

# Commission on Nomadic Peoples

“The Settlement of the Kazakh Nomads”

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## The Settlement of the Kazakh Nomads

by Martha Brill Olcott

Western analysts have paid a great deal of attention to the problems besetting the Russian peasantry in the fifty years prior to the revolution and in particular the pressure for land reform. Most of this literature has disregarded or paid only passing reference to the peoples who inhabited the lands in Siberia and Kazakhstan which were opened for settlement by the peasants during this period.<sup>1</sup> This paper focuses on one such people, the Kazakhs, and studies the impact of Russian settlement upon the traditional nomadic economy of the Kazakhs. The paper discusses three themes; the Russian land policy as applied in the Kazakh territory, their attitudes toward the Kazakh population per se, and the effects of the Russian land policy on the practice of Kazakh livestock breeding. It concludes with the argument that irreversible changes in the Kazakh economy occurred during the colonial period which would by necessity result in the settlement of the Kazakh nomads, and that it was the Russians and not the Soviets that were responsible for the sedentarization of the Kazakhs. This argument is contrary to prevailing Soviet scholarship which claims the settlement of the nomads as one of the victories of socialism.<sup>2</sup>

Kazakhstan, the Kazakh S.S.R., is the northernmost part of Soviet Central Asia. Until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it was an area populated nearly exclusively by the Kazakhs, a group of Turkic pastoral nomads. For analytic purposes it is useful to conceive of Kazakhstan as composed of 3 distinct regions: the north - steppe land with arable soil and some forest lands, suitable for livestock breeding and grain production; the center - semi-desert and desert, marginal pasture lands during periods of adequate rainfall; and the south - desert lands and a small mountainous region which, because of the presence of the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers and their tributaries, was capable in many places of supporting irrigated agriculture or free grazing of livestock.<sup>3</sup> The northern region was composed of the northern half of the Uralsk, Turgai, Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk Oblasts; the central region comprised the southern portion of the aforementioned oblasts; and the southern region encompassed the oblasts of Syr Darya and Semirechye. The type of nomadic economy varied by region, with cattle and horses being more abundant in the north, and sheep, goats and camels found in larger numbers in the south.

At the time of Russian annexation in the first half of the eighteenth century the Kazakhs were divided into three tribal confederations:<sup>4</sup> the Small Horde which grazed on lands along the Volga and Emba rivers; the Middle Horde which occupied lands between the Irtysh river and Altai mountains; and the Great Horde, found in the Semirechye and Syr Darya regions. The Russians established forts at Omsk (1716) and Semipalatinsk (1718). The Small Horde accepted Russian suzerainty in 1732 and the Middle Horde in 1740. Russia then constructed a line of fortifications which by 1760 extended across the northern borders of the Steppe. The expansion of the Russian controlled territory was a gradual one. The northern part of the Steppe was completely annexed by Russia by the end

of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The territory of southern Kazakhstan, the territory of the Great Horde, was part of the Kokand Khanate until 1860. In the 1860's and 1870's the Western part of the Steppe was annexed, and by the middle of the 1870's the Russians had control of the entire Steppe territory.<sup>5</sup>

The Steppe came under effective Russian administration in 1867 and 1868. Prior to that time the Small Horde was administered from Orenburg and the Middle Horde was included in the territory of Western Siberia. However, throughout the Steppe the policies that were directed toward the population were based on the principles of non-interference and local self-rule.<sup>6</sup> The colonial apparatus of the Kazakh region was established by the Turkestan Statute of 1867, which applied to the oblasts of Semirechye and Syr Darya; and the Steppe Statute of 1868, which applied to the remainder of the Kazakh territory; Semipalatinsk and Akmolinsk Oblasts which were administered as military possessions of Western Siberia, and Uralsk and Trugai Oblasts which were administered by the Ministry of the Interior.<sup>7</sup>

Despite prior objections to the contrary, most notably those of General Kryzhanovsky, the Governor-General of Orenburg, the oblasts were delineated on strictly territorial lines and thus nomadic and sedentary populations were grouped together within the same oblast. Although the legislation created a legal distinction between the two types of populations, the form of government that was chosen was clearly based on the requirements of a sedentary population, and the hope was that the conditions of administration would weaken the nomadic lifestyle of the Kazakhs. Each oblast was divided into uezds (districts), volosts (subdistricts) and administrative auls, in descending order. The oblast and uezd officials were appointed by the Governor-General, and the volost and aul officials elected by their own constituencies, subject to the approval of the higher authorities. However, this complex administrative system did not manage to weaken clanic ties. The administrative aul became synonymous with the basic migratory unit. Most volosts were composed of members of the same clan and were thus able to control the selection of volost and aul officials.<sup>8</sup>

The Steppe and Turkestan Statutes also attempted to restrict the power of the courts of customary law, and transferred jurisdiction over cases of murder, baranta (the Kazakh customary practice of punitive raiding), robbery, and all cases involving property claims of 300 rubles or more to the Russian civil courts.<sup>9</sup> The effects of this provision were minimal as the Kazakhs would not bring their disputes to a Russian judge,<sup>10</sup> and customary law remained the sole basis of adjudicating legal disputes within the Kazakh community for the entire colonial period.<sup>11</sup>

The most significant part of the Steppe and Turkestan Statutes were the provisions relating to land usage. The provisions themselves were fairly simple. As with all lands in the Empire, the State and Crown were the owners in the first instance and thus had the right to regulate land usage. However, the government pledged itself to consider Kazakh customary law and age old communal claims in the allocation of land.<sup>12</sup> Lands belonging to the Kazakh population were divided into three categories: winter campsites, summer campsites, and worked lands.<sup>13</sup>

The volost administrators were to award winter campsites to each aul. The division of territory within the aul was the responsibility of the aul elder who was to assign campsites based on the size of the

household and the amount of livestock possessed. The uezd was granted control over a parcel of land designed to serve as summer pastureland for the entire district, which was to be divided among the volosts based on customary usage patterns. The further subdivision of the summer pasturage was to be carried out in the same manner as the division of winter pasturage. Winter and summer campsites were now to be located within the same uezd and most Kazakh clans continued to migrate to their traditional pastures, crossing uezd and even oblast lines in the process.<sup>14</sup>

The third category of land, worked land, defined all land on both summer and winter campsites that had been planted or built upon. Members of individual households were given the right to plant or to construct residential units, livestock stalls or storage sheds upon any part of their winter campsite. The developed land thus became the private property of the head of that household and was his to pass on until such time when the land was either no longer sown or the structures were destroyed. At that time the land was again considered the property of the group in common.

This policy was seen as supportive of the settlement of the nomads. It favored the principles of private property over communal control. Furthermore, the officials who drafted the legislation believed that the inducement of private ownership would lead individuals to settle voluntarily. Prior to the promulgation of the Statutes these assumptions had been challenged by several prominent members of the Steppe Commission, a group formed to study the problem of administration of the Steppe region. They argued that patterns of communal usage were firmly entrenched among the Kazakhs, and that in order to avoid economic dislocation the transformation of the nomadic economy should be a gradual one. They favored sedentarization but felt that the Russians should encourage settlement indirectly and not forcibly impede migration.<sup>15</sup> The arguments of this group were rejected. The regulation permitting the allocation of pasturelands by the civil administration created a weapon through which the Russian government could force the settlement of the Kazakh nomads if and when they so desired.

During the first thirty years of colonial rule the sedentarization of the Kazakh nomads was seen as desirable but was not a priority of the Russian government. Although the nomadic economy was considered to be wasteful, there was really no additional demand for the Steppe land. There were some Russian settlements, particularly in the North near the forts on the Orenburg line, but they were numerically rather insignificant, and the increase in settlement was a gradual one because the restrictive Russian policy on internal migration combined with the harsh conditions of travel made it difficult for peasants to move from European Russia to the Steppe.<sup>16</sup>

The pressure for free migration by the peasants of European Russia increased each year, and finally in the 1890's the Russian government decided to open up Siberia, the Steppe Region, and parts of Turkestan (including all the territory inhabited by the Kazakhs) for restricted settlement. In 1892 the Siberian Railroad Committee was created, part of whose responsibility was to supervise the colonization of the Steppe Region. In 1896 this responsibility was shifted to the newly created Resettlement Administration which was counseled to adopt a policy of encouraging European migration to Siberia and the Steppe Regions,<sup>17</sup> and on June 6, 1904 all Russian subjects were given the right to migrate throughout most of the Empire. This proclamation led to an influx of

over three million Russians into the Steppe Region in the following decade.

The decision to allow open migration into the Steppe Region added a sense of urgency to the problem of the settlement of the Kazakh nomads, and it led to the enactment of the Steppe Statute of 1891 which permitted the Russian government to acquire the land needed for the expected influx of settlers. The section on land rights in this Statute mirrors the earlier positions as to the allocation of winter and summer campsites and the provisions pertaining to worked land. However, there is one major innovation, the introduction of the concept of "excess land." The government had decided that the Kazakhs were entitled to only 15 desyatins (40 acres) of land per household, which they could utilize either individually or communally. This was the same amount as was being given to each new Russian settler, a norm established by agricultural standards which in no way reflected the amount of land required to graze livestock. If a Kazakh decided to establish a homestead he would be given the fifteen desyatins as his stake and this would be his own property. Those who chose not to become homesteaders could continue to allow their animals to graze in common with the other members of their aul, as each nomadic aul would be awarded both summer and winter pasturage based on a total of 15 desyatins per household. This amount of land was not sufficient to support nomadic or even semi-nomadic livestock breeding, as it has been estimated that the average herd of 150 animals required 150 desyatins of land for free grazing, and 30 desyatins of land when animals were stalled in the winter and grazed freely in the summer.<sup>18</sup> All land now awarded as pastureland and not privately owned was considered to be part of the Public Land Fund. With this system it was very easy for the local authorities to reserve the best farmland for the Russian settlers and thus drive the nomads more and more deeply into the desert regions of central Kazakhstan.<sup>19</sup>

It rapidly became obvious that the 1891 Position was going to be enforced. The sedentarization of the Kazakh nomads was now a conscious policy of the regime. The conditions of migration were to become increasingly more difficult. A law was passed which made it illegal to drive livestock across sown lands or through territory that was considered part of a winter campsite or Russian settlement.<sup>20</sup> The awarding of summer and winter campsites was made with little or no regard to the availability of water en route and although technically the Kazakhs were to receive land that did not require irrigation, the water supply at the pasture sites was often not adequate to supply the herd.<sup>21</sup> The decision had been made that the Steppe was to be developed as a region of Russian settlement and the sedentarization of the Kazakh nomads was seen as a necessary prerequisite for this. The Resettlement Administration was quick to make use of its power, seizing over 4 million hectares of land from the Kazakhs during the years 1900-1907. In addition to the plots awarded to the Russians, the lands that composed the Public Land Treasury were also unavailable to the Kazakhs. In the years of peak migration, 1906-1910, large amounts of Kazakh land were declared surplus and placed in the land treasury, which contained over 30 million hectares of land by 1910.<sup>22</sup> The amount of land seized from the Kazakhs was far in excess of the current needs of the population of European settlers, and was secured in order to guarantee sufficient parcels for later settlements. Based

on information found in a number of sources it appears that some 17,000,000 desyatins of land were awarded to nearly 3 million Russian and Ukrainian settlers during the period of 1905-1912.<sup>23</sup> The bulk of the settlers took up homesteads in the northern part of the Steppe Region, in the lands close to the Trans-Siberian Railroad.<sup>24</sup>

The development of the agricultural potential of the Steppe Region became a stated goal of Russian agrarian policy. In order for this to be achieved the settlement of the Kazakh nomads was a necessity, as they grazed on land which could be used much more profitably for grain production and sedentary livestock breeding. In 1907 Stolypin spoke clearly to the pressing nature of this need:

Such is the natural course of things. The Kirghiz<sup>25</sup> are not eternally able to remain nomads, if they have a capacity for culture. Again in recent years there is evidence of their ability to go over to an agricultural life style, and the Russian settlement, which is inevitably connected with the reduction of fields of migration, serves to enable that single goal. Therefore, jealously guarding the Kirghiz steppe and nomadic economy would in all respects be erroneous, even with respect to the Kirghiz themselves. This would be most inexcusable from the point of view of the Russian state and culture. That the one half million Russian peasant population, who had already managed to flow into the Akmolinsk oblast, those prosperous Russian settlements, that grew and prospered alongside of the Kirghiz nomads, producing millions of pounds of wheat, not only for themselves but with the extension of the South Siberian Railroad line, which also would feed the European markets, convinces us of the impossibility of preserving the Kirghiz Steppe for the benefit of certain Kirghiz.<sup>26</sup>

The Kazakh people were now part of an empire and their needs, at least from the Russian perspective, could only be evaluated in light of the needs of the empire as a whole. The periphery must take its direction from the center and not the reverse. The Russian purpose was not to mistreat the Kazakhs and they believed that the provision of 15 desyatins per household was a fair one, as it was if the Kazakhs chose to farm the land. There does not seem to have been an appreciation on the part of the Russians that to the Kazakhs the choice was not seen as a simple economic one, but that they viewed their whole way of living as connected to this nomadic economy and were not likely to interpret the Russian actions as altruistically inspired.<sup>27</sup>

To understand the threat implicit in settlement one must understand something about the operation of the Kazakh nomadic economy and lifestyle. The Kazakhs were pastoral herdsmen who supported their herds through driving their livestock year-round along established routes to known pasturage. They maintained enough livestock to supply their needs of food, apparel and housewares and to provide a little extra to trade for objects that could not be produced within the community. Because of the relative scarcity of water most of the Steppe land was usable only as grazing. Good pasturelands were basically of two types, sheltered

land, often in a woody place, with a mild climate and sufficient water to last all winter, and large open pastures best suited for summer pasturage. The distances between winter and summer pasturage varied, and in the case of the grand nomads the distances were often as much as 1000 kilometers. Winter pasturage was found to the south, usually in sheltered mountain valleys or ridges and along river beds. Summer pasturage was located further north, often on or near mountain tops.<sup>28</sup>

The Kazakhs were mixed livestock breeders. They drove herds composed mainly of sheep and goats, but which included small numbers of horses, camels, and horned cattle. Even in the 18th century, livestock breeding was never the exclusive occupation of the Kazakhs. The distinctive feature of the nomadic economy was that agriculture and animal husbandry were undifferentiated;<sup>29</sup> i.e., the sowing of grain was considered subsidiary to livestock breeding, done only to provide feed for the livestock, engaged in only part of the year and usually only by part of the population. The Kazakhs continued to migrate even at the same time that they were seeding their fields, and resumed a grand migration after the harvest. Agriculture was most strongly in evidence in the southern regions of Kazakhstan, along the banks of the Syr Darya. In some of these areas agricultural oases communities had existed since antiquity.<sup>30</sup>

The Kazakh lifestyle was a relatively simple one. Most customs revolved around the preservation of the family and the family's herds. Every nomadic community was largely self-sufficient and self-governing. Although constantly on the move, they had little contact with the world beyond the Steppe and were even relatively isolated from other Kazakhs except at occasional gatherings for feast days or weddings. The universe of the eighteenth century Kazakh was a closely defined one. Pastoral livestock breeding promoted economic self-sufficiency. The customary and religious practices were geared to make the community socially self-regulating and to enable the Kazakhs to maintain the continuing sense of history and common purpose.

The practice of livestock breeding underwent rapid change during the nineteenth century and there was a shift in the composition of the Kazakh herds. Horses and camels were represented in smaller numbers as the population was no longer being constantly transported from place to place. There were increases in the number of small breeding animals, such as goats and sheep, and dramatic increases in the number of horned cattle. These animals were now being bred for sale on the Russian market. Economic differentiation was increasing within the Steppe. Owners of large herds of cattle began to sow grain in order to be able to feed stalled cattle. There appears to have been a minimum herd size below which it was too costly to stall the animals. For individuals who fell below this limit there was a tendency for herd sizes to drop. However, above this limit large scale cattle breeding tended to be quite lucrative. The sale of a large herd provided the capital necessary for the purchase of more land on which to grow fodder, so that a large herd could continue to be maintained.

With the reduction of the radius of migration households that did not grow fodder were at an economic disadvantage. The size of their herd dropped and oftentimes family members became hired livestock handlers<sup>31</sup> for more prosperous households. Harsh climatic conditions and epidemics of livestock disease extracted a much higher

price than previously because of the relative scarcity of new sources of pasturage and the inapplicability of customary forms of herd control. Previously, wealthy relatives were required to lend animals to their more unfortunate relations; however, by the end of the 19th century the migratory radius of most Kazakhs had been so restricted that many clans lived in areas generally ill-suited to livestock breeding and so were incapable of rendering such assistance.

The situation in the Steppe was not uniformly bleak. The construction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad in 1890 and the Orenburg-Tashkent trunk line in 1895 played a critical role in the development of large-scale cattle breeding, particularly in the North where trading centers were erected along the railroad lines. The railroads also sent out traveling agents charged with commissioning the sale of cattle directly from the tribal elders.<sup>32</sup> The short haul to market made large-scale cattle breeding far more profitable and worth the investment in fodder and stalls. In the twenty years before the revolution the value of livestock and livestock products carried to Russia by rail increased annually.<sup>33</sup>

In devising their land policy the Russians failed to consider the varied topography of the Steppe and chose to treat the entire region as one. The model of mixed farming and livestock breeding applied by the Russians was better suitable to conditions in the north than to either the southern or central regions. In many parts of the north, particularly in areas adjacent to Russian settlements, semi-sedentary cattle breeding had begun at the beginning of the 19th century, largely because of the proximity of the Siberian market and the relative ease with which fodder could be grown.<sup>34</sup> The comparative richness of the northern soil permitted those Kazakhs who lacked the means to become large-scale cattle breeders to combine subsistence agriculture with the maintenance of a small herd of one or two cows and several sheep and goats. This livelihood was sufficient to provide for the needs of their family and a small marketable surplus.

By the 1890's, even before the massive influx of settlers from European Russia, there was a shortage of pasturage in the north which led to an increase in the number of Kazakh households engaging in agriculture in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Once Russian settlers were given free access to the territory virtually all Kazakh households in north Kazakhstan were forced to engage in at least limited agriculture. By 1910 only about 25% of the population in the north could be classified as pastoral nomads. In the five northern uezds where Russians made up the majority of the population, virtually all Kazakh households had agricultural plots.<sup>35</sup>

The modification of the nomadic economy in southern Kazakhstan proceeded more slowly, and with far greater sacrifice by the population. One observer remarks that in 1860 agriculture in Syr Darya and Semirechye remained an island in a sea of livestock breeding.<sup>36</sup> Because of the poor quality of the unirrigated land, widespread sedentarization did not occur prior to the large scale seizure of land. Widespread settlement of peasants was postponed until a time when an adequate program of irrigation could be introduced. At the time of the revolution the picture in the southern region was a confused one. In some districts the Kazakhs had become sedentary and engaged in agriculture on lands irrigated by traditional means. These individuals achieved economic



self-sufficiency. However, the vast majority of the Kazakhs attempted to continue migratory livestock breeding, but on reduced pasturelands. The competition for land in the south was made even more acute by the introduction of Kazakh households from the north who had come in search of pastures.

In central Kazakhstan the traditional nomadic economy continued largely unchanged. Bukeikhanov, the Kazakh ethnographer and nationalist leader reports that in 1913, 80% of the Adaev Kazakhs continued to migrate year-round. However, the migratory radius had been curtailed so that almost half of the households in the area were engaged in a limited form of agriculture. Because of the desert-like conditions, this region was practically untouched by Russian settlement, but the migratory patterns of the local Kazakhs were disturbed by the introduction of displaced Kazakhs from other areas of the Steppe.

Most Kazakhs throughout the Steppe farmed on a very small scale. The average holding per household was between 2 and 7 desyatins, depending upon the region.<sup>37</sup> Although the Kazakhs formed at least 50% and often times 75% or more of the population in all the oblasts of the region they tilled only 20% of the amount of sown fields. They were primitive farmers with no technical knowledge and only the simplest wooden implements. In general, Kazakh agriculture was engaged in an uphill battle for survival. Although the typical Kazakh was successful as a livestock breeder, he lacked the ability, skills, equipment and quite possibly the necessary inclination to be a successful farmer. He could not manage to grow enough fodder to maintain his herd nor could he continue to find pastures to graze on year round; thus he was forced to reduce the size of his herd and adopt a semi-agriculture semi-livestock breeding economy.

The end of pastoral nomadism and the introduction of limited agriculture was not in and of itself a negative occurrence. Growing fodder reduced the dependence of the Kazakhs upon climatic conditions and for the more successful farmers permitted the maintenance of far larger herds than had been the case when only free grazing was practiced. This was particularly true in the northern region. Large scale cattle breeding never achieved great importance in the south. In that area sheep and goats remained an important constituent of the herds as the slower rate of land seizure permitted the continuation of limited migration. In addition the markets of Bukhara and Khiva were far more accessible in this area than was trade with European Russia, and sheep and goats were in greater demand in these cities than were horned cattle.

Many households did not own sufficient animals for the improved markets to hold any potential reward. The small scale livestock breeders who comprised the overwhelming majority of the Kazakh population continued to migrate in summer and combined this with limited agriculture. Those who depended on the reduced pasturage for the survival of their animals were far more likely to be affected by the effects of natural disasters and harsh climatic conditions than ever before, because it was no longer a relatively easy proposition to pick up and move on to new pastureland when the pasturage encountered had been destroyed by a long severe winter drought, or dzhut, the greatest threat of all.<sup>38</sup> The presence of dzhut in the steppe was nothing new; incidences of it were reported throughout the nineteenth century, with losses of over 100,000 animals per incident

not uncommon. However, with the reduction in available pastureland, it became increasingly more difficult to minimize the losses. In the 1890's in the Trugai Oblast over one million animals died of starvation. Then in 1901 and 1902 there was a bad dzhut in the north which caused a 30% loss of animals in some areas.<sup>39</sup> In 1903 some one million animals in Semirechye died as a result of famine.<sup>40</sup> Finally in 1911 the Turgai Oblast suffered severe conditions again and some 35% of the local herd was reported destroyed.<sup>41</sup>

By the beginning of WW I the average Kazakh was in an unenviable economic position. Shcherbina, the Russian statistician who headed a team which conducted a ten-year investigation of the state of the Kazakh economy, reported that as early as 1904 3.7% of the Kazakh households in the Steppe region did not own a single horse and 33.8% had only one horse. For the first group it would be impossible to migrate and difficult to farm on any but a crude and limited basis. The second group was probably capable of not much more than a marginal existence. Conditions were sufficiently bad that the native population decreased between eight and nine percent in the period 1902-1913.<sup>42</sup>

Many Kazakhs lost all their livestock and were compelled to apply to the Resettlement Administration for plots of land to farm. Indeed, by 1907 the Kazakhs were requesting three times more land than the Resettlement Administration could provide. In their petitions the Kazakhs spoke of the inability to continue a nomadic way of life under existing conditions, with the poor and inadequate pasturage available to them.<sup>43</sup> The Kazakhs did not view agriculture as a better means of earning a livelihood, the petitioners saw it as the only means of earning a livelihood, and it was only as a last resort that they were willing to try it.

By the time World War I, the settlement of the Kazakh nomads was predestined but not completed. The internal support structures of nomadism had been destroyed and an irreversible process of economic change had begun which could only end in the sedentarization of the Kazakh nomads, whether or not additional settlement of European peasants was attempted. Although many Kazakhs continued to migrate at least part of the year, over two-thirds of the community could no longer be described as fulfilling the three basic conditions of nomadism; residence in an impermanent dwelling the majority of the year, receipt of a majority of profit from livestock breeding, and maintenance of regular paths of movement based on seasonal availability of pasture and water.<sup>44</sup> The vast majority of Kazakhs lived in temporary homes only two or three months of the year. More importantly, even though the Kazakhs might want to spend the majority of time on animal husbandry they could no longer earn an adequate living from animal husbandry alone. Thus they turned to subsistence farming as the only possible alternative. This was in spite of the fact that they continued to migrate during the summer months to try to maintain at least a meager herd, and once the nomadic economy begins to break down the ultimate sedentarization of the group is assured. Thus, although the Russian land policy did not manage to relieve the plight of the Russian peasantry, it was successful in satisfying the precondition of causing the settlement of the Kazakh nomads. It was less successful in providing for the economic readjustment of the newly settled population. The reduction of the amount of available pasturage stimulated the breakdown of the nomadic economy.

By the end of the nineteenth century there were almost no pure pastoral nomads, i.e., people who migrated year round, remaining in Kazakhstan save for some in the central and western desert regions. Most Kazakhs were driving their livestock shorter distances and many had begun to plant grain to be used for fodder and human foodstuffs. The majority of the Kazakhs had adopted permanent winter campsites and on them many had erected homes and animal sheds.

When the Soviets finally took control of the area following a period of further economic dislocation during the Civil War,<sup>45</sup> they inherited an economy that was in complete disarray, one that was in a state that required immediate attention and innovative solutions. The settlement of the Kazakh nomads which occurred in the colonial period led to few innovative changes in the Kazakh economy. Social differentiation began to occur, but throughout the Kazakh society, in rich households as well as poor households the newly created sedentary economy was as traditional as the nomadic one which had preceded it. Among the wealthier elements of Kazakh society large scale cattle breeding came to predominate; however, even in these households primitive agricultural technique was employed in the production of animal feed, and the care and treatment of the animals was carried out in line with age old practices of the nomads. Those Kazakhs who were deprived of their herds entirely became farmers of the poorest sort, planting little more than the minimum needed to keep alive and using techniques that were primitive in comparison to those used in the Central Asian oasis settlements. Furthermore, the economic position of the majority of sedentary Kazakhs was less secure than it had been previously. Pastoral nomadism was ended under the Russian rule, but no other realistic economic alternative was substituted for it. This was the challenge presented to the Soviet leadership.<sup>46</sup>

#### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>See Geroid Robinson, Rural Russia Under the Old Regime (New York, 1932), Donald Treadgold, The Great Siberian Migration (Princeton, 1957), and George Demko, The Russian Colonization of Kazakhstan (Bloomington, 1969).

<sup>2</sup>See especially G.F. Dakhshleiger, Sotsialno ekonomicheskie preobrazovaniia v aule i derevne Kazakhstane (Alma Ata, 1965); A. Erenov, Ocherki po istorii feodal'nykh zemel'nykh otnoshenii u Kazakhov (Alma Ata, 1961); V.F. Shakhmatov, Kazakhskaiia pastbishchno-kochevaia obshchina: voprosy obrazovaniia, evolutsii i razrozheniia (Alma Ata, 1974).

<sup>3</sup>Demko, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup>The Kazakh people emerged in the middle of the fifteenth century from a group of Uzbek and Nogai tribes who moved into the Desht-i-Kipchak region in search of pasture lands. The 3 horde system evolved gradually and was reported by outside observers in the seventeenth century.

<sup>5</sup>For a complete history of this period see Martha Brill Olcott, The Kazakhs, Hoover Institution Series on Soviet Nationalities, forthcoming.

<sup>6</sup>See Marc Raeff, The Siberian Codes of 1822 (Washington, 1955) and Marc Raeff, Michael Speransky (The Hague, 1969).

- <sup>7</sup> See Materialy po istorii politicheskogo stroia Kazakhstana (Alma Ata, 1960), pp. 282-318 and pp. 323-339 for the text of these statutes.
- <sup>8</sup> Otchet po revizii Turkestanskogo Krai, proizvedennoi po vysochayshemu poveleniiu senatorom gofmeysterom grafom K.K. Palenom t.1. Narodnye sudy Turkestanskogo Kraia (St. Petersburg, 1909), p. 38.
- <sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 37.
- <sup>10</sup> Ch.Ch. Valikhanov, Sobranie sochinenii (Alma Ata, 1964), 3:300.
- <sup>11</sup> A.K. Geins, Sobranie literaturnykh trudov (St. Petersburg, 1898), 2:548.
- <sup>12</sup> I.I. Kraft, Sudevnaia chast' v Turkestanskogo kraia stepnaiskh oblastiakh (Orenburg, 1898), article 120.
- <sup>13</sup> Palen, p. 237.
- <sup>14</sup> The Adaev tribe migrated each summer from the Mangyshlak peninsula in the Transcaspian Oblast which was under the jurisdiction of the Governor General of the Caucasus to Uralsk Oblast which was still under the Orenburg Governor General.
- <sup>15</sup> For a detailed report of the activities of the Steppe Commission see Materialy po istorii politicheskogo stroia Kazakhstana, pp. 258-280.
- <sup>16</sup> Shakhmatov, pp. 23-25.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 27.
- <sup>18</sup> T.R. Ryskulov, Kazakhstan (Moscow, 1927), p. 31.
- <sup>19</sup> A. Asfendiarov, Istoriia Kazakhstana (Alma Ata, 1935), p. 174.
- <sup>20</sup> Kraft, article 130.
- <sup>21</sup> A.A. Kaufman, Materialy po voprosu ob organizatsii raboty po obrazovaniiu pereselencheskikh uchastkov v Stepnikh Oblastiakh (St. Petersburg, 1907), p. 33.
- <sup>22</sup> Ryskulov, Kazakhstan, p. 33.
- <sup>23</sup> A.F. Yakunin, "Revoliutsia 1905-1907.g. v Kazakhstane." In Revoliutsia 1905-1907gg v natsional'nykh raionakh Rosii (Moscow, 1955), p. 664.
- <sup>24</sup> See Demko for a lengthy discussion of this problem.
- <sup>25</sup> In the pre-revolutionary period the Russians referred to the Kazakhs as Kirghiz, and the Kirghiz and Kara Kirghiz.
- <sup>26</sup> Zapiski predsedatelia soveta ministrov o poezdke v Sibir' i Polov'zhe v 1910 (St. Petersburg, 1910), p. 91.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 91.
- <sup>28</sup> S.E. Tolybekov, Kochevoe obshchestvo Kazakhov v xvii - nachale xx vv (Alma Ata, 1971), p. 467.
- <sup>29</sup> S.M. Abramzon, Kirgizy i ikh etnogeneticheskie i istoriko-kulturnye sviazi (Leningrad, 1971), p. 72.
- <sup>30</sup> G.E. Markov, "Kovhevnikhi Azii". Ph.D. dissertation, Moscow State University, 1967, p. 450.

- <sup>31</sup>Hired livestock handlers received 1 Ruble per animal per year, too low a wage to allow them to purchase livestock and resume migration.
- <sup>32</sup>Markov, p. 511.
- <sup>33</sup>Asfendiarov, p. 20.
- <sup>34</sup>L.M. Auezova, "Razvitie zemledeliia u Kazakhov v poslednei chetverti xix v," Izvestiia AN KazSSR, no. 5 (1957), p. 37.
- <sup>35</sup>Shakhmatov, p. 148.
- <sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 149.
- <sup>37</sup>Ryskulov, Kazakhstan, p. 51.
- <sup>38</sup>Dzhut, a Kazakh term for ice covered grass. Some years freezing rain preceded the first snow. In those years the grass remained frozen and covered in ice for the entire winter, making it nearly impossible for the livestock to graze.
- <sup>39</sup>Shakhmatov, p. 150.
- <sup>40</sup>Auezova, p. 42.
- <sup>41</sup>T.R. Ryskulov, Vosstanie 1916 v Kirgizstane (Tashkent, 1936).
- <sup>42</sup>Asfendiarov, p. 190.
- <sup>43</sup>Auezova, p. 42.
- <sup>44</sup>Douglas Johnson, The Nature of Nomadism. Department of Geography Research Papers no. 118 (The University of Chicago, 1969), pp. 6-10.
- <sup>45</sup>For a more complete discussion of this problem see Martha B. Olcott, "Socio-economic Change and Political Development in Soviet Central Asia," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1978, pp. 169-201.
- <sup>46</sup>This paper is "a work in progress," and as such is subject to further revision. It is expected that the paper will be published in a revised form elsewhere at a later date.

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