

THE EFFECT OF THE NOMADIC/SETTLED CONTRADICTION ON THE
TRANSFORMATION OF THE KAZAKH IDENTITY:
A REINTERPRETATION

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY
ALPARSLAN ÖZKAN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF EURASIAN STUDIES

JANUARY 2020

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Yaşar Kondakçı
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Işık Kuşçu Bonnefant
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Prof. Dr. Pınar Köksal
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Ayşegül Aydıngün (METU, SOC) _____
Prof. Dr. Pınar Köksal (METU, ADM) _____
Prof. Dr. Güljanat Kurmangaliyeva Ercilasun (Ankara Hacı Bayram _____
Veli Üni., ÇTLE)

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Name, Last name: Alparslan ÖZKAN

Signature:

ABSTRACT

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ÖZKAN, Alparslan

M. Sc., Department of Eurasian Studies

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Pınar Köksal

January 2020, 97 pages

The aim of this thesis is to examine the effect of historical contradiction between nomadism and sedentarism on the transformation of the nomadic Kazakh identity by using the theoretical approaches of Ibn Khaldun and Anatoly M. Khazanov. From the 18th century to the first half of the 20th century, the relation of the Kazakh society with Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union was one of the most clear examples of this historical conflict. The Kazakhs, who had a pastoral nomadic lifestyle during these periods, were faced with the policies formulated by these two states against their social, political and economic orders. As a result, they lost their nomadic identity. This case, which emerged as a result of the historical contradiction between nomadism and sedentarism, is explained by considering two main reasons. The first is related to the state policies which increased the tensions between these two societies. The second reason is the inner structures in nomadic societies, which prevented close relations with the settled world. In order to associate the contradictory relationship between the Kazakhs and the Russian states with these two reasons, first problematic relations between nomadism and sedentarism are historically analyzed by using the theoretical arguments of Ibn Khaldun and Anatoly M. Khazanov. Then, the relations of the Kazakh society with Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union and the transformation of the nomadic identity of Kazakhs are examined by considering the theoretical arguments

and historical cases explained in the second chapter. In this study, books and articles published in Turkish and English languages and some official websites are used and the analysis is made by deductive reasoning.

Keywords: Kazakhs, Nomadism, Sedentarism, Tsarist Russia, The Soviet Union.

ÖZ

GÖÇEBELİK VE YERLEŞİKLİK ARASINDAKİ ÇATIŞMANIN KAZAK KİMLİĞİNİN DÖNÜŞÜMÜNE ETKİSİNİ TEKRAR YORUMLAMA

ÖZKAN, Alparslan

Yüksek Lisans, Avrasya Çalışmaları Programı

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Pınar Köksal

Ocak 2020, 97 sayfa

Bu tezin amacı, göçebelik ve yerleşiklik arasındaki tarihsel çatışmanın Kazak toplumunun göçebe kimliğindeki dönüşümüne olan etkisini İbni Haldun ve Anatoly M. Khazanov'un kuramsal yaklaşımları üzerinden incelemektir. 18. yüzyıldan 20. yüzyılın ilk yarısına değin Kazak toplumunun Çarlık Rusyası ve Sovyetler Birliği ile olan ilişkileri, bu tarihsel çatışmanın en önemli örneklerinden birini barındırmaktadır. Bu dönemlerde pastoral göçebe toplum yapısına sahip olan Kazaklar, bu iki devletin, göçebeliğin sosyal, politik ve ekonomik düzenine karşı uyguladığı politikalarla yüzleşmiş ve bu politikalar sonucunda göçebe kimliklerini kaybetmişlerdir. Göçebelik ve yerleşiklik arasındaki tarihsel çatışmanın bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan bu vaka, tezde iki başat neden üzerinden incelenir. İlki, devlet politikalarının bu iki yaşam biçimi arasındaki gerilimi artırmasıyla ilgilidir. İkincisi ise, göçebe toplumlardaki içkin yapıların, yerleşik toplumlarla yakın ilişkiler kurmaya elverişli olmayışını kapsar. Bu iki nedenle Kazaklar ve Rus devletleri arasındaki çatışmacı ilişkiyi bağdaştırmak için, tezde öncelikle göçebelik ve yerleşiklik arasındaki çatışma, tarihsel bir perspektiften kuramsal savları içererek anlatılır. Ardından, Kazak toplumunun Çarlık Rusyası ve Sovyetler Birliği ile olan ilişkileri ve bu toplumun göçebe kimliğindeki dönüşüm, ikinci bölümde açıklanan kuramsal savlar ve tarihsel vakalar dikkate alınarak incelenir. Türkçe ve İngilizce basılmış kitaplar, makaleler ve resmi

internet sitelerinden yararlanılarak oluşturulan bu alıřmada, tmdengelim yntemi kullanılmıřtır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kazaklar, Gebelik, Yerleřiklik, arlık Rusyası, Sovyetler Birlięi.

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, Hatice, to the soul of my father, Atilla,
and to those children who sleep deep in the Altai mountain.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my profound gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Pınar Köksal. Without her lectures and guidance, I could not have an opportunity to learn and interpret Turkestan with an analytical perspective. This thesis has taken its final form thanks to this perspective, with which my knowledge took an organized and academic form.

I would also like to emphasize my deep appreciation to my parents. It can be difficult for many people to find a reason that makes life meaningful. My father, Atilla, gave me this reason ever since my childhood, with which I could always find a way whenever I tried to get an answer to the question of why. God rest his soul. I also find an answer for this question with the eyes of my mother, Hatice. She never left me alone and always encouraged me. If she did not stay with me, I could not write this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	vi
DEDICATION	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	ix
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Analytical Framework of the Thesis	3
1.2. Outline and Methodology of the Thesis	10
2. HISTORICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NOMADISM AND SEDENTARISM.....	12
2.1. Pastoral Nomadism	12
2.2. Collective Memory and Stereotypes on Myths.....	16
2.2.1. Nomads as Punishers and Evils	18
2.2.2. Settled Societies as Slaves	19
2.3. Classification and Flexibility in Social and Political Organizations of Nomadic Societies	20
2.4. Equality in Economic Structure of Nomadism.....	28
2.4.1. Balanced/Non-balanced Reciprocity and Redistribution:	32
2.5. <i>Asabiyyah</i> and Strictness Against the Settled World	35
3. RELATIONS OF NOMADIC KAZAKHS WITH TSARIST RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION	39
3.1. The Kazakh Identity.....	39

3.2.The Main Tsarist Policies on Nomadic Kazakhs During the 18th Century	43
3.3. Russian Colonization and the Main Reasons of the 1916 Uprising in Turkestan.....	47
3.4. The 1916 Uprising.....	52
3.5. The Main Policies on Nomadic Kazakhs During the Soviet Era.....	55
3.6. Collectivization Process and the Kazakh Depopulation	61
3.7. Repressive Policies on the Kazakh Identity and Symbolic Nomadism	69
4. CONCLUSION.....	75
REFERENCES	85
APPENDICES	
A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET	90
B. TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM	97

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the effect of Tsarist Russian and the Soviet state policies on the identity of the nomadic Kazakhs, which created tensions and contradictions between the state and the Kazakh society. These state policies attempted to change the political, social and economic structures of Kazakhs in most cases against their will, resulting in resistance among the Kazakh people both during the Tsarist Russian and the Soviet eras. This widely studied topic will be analyzed with a new perspective by using the theories of Ibn Khaldun and Anatoly M. Khazanov on nomadism in order to explain the differences between the nomadic and settled communities (which from time to time result in contradictions) by looking at the specific case of the Kazakh society. To that end in this thesis, Kazakhs will be studied within the general framework of pastoral nomadism as well as in a historical context. The thesis will also describe how and why the Kazakh society resisted the policies of the state both during the Tsarist Russian and the Soviet periods.

Kazakhs constituted one of the largest nomadic populations in Central Asia between the 18th and 20th centuries. They protected their nomadic social structure until the first half of the 20th century. Unlike the Turkmen and Kyrgyz cases, the Kazakh territory is adjacent to Russia. This geographic proximity and the geopolitical position of the Kazakh territory created a unique case in terms of the relations between the nomadic Kazakhs and settled Russians. In other words, not only was the contact between these two societies more frequent but also the contradiction between nomadism and sedentarism more severe, both during the Tsarist Russian and the Soviet periods.

After Kazakhs encountered with the Tsarist Russian state policies at the beginning of the 18th century in this borderland, their nomadic structure started to become problematic in terms of the relations with the Russian state especially regarding several political, social and economic issues. In the first half of the 18th century, Tsar Peter's

view of the Kazakh territory as a key to the development of the relations with the east,¹ played a major role in exposing the Kazakh society to the sedentarization policies of the Russian authorities. These policies, put into application for the sake of modernization, would result in the oppression of Kazakhs. From this date on, Kazakhstan has become the center of fundamental conflicts between nomadism and sedentarism. Political, social and economic contradictions between the Tsarist Russian state policies and nomadic Kazakhs turned into a struggle for dominance over the Kazakh territory. The territorial division policies of the Tsarist Russian state for the purpose of administrative control in Kazakhstan² and the destruction of nomadic cattle-breeding system of Kazakh society as a result of this policy³ are the most obvious examples of this struggle in the Kazakh territory. This struggle had continued in the 20th century with different policies implemented by the Soviet Union and the largest population loss had been experienced by the Kazakh society in the first half of the 20th century in Central Asia. In some sources, it is estimated that 1.5 million Kazakhs died during the period of collectivization.⁴ A death in this size is considered by some authors as genocide.⁵ This population loss which is rarely seen in the world history, is another important reason to examine the effect of Tsarist Russian and the Soviet state policies on the identity of nomadic Kazakhs in this thesis.

In this context, in order to examine the effect of the Tsarist and the Soviet state policies on the identity of nomadic Kazakhs and Kazakh resistance against these policies, in this thesis the following questions are asked: What are the contradictive elements between nomadism and sedentarism in history? How did these policies affect the

¹ Ziyayev H. (2007): 58. Türkistan'da Rus Hakimiyetine Karşı Mücadele. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

² Kendirbay G. (1997): 488. The National Liberation Movement of the Kazakh Intelligentsia at the Beginning of the 20th Century. Central Asian Survey (Vol.16-No.4)

³ Ibid.

⁴ Olcott M. B. (1981): 136. The Collectivization Drive in Kazakhstan. The Russian Review (Vol. 40-No. 2)

⁵ Naimark N. (2010):76. Stalin's Genocides. USA: Princeton University Press

nomadic Kazakh identity? Why and how did nomadic Kazakhs resist against the Tsarist Russian and the Soviet state policies?

1.1. Analytical Framework of the Thesis

“Pastoral nomadism” is a common term used to describe the lifestyles of nomadic societies. Unlike wandering and gathering societies, pastoral nomads have an economic lifestyle based on food production.⁶ Besides they transfer their cultural values into the production economy through the festivals celebrated on migratory routes.⁷ Thus, they remove nomadism from just being a job in contrast to the shepherds of western Europe and American cowboys.⁸ As a result of these elements, pastoral nomadism possesses an identity which is different from all other types.

However the relationship of pastoral nomadic societies with states may turn into a conflictual one due to the fundamental political, social and economic contradictions between nomadic and settled societies. The different political, social and economic expectations that were shaped within these societies led to a number of constructive and destructive relations throughout the history. Using the military capabilities of nomads to provide long-term protection for the settled societies⁹ or the supply of agricultural products and handicrafts by the settled societies to the nomads¹⁰ can be considered as examples of constructive relations in the historical process. Unfortunately, the constructive relations that emerged between these two different lifestyles were not sufficient to prevent the conflictual and discriminatory characteristics of the relation between them.

⁶ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 94. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

⁷ Kassymova D. Kundakbayeva Z. Markus U. Zhangottin B. (2012): 166. Historical Dictionary of Kazakhstan. USA: Scarecrow Press

⁸ Barfield T. J. (1993): 4. The Nomadic Alternative. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall

⁹ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 342. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

¹⁰ Ibid., 320.

In general, it is possible to say that these two societies can share the same environment with different economic expectations. However, agriculture and animal husbandry, the two different production economies, may cause conflicts between these societies in the same environment due to different interests.¹¹ These contradictions in the economy create destructive effects on the relations of these two societies. As a result of such problematic relations in economy, states developed certain policies to defend their own economic interests as well as to promote sedentarism. This in turn, created resistance on the part of pastoral nomadic societies for the purpose of protecting the fundamental dynamics of their own economic lifestyles.

In addition to the economic contradictions, the differences between the social and political organizational structures of pastoral nomads and settled populations also created problems and resulted in destructive relations between the two sides. As Khazanov indicates, from a structural point of view, nomadic societies are mostly based on kinship ties and descending from the common ancestor. The kinship ties determine the relations between individuals and nomadic society.¹² Therefore, the hierarchical order between the ruling and ruled groups in pastoral nomadic societies is softer than the one in the settled societies. However this hierarchical order is not only shaping the internal relations within the society, but also external relations of pastoral nomads with the settled civilizations. Such an order based on the tradition of common ancestors and kinship ties, isolates members of nomadic society from the outside.¹³ This isolation not only may lead to hostility to both settled societies and states, but also prevent the integration of nomads with them. In addition, the possibility of establishing constructive relations becomes thinner.

Kazakhs, as a traditionally pastoral nomadic society living in Asia, can also be evaluated in this general framework. Like other pastoral nomadic societies, an organization based on the production economy, and authentic social/political

¹¹ Ibid., 119.

¹² Khazanov A. M. (2015): 241. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

¹³ Ibid., 316.

structures united the Kazakhs under the same framework and provided an opportunity for them to act jointly. However, in order to explain the fundamental contradictions and conflicts of nomadic Kazakhs in their relations with the Tsarist Russian and the Soviet states, it is also necessary to distinguish nomadic Kazakh society from the other pastoral nomadic societies in different parts of the world. This separation provides a clear expression of the authentic dynamics of nomadic Kazakhs in the historical process.

Kazakhs are the members of Turkic and Mongolian nomadic societies that emerged in Asia as a result of various political, social and economic developments in the historical process. The Kazakh society, which emerged in the 16th century,¹⁴ established and maintained its nomadic identity in a similar cultural environment in which other related nomadic societies lived. The Kazakh society also found itself in a political formation during this period.¹⁵ The almost 200-year-old tension between Kazakhs and Russian state policies in the Eurasian steppes clarified the nomadic identity of the Kazakh society and its fundamental contradiction with these policies. This tension is also an important example of the destructive relationship between nomadism and sedentarism, which emerged as a result of such state policies imposed on nomadic societies.

Throughout history, states adopted certain policies for nomadic societies in order to solve the tension created by different economic lifestyles of nomadic societies, which presented a challenge to the economic interest of the states. These kinds of policies had also been adopted for the nomadic Kazakhs by Tsarist Russian state. The colonization policy is the most important example to understand the tension and economic contradiction between nomadic Kazakhs and Tsarist Russia. With this policy, Russian peasants were placed to the Kazakh territory and Tsarist Russia divided this territory into different parts to protect the economic interests of the Russian peasants in the region.¹⁶ As a result of this, migratory routes of nomadic

¹⁴ Golden P. B. (2014): 349-350. *Türk Halkları Tarihine Giriş* (Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples). (5th Ed.). İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınevi

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 349.

¹⁶ Geracı R. (2009): 250. *A Companion to Russian History. Russia: Minorities and Empire* (Chapter 15). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Kazakhs was restricted and pastoral economy was affected negatively.¹⁷ During this period, the social and political relations between the nomadic Kazakhs and Tsarist Russian state also show the historical nomadic/settled contradiction, as in the case of the economic relations. Distrust of the nomadic Kazakh leaders, *aksakals*¹⁸ (white beards), against the authorities of Tsarist Russia¹⁹ is a reflection of this situation.

Such destructive relationship between the Kazakhs and the state continued during the period of the Soviet Union. In this period, the negative view of Soviet ideology towards the economic, social and political structures of nomadic Kazakhs was the main factor in the formation of this contradictory relationship. As a result of this, tribal affiliations and way of life were seen as obstacles to the socialist order, and sedentarization policies were accepted as an important step in the construction of socialism during the Soviet era.²⁰ In this period, the nomadic Kazakhs resisted in a well-organized manner against such state policies.²¹ Thus the destructive relation between nomadic Kazakhs and state continued in both periods.

As in the case of nomadic Kazakhs, the unique political, social and economic structures of nomadic societies, which are shaped independently from external influence, generally are in contradiction with the policies of states in which mostly settled societies live. However these dynamics can be changed or deformed in the historical process if nomadic societies establish a state themselves or they are ruled by a settled civilization. As a result of such change and deformation, hierarchical relations can become rigid between different groups.²² Besides the different economic methods

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Aksakal: Old and wise members of the Central Asian societies

¹⁹ Sabol S. (2003): 28. Russian Colonization and the Genesis of the Kazakh National Consciousness. Great Britain: Antony Rowe Ltd

²⁰ Olcott M. B. (1981): 132. The Collectivization Drive in Kazakhstan. The Russian Review (Vol. 40-No. 2)

²¹ Ibid., 127.

²² Khazanov A. M. (2015): 290. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

which were used to provide relative equality for the nomadic societies in comparison to settled societies, can break down.²³ Such developments bring certain changes in terms of the relations of nomadic societies with both settled societies and states.

In this general framework, the nomadic Kazakh society is an important example to show the different dynamics of these two periods since the Kazakhs lived both under the rule of states and independent from them in different periods of their history. Due to this feature, the Kazakh case reflects different effects of the dynamics of these two periods regarding the relations of nomadic Kazakhs with Tsarist Russian and the Soviet states.

In order to better explain this situation, the analyses and theoretical approaches of Ibn Khaldun and Khazanov are of utmost use. Ibn Khaldun²⁴ focuses on several positive features of the social and political organizations of nomadic Arabians living in deserts. For him, courage is the main feature of these nomadic societies.²⁵ Due to this feature, nomadic Arabians were superior to the settled Arabians. For Ibn Khaldun, nomadic societies gain this courage and power due to being descended from the same lineage, a characteristic settled societies do not have.²⁶ According to him, members of a nomadic society with pure lineage trusts only themselves in defense and security.²⁷ They act jointly on these issues and thus form a social and political unity.²⁸ His *asabiyyah* theory was based on this social and political unity. According to Ibn Khaldun, people can protect themselves against the enemy attack and they can have

²³ Ibid., 269.

²⁴ Ibn Khaldun was born in Tunisia in the first half of the 14th century. He is an important author who is regarded as the founder of philosophy of history and sociology in various sources. (Tekin A. 2017: 17). Preface of the Mukaddime I. (3rd Ed.). İstanbul:İlgi Kültür Sanat). His *asabiyyah* theory, generally examines the political, social and economic structures of nomadic bedouins and their differences from settled Arabs. However, his work on this subject is also necessary and useful for examining the nomadic dynamics of Kazakh society. As a word, *asabiyyah* is usually translated into English as “solidarity”, “union” or “group feeling”.

²⁵ Ibn Khaldun (2017): 281. Mukaddime I (Muqaddimah I). (3rd Ed.). İstanbul: İlgi Kültür Sanat

²⁶ Ibid., 281-283.

²⁷ Ibid., 286.

²⁸ Ibid.

certain rights only if they come together and establish a strong society, which is called *asabiyyah*.²⁹ Strong *asabiyyah* in turn, results in the establishment of a state.³⁰ However the establishment of a state may also negatively affect the fundamental dynamics of nomads in terms of social and political organizations, because living in strong fortifications and fortresses may lead to loss of their courage, which are strengthened by security concerns in deserts. This situation is what Ibn Khaldun points out as a general feature of Arabians living in cities.³¹ As a result of this, the pure lineage and social/political unity of a nomadic society may be eroded, according to him. This situation also affects the economic dynamics of nomadism.

Ibn Khaldun defines the way of living of nomadic Arabians through difficulty and settled Arabians through luxury.³² According to him, these two different habits also differentiate these two societies in terms of ensuring social unity and security.³³ In this respect, the nomadic Arabians who live far away from the luxury in the deserts are superior to the settlers in protecting their social structures and unity against the outside world.³⁴ However, this feature of nomads may diminish with the establishment of state as in the case for other features. Khaldun stressed that the Arabian nomads lost their features after they became settled in fertile lands.³⁵

These evaluations of Ibn Khaldun indicate how nomads, with their authentic dynamics, acted and behaved differently in different historical periods. Khazanov, who follows the historical approaches of Ibn Khaldun,³⁶ makes more specific claims on Asian

²⁹ Ibid., 309.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., 281.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., 307-308.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Gellner E. (2015): 27. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya'nın Önsözü (Preface of Nomads and the Outside World. İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

nomadic societies and Kazakhs. According to him, the fact that the nomadic society is based on kinship ties and the tradition of a common ancestor does not usually lead to the emergence of a social subgroup.³⁷ Although there are ruling groups and subjects within the nomadic society, they are very small in number compared to ordinary free members of the same society.³⁸ In other words, nomads have no notion of class struggle contrary to settled societies.³⁹ Considering the fact that social differentiation is intense in settled societies, the lack of such a differentiation in nomadic communities is the most important factor that socially distinguishes these two groups. However, similar to Ibn Khaldun, Khazanov also suggests that this feature of nomadic societies can be changed if they establish a state or if they are dominated by a settled civilization in certain periods of history. During these periods, new genealogies can be created in the lineage systems of nomadic societies. With these putative genealogies, new groups, which claim privilege over the administrative mechanism in the society, can emerge.⁴⁰ According to Khazanov, these genealogies are formed by the influence of a state.⁴¹ These eclectic structures can lead to a rigidification of the flexible relations within the society. Thus, the hierarchical order in the nomadic society can be deformed.

From an economic point of view, these periods may also transform the concept of property and may destruct the economic practices developed to ensure equality in a nomadic society. According to Khazanov, as state becomes the guarantor of property, equality mechanisms can be destructed.⁴² Destruction of these mechanisms in nomadic economy naturally weakens the unity of nomadic societies which is based on security

³⁷ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 241-242. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

³⁸ Gellner E. (2015): 21. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya'nın Önsözü (Preface of Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

³⁹ Vasjutin S. A. (2003): 53. Nomadic Pathways in Social Evolution: Typology of Pre-States and Statehood Systems of Nomads. The Civilizational Dimension Series (Vol: 5). Moscow: Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences

⁴⁰ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 290. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

⁴¹ Ibid., 269.

⁴² Ibid.

and protection. The weakening of these elements may change the basic principles of the nomadic society and lead to the loosening of its strict relations with the settled world.

In the context of these theoretical and historical evaluations on nomadism, this thesis will examine the relations of Kazakhs with Tsarist Russian and the Soviet states by considering the different dynamics of nomadism which were experienced by the Kazakh society in various periods of history. With this consideration, the different social sub-groups formed by the influence of various historical periods in the nomadic Kazakh society and the different tendencies of these groups in their relations with Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union will be evaluated. This distinction based on different tendencies of these groups is important in order to clarify the resistance of the nomadic Kazakh society to the Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union. The thesis also examines the effect of Tsarist Russian and the Soviet policies on the nomadic dynamics of Kazakh identity, within the framework of the theories of Ibn Khaldun and Khazanov.

1.2. Outline and Methodology of the Thesis

In this thesis, there are four chapters, including the Introduction and the Conclusion. In the second chapter, the contradiction between nomadism and sedentarism is theoretically analysed within the general framework of the features of nomadic and settled societies by looking at different historical cases in Asia. This chapter also analyzes pastoral nomadism in order to specify the nomadic Kazakh identity. In addition, in this chapter, the main stereotypes and prejudices of nomads and settled people against each other will be evaluated through the mythological notions and narratives. With these evaluations, the main political, social and economic contradiction between nomadism and sedentarism in history will be analysed in a comparative way for the better understanding of the resistance of nomadic Kazakh identity to the policies of Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union.

In the third chapter, Kazakh resistance and the effect of state policies on nomadic Kazakh identity during the period of Tsarist Russian state and the Soviet Union will be specifically explained. In this chapter, the answer to the question of who is the Kazakh in history, will be firstly sought. Then, the reflections of general

nomadic/settled contradiction on the relations of nomadic Kazakhs with the Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union will be analyzed. This analysis will enable us to understand the Kazakh resistance and the effect of state policies on their nomadic identity in a historical and theoretical framework. It will also provide a more comprehensive understanding of similar contradictions between nomadism and sedentarism in history.

In this thesis, the main research focus will be based on deductive reasoning. Deductive reasoning is a method which proves and explains the particular through the universal.⁴³ In order to apply this method in the thesis, the contradiction in the relations of nomadic Kazakhs with the Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union will be evaluated on the basis of the characteristics of the historical nomadic/settled contradiction. The historical contradiction between nomadism and sedentarism will be explained and the reflections of this general contradiction on the relation of Kazakh identity with the Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union will be examined. For this examination, qualitative analysis based on academic documents will be implemented. In this work, historical, theoretical and statistical sources in Turkish and English languages such as Soviet censuses, academic articles, books and journals will be used.

⁴³ Çiçekdağı C. 2016: 59. Aristoteles'te Mantık Kavramı ve Temel Akıl Yürütme Çeşitleri. MSKU Journal of Education (Vol. 3-No. SI)

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NOMADISM AND SEDENTARISM

This chapter aims to describe the historical differences between nomadism and sedentarism first by explaining what pastoral nomadism is, then by looking at some related topics such as collective memory and stereotypes on myths; classification and flexibility in social and political organizations of nomadic societies; equality in the economic structure of nomadism and finally *asabiyyah* and strictness against the settled world. These topics are presented within the framework of the theoretical approaches of Ibn Khaldun and Khazanov.

2.1.Pastoral Nomadism

Terms such as pastoralism, nomadism, pastoral nomadism or wandering communities are used differently by many scholars to describe the lifestyles of certain societies. However, this situation creates certain problems for researchers who want to analyze these societies which are characterized with diverse and sometimes even contradictory criteria. A group of scientists describes nomadism as a wandering lifestyle by ignoring its economical structure.⁴⁴ On the other side, pastoralists are usually defined as people who rely heavily on livestock production, but do not usually migrate in search of pastures.⁴⁵ Pastoral nomadism includes both of these definitions. Pastoral nomads have a wandering lifestyle in their migratory route, but also produce livestock. From the economic point of view, it is a widespread type of animal husbandry of wandering lifestyle and unique food production economy where the majority of community

⁴⁴ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 93. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

⁴⁵ Sabol S. (2003): 10. Russian Colonization and the Genesis of the Kazakh National Consciousness. Great Britain: Antony Rowe Ltd

members migrate with their animals.⁴⁶ This economic feature distinguishes them from the other nomadic societies. For instance, as Sabol indicates, “Some American Plain Indians were nomadic but they did not maintain livestock and instead followed wild herds as a form of behavior referred to as transhumance.”⁴⁷ Unlike pastoral nomads, they did not produce livestock in their economic structure.

The Eurasian steppe is a significant region to understand pastoral nomadism and its dynamics. Domestication of horse in Eurasia was the first step for the rise of pastoral nomadism in history. At the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC, the horse was tamed in the Near East and Eurasia. In Eastern Europe, in the Volga and Kazakh steppes, riding goes back to the middle of the 2nd millennium BC.⁴⁸ After this historical process, according to Barthold, nomadic horse breeding and livestock economy was formed during the first centuries of the 2nd millennium BC.⁴⁹ As can be understood from this historical process, domestication of horse has the vital importance for the formation of pastoral nomadism in Eurasia. In these centuries, discovery of horsemanship had the similar effect as the invention of steam engine in Europe. It affected not only nomadism but also sedentarism in China. Historical evidence shows that many Chinese people started to wear *Di*⁵⁰ clothes and ride a horse as a result of the marriage relation between settled and nomadic societies.⁵¹ However, although domestication of horse had several important effects on Chinese society, it has not changed their settled order and agricultural economics, and naturally the differences between nomadic and settled lifestyles remained constant in Asia. Different

⁴⁶ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 95. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

⁴⁷ Sabol S. (2003): 10. Russian Colonization and the Genesis of the Kazakh National Consciousness. Great Britain: Antony Rowe Ltd

⁴⁸ Barthold W. (2006): 1. Türk-Moğol Ulusları Tarihi. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Transcription of the Turk, one of the main nomadic people in Asia, in Chinese language for some scholars (Otkan P. 2018: 7)

⁵¹ Otkan P. (2018): 8. Tarihçinin Kayıtlarına (Shi Ji) Göre Hunlar. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları

geographic conditions have also led to these fundamental differences between nomadism and sedentarism in this continent.

According to Pulat Otkan, while the effect of ocean caused the formation of an agriculturalist environment and culture in the eastern and southern parts of Asia, the human communities developed a nomadic lifestyle with horse or were engaged in oasis farming in the the inner regions of the continent. They formed a different cultural environment different from the settled world.⁵² Kazakhs were one such group of people who shaped their own cultural environment different from the settled societies in the Eurasian steppes. They had their own pastoral nomadic lifestyle with their own economic activities which was maintained well into the first half of the twentieth century.

Migratory cycle for the livestock production was the most important element of this structure which differentiated nomadic economic activities from the settled order. In the Central Asian case, including Kazakhs, there were four main pasturelands of this cycle: *Jailau* (summer pasturelands), *Küzdeu* (fall pasturelands), *Kystau* (winter pasturelands) and *Kokteu* (spring pasturelands). The cycle, which started from the summer pasturelands to the mountainous areas, continued throughout the four seasons of the year.⁵³ The migratory cycle was a cultural lifestyle for the nomadic Central Asian peoples like many other pastoral nomadic societies in the world. They were celebrating the *nayryzdama* (nauryz)⁵⁴ before they arrived to *Kystau* in December.⁵⁵ The continuity of festivals and customs clearly indicate that this cycle was the main type of lifestyle which included all cultural values of the pastoral nomadic societies.

⁵² Ibid., 1.

⁵³ Kassymova D. Kundakbayeva Z. Markus U. Zhangottin B. (2012): 170. Historical Dictionary of Kazakhstan. USA: Scarecrow Press

⁵⁴ Old Turkish new year celebration (Mustafayev B. (2013): 60. Adriyatık'ten Çin Seddine Uzanan Nevruz Geleneği (Nawruz Tradition Extending The Adriatic To Great Wall Of China). Avrasya Uluslararası Araştırmalar Dergisi (Vol. 2-No. 3)

⁵⁵ Kassymova D. Kundakbayeva Z. Markus U. Zhangottin B. (2012): 170. Historical Dictionary of Kazakhstan. USA: Scarecrow Press

On the other hand, this cycle could also create tension between the nomadic and settled societies living in the same environment throughout history.

Within this cycle, pastoral nomads partially or completely shared the same environment and region with agriculturalists.⁵⁶ They transferred their livestock through the agricultural lands. However this situation created a problem for the both sides.⁵⁷ According to Khazanov, symbiotic relationship is not only related to coexistence. Symbiotic relationship necessitates mutual interaction, interdependence and even mutual interest between societies.⁵⁸ However this relationship is rarely seen between pastoral nomads and settled societies.⁵⁹ These two different societies shared the same environment with different interests which triggered the lack of a symbiotic relation between nomads and settled societies. For instance, although grazing animals was beneficial for nomads in the post-harvest land, this situation could cause a destructive effect on agriculturalists.⁶⁰

These kinds of conflictual economic relations created problems between the nomadic and settled societies. Different structures in social and political orders of these societies were other factors to make the contradiction between nomadism and sedentarism permanent. Throughout history, the policies produced by states on nomads were related to these contradictions. Mythology is one of the most important sources that reflects these contradictions and create collective memories for both nomadic and settled societies. In the next part, the myths which create and perpetuate certain stereotypes of these societies against each other, will be analyzed.

⁵⁶ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 117. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 119.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 117.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 119.

2.2. Collective Memory and Stereotypes on Myths

According to Maurice Halbwachs, individuals cannot leave being a member of a community even just for a moment. They become only seemingly alone.⁶¹ In this idea, loneliness is not just about the physical relation between individuals. In the real meaning, the thing that prevents individuals from being alone, can be even a book that has already been read.⁶² This situation is the necessity of the human nature for him,⁶³ and it is derived from the collective memory. He says, “Our memories are generally collective even though they are about the objects that only we saw.”⁶⁴ As a result of this claim, it is not wrong to say that collectiveness is also dominant on the formation of negative perceptions and stereotypes of societies against each other. Collectiveness can affect the formation of negative perceptions within the historical memory of societies since it can be transferred to the next generations. For instance, the children learn all kinds of traditions and customs under the supervision of the elder people.⁶⁵ With this way, it is also possible to transfer certain value judgments that may become permanent to future generations.

Myths and narratives are the reflections of collective and historical memories. Throughout history, they clearly demonstrated the negative perceptions and stereotypes of societies against each other. “Myths rely on man’s most ancient memories and they are one way of transmitting a knowledge about the past.”⁶⁶ These ancient memories express how societies understand and approach each other. In many respects, the memories, which may convert the reality into a legend, explain the

⁶¹ Halbwachs M. (2017): 23. Kolektif Hafiza (Collective Memory). Ankara: Heretik Press

⁶² Ibid., 11.

⁶³ Ibid., 23.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 10.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 59.

⁶⁶ Gordon D. 1981: 446. Reviewed Work: American Myth, American Reality by James Oliver Robertson. Reviews in American History (Vol. 9-No. 4). The John Hopkins University Press

conflictual and discriminatory elements between the nomadic and settled societies throughout history.

In this general framework, the first impression is helpful for a clear understanding of these discriminatory elements. One of the first impressions of the settled world about nomads can be found in the mythological description of nomads in the ancient Chinese paintings. Under normal circumstances, main activity of nomads was animal husbandry or hunting the wild animals. However if an extraordinary situation emerged, they could easily attack against the enemy thanks to their warrior nature.⁶⁷ This Chinese narrative helps to explain the main factor for the formation of nomadic structure in Eurasia: the horse culture. In their economic activities and under the conditions of the war, horses enabled the nomads to be quick since the ancient times. Back then, this culture was unfamiliar to the Chinese people. For this reason, they mythologized this nomadic culture in their paintings. *Ding Lings*⁶⁸ who lived in the southern part of Baykal Lake, were described as half-man half-horse by Chinese painters.⁶⁹ This description is one of the first impression of a settled society about the nomads.

Halbwachs says that if saints would come to this century and read the legends which was written about them, they would be surprised.⁷⁰ Similarly, if nomads would see these paintings which described them, they would probably have the same feeling with these saints. Historical collective memory can change the reality with these kinds of ways. However the fact that historical cases were exaggerated and abstracted does not change the importance of myths' rigid influence on the social belief and view. These foreigners, half-men half-horses, were perhaps the most abstract form of the fear that distinguished Chinese society from the nomads. Historical knowledge proves that this fear was common for almost all settled societies. This feeling can be seen as one of the

⁶⁷ Otkan P. (2018): 59. Tarihçinin Kayıtlarına (Shi Ji) Göre Hunlar. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları

⁶⁸ Another transcription of the Turk in the Chinese language for some scholars (Otkan P. 2018: 7)

⁶⁹ Otkan P. (2018): 13. Tarihçinin Kayıtlarına (Shi Ji) Göre Hunlar. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları

⁷⁰ Halbwachs M. (2017): 16. Kolektif Hafıza (Collective Memory). Ankara: Heretik Press

reasons for the creation of the discriminatory definitions about the nomads in the myths and narratives of settled cultures in the world history. Some of the definitions are described in the next two parts of this chapter.

2.2.1. Nomads as Punishers and Evils: As Khazanov points out, in the world history, the adjectives of punisher and evil are usually used to define nomadic societies by settled culture. In the western mythology, there is a common belief that Huns descend from the soul of evil and witches. In their holy writ, nomads are generally defined as cruel and wild. The early Christian writers claim that God sent the nomads to punish people. That is the main reason why Atilla is called scourge of God.⁷¹ Similarly, according to the Muslim commentators, invasion of Mongols is God's punishment for the sinful societies.⁷² The example of *Zul-Qarnain* character in the *Kehf* section of the *Koran* clearly explains this perception about the nomads in the Islamic literature. The warrior nature of *Zul-Qarnain* is the main reason for the evaluation of him as a nomad in this thesis. In the *Kehf* section, *Allah* gives two choices to *Zul-Qarnain*: punish or treat a society kindly.⁷³ Then, *Zul-Qarnain* chose to punish this sinful society by God's command.⁷⁴ In this narrative, although there is no evidence that *Zul-Qarnain* is descended from the soul of evil or witches, he is the figure of punishment, similar to the nomads mentioned in the Christian texts.

The similarity between the myths and narratives in these two different religions demonstrate that there is a common perception of settled cultures about nomads. The fear that was learned through the wars and clashes, is the source of this common perception among the settled societies. According to a belief among settled societies, "The half-savage nomads could not even be considered fully human, as they do not have souls, but steam."⁷⁵ This example is the concrete reflection of the conflict

⁷¹ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 77. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

⁷² Barfield T. J. (1993): 132. The Nomadic Alternative. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall

⁷³ Atay H. (2007): 302. Kur'an (Koran). Ankara: Pozitif Matbaacılık

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Morrison A. (2015): 400. Peasant Settlers and the Civilising Mission in Russian Turkestan 1865-1917. The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History (Vol. 43-No.3)

between nomadism and sedentarism in the settled narratives. However, such stereotypes are not exclusively seen among settled people. As explained below, the nomads also have their own stereotypes and beliefs about the settled societies which are usually labeled as “slaves”.

2.2.2. Settled Societies as Slaves: The belief that characterizes the settled societies as slaves is very important to understand how nomads developed their own prejudices against settled people. To further understand this belief, the relation of nomads with hunter/gatherers and settled societies, especially in the Mongol narratives during the 13th century, needs to be looked at.⁷⁶ In these narratives, it is seen that the lifestyle of nomads who raised animals was insufferable form of slavery in the eyes of hunters.⁷⁷ Similarly, the lifestyle of agriculturalists was also defined as slavery by the nomads.⁷⁸ According to Khazanov, nomads defined agricultural societies as slaves because these societies had meaningless loyalty to a piece of land that they could not protect.⁷⁹

According to Khazanov, economic relations within the nomadic society were constructed on the basis of the two main factors: private ownership of animals and collective ownership of land.⁸⁰ The members of nomadic societies had private property rights on their animals, however there was no land ownership in their economical structure.⁸¹ This is an important element that distinguished nomadic societies from the settled world.⁸² For settled societies, it can very well be argued that the concept of private property is understood to also include land ownership. On the other hand, fundamental principles of hunter/gatherer lifestyle prevented the formation of the concept of property in these societies. The fact that they did not have a production

⁷⁶ Barthold W. (2006): 3. Türk-Moğol Ulusları Tarihi. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 271. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

⁸⁰ Ibid., 228.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² This point will be elaborated in the following pages

economy in terms of animal husbandry or agriculture was one of the main reasons for this economic attitude. For this reason, the importance of private property for their survival purposes was less important as compared to nomadic and settled societies. This difference between these societies was the main reason for the characterization of settled societies as slaves.

When we look at the perceptions of these three societies regarding each other throughout history, it is clearly seen that main social, political and economic differences among them triggered their mutually hostile attitudes. At the same time, these differences caused these societies to misinterpret each other's internal structures. As a result of these misinterpretations, especially settled civilizations forced the nomadic societies to adopt settled order and tried to change their nomadic dynamics under the rule of states. As an adaptation method, forced sedentarization was the most common policy implemented by these states on nomads.⁸³ For this reason, in the next part of the chapter, the different social and political organizations of nomadic societies, which from time to time resulted in contradictions between nomadism and state policies, will be evaluated by looking at the influence of the state on nomads throughout history.

2.3. Classification and Flexibility in Social and Political Organizations of Nomadic Societies

As a method of defining certain categories of people in different societies, several classifications have been made, including the ones made for Turkish and Central Asian societies. According to Ziya Gökalp, ancient Turks had used the classification of *sağ* (right) and *sol* (left) to classify the society and state administration into two different groups.⁸⁴ Likewise, according to the Records of Great Historians, there were two main divisions in the administration system of Huns as wise governors of the right and the

⁸³ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 341-342. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

⁸⁴ Gökalp Z. (2014): 68. Türk Töresi. (3rd. Ed.). İstanbul: Ötügen Neşriyat

left.⁸⁵ The Kyrgyz society had used a similar classification as *sol kanat* and *ong kanat* (left wing and right wing) to divide the society into two tribal confederations, a classification that currently continues to affect the national and cultural politics in Kyrgyzstan.⁸⁶

For Gökalp, ancient Turks did not use this classification to create a contradiction or superior-subordinate relationship. This classification distinguished ancient Turks from the Chinese society and their state administration in terms of the hierarchical structure.⁸⁷ In the Chinese mythology, classification of *yang* and *yin* represented the contrast between man and woman, and light and dark. In this classification, while *yang* represents the man and light, *yin* represents the woman and dark. The classification of *yang* and *yin* reflected a contrast between the two main groups in the Chinese society.⁸⁸ For Gökalp, however, unlike the *yang* and *yin* discipline, there was a complementary relation between the right and left sides in the classification of ancient Turks. However the effect of *yang* and *yin* changed the nature of this classification. According to him, the reason for the formation of white and black groups in the classification of ancient Turks is the Chinese effect.⁸⁹ In other words, Gökalp claims that although the classification of ancient Turks did not construct a vertical hierarchy within the society and administrative system, Chinese classification had its impact on how ancient Turks classified themselves. Gökalp's thoughts, although being open to discussion, are important to show the differences between nomadism and sedentarism within the context of a hierarchical structure. They also give some important clues about how the classification of *aq* and *qara suyek* (white and black bones) groups changed the political and social flexibility of nomadic societies throughout history.

⁸⁵ Otkan P. (2018): 67. Tarihçinin Kayıtlarına (Shi Ji) Göre Hunlar. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları

⁸⁶ Abazov R. (2007): 12. Culture and Customs of the Central Asian Republics. USA: The Greenwood Press

⁸⁷ Gökalp Z. (2014): 68. Türk Töresi. (3rd. Ed.). İstanbul:Ötüken Neşriyat

⁸⁸ Ibid., 91.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 68.

Kazakh communities were also shaped in accordance with such a stratified and segmentary social system during the 15th and 16th centuries.⁹⁰ As a result of this, two main kinship groups were formed in the Kazakh society during these periods. The first one is the group of *qara suyek*. This group which was divided into three main sub-groups as the *Uly Zhuz*, *Orta Zhuz* and *Kishi Zhuz* (Great Horde, Middle Horde and Little Horde), represents the Kazakhs with the pure Turkic lineage.⁹¹ Within these sub-groups, several personalities such as *aksakal* (white beard), *tarkan* (military chief) and *beg* (governor)⁹² had important positions in the society. Khazanov emphasizes that in the case of the Turkmen society, economic and political positions of these people were not above or against the society.⁹³ It is possible to suggest that this situation was the same for the Kazakh society. The examples presented later in this study will show how the Kazakh society acted together with these important leaders against the Tsarist and the Soviet state policies.

The change in the classification, as Gökalp emphasizes, began with the emergence of the *aq suyek*, the group which was effective in the Kazakh society as in many other Eurasian nomadic societies. This group was divided into two sub-groups: *Töre* and *Qojas*. These subgroups represented the Chinggisid inheritance and the lineage of prophet Muhammad, respectively.⁹⁴ In the Kazakh society, the members of *aq suyek* were known as *qamı basqa* (foreign blood).⁹⁵ That meant that the person was descended from a foreign lineage. The change in the social and political formation of the right and left classification mentioned by Ziya Gökalp refers to this situation. Similarly,

⁹⁰ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 291. *Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World)*. İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

⁹¹ Privratsky B. G. (2001): 34-35. *Muslim Turkistan: Kazakh Religion and Collective Memory*. Great Britain: Curzon Press

⁹² Khazanov A. M. (2015): 291. *Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World)*. İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 288.

⁹⁴ Privratsky B. G. (2001): 34-35. *Muslim Turkistan: Kazakh Religion and Collective Memory*. Great Britain: Curzon Press

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

according to Khazanov, the group of *aq suyek* emerged as a result of dependency of Kazakhs on various states after the collapse of Mongolian state.⁹⁶ Moreover, the reason why the members of *aq suyek* considered themselves superior to the others, was about the existence of state in certain periods under which the Kazakhs lived.⁹⁷ This group which enhanced its efficiency on nomads under the rule of states, generally changed the fundamental structures of nomadism and followed a different path than the nomadic societies during the Soviet period. Unlike this group, the subgroup of *qara suyek* protected the basic dynamics of nomadism. They were only the pioneering group, not superior, under periods of lack of state influence.⁹⁸ Their pioneer mission is clearly seen in the rebellions and movements against the Tsarist and the Soviet state policies. The social status of these subgroups is important to show the main points where the nomads are distinguished from the settled world in terms of social and political structures.

As can be understood, influence of the state decreases the flexibility rate in the hierarchical structure, changes the superior-subordinate relationship and transforms the features that distinguish nomadic societies from the settled world. Khazanov's main claim indicates that this conversion resulted from the influence of state. For this reason, his main claim shares similarity with Gökalp's ideas stressing the change in the ancient classification of nomadic Turks due to the Chinese effect. Although Gökalp did not imply anything about the influence of state on nomadic societies, the fact that settled Chinese society were ruled by a state, is the reason to show the similarity between these two author's analyses.

In the light of these ideas, it is possible to say that *qara* and *aq suyek* division changed the traditional classification, and due to the influence of the state, two opposing groups were created, changing in turn the authentic hierarchical structure of nomadism which distinguished it from the settled lifestyle. However the nomadic structures had still different dynamics from the settled civilizations, even under the rule of a state. The

⁹⁶ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 291. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

most important difference is about the superior-subordinate relationship between the ruling and ruled groups. For example, according to Khazanov, when the early Uighur state is examined, it is seen that the simplicity was dominant in everywhere. At the beginning of this state, there was no much difference between the ruling and ruled groups.⁹⁹ Similarly, according to him, in Göktürk state, the Turkish aristocracy acted in a very strict manner as a ruling class against the peoples of other states under their mandate. As for their people from their tribes, there was no such hierarchy but a loose leadership status.¹⁰⁰ At this point, the similarity between the positions of the subgroups of the *qara suyek* such as *aksakals* and the other leaders of Turkish aristocracy in the Göktürk state is remarkable. The reason why these groups are defined as leaders, not superior people, is that there was no harsh hierarchy between the ruling and ruled groups in nomadic societies. Ruling groups had only some privileges due to their duties and responsibilities. However these privileges were being used for the benefit of society. For instance, there were restricted areas where only the Turkish khan grazed their own animals. However, the khan was responsible to meet the nutritional needs of the army with this livestock during the wartimes.¹⁰¹

These examples are significant to show the main differences between nomadism and sedentarism in terms of the relation between the ruling and ruled groups. In this study, it is argued that the custom of common ancestor is an important dynamic to shape the flexibility between these groups. Unlike settled societies, all members of nomadic societies claim that they are descended from a common ancestor in their geneology.¹⁰² For instance, *Alash khan* was accepted as their common ancestor by Kazakhs. This custom was the basis of social unification.¹⁰³ It can therefore be claimed that this

⁹⁹ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 385. *Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World)*. İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 382.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 231.

¹⁰² Barfield T. J. (1993): 148-149. *The Nomadic Alternative*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall

¹⁰³ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 248. *Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World)*. İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

custom had determinant role on the formation of superior-subordinate relationship mentioned above. In the nomadic order, the transformation of ordinary nomads into a ruling class¹⁰⁴ is a clear example of this situation. The custom of a common ancestor strengthens the conversion of one from an ordinary person to a ruler.

However, the influence of various states and settled civilizations had changed the political and social structures of nomadic societies in certain periods. In many cases, the existence of a state triggered the formation of sacred groups and strictness in the relationship between ruling and ruled groups in nomadic societies. For instance, in the Khazar society, it is customary that the khan did not speak to the public. Interaction with the public was usually the responsibility of its deputy.¹⁰⁵ This observation demonstrates that the relation between the ruling and ruled groups was changeable under certain circumstances in Eurasia. However it is clear that the flexibility in the social and political structures of nomadic societies was higher than the other settled societies during both periods of existence and non-existence of state influence. Moreover, during the periods of lack of state influence, the characteristics of the political and social flexibility markedly increased, clearly revealing the main differences between the nomadic and settled societies. To understand these differences, the concept of family, community and chairship in the nomadic societies should be examined.

Many comparative studies on the family shows that nomadic families were not extended and they consisted of only two adult generations.¹⁰⁶ In the Eurasian steppes, the family had been known as “stem family”. In this type of family, the older boy leaves home after he takes some of the herd, while his father was still alive.¹⁰⁷ This kind of nomadic family is the smallest group of the community. In their social organization, some of these families came together and formed the minimal economic

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 352.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Fadlan (2010): 45. Ibn Fadlan Seyahatnamesi. İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları

¹⁰⁶ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 232. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 235.

and political unit, camp group (*aul* in Turkish, *ayil* in Mongolian).¹⁰⁸ The *aul* is the common term to define the community of all nomadic societies in Eurasia throughout history. As verified by the Records of Great Historians, “The Chinese were using the term *luo* (*oba*) for foreigners. The groups of 10-20, consisting of two or three tents, are called *luo*, which is similar to the *ayil* in Mongolia.”¹⁰⁹

According to Khazanov, these first-level communities, called *aul*, come together to form a second-level community. In some cases, second-level communities come together to form third-level communities that have influence on the usage of natural resources.¹¹⁰ These structures of social units continued to exist until the first half of the 20th century among the Turk-Mongol nomadic societies in Asia. In these units, the feature of flexibility and permeability was observable. During the 19th century, Kazakhs who use a certain pastureland, would create new nomadic units or move from one to another. The permeability between the different communities was quite common during this century.¹¹¹ Similarly, *uran*¹¹² flexibility within the clan (tribe) organization was permeability feature in Eurasia. Different clans could use the same *uran* to fight together¹¹³ although they could have unique *tamgas*. These two examples show that the steppe conditions and political order of nomadic societies resulted in the flexibility and permeability between communities and tribes in Eurasia. This is an important point to show the differences between nomadism and sedentarism in terms

¹⁰⁸ Barfield T. J. (1993): 145. *The Nomadic Alternative*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall

¹⁰⁹ Otkan P. (2018): 47. *Tarihçinin Kayıtlarına (Shi Ji) Göre Hunlar*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları

¹¹⁰ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 239. *Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World)*. İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 241.

¹¹² *Uran* is known as each clan's (tribe's) property mark or *tamga*. It was primarily used to brand cattle or mark pastures, when the number of animals become too large to identify them. (Sabol S. (2003): 17. *Russian Colonization and the Genesis of the Kazakh National Consciousness*. Great Britain: Antony Rowe Ltd)

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

of flexibility in the social organization. Decentralization in nomadic administrative system was the main reason of this situation.

According to Khazanov, political centralization in nomads is less than in state organization of settled societies. Differentiation in the society are not structural but functional.¹¹⁴ As such centralization occurs in some cases in nomadic societies. However, when the conditions of these cases disappear, centralization loses its effect. He calls this type of centralization temporary centralization.¹¹⁵ This administrative feature enables the nomadic societies to overcome the aristocracy and create permeability in the hierarchical structure. When the need for temporary centralization occurs, leaders from various origins can emerge. Temporary centralization is a structure that even allows a leader to rise from the outside of the aristocracy.¹¹⁶ This transformation is the most basic method to overcome aristocracy in the Eurasian nomadic societies. It is more evident in the *qara suyek* group, the pure Turkic lineage. In this group, the social status of a person does not depend on the birthright in Eurasian steppe.¹¹⁷ To prove this situation, Khazanov emphasizes that there was no transition of power from father to son within *qara suyek* division.¹¹⁸ For these reasons, aristocratic restrictions could be removed easily in the division of *qara suyek*. Besides, since the subgroups of *qara suyek* increased their effects under the periods of lack of state influence, it is possible to say that the leadership-based flexibility was more evident in these periods. This flexible structure was one of the most important feature that distinguishes nomadic hierarchy from the settled one.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 278. *Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World)*. İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 279.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 287.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 291.

¹¹⁹At this point, Ibn Fadlan's observations on the Turks are helpful to understand the claims about the influence of states on nomadic societies. According to him, the Turks were divided into two groups: One group had lords or rules to whom they obeyed by following their orders. The other group, however, did not obey anyone and could not be directed by anyone. The people in this group were the bravest and most courageous people. Ibn Fadlan made a reference to Hippocrates who characterized this second group

In the light of the above analyses, it is possible to say that nomads who were generally defined as backward by settled civilizations and states in history, prioritized the concept of flexibility and equality in their social and political organizations as opposed to the superficial definitions of settled world about them. Nomads which built these qualities on the foundations of stem family, kinship relations, tradition of a common ancestor and decentralization, shaped their authentic structures. These foundations differentiated nomadic societies from the settled civilizations where class division within a state organization was more common. These differences which naturally isolated nomads, also posed a danger to many states in terms of governing nomadic societies who had their own unique structures. For this reason, throughout history, states ignored the qualities of nomadic structures for their political purposes and forced these societies to adapt a settled order. There was a similar situation between the relations of nomadic societies and state policies in the continent of America, as in Asia. Social and political orders of the Sioux¹²⁰ were destroyed with the desire of American policies to expand civilization.¹²¹ These kinds of policies which were derived from the differences between these two lifestyles, were important factors for the contradiction between nomadism and sedentarism throughout history. In the next part of the chapter, the differences in the economic structures of nomads will be examined for the better understanding of this situation.

2.4. Equality in Economic Structure of Nomadism

As mentioned earlier, economic relations of nomadic societies are based on two main principles: private ownership of animals and collective ownership of grazing and pasturelands.¹²² Although the members of nomadic societies had the private property

as “free people” who did not accept anyone as their king and who strived and worked only for them. (Ibn Fadlan (2010): 77. Ibn Fadlan Seyahatnamesi. İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları)

¹²⁰ One of the American Indian people who built their social ties on kinship relations similar to the nomadic societies in Asia. (Sabol S. 2017: 41)

¹²¹ Sabol S. (2017): 172. The Touch of Civilization: Comparing American and Russian Internal Colonization: Internal Colonization. University Press of Colorado.

¹²² Khazanov A. M. (2015): 228. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

right on their animals, grazing and pasture lands were collectively used in their economic system. Collective ownership of land is the most accurate description for the periods of lack of the state influence on nomadic societies when the state could not become the guarantor of property on land.¹²³ The fact that privatization of grazing and pasture lands began after the Eurasian steppes were occupied by Russian and Chinese empires, validates this argument. However this privatization would never be completely realized in this region.¹²⁴ As can be understood, the concept of collective ownership of land was one of the most important economic characteristics that made nomads unique in Asia. However, the fact that nomadic societies needed extended lands for animal husbandry¹²⁵ resulted in contradictions between nomadic and settled societies in terms of usage of lands. Therefore, nomadic territories were tried to be restricted by states.¹²⁶ The different necessities of agriculture and nomadic livestock economy led to this contradiction.

In the Records of Great Historian, the story about private property and collective ownership clarifies the main differences of nomadic economic order, and the historical continuity within the nomadic societies of Asia. According to this story, when the great enemies of Huns demanded the grant of most valuable horses from *Mao-dun*¹²⁷, he accepted although everyone was against this decision. Then, the enemy demanded *Mao-dun*'s most valuable woman. Although the others again objected to this demand, *Mao-dun* again gave the woman. However the demands of the enemy did not end. This time, they demanded the grant of a piece of land that was not used. *Mao-dun* consulted the others. Some of them said, "This area is abandoned, so it can be given." *Mao-dun*

¹²³ Ibid., 269.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 229.

¹²⁵ Sabol S. (2017): 175. *The Touch of Civilization: Comparing American and Russian Internal Colonization: Internal Colonization*. University Press of Colorado.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ *Mao-dun* is in Chinese Language. It is thought that the *Mao-dun* is the transcription of the Turkish words Batur or Baghatur with Chinese symbols. (Otkan P. 2018: 13)

was annoyed with this answer. He said, “Land is the basis of the country, how can it be given?” and he killed all the people who suggested that the land could be given.¹²⁸

This story of *Mao-dun* can only be a tale, however it completely demonstrates the separation between the collective ownership and private property in ancient nomadic societies. It also indicates the different economic tendencies of nomadism and sedentarism about the concept of property. *Mao-dun* did not hesitate to give his own assets to the enemy, however, when they demanded the grant of land, he rejected it. If he gave a piece of homeland, he would be a wealthier *khan*, living in peace with neighboring countries, but the nomadic structures would collapse, too.

At this point, it is necessary to mention the concept of wealth, which includes another fundamental differences in the economic organizations of nomadic and settled societies. According to Ibn Khaldun, staying away from wealth is one of the main basis for the continuity of nomadic structure. He said that if nomadic nations settle on fertile land and get used to welfare, they lose their courage and nomadic values.¹²⁹ Khazanov also validates this claim. According to him, in the early periods of the Uyghur state, simplicity of lifestyles of all members, from the ordinary people to the *khan*, could be clearly seen. However this simplicity was eroded during the period of *Tengri khan*. After this time, nomadic structure of the state collapsed.¹³⁰ The story of *Mao-dun* shows the resistance of a nomadic *khan* against the destruction of the nomadic structure in society. In contrast to *Tengri khan*, he wanted to prevent the deterioration of nomadic form of society by preserving the nomadic economic values.¹³¹ However,

¹²⁸ Otkan P. (2018): 65-66. Tarihçinin Kayıtlarına (Shi Ji) Göre Hunlar. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları

¹²⁹ Ibn Khaldun (2017): 307-308. Mukaddime I. (The Muqaddimah I.) (3rd Ed.). İstanbul: İlgı Kültür Sanat

¹³⁰ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 385. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

¹³¹ The author believes that this story narrates the resistance of nomadic structures against the settled order during the periods when economic mechanism of nomadism started to change. In this story, this resistance was described through *Mao-dun*'s reactions to the enemy who demanded a piece of land. It is not wrong to say that the effect of the Chinese society, one of the settled civilizations in history, had an impact on the change in collective ownership of land in the Hun society, although there is no specific proof. This impact resulted in the contradiction between nomadism and sedentarism. Another story, whistling arrows, also explains how *Mao-dun* wanted to protect the nomadic nature of the Hun society

in those periods when nomads established a state or they lived under the rule of foreign states, these basic dynamics could disappear as demonstrated in the examples above. For this reason, authentic dynamics of economic organization of nomadism can be more clearly examined during the periods of lack of state influence.

It has been suggested that especially in these periods, in nomadic societies people consciously avoid specialization in areas other than animal husbandry.¹³² This social dynamic is another distinctive features of nomadism in terms of the economic life, resulting in the absence of social classes in these societies. The nomadic structure was clearly based on kinship ties and geneologies in Eurasia. This structure revealed unique patterns of reciprocity (balanced/non-balanced) and redistribution, distinguishing nomadic societies from settled ones. Unlike settled civilizations, this structure also prevented the formation of new social classes through increasing the number of animals, which was related to the differences in the concept of wealth between nomadism and sedentarism. In history, these differences led to the misinterpretation of the equality mechanisms of nomadic societies and their being ignored by states. For these reasons, in the next part, two such equality mechanisms of nomadic societies, balanced/non-balanced reciprocity and redistribution as well as increasing the number of animals in nomadic societies are analyzed.

against settled civilization and wealth. According to Otkan, in the second story, after whistling arrows were discovered, *Mao-dun* said, “The people who do not shoot with whistling arrows where I shot, will be killed.” After this command, he shot his beautiful horse with whistling arrows. The people who were not brave enough shoot their horses, were killed. Then, he shot his dear wife, too. He commanded the others to do same. The people who did not kill their wives, were killed. (2018: 65)

Although this story is usually given as an example of loyalty of the nomads to their leader, in my opinion, *Mao-dun* wanted to eliminate the source of economic inequality, that is private property, symbolized by the horses. He may have also wanted to provide unity of the nomads loyal to him. These two stories about *Mao-dun* focus on the problems experienced by nomads during the periods of state influence. As mentioned above, after its establishment, the state became the guarantor of property on land in the nomadic societies. In the first story, the proposal of the state elders to give land to the enemy indicates that the state became such a guarantor during the several periods of Hun history. On the other hand, *Mao-dun* is the figure who reflects the authentic structures of nomadism against this guarantorship in the first story.

¹³² Gellner E. (2015): 10. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya'nın Önsözü (Preface of Nomads and the Outside World. İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

2.4.1. Balanced/Non-balanced Reciprocity and Redistribution: Khazanov suggests that there are two different types of distribution of products in societies. The first one is non-balanced reciprocity.¹³³ In non-balanced reciprocity, the person receiving the product does not have to give anything in return. On the other hand, in the second kind of distribution, that is balanced reciprocity, when the person receives the product, he/she has to give something in return. Neither of these reciprocities are seen as a reason to trigger inequality in societies. During the period of Golden Horde, for example, the members of the Tatar society had cut their weak and ill animals and shared their meat with their neighbors after they reserved some portion for themselves.¹³⁴ According to Khazanov, this custom was the basic example of balanced reciprocity method in nomadic societies and it was also an economic insurance of these societies to provide social integration.¹³⁵

For nomadic societies, redistribution methods were also used as regulatory mechanism for realizing social justice. *Saun*¹³⁶ was one of these methods among the Kazakhs. In this method, wealthy animal owners left their animals to poor families for the purposes of animal husbandry.¹³⁷ According to Khazanov, the main purpose of this method was to prevent the isolation of poor Kazakhs from the rest of the society.¹³⁸ With this way,

¹³³ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 264. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid. This custom can also be found in settled societies such as Turkey. In this country, a portion of cooked food is given to the neighbors with the belief that it may smell nice and the neighbors may want to taste it. Afterwards, the neighbors can do the same thing although they do not have to. This example explains both reciprocity types. Although there is no proof to associate this custom with the nomadic roots of Turkey, it is not wrong to say that this custom is more observable in the areas where urbanization is not very intense.

¹³⁶ A practice employed by wealth bais (wealthy Kazakhs) wherein rich bais temporarily allowed the community use their cattle so that the less well off could use the dairy products and wool but the property rights were reserved by bai. (Kassymova D. Kundakbayeva Z. Markus U. Zhangottin B. (2012): 234-235. Historical Dictionary of Kazakhstan. USA: Scarecrow Press)

¹³⁷ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 265. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

¹³⁸ Ibid.

the Kazakhs realized social integration. *Barymta*¹³⁹ was another redistribution mechanism used among the nomadic Kazakhs. In this mechanism, poor nomadic families came together and seized the animal of wealthy nomads.¹⁴⁰ This method was a reaction against poverty and it could easily change the economic balance between the wealthy and poor Kazakh families.

These redistribution methods used by nomadic societies show that the main concern regarding social justice was derived from private property of animals.¹⁴¹ Unlike the settled societies, the economic gap and/or imbalance between the poor and wealthy Kazakh families were not allowed to grow out of extreme proportions. When a family was not satisfied with its economic situation, it could easily move and live with another community.¹⁴² According to Khazanov, the *saun* method was one of the most widely used mechanisms to keep the community together.¹⁴³ However it may be suggested that from time to time such a method could very well result in exploitative relations between rich and poor families.

The issue of increasing the number of animals was another important method used regarding the equality mechanisms of nomadic economy. In settled civilizations, the main goal of production is to achieve profit and realize the growth of economy. This economic order led to the formation of new classes and deep economic differences within the settled societies throughout history. However, in nomadic societies, production generally did not aim to achieve profit. Therefore, unlike the settled

¹³⁹ The historical practice of stealing horse, usually between adversarial parties, in revenge for some injustice. Originally, *barymta* was viewed not as a crime but as a way for an aggrieved party to be compensated for an injustice. (Kassymova D. Kundakbayeva Z. Markus U. Zhangottin B. (2012): 46. Historical Dictionary of Kazakhstan. USA: Scarecrow Press)

¹⁴⁰ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 267. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 228.

¹⁴² Ibid., 262.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 263.

societies, increasing the number of animals did not result in the formation of social injustice.

To understand better the main reasons of increasing the number of animals in nomadic societies, the periods when the influence of state decreased should be examined. During these periods, such an increase generally did not affect the social justice. All members of the nomadic society benefited from increasing the number of animals, more or less.¹⁴⁴ For some nomadic societies, increase in the number of animals was only a kind of reaction to the natural conditions in these periods. According to Barth, for example, the reason why tundra nomads increased the number of animals, was only about the necessity for the adaptation to the ever-changing natural conditions.¹⁴⁵ In this respect, nomadic Kazakhs had a similar aim just like many other nomadic societies in history. According to Olcott, “Nomadic Kazakhs 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.”¹⁴⁶ With this method, the members of these societies aimed to avoid famine and to meet basic requirements. As can be seen, the increase in the number of animals did not aim to achieve profit by selling them in such societies. As a result, inequality which was due to such an increase, was rarely seen among nomads. However it was hard to explain this economic structure through the terminology of settled civilizations, because production is an economic activity that determines the relationship between the state and different social classes. Unlike the economic structure of nomadism, it leads to inequality within the settled societies.

These kinds of equality mechanisms of nomads as well as their different economic structures and understandings led to their being misunderstood by the settled societies. Their unique economic methods and ways of life were ignored and defined as backward in all aspects, increasing in turn the tensions and contradiction between

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 68.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 128.

¹⁴⁶ Olcott M. B. (1981): 16. The Settlement of the Kazakh Nomads. Nomadic Peoples (No. 8). White Horse Press

nomadism and sedentarism. Furthermore, certain state policies such as occupying nomadic grazing and pasture lands and using of them for the purpose of gaining profit through agriculture intensified such tensions and contradictions.¹⁴⁷ A clear example of such a situation was observed during the Soviet era when Mongolian herders had to face confiscation and collectivization of their property, as their way of life was seen feudal and backward.¹⁴⁸ As will be explained in the next chapter of the thesis, the Kazakhs, were also faced with the same fate.

These kinds of state policies, which affected not only the economy but also the authentic social and political orders of nomads, can be seen as the most important reason that increased the contradictions between nomadic societies and states. As a result of these contradictions, nomadic societies lived an isolated life from settled civilizations to protect their structures. These policies was an important historical reason for the lack of integration between nomadic societies and states. However the source of isolation of nomads did not only depend on state policies. The main internal dynamic of nomadism, the notion of *asabiyyah* (social solidarity), which was formed by the kinship ties and lineage system, also significantly contributed to this lack of integration between nomadic societies and states. This dynamic strengthened the social ties among the members of nomadic societies, while preventing them to be integrated with settled communities. Therefore, in the last part of the chapter, the concept of *asabiyyah* in nomadic societies will be explained in order to understand better the reasons of historical contradictions and relations between state policies and nomadic societies in terms of internal dynamics of nomadism.

2.5. *Asabiyyah* and Strictness Against the Settled World

The concept of *asabiyyah*, or social solidarity, is constituted through lineage ties within a tribe or clan. This concept which was identified with nomadic societies in Ibn Khaldun's sociological analyses, was used to express the loyalty of nomads to their own communities. The term also refers to the strict attitude of nomads against the

¹⁴⁷ Sabol S. (2017): 175. *The Touch of Civilization: Comparing American and Russian Internal Colonization: Internal Colonization*. University Press of Colarado.

¹⁴⁸ Rosenberg D. (1981): 26. *The Collectivization of Mongolia's Pastoral Production*. Newsletter Of The Commission On Nomadic Peoples (No. 9)

settled communities living in the outside world. In this context, in order to understand *asabiyyah*, first Ibn Khaldun's observations on the different social, political and economic orders of nomadic and settled societies need to be evaluated.

According to Ibn Khaldun, sedentarism is identified with luxury and comfort.¹⁴⁹ For him, settled people were used to comfortable lives,¹⁵⁰ and due to this life style, they transferred their responsibilities to the rulers for the protection of their property and life.¹⁵¹ With this way, they slept within their castles without any fear and concerns.¹⁵² This structure was the most important reason why social ties in settled societies were not as strong as the ones in nomadic societies. On the other hand, since nomads did not have a castle or walls to hide behind; they had to protect themselves, their families and properties either in deserts or in steppes together.¹⁵³ In the case of fight or war, the members of a nomadic society trusted only the people who were descended from the same lineage, from whom they gained their strength.¹⁵⁴ As a result of this feature, social ties were strengthened in nomadic societies and thus, the nomads could enjoy a strong *asabiyyah*. According to Ibn Khaldun, people can protect themselves against the enemy attack and can have certain rights only if they come together and establish a strong society with *asabiyyah*.¹⁵⁵

As can be understood from Ibn Khaldun's analysis, while *asabiyyah* provided unity in nomadic societies, it also prevented them from being integrated with settled civilizations and states which were established by others or outsiders with foreign blood. At this point, the security concerns of nomads was the most important reason for their distrust regarding the settled civilizations. Kinship ties and genealogy

¹⁴⁹ Ibn Khaldun (2017): 276-277. Mukaddime I (Muqaddimah I). (3rd Ed.). İstanbul: İlgi Kültür Sanat

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 281.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 286.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 309.

structures which constituted the main social, political and economic dynamics among nomads, triggered such a concern for the nomads throughout history. Due to these dynamics, they were united with the mutual responsibility and defensive ties.¹⁵⁶ Ibn Khaldun says, “Nomadic Arabians do not give up their deserts and lives even if they could, because they are used to the way they live. Therefore, they ensure that their lineage did not degenerate.”¹⁵⁷ However, he also draws our attention to periodical changes in the structure of *asabiyyah*. He suggests that on the one hand a strong *asabiyyah* may result in the foundation of a state; on the other hand different sub-units of nomadic societies may have their own separate *asabiyyah*, preventing them developing social cohesion and defense mechanisms against the outside world.¹⁵⁸ This situation can also lead to clashes between the groups within the nomadic societies and weaken them against other states.

Khazanov also has similar ideas regarding how lineage prevented nomadic societies from integrating with other societies and developing a strict attitude towards the outside world. Drawing a clear dividing line between us versus them, the nomads isolated themselves using their unique social, political and economic mechanisms that kept them together.¹⁵⁹ According to Khazanov, the nomadic aristocracy often consciously or unconsciously transferred this idea of us versus them into the nomadic society, resulting in the cultural and ethnic integration of nomads, while at the same time contrast between these two life styles.¹⁶⁰ Similar to the thoughts of Ibn Khaldun, Khazanov also believes that the main drive of this reaction was the security concerns of nomads against the settled world. This attitude would in many cases make the adaptation of the most general policy of states, that is sedentarization of nomads, very

¹⁵⁶ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 238. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

¹⁵⁷ Ibn Khaldun (2017): 290. Mukaddime I (Muqaddimah I). (3rd Ed.). İstanbul: İlgi Kültür Sanat

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 309.

¹⁵⁹ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 316. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

difficult, if not impossible. This policy would result in loss of traditional ties and sense of security for nomadic families.¹⁶¹ According to Khazanov, states rarely considered this fact.¹⁶²

To conclude, it is possible to suggest that unique nomadic structures and values as well as *asabiyyah* among the nomads on the one hand and state policies ignoring these features on the other constituted the main reasons of the historical contradictions between nomadic societies and states. In the next chapter, the relation of Kazakhs with the Tsarist Russian state and the Soviet state are examined within the context of this chapter as well as the historical nomadic/settled contradictions and changes in the nomadic structures of Kazakhs as a result of the state influence in certain periods of history.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

RELATIONS OF NOMADIC KAZAKHS WITH TSARIST RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

This chapter aims to examine the contradiction between nomadic Kazakhs and state policies during the period of Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union first by explaining how the Kazakh identity was shaped in history, then by looking at relations of nomadic Kazakhs with the settled world during the Tsarist and Soviet periods. These relations which are presented within the theoretical framework of the second chapter, are analyzed through the influence of state on the nomadic structures of the Kazakh society.

3.1. The Kazakh Identity

Today, people who are ethnically identified as Kazakh, generally live under the various states in Asia such as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and China. However, the Kazakh identity evolved to its present form after many transformations in the historical process. In this process, different nations and states had identified Kazakhs with different terms. The similarity between the cultural and social characteristics of Central Asian people was one of the most important reason for this situation. However, different terms to identify Kazakhs had caused problems in finding an answer to the question of who the Kazakh is in history. Therefore, first the Kazakh identity should be clarified before relations between Russian states and nomadic Kazakhs are examined.

The Kazakhs are a Turkic group of people who speak Kazakh-Turkic language. After the spread of Islam in Kazakh steppes during the 19th century, they became Sunni Muslims. However, in the religious practices of the Kazakhs daily traditions such as respect to the elders and cleaning are more important than the five pillars of Islam. In other words, Islamic approach of the Kazakhs are heterodox. Some scholars associate the reason of this situation with the nomadic and semi-nomadic lifestyles of

Kazakhs.¹⁶³ Their living conditions led to a different understanding of Islam in the steppe region.

In history, Kyrgyz-Kazakh, Kazakh-Kyrgyz and Kazakh-Burut are the first terms used to ethnically identify the Kazakh society. Barthold says that although many authors assume that these terms were firstly used to identify Kazakhs by Russians, they were first mentioned in the Kalmyk sources.¹⁶⁴ According to him, relations between Kazakhs and Russians began before Russians encountered with the Kyrgyz society. However, unlike Russians, Kalmyks had close relations with the Kyrgyz although they rarely had contacts with the Kazakhs. During this period, the Kazakhs were called Kyrgyz Burut.¹⁶⁵ This situation explains why Kalmyks identified Kazakhs as Kazakh-Burut (Kazakh-Kyrgyz and Kyrgyz-Kazakh in Russian language).¹⁶⁶ For this reason, according to Barthold, it is not possible to say that Kazakhs were firstly defined as Kyrgyz-Kazakh or Kazakh-Kyrgyz by the Russians in history.¹⁶⁷ These kinds of contradictions in definition of Kazakh society can still be observed in the academic literature.

In addition to such ethnic identifications, certain political developments also need to be taken into account for a better understanding of the Kazakh identity. In this framework, it is necessary to also talk about the Uzbek identity and the view that Kazakhs were originally a group of people who chose to politically separate themselves from the Uzbeks. Before the Russian period, Uzbek was the tribal name of the ruling class in Mawarannahr who had descended from the Uzbek Khan (14th century) and the Shaybani Khan (16th century) of the Golden Horde.¹⁶⁸ According to

¹⁶³ Privratsky B. G. (2001): 93. Muslim Turkistan: Kazakh Religion and Collective Memory. Great Britain: Curzon Press

¹⁶⁴ Barthold W. (2006): 32. Türk-Moğol Ulusları Tarihi. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Privratsky B. G. (2001): 35-36. Muslim Turkistan: Kazakh Religion and Collective Memory. Great Britain: Curzon Press

Barthold, however, this ruling class was not descended from the Uzbek *khan*.¹⁶⁹ In this period, the Chagatai state, which had been strengthened during the period of the Timurid state, was captured by these Uzbeks.¹⁷⁰ According to Golden, the Uzbek identity had same status with the identities of Nogai and Ottoman, that is, it did not have an ethnic meaning during this period.¹⁷¹ He says that those people who were known as Uzbeks, saw themselves as the supporters of the Uzbek *khan*. However, in local historical sources, these people are commonly called Turks.¹⁷² As it will be understood from these arguments, some Turkish groups formed a different geneology in Mawarannahr and based their lineage on the Uzbek *khan*. This historical case validates Khazanov's ideas about the influence of state on the hierarchical structure of nomadic societies. Influence of state created dynasties who saw themselves as superior and noble in this region. As a result, they formed politically different identities. After a certain period of time, these new identities which were widely accepted as ethnic groups, changed the nomadic structures and relations of nomads with foreign states and the settled world.

Separation of Kazakhs from Uzbeks is closely related to the formation of Uzbek identity. During the same period, the word Kazakh was used to identify some members of the dynasty who did not give up their rights although they failed in the struggle for throne.¹⁷³ Similar to the Uzbek case, Kazakhs had khans which were allegedly descended from the Chingissid inheritance.¹⁷⁴ Basically, they were only politically separated from the Shaybani Uzbeks, not ethnically.¹⁷⁵ At the end of the 15th century

¹⁶⁹ Barthold W. (2006): 22. Türk-Moğol Ulusları Tarihi. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Golden P. B. (2014): 341. Türk Halkları Tarihine Giriş (Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples). (5th Ed.). İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınevi

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Barthold W. (2006): 22. Türk-Moğol Ulusları Tarihi. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Golden P. B. (2014): 341. Türk Halkları Tarihine Giriş (Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples). (5th Ed.). İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınevi

and during the 16th century, the political unity of the Kazakhs and the Kazakh Khanate was formed by the clans and tribes of Turkish descent.¹⁷⁶ Although there were differences between these clans and tribes during this period, the Kazakhs maintained the cultural homogeneity of the Turkish tribes living in the previous century in the steppes.¹⁷⁷ According to Olcott, the most important proof of the continuity of Kazakh-Turkish culture was the preservation of the pre-Islamic cultural practices in this region until the 19th century, despite the fact that Islam spread in the Turkestan steppes in the 11th century.¹⁷⁸ The Kazakhs continued their worships to the ancestor cult and the spirits of nature, which formed the basis of Shamanism, until the end of the 19th century.¹⁷⁹

Under these circumstances, the 15th century witnessed the rise of the Turkish-Kazakh cultural and political unity. In 1523, the Kazakh state spread from the Ural River to Semirechie region and to the Irtysh River in the north.¹⁸⁰ After the severe clashes between Kazakhs and Uzbeks, the Kazakh khanate was founded by Janibek at the end of the 15th century.¹⁸¹ The conditions of these periods created a deep hostility between these two groups.¹⁸² It is possible to say that the most important reason for this hostility was the fact that Kazakhs did not become settled and change their religious practices in contrast to Uzbeks. According to Martha Brill Olcott, “During the glory days of the Kazakh Khanate in the 15th and 17th century, the Kazakhs established their power in the classical patterns of nomadic-sedentary rivalry by periodically invading and occupying the Uzbek domains in Mawarannahr to the South. Intermittently, the Kazakhs ruled Tashkent and threatened Samarkand and Bukhara. The military-cultural negotiation of the sedentary-tribal differences eventually set ethnic boundaries in

¹⁷⁶ Olcott M. B. (1995): 9-10. *The Kazakhs*. (2nd Ed.). California: Hoover Institution Press

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 23-24.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁸² Barthold W. (2006): 22. *Türk-Moğol Ulusları Tarihi*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

concrete. After the 16th century, Uzbeks and Kazakhs lived side by side but never again considered themselves one people.”¹⁸³

This historical case demonstrates that the differences between nomadism and sedentarism could reinforce the hostility between societies even if they were descended from the same lineage and cultural environment. The great gap between these two different lifestyles in terms of social, political and economic structures was the most important reason for this contradiction. Back then, a nomadic society could dominate a settled society, as was the case in earlier centuries. However, as the technical instruments of sedentarism, such as defense and war technologies developed, this situation was reversed. Within the specific case of the history of Kazakhs, the first signs of such a development that changed the characteristics of the tension between nomadism and sedentarism came with the colonization policies of the Russians. During the period of the Tsarist Russian rule, the Kazakh society had to face severe population losses as well as destruction of its nomadic structures. The next part focuses on this rather unique period in terms of the specific policies of Russia and their impacts on Kazakhs.

3.2. The Main Tsarist Policies on Nomadic Kazakhs During the 18th Century

There were three main policies of the Tsarist Russian state on Turkestan steppes in general and nomadic Kazakh society in particular. The first one was the military policy. With this policy, Tsarist Russia aimed to achieve dominance over Kazakhstan. The second main policy was economic, which basically had the intention of further strengthening the Russian control in the region. The third main policy was religious, which mostly had the purpose of increasing Russian influence over the local people in cultural terms. It must however be pointed out that these three main policies had a similar impact on the nomadic Kazakhs in terms of the destruction of their authentic structures. For this reason, in this part the military, economic and religious policies of Tsarist Russia will be examined within the context of relations between nomadic Kazakhs and Russian state. These relations will be evaluated by considering the

¹⁸³ Cited from Olcott M. B. 1987: 9. The Kazakhs. Privratsky B. G. (2001): 45. Muslim Turkistan: Kazakh Religion and Collective Memory. Great Britain: Curzon Press

different reactions of various groups in the Kazakh society to the policies of Tsarist Russia.

In the early 18th century, the Kazakh lands were seen as a significant frontier region which prevented Russia to spread its influence on the rest of Turkestan as well as India. For Tsar Peter, in order to develop relations with the east, military occupation of these lands was seen as a key factor even if it would mean spending huge sums of money.¹⁸⁴ To achieve this aim, Tsar Peter first sent a number of missions to the steppe region and Turkestan. The Bukholtz mission, which began in 1714, was the most successful among these.¹⁸⁵ With this mission, a trade route was established to the northern steppe and the Irtysh River to build military bases in the Kazakh steppes.¹⁸⁶ This was the first step of military policies of Tsarist Russia on the Kazakh territory. After a certain time, Tsar Peter's idea and wish became one of the main target for many Russians. In the middle of the 18th century, 50 fortresses have been built in this area.¹⁸⁷ For some authors, the number of these fortresses was more than 60.¹⁸⁸ These military bases facilitated the control over the nomadic Kazakhs.

In addition to these military policies, certain economic policies were also put into application. Starting with 1748, the Cossacks¹⁸⁹ were given permission by the Russian

¹⁸⁴ Ziyayev H. (2007): 58. *Türkistan'da Rus Hakimiyetine Karşı Mücadele*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

¹⁸⁵ Sabol S. (2003): 234. *Kazakh Resistance to Russian Collectivization: interpreting the Kenesary Kasymov Revolt 1837-1837*. *Central Asian Survey*. (Vol. 22-No. 2-3)

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ Kendirbay G. (1997): 487. *The National Liberation Movement of the Kazakh Intelligentsia at the Beginning of the 20th Century*. *Central Asian Survey* (Vol.16-No.4)

¹⁸⁸ Ziyayev H. (2007): 61. *Türkistan'da Rus Hakimiyetine Karşı Mücadele*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

¹⁸⁹ The Cossacks were originally members of military communities in Ukraine and southern Kazakhstan from the 16th century. The term originates from the Turkic word meaning "free". Cossack units were later sent out by the tsars to establish communities in the southern Urals, Siberia, the Caucasus and modern-day northern Kazakhstan. The Cossacks themselves were groups of individuals who had escaped from serfdom or military services or were religious protestors or criminals. Those different social outcasts in Tsarist Russia settled along border areas and lived by raiding, farming and cattle breeding. Because they were originally renegades, they had to set up communities that were capable of defending themselves, so they had a strong military tradition and organized their communities along military lines with an internal hierarchy headed by their leader, the *ataman*. (Kassymova D. Kundakbayeva Z. Markus U. Zhagottin B. (2012): 76. *Historical Dictionary of Kazakhstan*. USA: Scarecrow Press)

government to build farms¹⁹⁰ along the Ural river where they settled.¹⁹¹ As can be seen with these military and economic policies, Russia consolidated its border and established the conditions for the seizure of Kazakh lands. Towards the end of the 18th century, Catherine II would give large quantities of land to native leaders who declared their loyalty to the empire.¹⁹² With this policy, the structure of the nomadic economy was intended to be changed. As explained in the previous chapter, the state would become the guarantor of the property of land, once it established its rule and control. According to Sabol, Tsarist Russia aimed to sedentarize nomadic Kazakhs, as this was seen as a more civilized way of life.¹⁹³ Therefore both, the basic economic principles of nomadic Kazakhs (such as common ownership of land) and their way of life were destroyed. With such a development, the Tsarist Russian state hoped to govern these lands more easily and effectively.

For the Russians, administration of a nomadic society with its authentic social and political organizations as well as migratory cycles was a difficult and serious problem. In order to control the Kazakh society more easily, certain religious policies were developed by Catherine II the goal of which was to increase the influence of Islam in the region.¹⁹⁴ As such it was believed that devout believers could be more obedient and governable than nomads.¹⁹⁵ According to Golden, the relation between Tsarist Russian state and Islam is interesting at this point. He says that spread of Islam in the Kazakh steppes took place only when these policies were formulated for this region.

¹⁹⁰ Kendirbay G. (1997): 487. The National Liberation Movement of the Kazakh Intelligentsia at the Beginning of the 20th Century. *Central Asian Survey* (Vol.16-No.4)

¹⁹¹ Kurat, A. N. (2014): 366. *Başlangıçtan 1917'ye Kadar Rusya Tarihi*. (6th Ed.). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

¹⁹² Sabol S. (2003): 236. Kazakh Resistance to Russian Collectivization: interpreting the Kenesary Kasymov Revolt 1837-1837. *Central Asian Survey*. (Vol. 22-No. 2-3)

¹⁹³ Sabol S. (2003): 28. *Russian Colonization and the Genesis of the Kazakh National Consciousness*. Great Britain: Anthony Rowe Ltd.

¹⁹⁴ Kendirbay G. (1997): 489. The National Liberation Movement of the Kazakh Intelligentsia at the Beginning of the 20th Century. *Central Asian Survey* (Vol.16-No.4).

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

During this period, Tatar merchants and teachers were also used by Russians to spread Islam into the region. However Kazakhs always suspected them, since they believed that they were Russian spies.¹⁹⁶ As a result of this attitude of Kazakhs, this policy did not bring the expected result for the Russian empire.

During the 19th century, the Tsarist Russian state changed its religious policy and focused on certain methods of education the goal of which was Christianization and Russification.¹⁹⁷ One of these policies is known as the Il'minsky method, which established a new educational system in 1870.¹⁹⁸ The main purpose of this system was to spread the Orthodox belief and to increase Russian influence on the non-Christian people.¹⁹⁹ Due to the such cultural policies and the growth of Russian population in the Kazakh steppe, the Tsarist Russia assumed that the Kazakhs would without doubt, in time, become Russian, settled and adopt Christianity by the second half of the 19th century.²⁰⁰

Christianity and Islam, as two monotheistic religions, which influenced many people, were used by the Tsarist Russian state to govern the nomadic Kazakhs in different periods. Although having certain differences, these two religions also had certain similarities especially related to how they approach the nomadic communities. Both the early Christian writers and Muslim commentators expressed their beliefs about how nomads had been created by God to punish sinful societies. For both Christians and Muslims, sanctuaries were significant places of worship requiring frequent visits and therefore a settled lifestyle. For this reason, both in the 18th and 19th centuries the

¹⁹⁶ Golden P. B. (2014): 353. *Türk Halkları Tarihine Giriş* (Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples). (5th Ed.). İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınevi

¹⁹⁷ Kendirbay G. (1997): 489-490. The National Liberation Movement of the Kazakh Intelligentsia at the Beginning of the 20th Century. *Central Asian Survey* (Vol.16-No.4)

¹⁹⁸ Dowler, W. (1995): 521. The Politics of Language in Non-Russian Elementary Schools in the Eastern Empire. *The Russian Review* (Vol.54-No.4)

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Crews R. D. (2009): 233. *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia*. London: Harvard University Press

spread of Islam and Christianity among the nomadic Kazakhs was seen as another way of imposing on them a sedentary way of life.

As a general remark, it needs to be mentioned that from the perspective of the Kazakhs regarding the Tsarist Russian involvement in their lands, there was no consensus in terms of how to react to this development. The Kazakh *khans*, *aksakals*, as well as the Kazakh nomads themselves showed different reactions. For example, when the *khan* of *Kishi Zhuz* Abulkhair showed willingness to ally with Russians, some *aksakals* showed great resistance and rejected to accept him as their *khan*.²⁰¹ It can be suggested that this resistance was closely related to the nomadic thinking of us versus them as well as the security concerns of nomadic societies. As explained in the previous chapter, members of a nomadic society were linked to each other by such concerns and defensive ties established among the members of their own trusted lineage. The resistance of the *aksakals* was mainly related to their desire to preserve the dynamics of nomadism in its pure form, unlike Abulkhair who was seen as showing political centralization tendencies. As a final note it must be stressed that the positive attitude of Abulkhair to Russian domination is an indicator of a certain loss in the nomadic features of the Kazakh society. However, as will be analyzed in the next section, as Tsarist Russia consolidated its rule on the Kazakh lands and carried out its military, economic, and religious policies, the tensions among the Kazakhs against their colonizers would increase, culminating in the 1916 Uprising. The next part gives a more detailed description of both the Tsarist Russian rule and these tensions in order to better understand this major uprising against the state policies of Russia.

3.3. Russian Colonization and the Main Reasons of the 1916 Uprising in

Turkestan

As Russia expanded its eastern borders, millions of peasants, soldiers, exiles, intellectuals, explorers and others migrated to Kazakh steppes and Siberia.²⁰² The survival of these two different societies in the same region led to the rise of innate

²⁰¹ Sabol S. (2003): 28. Russian Colonization and the Genesis of the Kazakh National Consciousness. Great Britain: Anthony Rowe Ltd

²⁰² Ibid., 26.

problems between nomadism and sedentarism. The policies of the Tsarist Russian state was also an important reason for this tension.

The territorial-administrative division of the Kazakh steppe disturbed the ancient nomadic economy and the traditional tribal order in Kazakhstan.²⁰³ As a result of this policy, the destruction of the traditional migratory cycle was one of the main problems for the Kazakh society. After Russians crossed the Irtish river and began to gain control in the region, they started to allow the migration of nomadic groups between different territorial divisions only for those who adopted Russian nationality.²⁰⁴ These kinds of policies and the seizure of land significantly reduced the Kazakhs' living standards as well as the amount of production.²⁰⁵ The economic sanctions on the Kazakh society was another important factor. In the 19th century, the Russian state obliged the nomadic societies to pay taxes for almost all steps of the route of the migratory cycle in the region.²⁰⁶ With these methods, many nomadic Kazakhs were forced to emigrate to the nearby lands (such as China) or to graze their cattle in the remote provinces.²⁰⁷ However, despite these strict policies, the majority of the Kazakh society continued to maintain its nomadic lifestyle until the beginning of the 19th century.²⁰⁸

As a result of such economic problems, some uprisings occurred in Kazakhstan during that time. Some nomadic *khans* rebelled against the Russian policies and the allegiance to the Tsarist state.²⁰⁹ The most well-known uprising was the Kenesary Kasymov

²⁰³ Kendirbay G. (1997): 488. The National Liberation Movement of the Kazakh Intelligentsia at the Beginning of the 20th Century. Central Asian Survey (Vol.16-No.4)

²⁰⁴ Ziyayev H. (2007): 71-72. Türkistan'da Rus Hakimiyetine Karşı Mücadele. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

²⁰⁵ Kendirbay G. (1997): 488. The National Liberation Movement of the Kazakh Intelligentsia at the Beginning of the 20th Century. Central Asian Survey (Vol.16-No.4)

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 489.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 488.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ziyayev H. (2007): 72. Türkistan'da Rus Hakimiyetine Karşı Mücadele. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

Revolt between 1837 and 1847.²¹⁰ After his brother was killed in 1836, Kasymov undertook the leadership campaign to resist both Russia and Hokand to prevent their penetration into the Kazakh steppes.²¹¹ His revolt started with this purpose. During this period, the main problems between the Russian state and Kazakhs resulted from the territorial divisions and Russian fortifications in the Kazakh territory. A letter which was written by Kenesary to the Tsar Nicholas I in 1838, was the main proof to show these reasons. In this letter, Kenesary demanded from the tsar the destruction of fortifications and all other establishments in the steppe region.²¹² These requests were not accepted by the Tsarist Russia and the revolt continued. In Kenesary's letter to the chairman of Orenburg Border Commission in 1841, killing of many Kazakhs and plundering their property was shown as the main reason for the revolt.²¹³

During this period, although Kenesary opposed to the allegiance to Russia, he showed centralized tendencies regarding the rule of the Kazakh society. However, as in the case of Abulkhair, some of the clan leaders rejected to recognize his rule in 1841.²¹⁴ As a result, he could not unite the Kazakhs around him, nor did he win a victory over the Russians. Although he could not succeed these missions, he became the symbol of Kazakh resistance and national unity after 1991 in Kazakhstan.²¹⁵ For many Kazakh scholars, this uprising is the first national-liberation movement in Kazakhstan.²¹⁶

These kinds of rebellions did not give the expected results for the nomadic Kazakhs. As a result of the political conflicts between *khans* and different groups in Kazakh

²¹⁰ Sabol S. (2003): 231. Kazakh Resistance to Russian Collectivization: interpreting the Kenesary Kasymov Revolt 1837-1837. Central Asian Survey. (Vol. 22-No. 2-3)

²¹¹ Ibid., 240.

²¹² Ibid., 241.

²¹³ Ibid., 241-242.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 242.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 243.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 241.

society²¹⁷ on the one hand, and Russians on the other; the Kazakh Khanates of *Orta Zhuz* in 1822, *Kishi Zhuz* in 1824 and *Uly Zhuz* in 1848 were destroyed. Thus, the quasi-independent forms of Kazakh *Zhuzes* ended in the first half of the 19th century.²¹⁸ The existence of more than one *asabiyyah* within the Kazakh society was an important factor for the destruction of these Kazakh *Zhuzes*. Although fragmented Kazakh society maintained their nomadic identity within different groups, the absence of a strong *asabiyyah* prevented the common struggle against the Tsarist Russia. As a result, during this process, policies of the Tsarist Russian state strongly affected the dynamics of the region. In Kazakh territory, the influence of colonization policy increased especially at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. The consequences of these policies as well as Slavic migration further increased the problems between sedentarism and nomadism. The strict policies of the Tsarist Russian state during the 19th century and the regional problems experienced before World War I constituted the most important reasons for the 1916 uprising in Turkestan.

Although the Tsarist Russian state temporarily stopped the Slavic migration in order to prevent uprisings during the 19th century²¹⁹ thanks to Kasymov, liberal laws enacted in 1889, 1896 and 1904 once again encouraged Slavs to settle in Asiatic Russia.²²⁰ After these laws, the migration to Central Asia further intensified with the Stolypin reforms in 1906.²²¹ Through these reforms, the Tsarist Resettlement Administration was formed to place the incomers in the fertile lands of the Kazakhs. As a result, the

²¹⁷ Sabol S. (2003): 29-30. Russian Colonization and the Genesis of the Kazakh National Consciousness. Great Britain: Anthony Rowe Ltd.

²¹⁸ Golden P. B. (2014): 353. Türk Halkları Tarihine Giriş (Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples). (5th Ed.). İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınevi

²¹⁹ Pipes R. (1995): 295. Muslims of Soviet Central Asia: Trends and Prospects. Middle East Journal (Vol. 9-No. 3)

²²⁰ Morrison A. (2015): 388. Peasant Settlers and the Civilising Mission in Russian Turkestan 1865-1917. The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History (Vol. 43-No.3)

²²¹ Thomas A. (2017): 502. The Caspian Disputes: Nationalism and Nomadism in Early Soviet Central Asia. Russian Review (Vol. 76)

Kazakh migratory routes were restricted.²²² The Russian authorities provided almost the all funds needed for the Russian peasants by providing them nomadic pasture lands of Kazakhs.²²³ As a result of this policy, many Kazakhs had to be settled themselves and the tension between settled and nomadic society increased. The increase in the Russian population was another important reason creating tension. The number of Russians increased from seven hundred thousands to the two million between the years of 1897 and 1911.²²⁴ According to Thomas, the increase in the imperialist pressure and the local tensions was precipitated the 1916 uprising in the Central Asia region as a whole.²²⁵

These kinds of historical problems clearly show the absence of a symbiotic relation between the nomadic and settled societies, explained in the first chapter of the thesis. The relations between nomadism and sedentarism in favor of Kazakhs in certain historical periods were sharply reversed under the administration of the Tsarist Russian state. These kinds of policies were the reasons of many revolts, famine and the nomadic depopulation during the Russian Empire. Between 1906 and 1911, there emerged major migrations of nomadic Kazakhs who would see their economic and social order severely damaged by the Tsarist policies.

Following the outbreak of World War I, economic obligations for all Turkestanian people including the Kazakhs increased.²²⁶ The Russian administration demanded financial aid from the people. With the financial aid provided by the Kazakhs, Turkistan General Governor Kuropatkin, collected 2,400,000 rubles under the title of “Tax for the War

²²² Ibid., 502-503.

²²³ Ueda A. (2013): 34. How Did the Nomads Act During the 1916 Revolt in Russian Turkestan. *Journal of Asian Network for GIS-based Historical Studies* (Vol. 1)

²²⁴ Pipes R. (1995): 295. Muslims of Soviet Central Asia: Trends and Prospects. *Middle East Journal* (Vol. 9-No. 3)

²²⁵ Thomas A. (2017): 503. The Caspian Disputes: Nationalism and Nomadism in Early Soviet Central Asia. *Russian Review* (Vol. 76) 2017, pp. 503-509

²²⁶ Vurgun S. Y. (2016): 315. 1916 Türkistan İsyamı (1916 Turkestan Rebellion). *SUTAD* (Vol. 40)

Needs”.²²⁷ The collected money was shared by high-ranking generals and officials.²²⁸ The abolition of military exemption was the last trigger to provoke massive rebellion in the Russian Central Asia.²²⁹ Since 1834, Turkestan people had been exempted from military service.²³⁰ With an edict announced on 25 July 1916, people between the ages of 19-43 from Turkestan were mobilized in order to serve behind the front.²³¹ This order led to a great resentment both in the Kazakh steppes and the Turkestan region and acted as a triggering event for the 1916 uprising.²³²

3.4. The 1916 Uprising

The 1916 Uprising in Turkestan was a popular revolt which included almost all settled or nomadic native people in Central Asia with various social, political, and economic aims. It first began in the Hokand region in Uzbekistan and then spread to many cities such as Semirechie, Aksu and Tokmok in the Kazakh and Kyrgyz territories.²³³ It is sometimes also claimed that the southern Kazakhs triggered the revolt.²³⁴ The massive loss of life and forced migration during the uprising in southern Kazakhstan support

²²⁷ Kurat, A. N. (2014): 450. Başlangıçtan 1917’ye Kadar Rusya Tarihi. (6th Ed.). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

²²⁸ Vurgun S. Y. (2016): 317. 1916 Türkistan İsyanı (1916 Turkestan Rebellion). SUTAD (Vol. 40)

²²⁹ Ueda A. (2013): 34. How Did the Nomads Act During the 1916 Revolt in Russian Turkestan. Journal of Asian Network for GIS-based Historical Studies (Vol. 1)

²³⁰ Kurat, A. N. (2014): 450. Başlangıçtan 1917’ye Kadar Rusya Tarihi. (6th Ed.). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² It must be however be mentioned that other reasons that led to the 1916 uprising are also given by some scholars. For example, it has been suggested that the uprising was started by a secret revolutionary organization founded by the Jadids who were allegedly influenced by the Young Turks. (Vurgun, 2016: 319) Another claim is that Turkish secret service agents who came to region to collect money for financing the cost of World War I. (Sokol, 1954: 75) The refusal of the Turkistani people to fight against Ottomans and their rebellion to this imposition is also cited as a reason of why the 1916 Uprising started. (Kurat A. 2014: 451) Finally according to Allworth the main motive for the nomads to participate in the uprising was to take back their lands from the Russians. (Vurgun S.Y. 2016: 319)

²³³ Vurgun S. Y. (2016): 320. 1916 Türkistan İsyanı (1916 Turkestan Rebellion). SUTAD (Vol. 40)

²³⁴ Ibid., 319.

this argument. In this part, the 1916 uprising will be examined through the events in the nomadic regions in accordance with the main aim of the thesis.

The first panic began soon after the announcement which called people aged 19 to 43 to military service from Turkestan. After this edict, many Kazakhs who refused to obey, returned to their *auls* and started to sell their property. They formed gangs with primitive weapons and started to resist the authorities.²³⁵ According to Turar Ryskulov, the chairman of the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the uprising were mostly ruled by *aksakals* and partly by *mullahs*. The selected *khans* and military chefs had also role to play.²³⁶ At this point, it possible to suggest that the influence of *aksakals* and local chefs (rather than settled intellectuals who supported the idea of sedentarization of nomads) demonstrate that the uprising was identified with nomadism in many regions of Turkestan.²³⁷ The nomadic ideology for the protection of authentic structures which increased its effect in the periods of lack of state influence in history, was still an important factor on the social identity of native people during this period.

The new regulation on military service increased the historical contradiction between nomadism and sedentarism during that time. The struggle of the Kazakhs with their primitive weapons continued throughout August. To stop the struggle, the call for military service was postponed until September 15.²³⁸ This regulation was helpful to bring some peace to the region for a short time. However, at the end of September when Cossacks units returned, chaos restarted²³⁹ and conflicts between nomadic Kazakhs and Russian military units revived. On October 25, nomadic Kazakhs and

²³⁵ Sokol E. D. (1954): 106. The Revolt of 1916 in Russian Central Asia. USA: John Hopkins Press

²³⁶ Kendirbay G. (1997): 499. The National Liberation Movement of the Kazakh Intelligentsia at the Beginning of the 20th Century. Central Asian Survey (Vol.16-No.4)

²³⁷ In the first quarter of the 20th century, some of the new Turkestani intellectuals claimed that settled way of life was a better way to protect the Kazakh people and culture. (Kendirbay G. 1997: 491) Their positive approach to the settled life is an important example to understand disagreements within the nomadic societies which emerged as a result of the state influence throughout history.

²³⁸ Sokol E. D. (1954): 109. The Revolt of 1916 in Russian Central Asia. USA: John Hopkins Press

²³⁹ Ibid.

Cossacks in Akmolinsk clashed with each other, and the struggle of Kazakhs with homemade weapons resulted in failure. 42 Kazakhs died and many others were injured in this clash.²⁴⁰ In another clash around the Aral Sea, poorly armed Kazakhs were faced with the Russian army when they returned to their homes. 150 of them were killed and their property were seized by Russians.²⁴¹

As a result of these bloody conflicts, 30 percent of the people in the Semirechie region died. 70,000 Kyrgyz and 80,000 Kazakhs were forced to emigrate to East Turkestan in China. According to the Chinese sources, this number was 300,000, but almost the 200,000 of them lost their lives due to the difficult climatic conditions in the mountainous areas during the migration.²⁴² Kazakhs who could arrive China, had to sell their women and children under these difficult conditions.²⁴³ In total, half a million Kazakh and Kyrgyz nomads have been displaced from the Semirechie region.²⁴⁴

This uprising, which ended in September in the settled areas and in October in the nomadic areas,²⁴⁵ was the first case of massive population loss for the nomadic Kazakhs in Central Asia during the 20th century. After this uprising, the region witnessed other such uprisings and deaths until the middle of 1930s. The conflictual environment, which increased with this uprising, continued in the final years of the Tsarist Russian state and during the Soviet period. The Russian Civil War led to a great famine between 1917 and 1920 among nomadic Kazakhs.²⁴⁶ After the collapse of the

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Kendirbay G. (1997): 498. The National Liberation Movement of the Kazakh Intelligentsia at the Beginning of the 20th Century. Central Asian Survey (Vol.16-No.4)

²⁴² Vurgun S. Y. (2016): 321. 1916 Türkistan İsyanı (1916 Turkestan Rebellion). SUTAD (Vol. 40)

²⁴³ Kendirbay G. (1997): 499. The National Liberation Movement of the Kazakh Intelligentsia at the Beginning of the 20th Century. Central Asian Survey (Vol.16-No.4)

²⁴⁴ Olcott M. B. (1981): 354. Basmachi or Freemen's Revolt in Turkestan 1918-24. Soviet Studies (Vol. 33-No. 3)

²⁴⁵ Ueda A. (2013): 35. How Did the Nomads Act During the 1916 Revolt in Russian Turkestan. Journal of Asian Network for GIS-based Historical Studies (Vol. 1)

²⁴⁶ Thomas A. (2017): 503. The Caspian Disputes: Nationalism and Nomadism in Early Soviet Central Asia. Russian Review (Vol. 76)

Tsarist regime, the Soviet state also formulated policies to eliminate nomadism. Thus, the historical contradiction between nomadism and sedentarism continued to exist and even intensified especially in the early decades of the Soviet rule.

3.5. The Main Policies on Nomadic Kazakhs During the Soviet Era

Similar to the Tsarist Era, during the Soviet era, too, the Kazakh identity was associated with backwardness.²⁴⁷ The most significant reason for this was related to the nomadic culture of the Kazakh identity, which continued until the first half of the 20th century. This culture was perceived to be a threat for the Soviet regime as it was the case for many other settled civilizations throughout history.²⁴⁸ The social, political and economic contradictions between these two different lifestyles triggered the negative approach of the Soviet leaders in formulating their policies towards the nomadic Kazakhs. The Soviet ideologists negatively interpreted nomadism for ideological reasons. In this context, for example, class inequality in nomadic societies was used as a significant argument to eliminate nomadic structures.²⁴⁹ With this argument, the Soviet regime made a distinction between the two main social classes in nomadic societies as oppressed and oppressor. As Gellner suggested, the Soviet

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 507.

²⁴⁸ The Kazakh identity was also seen dangerous because of the rise of national consciousness and the possibility of a Turkic-Islamic unification around this thought. The movements such as pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism in the 20th century were the main sources of this concern. Like other Turkistani people, the Kazakhs were also affected by such movements. To eliminate the problems caused by these movements, the Soviet social engineers tried to spread the idea of “nationality” among indigenous populations. With this idea, the Soviets also aimed to the destroy feudal social norms and structures in nomadic societies. (Thomas, 2017: 504)

²⁴⁹ Contrary to this argument, however, the internal dynamics of nomadism did not allow the emergence of a big economic gap between rich and poor people within the society. According to Radloff, only poor people were engaged in agriculture in nomadic societies. (Quoted in Ercilasun, 2016: 12)

When this argument is interpreted together with the equality mechanisms of nomads mentioned in the previous chapter, it is possible to say that the distinction between the rich and poor people within the Kazakh society was much more limited than the one in the settled societies. As can be remembered from the previous chapter, among nomadic Kazakhs there were several authentic methods such as *saun* and *barymta* to prevent the separation of poor people from the society. However such nomadic features were ignored by the Soviet leaders who did not make a distinction between the poor and rich nomads, but rather targeted the entire social, political and economic structure of nomadism. As a result, nothing changed for the nomadic Kazakhs who were forced to adopt a settled way of life which was considered to be “civilized” by both the Tsarist and Soviet rulers. This topic is explained in detail below.

political elites needed just ideological interpretations, otherwise a Kyrgyz (or Kazakh) shepherd could very well ask the question of why certain people were eliminated with the revolution in a social context in which there were no real social classes in the Marxist sense.²⁵⁰

The Russian Civil War erupted as a result of the conflicts between two main opposing groups and armies throughout the country after the October Revolution in 1917. The first group was the revolutionaries of the Red Army; the second was the counter-revolutionary groups of the White Army which was supported by various foreign armies.²⁵¹ At the same time, local independent forces in some regions of Turkestan played an active role in this civil war, fighting against the Bolsheviks. As a result of the disagreements between these groups, many bloody clashes took place until the Soviet Union was established by the Bolsheviks on December 30, 1922.

This period also brought major economic problems throughout the country. To overcome these problems, the Bolshevik ideologists took new economic measures contrary to the predictions of Marx about the evolution of socialism. According to Karl Marx, capitalism would eventually evolve into communism with a proletarian revolution and a socialist dictatorship.²⁵² However, Lenin, taking into account the fact that working classes constituted a minority in Russia, reinterpreted the Marxist theory and put into application a unique economic model developed under the conditions of late 1910s and early 1920s known as War Communism.²⁵³ According to this model, private trade, entrepreneurship and ownership as well as hiring labor were prohibited. Furthermore, it was decided that the surplus crops produced by the peasants would be taken by the government to support the Bolsheviks. People who did not obey these

²⁵⁰ Gellner E. (2015): 17. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya'nın Önsözü (Preface of Nomads and the Outside World. İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi.

²⁵¹ Figes O. (1990): 168. The Red Army and Mass Mobilization during the Russian Civil War 1918-1920. The Past and Present Society (No: 129). Oxford University Press

²⁵² Richman S. L. (1981): 89. War Communism to NEP: The Road From Serfdom. The Journal of Libertarian Studies (Vol. 5-No. 1). George Mason University

²⁵³ Ibid., 90.

rules were punished by the government.²⁵⁴ These strict policies increased the economic problems among the people considerably. As a result of these negative developments, the country went through a major population loss. From 1917 to 1922, the general population decreased by 16 percent.²⁵⁵

As was the case into other regions of the country, the conflict also continued in Turkestan between the native population and the Bolsheviks until 1920. During this period, the Basmachi movement, which started with the participation of many Turkic groups in Turkestan, became a major source of resistance against the Soviet authorities, especially in the areas of high immigration such as Semirechie.²⁵⁶ Because of this resistance, the Red Army could establish its dominance in this region only in 1920.²⁵⁷ However, as a result of three years of conflict, the local population of Turkestan had experienced a major population loss in addition to major economic damage.²⁵⁸ Between 1917 and 1920, the native population of the region decreased by one million, mostly as a result of migrations and deaths.²⁵⁹ The most affected group within the native population was the Kazakhs and other nomadic groups, whose population declined by almost a third in this period.²⁶⁰ Many Kazakhs started to beg for food at the settlements and train stops because of the conflict and the harsh winter conditions which began in 1920.²⁶¹ Due to lack of food, cannibalism was also seen in

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Buttino M. (1990): 62. Study of the Economic Crisis and Depopulation in Turkestan 1917-1920. Central Asian Survey (Vol. 9-No. 4)

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 63.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 65. The Russian population in this region was also negatively affected. During the War Communism, the Russians lost 28 percent of their cultivated land. However many of them had been protected by being enlisted in the army. (Buttino M. 1990: 63)

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 65.

²⁶¹ Olcott M. B. (1995): 159. The Kazakhs. (2nd Ed.). California: Hoover Institution Press

this region.²⁶² Turar Ryskulov, the chairman of the Central Electoral Committee of the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, interprets this period as follows:

We can say that these losses led to the liberation of the Soviet regime, because if millions of hungry people had an opportunity to attack us, they could destroy the whole system. However, they were not organized and conscious people. In the end, we could not satisfy them and caused them to disappear. However, with this way, we could eliminate bad conditions for us.²⁶³

Based on these words, one of the exiled Kazakh intellectuals, Mustafa Shokay, claims that the famine in Turkestan was a systematic Bolshevik policy during this period.²⁶⁴ He strengthens this argument by conveying Ryskulov's other statements that the Red Army plundered the people in Turkestan and the nomads were the most affected group by famine.²⁶⁵

In the early 1920s, Turkestan and the steppe region began to be controlled by the Bolsheviks under these circumstances. In these regions, nomadic Kazakhs were faced with severe economic problems and many of them died because of the Civil War and War Communism. Those who could survive, however, continued to maintain their nomadic lifestyles. Once these early years were over, Lenin declared an end to War Communism and announced his New Economic Policy (NEP) in March 1921 in order to provide some economic relief.²⁶⁶ This new program basically gave the peasants more rights in the production and sale of surplus grain.²⁶⁷ Furthermore, prohibition on private ownership was similarly removed. However, NEP could not immediately

²⁶² Shokay M. (2005): 279. Yeni Türkistan'dan Seçilmiş Makaleler: Türkistan'da Sovyet Hükümetinin Açlık Siyaseti. Ankara: Ayaz Tahir Türkistan İdil-Ural Vakfı

²⁶³ Ibid., 280.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 278.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 278-279.

²⁶⁶ Richman S. L. (1981): 92. War Communism to NEP: The Road From Serfdom. The Journal of Libertarian Studies (Vol. 5-No. 1). George Mason University

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

alleviate the difficult conditions under which the Kazakhs as well as other Soviet people were living.

The reflection of these problems in the early years of the Soviet era on nomadic Kazakhs was related to the historical contradiction between nomadism and sedentarism, as indicated by an important change in the nomadic identity of Kazakhs. As a result of unplanned settlements of Russians and local conflicts, migratory routes of nomadic Kazakhs were destroyed and some Kazakhs involuntarily became settled.²⁶⁸ The greatest difficulty in this period was experienced by those Kazakhs, who started to live in a semi-nomadic form dealing with agriculture and animal husbandry. In several regions such as Uralsk, Karkalinsk and Lepsinsk, the number of herds was reduced by more than 70 percent.²⁶⁹ Therefore, thousands of people died in Kazakhstan. For example, in the Akmolinsk *gubernia*²⁷⁰ almost 60,000 people were suffering from hunger in June of 1924.²⁷¹ Such developments can be seen as the indicators of the lack of a symbiotic relationship between nomadism and sedentarism observed in similar cases throughout history. Therefore, although the general problems began to be solved with the NEP decisions on the agricultural sector and a new system of food taxation in 1924²⁷², the policies produced for the sedentarization of the nomadic Kazakh society, the transformation of their nomadic structures, and their vulnerability did not end.

At this point, the policy of redistribution of land was significant to understand the Soviet pressure in order to change the nomadic Kazakh identity in the 1920s. With this policy, the Soviets set many goals to eliminate this identity such as reducing the power

²⁶⁸ Olcott M. B. (1995): 159. *The Kazakhs*. (2nd Ed.). California: Hoover Institution Press

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰ Administrative district in Russian language.

²⁷¹ Pianciola N. (2001): 238. *Collectivization Famine in Kazakhstan 1931-1933*. *Ukrainian Studies* (Vol. 25-No. 3/4)

²⁷² Hekimoğlu V. S. F. (2018): 219. 20. *Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Kazakistan'da Yaşanan Açlık Felaketi (The Famine Disaster in Kazakhstan in the First Half of the 20th Century)*. *Journal of Iğdir University* (No.15)

of wealthy Kazakhs, abolishment of *auls* and the transformation of the traditional livestock production. However this policy could not be successfully implemented and there were several failures both on the part of local political elites and the Soviet administrators.²⁷³ The most important reason of these failures was related to the main characteristics of nomadic identity of Kazakhs. The Kazakh leaders would oppose the Soviet policy of land distribution, seeing it as the occupation of the lands of their kinsmen.²⁷⁴ This attitude shows that the kinship ties were still protected among Kazakhs in the early period of the Soviet Union. Due to this dynamic, negative reactions of the nomadic Kazakhs increased against the Soviet policies which intensified day by day. In 1928, for example, the Kazakhs preferred to burn their grain stores instead of giving them to the Soviet authorities. Similarly, they slaughtered or sold their animals to prevent them from being confiscated.²⁷⁵ According to Olcott, the most important reason for the failure of the Soviet policies was related to the fact that the Soviet leaders underestimated the power of traditional Kazakh leadership. Nomadic Kazakhs saw the Soviet policies formulated against *bais* (wealthy nomads) as a direct attack.²⁷⁶

However, despite the strict resistance of nomadic Kazakhs until the collectivization process officially began, it is not fair to argue that the Soviet policies on nomadism resulted in complete failure. According to the 1926 census, 26 percent of the Kazakhs were fully settled, while 33 percent of them had a semi-nomadic lifestyle.²⁷⁷ According to this statistical data, it is clearly seen that many Kazakhs became settled as a result of the sedentarization policies of the Soviet Union in 1920s. However, these kinds of policies did not succeed in sedentarization of the whole Kazakh society. The nomadic dynamics were still kept by the majority of Kazakhs during that time. The fragmented and local resistance of the Kazakh society could be entirely broken only by the Stalinist

²⁷³ Olcott M. B. (1995): 164, 169. *The Kazakhs*. (2nd Ed.). California: Hoover Institution Press

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 164.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 169-170.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 169.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 173-174.

policies which aimed to collectivize agriculture and livestock production in the Soviet Union. These policies resulted in massive population loss and permanent destruction of the nomadic dynamics of the Kazakh society.

3.6. Collectivization Process and the Kazakh Depopulation

Collectivization was an economic policy of the Soviet regime which aimed to put an end to private ownership of land, animals and other economic instruments by confiscating them and by establishing collective farms in which there would be common ownership. For the Soviet leaders, one of the main economic targets of collectivization was to provide sufficient grain for the entire population.²⁷⁸ Before the collectivization attempts, the grain procurement was not enough to feed the growing population in urban areas.²⁷⁹ In addition, the low-price payment of the state led some peasants to hold their grain in order to sell at higher prices later.²⁸⁰ These problematic relations and different expectations of the state and peasants resulted in tensions. However, for Stalin, the Soviet state now had the sufficient conditions to carry out collectivization and there was not an obstacle to prevent this mission. According to him, the regime was now stronger than the peasants, and agricultural instruments were better than before.²⁸¹ Collectivization process began with these ideas and it was formalized with Stalin's article, "The Year of Great Turn", published on November 7, 1929. This article addressed the influx of large numbers of peasants to the collectives for the goal of developing the country side. After the publication of this article, a committee was formed to decide how the mass collectivization could be achieved.²⁸²

²⁷⁸ Narkiewicz O. A. (1966): 22. Stalin, War Communism and Collectivization. *Soviet Studies* (Vol. 18-No. 1)

²⁷⁹ Livi-Bacci M. (1993): 743-744. On the Human Costs of Collectivization in the Soviet Union. *Population and Development Review* (Vol. 19-No. 4)

²⁸⁰ Lewin M. (1965): 164. The Immediate Background of Soviet Collectivization. *Soviet Studies* (Vol. 17-No. 2)

²⁸¹ Narkiewicz O. A. (1966): 22. Stalin, War Communism and Collectivization. *Soviet Studies* (Vol. 18-No. 1)

²⁸² Olcott M. B. (1995): 180. *The Kazakhs*. (2nd Ed.). California: Hoover Institution Press

Within the context of the first five-year development plan, *kolkhozes*²⁸³ would be established and private property would be confiscated. With this plan, the Soviet state intended to send the bulk of the income generated in the farms to the center and distribute the rest among the peasants. In addition, it was hoped that through collective farms the peasants would be taken under control.²⁸⁴ In other words, this method was seen as the only way to eliminate peasant reactions, which for Stalin could seriously undermine the governmental program.²⁸⁵ According to Article 107 of the criminal code, the people who resisted this program, would be arrested as *kulak* (wealthy peasant).²⁸⁶

In the first stage of collectivization, the Soviet authorities were faced with many problems when they tried to implement governmental decisions. Due to the problems in organization, peasants suffered from the procurement of grain for the state. As a result, during the early periods of collectivization, the state could get only 17 percent of the grain from the peasants.²⁸⁷ At the same time, many criticisms and reactions began as the pressures were hardened on peasants. Some party officials complained that the state did not give even one kilo of wheat to the peasants.²⁸⁸ In addition to these criticisms, the slaughter of animals became a general reaction of the indigeneous people against the collectivization of herds in many parts of the Soviet Union.²⁸⁹ Many people, including the Russian *kulaks* and native communities in Turkestan and the

²⁸³ *Kolkhoz* was the Soviet term for collective farm. It was a large unit from 1,000 to 2,000 or more acres cultivated on a collective basis. (Albano H. K. 1956: 57)

²⁸⁴ Olcott M. B. (1981): 123. The Collectivization Drive in Kazakhstan. *The Russian Review* (Vol. 40-No. 2)

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁶ Kurmangaliyeva Ercilasun G. (2016): 12. Kazakistan ve Kırgızistan’da Kolektifleştirme: Sözlü Tarih Çerçevesinden Bir Bakış (Collectivization in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan: An Evaluation with the Use of Oral Sources). *Gazi Türkiyat* (2016/19 fall)

²⁸⁷ Narkiewicz O. A. (1966): 28. Stalin, War Communism and Collectivization. *Soviet Studies* (Vol. 18-No. 1)

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

Kazakh steppes resisted against the collectivization attempts. However, it turned out to be easier to suppress *kulak* resistance than to suppress the Kazakh rebellions by the Soviets.²⁹⁰ This comparison is necessary to understand the significant position of the historical nomadic/settled contradiction for the Kazakh case. It is also important to clarify the distinction between Soviet policies on nomadic Kazakhs on the one hand and the *kulaks* on the other. The Soviet authorities were aware of the historical tensions between nomads and sedentary populations so they produced unique social and economic policies for nomadic Kazakhs during the collectivization process.

Within this framework, the Soviet regime firstly claimed that wealthy nomads were the sole owners and had the authority over all resources in the nomadic areas.²⁹¹ This claim, which ignored the equality and property mechanisms in nomadic societies, was the first step to break down the nomadic traditions and the power of nomadic leaders over their communities.²⁹² After that, the state created a category of crime, based on tradition and culture.²⁹³ Through this category, Kazakhs and other “backward” nationalities were prevented from practicing their traditions.²⁹⁴ These ideological and political sanctions, which took place in the winter of 1929, was formed together with the process of collectivization, sedentarization and *dekulakization* attempts.²⁹⁵ However, such political enforcements were not entirely successful on collectivization

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 32.

²⁹¹ Pianciola N. (2001): 238-239. Collectivization Famine in Kazakhstan 1931-1933. Ukrainian Studies (Vol. 25-No. 3/4)

²⁹² In the state archive of Karaganda region, a poor Kazakh says, “All cattle were sent to the state and had nothing to survive. Power does not protect us. The collectivization is the same as confiscation.” (Ongorbaeva A. I. Saktaganova Z. G. (2016): 70. Some Fragments of the Collectivization of Agriculture in Central Kazakhstan in 1930s. Karaganda State University (No. 2-82)

These statements validate that the policies implemented during the Soviet Union did not make a distinction between the poor and rich nomads, but rather targeted the entire social, political and economic structure of nomadism. The economic situation of the poor Kazakhs on the one hand and the campaign against the rich Kazakhs on the other, show the fundamental dilemma of the Soviet Union during this period.

²⁹³ Pianciola N. (2001): 238-239. Collectivization Famine in Kazakhstan 1931-1933. Ukrainian Studies (Vol. 25-No. 3/4)

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 238-240.

and sedentarization of nomads. In the regions like Uralsk, Syr Darya and Pertopavlosk, the rate of collectivization reached 70 percent, while it was fewer than 20 percent in nomadic areas.²⁹⁶ In this failure, the resistance of nomadic Kazakhs played a major role.

The archive materials validate that the resistance in Kazakhstan was widespread and well-organized during the collectivization process.²⁹⁷ The first sign of this resistance was seen in the relation between Kazakhs *auls* and the members of the Communist Party in Kazakhstan. During the early stages of collectivization, the members of the Communist Party who went to the Kazakh *auls*, encountered with armed resistance and many of them were killed. The wandering gangs of the Kazakh society attacked the newly established collective farms and stole or slaughtered the livestock of *kolkhozes*. Besides, Kazakh leaders warned their people not to go to non-arable lands and drought areas for settlement.²⁹⁸ These warnings show that kinship ties and security concerns of nomadic ideology were still preserved by them despite the collectivization policies implemented by the Soviet Union. Archival materials show that these nomadic concerns were justifiable. For example, according to the State Archive of the Karaganda Region, Egendy *kolkhoz* in the Chetskyi district was established without any consideration for the suitable and arable land.²⁹⁹ Such administrative violations were faced with the resistance of Kazakhs. From the point of the Soviet leaders, the main reason of this conflict was related to the historical problems between nomadism and sedentarism also observed in the Kazakh society. The words of the Kazakh Communist Party Secretary Goloshchekin reveals this situation:

Settlement is collectivization. Settlement is the liquidation of the bai semi-feudals. Settlement is the destruction of tribal attitudes. Settlement is actively raising the economic and cultural

²⁹⁶ Olcott M. B. (1995): 181. *The Kazakhs*. (2nd Ed.). California: Hoover Institution Press

²⁹⁷ Olcott M. B. (1981): 127. *The Collectivization Drive in Kazakhstan*. *The Russian Review* (Vol. 40-No. 2)

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 127-128.

²⁹⁹ Ongorbaeva A. I. Saktaganova Z. G. (2016): 70. *Some Fragments of the Collectivization of Agriculture in Central Kazakhstan in 1930's*. Karaganda State University (No. 2-82)

level of the *aul* working mass and liberating them from the bai cabal.³⁰⁰ Settlement is simultaneously the question of socialist construction and the approach of socialism, of the socialist reconstruction of the Kazakh mass without divisions by nationality, under the leadership of the vanguard of the proletariat and the communist party.³⁰¹

This declaration is the reflection of the historical nomadic/settled contradiction from the point of socialist ideology. The matching of socialism and settlement clearly expresses this approach. Within this ideological framework, the Soviet Union adopted the TOZ³⁰² model in June 1930 in order to find a solution to the inadequate collectivization of nomadic and semi-nomadic regions in Kazakhstan and other parts of the country. At the end of 1930, 60 percent of collective farms in Kazakhstan were TOZ.³⁰³ However, this model also was not sufficient to solve the fundamental problems of the nomadic Kazakh society in order to adapt them to the settled order. As a result of this new policy, 15-20 percent of the Kazakh population left Kazakhstan in 1930 and 1931. Unfortunately, most of them died. 300,000 of those who could survive, went to Uzbekistan, and 44,000 Kazakh families participated in the Basmachi Movement in Turkmenistan.³⁰⁴ In 1932, as a result of the unplanned settlement of the Kazakhs based on this model, 25 percent of the former nomads fled from their collective farms without any animals, and resulting in their death in the steppes.³⁰⁵ At the end of 1933, 544,000 nomadic Kazakhs were forced to go to the sedentarization areas. However 70,000 families could go to these places only after three years and

³⁰⁰ Conspiracy of wealthy nomads (Author's Note)

³⁰¹ Olcott M. B. (1981): 132. The Collectivization Drive in Kazakhstan. The Russian Review (Vol. 40-No. 2)

³⁰² An acronym for "association for cultivating the land in common" in Russian language. It was the simplest type of collective farm, on which only land and the most important equipment were collectivized. Livestock, most equipment, houses and some land remained private property. (Pianciola N. (2004): 163. Famine in the Steppe: The Collectivization of Agriculture and Kazakh Herdsmen 1928-1934. Cahiers du monde russe (Vol 45))

³⁰³ Olcott M. B. (1995): 177. The Kazakhs. (2nd Ed.). California: Hoover Institution Press

³⁰⁴ Olcott M. B. (1981): 128. The Collectivization Drive in Kazakhstan. The Russian Review (Vol. 40-No. 2)

³⁰⁵ Olcott M. B. (1995): 182-183. The Kazakhs. (2nd Ed.). California: Hoover Institution Press

many of them escaped from these settlements in order to be protected from disease and starvation.³⁰⁶ The vast majority of Kazakhs became settled only in 1936. In this year, there were only 150,000 Kazakh households lived as nomads in the republic.³⁰⁷ Over time, this number gradually decreased.

In the Kazakh case, the historical contradiction between the state policies and nomadic society resulted in massive population loss of nomadic Kazakhs in 1930s. The nomadic economy and social order were destroyed. Although nomadic Kazakhs showed great resistance to the collectivization process much more than other periods, their resistance eventually failed. In this failure, both the military power of the Soviet state and the 19th century destruction of the Kazakh *zhuzes* and the *asabiyyah* based on nomadism played a major role. Therefore, the regional and fragmented struggle of the Kazakhs did not turn into a mass resistance. This case, which was the last widespread war between the nomadic and settled world in recent history, resulted in the destruction of the whole nomadic life of the “Asian half-man half-horse” in Kazakhstan. Although the evaluations about the human and livestock losses of nomadic Kazakhs vary, the common opinion is that this loss was very high.

When we look at the results of the collectivization policies in general one of the main issues that needs to be mentioned is related to the livestock. During the collectivization process, the number of animals in the herds of nomadic Kazakhs gradually decreased. While the number of cattle was 7,378,600 in 1928, it was only 3,095,400 in 1938 in Kazakhstan.³⁰⁸ 80 percent of the herds were destroyed between the years of 1928 and 1932.³⁰⁹ There were two main reasons for this sharp decrease. The first was the oppressive policies of the Soviet Union for the collectivization of animals. The second, as mentioned above, was the slaughter of animals by nomadic Kazakhs themselves

³⁰⁶ Pianiola N. (2001): 240. Collectivization Famine in Kazakhstan 1931-1933. Ukrainian Studies (Vol. 25-No. 3/4)

³⁰⁷ Olcott M. B. (1995): 187. The Kazakhs. (2nd Ed.). California: Hoover Institution Press

³⁰⁸ Albano H. K. (1956): 58. Livestock Organization in the Formerly Nomadic Livestock Areas of the Soviet Union. Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers (Vol. 18)

³⁰⁹ Olcott M. B. (1981): 122. The Collectivization Drive in Kazakhstan. The Russian Review (Vol. 40-No. 2)

instead of giving them to the Soviet authorities. Such economic disagreements between the nomadic Kazakh society and the Soviet regime caused starvation in Kazakhstan.

Although there was no official document on the loss of life that can be attributed to the collectivization policy, Naum Jasny calculated that 1.5 million Kazakhs died in this process.³¹⁰ Similarly Naimark, who associates the population loss of the Kazakhs with the sedentarization policies, argues that the Kazakhs lost almost 1.5 million people as a result of the collectivization.³¹¹ This situation is called genocide by some authors. For example, according to Jonassohn, “There is no doubt that the deliberate starvation of Kazakhs, coupled with the purges of Kazakh intellectuals and cultural leaders, makes this a clear case genocide.”³¹² In the Historical Dictionary of Kazakhstan, the tragic famine of the Kazakhs is defined as *asharshylyk*.³¹³

At this point, it may be useful to compare the changes in the Kazakh population with the Uzbeks in order to demonstrate the severity of the population loss of nomadic Kazakhs during the collectivization process. Although the official Russian census figures did not provide data about this tragedy, they are important to compare the population growth of these two Central Asian people between 1926 and 1939. In 1926 the Soviet census, the number of the Kazakhs was 3,968,300 on the one hand, and the number of the Uzbeks was 3,954,700 on the other.³¹⁴ However, in 1939, while the ethnic population of the Kazakhs was recorded as 3,101,000, the Uzbek population was 6,015,000.³¹⁵ The fact that the Kazakh population declined in 13 years although the Uzbek population increased by more than 2 millions, clearly demonstrates the impact of the collectivization process on the nomadic Kazakhs. The reason why the nomadic Kazakh society was faced with greater problems compared to the settled

³¹⁰ Ibid., 136.

³¹¹ Naimark N. M. (2010): 75-76. Stalin’s Genocides. USA: Princeton University Press

³¹² Ibid., 76.

³¹³ Hunger in Kazakh language (Kassymova D. Kundakbayeva Z. Markus U. Zhangottin B. (2012): 101. Historical Dictionary of Kazakhstan. USA: Scarecrow Press)

³¹⁴ Szczesniak A. L. (1963): 13-21. A Brief Index of Indigenous Peoples and Languages of Asiatic Russia. Anthropological Linguistics (Vol. 5-No. 6)

³¹⁵ Ibid.

Uzbeks, was related to the historical contradiction between nomadism and sedentarism. In this period, the nomadic Kazakhs searched for different places to live in order to maintain their basic structures and to resist the sedentarization policies. On the other side, settled societies such as the Uzbeks had neither the need nor the ability to show such resistance. The differences in the resistance between nomadic Kazakhs and other settled/native people were due to their different historical lifestyles. Because of this fact, the number of Kazakh population could not reach the number before the collectivization process for many years to come³¹⁶ and their nomadic culture was irrecoverably changed.

However, even when the nomadic structures of Kazakhs were almost completely destroyed during the collectivization process, the repressive policies of the Soviet Union on the Kazakh identity did not end. The national identity of the Kazakhs, which was shaped within their nomadic and Turkic history, was another problem for the Soviet leaders. Therefore, the Soviet pressure against the national cultural autonomy³¹⁷ and other nationalist thoughts increased especially after 1937 in Kazakhstan as well as other parts of Turkestan. The Soviet regime tried to eliminate national identities which could be dangerous for the socialist state. Such an attitude was continued by Khrushchev who came to power after Stalin's death. In his era, with a specific policy designed for increasing the amount of grain produced in Kazakh lands, the Virgin Lands Campaign, the economic structure was once again dramatically changed. With this campaign, demographic structure in Kazakhstan was also changed due to the arrival of more than 800,000 foreign workers which were settled in Kazakhstan. As can be understood, even though Soviet rulers changed, policies remained the same in terms of putting social, political and economic pressure on the Kazakh identity. However, despite such policies we see a new emphasis in the post-Soviet era on the historical memory of the Kazakh people and identity. This memory, which firstly

³¹⁶ Ibid., 13.

³¹⁷ National Cultural Autonomy Model which was developed by Otto Bauer, argued that cultural and national values can exist within the structure of a socialist state. This model which was defended by the followers of the national communists during the early period of the Soviet Union, was refused by the Soviet regime. (Author's Note)

manifested itself with the *Jeltoqsan* uprising in 1986,³¹⁸ had an important effect on the rise of the identity of Kazakhness. Today, in many respects, this national identity symbolically holds the ancient nomadic history and traditions of the Kazakhs.

In order to clarify this argument, in the next part Stalin and Khrushchev periods will be examined in terms of their social, political and economic impact on the historical memory of the Kazakh society. Then, within the context of symbolic nomadism, the nomadic past used in the identity construction of independent Kazakhstan will be evaluated in order to show the newest form of nomadism of the Kazakhs.

3.7. Repressive Policies on the Kazakh Identity and Symbolic Nomadism

In 1937, at the seventh Kazakh regional party plenum, Kazakh nationalism was discussed. With this plenum, the rhetoric of “enemies and spies” began to rise in Kazakhstan.³¹⁹ This rhetoric aimed to break all ties of the identity of the Kazakh society from the past. With this way, it was planned to prevent any ideas that could be developed against the socialist state. As a result of this rhetoric and Stalinist policies, in 1937-1938, 66,000 literate Kazakhs in Kazakhstan were suppressed.³²⁰ 440 people were shot in the Almaty oblast in 1937. This number rose to one thousand in 1938. In the Zhambyl oblast, the number of people who were killed by the regime, was close to 1000.³²¹

These policies, which resulted in the diminishing of the influence of Kazakh intellectuals during the World War II, appeared again in the second half of the 1940s. Stalin’s labor camps were established in almost all cities and towns in Kazakhstan.³²² During this period, repressive policies against the Kazakh intellectuals continued.

³¹⁸ Information on this uprising is provided below.

³¹⁹ Tanatorava Z. T. (2015): 104. Repressions Of 1937-1938 in Kazakhstan and Their Consequences. International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education (Vol. 2-No.1)

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Ibid., 105.

³²² Musabekova R. M. (2016): 139. The Soviet Histography and the Question Of Kazakhstan’s History: Persecution Against Intellectuals and Authors In Kazakhstan. Istanbul: Union Of Turkish World Municipalities

Many poets and writers like Mukhtar Avezov, were accused of being retrogressive nationalists who cherished the early Kazakh *khanates*.³²³ At this point, the fact that a Kazakh intellectual could still be accused of such crime, shows that the Soviet regime continued to have concerns about the nomadic past. This period is known as the Great Purges. To eliminate national consciousness and memories, thousands of Kazakh authors and artists were shot or imprisoned during the 1940s.

The Kazakhs, whose nomadic identity ended in the first half of the 20th century and whose national discourse was suppressed by such Soviet policies and practices, continued to face with many problems after Stalin's death. Economic interventions in the Khrushchev era were the first important development among these problems. After Stalin's last period, the economy of the Soviet Union had been in decline, particularly in the agricultural sector.³²⁴ To prevent this bad economic situation, Khrushchev formulated the aforementioned policy of the Virgin Lands Campaign in Kazakhstan in 1953. The main purpose of this policy was to use the lands in southern Siberia and Kazakhstan which were allegedly underutilized.³²⁵ With this policy, large grain *sovkhozes*³²⁶ in which foreign workers were generally employed, began to be established in Kazakhstan.³²⁷ The number of these workers were more than 800,000.³²⁸ Interestingly, the Kazakhs coming from traditional families still continued to deal with animal husbandry despite the death of the old generation of *aksakals* and the devastating effect of the collectivization process. Although the migratory routes were not used as in the period of pastoral nomadism, they continued to use some of the old methods, such as going to their summer pasturelands with their animals.³²⁹ However these methods eventually ended as a result of the pressures from the center.

³²³ Ibid., 141-142.

³²⁴ Olcott M. B. (1995): 225. *The Kazakhs*. (2nd Ed.). California: Hoover Institution Press

³²⁵ Ibid., 224.

³²⁶ The *sovkhov* or state farm, is an even larger scale unit than the *kolkhoz*. (Albano H. K. 1956: 57)

³²⁷ Olcott M. B. (1995): 224. *The Kazakhs*. (2nd Ed.). California: Hoover Institution Press

³²⁸ Ibid., 240.

³²⁹ Ibid., 237.

Khrushchev tried to abolish these old methods of nomadism, claiming that grazing lands of the animals were virgin. Such a definition of these lands used by ancient nomads for centuries, was also a reflection of the Soviet policy which, right from the beginning, rejected the authentic dynamics of nomadism. This view which was still effective during Khrushchev's period, led the Soviet rulers to use these grazing lands for agriculture at the expense of the collapse of the whole animal husbandry system in Kazakhstan. The Kazakh Communist Party secretariat objected this policy, claiming that livestock economy in the republic would be severely damaged. However, such objections were rejected by Khrushchev and people who raised such concerns were dismissed and criticized.³³⁰ As a result, there was a significant increase in the amount of sown lands at the expense of the traditional animal husbandry methods which almost completely ended.³³¹ Just as the case during the collectivization era, the Kazakhs once again had to adopt to a new economic structure.

Considering these developments, the impact of Stalin's and Khrushchev's policies on Kazakhstan can be examined under three main titles. The first is the political pressure on Kazakh politicians and intellectuals. The second is the transformation of the economic structure and adaptation to a new system. The third is the demographic change which was realized through the settlements of more than 800,000 foreign workers in Kazakhstan. These three main issues, which increased both the opposition to the Soviet system and the tension between the Kazakhs and other groups in the country, eventually ended in the 1986 *Jeltoqsan* uprising in Kazakhstan. This uprising can be considered as the first step leading to independence of Kazakhstan.

The events started with the appointment of a Russian, Gennady Kolbin as the first secretary to the Kazakh Communist Party after the dismissal of the Kazakh leader, Dinmukhamed Kunaev.³³² The appointment of a Russian from the center triggered resentment among the Kazakh people. This uprising, which began as a result of this

³³⁰ Ibid., 226.

³³¹ Mills R. M. (1970): 61-62. The Formation of the Virgin Lands Policy. Slavic Review (Vol. 29-No. 1). Cambridge University Press.

³³² d'Encausse H. C. (1993): 33. The End of the Soviet Empire. USA: Basic Books

common feeling, started with the coming together of almost 10,000 people in Alma-Ata on December 12, 1986.³³³ The most important characteristics of this uprising was its nationalist discourse. The slogans used in the demonstrations such as “Kazakhstan for the Kazakhs” clearly reflected anti-Russian feelings.³³⁴

As a result of these demonstrations which spread other Kazakh cities, 22 demonstrators lost their lives. Besides many demonstrators were arrested. However, the appointment of Nursultan Nazarbaev as the next leader of the country in 1989 shows that in the longer run Kazakhs achieved their goals.³³⁵ The fact that Nazarbayev declared Kazakhstan’s independence day as December 12 shows the importance of this uprising for the country. According to him, a soul became a nation with the *Jeltoqsan* uprising.³³⁶

With the process of nation-building which started after 1991, the Kazakh leadership had to deal with several issues of identity for the native Kazakhs of the country. The official website of Kazakhstan describes the birth of the Kazakh *khanate* and the history of Kazakhstan within the context of ancient states of the Turkic nomads.³³⁷ Moreover, the horse figure on the national emblem and the eagle figure on the flag are used to emphasize the nomadic heritage.³³⁸ Such nomadic symbols are also used in architecture. For the 15th anniversary of Kazakhstan’s independence, the monument of the symbolic Turkic warrior unveiled in the presence of the Turkish president, is one of the clearest examples of these symbols in Almaty.³³⁹ Such symbols are also

³³³ Ibid., 32.

³³⁴ Ibid., 32-33.

³³⁵ Ibid., 33.

³³⁶ Kuzio T. (2002): 258. History Memory and Nation Building in the Post Soviet Colonial Space. Nationalities Papers (Vol. 30-No. 2)

³³⁷ History Of Kazakhstan. <http://mfa.gov.kz/en/hague/content-view/istoria-kazahstana> (accessed 13 October 2019)

³³⁸ State Symbols of the Republic of Kazakhstan. <http://mfa.gov.kz/en/hague/content-view/gosudarstvennye-simvoly-respubliki-kazakhstan-2> (accessed 13 October 2019)

³³⁹ Kuzio T. (2002): 258. History Memory and Nation Building in the Post Soviet Colonial Space. Nationalities Papers (Vol. 30-No. 2)

frequently used in Astana, the capital city of Kazakhstan after 1997. Architectural structures such as the giant tent and the monuments such as Baiterek and Kazakh Eli are the most well known examples which symbolize Kazakh cultural values and history.³⁴⁰ As can be seen, nearly 300 years of the Tsarist and the Soviet pressures on the nomadic identity did not completely eradicate the memory of Kazakh nomadism. Therefore, the nomadic identity was symbolically carried into the 21st century Kazakhstan, although not formally. Within this context, it is possible to define the cultural formation of this nomadic past as “symbolic nomadism”. According to the author of this thesis, symbolic nomadism is a pattern of nation-building process that should be studied within the framework of the state policies on the one hand, and the memory of old nomadic traditions which are still kept and cherished by the Kazakh society on the other. This concept is also related to the *jeti ata* (seven ancestors) tradition in the Kazakh case. In this tradition, nomadic Kazakhs had to know their seven ancestors in their geneology to prevent marriage between relatives.³⁴¹ With this method, the ancestry and kinship traditions of nomadic Kazakh society were not destroyed and maintained throughout history. In the post-Soviet era, it is reemphasized by inexpensive booklets provided by the state.³⁴² This shows that nomadic traditions are tried to be protected in the society with an initiative coming from above. However, it is also clear that there is a social will to maintain and remember this culture.³⁴³ At this point, therefore, it is possible to say that this old tradition is sustained both with the general will of the society and the state in Kazakhstan.³⁴⁴ As in this tradition, the ancient values of nomadism reflected in the Kazakh architecture, national emblem and

³⁴⁰ Manassova M. M. Zholdubayeva A.K. Mukhanbet A.A. Bolyssova K.M. Altybassarova M.A. (2016): 4-5. The Architectural Images of Capital City in the Context of the National Independence of Kazakhstan. (Vol. Special Issue-No. 53:10)

³⁴¹ Privratsky B. G. (2001): 116. Muslim Turkistan: Kazakh Religion and Collective Memory. Great Britain: Curzon Press

³⁴² Ibid., 117.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that in the process of post-Soviet nation-state building in Kazakhstan, the emphasis on both the nomadic identity of the Kazakhs and the revival of the three *zhuzes* were also seen as a potential threat to the idea of a unified Kazakh nation. As such, the Nazarbaev government took certain measures with which these pre-Soviet identities were aimed to be kept under control.

flag, are revived with a common feeling. As a result, in a symbolic way the Kazakhs could carry their nomadic past into the 21st century. It seems as if symbolic nomadism is the final form of Kazakh nomadism, revived and still cherished by the people as part of their identity.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to analyze the effect of Tsarist and Soviet policies on the identity of nomadic Kazakhs, which created tensions and contradictions between the state and the Kazakh society. This topic, which is widely studied, is analyzed with a new perspective by using the theories of Ibn Khaldun and Anatoly M. Khazanov on nomadism in order to explain the differences between the nomadic and settled communities which resulted in contradiction from time to time within the specific case of the Kazakh society. To do this, first the historical problems and differences between nomadism and sedentarism are given. Then, the relations between nomadic Kazakhs and Russian/Soviet states are examined by considering the historical cases and theoretical approaches.

When we analyze the problematic relation between nomadism and sedentarism in history, it is possible to suggest that this contradiction can be seen in the mythological definitions and narratives produced by these two lifestyles against each other. As explained in detail in the second chapter, nomadic societies did not have a positive view about the settled world and sedentarization. For them, settled way of life was insufferable slavery.³⁴⁵ It is possible to argue that this characterization is related to the different economic tendencies of these societies based on private property. According to the author of this thesis, the necessity of private property to maintain these lifestyles and the characterization of settled societies as slave are two main factors which should be taken into account in understanding the tensions between the two sides.

In this respect, when we look at the economic structure of settled societies, we can say that they needed private property of land and animals to maintain their lifestyles. On the other hand, this economic structure was limited to ownership of animals for

³⁴⁵ Barthold W. (2006): 3. Türk-Moğol Ulusları Tarihi. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

nomads.³⁴⁶ In other words, nomadic societies did not need a land that had to be purchased and cultivated in order to maintain their lifestyles. The land was jointly used by each member of the society for grazing their animals. Therefore, unlike settled civilizations, the land did not belong to certain members of the society. However, although the private ownership of the land was not necessary to maintain this lifestyle, nomadic societies also needed the private ownership of animals in order to control their production economy based on livestock. In this respect, it is possible to say that the extent of private property was much more narrow in nomadic societies compared to the settled ones. For this reason, it is possible to claim that in the eyes of nomads as dependency on private property increases, societies are enslaved by their economic structures to survive.³⁴⁷ As such, different economic habits were the main source of this negative characterization. The reactions of nomadic Kazakhs against the Russian states and their sedentarization policies are also related to this general historical tendency, which was reflected on their narratives. As a result of this common perception in nomadic societies, Kazakhs tended to stay away from being settled.

On the other hand, the settled societies also created their own stereotypes about nomads. In their eyes, nomadic societies were backward which were sended by God to punish sinful societies.³⁴⁸ It is also possible to explain the source of this negative perspective by looking at the differences in economic structure. Throughout history, the warrior nature of nomads allowed them to conquer the land of settled civilizations. During these periods, the preservation of nomadic and settled economic orders in the same environment caused many problems for the settled world. For example, unlike settled societies, since the land did not belong to a person or a group in nomadic societies, they could graze their animals freely by following certain rules valid within their community. However, in the meantime, these animals could damage the

³⁴⁶ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 271. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

³⁴⁷ The fact that hunter societies which did not require private ownership of land and animals to meet their basic needs, defined nomads as slaves (Barthold W. 2006: 3), also validates this argument.

³⁴⁸ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 77. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

farmlands of the settled societies.³⁴⁹ At this point, it is possible to say that such economic contradictions led to the lack of a symbiotic relationship between the nomadic and settled worlds, resulting in stereotypes of settled societies against nomadism. Therefore, when the balance changed between nomadism and sedentarism in certain periods of history to their advantage, the settled societies formulated certain state policies to eliminate this problematic relationship in favor of their own lifestyle. Such policies are clearly seen during the periods of Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union. The colonies established in the Kazakh territory and the restriction of the migratory routes of nomads were the main policies formulated by the Tsarist Russian state. Such policies, which aimed to adapt the Kazakhs to a settled lifestyle and to break their resistance to the state, were continued by the Soviet rulers in accordance with their ideological concerns. The most obvious examples of these policies were seen during the process of War Communism, collectivization and Virgin Lands Campaign.

However, the differences between nomadic and settled societies, which could result in contradictions, were not only related to their economic structures. The unique social and political organizations of nomadic societies also led to the lack of a symbiotic relationship between sedentarism and nomadism as well as contradictions throughout history. As explained in the second chapter, nomadic populations were linked to each other with kinship ties and genealogy. These structures, which led to the flexibility of hierarchical relationship among the members of nomadic societies, also made them isolated against the settled world. The members of the nomadic society, which only trusted their kin groups and lineages for their security, could resist the state policies and enemy attacks due to these unique dynamics.³⁵⁰ Furthermore, these dynamics made it difficult for states to penetrate and dominate nomadic societies. Therefore, states developed policies to harmonize the social and political structures of nomadic societies with the settled world.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 119.

³⁵⁰ Ibn Khaldun (2017): 286. *Mukaddime I (Muqaddimah I)*. (3rd Ed.). İstanbul: İlgı Kültür Sanat

During the period of Tsarist Russia, the religious policies, which aimed to break the social and political resistance of Kazakhs against the settled world, can be seen as a clear example of such policies. With the Islamization and Christianization attempts of the Kazakhs, the Tsarist state tried to change the nomadic structure of the Kazakh society to make them more easily controllable.³⁵¹ It is possible to claim that Tsarist Russia aimed to sedentarize Kazakhs and to eliminate their social orders formed by kinship ties with these religious policies. According to the author of the thesis, this claim is related to two main similarities among these monotheistic religions. First of all, for both Islam and Christianity require certain rituals that can only be performed in sanctuaries. The Tsarist Russian state, by using this requirement, could very well have aimed to persuade the Kazakhs to eventually adopt to a settled way of life so that they would regularly worship in mosques or churches. With this policy, their nomadic structures would eventually be destroyed. Secondly, for both of these religions, social relationship within a society are not shaped or determined by kinship ties or geneology. Religious or sectarian fellowship are sufficient for the formation of a Muslim or Christian community. As such, the Tsarist policy makers could have hoped that it would be easier for them to penetrate into the domestic affairs of the nomadic Kazakh society and to shape their social structures by using religion as an effective tool.

Similar policies can also be seen, although with different ideological concerns, during the Soviet era. In this period, the Soviet rulers formulated sedentarization policies to adapt the nomadic Kazakhs to the socialist order. During this period, the Soviet leaders, who claimed that socialism in Kazakhstan could only be achieved by sedentarization of nomads,³⁵² clarified the ties between socialism and sedentarism in the Soviet framework. At the same time, they aimed to eliminate the social and political structures of nomadic Kazakhs by creating two classes, the oppressor and the oppressed, within this society for fulfilling their socialist goals. During the implementation of such policies, the flexible hierarchical features and equality

³⁵¹ Kendirbay G. (1997): 489. The National Liberation Movement of the Kazakh Intelligentsia at the Beginning of the 20th Century. Central Asian Survey (Vol.16-No.4)

³⁵² Olcott M. B. (1981): 132. The Collectivization Drive in Kazakhstan. The Russian Review (Vol. 40-No. 2)

mechanisms in the nomadic Kazakh society were ignored and rejected by the Soviet regime, which aimed to eliminate the internal dynamics of nomadic Kazakhs.

As a result, 200 years of systematic policies developed by these two states, caused the Kazakh society to lose their nomadic identity. Especially during the first half of the 20th century, many Kazakhs were forced to be settled or migrated to neighboring countries. As a result of this process, it is possible to say that almost two millions Kazakhs lost their lives in total. The resistance of nomadic Kazakhs was not sufficient to prevent the erosion of their nomadic identity. Today, nomadism can only be preserved with certain symbols in Kazakhstan.

However, at this point, it should be asked why Kazakh society could not protect its nomadic structures against the Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union. To answer this question, it is necessary to examine the influence of state, which could transform the social, political and economic structures of nomadic societies, including Kazakhs, throughout history. Understanding the divisions caused by the influence of states among the nomadic societies is extremely significant to explain why the Kazakh struggle could not turn into a mass resistance against the Tsarist and the Soviet policies. This evaluation should not be confused with the influence of the Tsarist and the Soviet state policies on the nomadic identity of Kazakhs. The issue of the state influence includes all transformations in nomadic societies, caused by settled civilizations from the ancient times. Kazakhs are one of these nomadic societies which experienced such transformations in their social, political and economic structures as a result of the influence of ancient states in Asia. This historical change facilitated the applicability of Tsarist and the Soviet policies on them.

In history, when nomadic societies were not dominated or controlled by a state, their social and political structures could easily be distinguished from the settled world in many respects. During these periods, there was a flexible hierarchy among the members of the nomadic society. Due to this dynamic, many cases showed that an ordinary member of the nomadic society could be the ruler.³⁵³ The most important

³⁵³ Khazanov A. M. (2015): 352. Göçebe ve Dış Dünya (Nomads and the Outside World). İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi

reason of this feature was related to the decrease in the centralist tendencies of nomadic societies when the influence of state was not intense. During these periods, political relations between the members of the nomadic society were established in a horizontal way.

The lack of state influence also affected economic structure of nomadism. Under this circumstance, nomadic societies used the land jointly. Besides, some economic mechanisms such as *saun* and *barymta* that ensured social equality, were more effective. Each member of the society more or less benefited from the increase in the number of animals, during these periods.³⁵⁴

However, such social, political and economic features could be transformed in nomadic societies when the influence of state increased. From the social and political aspects, the influence of state led to the emergence of new groups in nomadic societies which claimed to be superior than the others.³⁵⁵ The emergence of these groups caused both the disruption of the horizontal hierarchy in nomadic societies and the transformation of the strict relationship of such societies with the outside world. In other words, the isolated lifestyles of nomadic societies which were established through kinship ties, could break down because of these groups. From the economic point of view, common ownership of the land in nomadic societies and the equality mechanisms that can be associated with this structure, could be also abolished if the state claims to be guarantor on the land.³⁵⁶

For these reasons, due to the influence of state, two different definitions of nomadism could emerge within the same nomadic society during the same period of the history. The Kazakhs are one of the most important examples of such a case. Under the influence of ancient Turkic and Mongolian states or settled civilizations, new groups emerged in the nomadic Kazakh society and these groups changed the social solidarity of nomadic Kazakhs and their relations with the outside world. Ibn Khaldun's concept of *asabiyyah* and Khazanov's ideas about nomadism should be used to examine the

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 68.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 291.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 269.

effect of this change on the Kazakh resistance to the policies of the Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union.

As explained in the second chapter, the concept of *asabiyyah*, or social solidarity, is constituted through lineage ties within a tribe or clan. According to Ibn Khaldun, people can protect themselves against the enemy attack and can have certain rights only if they come together and establish a strong society with *asabiyyah*.³⁵⁷ For him, a strong *asabiyyah* requires a social unity and defense mechanism against the outside world which were formed by lineage ties. Ibn Khaldun claims that one strong *asabiyyah* which resulted in establishment of a state, is only realized with the superiority of one *asabiyyah* over the others within a society.³⁵⁸ This organizational structure implies a vertical hierarchy.

On the other hand, Khazanov's views on ancient classification of nomadic societies in Asia, indicate that the hierarchical relationship in these societies were horizontal during the periods when the influence of state decreased. Administration in these societies were not centralized in such periods. Therefore, within these periods, the claim that one strong *asabiyyah* could prevail over the others, is controversial. Instead, it would be more accurate to claim that one strong *asabiyyah* which resulted from establishment of a state, could only be realized in periods when the influence of state increased on nomadic societies. However, when the influence of state was intense, the groups such as *aq suyek*, which emerged with the external factors, could transform the structures of nomadic societies. Thus it is clearly seen that the transformation realized through these groups, could create duality in nomadic societies, unless they could dominate other parts of the society. This situation can also be seen as an obstacle for the formation of one strong *asabiyyah*.

When the Kazakh case is interpreted within the light of these arguments, it can be seen that the members of the Kazakh society tried to conserve their defense and lineage ties due to their social, political and economic concerns during the periods of Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union. However, although they wanted to keep their nomadic structures

³⁵⁷ Ibn Khaldun (2017): 309. Mukaddime I (Muqaddimah I). (3rd Ed.). İstanbul: İlgi Kültür Sanat

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

for more than two centuries, at the end they could not do so against the policies of these two states. The first reason for this situation was that technical equipment of Kazakh society was not enough for a large-scale war. This inability was seen both in the 1916 uprising and the collectivization process. The second and the most important reason was that although Kazakhs generally showed an isolated characteristics due to their lineage and kinship ties against the Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union, their struggle remained at the level of local uprisings in a wide geography, since they could not unite around one strong *assabiyyah*. Since the 18th century, the clashes of nomadic *khans*, the members of the *aq suyek* group, among themselves and with the members of *qara suyek* group were an important reason for the lack of a mass struggle. Furthermore, the horizontal hierarchy of nomadism, which was strengthened during the periods when state influence decreased, prevented the formation of a strong *asabiyyah* in these centuries. As a result, more than one *asabiyyah* was formed in different groups. Therefore, it can be seen that the nomadic Kazakhs lost their struggle against both Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union. Ibn Khaldun's statement that more than one *asabiyyah* causes conflicts and disorganization in the society, validates this argument.³⁵⁹ One of the most important reasons of this situation in the nomadic Kazakh society was related to the conflict between different groups formed by the influence of ancient states and the groups representing the pure form of nomadism.

It is possible to explain this fragmented structure, which prevented a mass resistance, with the different tendencies of these two main groups of the Kazakh society in their relations with the Tsarist Russian state. The first group was some members of the *aq suyek* who had direct relations with the Tsarist Russia. As described by the examples of Abulkhair and Kasymov in the third chapter, the members of the *aq suyek* group showed centralist tendencies in the Kazakh society and had direct relations with the Tsarist administration. Moreover, Abulkhair tried to make agreements to ally with the Russian state, contrary to the social structure of nomads which was based on security concerns and kinship relations. The second group was the representatives of pure nomadic dynamics, the members of *qara suyek*, such as *aksakals*. Unlike the members of the first group, they were far away from centralist tendencies and generally rejected

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

to ally themselves with the Russian state. Such disagreements between the *aq suyek* group (formed by the influence of ancient Turkic and Mongolian states or other settled civilizations in the historical process) and the *qara suyek* group, were the most important reasons of why the Tsarist Russia could easily penetrate the Kazakh territory. The Tsarist administration, which was aware of these differences in nomadic Kazakh society, tried to transform all nomadic structures by formulating certain policies. For example, Catherine II, who gave large quantities of lands to some Kazakh leaders,³⁶⁰ was an important practitioner of such policies. This policy, which can be assumed to be developed against the structure of common ownership of land in nomadic societies, was only one example of similar policies implemented by the Tsarist Russia to transform the economic and social structures of nomadic Kazakhs.

For the Kazakh case, it is difficult to explain this sharp distinction and the different reactions of these two nomadic groups during the Soviet period. However, a similar distinction can be examined through the different reactions of some Kazakh intellectuals and *aksakals* to the Soviet policies. During this period, some Turkestani intellectuals claimed that Kazakhs could preserve their culture only if they became settled.³⁶¹ In addition to these intellectuals, some Kazakh thinkers, such as Turar Ryskulov, took part in the Bolshevik group in the early periods of the Soviet Union. It is possible to associate these intellectuals with the *aq suyek* group considering the fact that they had a similarly positive or direct relation with the outside world. On the other hand, the *aksakals* continued to resist state policies and became the main actors of the Kazakh rebellions during the Soviet era. According to the author of this thesis, such social and political disagreements facilitated the sedentarization and collectivization policies implemented by the Soviet regime. As a result, millions of Kazakhs lost their lives. This separation within the society and the lack of a strong social solidarity accelerated the erosion of nomadic Kazakh identity which resulted from the state policies during the periods of the Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union.

³⁶⁰ Sabol S. (2003): 236. Kazakh Resistance to Russian Collectivization: interpreting the Kenesary Kasymov Revolt 1837-1837. Central Asian Survey. (Vol. 22-No. 2-3)

³⁶¹ Kendirbay G. (1997): 491. The National Liberation Movement of the Kazakh Intelligentsia at the Beginning of the 20th Century. Central Asian Survey (Vol.16-No.4)

As mentioned at the end of the third chapter, today, nomadism is preserved by the symbolic forms in Kazakhstan. The policies formulated by Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union against nomadism could not prevent the Kazakhs from remembering their nomadic ancestors and keeping their souls alive with such symbols in the 21st century. Symbolic nomadism, the last form of the nomadism in Kazakhstan, is still maintained by the common will of the Kazakh society and the state of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKKÇE ÖZET

Bu tezin amacı, Çarlık Rusyası ve Sovyetler Birliği politikalarının göçebe Kazak kimliğine olan etkisini incelemektir. Kazak toplumu ve Rus devletleri arasında çatışmaya yol açan bu politikalar, Kazakların sosyal, politik ve ekonomik bakımlardan göçebelik düzenini değiştirmeye çalışmıştır. Çoğunlukla göçebe Kazak istencinin tersine işleyen bu süreç, sonuçta Kazakların göstermiş olduğu dirençle karşılaşmıştır. Yaygın bir biçimde çalışılmış bu konu, tezde İbn Haldun ve Khazanov'un göçebelik üzerine yoğunlaşmış kuramsal yaklaşımlarından yararlanılarak yeni bir bakış açısı üzerinden incelenmiştir. Bu bakış açısı, göçebelerin tarihsel süreçteki toplumsal dönüşümlerinin kavranmasına ve bu dönüşümlerin göçebe toplum ve yerleşik dünya arasındaki ilişkiye etkisinin anlaşılmasına olanak sunmuştur.

Bu nedenle, tezin ikinci bölümünde, göçebelik ve yerleşiklik arasındaki tarihsel farklılıklar, bu iki yaşam biçiminin sosyal, politik ve ekonomik yapıları göz önünde bulundurularak değerlendirilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, bu toplumlar arasındaki simbiyotik (ortakyaşar) ilişkinin eksikliği gösterilmiş ve devletler tarafından göçebelere yönelik üretilen uyum politikalarının nedenleri bu eksiklik üzerinden açıklanmıştır. Birçok göçebe toplum ve devlet arasındaki ilişkide meydana gelmiş bu tarihsel vakanın anlaşılması amacıyla; Hun, Göktürk, Hazar, Kazak ve diğer Türk toplumlarının siyasal, ekonomik ve sosyal yapıları ve bu yapıların yerleşik uygarlıklardan ayrıştığı noktalar detaylandırılmıştır. Ulaşılan sonuç, çoğunlukla yerleşik toplumların faydasına oluşturulan bu politikaların, göçebeler ve devletler arasındaki çatışmayı artırdığıdır. Kazak toplumunun Çarlık Rusyası ve Sovyetler Birliği ile olan ilişkisi, bu çatışmacı ortamı açıkça göstermektedir. Tezin üçüncü bölümünde, bu özgün vaka, tarihsel ve kuramsal yaklaşımlar gözetilerek incelenmiştir.

Ekonomik bakımdan, göçebe ve yerleşik toplumlar arasında yapıcı ilişkiler yok değildir. Bu yapıcı ilişkilere, göçebelerin yerleşik toplumlar için güvenlik hizmetinde bulunması veya yerleşik toplumlarda üretilen ürünlerin göçebelerin bazı önemli

ihtiyaçlarını karşılaması örnekleri verilebilir. Fakat bu gibi kısa dönemli uzlaşma biçimleri, göçebeler ve yerleşikler arasındaki ilişkinin tarihsel gerçekliğini yansıtmaz. Aynı çevre içinde yaşamış bu toplumların yapıcı ilişkileri seyrek ve çoğunlukla çatışmacı bir düzlemedir. Bu iki yaşam biçiminin birbiriyle benzeşmeyen ve ekonomik yapıları farklılaştıran özel mülkiyet yapıları, yıkıcı ilişkinin anlaşılmasında önem arz eder.

Özel mülkiyet kavramının kapsamı, göçebe ve yerleşik uygarlıklarda derin farklılıklar barındırır. Yerleşik uygarlıklarda toprak ve hayvan özel mülkiyetin konusuyken, göçebe toplumlarda bu kavram yalnızca hayvan sürüleriyle sınırlıdır. Bu nedenle, hayvan sürülerinin otlatılması ve yetiştirilmesi amacıyla kullanılan topraklar, istisnalar dışında göçebelere ortaklaşa kullanılır. Yerleşik toplumlardakinin aksine, göçebelere toprak kullanımının katı sınırlarla belirlenmemesi, özgün göçebe iktisadi yapısının doğal bir sonucudur. Bu yapı, göçebelerin sosyal düzenini de etkilemiş ve görece daha eşitlikçi bir toplum anlayışının temelini oluşturmuştur. Fakat aynı zamanda, göçebeler ve devletler arasında belli başlı iktisadi anlaşmazlıkların da kaynağıdır.

Ekonomik yapı bakımından hayvan üretimi, Kazaklar ve diğer pastoral göçebe toplumların tarih boyunca ortak özelliği olmuştur. Üretim ekonomisi temelinde şekillenen bu ekonomik yapıyı sürdürebilmek için, göçebe toplumlar her mevsim belirli durak noktaları olan bir göç yolunu izlerdi. Bu göç yolu, ortak mülkiyete tabi olan geniş topraklarda bulunurdu. Fakat bu toprakların yakınlarında veya aynı çevrede tarım arazilerinin oluşturulması, göçebe toplumların göç döngülerini tamamlamalarına engel olabilirdi. Diğer yandan, bu döngünün yerleşik uygarlıklar için de tehlike arz etmesi mümkündü. Göçebe toplumların sürülerini geçirmek için tarım arazilerini kullanması, bu duruma neden olan en başlıca süreçlerdendi. Birçok benzeri vakada devletler, göçebelik ve yerleşiklik arasındaki bu tür olumsuz ilişkileri, yerleşik uygarlıkların yararına çözüme yoluna girişmişlerdir. Siyasi ve askeri baskılarla göç yollarını sınırlandırmak, ortak toprak mülkiyeti anlayışını değiştirmeye çalışmak, devletlerin tarihte izlediği politikaların başlıcalarıdır. Göçebeliğin özgün ekonomik yapısını hiçe sayan bu girişimler, genel anlamda göçebe toplumları dönüştürmeyi ve yerleşik hayata geçirmeyi amaçlamıştır.

Benzer politikalar, göçebelerin sosyal ve politik yapılarını değiştirmek için de uygulanmıştır. Sosyal ve politik bakımlardan, göçebe toplum üyeleri birbirlerine akrabalık ve soy kütükleriyle bağlıdır. Sınıfsal farklılaşmanın yoğun olarak görüldüğü yerleşik uygarlıkların aksine, göçebe toplum üyeleri bu unsurlarla farklı birlik bağları oluşturmuş ve dış dünyaya karşı geçilmesi zor bir şerit çekmiştir. Bu şerit, doğal olarak devletlerin göçebe toplumlara nüfuz etmesini güçleştirmiştir. Bu nedenle, Çarlık Rusyası ve Sovyetler Birliği'nin de içinde bulunduğu birçok devlet, göçebe toplumların sosyal ve politik düzenlerini tarih boyunca değiştirmeye uğraşmıştır. Aşağıda bahsedilen iktisadi yaptırımları da içeren bu politikalar, göçebeler üzerinde başlatılan yıldırı savaşının temellerini oluşturmuştur.

Kazak bölgesinde kurulan Rus kolonileri ve göç yollarının sınırlandırılması, Çarlık Rusyası tarafından göçebeler üzerinde uygulanmış başlıca ekonomik politikalarındandı. 18. yüzyılda Kazakistan'a askeri ve ticari üslerin kurulmasıyla başlayan bu süreç, özellikle 20. yüzyılda dizgeli bir şekilde bölgeye yapılan Slav göçleriyle perçinlenmiştir. Göçebe Kazakların toprakları üzerine yerleşen Slav köylülerle birlikte, göçebelik ve yerleşiklik arasındaki tarihsel gerilim artmış ve sonuçta Çarlık yönetiminin göçebe Kazakları baskılayan politikaları şiddetini artırmıştır. Genel anlamda göçebeliği yerleşik düzene uyarlamaya ve Kazakların devlete karşı gösterdiği direnci kırmaya çalışan bu politikalar, Sovyet önderleri tarafından farklı düşünsel kaygılarla sürdürülmüştür. Sovyetler Birliği döneminde bu politikaların örnekleri, Savaş Komünizmi, Kolektifleştirme ve Bakır Topraklar Projesi dönemlerinde görülür. Bu dönemlerde göçebe devinimler, merkezi politikalarla durdurulmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu politikalar genel anlamda Kazakların göçebe yapısını kanlı yollarla sindirmeye odaklanmıştır. Sonuçta, Kazakların yaşadığı toplumsal sarsıntıların en büyükleri, bu döneme denk gelmiştir.

Ekonomik politikalara ek olarak, bu iki devlet, Kazak toplumunun sosyal ve politik düzenlerini değiştirmek için kültürel politikalar da geliştirmiş ve böylece göçebe Kazakları yönetmenin kolaylaşacağı tasarlanmıştır. Çarlık Rusyası döneminde kurgulanan Hıristiyanlaştırma ve İslamlaştırma politikaları, göçebe Kazakların özgün soy kütüğü ve akrabalık ilişki düzenlerini bozmak ve onları yerleşik hayata yönlendirmek için üretilmiş en temel kültürel politikalarındandır. Böylelikle, birbirlerine

soy ve akrabalık sorumluluklarıyla bağlanan bu toplumun yalıtık özellikleri, mezhepsel ve dini dizgelerin içerisinde eritmeye çalışılmıştır. Aynı zamanda, bu iki semavi dinin ibadethanelerle somutlaşan yerleşik hayat tarzının, göçebe Kazakları aşamalı olarak yerleşik düzene geçireceğinin tasarlanmış olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Sovyetler Birliği döneminde bu politikalar kılık değiştirmiş, sosyalist kaygıların ağır bastığı bir ortamda, göçebe Kazak toplumu sınıflara ayırıştırılmak istenmiştir. İdeolojik düşüncelerle Kazakların iç yapısına yerleştirilmeye çalışılan yapay sınıflar politikası, bu toplumun özgün birlik biçimini değiştirmeye çalışan Sovyetler için en temel yöntemdir.

Fakat bu gibi devlet politikaları, göçebelik ve yerleşiklik arasındaki çatışmacı ilişkiyi ve simbiyotik ilişki eksikliğini açıklamak için yeterli değildir. Bu nedenle, göçebe toplumların iç dinamikleri de bu çatışmacı durumu açık bir biçimde ortaya koymak için tezde değinilen bir diğer önemli konu olmuştur.

Aşağıda belirtildiği üzere, göçebe toplum üyeleri birbirlerine akrabalık ve soy kütükleriyle bağlıdır. Göçebe toplumlar için eşsiz bir örgütlenme yapısı oluşturan bu unsurlar, aynı zamanda bu toplumları dış dünyadan yalıtır. İbn Haldun'a göre, göçebe toplum üyeleri, savunma işlerinde yalnızca köklerini ortak atadan alan akrabalarına güvenir. Bu yöntem ayrıca, göçebe toplumların soylarının korunmasını sağlar. Göçebe toplumun ileri gelenleri, bu yalıtık dünyayı oluşturmak için çeşitli yöntemler belirlemişlerdir. Bu yöntemlerin en bilineni Khazanov'un vurguladığı "biz ve onlar" düşüncesidir. Göçebe önderler, bilinçli veya bilinçsiz bir şekilde "biz ve onlar" düşüncesini toplum üyelerinin arasında yayarlar. Bu yolla, göçebelerin yerleşikleşmesinin ve yerleşik uygarlıklarla yakın ilişkiler kurmasının önüne geçilmiş olur. Göçebe asabiyesini veya toplum olma duygusunu eylemleştiren bu yaygın düşünce, göçebeler ve yerleşik dünya arasında barışçıl ilişkinin kurulmasına en büyük engeldir.

Tezin içeriğinde, göçebe toplumların benzeri iç dinamikleri, göçebelik ve yerleşiklik arasındaki çatışmacı ilişkinin açıklanması amacıyla kullanılmıştır. Tarihin birçok döneminde göçebeler, yerleşik toplumları bu unsurlar sayesinde bastırabilmiş ve yönetebilmiştir. Fakat göçebelik ve yerleşiklik arasındaki tarihsel denge yerleşik uygarlıkların lehine değiştiğinde, devlet politikaları göçebelerin sosyal, politik ve

ekonomik yapılarını dönüştürmeyi başarmıştır. Kazak toplumunun Çarlık Rusyası ve Sovyetler Birliği ile olan ilişkisi bu dönüşümü açıkça göstermektedir.

Bu iki devlet tarafından üretilen 200 yıllık dizgeli politikalar sonucunda, Kazak toplumu göçebe kimliğini yitirmiştir. Özellikle, 20. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Kazakların çoğu yerleşikleşmeye veya göçe zorlanmıştır. 1916 Türkistan İsyanı, Savaş Komünizmi ve Kolektifleştirme dönemleri, bu kayıpların en belirgin olduğu dönemlerdir. Bu süreçlerde, iki milyon kadar Kazak'ın, açlık, çatışmalar ve devletlerin uyguladığı baskı politikaları sonucu hayatını kaybettiğini söylemek mümkündür. Ne yazık ki, Kazakların devlet politikalarına karşı göstermiş olduğu direnç, göçebe kimliklerinin aşınmasına engel olamamıştır. Bu devlet politikalarının en önemli ortak özelliği, göçebeliliğin özgün yapısını hiçe sayan ve göçebe toplumu dönüşmesi gereken ilkel bir birliktelik olarak ele alan yaklaşımıdır. Tezde, kök aileden geçici merkeziyetleşme yapısına kadar detaylı biçimde anlatılan göçebelilik yapısı, bu özellikteki politikaların gerçek dışı ideolojik nedenlere dayandığını vurgulamak amacıyla incelenmiştir. Diğer yandan bu gerçek dışılık, bu iki devletin temel amaçlarına hizmet eden, politik bir silaha da dönüşmüştür. Kazakların esnek örgüt biçimini ve eşitlik algılarını göz ardı eden Çarlık Rusyası ve Sovyetler Birliği, kendi ideolojik gereksinimlerini berkitmek için, uyguladıkları politikaların “geri kalmış” Kazakları uygarlaştıracığı savından yola çıkmışlardır. Göçebeliliğe karşı olan bu yaklaşım, tarih boyunca yerleşik uygarlıkların göçebe toplumlara karşı ürettikleri olumsuz bakış açısının açık bir yansımasıdır. Kazakların Çarlık Rusyası ve Sovyetler Birliği ile olan çatışmacı ve yıkıcı ilişkisi bu ortak yaklaşımın doğal bir sonucudur. Bu yaklaşıma yanıt olarak, Kazaklar devlet politikalarına kendi iç dinamiklerinin yardımıyla direnmiş, fakat bu direniş göçebe kimlik aşınımını durdurmak için yeterli olmamıştır.

Tezin bu noktasında, Kazak direnişinin göçebe kimliğin yok oluşunu durdurmakta neden yeterli olmadığını sorgulamak adına, İbn Haldun ve Khazanov'un göçebe toplumların tarihsel süreçteki dönüşümleri üzerine geliştirdikleri kuramlardan yararlanılmıştır. Bu dönüşümün kaynağı, göçebe toplumların kurduğu devletler veya bir başka devletin boyunduruğu altında yaşamasıyla ilgilidir. Diğer bir deyişle bu inceleme, Çarlık Rusyası ve Sovyetler Birliği'nin uyguladığı politikaların Kazaklar

üzerindeki etkisinden çok, Asya'daki kadim devletlerin göçebelik yapısına tarihsel etkisi üzerinde durur. Toplumsal tasniflendirmenin değişiminden ekonomik yapıların yeniden kurgulanmasına kadar birçok konuyu ele alan bu inceleme, Kazak toplumunun içindeki bölünmeleri ve bu bölünmelerin kitlesel bir direnişe nasıl engel olduğunu açıklığa kavuşturmuştur. Bu bakımdan, Kazakların ve genel anlamda Türk göçebe toplumlarının devlet etkisiyle dönüşmüş sosyal yapısı, tezde iki önemli nokta üzerinden detaylı bir şekilde incelenmiştir.

İlk önemli nokta, Asya göçebe toplumlarındaki toplumsal tasniflendirmenin dönüşümüyle ilgilidir. Bu coğrafyada, devlet etkisiyle birlikte göçebe toplumlarda yeni özneler ortaya çıkabilmiştir. Bu öznelerden oluşan kümelerin, göçebe toplumların sosyal, politik ve ekonomik örgütlenme biçimlerini değiştirmesi tarihte açıkça görülen olaylardandır. Göçebe toplumların içinde yeni bir bölünme yaratan bu durum, göçebe toplumun dış dünyayla kurduğu ilişkinin değişmesine de neden olmuş ve böylece göçebe toplumların yalıtık doğası ortadan kalkmıştır. Göçebe toplumun tarihsel süreçte örgütlenmiş yeni özneleriyle etkileşimde bulunan devletler, bu etkileşimi kendi yararlarına, göçebe toplumları değiştirmek için kullanmıştır. *Aq süyek* kümesinin, kadim devletlerin etkisi sonucunda oluşumu ve bu küme içindeki öznelerin Çarlık Rusyası ile olan olumlu veya yakın ilişkileri, bu tarihsel durumu Kazak vakası özelinde irdelemek için tezde anlatılmıştır. Ebülhayr Han'ın Çarlık idarecileriyle kurduğu yakın ilişki, bu durumun açık örneklerinden biridir. Sovyetler Birliği dönemi içinse, birtakım Kazak aydınlarının yerleşikleşme konusundaki iyimser düşünceleri ve Sovyetler Birliği ile geliştirdikleri yakın ilişkiler, bu dönüşümün bir sonucu olarak sunulan ve Kazak toplumunun birliği önündeki iç engelleri açıklamak için başvurulan tarihsel olaylar olmuştur. Turar Riskilov'un erken dönem Sovyet politikalarına olan bakış açısı, bu vakaları incelemek için tezde değinilen başat meselelerdendir.

Bu konuyla ilişkisi olan ikinci önemli nokta, göçebe toplumların hiyerarşik düzenlerini içerir. Khazanov'un iddia ettiği gibi, geçici merkezileşme, devlet etkisinin arttığı dönemlerde göçebe toplumların en belirgin politik düzenidir. Bu düzenle birlikte, göçebe toplumlar yalnızca savaş gibi olağanüstü durumlarda merkezileşir, fakat bu şartların ortadan kalkmasıyla birlikte merkezileşen unsurlar önemini yitirir. Böylece göçebelerin hiyerarşik düzenlerinin esnek ve yatay bir şekilde oluşması ve toplum

içerisinde birden çok asabiye'nin belirmesi sonucu çıkar. Asabiye kavramı üzerinden bir klan veya boyun toplumsal bağlarını ve birlik duygusunu inceleyen İbn Haldun'un dediği gibi, güçlü tek bir asabiye yerine, birden çok asabiye'nin toplumun ayrı kümelerinde bulunması, örgütlenmede sorunlar ortaya çıkarır ve bu toplumları dış müdahalelere açık hale getirir. Bu savdan, Kazak toplumundaki *aq* ve *qara süyek* kümeleri arasındaki anlaşmazlıkların, neden kitlesel bir direniş karşısında engel teşkil ettiğini açıklamak amacıyla tezde faydalanılmıştır. Bu nedenler ve teknik araçların eksikliği, Kazak toplumunun Çarlık Rusyası ve Sovyetler Birliği'nin politikalarına karşı kitlesel direnişini engellemiştir. Sonuçta, Kazaklar göçebe kimliklerini kaybetmiştir. Fakat bu durum, Kazakların göçebe kimliklerini sembolik öğelerle 21. yüzyıla taşıma istencini kıramamıştır. Bu nedenle, tezde incelenen son konu, "sembolik göçebelik" adı altında, 21. yüzyıl Kazak göçebeliğidir.

Tezin bu kısmında, 20. ve 21. yüzyıllardaki tarihsel olayları bağdaştırmak adına, 1930'ların sonundan itibaren Kazak kimliği üzerinde yoğunlaşan diğer Sovyet politikaları ele alınmıştır. Stalin'in baskı politikaları ve Hruşçov'un Kazakistan'daki tarım politikaları üzerine yoğunlaşan bu kısımda, Kazakistan'ın bağımsızlığını kazanmasına kadar süren Sovyet politikaları incelenmiştir. Sonuçta, Kazakların ulusal ve toplumsal varlıklarını uyanan bu politikalar, *Jeltoqsan* olaylarıyla birlikte Kazak toplumunun tepkisini su yüzüne çıkarmış ve bu özgürlükçü tepkiler Kazakların bağımsızlığını kazanmasının ardından, göçebe geçmişlerini sembollerle ifade etmesinde önemli bir fırsat doğurmuştur. Tezde, Kazak mimarisinin birçok yapısında ve yeniden yaygınlaştırılmaya çalışılan birçok eski adetinde gözlemlenilebilen bu semboller, Kazak göçebeliğinin son biçimini barındıran sembolik göçebelik kavramıyla incelenmiştir. Sembolik göçebelik, Kazak toplumu ve Kazakistan devletinin ortak istenciyle var olan politik ve sosyal bir olgudur. Akrabalık bağlarını korumak amacıyla yüzyıllar boyu sürdürülmüş, fakat Sovyetler Birliği döneminde unutulmaya yüz tutmuş "yedi ata" geleneği, 1991 sonrası dönemde bu ortak istencin en somut örneği olmuştur. Bu gelenek, Kazak toplumunun talebi ve bağımsız Kazakistan devletinin yardımıyla yeniden diriltilmeye çalışılmaktadır. Artık göç etmeyen 21. yüzyıl Kazakları, bu gelenekler ve taşın yapılarla, göçebe geçmişi ve atalar ruhunu ayakta tutmaktadır.

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YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : ÖZKAN
Adı / Name : ALPARSLAN
Bölümü / Department : Avrasya Çalışmaları

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English): *THE EFFECT OF THE NOMADIC/SETTLED CONTRADICTION ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE KAZAKH IDENTITY: A REINTERPRETATION*

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: Yüksek Lisans / Master

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