CHANGES IN THE KAZAK PASTORAL ECONOMY:
HISTORY AND ANALYSIS

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by
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CHANGES IN THE KAZAK PASTORAL ECONOMY:
HISTORY AND ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the economy of the Kazaks of Central Asia was almost completely nomadic pastoralism. The entire Kazak area was devoted to the herding of horses, goats, sheep, cattle and camels. The Kazaks practiced no agriculture and existed almost entirely on the products of their herds. Today little remains of this pastoral economy.

Most of the people who consider themselves Kazaks are today living in the Soviet Union, most in the Kazakh SSR or Kazakhstan. The next largest number of Kazaks are under the political control of the Chinese in Sinkiang Province. In both the Soviet Union and China all Kazaks today are either settled farmers, industrial workers or are shepherds attached to state owned and run farms.

This is a study of culture change in one area of culture -- economy. In one respect, it is a historically oriented study. The data presented in Chapter I will trace the development of Kazak economy. Some indication will be made of the economy found in the Central Asian area before the Kazaks became a tribal group in order to show the rise of the pastoral complex. The Kazak use of
this complex will be briefly described. The majority of the study will center around the usually gradual, but sometimes greatly accelerated changes which occurred after the Kazaks became a tribal group.

In another respect, the study is a scientifically oriented study of culture change. The analysis presented in Chapter II will point out and analyze the forces influencing change and the processes of culture change.

As with any research study, there were several points which I was unable to follow up. The Soviets for various reasons have either been unable or unwilling to report statistics for certain items and since it was impossible for Western writers to discover such statistics, there are several avenues which the study was unable to follow. I was not able to discover, for example, any figures regarding the decline of stock population except as a total loss for all Kazaks over a six year period, nor was I able to find statistics regarding the numbers of Kazaks who left the Soviet Union during certain periods. Most important, I was unable to find to any extent either the precise dates of economic change or the extent of the change during the 1700 to 1939 period.
CHAPTER 1

DATA

A. Pre-Kazak Steppe Economy

Before the period when the Kazaks can be thought of as a distinct tribal group, a nomadic pastoral economy had developed in the Central Asiatic steppe area. This pastoral complex, which was in a somewhat developed form throughout the entire steppe area before 350 BC, appears to have come from varying elements.

Chernokov in his 1955 excavation of a settlement in East Kazakhstan disproved the previous contention that in locally pre-historic times, the area was one of a hunting and fishing economy. His excavation of a 4000 BC site, with the finding of a stone plow and refined copper, suggests that settled agriculture was practiced in this area ("Central Asian Archaeology" 1957:68,69), with perhaps some domesticated animals which are usually associated with such settled communities. Further to the south, another 4000 BC excavation also indicated that agriculture was practiced in the area (McGovern 1939:27,28).

By 3000 BC, tribes practicing little agriculture and concentrating mainly on herding were living in the area just north of the Caspian Sea/Aral Sea region (McGovern 1939:30). Elizabeth Bacon suggests that previous to this herding complex, hunting was the major economy, and she
gives the name "woodland hunting culture" to the area. According to Bacon, these woodland hunters obtained domesticated animals either by stealing them or by hiring themselves out as shepherds to the settled agriculturalists who, as archaeological findings have shown, were already established in the south and northeast. In time there was a gradual movement out of the woodlands into the steppe region, bringing with it a pastoral economy (Bacon 1954: 50,51).

Strengthening the development of this pastoral complex and perhaps contributing to the change from hunting to herding in the northwestern area, were the migrations of the stock-breeding Scythians. The Scythian kingdom was established at the northern edge of the Black Sea by the end of the ninth century BC (Bacon 1954:58). Using Bacon's thesis of the woodland hunters hiring themselves out as herdsmen, the northwestern hunters may have been influenced by these herding Scythians in the same way. The Sarmatians, also primarily a pastoral group, controlled a large portion of the northern area by about the ninth century BC (McGovern 1939:38).

From the ninth century BC until 350 BC there was a sharp economic distinction between the northern and the southern areas of Central Asia. The pastoral Scythians and Sarmatians controlled vast areas to the north while the
southern areas were settled by farmers. The sedentary Bactrians were in control of much of the southern regions by 500 BC. In addition, the steppe area also contained elements of hunting and fishing. The Scythians and Sarmatians gradually concentrated on herding their domesticated animals with the result that farming, hunting and fishing became increasingly less important.

Of the early economy of the Mongols, who later were to become an important element in the history of the Central Asian nomads, less is known. When the Mongols first appear in history in the triangle between Lake Baikal, the upper Irtysk and Yenisei Rivers, some were woodland hunters and some pastoral nomads. Bacon again suggests that these early Mongols made a transition from hunting to herding in a manner similar to the Central Asian nomads (Bacon 1954:51).

From 350 BC until the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century, a period lasting some 1550 years, sources suggest that the economy of the area remained a combination of nomadism, pastoralism, settled agriculture and some woodland hunting with pastoralism becoming in time the dominant economic type. The area known as the Semirechye, partially because of its geographic location, changed from pastoral nomadism to settled agriculture and back again, depending upon the economy of the particular wave of conquerors. Other areas probably changed in dominant economic type as
well since the history of Central Asia during this period is filled with migrations of different types of peoples, some pastoral nomads, others settled agriculturalists or hunters. In the second century BC, The Chinese report the area was controlled by nomads while in the seventh century AD, settled agriculture was dominant (Barthold 1936:7). By the time of the Mongol invasion, however, pastoralism was more common than agriculture.

Just previous to the Central Asian invasion in the thirteenth century, the Mongols are reported to have been mainly pastoralists. Hunting, while greatly declining, was still the major economy of a few groups (Hudson 1933:75).

Nomadism, as the dominant economic type, increased with the Mongol invasion. The Mongols connected with the invasion were pastoralists rather than hunters. In the course of their invasion and subsequent conquest, the Mongols encountered economies of two basic types: one similar to their own and still scattered throughout the area, settled farmers. By this time, there were no more woodland hunting economies in Central Asia. In 1320 one author described the country which the Mongols invaded:

From afar you can see a well-built village surrounded by blooming vegetation. You approach it in hopes of meeting the inhabitants of the country only to find the houses all quite empty. All of the inhab-
itants of the country are nomads and have no use for agriculture.

By the middle of the fourteenth century towns no longer existed along the Chu River in the Semirechye area (Barthold 1956:53).

It was the steppe pastoral nomads, who were basically Turkish in origin, along with the invading Mongols, who were the forerunners of the Kazaks. The Turkish tribes joined the Mongols in the wanderings of the Golden Horde and in time the two groups produced a mingled Turco-Mongol conglomeration. The bulk of the Horde was Turkish, the Mongols were the descendants of only four thousand troops assigned to the area by Jenghis Khan (Vernadsky 1953:113).

With the death of Jenghis in 1227, rivalries between his descendants split the empire into fragments (Hudson 1938:97), with new political groups constantly being formed. In the fifteenth century, one large splinter group of Turco-Mongols came under the leadership of Abulkhair Khan and called themselves Uzbegs. Those groups which refused to leave the steppe to take up a settled life became known as Kazaks, a word meaning vagabond or outlaw (Russian Missions 1823:42), while those settling in villages after migrating in the direction of the Amu Darya (Jochelson 1923:126) kept the name Uzbeg. Even today the
two groups show their previous unity in the tribal names they have in common.

For several hundred years after the Mongol invasion, Central Asia continued to show several different economies. Some groups adopted a settled agricultural life, particularly in the southern periphery. Most, however, remained on the steppes and continued to graze herds of horses and cattle. The tribal leaders of the time, the Khans and the noble families, followed both patterns, spending part of their time in grazing herds and part of their time in the caravan cities to the south (Vernadsky 1953:208,209).

Although it is difficult to put a precise date on the beginnings of any tribal group, I suggest that the beginning of the Kazaks as a tribal group occurred in the fifteenth century with their split from the Uzbeks. Before this time, the Turkish and then the Turco-Mongol tribes were agglomerations of weakly organized tribes constantly attaching themselves first to one powerful Khan and then another, rather than one culturally similar group. Only after the split did the groups calling themselves Kazaks develop an awareness of themselves as a tribal unit, although they seldom acted as a political unit. For the first time, the Semirechye area was populated exclusively
by pastoral nomads, numbering about one million in 1512 (Marthold 1956:153).

To summarize, the period between the rise of the initial pastoral complex and the existence of the Kazaks as a tribal unit, economically speaking, was one of a growing nomadic pastoral complex. In the course of the formation of the Kazak tribes, many non-pastoral Turkish elements as well as some Mongol groups were gradually absorbed so that by the time the Kazaks can be considered a tribal group, the pastoral complex was dominant on the steppe.

8. "Traditional" Kazak Economy: 1400-1700

The period after the separation of the Kazaks from the Uzbeks until the Russian penetration of the steppes in the seventeen hundreds is often referred to as the "traditional" period of Kazak culture. Although it was certainly not a period of stagnation nor of stable economic, social or political conditions, it was the period when the territory occupied by the Kazaks reached its greatest extent and the economy was at its pastoral height. During this period the nomadic pastoral complex was practiced by practically all Kazaks.

By the end of the fifteenth century the areas north of the Aral Sea to the Ural and Irtyshev Rivers, east of the
Aral Sea to the Altai Mountains, south to the Tien Shan Mountains, and west to the Lower Volga/Caspian Sea area, were one economic unit which was populated by the early Kazaks. Politically and geographically this broad area was divided into three divisions or ordas: the Great Orda or Ulu-jus, in the general area of the Semirechye; the Middle Orda or Urta-jus, between the Irtysch and Syr Darya rivers in the central region; and the Small Orda or Kichik-jus, in the western region of Central Asia between the Aral Sea and the Volga/Caspian Sea region, south of the Ural Mountains (Forde 1934:331).

Throughout this period, the Kazaks were picking up splinter groups. By 1700, they controlled more land than at any time in their tribal existence. The economy was practically identical in each of the Kazak ordas. The differences which did exist can be attributed to the cultural responses made to differing geographical circumstances.

At the height of this pastoral complex, the Kazaks practiced no farming, limiting their producing economy to one of pastoral nomadism. Many Kazak groups traded animal products in exchange for farm produce, and often caravan raiding gained them products from outside their culture, but the majority of their material goods came from their pastoral economy. They followed their herds of horses,
sheep, goats and often cattle and camels through a cyclical migration route geared to the needs of the animals. There was apparently a great deal of variation in the yearly distances covered in this cycle, ranging from twenty to four hundred miles, depending upon geographical and cultural differences. For example, in more favorable geographic regions where grass was available for stock throughout the year, the distance travelled in migration tended to be shorter than in areas not as favorable (Hudson 1938:27).

In general there were three important seasons in the annual cycle, corresponding to our summer, winter and spring. The summer season, except in highly protected areas as the foothills of the Altai and Tien Shan, was one of almost constant moving. Every three to four days the group was forced to move to new pasturage as the present one became exhausted because of intense heat and lack of rain. In late fall, the Kazaks returned to their traditional winter quarters where they remained until spring. Winter was the critical time; in many areas it was often impossible to find grass beneath the snow for feed. Since it was not customary to bring feed to winter quarters, families often lost more than half of their herds in a hard winter. In early spring, there was constant migration for a few weeks due to the short and scanty grass. From late spring until the summer's drought and heat again
forced three to four day migrations, the availability of lush and plentiful grass made this the time to fatten the stock. In many cases, this again provided an opportunity to semi-permanently occupy one specific area (Forde 1934: Chapter 16 and Murdock 1934: Chapter 6).

Unpredictability of the steppe grazing lands made it important that the Kazaks have additional pasture lands to use in emergencies. Each group which wintered together often had several such areas for use during years following severe winter snows or extreme summer droughts.

Kazak social organization was based on tribal genealogy patterns, or what Elizabeth Bacon calls obok structure. The social groups of this obok structure formed both the migrating and the territorial groups so that they were economic as well as social. The Kazak tribal group was actually a series of smaller and smaller segments all based on a tribal genealogic structure, which because Kazak terminology is often the same for several of these groups, are best called tribes, subtribes, joint families, etc.

Each of the three ordas or super-tribes had several tribes within them. The Small Orda had three tribes, with six, twelve and seven subtribes respectively, while the Middle Orda had four tribes with seventeen, nine, nine and three subtribes each. The Great Orda had only two tribes with nine subtribes each. The ordas, tribes and sub-
tribes, the larger of the genealogical groups, were territorial units, each having traditional land which was respected by the other groups.

The basic social, political and economic unit was the joint patrilineal family, or perhaps better, to use Murdock's terminology, a patriclan, i.e., a large number of extended families related in the male line. This unit operated mainly in the winter when the members met in traditional winter quarters. Each of these groups had traditional land for such winter quarters, but since the limits of the land were indefinite and changeable, it is best to think of these groups as having the right of usufruct within the larger tribal unit which did have territoriality.

In spring this patriclan broke up into smaller migrating units, the nomadic encampment groups. Kazak terminology is sufficiently succinct with regard to this group, that it can be called the aul, and it was usually composed of no more than three to ten families, again normally related in the male line. By custom the aul could migrate anywhere within the territory of the larger group to which it belonged; however, most had favorite pastures which they traditionally used (this section on social organization, except the use of Murdock's terminology, Murdock 1949:71, was based on Bacon 1958:66-70).
When a young man became of age or married, he was normally given a part of his father's herd and he usually remained in his father's aul, often continuing to herd his animals with his father's (Bacon 1948:69). In the course of time, as the auls and winter quartering groups grew, due to normal population increase in the number of Kazaks as well as in the number of stock, pastures were unable to support the growing herds and separate encampments were set up some miles away from the former camp. There was, then, an economic basis to the development of new groups, and at least with the aul and winter quartering groups, this was quite common. During this period, there was apparently sufficient grazing lands for this separation process. In some cases, however, the Kazaks made war on their neighbors, both settled and nomadic, in order to acquire adequate pasture lands.

Evidence indicates that before the encroachment of Russian colonists and sedentary neighbors in Central Asia in the seventeen hundreds, the Kazaks were truly pastoral nomads, ideally and in most cases really (Bacon 1954:60). They were militarily stronger than their neighbors and were able, during this period, to seize lands from other nomads and settlers if needed. There was no significant Russian penetration and, in fact, many groups were joining the Kazaks.
C. Gradual Decline of the Pastoral Complex: 1700-1905

In the early seventeen hundreds, the pastoral complex began to decline. Russia was expanding in the north while the Kalmucks in China on the east were attempting to seize former Kazak territory. In the south, the growing sedentary agricultural areas of the Khanates of Bokhara and Kokand were beginning to seize land and to exert a direct influence on southern Kazaks. The results of these various influences were gradual, but had a significant effect on Kazak economy. It was mainly after 1800 that noticeable changes in the traditional pastoral complex were evident.

The first Russian penetration of Kazak territory took place in some of the northern and western areas at the end of the sixteenth century (Krauss 1899:4). By the middle of the seventeen hundreds, the Khans of the Little and Middle Ordas acknowledged the suzerainty of Russia in return for protection, but the Great Orda in Semirechye did not come under even nominal Russian control until 1847 (Jochelson 1923:127). This submission did not mean Russian control of the Kazaks as such; it merely meant that certain Khans, who themselves held only nominal control over their particular Khanates, were recognized by the central Russian government. By the eighteen-fifties, even though the Russians had some control over the Kazaks, they did little
to interfere with the economy or general culture of the nomads, nor did this Russian penetration deprive the Kazaks of substantial amounts of grazing lands. The only real effect this early penetration had was in the areas directly occupied by the Russians.

On the eastern borders of Kazak territory the Kalmucks, in the early seventeen hundreds, began a land-seizing movement. Before this time the Kazaks were militarily the stronger of the two groups and had earlier expanded at the expense of the Kalmucks. This process reversed and the Kazaks lost some of their eastern and southeastern lands to the Kalmucks. For the first time, changes in the pastoral complex in the form of laying up winter stores and in the initiation of some grain farming are found in the eastern part of Kazak territory (Pierce 1960:155,156).

The existence of the settled areas in the region of the southerly Khanates of Bokhara and Kokand had two major influences upon the Kazaks near them. First, as a result of some initial raids on the rich settled communities, some Kazaks were able to greatly increase the size of their herds, particularly in regard to cattle which were owned by the farmers. The strength of the agricultural Khanates soon grew, however, and they pushed the nomads further to the north. This put a burden upon the lands just north of the border between the two economically
diverse groups because of the resulting larger herds (Hudson 1938:7, 8).

The settled Khanates showed their influence in a second way. As grazing lands became more scarce, there is some evidence that a few Kazaks left their nomadic life for the settled agricultural life. At first this was on a very limited scale, but the influence of settled life was to become more important later.

Apparently there was no large-scale migration out of Central Asia by those peripheral Kazaks affected by encroachments from these various forces. One group of the northern Middle Orda did migrate eastward, eventually reaching Lake Baikal and the northern region between the Lena and Yenisei Rivers (Czaplicka 1918:45). With normal population expansion and no large emigrations, the Kazaks with larger herds were forced to make some cultural adjustments at least in the peripheral areas where grazing lands were becoming more limited.

Previous to 1850, the economy of the Kazaks can be seen as one where nomadic pastoralism was the ideal and in most cases the real economy, the exceptions being the few Kazaks who were settled in the southern region. The same forces of the seventeen hundreds which were causing some economic problems in the border areas, gained
impetus in the eighteen hundreds with the start of Russian colonization.

The period of 1850 to the Revolution of 1917 was one of relatively great change in Kazak economy. The forces of change which had started in the seventeen hundreds were continuing; one force was greatly accentuated. The Kal-mucks were continuing their attempts to seize Kazak lands in the Semirechye and the influence of the settled agriculturalists was still causing some Kazaks to leave their nomadic pastoralism. But, the major influence on the change of Kazak economy was due to concerted Russian efforts to colonize Central Asia. Under the Czars, an estimated one hundred million acres of land were taken from the Kazaks, including much of their most fertile land (Coates 1951:57); with what land remained the Kazaks attempted to continue their nomadic economy.

By 1864, the Russians had surrounded the Kazak territory, in 1865 Tashkent was captured, and shortly after, all of Central Asia was under more than nominal control of the Russians (Hudson 1938:16).

Under the Temporary Statute of 1869 all Kazak land became the property of the Russian Crown and all Kazaks were by law allowed use only by paying a heavy tax (Winner 1958:18). Theoretically only those Kazaks who were fairly wealthy could afford to remain on the steppe in
their pastoral capacity. For some time, however, it was impossible for the Russians to carry out this statute except in the peripheral areas which they more directly controlled.

The major reason the Russians wanted to settle the Kazaks was to deprive them of land in order to settle Russian immigrants. Overpopulation in the central regions of Russia and in many parts of the Ukraine caused the government to seek new lands for settlement (Hostler 1957:60). In 1895 the Ministry of Agriculture and State Property sent an expedition to the Central Asian steppe to study the land needs and uses of the Kazaks. The Ministry concluded that if the Kazaks settled, they would need and use less land; the remainder of the land could then be turned over to the new immigrants. The study concluded that the 106,000 Kazak households in the eight oblasts (administrative economic units) which were studied would require 66,000 square miles of land if the householders were settled, and leave some 70,000 square miles of land for colonization (Pierce 1960:123,124).

After it was decided to settle the Kazaks by depriving them of their grazing lands, the Russians rationalized their decision by proving the Kazaks were not the original owners of the land and that since they were the descen-
dants of Jenghis and Timur, they were deserving only of destruction. The official decision stated:

There has been increasing evidence of unprofitableness and uneconomic utilization under a nomadic economy of those lands which nature has foreordained for the raising of grain. (Quoted from Azial-
škaiie Rossii 1 by Pierce 1960:127)

Before the mass colonization program of the Russians could be implemented, however, it was apparent that the trends of the seventeen hundreds were continuing. The growth of the southern agricultural areas and the seizure of lands in the east were still forces causing the decline of Kazak pastoralism. In addition, unusually harsh winters tended to occur every ten or twelve years, killing as much as half of the livestock. The severe winter of 1891-1892, for example, killed forty-seven percent of the horses, thirty-two percent of the cattle, sheep and goats, and twenty-two percent of the camels. The loss of grazing land was further aggravated when summer droughts were exceptionally prolonged. The Kazaks had traditionally migrated continuously during the dry summer months, but with their lands restricted, overgrazing resulted and entire herds died. Consequently many owners were forced to become hired herdsmen, turned to agriculture or moved to the cities. And in the 1890's such stock diseases as
rinderpest and anthrax were endemic in the area (Pierce 1960:156) adding additional pressures for change among the Kazaks.

On the eve of Russian colonization, in the district of Semipalatinsk which was affected by many of these trends partially because of its peripheral location, only thirty-seven percent of the households were reported as being nomadic (Winner 1958:19). In the Turgai oblast, some 250 miles north of the Aral Sea, seventy-two percent of the Kazak population were raising grain in 1901. By 1905, in the same area, over ninety-four percent were raising grain (Pierce 1960:127). These Russian figures are perhaps misleading since at this time agriculture was still regarded by the Kazaks as a temporary change, and for the most part the figures reflect only part-time farming. It is noteworthy, however, that such a large percentage of the population was engaged in some farming, however minor and temporary.

It was mainly the wealthy and middle class Kazaks who were able to continue the completely nomadic way of life during this pre-colonization period. With the land now restricted, the powerful herdsmen controlled the grazing land. The poorer Kazaks, unable to withstand the ever increasing pressures of migration, were forced to give up their pastoral nomadism (Winner 1958:19).
D. Russian Colonization: 1906-1917

It will be recalled that in 1895, the Ministry of Agriculture and State Property decided to deprive the Kazakhs of grazing lands. Implementation of this decision occurred in 1906 when the first major Russian colonization program began. Under the direction of P. Stolypin, about one million peasants from central European Russia and the Ukraine were transferred to former Kazak grazing lands. Most of these peasants settled in the more fertile east and Semirechye. At first the Kazaks attempted to continue their nomadic life quite apart from the transplanted farmers, in many cases with less than half their former grazing land. Some industrialization was introduced by the Russians but its initial effect upon the Kazaks was nominal.

The land policy and colonization program did not directly force the settlement of the Kazaks. The Russians were more interested in finding fertile land for their over-population problem than in the economy of the Kazaks as such. With half of the land confiscated in some areas, no compensation given to the former owners, and no change in the demographic trends of the Kazaks, colonization produced basic changes in Kazak pastoral economy.

The more important results of colonization in Central Asia were: a large proportion of traditional Kazak grazing land was taken away; one million peasants having govern-
mental land claims were settled on this land (Pipes 1957: 3,30); Kazaks either abandoned their nomadic pastoral economy to go to the towns, became farmers, or in some way adjusted their nomadic economy to compensate for their less of grazing lands.

When the first land confiscation took place, many Kazaks drove their herds into the hills or deserts and in many cases both owners and herds died (Coates 1951:57,58). In the eastern areas of the Great Orda, there was some migration out of Russia into China. This migration pattern continued throughout the colonization period, but the exact numbers of emigrants are unknown (Lattimore 1933:107).

In some areas, particularly in the east, all the grazing lands of some groups were taken away from the nomads and given to the peasants (Pipes 1955:297). This left some groups with no land at all and many others with limited grazing areas.

The increased rate of land confiscation merely speeded the process of economic change. The fact of land loss was not new, but its accelerated pace due to colonization induced more rapid economic change.

With the outbreak of the First World War, the large-scale emigration to the steppe region stopped for two major reasons. First, the Soviets obviously needed troops near the front and sending peasants to Central Asia was not
practical. Secondly, the new regime of the Soviets needed time to consolidate its own internal position. The only real impact of the First World War on the Kazaks came in the form of Soviet attempts to conscript them for labor battalions. The Kazaks responded with armed revolts, resulting in the death of several hundred thousand of them (Price 1954:249).

E. Soviet Collectivization: 1917-1939

Some of the methods of colonization in Central Asia changed under the Soviets, but in essence and result, it was a continuation of the Russian plan.

For several years following the seizure of power in 1917, the Bolsheviks were busy securing their internal position and there was little governmental activity in the steppes. In fact, a few land reforms were proclaimed which temporarily favored the indigenous population. The Kazaks were affected when the government proclaimed that all lands along the Irtysh river, a six mile tract in the very northern border of former Kazak territory, all lands confiscated by the former Czarist government for the new settlers but not yet occupied by them, and all lands taken by the Russian Orthodox Church were to be returned to the original owners (Hostler 1957:61). The new government then seized 687,000 acres of land in both European and Asiatic Russia.
and redistributed it to 13,000 natives. Most of these land reforms did not affect Central Asia, however; the Uzbeks and Kazaks together received only 86,000 acres of repossessed land (Park 1957:324).

The start of the first Five Year Plan in 1928 directly affected the Kazaks and signaled the beginning of an extremely coercive effort to first deprive the rest of the nomads of their land in order to settle agricultural peasants and second to directly and actively change the economy of all existing Kazak groups from the remains of nomadic pastoralism to either farming or stock breeding attached to collective farms. This policy continued in general until all nomads were settled.

On the eve of collectivization and the first Five Year Plan, the Soviets reported that all but six to eight percent of the Kazaks were in some way settled. Twenty-six percent of all Kazak families were completely settled, sixty-six percent practiced summer nomadism and only six to eight percent were nomadic the entire year. Of the sixty-six percent group, two-thirds of them moved within a twenty mile radius of their winter quarters throughout their summer migration (Pipes 1955:382).

In 1923 Stalin, former Commissar for Nationalities and by now General Secretary of the Communist Party, made a speech pre-heralding the first Five Year Plan and its
drastic effect on the remnant Kazak economy. In it he declared:

Turkestan is the most important Soviet Republic from the point of view of revolutionizing the east. The task is to transform Turkestan into a model republic. It is an advanced post for revolutionizing the east. With this aim in view, it is necessary to concentrate on Turkestan in the sense of raising the cultural level of the masses, of putting the state machinery into the hands of the local peoples, etc. We have to fulfill this task whatever the price may be without sparing efforts and without shrinking from sacrifices (Kolarz 1952:258).

The Soviets later rationalized their collectivization move by claiming that only nine percent of the arable land in Kazakhstan was actually in use and much of that was under primitive agricultural methods (Soviet Union Review:169). Except in the western regions where enough rainfall will allow crops, all of the steppe area requires irrigation for a successful yield. Fodder can be grown in the non-irrigated areas, but for crops such as wheat, irrigation is necessary (Jackson 1956:5).

Two aims of the first Five Year Plan (1928-1934) had important effects on Kazak economy. The Plan aimed at collectivization, attaching many peasants and nomads to state and collective farms in the agriculturally productive areas, and industrialization, using the displaced
nomads and some of the peasants as unskilled labor (Caroe 1954:183).

In order to fulfill the aims of this Plan, the Soviets resumed large-scale migration from central European Russia which had been halted during the First World War. Some 1,200,000 non-Kazakhs were brought to the steppe region, this time mainly to the industrial centers and not to the country side (Pipes 1957:30).

The period of Soviet collectivization and industrialization saw a complete liquidation of traditional Kazak economy. After the mid 1930's, with the exception of some aspects of pastoralism still practiced by Kazaks attached as herders to collective or state farms, nomadic pastoralism ceased to exist in the Soviet Union. The job of collectivization was accomplished by the indiscriminate rounding up of Kazaks and their herds. In the process, one in three Kazaks perished, one-half of those who did not die were sent to slave labor camps, and three-fourths of the herds were either slaughtered or perished from inattention (Caroe 1953:141,142 and Caroe 1954:171).

Many Kazaks refused to obey the collectivization orders. Of these, many slaughtered their herds and migrated south to Afghanistan and India; some went over the Tien Shan Mountains into the Sinkiang region of China. There had always been some migration between Chinese and Russian/
Soviet Kazaks depending upon which nation was more lenient at the time, but this practice was normally confined to Kazaks living in the direct neighborhood of the Tien Shan and Altai Mountain passes. Although figures are unavailable, the migration into China as well as south to India and Afganistan was evidently on a large scale and was not confined to those Kazaks living near the border (Price 1954:250).

Although the general economy of the Kazaks was being quickly changed, the Soviets were having many problems with their collectivization/industrialization plan. Mass migrations and slaughterings coupled with marked antagonisms shown by the new, forcefully settled Kazaks led the Soviets to announce a decree in 1932 which was to consolidate a large percent of the remaining nomads. The concessions stipulated that the nomads after joining collective farms could privately own as many as eight to ten cows, one hundred sheep and goats, eight to ten horses and three to five camels (Kolarz 1952:266).

The results of the Five Year Plan as it affected the Kazaks, were threefold. First, almost one million Kazaks had either left the Soviet Union or been killed and a large percent of their former herds liquidated. Official Soviet census figures show a drop in the number of Kazaks living within the Soviet Union from 3,960,000 in 1926 to
2,099,000 in 1939. This drop of 861,000 Kazaks is only part of the picture since by normal increase, the population should have increased by 631,000 (Caroe 1953:141). Since the Soviets report that ten percent of the Kazak tribal groups in 1939 lived outside the Soviet Union (Kolarz 1952:268), only a percentage less than ten percent could have left the country during this period. Therefore over one million Kazaks must have perished during collectivization. It has been estimated that seventy-three percent of the cattle, eighty-seven percent of the sheep and eighty-three percent of the horses were lost in the six year period between 1928 and 1934 (Caroe 1954:184).

Secondly, most Kazaks were settled in collective and state farms. In only one year, 1931, the Soviets under F. Golishchokin attempted to settle 490,000 Kazak nomads. Some were later to escape to China and to the south, but the majority were settled (Kolarz 1952:266). Some became farmers while others retained aspects of the old traditional economy by becoming shepherds associated with the farms.

A third result of the Plan was the placement of the remaining Kazaks in the over one hundred new industrial enterprises in the steppe area. The Soviets report that by 1936, many Kazaks were working in the Karaganda coal mines, in the Bemb oil fields at the northern end of the
Caspian Sea, in rubber plants, lead mines, sugar refineries, chemical plants and in canning factories (Winner 1958:136).

F. Present Kazak Economy: 1940 to present

Since the Soviets claimed to have settled the nomads in the process of collectivization, any discussion of Kazak economy in the period from 1939 to the present would center on population trends and the proportional increase of the non-Kazaks (Wheeler 1962:65), or industrialization figures and amounts of "virgin and idle land" plowed under for the first time in a single year on former Kazak grazing lands (see Jackson 1956). Although the population ratio of Kazaks to non-Kazaks was steadily diminishing, a large percent of those involved in plowing the "virgin and idle lands" and in industrialization were Kazaks. In terms of this study, however, these figures are not important.

Many features of traditional Kazak culture were allowed to remain including the Kazak language, which is still used in the primary grades although there is evidence that this is now discouraged, and Kazak national costumes, which are paraded on special occasions. In general, Kazaks still live in separate settlements on the collective and state farms (Pipes 1955:299). But with the exception
of the rather small percent of former nomads now attached to collective farms as herdsmen, the former and traditional Kazak nomadic pastoral economy has been eliminated in the Soviet Union.

Those Kazaks numbering less than 300,000 who fled into China in the 1930's to escape collectivization, did continue their nomadic existence until the communist victory in 1948. In the next two years, Chinese communist agents appeared in Kazak camps and told them their herds were now the property of the state. With the closing of the passes over the Pamir Mountains into India and Afghanistan in 1951, some Kazaks, who had fled Russia and now faced repressive action by the Chinese, attempted to leave China by way of the high plateau of Northwest Tibet into India. Of the 18,000 who started, most died on the Lop Nur desert of the Takla Makan, leaving only 350 who survived and reached Tibet (Price 1954:251,252).
CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS

The historical survey as described in Chapter I has indicated the major changes in economy which have occurred from the height of Kazak pastoralism in the sixteenth century. Thus far, the study has been limited to a survey of only what happened. Chapter II will center on the scientific approach to culture change and will be concerned with two elements: the forces of change and the processes through which actual changes in Kazak economy occurred.

In any study of culture change, the division of change into voluntary and forced, although sometimes artificial, is often important; in the case of the Kazaks, this division is quite significant. Changes in Kazak nomadic pastoralism were almost entirely enforced. That is, in practically no case, did the Kazaks change their economy voluntarily. Except in the few instances where Kazaks were settling because of the limited influence of the southern farmers, change was due to forces outside the voluntary realm of the nomads.

The psychological effects of forced over voluntary change is of interest and importance. Without direct interviews or psychological testing devices, however, it
was not possible to identify these effects. One of the Kazak's traditional basic values was their intense regard for their nomadic life, and any enforced change, whether by the direct efforts of the Russians or Soviets or by the indirect influence of loss of grazing lands, was regarded as temporary and necessary for survival. In very few cases did any Kazaks leave the nomadic steppe life for settled agriculture or city life without direct or indirect pressure.

In another respect, there is a basic difference between voluntary and forced change when the decision of what form the change will take is determined not by the group involved, but by another group, one usually stronger. In the case of the Kazaks, until collectivization removed all form of choice from them, the form of economic change was determined by them. Until then, they were forced to change, but the form was their own.

A. Forces of Change

In the course of surveying what changes took place, it became evident that one major and several minor forces were at work which had great influence on the change of Kazak pastoral nomadism. Influences or forces of change do not necessarily demand nor even suggest what form the changes will take. In the case of the Kazaks, these forces
did demand that change take place as an alternative to extinction.

Both Murdock and Kroeber acknowledge that there are certain categories of factors which are known to be generally influential in producing culture change. Several of these categories were evident in Central Asia: a marked increase in population in a given territory; contacts with peoples of differing cultures; and natural and social catastrophies such as epidemics and crop failures due to climatic factors. Because the last factor concerns the failure of the productive element of a culture, in the case of the Kazaks this can be changed to the loss of stock directly due to climate (Kroeber 1948:387 and Murdock 1960:249).

These three factors did indeed start the gradual trend toward changing the pastoral complex. Each factor had its beginning in the seventeen hundreds before the Russian conquest of the Kazak steppe. With the colonization policy of the Russians, the factors were increased.

The factor of a marked increase in population on a given amount of territory is a major factor demanding culture change short of extinction. This stems from the fact that pastoral economies demand certain conditions for survival. Climatic and other environmental conditions in Central Asia are such that a large amount of grazing ter-
ritory had to be controlled by each group in order for the group to survive. Taken as a whole, the Kazaks, a truly pastoral peoples needed not only extensive grazing lands for the herding of their animals, but also additional land to use in emergencies.

The majority of the traditional territory once occupied by the Kazaks has from four to eight inches of rainfall a year. The remainder has somewhat more, but high summer temperatures (July's normal temperature being seventy to ninety), makes the rainfall less effective since half falls during the hot summer. The grass which forms the basis for feed is not thick and tall, but rather sparse and short most of the year. *Oxford Regional Economic Atlas* (1956:28,29). Koppen's classification is BSk for the majority of the area, meaning desert or arid climate with cold winters. Only the very northern margins are designated BSk, which is the geographical term for steppe or semi-arid climate. Practically nowhere is there true ground cover and in many areas it is barren of vegetation except for weeds (Krausse 1899:7). By way of comparison, Arizona and New Mexico in the United States are close to the climatic and resultant grass conditions of the Kazak steppe.

Conditions necessary for the survival of a nomadic pastoral economy are few but important: a stable population of herdsmen and stock and a stable amount of territory or
at least a constant ratio between population and territory. If a certain territory is known to be able to support a herd of known size then theoretically it will continue to support that same size herd indefinitely, if other conditions remain constant as well. Taken as a whole, ideally the land traditionally owned by the Kazaks could successfully support a certain optimum amount of stock. Animal numbers remaining stationary, land amounts remaining constant, and environmental conditions allowing, the land could indefinitely continue to support this optimum herd.

But of course the size of the herds and the Kazak population did not remain the same, nor did the amount of territory controlled by the herders. Population figures of the Kazaks before 1700 are at best good estimates, but significantly, each succeeding estimate was consistently higher. Numerical estimations of the size of herds were impossible to determine, but with the loss of grazing lands, it must be assumed that stock numbers diminished.

As long as there was sufficient unoccupied land or the Kazaks were militarily able to conquer new lands, the increase in herds and men caused no grazing problems. But as the study has shown, in the seventeen hundreds the once militarily inferior Kalmucks were able to seize land in the east, and the strength and growth of the settled southern Khanates were causing Kazak territory to be seized.
The initial penetrations of the Russians in the north and west in the seventeen hundreds placed additional pressures on the remaining Kazak grazing lands. With this loss in pasture land, Kazak population was increasing. The Russian colonization program later resulted in the loss of over half the traditional Kazak land with no sizeable decrease in nomadic Kazak population and greatly added to the pressures already noted.

In terms of economic change, therefore, the loss of land was the major factor of influence upon the Kazaks. As long as sufficient grazing land was available for increasing herds and herdsmen, the pastoral complex was not only the ideal pattern but in almost all cases, the real economic behavior. It was only after grazing lands had been reduced that the Kazaks were forced to change their pastoral pattern.

The epizootic diseases which caused the death of many animals in the late eighteen hundreds were a factor in Kazak economic change because they came at the same time as a very harsh winter and at a time when grazing lands were becoming more limited. Normally such stock diseases would not have taken on such an importance.

As an influence in Kazak culture change, loss of stock directly due to climate was an important factor when it was combined with limited grazing lands. As noted in Chapter I,
every ten to twelve years, very severe winters killed a large percent of the herds. It was mainly for these periodic winters as well as for particularly dry summers that additional pasture land to be used in emergencies, was necessary for the survival of the herds. This climatic factor coupled with the loss of emergency pastures, added to the forces of change.

Murdock and Kroeber also suggest that contacts with peoples of differing cultures can be a major influence of culture change (Murdock 1960:249 and Kroeber 1948:387); however, cultures which are similar to each other produce more mutual influence than cultures which are not similar due to the usual differences found in the basic values of the two groups. Although the population of the southern Khanates was basically of the same initial Turkish stock as the Kazaks, enough time had elapsed to make the two groups differ considerably in basic values.

The very proximity of the settled farmers did influence a few Kazaks, but never on a large scale. Some Kazaks did settle down to farming in the south. It is difficult to determine whether this change was due to their being able to foresee the advantages of agriculture over their pastoral economy or due to their own pastoral failure.

To summarize, it can be said that from the beginning of the seventeen hundreds, there was one major influence
strong enough to be considered a force, and several minor influences which were demanding some form of economic change or adjustment. The major force came in the form of a population expansion along with the loss of grazing land. Operating as minor influences were epizootic diseases and severe winters along with this limitation of the grazing lands, and the contacts with settled agriculturalists.

Some form of change had to occur; the Kazaks could no longer continue to graze herds of animals as they had done before their lands were diminished.

B. Processes of Change

As each of the Kazak groups lost grazing lands, it was faced with the problem of how to survive. The question of how change occurred among the Kazaks centers around the actual processes of culture change.

Research showed what changes took place by the time of collectivization, but in many cases the actual time these changes took place and their extent, were often impossible to discover. It is best, therefore, to consider many of them as trends. In some cases the changes which occurred in the traditional economy took place in more than one area and at different times. At first, the changes were localized, but as more and more grazing land was lost, many changes became widespread through internal diffusion.
There are four basic processes of culture change (Murdock 1960:250). The first is that of innovation, the process by which a new element comes into being in a culture. The second process is one of social acceptance, which centers around the series of systematic steps involved in the acceptance of a new element. Once a new element has been accepted, and often along with the acceptance process, the processes of selective elimination and integration operate. These last two processes have a variety of names such as displacement, reduction-segregation, reinterpretation and syncretism, but they are all basically the processes by which cultures select and reject elements and integrate the new element into the existing culture (See Honigmann 1939; Part Four; Kroeber 1948; Chapter 9; and Murdock 1960).

The process by which Kazak nomadic pastoralism initially changed was basically one of tentition. This is the process of change which occurs when people attempt to find solutions to problems by trial and error. During crises particularly, the traditional habits of people are no longer adequate and they attempt by the process of trial and error to find effective solutions to their problems (Murdock 1960:252). As one such trial fails, another may be attempted until theoretically a solution is found which meets the needs of the situation.

Tentition is a process which combines elements of
other somewhat artificially separated processes, namely diffusion, variation and invention. In the course of attempting to solve crisis problems by trial and error, some ideas may be borrowed from other cultures, hence diffusion. Other trial and error attempts may be slight variations of the traditional element, and some may be the result of an invention.

The Kazaks are a good example of people in a crisis situation who, finding themselves with less and less grazing land and no decrease in population, attempted throughout the period from seventeen hundred to the mid 1930's to find solutions to the problem which eventually affected them all. Kazak tentation combines elements of diffusion, variation and invention. In many cases, the diffusion of an idea from a non-Kazak culture can be seen; in other cases it is not possible to tell whether the idea for an element of change is the result of diffusion or invention.

When grazing lands initially became more limited, most Kazaks attempted to graze their herds on smaller amounts of land, but this only resulted in the loss of herds because of the inadequacy of the overburdened land. Either the group's entire herd was severely diminished to the point of being unable to support the group, or individual herdsmen were forced to give up pastoralism due to the loss of their individual herd. This attempt to solve the
problem of limited grazing lands could at best be practiced for a short period of time. This initial adjustment was a minor variation of the pastoral economy.

In a fairly early attempt to find an adequate solution, many groups started sending their young people, with no herds of their own, down from summer pasture to grow hay and grain for winter feed (Lattimore 1930:245). This allowed the pastoral part of the group to remain in winter quarters longer which in turn allowed the spring grass to grow taller and thicker. With part of the group providing enough winter feed to allow the larger group to spend a longer time in winter quarters, a shorter time could then be spent grazing the now more limited spring and summer pastures. Thus, a more permanent solution was found by some groups to the crisis. The idea for this change in the pastoral economy probably came as a result of diffusion from settled farmers living in the territory bordering the Kazaks.

A third pattern emerged among a few still relatively powerful Kazaks, who claimed as their private property, grazing land which had in the past been used collectively by their aul group. As long as these men were able to control such pasture lands for their own exclusive use, they were able to ensure their herd's survival, although this was done at the expense of other herders.
This attempt to claim exclusive rights over certain grazing land was also tried by groups. In the past only the orda, the tribe and the subtribe were regarded as territorial groups and although winter quartering groups had pasture lands they habitually used within the subtribe to which they belonged, use of such land was on the basis of usufruct and was not necessarily respected by other groups. With the crises of limited grazing lands, internal conflicts occurred within the subtribe (Hudson 1938:29). Some groups, now deprived of their traditional grazing lands, attempted to graze on the traditional grazing land of some other group. Despite the principle of usufruct, internal conflicts became common. The custom of having no territorial limits on the smaller migrating groups caused no problems when adequate grazing lands were available; once they were limited, however, the more powerful groups attempted to control their traditional pastures at the expense of other groups. The concept of possessing exclusive rights to land probably also diffused from the land-owning settled farmers in the areas surrounding the Kazaks.

Some Kazaks had arrangements with poorer relatives, who had already been forced to abandon herding for farming, for securing winter feed in exchange for animal products. This reciprocal arrangement meant the pastoral Kazaks could graze herds on smaller amounts of land because winter feed
was guaranteed, while the Kazaks who had adopted settled farming could still enjoy the products of the animals (Hudson 1938:35).

Other groups pressed by diminished pasture lands took up part-time yearly farming, often on land they claimed as personal property, only to migrate the rest of the year on their limited grazing lands. The 1930 report that sixty-six percent of the Kazaks were semi-settled is an indication of this part-time farming solution (Pipes 1955:383).

The same report stated that twenty-six percent of the Kazaks were completely settled. Most of these settled Kazaks continued to think of their new settled existence as a temporary one. Those who were herdless were forced to take up some settled economy, but as soon as they were able to secure new herds, they either completely abandoned the farming they had traditionally abhored, or farmed only as a part-time activity while spending as much time in the pastoral complex as possible.

Some Kazaks were meeting the limitations of grazing land in yet another way. Because it takes less land to graze sheep and cattle than to graze horses, some groups were shifting the composition of their herds to reflect this knowledge (Hudson 1938:35). In some areas, the number of horses herded had fallen off by fifty to sixty percent with a corresponding rise in the number of cattle (Pierce 1960:
knowledge of this fact was probably obvious to the Kazaks since even in "traditional" times, only the wealthy and powerful men and groups had considerable herds of horses.

From the beginning of the loss of grazing land through the period of collectivization, many Kazaks solved the problem of limited grazing land by migrating out of the Soviet Union to China, India and Afghanistan (See Chapter I: 17, 23, 27, 28, 31).

A few Kazaks gave up any idea of meeting the crisis by adjusting their traditional pastoral habits, and either went to the towns, became caravan drivers, or turned to farming without expecting to return to pastoral life (Lattimore 1930:245). These were only exceptional cases, however, since the importance and value placed on their pastoral complex was fairly consistent throughout the entire historical sequence. When Kazaks were forced to abandon the pastoral life, it was almost always thought of by them as a temporary measure. At least until the forced collectivization in the 1930's, after which the Soviets have reported little about Kazak values, one of the basic values of the Kazaks was this intense regard for their nomadic pastoral existence (Heden 1899:40 and Hudson 1938:35).
tions, a solution was sought which would alter the traditional economy as little as possible.

The second major process of culture change occurs after the new element has been introduced. The process of social acceptance goes along with the process of tentition, however, since acceptance of the various trials was part of the total picture of Kazak economic change. Since the Soviets during the collectivization period, put an end to all attempts of the Kazaks to adjust their nomadic habits to the actuality of limited grazing lands, any analysis of the acceptance of the attempted solutions is difficult. Some of the attempts to cope with the fact of less grazing land were being accepted by virtue of continuance of the change. The fact that the changes were not liked by the Kazaks is of little importance; real behavior is the first step toward changing values, and as Murdock suggests, when real behavior persistently deviates from the ideal, it will result in changed expectations of the culture (Murdock 1960:249).

An important element in the process of acceptance of any cultural innovation is whether the innovation is used by and associated with leaders or persons of high prestige. It is interesting that throughout the history of Kazak economic change, it was the leaders and men of wealth and prestige who were the last to succumb to change. This was
then a factor favoring persistence of the nomadic economy.

Another factor favoring persistence of the pastoral pattern stems from the very nature of the steppe land. Although some fodder can be grown on the semi-arid and arid land, only along rivers and lakes where irrigation is possible, except by advanced methods of farming, can full-time farming of crops be profitable. Therefore many Kazaks not living near natural irrigation sources but still forced to change their pastoral economy, tended to change in directions other than full-time farming.

Two other processes of culture change, those of selective elimination and integration, have little importance to this study since Kazak change was interrupted by Russian collectivization before selective elimination and integration started. Had the Soviets not forceably collectivized the nomads, the Kazaks probably would have found a solution to the reality of less grazing land through the trial and error process. The two processes of selective elimination and integration would then have had the necessary time to operate.
CONCLUSIONS

After the rise of the nomadic pastoral complex on the Central Asiatic steppe and the fusion of the scattered Turco-Mongol tribes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Central Asian steppe land was populated by nomadic pastoralists who called themselves Kazaks. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, the Kazak pastoral complex became widespread throughout Central Asia and the cultural saturation of this element was almost absolute.

A truly pastoral economy demands a sufficient amount of grazing land for herds. As long as territorial expansion is equal to the population expansion, the pastoral complex need not change, although in any culture, changes will take place due to other factors. Until the early eighteenth century the Kazaks, because they inhabited an area not generally suitable for farming and therefore not highly populated even on the perimeter, and because they were militarily superior to their neighbors, were able to find territory suitable for grazing when their population expansion found it necessary.

The Eighteenth Century brought forces which made changes in the pastoral complex a necessity. During the eighteenth century, the Kazaks began to lose territory, but their population was still increasing. Their traditional
pastoral complex had to change. Throughout the nineteenth and the first thirty years of the twentieth centuries, grazing lands were increasingly restricted and the resultant changes more noticeable.

When the Soviets collectivized the Central Asian steppe in the 1930's, they erased all indigenous attempts by the nomads to cope with the factor of more limited grazing land.

Since the beginning of the loss of grazing lands the Kazaks were gradually changing their pastoral habits to adjust to this new situation. By the eve of collectivization, the Kazaks had adopted different ways to retain as much of their traditional way of life as possible, but with resultant changes in the pastoral complex. Some of the trial and error attempts were working out quite well and on a long-term basis probably would have been integrated into Kazak culture. An adjustment in the traditional complex which would have combined pastoralism with farming could have been a permanent solution.

If the Soviets had not forceably collectivized all Kazaks in the 1930's, and had allowed them to remain pastoralists on what land remained, there is every reason to believe that the Kazaks would in time have adjusted their culture to be consistent with the limited grazing land.
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