to become a major cotton producing area of Tajikistan. A fairly large number of collective farms, consisting entirely new settlers on newly irrigated land, were organised in the initial years of collectivisations.

Another important dimension of agrarian reconstruction in Tajikistan was its contribution towards elimination of cotton dependency of Soviet Union. Until 1926-27, the cultivation of grain crops dominated the agriculture followed by livestock rearing. The third extraordinary All-Tajik Congress of Soviets, held in October 1929, ruled that the government and people of Tajikistan, henceforth, were to give more importance to cotton cultivation and turn the republic into a key cotton producing area. But, in spite of best efforts of the government, cotton cultivation did not make remarkable progress in the first decade (1930-40). Although complete data for this period is not available, but there are some indications to hint that the area under cotton

52. Ibid., p. 149-50. (Central Asian Archives of the Tajik SSR, F. 168, inv. I, p. 54).

cultivation and the total volume of cotton production declined, specially during the first five years (1930-35). Area under cotton crop, which was recorded 119.6 thousand hectares in 1932, got reduced to 106.1 thousand hectares in 1940. Although, area under cotton crop in 1932 showed remarkable progress as compared to 26.7 thousand hectares in 1913; yet, the output was alarmingly low. The cotton output in 1913 and 1932 was estimated to be 32.3 and 48.8 thousand tons respectively.

Summing up the results of 1934, a plenum of Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan held in January 1935, stated that due to distortions of the party's policy and efforts of those who opposed attempts to boost cotton production, the area under cotton cultivation in the republic had shrunk.55 Large number of peasant households who had not joined the collective farms upto 1935, were against this expansion of cotton cultivation, and the government's emphasis on cotton cultivation was being used against collectivisation by the Kulak class. It was only after the completion of collectivisation programme in late 1930s

54. Alac Tadzhikiskoe SSR, n. 48, p. 149.
that cotton production could be raised more meaningfully. Basic change in the institutional structure and introduction of mechanisation in agriculture opened up new vistas for its future development on socialistic pattern.

The Table 3.6 shows that although there was remarkable progress in cotton cultivation both in terms of its sown area and production yet, cereals remained the main crop of the republic. There was significant increase, however, in the total sown area under all crops between 1913-40.

Fluctuations in Agriculture during and after the Great Patriotic War: 1940-1960

Cotton growing in the republic had just started showing upward trends when again it received another serious blow due to the outbreak of the second world war. During the war years, cotton growing once again reduced heavily and that of grain increased. The area under food-grain crops in Tajikistan grew by 30.7 per cent during 1940-43 and the republic managed to produce enough food

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56. Progress in cotton cultivation is more significant in the light of the fact that area under cotton crop had nose dived to mere 7 thousand hectares in 1924. *Covetckie Tadzhikistan Za Golet*, p. 127.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crops</th>
<th>1913</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1913-40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Area th. ha.</td>
<td>Per cent of total sown area</td>
<td>Production th. tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sown Area</td>
<td>494.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cereals</td>
<td>437.8</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>201.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes Veg. and Melons</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>9.8 (only potatoes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fodder</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Atlac Tadzhikskoe SSR, pp. 142-43; Covetekie Tadzhikistan za 60 let, p. 127.
to feed its population. The gross output of cotton fell
down to 81 thousand tons in 1945 from 172 thousand tons
in 1940. Similarly, silk yarn output declined from 254
tons in 1940 to 113 tons in 1945. The decline was
cased due to the shortage of agricultural hands, fewer
machines and suspension of some irrigation projects during
the war years. Part of adverse effect of war on agriculture
was reduced as many women, elderly and very young people
came out to replace cultivators who had gone to the front
to defend the country.

The key economic task in the post-war period was
to increase cotton output. A decree on 'developing
cotton production in Tajikistan' was passed in September,
1945. Whereby, the state provided every possible assistance
in form of farm machinery and chemical fertilizers for
cotton growing. More incentives and technical moderniza-
tion of agriculture were particularly emphasised. The
total output of cotton and yield per hectare were raised
considerably in the next five years. Whereas, for grain

57. Narodnoe Khozaeovlo Tadzhikskoe SSR, B.V. 1959 q,
    (Stalinabad, 1960), Soviet Union 50 years: Statisti-
    cal Returns, Moscow, 1969, pp. 150-517 Irkæev etc.
    n. 47, p. 378.

58. Ochreki Istorii Kommunistoe Partii Tadzhikistana
production, its total sown area, gross output and yield per hectare all fell down during this period (1945-50).\(^{59}\) As an incentive for better cotton production, bonus was paid to various Tajik collective farms in 1948. Meanwhile, Tedzhen water reservoir was built and put into operation along with modernization of several other irrigation systems.

Consolidation and administrative rearrangement of the collective farm system was also taken up in the postwar period. The main aim of these efforts was to attain pre-war level agricultural production. The party organs in Tajikistan made special efforts to educate, train and reallocate skilled labour particularly in favour of weaker Kolkhozes. Merger of smaller Kolkhozes into bigger ones was considered to be essential for further development of agricultural sector. The level of accumulation and of production was much lower in small Kolkhozes than in big ones and too much money was being spent on the maintenance of administrative and managerial staff. Therefore, amalgamation was deemed as an absolute necessity. Consequently, number of small farms were merged into big Kolkhozes in early 1950s.

\(^{59}\) Soviet Union 50 Years: Statistical Returns, p. 146, 150.
The above table shows that the number of Kolkhozes was drastically reduced in 1955 and the trend was further carried into 60s and 70s. Another important reform, in the organisational structure of collective farms, was introduced in March 1956. Under this, Kolkhozes were empowered to decide the size of private plots, number of livestock and compulsory minimum number of work days expected from each household. It was needed as no uniform pattern could meet the requirements of all Kolkhozes. The size of private plots greatly affected the efficiency of collective farms.

60. The two decrees of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, adopted on March 6, 1956, passed this resolution.
farms. Working on their private plots, the peasants of big Kolkhozes ignored the work on Kolkhoz fields. On the other hand, smaller Kolkhozes were economically too weak to fully provide for the needs of their members.

More attention was paid to mechanisation of agriculture and on improving the performance of MTS. Tajikistan had 66 MTS operating about 7061 tractors and thousands of other agricultural machines in early 1957. The number of tractors available for every 10 hectares of land doubled during 1940-1957 and their average number per Kolkhoz grew by 14 times. Soon, in 1957 itself, the MTS were disbanded and the tractors and other machines were sold to the individual Kolkhozes. The compulsory procurements and payments in kind for the services of MTS were also abolished. Direct purchase system for the procurement of agricultural products by the state from the Kolkhozes was introduced. This led to an increase in the income of collective farms. The number of state farms remained negligible till the end of this period, hence, played an insignificant role in the economy. Mechanisation in livestock rearing and vegetable-fruit production could not be undertaken in this period. Many

labour-intensive operations in these sectors were still being done manually.

Agricultural Development during 1960-80, The Period of "Mature Socialism":

1960s marked the beginning of a new era of agricultural developments in Tajikistan. Kolkhozes grew bigger and economically stronger. The sown area in the amalgamated Kolkhozes had grown five to six times since 1950 (see table 3.7). Many cotton growing collectives had over 2,000 hectares of land and nearly 46.4 per cent collective farms had more than 750 peasant households each working on them. The mechanisation of agricultural operations and the number of skilled workers increased, resulting in higher output per 100 hectares. About two billion roubles were invested in agriculture during this period (1960-80) which more than double the fixed assets of Kolkhozes and state farms. This helped in raising the standard of living and brought important socio-cultural change in the rural set up of Tajikistan. The overall growth rate of agricultural production between 1940-60 was as followings:

62. Нов.К.ТССР в 1982 г. п. 145.
63. Д. Рациялов, Селское хозяйство в Таджикистане Сегодня, п. 212.
Taking 1940 = 1
1960 - 2.4 Times
1970 - 3 Times
1980 - 4.4 Times

The development of socialist agriculture in Tajikistan, in the post-1960 period, was more peaceful and even than in the earlier decades. It has successfully overcome the stress and strain of formative years as well as pressures of the war period. Within a short period of two decades (1960-80), agricultural growth in all its sectors more than doubled.

**TABLE 3.8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Products</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crops</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal Products</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Soviet Tajikistan 60 Years: Statistical Returns, (Russian), Dushanbe, 1984, p. 130.*

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64. *Soviet Tajikistan for 60 Years: Statistical Returns, (Russian), (Dushanbe, 1984).*
The increase in agricultural production was not just extensive; the dimensions of its growth included intensive expansion as well. Per hectare output of two major crops i.e. cotton and grain, showed considerable increase. Fruit-vegetable and livestock products also became important sectors of the republic's agricultural economy.

Table 3.9 shows that between 1960-80 area under cotton crop expanded by nearly 179 per cent and productivity per hectare increased by more than 140 per cent. Production output of grain, although, was declining in this period, yet, yields of grain per hectare show remarkable progress in 1970s. Similarly, other crops as potatoes, vegetables etc. also gained in their levels of productivity. A general criticism of low agricultural performance of Soviet Union, does not seem to be true in Tajikistan. The productivity level of cotton, the major crop of the area, is highest among the major cotton producing regions of the world. Productivity of grain is, although, quite low in comparison to the average of Central Asia as a whole as well as USSR but in the recent years it has been improving. One important reason for the phenomenal increase in the productivity of grain and increase in the gross output of other

65. Rahman and Ghai, ibid., p. 63.
TABLE 3.9

GROWTH OF SELECTED CROPS IN TAJIKISTAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Sown Area</strong></td>
<td>493.3</td>
<td>807.1</td>
<td>836.9</td>
<td>724.5</td>
<td>764.9</td>
<td>764.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Per cent Growth</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>-13.4</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cotton</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crop area (th. ha.)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>106.1</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>172.4</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>308.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent Growth</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross Harvest (th. tons)</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>172.4</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>399.4</td>
<td>726.6</td>
<td>1010.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent Growth</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>433.7</td>
<td>67.6</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>81.9</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yield tons per hac.</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>3.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grain</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crop area (th. ha.)</td>
<td>432.8</td>
<td>567.4</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>320.5</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent growth</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>-2.7</td>
<td>-34.6</td>
<td>-11.2</td>
<td>-39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross harvest (th. tons)</td>
<td>201.7</td>
<td>323.3</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>255.7</td>
<td>222.2</td>
<td>185.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent growth</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>60.5</td>
<td>-35.5</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>-13.1</td>
<td>-16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yield tons per hac.</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>1.14 (1976)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oil Crops</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crop area (th. hac.)</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent Growth</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>393.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-80.8</td>
<td>-52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Potatoes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crop area (th. hac.)</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>9.1 (1974)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent Growth</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>666.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross harvest (th. tons)</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent Growth</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>285.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>117.5</td>
<td>128.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yield Tons per hec.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vegetables and Melons</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crop area (th. hac.)</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent Growth</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>208.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross Harvest (th. tons)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>165.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>351.8</td>
<td>492.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent Growth</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>297.1</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yield (veg) tons per hac.)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>2.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1980</td>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fodder</td>
<td>Crop Area (th. hac.)</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>131.2</td>
<td>150.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Per Cent Growth</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>321.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Narodnoe Khozaestva Tadzhikistanav 1984 g (Dushanbe, 1985), Sovetskie Tadzhikiston Za 60 let (Dushanbe, 1984).
 TYPES OF FARMING

- Irrigated Cotton
- Irrigated Grain and Fodder Crops
- Unirrigated Grain and Oilseeds
- Karakul Sheep Rearing
- Livestock Rearing
- Barren Land

TAJIKISTAN
TYPES OF FARMING

Kms 60 0 60 120 Kms
crops as potatoes, vegetable and fodder etc. is the policy of giving more incentives for these crops. The Central Asian Cotton growers enjoyed a favourable position vis-a-vis other regions as well as other crops since 1930. The procurement price per ton of cotton was much higher than that of grain. In spite of the higher production cost for cotton, the proportionate difference in its procurement price made it more profitable than grain. It was mainly done to achieve self-sufficiency in cotton for the country. This goal was realised in 1950, subsequently, a more rational procurement price policy was adopted. Under which, the gap between the procurement price of cotton and of grain was comparatively narrowed down. Whereby, the price of grain, meat and milk etc. increased steadily in late 1950s and the level of profitability for these crops had risen considerably in 1960s. Nevertheless, cotton continued to be more profitable and increasingly occupied the dominant place in the republic's agricultural structure.

66. Ibid, p. 23. Details of average procurement prices for various crops have been listed in the study.

TABLE 3.10

CROP STRUCTURE OF SOWN AREA IN
TAJIKISTAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>1980</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Sown Area</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Cereals</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Crops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil Crops</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes, Vegetable and Melons</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fodder</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Narodnoe Khozaestvo TSSR V. 1984, p. 136

The above table shows that cotton increasingly claimed more and more of the total sown area of the republic and generally these were the best irrigated lands as it is difficult to grow cotton without proper irrigation. The area under grain not only gradually shrunk, it also is grown on relatively inferior land. The area under vegetables and fruits also expanded considerably, showing an increase of nearly 80 per cent, during 1960-80.

The overall rate of agricultural growth in Tajikistan got accelerated with mechanisation and better organisation. The level of mechanisation attained by 1980 was quite impressive considering its very low position till 1950s.
Nearly 74 per cent work in cotton cultivation, 50 per cent in vegetable growing and 22 per cent in cotton picking was mechanised by 1970. Number of tractors in Tajikistan's Kolkhozes was 34 per thousand hectares of sown land and there were 10 cotton harvestors per thousand hectares of land in 1973. Agriculture in USSR as a whole had about the same level of mechanisation. Tajikistan in 1960 had a total number of 11,098 tractors and 915 harvestors, the figures increased to 31,740 and 1,431 respectively in 1980. Similarly, energy use in agriculture also advanced considerably. It amounted to 428.3 horse power per 100 hectares of sown area in Central Asia as a whole compared to 209 horse-power for the country as a whole.

Livestock raising is an important sector of Tajik agrarian economy. Livestock are raised for wool, meat and dairy purposes. Although, animal husbandry plays a secondary role in cotton growing regions but it has a primary place in the mountainous areas. Increase in fodder


69. For the all union figures on the degree of tractorisation and other agricultural machines, see NKh. USSR 60.

crop (Table 3.9) is directly related to the steady increase in livestock figures during this period. Growth rate of major livestock products i.e., meat and milk, was 4.6 and 5.3 per cent annual between 1965-73 whereas that of cotton was 3.2 per cent per year. According to another estimate output of cotton during this period increased by 49 per cent while that of milk by 63 per cent, vegetables 3.5 times and meat and eggs by four times. Sericulture is found everywhere in Tajikistan except the eastern part of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous oblast and the republic holds forth place in the production of cocoons.

Per capita income in agricultural sector was much higher in Central Asia till 1960 e.g., payment per man day in Central Asian Kolkhozes was 70 per cent above that of the USSR as a whole in 1958. Disparity between the two was narrowing down throughout 1960s and by 1970 it nearly disappeared. Though the earnings of collective households were somewhat higher in Central Asia than in rest of USSR but the farmers here were not richer as the dependency ratio

71. Rahman and Ghai, n. 65, p. 33.
73. Rahman and Ghai, n. 65, p. 16.
in rural Central Asia was much higher because of higher population rate particularly so in Tajikistan where number of persons per family is the highest in the whole of Soviet Union. This led to private auxiliary farming receiving greater significance in the republic. However, the average size of the personal plots per household was 0.13 hectares compared to 0.33 hectare in the country as a whole in 1973. Per capita income from this source was also lower in Tajikistan, i.e. 37 per cent of the USSR average. The economic need of the farmers led them to develop the private farming sector faster in Central Asia than in the country as a whole in 1970s. The output of private plots in Tajikistan increased by 33 per cent during 1971-75 as against 3 to 4 per cent for the country as a whole. The relative immobility of the rural population of Tajikistan further added to the economic significance of private subsidiary farming in the villages as it fulfilled the increased requirements. There can be no denying that there has been a steady growth in private agricultural income.

74. Sovietskie Tadzhikistan Za 60 let, p.
75. Rahman and Ghai, n. 65, p. 30. As compared with the preceding five years, 1966-70.
This rise in agricultural earnings acquired greater significance in real terms because increase in the cost of living was low during this period. Apart from earnings from the private plots, earnings in Kolkhozes have been increasing at an annual average rate of nearly four per cent as against one per cent annual increase in the cost of living. The growth of material well-being in rural areas was not limited to direct increase of peasant income. A large part of his private needs and other socio-cultural requirements were being met through constantly increasing social consumption funds. The structure of collective and state farms along with social consumption funds ensured a relative egalitarian income distribution among the rural population. Poverty, hunger, disease and lack of clothing and shelter hitherto common features, disappeared from the villages of Tajikistan.

Thus, the five decades of agrarian developments helped in transforming a once poor and backward society into a developed socialist one. Agriculture in Tajikistan registered mainly quantitative change in the pre-war period when area under it greatly expanded resulting in

77. Rahman and Ghai, n. 65, p. 35.
enhanced production. It was in the post war period that qualitative transformation of agriculture took place. Earlier along with extended sown area, high production was achieved through more favourable treatment given to Central Asian agriculture in the form of incentives etc. The post-war period saw productivity increasing rather than incentives. Socialist system could not have been based for long on artificially inflated production through incentives. The stress came to be more and more on labour productivity and profitability.

From the above analysis it can be concluded that agrarian scene in Tajikistan as in the whole of Central Asia changed beyond recognition. Agriculture was an extensive sector depending on manual work and primitive implements before the revolution. Productivity was low at subsistence level; subsequently, it was drastically transformed by establishing socialist relations of production and through large scale modern technological inputs.

The collective farms became main form of agricultural organisation in Tajikistan till 1980. Although, in the post 1980 period more and more state farms have come up but the Kolkhozes are also getting consolidated into bigger and economically more efficient units. The collectivisation of agriculture brought about radical socio-economic changes in the villages by putting an end to exploitation of man by man.
Inspite of some slackness in the growth rate of cotton production during the recent years, it remains its specialisation and the chief element of material progress of the republic. The output of cotton in Tajikistan grew by 31 times since the October Revolution and the republic claims the highest cotton yield in the whole of the Soviet Union. Tajikistan ranks third, after Uzbek and Turkmen SSRs, in terms of gross cotton output and is the major producer of long staple high quality cotton. Nevertheless, the republic is almost self-sufficient in cereals which occupy about 25.5 per cent of the sown area.

The Soviet literature generally links the spectacular rise in cotton specialisation to the policy of encouraging comparative advantage of the region for cotton cultivation. But, question has generally been asked whether the scale at which it emerged is justified or the specialization went beyond the dictates of economic efficiency and environmental considerations. It has been mentioned earlier that cotton cultivation was quite lucrative for the peasants of the region because of favourable prices. Moreover, the good

78. Cotton production has been declining both in terms of total volume as well as per hectare yield in the post 1980 period (barring 1981). Narkhoz, USSR za 70 let, Moscow, 1987, pp. 228-29.

79. Average procurement price has been about 32 per cent above international price. For details see, Rahman and Ghai, op. cit., p. 73.
especially foodgrains whose cultivation was 'displaced' by cotton, were made freely available under the unitary economic system of USSR. Despite these safeguards, the ecological imbalances resulting from monoculture attracted attention in the recent years. It has been highlighted that agricultural production management in Tajikistan, like other republic of Central Asia, was over influenced by 'cotton hypnosis'. Planning based on the achieved figures further led to undue emphasis to raise cotton production during past decades. "Due to unchecked quest for the increase of gross yields of cotton during decades, elementary rules of reasonable farming, economy and reproduction and land biopotentiality have been ignored." 80 In some farms of the republic over 90 per cent of the total irrigated land was devoted to cotton cultivation. 81 Moreover, cotton has been grown continuously for decades on the same soil ignoring the principle of crop rotation.

80. H.M. Saidmuradov, "Problems of Comprehensive Use of Natural Resources and Environment Protection" (in Russian), paper presented in a seminar on "Rational Utilization of Natural Resources and Regional Development" held in Delhi in October 1988.

This resulted in the exhaustion of soil. The land productivity has been artificially raised by applying heavy dosage of chemical fertilizers. It is known that overuse of fertilizers, pesticides and insecticides where about 60 per cent of chemicals remain unassimilated by plants can lead to soil contamination. The soil pollution can further lead to pollution of water which may cause various kinds of diseases. The monoculture character of the agriculture has also led to proliferation of certain pests and weeds. These slowly become resistant to pesticides and weedicides making the ecological situation more complicated.

Another aspect is excessive strain on the water resources for irrigating cotton crop. This raises soil erosion, logging of low lying areas and salinity along with other environmental hazards. Cotton fields are intensively irrigated to achieve planned harvest targets. Water availability in the republic was low due to drought during 1974-77. The deficiency was made up by drawing excess water from the hydro-electric reservoirs of the republic. The Nurek reservoir alone was tapped for about 3 billion cubic metres of water but still the shortage remained. It was eventually overcome by taking water from Kairakum and

82. Ibid.
Toktogul hydral power reservoirs. The planned targets of cotton production were achieved but some power generating units had to be shut down because of very low water level in the reservoirs after irrigation of fields. Another problem of hydro power reservoirs is that earlier river water carried lot of silt, useful for agricultural fields. Now, it gets settled in the reservoirs silting it up on one hand and depriving the agricultural fields of fertilizing nutrients on the other. The lack of nutrients is compensated by fertilizers. Besides, water carrying silt could fill up pores and cracks in canals and irrigation ditches checking seepage to a considerable extent. But, now the settled water failed to perform this function; hence, higher seepage and further strain on meager water resources of the republic.

These and other similar issues are coming into sharper focus under the present environment of glasnost and prestroika. The solution to some of these problems probably lies in the elimination of excessive cotton specialization, restoration of crop rotation, diversification of agriculture and development of biological means to check soil degradation and protect crops against diseases, insects, pests and weeds. Greater regional autonomy

in economic planning for effective and speedy developments in these directions is needed. It is desirable to balance resource availability and cropping pattern more harmoneously. The bio-climatic potentials of the region must be taken into account not just for one but for a diversified production system for more balanced regional planning and development. Apart from cotton, grown mainly in the valleys occupying nearly 7 per cent of the total area of Tajikistan, attention must be paid to develop viticulture, horticulture, potato-growing and cattle breeding. These branches of agriculture can easily be developed on foot-hills and mountain slopes of the republic. At present these areas are thinly populated. Enhanced economic opportunities may eventually lead to population redistribution lowering demographic pressure from labour redundant regions.

As has been seen before that production and productivity of agriculture greatly increased in the post-war period. It increased not just because of an overall increase in the sown area but also due to technological and chemical inputs on the one hand and structural changes on

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84 There was 0.57 hectare of per capita arable land in 1960. It decreased to 0.22 hectare in 1987. Kh. Umarov, op. cit.
the other. It consequently, led to increase in labour productivity. Though, labour productivity rose steadily in the past decades but it still remained low in relative terms. Labour input for per ton cotton, grain and cattle products is higher in Tajikistan compared to all union average. Man hour ratio between Tajikistan and USSR as a whole for raising cotton, grain and cattle were 400 : 350, 88 : 14 and 690 : 560 respectively in 1976.\textsuperscript{85} Differences are even higher compared to other agriculturally developed countries. Tajik farms need 20.2 times more man hours for growing per ton of grain compared to U.S.A. The figures for the same are 7.1 times more for per ton of cotton and 9.9 times more for per ton of cattle.\textsuperscript{86} It may also be inferred from the figures that labour productivity in Tajikistan in cotton growing is relatively higher compared to that in grain and livestock.

The higher population growth rate and lack of out migration are among the reasons of low labour productivity. Cotton cultivation is labour intensive and the Central Asia continually developed specialization in it. It

\textsuperscript{85} A. Rahman Khan and D. Ghai, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 68-69.

\textsuperscript{86} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 69.
helped in absorbing increasing population to a great extent. However, due to near absence of out-migration, slowly, demographic pressure on labour productivity mounted. It lowered the labour productivity mounted. It lowered the labour productivity as well as significantly checked the large scale mechanisation of farming. It has been reported that despite an annual increase in the technical equipment, agriculture in general and its leading branch i.e. cotton growing have a substantial share of manual labour, largely to generate employment. It is observed that nearly one-fourth labour in the Kishlaks can easily be spared by mechanisation. Inspite of the availability of tractors and combines, these are not being used nor are many other machines in many districts of the republic. Along with mismanagement, another important reason of inefficient use of the capital investment is the lack of skilled workers and operators of machines in the rural areas. In a situation where labour is easily available, lack of proper training resulted in such deficiencies. Labour redundancy

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tends to bring down one's interest in the acceleration of scientific technological progress. With the result, the general and special education level come down and negatively affects the mechanisation of the production process.

Another interesting example of poor labour management is that every year schools are closed for a couple of months and hundreds of school children are engaged to pick cotton in harvesting season. Inefficient and insufficient use of machines combined with unwillingness of collective and state farmers to do this tiresome, monotonous and low-paid work, necessitates cotton picking by school children. This adds to colossal wastage of labour and equipment. Along with labour management, there is need to raise per worker output by promoting balanced mechanisation. First by raising levels of general and professional education and then by raising the level of capital investment. Pluralisation of the village productive structures are needed to lower demographic pressure on those employed in social production. Besides, by raising professional and qualification level of the rural population, higher social and territorial mobility of the agrarian population can also be achieved. Increased labour productivity would further improve standard of living.

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of rural masses. In this direction, intra-regional variations in the level of labour productivity also need to be smoothened.

Lastly, it may be concluded that no doubt, the region experienced rapid agricultural growth leading to greater material progress through major structural changes in its agrarian structure. The Soviet government worked hard to create a new society in Central Asia by changing its material basis. Along with appropriate rewards and incentives, help from the other parts of the country was also freely available to this formerly backward region. Inspite of this, lot of things still remain to be desired. To attain greater heights in this direction, Tajikistan must boldly face the above mentioned problems and challenges and solve these.