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A. BUKEYKHANOV'S CONCEPT OF LAND RELATIONS AND MODERNITY

The issue of land relations is relevant to all countries and peoples. From ancient times to the present, humans have struggled to own land. Wars have even broken out because of it. For Kazakhstan, ranking ninth in the world by land area, the issue of land relations is extremely important, as evidenced by the numerous discussions regarding the introduction of private ownership of land since independence to the present. The article presents the concept of land relations and land ownership in conditions of agrarian-industrial development of Kazakhstan developed by famous public figure A. Bukeikhanov. Accordingly, the purpose of the scientific research is to analyze this concept, including its relationship and applicability in modern conditions. The study argues for the use of one or another form of land ownership, on the basis of land relations inherent in Kazakhstan. The article used the methods of materialistic dialectics and synthesis to combine the concept of land relations and the modern trend of land relations. The study establishes the negative effect of providing private ownership of agricultural land, especially to foreign residents for the current agrarian-industrial economy of Kazakhstan, which corresponds to the principles substantiated by A. Bukeikhanov in the early 20th century. The current state of development of agricultural production in Kazakhstan testifies to this concept for the production of competitive agricultural products, taking into account its historical significance. A. Bukeikhanov's concept has practical significance on many issues: from preservation of ecological safety of land to cultivation of regionalized varieties of crop products. It also concerns the breeding and rearing of local breeds of farm animals, which will allow the rational use of natural and climatic conditions of Kazakhstan.

Dedicated to the 155th anniversary of Alikhan Nurmukhamedovich Bukeikhanov. "Labour is the Father and active principle of Wealth, as lands are the Mother" W. Petty.

Key words: Bukeikhanov's concept of land relations, natural-economic conditions of Kazakhstan, private and state ownership of land, socio-economic development.

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Ә. Бөкейхановтың жер қатынастары тұжырымдамасы және қазіргі заман

Жер қатынастары мәселесі барлық елдер үшін және халықтар үшін өзекті болып табылады. Ежелгі дәуірден бастап қазіргі уақытқа дейін адам жерді иемдену үшін күрескен болатын. Осыған байланысты тіпті соғыстар да болды. Жер аумағы бойынша әлемде 9-шы орын алатын Қазақстан үшін жер қатынастары мәселесі аса маңызды болып табылады, мұны тәуелсіздік алғаннан бастап қазіргі уақытқа дейінгі жерге жеке меншік құқығын енгізуге қатысты көптеген пікірталастар дәлелдейді. Мақалада белгілі қоғам қайраткері Ә. Бөкейханов әзірлеген Қазақстанның аграрлық-индустриялық даму жағдайындағы жер қатынастары мен жерге меншік тұжырымдамасы ұсынылған. Тиісінше, ғылыми зерттеудің мақсаты осы тұжырымдаманы, оның ішінде қазіргі жағдаймен байланысын және қолданылуын талдау болып табылады. Зерттеуде Қазақстанға тән жер қатынастары негізінде жерге қандай да бір меншік нысанын пайдалану дәлелденеді. Жер қатынастары тұжырымдамасы мен жер қатынастарын дамытудың қазіргі үрдісін біріктіру үшін материалистік диалектика мен синтез әдісін қолдана отырып, зерттеу Қазақстанның қазіргі аграрлық-индустриялық экономикасы үшін ауыл шаруашылығы мақсатындағы жерге, әсіресе шетелдік резиденттерге жеке меншікті қамтамасыз етудің теріс әсерін белгілейді, бұл 20 ғасырдың басында Ә. Бөкейханов негіздеген қағидаттарға сәйкес келеді. Қазақстандағы аграрлық өндірісті дамытудың қазіргі жай-күйі оның тарихи маңыздылығын назарға ала отырып, бәсекеге қабілетті ауыл шаруашылығы өнімін өндіру үшін осы тұжырымдаманы куәландырады. Ә. Бөкейхановтың тұжырымдамасының жердің экологиялық қауіпсіздігін сақтаудан бастап өсімдік шаруашылығы өнімінің аудандастырылған сұрыптарын шығару және өсіруге дейін қамтитын мәселелер, сондай-ақ ауыл шаруашылығы жануарларының жергілікті тұқымдарын өсіруге және көбейтуге қатысты

көптеген мәселелері бойынша практикалық маңызы бар, бұл Қазақстанның табиғи-климаттық жағдайларын ұтымды пайдалануға мүмкіндік береді.

Әлихан Нұрмұхамедұлы Бөкейхановтың 155-жылдығына арналады. “Байлықтың атасы-еңбек, анасы-жер” У. Пети.

Түйін сөздер: Ә.Бөкейхановтың жер қатынастары тұжырымдамасы, Қазақстанның табиғи-экономикалық жағдайы, жерге жеке және мемлекеттік меншік, әлеуметтік-экономикалық даму.

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Концепция поземельных отношений А. Букейханова и современность

Вопрос о поземельных отношениях является актуальным для всех стран и народов. С древнейших времен и до настоящего времени человек боролся за владение землей. Из-за этого даже вспыхивали войны. Для Казахстана, занимающего 9 место в мире по земельной площади, вопрос о поземельных отношениях является исключительно важным, про что свидетельствуют многочисленные дискуссии касательно введения частной собственности на землю со времен обретения независимости до настоящего времени. В статье представлен концепция поземельных отношений и собственности на землю в условиях аграрно-индустриального развития Казахстана, разработанный известным общественным деятелем А. Букейхановым. Соответственно, целью научного исследования является анализ данной концепции, включая её связь и применимость в современных условиях. В исследовании аргументируется использование той или иной формы собственности на землю, на базе присущих Казахстану поземельных отношений. Используя метод материалистической диалектики и синтеза для объединения концепции поземельных отношений и современной тенденции развития земельных отношений, исследование устанавливает отрицательный эффект обеспечения частной собственностью на землю сельскохозяйственного назначения, тем более иностранным резидентам для нынешней аграрно-индустриальной экономики Казахстана, что соответствует принципам, обоснованных А. Букейхановым в начале 20 века. Современное состояние развития аграрного производства в Казахстане свидетельствует данной концепции для производства конкурентноспособной сельскохозяйственной продукции, принимая во внимание и её историческую значимость. Концепция А. Букейханова имеет практическое значение по многим вопросам: от сохранения экологической безопасности земли до выведения и выращивания районированных сортов растениеводческой продукции, а также касается разведения и выращивания местных пород сельскохозяйственных животных, что позволит рационально использовать природно-климатические условия Казахстана.

Ключевые слова: концепция поземельных отношений А. Букейханова, природно-экономические условия Казахстана, частная и государственная собственность на землю, социально-экономического развитие.

Introduction

The personality of Alikhan Bukeikhanov is the most outstanding one among the whole period of the formation of Kazakh statehood. He was known not only as a prominent Kazakh public and political figure, organizer and leader of the party “Alash”, the head of the first Kazakh national government Alash-ord, but also as a scientist-encyclopedist, a scientist in the field of economy, forestry, history, ethnography (Asylbekov, 2003). Bukeikhanov’s socio-economic views, their dialectical (historical) development and transformation are reflected in his works and articles, and his socio-economic ideas are still relevant today. At present, the most important issue is land ownership not only in Kazakhstan, but also in the entire post-Soviet space,

where virtually every country has tried to reform the entire agricultural complex inherited from the USSR (Hierman, 2014). A. Bukeikhanov primarily defended the interests of the ordinary agrarian worker and noted the banal absence of the concept of private property in the Kazakh mentality except for a few groups of people to whom a particular land was inherited, and his analysis shows that in the natural and climatic conditions of our country, agricultural production (primarily livestock and from now on cattle breeding) is the main source of income for the population, providing it with food, which is the basis of life.

The object of the study is land relationships in the understanding of A. Bukeikhanov to the arrangement of land relations in the territory of modern Kazakhstan and their relationship with

modern land relationships. The purpose of the study is the modern interpretation of land relations of A. Bukeikhanov and the possibility of their use in the modern economic policy of the Government of Kazakhstan in solving modern problems in the context of increasing global socio-economic, food and environmental problems of our time.

Literature review

Until the middle of the XIX century the economic development of the steppe region (Kazakhstan) was traditionally based on patriarchal-feudal land use with the dominance of economic relations of Kazakh feudalism. This circumstance, naturally, was an obstacle to the development of market relations in agrarian production. The land was managed by the feudal-baikal nobility (Polyansky, 1990).

Socio-economic conditions at that time were ambiguous for the population of the country. First of all, there was a property stratification within the patriarchal-feudal system. Over time, income differentiation exacerbated this process. Therefore, the wealthiest part of society began to turn the best herds of animals (horses, cows, sheep) into gold, the more severe jute (famine) could turn these herds into nothing. Consequently, it was already becoming clear to the most advanced part of society that the market with its objective economic laws was coming to the vast steppe, and commodity-money relations were beginning to play a defining role in the socio-economic development of Kazakh society. It should be borne in mind that the majority of this society lived in poverty and was under the double oppression of the local feudal-baikal nobility, on the one hand, and the Tsarist power, on the other hand, which strengthened the process of exploitation of the population in feudal society and gradually reduced the influence of patronage relations for a faster adaptation of nomads to the structures and values of their new sedentary life (Martin, 2010).

Thus, a generation gradually changed, which already carried a new mindset, among which was the future leader of the Alash autonomy. The transformation of Bukeikhanov's views, judging by the detailed analysis of his works, proceeded primarily from the interests of the people, the simple toilers. His famous monograph "Historical Fate of the Kyrgyz Land and Its Cultural Successes" is one of his first studies of the socio-economic development of pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan. In his article "Why I left the Kadet Party" Bukeikhanov noted: "The Kadet Party is against the separation

of church and state, for the purchase and sale of land into private hands, which I believe cannot be allowed". Because of these disagreements I decided to part with the Kadets, prominent representatives of the first pleiad of Kazakh intellectual class (Ualtaeva, 2021).

After many years of the reclamation of the Central Asian steppes where, in the opinion of Russian historians "the Kazakh Khanate was located which in fact was a loose union of tribal formations, incapable as a result of the very nature of nomadic economy to self-development and statehood" (Moiseev, 1995), by the end of XIX century tsarist Russia strengthened the colonial policy in outskirts of all Russian empire. In the steppe region, this was facilitated by tsarism's brutal suppression of the uprising of the Kazakhs led by Kenesary Khan (Kuzembayuly, 1996). The process of transition to the market in the conditions of domination of patriarchal-feudal land tenure had essential specificity. Since land is the main means of production in agriculture, that is why Bukeikhanov was critical of the tsarist colonial policy, which was reduced to strengthening the exploitation of peoples on the outskirts of the Russian Empire through the relocation of peasants and cultivation of new agricultural land. For example, by 1910, between 2 and 10% of Kazakh households were already fully settled (Kerven, 2020). The analysis of statistical data conducted by A. Bukeikhanov for a number of years convincingly testifies that in the Russian economic science of that time it was the first objective scientific analysis of land relations developing in the steppe region, taking into account the fact that researchers, analyzing socio-economic shifts in Russia in the early twentieth century, regarded Bukeikhanov as a typical representative of the Western model of civilization with its consequent economic life structure, who wanted to test his experience in the steppe region of Kazakhstan (Shilovskiy, 2017). Therefore, the analysis of this historical course is important for modern conditions, which are characterized by both the actual risks of complicating the socio-economic situation and demographic threats of rural population depopulation of the (Belgibaeva, 2021), and stagnation of the development of the political system based on the patron-client system, tested in many Asian and African countries (Joshi, 2011). Parallel to the analysis of Bukeikhanov's works and studying the negative foreign experience of social, ethnic bias in forcing land reform and state building as such, will allow the political elite of Kazakhstan to take into account all the faults and achievements

of this important component of the life of the population.

Methodology

In addition to the pronounced historicism caused by the analysis of Bukeikhanov's activity at the cusp of the XIX-XX centuries in the context of global political upheavals, the study also used methods of economic nature, namely the method of materialistic dialectics, the method of comparative analysis, the method of historical analysis, as well as the method of generalization. These methods allowed to present qualitatively the changes that occurred in the feudal society due to the introduction of new economic relations for the new subjects of Central Asia by the tsarist power and where were recorded chronological changes in the economic life of the region as a result of these transformations throughout the late XIX – early XX century.

The main principle of research is the method of materialistic dialectics, thanks to which the progressive movements in the economic transformations of the region as a result of the policy of resettlement were indicated in the study. Besides, other approaches of research such as the method of synthesis for combining the concept of land relations and modern tendencies of development of land relations, as well as the method of comparative analysis for deeper understanding of A. Bukeikhanov's concept were applied as well. Bukeikhanov as the figure whose ideology was formed under influence of new economic philosophy.

Therewithal, the analysis of economic efficiency is also important for the study. This allows the reader to determine the effect of the initiative of political figures of that period on the basis of comparison of alternatives, determining the most profitable and efficient option for today. Considering the results of predecessors, the method is widely used in developed countries to evaluate programs and projects in the social sphere, infrastructure and construction, including concerning the agricultural sphere, which is one of the distinctive features of the economy of modern Kazakhstan.

Findings and Discussion

Throughout many centuries, the territory of present-day Kazakhstan has always been characterized as a place for the development of agriculture, and given the climate, the fertility of soils, these lands are the basis for building an

economy focused on livestock production. At the same time, due to geographical remoteness from the centers of large densely populated regions like Europe or Mesopotamia, the main resource, on which the economy was based, was land, which was very rarely the object of purchase and sale. Also, for the same historical and geographical reasons, as well as during the conquest of Central Asia in the second half of the nineteenth century, land was in patriarchal ancestral ownership and was rarely distributed by the tsarist administration for merit of public service. In parallel with the strengthening of Russian influence and arrangement of the new state apparatus, capitalist relations penetrated into the Kazakh steppe. Nomadic peoples, in particular the Kazakhs objectively had to change their centuries-old way of life. The policy pursued by the newly established provinces to expropriate land to the resettlement fund is accompanied by the displacement of the indigenous population from the most settled fertile agricultural lands and boundless pastures, particularly in the Semirechye region and areas near the large lakes. Ultimately, such activities forced the indigenous population, if not to migrate en masse outside the empire, to actively seek livelihoods. A well-known publicist A. Bukeikhanov, a member of the expedition of F. Scherbina, a deputy of the State Duma of the Russian Empire and ethnographer, was intimately familiar with the state of development of land relations and the situation of the local population of that period. Defending the interests of his people, he emphasized that “the Kazakhs find abnormal what is happening now in the resettlement areas. Production workers are enclosing the most valuable lands for cattle breeding: meadows, winter pastures, arable lands, the best watering places... leaving rocks, saline lands, swamps, waterless steppes to the Kazakhs” (Bukeikhan, 1995).

The first studies of the steppe, its land relations showed that also a normal cattle breeding economy should satisfy its families and households needs with the products of cattle breeding. “However, a more objective, detailed analysis of cattle breeding farms of the steppe region conducted by A. Bukeikhanov testifies that “the cattle breeding economy has not been preserved in its pure form. And everywhere it is complicated by various extraneous cattle breeding occupations. Thus, on average, almost 27% of the total number of farms in the county have various trades and earnings, and 12% of farms have crops. In addition, almost 4% of the households have stopped nomadizing and have become so-called djatak (djataktar). Nevertheless, however, cattle breeding is the predominant occupation of the mass of the

Kazakhs and the main source of livelihood. Such a small importance of agriculture can be seen from the fact that even in the category of farms, where 92,898 poods of flour is consumed, 64,326 poods or 70% of it is flour, and only 30% is obtained in the farm. Hence, our normal farm should be cattle breeding" (Bukeikhan, 2009a, 2009b).

The interpenetration of sedentary and nomadic civilizations led to an increase in the exchange of goods between populations, which at that time was expressed in the form of fair trade, where the same livestock products were exchanged for crop and industrial products, etc. Given the obvious demand, such fairs were organized on Sundays and became systematic. Together with the introduction of money marks, this process undermined the foundations of Kazakh feudalism, led to the strengthening of the role of commodity-money relations in society, created prerequisites for the establishment of private land property rights by the provincial administration.

Firstly, it was conditioned by the time when the foundations of capitalist relations, widespread among the bourgeoisie and craftsmen, began to break through the established patriarchal-feudal orders. During this period of searching for more effective processes of development of land relationships, two coexisting trends were revealed: a) attempts to preserve the former pillars of classical Kazakh feudalism with its spiritual and cultural heritage, strengthening the position of Islam in the socio-economic development of Kazakhstan; b) cultural and ideological orientation of socio-economic development towards the European civilization.

A. Bukeikhan, as a progressive researcher, who used in his observations reliable factual material, judging by the analysis of his works, advocated the second tendency. However, he always stressed the fact that the Kazakhs have to preserve their identity», and the time of fear and awe of the authorities passed...» (Bukeikhan, 1995).

Secondly, the development of land relations depended on the applicability of the law, which in a certain way blocked the principle «all means are good for achieving the goal. «A person's dignity is determined by the way he pursues the goal, not by the way he achieves it» (Kunanbaev, 1982). In the conditions of a measured life of nomads, traditionally formed by centuries of this lifestyle, the given approach became fundamental in a choice of forms of economic activity. The dignity of man, rather than the size of his private property, was paramount, and land was perceived as a national asset.

Thirdly, the national identity of the Kazakhs had a significant impact on the development of private property as the main carrier of the genesis of market relations. In this case the main thing was not property, identified in wealth, but spiritual values. «Spiritual qualities are the most important in human life. A living soul and a responsive heart should lead a man, then his work and prosperity gain meaning» (Kunanbaev, 1982).

Fourthly, the socio-economic development of Kazakhstan before 1917 was formed under the influence of two cardinaly different factors: a) economic – from the Russian Empire; b) religious – under the influence of Islam. The economic factor dictated the conditions of economic life, where the priority was the development of market forms of economic activity through constant professional labor, which became the main source of human existence, while the religious factor continued to permeate all forms of social life and a cautious attitude towards innovation.

Fifthly, market relations were formed in the form of enclaves. A striking example is the development of copper ore in the Sarysu River basin of Karaganda region has been carried out since the Neolithic era, and in 1847, even before the active phase of the conquest of Central Asian lands by the Russian Empire, the Russian merchant Nikon Ushakov revived a copper mine in the ancient excavations (Ayagan, 2005). Later it was leased to British companies, which developed the mine and exported the enriched ore outside of Kazakhstan. Naturally, the local population was involved in mining, thus slowly, in small steps the process of dragging the economy of Kazakhstan into the mainstream of market relations was ongoing. Similar situation of enclave development of market relations was observed in other regions of the republic. The share of hired workers was only 2% of the total population of Kazakhstan (Kozybayev, 2000).

The process of decay of patriarchal-feudal relations in Kazakhstan was inevitable, due to the objective laws of the economy, it was accelerated by the extensive use of violence as an initial accumulation of capital by both the tsarist administration and local elites. Kazakhstan's rich natural resources facilitated the development of mainly two industries – mining and the agricultural processing industry, namely cattle breeding. In 1900 there were 22 tanneries in the Semipalatinsk province whose products were sent to the Russian military department and exported abroad: to America, England, Germany, France (Kozybaev, 2000). By the end of XIX century there were 22

flour mills in the mentioned province, which not only satisfied domestic needs in flour, but also exported more than 1 million poods of high-grade flour outside Kazakhstan (Kozybaev, 2000). Completion of the joining of Kazakhstan to Russia, which began in the early 30s of the 18th century, coincided with the rapid development of capitalism in Russia itself after the abolition of serfdom in 1861. Analyzing the genesis of market relations of that period V.I. Lenin noted that in Russia capitalism's desire to expand into other territories «had an especially striking effect and continues to have an effect on our outskirts, the colonization of which received such a tremendous boost during the post-reform, capitalist period of Russian history. The south and southeast of European Russia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Siberia serve as colonies of Russian capitalism and ensure its enormous development not only in depth, but also in breadth» (Lenin, 1967).

Obviously, one can agree with the definition of the 10th Congress of the RCP(b), which referred Kazakhstan to the national outskirts of Russia, which had no time to undergo capitalist development, had no or almost no industrial proletariat, and in most cases retained a pastoral economy and patriarchal clan life (Central Committee decision). But still, elements of the capitalist mode of production were developed in Kazakhstan, albeit weakly, which was one of the main socio-economic consequences of its accession to a more advanced Russia.

In the view of the authors, it would be erroneous to analyze the emergence of new land relationships in the large agrarian Central Asian region without taking into account the socio-economic processes taking place at that time directly in the Russian Empire, where the bulk of agricultural producers had land not in personal ownership, but in the use. Payments for the use of land were made in the form of tribute and bondhold. Among the still enslaved peasant class there were facts of a frank pledge. In other words, the peasant was under the double oppression: the serf – the landlord, on the one hand, and the community, on the other. Together with the naturalization of economic relations, this double restriction of freedom also prevented peasants from entering the market as competitive commodity producers. By the 19th century, however, economic imperatives were already pushing both large landed estates and isolated peasant households on the tribute to become more market-oriented. The natural tribute began to be increasingly replaced by the monetary tribute. At the same time, a land market began to form, one of the forms of which was the sale of

state-owned land at public tenders, especially after the reform of 1861.

The new system combined both the national features of Russia as a strong centralized state with its inherent communality of the population, and the common to different countries imperatives of transition to market relations. Chairman of Council of Ministers Pyotr Stolypin legislated the right of peasants to leave the community, the land market was launched – preferential sale of land to small landowners began to develop. To combat land speculation, peasant banks were strengthened to assist peasants in purchasing land of bankrupt landlords (Kosinskiy, 2014). As a result, by 1913. 79.7% of land buyers were individual peasants. In all, during the years of the reform, peasants purchased about 10 million decima (desiatina) of land with the help of the peasant bank. In 1912, mortgaging of allotment land was allowed, which also contributed to the development of market relations.

On July 11, 1867 was approved «Provisional Regulation on government in the Semirechenskaya and Syr Darya provinces», and on October 11, 1868 «Provisional Regulations on government in the steppe provinces of Orenburg and West Siberian Governorates General. – On July 11, 1867 was approved the «Provisional Regulations on Governance in the Steppe Provinces of the Orenburg and West Siberian Governorates General». The main body of power now went directly to the governors, while the loyal local nobility began to serve as a consolidating effect for the multinational population of the region. Direct management through the administration of the provinces stimulated the introduction of the usual commodity-money relations for the central regions, where before them the function of the «universal equivalent» was performed by small and large cattle. Subsequently, starting from that period it was possible to count on the real emergence of new land relationships.

The process of reclamation of the steppe region by the tsarist administration of the Russian Empire proceeded at a rapid pace A. Bukeikhanov notes: «Colonization of the Turgai region began with the foundation of the Ak-Tube fortress in 1869, around which several free peasant families settled. At the end of the 1870s there were already counted several dozen households, which began to ask for a ascription: it was allowed to berth and allowed to settle in other places (on lands leased from the Kazakhs). In 1886 in Aktyubinsk uyezd were 177 households, and according to the 1897 census – 28400 people of both sexes. Kustanay uyezd, as the most fertile in the entire western part of the region,

was settled faster. The first colonists appeared at the call of the administration in 1881 at the founding of Kustanai. In the same year 1200 families of peasant farmers appeared in the new city (some of them lived on lands previously leased from the Kazakhs)».

Despite the policy of expropriating Kazakhs from their resettlement plots and the subsequent migration of Kazakhs to neighboring regions, the total number of Kazakhs in the Russian Empire slowly but steadily increased, changing the national composition in different regions of Central Asia – see Table 1.

Table 1 – The number of the Kazakh population in the Russian Empire

Years	Number of population (total for the empire)
1897	3881,8 thousands
1911	4223,0 thousands
1915	4753,6 thousands

As a result of these ongoing processes, already by the end of the Russian Empire, the regions of present-day Kazakhstan became fully multi-ethnic (Kuzembayuly, 2006, p. 238).

After many years of being part of different states, private property was nevertheless approved. In already independent Kazakhstan, the first land law was passed in 1995 in the form of a presidential decree. This law acquired the right of private ownership of land, including for foreign nationals. But it was not until 2003 that private ownership of agricultural land was introduced, but it is worth noting that in all laws on land, agricultural land could only be privately owned by citizens of Kazakhstan, and legal entities established in accordance with the law, including enterprises with foreign participation, have the right to use land in addition to citizens of Kazakhstan (Fellman, 2012).

«Since 2015, the functions of state control over the identification of unused land have been carried out by local executive bodies. As a result of the work performed in the period from 2016 to 2020, 15.4 million hectares of unused agricultural land were identified cumulatively, of which 5.4 million hectares were involved in agricultural turnover, 5.6 million hectares were returned to state ownership, and work on their seizure through the judiciary is carried out on 4.4 million hectares,» reported Saparkhan Omarov (Askarov, 2021).

One of the main obstacles to private land ownership are landowners, or more precisely, latifundists, who do not use the land for its intended purpose. However, since 2015, the country began to fight against unscrupulous landowners, so that unused land can be returned to the state and given to bona fide peasants.

To date there are about 19 million people in the Republic of Kazakhstan and only about 100 thousand have land allotment owned or leased for 49 years. 75 thousand hectares of land are leased by seven joint ventures, two foreign legal entities lease 18.5 thousand hectares of land, where it is worth mentioning that land was allocated before the introduction of the ban on leasing or ownership of land to foreign citizens and after the end of the lease term land will be returned to the state. Despite such restrictions, the process of formation of sustainable agrarian economic entities continues, where the authorities and society strive to eliminate deficiencies in land use and land management in order to achieve rational use of land and obtain economic benefits from it (Ozeranskaya, 2018).

In 1889 the city had 18,000 population. Then the population began to decrease, due to natural factors – crop failures, which led to the transition to other areas. According to population census, conducted in 1897, Kustanai had 14065 population. This, however, did not prevent new settlers from settling in the county. To regulate this movement measures were taken to allocate certain land plots for new settlers. Between 1885 and 1888 eleven settlements were established in the northwestern part of the county. But since the question of the extent to which the interests of the Kazakhs were violated by this was not clarified, the settlements received land only on lease. Only after the statistical study in 1899 (expedition of F. Scherbina) it was clear that «without any damage to the Kazakhs, settlers could be allocated large areas. About 500 thousand dessiatinas were allocated in Kustanay uyezd and 11 settlements were established with allotments. Since that time, the resettlement business here was put in the same conditions as in the other steppe regions of Siberia». (Bukeikhanov, 2009a, 2009b).

The analysis of land relations conducted by Bukeikhanov as part of the «Expedition to study the steppe regions in the statistics of economic relations» in 1904 under the leadership of F.A. Shcherbin indicates that the accession of Kazakhstan to Russia gradually led to a strengthening of the Tsarist administration in the steppe region, this process resulted in «the Steppe Regulations, under which lands inhabited by the Kazakhs are considered

public and given to the Kazakhs for permanent use, regulated by their customs from the earliest times. Having understood the land relations of the Kazakhs, the expedition came to the conclusion that, first, the entire population with respect to land use is divided into a number of land-kin communities, to which the expedition gave the name of community aul groups, each member of which has a certain right to the territory in use of the group, and, second, all lands in their use can be divided into two categories: lands of separate and common use. Consequently, such land relations are similar to peasant land community (Bukeikhan, 2009a, 2009b).

A. Bukeikhanov associated such division of land with the further prospects of agricultural production in Kazakhstan. Firstly, the land of separate use was allocated for the development of experimental stations, cultivation of crops for export purposes. Secondly, the land of general use of all the population of Kazakhstan was distributed among the estates, without taking into account the available livestock, without any privileges to the representatives of the royal administration to the feudal-baikal nobility. The natural approach to solving land issues did not suit those in power.

Along with these features of land use of the Kazakhs, he notes that the order of use of land of separate and common use to a large extent depends on natural and climatic conditions, the level of precipitation, the growing season of ripening grasses, which serve as soiling food for farm animals.

Bukeikhanov's research on the land issue in various volosts of the steppe region was systematic, took into account objective natural and climatic conditions, and did not misrepresent the available facts. For instance, he notes, that «the economy of Kazakhs is conducted in such a primitive way that help is needed to make their labor more productive and to enrich their culture with more valuable plants, such as rice, and maybe even cotton, which would replace those konak and wheat, which are now cultivated by Kazakhs. Perhaps the organization of the experimental station would also solve the issue on how the living conditions could be suitable for the Russian population» (Bukeikhan, 2009a, 2009b).

It is necessary to underline here that the idea of organizing experimental stations in Kazakhstan indeed belongs to Bukeikhanov. Later it was used in many union republics of the USSR. The effectiveness of using such stations, their scientific and research benefits on growing, breeding released variety crops were widely used during the development of virgin and fallow lands both in Kazakhstan and in other countries. At the same time,

it should be emphasized that in the organization of experimental stations he saw the creation of certain conditions for the Russian population» i.e. the idea of «free spillover of capital and labor,» which he mastered while studying Marxism, was to be put into practice.

Beyond the Ural, in the northern regions of Kazakhstan, the most entrepreneurial part of the Kazakhs began to engage in farming, along with settlers from the central regions of Russia and Ukraine.

The Tsarist government was interested in the development of such farms because its main objectives were:

1. To increase the production of tradable grain in order to solve the problem of hunger. The example of the famine of 1880-1881, which killed 700,000 people in Russia, was still fresh in memory (Khudokormov, 1995).

2. elimination of factors for peasant revolts, as the Russian peasant still did not have the right to dispose of the land. Therefore, in search of a better land share, the most active and brave part of the peasants went beyond the Ural to new lands.

3. The attraction of the Kazakh population to new market forms in order to relieve tensions in the respect to the use of Kazakh land for arable land. Which clearly reduced the best hay and winter pastures for the traditional forms of steppe population farming.

The problem of hay and pasture lands is just as acute at this time. «This is a very serious problem. The main reason is the lack of proper control by the akimats. Now 29 million hectares of land are required for grazing of livestock. Nevertheless, peasant farms do not use 33 million hectares of land. In 80% of the rural districts there is not enough grazing land. This is especially noticeable in Turkestan, Almaty and Kyzylorda provinces. The provincial governments and akims, together with the prosecutor's office, need to start working on the return of undeveloped pastureland to the villagers. Special attention should be paid on this issue. The government should improve the monitoring from space and expand its scope. This important work needs to be done not only by the President's order but also on a permanent basis,» said the Head of State.

Currently there are about 8,000 registered entities in the Republic of Kazakhstan involved in agricultural activities (excluding forestry and fishery) and the largest number of companies is located in Turkestan, Almaty and Akmola Regions, of which 928 companies are located in Kostanay

Region. With each year the number of organizations involved in this area of activity is growing, for example, in 2020 1626 new companies were registered, and in the first 3 months of 2021 their number was 563. The data show that new companies are entering the market and for effective work of these enterprises it is necessary to monitor the land used by the companies. Over 2020 in some regions started the project of space monitoring of agricultural land, thanks to which 8.3 million hectares of unused land (pastures – 7.6 million hectares, arable land – 0.7 million hectares) were identified.

At that time, the above-mentioned factors had no influence on the development of the socio-economic life of the nomads. Moreover, the geographical proximity of Russia, the length of the borders with which at that time was more than 2000 km, the impact of an objective factor – the expansion and strengthening of trade and market relations beyond the Urals led to the involvement of patriarchal-feudal relations into market relations.

For the end of the 19th century in Kazakhstan it was primarily agrarian relations. Therefore under the influence of these factors the most entrepreneurial of the local population took up new business for the Kazakhs, engaged in agriculture, namely the cultivation of commodity grain. For example, in Kostanay uyezd, where there were more fertile land. This was promoted not only by the example of the rich merchant Zhamanshal Ismailov, but also by his direct support in the form of providing working cattle harnesses, farming tools, etc. on favorable terms.

The local population, migrants from the central regions of Russia and Ukraine, who were well versed in the basics of agronomy of that time, acted as hired labor. The result was not long in coming. Lush, untouched for centuries blacksoil of Kustanai uyezd began to give high yields.

Thus, the concept of land relations Bukeikhanov in its most summarized form comes as follows (Figure 1):



Figure 1 – Bukeikhanov's concept of land relationships

It should be noted that for the success of this concept, close attention should be paid to the reform of agricultural production, which has to be implemented gradually in the interests of the working people, taking into account their employment in the production of livestock products. At the same time, the system should systematically monitor the use of land resources, the use of fertilizers to maintain a clean environment in the country. This means that the country's agriculture should continue to be used as a subject for further innovative approaches in both crop production sectors, such as reclamation of vast arable lands (Dara, 2018), and in livestock production, monitoring of livestock distribution factors over vast areas of land (Robinson, 2016).

In the modern context, the issue of land ownership remains relevant. At the same time, it should be emphasized that A. Bukeikhanov's concept of land relationships, both theoretically and practically, has not lost its importance and has gained greater actuality.

The Republic has adopted a number of legislative acts that regulated land relationships, which essentially affected many areas of the country's policy, from the economy to interethnic relations and migration policy for ethnic Kazakhs (Bonnenfant, 2012).

"The formation and development of a set of land relations corresponding to market relations, of course, is a key element, which allows the agrarian sphere to develop. Since Kazakhstan is an agrarian-industrial country, the question naturally arises about the ratio of various forms of land ownership. Development of these forms is a long and objective process. When solving this problem in some cases, in our opinion, the priority role is not always reasonably given to private property and at the same time the role and importance of other alternative forms of land ownership, also quite compatible with the market mechanisms of management (Zhientaev, 1996), is belittled. At the same time, it is necessary to solve such problems in such a way that it does not create additional barriers to the development of the country's agriculture through the effective work of not only the legislative, but also the executive power, for example, in developing specific national programs and measures to develop social and engineering infrastructure in rural areas in order to ensure favorable living conditions for rural population (Sansyzybayeva, 2015).

The historical correlation lies in the point that from the time of the Kazakh khanate until the

Stolypin reform of the early 20th century, there was no question of private ownership of land. The land was the national property, though conditionally the disposal and use of it was assigned to the feudal-baikal nobility and the clan community. At the same time, Bukeikhanov's arguments are relevant because of the specificity of land as the main factor of production in agriculture. These logical and historical preconditions served as the basis for A. Bukeikhanov and his exit from the Kadet Party, where he took an active part in the creation of the party's program.

The connection of Bukeikhanov's concept of land relationships to the current state of agrarian production in Kazakhstan can be traced both logically and historically. The logical connection is that the denial of private ownership of agricultural land in his concept is determined not only with the economic efficiency of land use, but also with his commitment to the preservation of land as the property of the people as a national asset. That is, according to A. Bukeikhanov, land cannot be a subject of bargaining, purchase sale and speculation, within the boundaries of the Republic of Kazakhstan it is the national pride.

Conclusion

Based on the analyzed data, it should be noted that this study focused on the analysis of the legal complexities that arose in the arrangement of economic activities in the steppes of Kazakhstan at the extreme edge of the Russian Empire, taking into account the growth of discontent in the economic development of the region, sharpening of the national question. Bukeikhanov's activity and his developed concept of land relations would serve as an important factor in the birth of land relations between the population of the region through the promotion of ideas of cultivation of crops, infrastructure, which would increase the level of settled population and the gradual introduction of different forms of economic activities – a necessary attribute of the development of relations and welfare of all segments of the population, both indigenous Kazakh and non-indigenous Russian – new settlers

Not passing historically the importance of this concept has increased already in the current realities, namely after the dramatic events in western Kazakhstan, which took place in April 2016. After which a moratorium on the introduction of private land ownership was declared.

As a result, it turned out to be accurate that more than 110 years ago A. Bukeykhan substantiated the idea of denying private land ownership in Kazakhstan, which was the

actual reality of our time and development of Kazakhstan as a country with a sustainable agrarian sector that inspires confidence among its own citizens.

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