

Russian Migration and Structural Change in Kazakh SSR with special reference to Agricultural Developments (1917-1991)

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Abstract

In the history of Central Asia, developments during the 19th and 20th centuries, such as Collectivisation, Industrialisation besides Colonization, has contributed in an enormous way to the socio-economic life of Central Asian States. The case of Kazakhstan is rather an exceptional one since its relationship with Russia had been the longest and more penetrating as compared to other Central Asian Republics, which lead to long lasting imprints on the Kazakh socio-economic and cultural institutions. Russian migration, which was a primary prerogative of both Czarist and Soviet regimes, changed not only the demographic and economic profile of Kazakh SSR, but also transformed the socio-cultural fabric of Kazakh society. With the colonization of Kazakhstan by Russian peasants, the Kazakh country which was a nomadic society, wholly and solely dependent on pastoral economy, changed to agricultural one and subsequently an industrial one. The present study intends to investigate the migration pattern of Russian ethnic groups to Kazakhstan and its follow up agricultural development. Moreover, the policies of Soviet government in relation to migration and agricultural development which bore both positive as well as negative effects have been discussed in the paper.

Keywords

Pastoralism, Migration, Ethnicity, Colonization, Collectivisation, Sovietization,

Introduction

The vast territory of Kazakhstan is the only republic among fifteen national republics of the former Soviet Union that is most multi-ethnic in its composition wherein it contained a large number of Slavs and many other ethnic groups¹. Indeed it was the exceptional republic, which at the time of independence did not constitute majority of titular ethnic group such as Kazakhs². This change in the demographic composition of Kazakhstan resulted from the large scale Russian migration that took place during Czarist period and which received a momentum during Soviet period. This changed demographic structure of Kazakhstan coupled with the policies of Soviet government bore both positive as well as negative impact on the socio-economic life of Kazakhs, which we are going to discuss in this paper.

Migration

Migration, a historical process is the result of instability³ at homeland or availability of better opportunities at the newly migrated land. Certain other factors like income, size of population, distribution of information, social and cultural amenities,

location of resources and government policy are related to the process of migration⁴. The migration of Russians to Kazakhstan was also a historical development that evolved over centuries. For a larger part of time Russians have been migrating as merchants, clerks, teachers, civil administrators and military personnels into the region of Central Asia⁵ and were settled in large urban centres⁶. On the basis of nature and composition of migrants, the Russian migration to Kazakhstan can be divided into three distinct phases.

First Phase of Migration

The first phase of migration started with the Russian conquest of Kazakhstan till the beginning of the Soviet era. The period was dominated by the arrival of Cossacks, civil administrators, peasant settlers and others who were motivated by pull and push factors. From this period Russian traders and soldiers became visible on the North-Western border of modern Kazakh territory.

The history of Russia conquering the territories of Central Asia goes back to the mid-16th Century when Ivan the Terrible (1530-1584) started the process with the destruction of Khanates of Kazan (modern Republic of Tatarstan) in 1552, and Astrakhan in 1556⁷. Subsequently, under Peter the Great (1682-1725)⁸ Russians arrived in Kazakhstan in large numbers forming a part of the Russian colonial expansion in Central Asia⁹. The Kazakh steppes, on the eve of Russian conquest were divided into three major Hordes, i.e. Elder, Middle and Younger Hordes¹⁰. These Hordes occupied themselves on the territories roughly in common with Semirechie, Central and Western Kazakhstan respectively. Except for a brief period, they never forged to emerge into a Steppe Empire like those of medieval Empires of Turks and Mongols¹¹.

As a result of local Khanate's pre-occupation of war with Kalmyks (Oirats, Dzungars), Russian imperial authorities were successful in subduing the Kazakh territory. So Kazakhs were caught in middle, having no option but to throng themselves under Russian suzerainty. In 1848 the khanates were ultimately abolished and despite frequent Kazakh uprisings the Russian Empire completely took over political power. So, by 1850s the Kazakh Khanates were completely liquidated¹².

One of the important consequences of this military occupation was the migration of large number of Russians to newly conquered lands. These immigrants were welcomed by the Central government at St. Petersburg as their presence was considered to strengthen Russian hold over these areas¹³. Cossacks¹⁴ were the first group of Russians that settled down in northern Steppe areas and started construction of fortifications, which included towns and settlements¹⁵. By setting of military posts deeper in Kazakh territory, such as Akmolinsk and Turgai, they built up centres of military and political control (Uralsk, Semie, Guriev and Ust-Kamenogorsk) that played an important role in political and economic interaction of the Russian Empire¹⁶. From the first half of 18th century; several forts, Russian military and administrative Centres like Omsk, Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, Vernyy and others began to spring up in Kazakhstan and around these centres seasonal fares took place which attracted large numbers of people¹⁷. Due to this, a kind of markets, although with a limited scope, emerged in these areas which till then were unknown,

the example of Verny stands a testimony which during Soviet period developed as Alma-Ata, the capital city of Kazakhstan.

The colonization was also followed by the settlement of Russian peasants. Since 1860s the entire Kazakhstan was declared state possession of the Empire, and the lands of local nomads were seized and disseminated among Russian peasants. By 1867 there were 14 Cossack villages in northern part of Semirechie and Verney oblast, with a Russian population of about 14000 in Semirechie alone¹⁸. By the end of 1870s thousands of Russian peasants got settled in Kazakhstan and were involved in dry farming¹⁹.

Other developments which accelerated Russian settlement policy were abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861²⁰ and the resettlement act of 1889, according to which state presented land allotments, the immunity free loans to peasant colonists to persuade their immigration into Central Asia especially Kazakhstan. This act authorized the free settlement of peasants on state owned land, with the result hundreds and thousands of settlers migrated towards north of Kazakhstan. The grand famine of 1891-92 which resulted in about 1800 families arriving in Semirechie without authorization from centre²¹ was also a pushing factor. Between 1889 and 1896 immigration was seen as a solution to the problem of rural over population in metropolis of Russia²². As a consequence, a vast wave of colonist explosion burst upon the country, the attraction of land in the plains of Kazakhstan led to a substantial migration into the region and these arrivals were mainly agriculturalists²³. It was followed by some persecuted religious communities, such as, Protestants and the Old Believers and criminals and political dissidents who were exiled. They established themselves in the basin of Ural River, regions of Altai Mountains, and banks of Ishim, Tobol, and Upper Irtysh rivers falling in present day Kazakhstan²⁴. From the first imperial census of Russia in 1897, ethnic Russians constituted 11% of the region's total Population whereas Ukrainians comprised 1.9%²⁵. These figures are well reflected in the following table.

Table 1: Kazakhs and Russians in Kazakhstan: 1897

	Number	Percentage
Kazakh	3,392,800	81.8
Russian	454,400	11.0

Source: Krader, Lawrence. (1963). *Peoples of Central Asia*. Bloomington: Indiana University. p. 198; Dave, Bhavana and Peter Sinnott. (2002). *Demographic and Language Politics in the 1999 Kazakhstan Census*. Washington: The National Council for Eurasia and East European Research. p. 22.

The reforms of 1906-07 during Pyotr Arkadyevich Stolypin's reign (1906-11) opened up a new wave of Russian immigrants²⁶ and a large group of peasants and Cossacks, at the beginning of 20th century were settled in Central Asia and Kazakhstan²⁷. By 1911 Russians formed majority of population of the Oblasts of Akmolinsk (835,000 out of a total of 1,444,000 or almost 58%), and Turgay (235000 out of 713000 almost

33%)²⁸. It is reported that in 1914 more than one million Slav peasants were settled on the land taken from Kazakh nomads²⁹.

The Russian migrants hailed from different cadres of life³⁰. It is important to mention here that the migrants also constituted officials as the head of occupying forces, who came to serve the government and took the places of ousted officials of Khans³¹. As mentioned earlier, Russian authorities confiscated Kazakh lands and banned migration of nomadic Kazakhs across settled territories³². It is mentioned that almost 100 million acres of land was confiscated from the inhabitants of the present day Kazakhstan, as a consequence natives along with their cattle drove towards hills and deserts, where in most of cases both the owners and their cattle died³³. By this policy, Czarist regime tried to ease out the Russian peasant burdened by load of feudal survivals to settle freely in Asiatic Russia and these policies proved to be a catalyst for the poor peasants of European Russia, who found a chance to elevate their status from bad to good. This aspect of Russian occupation proved to be more damaging to native populace as the “land hungry peasants” were permitted to inhabit on qualitative and most fertile plough land was given to new settlers whereby displacing the Kazakh and Kirghiz nomads³⁴.

A careful analysis of historical facts reveal that migration process of ethnic Russians into Kazakhstan was primarily state sponsored initiated under the auspices of Czarist regime³⁵ and reached to its climax during Soviet era. The repressive executions for the subsistence and settlement of those Russian migrants proved havoc to the native populace as the peasant migrants were permitted to inhabit the fertile plough lands by displacing the native population. This is supported by the number of uprisings that took place during this period, for example between 1783 and 1870 at least eight major Kazakh revolts took place against these Russian settlements but they were crushed strongly by Russian army³⁶. Subsequently, this process was further promoted and accelerated by the Soviet regime under the guise of collectivization and industrialization which changed the demographic structure of Kazakhstan bearing far reaching consequences on socio-economic and cultural history of region.

Second Phase of Migration

The second phase of migration of ethnic Russians started with the beginning of Soviet era and continued until World War II. The migration pattern during this period, though changed, continued in Central Asia including Kazakhstan. During this phase, migration was endorsed for the settlement of people associated with industries and railway engineering along with peasants on a low scale. The movement boosted since Soviet Union advocated Internationalism³⁷, Socialism and New Economic policies which encouraged migration of many people from their homeland to the place of working. The influx of Russians into the region assumed an organized character after the beginning of Industrialization and changed the ethno-demographic profile of Kazakhstan.

Major developments like construction of railways, collectivization³⁸ of agriculture and industrialization took place during 1920's particularly in Kazakhstan and

these developments pushed a large number of competent persons, qualified workers, technicians, scientists and people belonging to arts and culture, which initiated a process of modernization into the region. Though the construction of railways was motivated by strategic aims³⁹, yet the completion of Trans-Aral railway between Orenburg and Tashkent facilitated Russian and Ukrainian migration to Central Asia and Kazakhstan⁴⁰. Collectivization of agriculture also promoted the process of migration, since millions of hectares of new lands were reclaimed and as such large number of urban and rural settlements sprung up often on virgin sites⁴¹.

In the wake of vigorous influx of other ethnic groups coupled with massive deaths among Kazakhs and their migration to other areas of Central Asia and China the population of Kazakhs declined constantly⁴². The first All-Union census of 1926 reveals that in Kazakhstan, Kazakh population stood at 3,627,612 (58.2%)⁴³, which however, according to the census of 1939, had declined to 2,327,625 (37.84%)⁴⁴. Taking natural growth into consideration, the total loss in population was about 1.3 million people. Though a massive migration of Russians into all non-Russian republics remained a peculiar feature of Soviet government, yet Kazakhstan was one of the most horribly affected regions⁴⁵. Contrary to this phenomenon, during this period, the share of Russians in the total population of Kazakhstan increased by 1,183,632⁴⁶ and by 1939, Russians had thus attained plurality in Kazakhstan, with 40.3% of the total population. These migrants were mostly found in both rural and urban areas of Northern and Eastern regions of Kazakhstan⁴⁷. Table 2 shows the number and percentage of Russians and Kazakhs vis-à-vis the total population in Kazakhstan from 1926 to 1939.

Table 2: Kazakhs and Russians in Kazakhstan: From 1926 to 1939

Ethnic Group	Year			% Change 1926-39
	1926	1937	1939	
Kazakhs	3,627,612 (58.54%)	2,181,520 (42.55%)	2,327,625 (37.84%)	-35.83
Russians	1,275,055 (20.6%)	1,917,673 (37.4%)	2,458,687 (40.0%)	92.8
Total Pop.	6,196,356 (100%)	5,126,678 (100%)	6,151,102 (100%)	-0.7

Source: Dave, Bavana and Peter Sinnott. (2002). *Demographic and Language Politics in the 1999 Kazakhstan Census*. Washington: The National Council for Eurasia and East European Research. p. 22; Nurpeis, K. (2005). "Kazakhstan," Adle, Chahar. (Ed.). *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol. VI. Paris: UNESCO. p. 254; Krader, Lawrence. (1963). *Peoples of Central Asia*. Bloomington: Indiana University. p. 212.

The above table reflects two things; one the increasing trend of Russians in relation to decrease in Kazakhs and the decreasing trend in total population from 1926 to 1937. The migration of Kazakhs to other parts of Central Asia and China as a result of

forced collectivization, repression and subsequent deaths among Kazakhs (due to famine) were also contributing factors to this scenario. After 1937, however a slight increase in the total population is noticed but until 1939 heights of 1926 were not achieved. It is important to mention that prior to Soviet era, migration was to a great extent rural but after revolution, Russian movement into Central Asia has chiefly an urban character due to which the urbanization and urban population increased in Kazakhstan from 8.5% in 1926 to 27.8% by 1939⁴⁸.

Third Phase of Migration

The third phase (a very crucial phase), which started from the beginning of World War II until the disintegration of Soviet Union, witnessed the arrival of deportees of war⁴⁹, people associated with industries as the period saw relocation of a number of industries in Kazakhstan⁵⁰ along with the people to work on Virgin Lands⁵¹. It is believed that more than 1,500 factories moved east in 1941, out of which a fifth went to Central Asia and more than 100 settled in present day Kazakhstan, resulting in big shifts of population distribution⁵². The evacuation of people from frontlines due to the threat of possible collaboration of Volga Germans and Koreans with Nazis and Japanese respectively led to the introduction of new elements in the population distribution. This all happened in an organized scale which otherwise were present in Kazakhstan from the very beginning of the Soviet period, to which the census report of 1926 stands a testimony⁵³. The total number evacuated between June 1941 and October 1942 was close to 20 million⁵⁴, which increased the rate of urbanization to 44% in 1959 as against just 8.3% in 1926⁵⁵, as these migrated people had close association with industries rather than with agriculture. These large urban centres were settled mostly by Russians, hence termed as Russian islands in a large Central Asian Sea⁵⁶. It is believed that during this phase, Soviet government incurred twice the amount into the economy of Central Asia than it made since the pre-war days⁵⁷.

This demographic Russification continued even after World War II. Khrushchev's Virgin Lands Program that expanded the acreage under cultivation in the steppe regions of Northern Kazakhstan necessitated fresh transfer of men, material and equipments. The Virgin Lands program launched in February 1953, aiming at transforming the large areas of uncultivated steppe lands of Kazakhstan and south-western Siberia into new productive fields, led to the migration of hundreds and thousands of volunteers from the European parts of USSR who settled down and cultivated what was called the "unused lands" of Kazakhstan. The move proved great pillage for Kazakhs since it deprived them from their grazing lands for rearing their cattle and livestock.

The Kazakh resistance to collectivization⁵⁸ and subsequently the enormous loss of life due to starvation led to the overall decrease in the proportion of Kazakh population which fell dramatically from 57.1% in 1926 to 30.0% in 1959⁵⁹. Contrary to this, large influx of ethnic Russians to work on virgin lands increased the share of Russians to 42.7% in 1959⁶⁰. Out of 15 Oblasts, Russians outnumbered Kazakhs in 9 oblasts⁶¹. By 1960s, the ethnic equilibrium was adversely negative vis-à-vis Kazakhs as they became minority in

their own home land. The increasing mining activities in Central Asia further increased the numerical strength and size of Russian labour force in Central Asia including Kazakhstan.

Though the last two decades of Soviet rule witnessed a gradual decrease in the absolute number of Russians and their share in overall population in the entire region of Central Asia, yet in Kazakhstan, there was slight increase of Russians in absolute numbers and decrease in their share of the total population (Refer to table no. 3)⁶². The declining trend and pattern of Russian migration is clearly noticed from the census of 1979. The stage witnessed tremendous changes on account of changes in world scenario as well as other developments within USSR. The World War II and Cold War era which sowed seeds for corruption and disintegration of USSR were primary reasons behind the migration fluctuation. The fluctuating population developments between Russians and Kazakhs in Kazakhstan from 1959 to 1989 are well reflected from the below table.

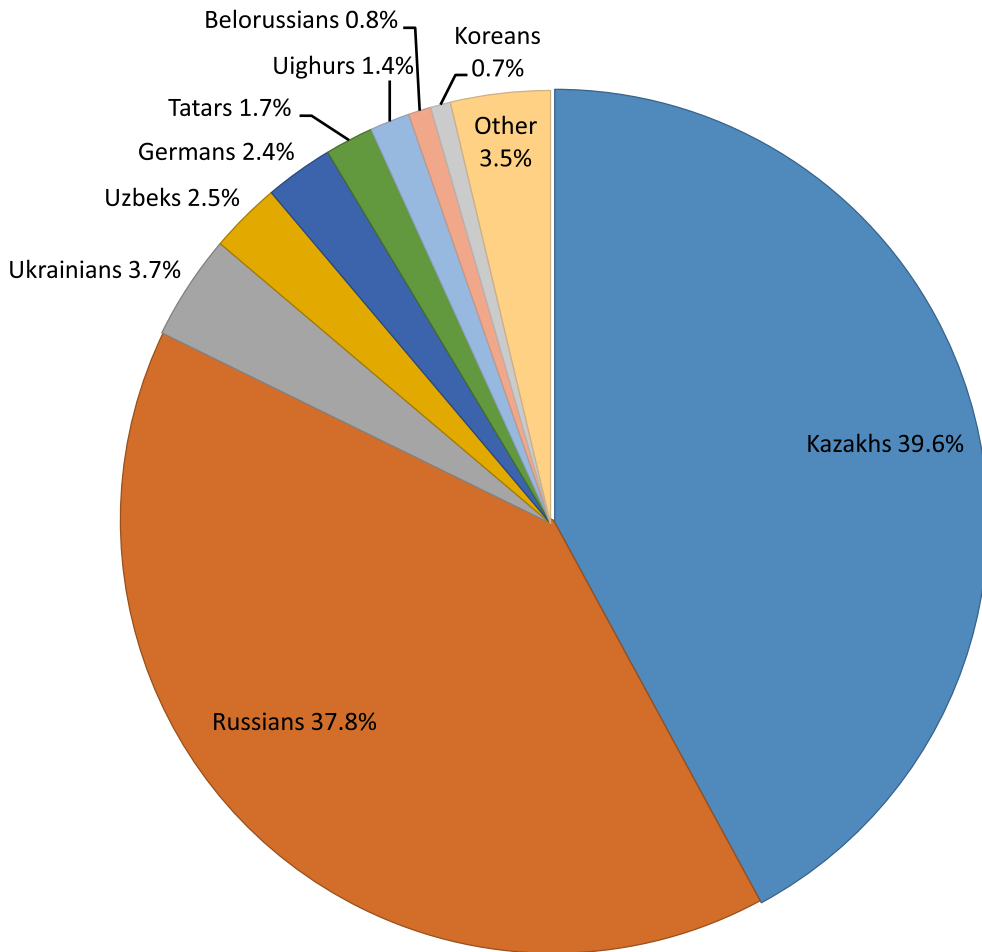
Table 3: Russians and Kazakhs in Kazakhstan: From 1959 to 1989

Ethnic Groups	Year				% Change 1959-89
	1959	1970	1979	1989	
Kazakhs	2,794,966 (30.0%)	4,234,166 (32.5%)	5,289,349 (36.0%)	6,534,616 (39.6%)	133.7
Russians	3,974,229 (42.7%)	5,521,917 (42.4%)	5,991,205 (40.8%)	6,227,549 (37.8%)	56.6
Total Population	9,294,741 (100%)	13,008,573 (100%)	14,684,283 (100%)	16,464,464 (100%)	77.1

Source: Athar, G M. (2000). "Demographic Indigenization in Kazakhstan – A Spatio Temporal Analysis." *Journal of Central Asian Studies*. 11. Srinagar: p. 50. Nurpeis, K. (2005). "Kazakhs." *Adle, Chahar. History of Civilizations of Central Asia*. Paris: UNESCO. Vol. VI. p. 254; Dave, Bavana and Peter Sinnott. (2002). *Demographic and Language Politics in the 1999 Kazakhstan Census*. p. 22; Krader, Lawrence. (1963). *Peoples of Central Asia*. p. 215.

The changes in population pattern since 1970s are primarily attributed to high birth rates among Kazakhs than among Russians⁶³, the growing migration of people of local nationalities from the countryside to cities, and out flow of Russian speaking population from the region⁶⁴, since Central Asia was no longer considered as a region of potential development in the wake Glasnost and Perestroika and subsequent disintegration of USSR. Thus, the migration process discussed above had two-fold impact on Kazakhstan. One is immigration of ethnic Russians, the other catastrophic out migration of Kazakhs from their native land. Due to migration pattern some new elements were introduced in Kazakhstan's population resulting in a complete change of composition of Social and demographic structure. The ethno-demographic structure of Kazakhstan in 1989 is well reflected from the following chart.

Figure 1: Ethnic Composition of Kazakhstan in 1989 (%age)



Source: Compiled on the basis of data cited in tables 1, 2 and 3.

Structural Changes

Migration of ethnic Russians into Central Asia including Kazakhstan remained a primary prerogative throughout the period under study. These migrations, coupled with official efforts led to gradual transformation of a nomadic society to agricultural society. Under Soviets radical changes were initiated in the socio-economic sector, Kazakhstan witnessed a process of modernization, industrialization and westernization. The region was wrenched out of Asia and thrust into Europe. The contribution of Russians (both under Czars and Soviets) to the socio-economic sector of Kazakhstan is discerned from the following discussion.

Before its annexation by Russia, Kazakhstan was a nomadic society and as such the economy of Kazakhs largely revolved round pastoralism. The development of agricultural and its allied aspects owe its contribution to Russians. Though the Kazakh pastoral economy had never been entirely self-sufficient, but it had proven to be the most

proficient human exploitation of the arid grasslands, which is evidenced by the persistence of pastoral nomadism through time⁶⁵. The principal socio-economic effect of Russian rule and its related modernization was the elimination of the economic viability of Kazakh pastoral nomadism⁶⁶. In view of the inevitable economic forces of modernization, the Kazakhs could not maintain their traditional economy nor the culture which was based upon it. An important impact of Russian rule and its modernization initiatives was adoption of sedentary mode of living by Kazakhs⁶⁷. The heavy influx of Russians turned not only the grazing grounds of Kazakhstan into agricultural fields, but also compelled Kazakh nomads to settle and adopt sedentary mode of life⁶⁸ since their old routes of migration were blocked by Russian settlements.

Pastoral nomads have highly developed system of land-use, enforced by custom (through trial-and-error) not by violence. Kazakhs had regarded the land (specifically, the pasture) as common to all, with traditional rights of getting benefit of land for each family within its extended group's territory. In some places, the best sites were reserved for specific families, in others, it was first-come first-serve; in still others, usage rotated on a customary fashion between families. Relations over pasture and water were vital to the Kazakh culture, which stressed peaceful resolution over bloodshed⁶⁹.

With the pressures of Russification, the nomadic conception of land was replaced by the concept of private property. The government had seized all Kazakh land as crown property⁷⁰. The best fertile plough lands were determined as surplus and as such was given to the ministry of agriculture for distribution among peasants. The Kazakhs were left with marginal lands to compete among themselves. Those Kazakhs who showed willingness in accepting modern changes benefitted but those who remained mostly traditional were more likely to be impoverished.

Traditionally Kazakhs did not lay fodder to their herds in the winter, which sometimes took a heavy toll of their herds when there were harsh winters⁷¹. With the introduction of storing fodder for winter spread, the Kazakh families laid claim over hey and meadow lands also. In this situation wealthy Kazakhs used money to buy or rent the lands of poorer Kazakhs, thus developing rich Kazakh land owners⁷². Thus, emergence of rich Kazakh landed magnates and stratification of Kazakh society came into being for the first time in their history⁷³. As available pastures declined due to Russian constriction, the Kazakh economic situation changed⁷⁴. The modern sedentary life style on the one hand forced many Kazakhs to take up subsistence farming because they could no longer maintain adequate herds; on the other hand it increased the power of numerous other Kazakhs⁷⁵. It was noted that by the early 1800s, a split was developing between those Kazakhs who benefitted from Russian rule and those who suffered. The economic impact of Russian rule made many moderate and poor Kazakhs to abandon nomadism while wealthy Kazakhs often increased their wealth. The result was that by the close of Czarist era, over 80% of the Kazakh population utilized some agriculture, while only about a third had done so merely some 40 years back⁷⁶.

The important feature of Czarist agricultural policy, the confiscation and distribution of nomadic lands among Russian settlers, led to the expansion and development of agriculture which till the mid-19th century was traditionally primitive⁷⁷. It was only with the increasing Russian control and Slav settlements in the rain-fed lands of south-east Kazakhstan that sedentary farming was introduced and some nomads began to plant winter grain. Moreover, southern Kazakhstan became part of Central Asian cotton economy⁷⁸.

Due to American Civil War supplies of imported cotton began to diminish, so Russians decided to concentrate their efforts upon expanding cotton growing districts in the Caucasus and Central Asia⁷⁹. To increase cotton production in order to free themselves from reliance on the sources outside empire, the Russians developed irrigation system which was inevitable⁸⁰. Under Soviets agricultural developments in Central Asia were to a great extent the projection of pre-1917 Russian policy with its emphasis on cotton growing and upon withdrawal from raising grain and other foodstuffs⁸¹. So Soviets at first attempted to repair the old disturbed and damaged irrigation system and to build new canals and dams across the existing rivers⁸², which led to agricultural development. With the result there was further expansion of area under cotton and gradual diminution in the area under other crops.

After the 1917 revolution, the most dramatic change was the enforced collectivization of 1928-9 accompanied by huge reduction in the number of livestock as a consequence of famine⁸³. Due to Civil war and collectivization, production of cotton and other crops decreased⁸⁴. To combat the drop in cotton production, Soviet authorities started a campaign to increase productivity by application of chemical fertilizers and planting better quality of cotton seed⁸⁵. Moreover, to combat the challenge, the problem in the sphere was solved by recruiting brilliant managers at collective farms, using machine tractors, creating appropriate potential of agricultural equipment, and improving technology of soil development as well as by comparing the good and the bad farms to provide implementation of state plan. Further, the agricultural year was divided into several cycles, such as sowing, haymaking, harvesting, cattle wintering with each agricultural cycle expected to have authorized representatives of regional organizations to exercise control⁸⁶. The Second World War was yet another manmade calamity, the negative aspects of which were borne largely by agriculture and livestock economy of Kazakhstan. During this period the number of razing fields decreased: in 1941-1945 it decreased by 126 thousand hectares or by 24.2%. In case of regional stockbreeding during the same period, the population of livestock of all types decreased by 164,686 heads or by 26%⁸⁷.

After Second World War, transition to a peaceful economy led to number of difficulties and took enormous efforts to recover. The first important main task was to recover grazing fields and to improve productivity of cereal crops up to 10.7 centners in 1948, and 11 centners in 1949. In order to increase the crop yield, it was planned to expand farming in 1948-1949 by 150 thousand hectares. In the sphere of cattle breeding it was

planned to achieve an increase and much attention was paid to the creation of collective horse farms with the aim to replace cows by horses for agricultural work⁸⁸.

The second major policy decision in 1950's was the Virgin Lands program introduced in the northern Kazakhstan⁸⁹. The program brought about 25.5 million hectares of new land into cultivation as a result Kazakhstan became a major producer of wheat and barley⁹⁰. With the reclamation of new lands for cultivation, the total sown area showed considerable increase, which the following table reflects with a year-wise distribution of new and virgin lands brought under cultivation along with the total sown area from 1953-54 to 1960.

Table 4: Virgin and Fallow Lands brought under Cultivation 1954 – 1960 (million hect.)

	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	Total
Kazakh SSR	8.6	9.4	1.9	1.0	1.9	1.0	1.7	25.5
Virgin Land Kray	6.6	6.2	0.8	0.4	1.3	0.5	1.2	17.0
Sown Area of all Agricultural Crops (all types of farms; Thousand hectares)								
Year	Kazakh SSR		Growth %		Virgin Lands Kray		Growth %	
1940	6,809		-----		3,177		-----	
1953	9,717		42.7		5,144		61.91	
1955	20,629		112.29		13,489		162.22	
1958	28,661		38.81		18,666		38.37	
1960	28,561		0.34		18,397		-1.44	
Total Growth %	319.45		-----		479.06		-----	

Source: Krader, Lawrence. (1963). *Peoples of Central Asia*. Bloomington: Indiana University. pp. 254, 257.

In the 1950s, some 640,000 migrant workers arrived in Kazakhstan and 1.8 million hectares of steppe land or 60 percent of Kazakhstan's newly opened land was ploughed and hundreds of collective farms were established. The program helped Kazakhstan produce 20 percent of the Soviet Union's grain and helped make Kazakhstan the third largest grain producer in the Soviet Union behind Russia and Ukraine. In 1956, Kazakhstan produced 16.38 million kilograms of bread, more than the 11 preceding years combined⁹¹. Not only cotton but other crops also increased under this programme. Idle and unused lands of Kazakhstan and West Siberia were reclaimed for cultivation of wheat in an attempt to increase grain production as rapidly as possible with least investment of capital. In Central Asian republics, grain lands increased in area by 20 percent between 1940 and 1942, and the areas planted with sugar beet and oleaginous crops also expanded, and vegetables and potatoes also increased by 32 percent⁹². Following table shows grain harvest in virgin lands as well as all types of farms.

Table 5: Crop Production in Kazakhstan: From 1950 to 1978 (in 1,000 tons)

Crops		1950	1960	1970	1978
Grain		3,612	15,511	22,200	27,891
	Wheat	NA	NA	16,077	18,851
	Maize	52	116	151	449
	Rice	55.5	23.1	274	478
Cotton		49	86	105	260
Sugar Beet		541	1,148	2,239	2,624
Potato		1,158	1,265	1,892	1,728
Vegetables		182	390	776	NA
Fruits		60	70	206	NA

Source: *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*. Vol 11. 1976. p. 518; *The Europa World Year Book*. Vol. I. 1971. p. 1271; *The Europa World Year Book*. Vol. I. 1974. p. 1383; *The Europa World Year Book*. Vol. I. 1983. p. 1273.

Table 6: Gross Harvest of grain crops in the Virgin and fallow lands

	1949-53	1954-58 (annual average)			1959	1960	
Kazakh SSR	3,942	13,700			19,085	18,844	
Virgin Land Kray	2,133	9,282			13,851	12,918	
Gross Harvest of all grain crops (all types of Farms; Thousand tons)							
	1913 ¹	1940	1953	1955	1958	1959	1960
Kazakh SSR	2,162	2,516	5,439	4,754	21,991	19,085	18,844
Virgin Lands Kray	-----	1,000	3,365	3,108	14,333	13,851	12,918
¹ 1960 boundaries							

Source: Krader, Lawrence. (1963). *Peoples of Central Asia*. Bloomington: Indiana University. pp. 256, 259

From 1960 onwards, more focus was given to the development of industry rather than agriculture. However, during this period agriculture was favoured by budget subsidies, input support and market support and transport etc with the result agricultural crops continued to increase. During this period grain and cotton farmers received favourable relative prices. Moreover, the prime motive of Soviet policy was to increase the output of the livestock sector in order to increase living standards through higher consumption of meat and dairy products. In the 1980s Kazakhstan exported 300,000 tons

of meat per year, 250,000 tons of milk and 150 million eggs to other Soviet republics and the result was that, meat output in the Soviet Union increased by 60 % during 1970s and 1980s⁹³.

Although in 1991, agricultural output accounted for less than 15 % of GDP yet just over a quarter of the workforce was formally employed in agriculture. Although less important in terms of total acreage, rice and cotton were significant crops in the south, and cotton was Kazakhstan's third largest export to non-Soviet markets after mineral fertilizers and coal⁹⁴. Oil crops, regionally important in two eastern regions, supplied 40 % of domestic demand⁹⁵.

Conclusion

After a careful analysis of historical facts, it is very clear that Kazakhstan, which was once referred as backward region, emerged as one of the developed republics of former Soviet Union with the positive contribution of Ethnic Russians in collaboration with the Soviet regime in due course of time. Drastic institutional development of Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic took place and at the time of soviet disintegration, Kazakhstan figured among more developed republics of the former Soviet Union.

However, the assertion does not mean that Soviet policies bore no negative effects. There were some negative aspects of the soviet policies as well. For example, the collectivization, which was forced in nature, led to some adverse effects, on the demographic structure of Kazakhs during the period under consideration. The census of 1926 reveals that the Kazakh population in Kazakhstan stood at 3,627,612 (58%) which however, according to the census of 1939 had declined to 2,640,000 (43%). Despite the fact that collectivisation costed millions of lives, Moscow continued with ruthlessly her policy of advance.

Notes & References

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2. According to 1989 census, Kazakhs constitute 39.7% of the total population of Kazakhstan while as Russians were 37.8%. In other Republics like Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, the titular ethnic groups (i.e., Kyrgyz, Tajiks and Uzbeks) were 52.4%, 62% and 71.4% respectively, on the other hand Russians in these Republics comprised of 21.4%, 8% and 8.3% respectively in 1989 census figures. Heleniak, Tim. (2013). "The Changing Nationality Composition of the Central Asian and Transcaucasian States," *Post-Soviet Geography and Economics*, 38(6). England: pp. 371–375; Athar, G M. (2000) "Demographic Indigenization in Kazakhstan: A Spatio Temporal Analysis." *Journal of Central Asian Studies*. 11. Srinagar: University of Kashmir. p. 50.
3. Instability is of many kinds political, social and economic etc. For example, when the political climate is not responding, minimal job opportunities are available and social instability.

4. William, Leasure J. and Robert A. Lewis. (1968). "Internal Migration in Russia in the Late 19th Century," *Slavic Review*. 27(3). USA: p. 375.
5. The term Central Asia denotes here Czarist Central Asia or erstwhile five Soviet Central Asian Republics, i.e. Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. For details see Allworth, Edward. (1967). *Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule*. New York and London: Columbia University Press. p. 158; Hambly, Gavin. (1969). *Central Asia*. New York: Dell Publishing Co. Inc. p. 169.
6. Krader, Lawrence. (1963). *Peoples of Central Asia*. Bloomington: Indiana University. p. 183.
7. Rahul, Ram. (1997). *Central Asia: An Outline History*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company. p. 124.
8. The rumors of gold deposits and mineral resources of Central Asia drew Russian attention from the time of Peter the Great, who sent large expeditions as far as Irtysh and Khiva to seek out these deposits. Hambly, Gavin. (1969). *Central Asia*. p. 221.
9. The process of peasant settlements on Kazakh lands was accelerated further under Catherine the Great (1762-96), by establishing and regularizing taxation system and granting land allotments to Russian peasants. Moreover, during this period a number of decrees were passed, which were followed by the migration of large number of Russians and other Europeans to the newly conquered lands. Kassymova, Didar. et al. (2012). *Historical Dictionary of Kazakhstan*. UK: The Scarecrow Press. p. 228; Wheelar, Geoffrey. (1966). *The Peoples of Soviet Central Asia*. London: Bodley Head. p. 35; Clem, Ralph Scott. (1973). "Impact of Demographic and Socio-Economic Forces Upon the Nationality Question in Central Asia." Edward Allworth (Ed.). *The Nationality Question in Soviet Central*. New York: Praeger Publications. pp. 198-200.
10. Russian "Orda" Kazakh "Juz" and a minor one called Burkey's Horde, formed on the western side of the Younger Horde between the Ural and Volga rivers.
11. In view of this growing disparity, it was inevitable for Russia to restrain herself from these territories. Initially Russia started with slow pace and was contented with the acceptance of tutelage by various Kazakh leaders rather than by any actual military control. This process started in 1730, when Abul Khayr, the khan of the Younger Horde, requested to be under the suzerainty of Czar and the request was granted. For the most part of eighteenth century, Russia received similar assurances of loyalty from other Kazakh leaders, which was only a political expediency designed to strengthen their positions in inter-tribal wars. Soucek, Svat. (2000). *A History of Inner Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp. 196-197.
12. The Khan of Younger Horde (Abul Khayr) sought support of the Russians against Kalmyks on the condition to accept Vassalage. The Russians subjugated the Middle horde by 1798, but the Elder horde managed to remain independent till 1820s when the growing Kokand power towards south forced them to choose Russian protection or to die a natural death under Kokand Khanate. Russia, later on sought to interpret these oaths of loyalty as agreements for annexation. Tolesh, Fariza A. (no date) *The Population History of Kazakhstan*. p. 5. Retrieved from <http://princeton.edu/papers>. on 05 Nov., 2015.
13. W P and Zelda K. Coates. (1951). *Soviets in Central Asia*. London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd. pp. 44-56; Kassymova, Didar. et al (2012). *Historical Dictionary of Kazakhstan*. p. 228.
14. The term "Cossack" has a wider scope but we used the term in the context of those Slavic speaking people who became known as members of autonomous, semi-military communities, predominantly located in Ukraine and Russia and also those who left South-East Russia to save themselves from the brutality of land

lords of Russia. They used to work as a defense force for Russian Government to save South-East part of the empire.

15. After its conquest, Russians built a large number of fortifications such as Novo-Alexandrova (on the eastern bank of the Caspian Sea 1834), a line of forts between Orsk and Troitsk (1835-37). W P and Zelda K. Coates. (1951). *Soviets in Central Asia*. pp. 44-56.
16. Author name unavailable. (1958). "Russian Military and Civilian Settlements 1824-1917," *Central Asian Review*, 6(2). London: pp. 143-151.
17. Soucek, Svat. (2000). *A History of Inner Asia*. p. 197.
18. Those who arrived in Central Asia and Kazakhstan during the period under consideration did not thought it better to live there permanently, and regarded the stay as a part of their career in order to obtain some positions in military and civil administration of Russia and to carry on their career, as it was pre-requisite to serve in the remote areas of Turkestan and the Caucasus. Williams, D S M. (1966). "Russian Peasant Settlement in Semirechie," *Central Asian Review*. 14(2). London: p. 111; Gorshenina, Svetlana. (2004). *The Private Collections of Russian Turkestan in the Second Half of the 19th and Early 20th Century*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag. pp. 73-74.
19. Brower, Daniel R. (2003). *Turkestan and the fate of the Russian Empire*. London: Routledge Curzon. p. 128.
20. Nurpeis, K. (2005). *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol VI. pp. 241-242.
21. Williams, D S M. (1966). *Central Asian Review*. 14(2). p. 111.
22. William, Leasure J. and Robert A. Lewis (1960). *Slavic Review*. 27(3). p. 377.
23. W. P and Z K Coates. (1951). *Soviets in Central Asia*. pp. 45-46; William, Leasure J. and Robert A. Lewis (1960). *Slavic Review*. 27(3). p. 382.
24. Peyrouse, Sebastien. (2008). "Russian Minority in Central Asia: Migration Politics and Language." *Occasional Papers*. Washington D C: Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars. p. 2.
25. Dave, Bavana and Peter Sinnott. (2002). *Demographic and Language Politics in the 1999 Kazakhstan Census*, Washington D.C: The National Council for Eurasia and East European Research. p. 22.
26. For details see Williams, D.S.M. (1966). *Central Asian Review*. 14(2). pp. 115-119.
27. Cossacks were especially settled down along the Northern border of Kazakhstan, whereby mid-19th century they already formed majority of foreign population.
28. Kradder, Lawrence. (1963). *Peoples of Central Asia*. p. 207.
29. Williams, D.S.M. (1966). *Central Asian Review*. 14(2). p. 117.
30. Firstly, Cossacks, then military personals and administrators and were followed by peasant colonists etc.
31. Peyrouse, Sebastien. (2008). *Occasional Papers*. p. 2.
32. Kassymova, Didar. (2012). et al. *Historical Dictionary of Kazakhstan*. p. 228. For more details about confiscation of lands, see Mikhailov, N. (1937). *Soviet Geography: the new Industrial and Economic Distributions*. UK: Methuen. pp. 103-107.
33. W P and Zelda K. Coates. (1951). *Soviets in Central Asia*. pp. 57-58.
34. Hambly, Gavin. (1969). *Central Asia*. p. 219.
35. Possibly Russia was first country in whole world who established a Specialized State Migration Management Department in 1763, whose primary objective was to promote migration from Western Europe to Russia. The establishment of department was having a different context from that of ours, but it can also be concluded that state was at the back of migration process. Focus Migration, available online at http://hwwi.de/russian_federation, accessed on 10 April. 2016. Moreover, In 1867 Nikolai Maev, a military statistician and future editor of the official newspaper,

- Turkestarskie Vedomosti, wrote that: "The tremendous distance which separates Turkestar Province even from Orenburg, not to mention other Russian towns, will for long continue to be one of the main obstacles to the stable establishment of Russian influence and civilization in Turkestar Province [...] the difficulty of the route is increased still more because of the insignificant Russian population in the forts and posts located on the Kirgiz [sic] steppe. So long as the population along the post and caravan routes from Orenburg to Tashkent does not increase, Turkestar Province will remain an entirely separate place, with very few dealings with Russia owing to the difficulty and distance of the road. N. A. Maev "Zapiska o merakh k uvelicheniyu russkogo naseleniya v Turkestarskoi Oblasti" 19/07/1867 TsGARUz, C.f, Morrison, A. (2015). "Peasant Settlers and the Civilizing Mission in Russian Turkestar, 1865-1917." *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 43(3). p. 393-94.
36. Though some of them were having a political character but the agrarian nature cannot be undermined. Jha, Manisha. (2007). *Ethnicity Modernity and Nationalism in Central Asia: Nation Building Experiences in Kazakhstan*. New Delhi: Academic Excellence Publishers and Distributers. p. 2.
37. Soviet Socialist state tried to promote the ideology of internationalism, which meant a proportional representation of other nationalities in the party and administrative structure of any of the republic. However, within the orbit of its socialist orientation mobility was the characteristic feature of their titular nationality and was often regulated by strategic presence of members of Slavic nationalities, largely Russians, sent from European regions of Soviet Union. These representatives of Center exercised substantial control by occupying positions of Second Secretary of Communist Party in the republics or serving as deputies to titular figureheads. Dave, Bhavana. (October, 2004). "Minorities and Participation in Public Life: Kazakhstan," Sub-regional Seminar, Minority Rights: Cultural Diversity and Development in Central Asia, Bishkek: p. 9.
38. In 1920s, the program of collectivization of Agriculture began to take shape at first in villages in the form of commune formations and a campaign was led for the creation and expansion of these collective farms. The policy meant at consolidating individual landholdings and labors into collective farms; basically Kolkhoz (Collective farm) and Sovkhoz (state farm) and sought to modernize Soviet agriculture by the use of modern equipments and latest scientific methods. However, this policy was accompanied by repression and deportation as its essential features. Kokaisl, P. (2013). "Soviet Collectivisation and its Specific Focus on Central Asia." *Agris on-line Papers in Economics and Informatics*. 5(4). Czech Republic: p. 124.
39. For example, the railway line from Akmolinsk to Kartaly (The railway line of about 480 miles) in order to shorten the distance for obtaining fuel for power stations, iron and steel plants etc. Another railway line was built beyond Aktiubinsk in order to connect it with Emba Oil fields. W. P and Z K Coates. (1951). *Soviets in Central Asia*. pp. 124-127.
40. Nuri, Maqsoodul Hassan. (1997). "Kazakhstan: Challenges of Nation Building." *Regional Studies*. 15(3). Islamabad: p. 92.
41. Kokaisl, P. (2013). *Agris on-line Papers in Economics and Informatics*. 5(4). p. 125.
42. Peyrouse, Sebastien. (2008). *Occasional Papers*. p. 2.
43. Nurpeis, K. (2005). *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. VI. p. 254.
44. Kradder, Lawrence. (1963). *Peoples of Central Asia*. p. 212.
45. This decrease was partly due to the collectivization and nationalization of all aspects of economy migration of Kazakhs to other areas of Central Asia and China. Kokaisl, P. (2013). *Agris on-line Papers in Economics and Informatics*, 5(4). pp. 121-130; Harris, Chauncy D. (1993). "The New

- Russian Minorities: A Statistical Overview.” *Post-Soviet Geography*. 34(8). Chicago: p. 7.
46. Dave, Bavana and Peter Sinnott. (2002). *Demographic and Language Politics in the 1999 Kazakhstan Census*. p. 22.
47. Athar, G M. (2000). *Journal of Central Asian Studies* 11. p. 50. Peyrouse, Sebastien. (2008). *Occasional Papers*. p. 2.
48. Krader, Lawrence. (1963). *Peoples of Central Asia*. p. 214.
49. So, by this, a new demographic element was introduced in the demographic structure of Central Asia.
50. It was because of the fear of Nazi occupation that USSR decided to shift most of its industry to Urals and Central Asia.
51. Virgin lands Policy was an Agricultural plan introduced by Nikita Khrushchev. The corn program and Virgin and Wasteland program were interrelated. This program was created in order to prevent the reduction of wheat area as corn area has increased. It was thus to boost Soviet Union’s agricultural production and to avert food shortages plaguing Soviet general population. Without this Program the area under wheat would have been largely reduced and crises in the bread supply would have occurred.
52. Peyrouse, Sebastien. (2008). *Occasional Papers*. p. 2.
53. In 1926, the number of Germans in Kazakhstan was 51,094, constituting 0.8% of the total population. Dave, Bavana and Peter Sinnott. (2002). *Demographic and Language Politics in the 1999 Kazakhstan Census*. p. 22.
54. Kalesnik, S. V. and V F. Pavlenko. (1976). *Soviet Union A Geographical Survey*. Moscow: Progress Publishers. p. 143.
55. Krader, Lawrence. (1963). *Peoples of Central Asia*. pp. 210-218; Kalesnik, S. V. and V F. Pavlenko. (1976). *Soviet Union A Geographical Survey*. p. 97.
56. Clem, Ralph Scott. (1973). *The Nationality Question in Soviet Central*. pp. 36-38.
57. Finally, movement reversed in favour of European Russia, since after the war certain industries were once again re-established on their original sites, resulting in the migration of workers along with plants. Kradder, Lawrence. (1963). *Peoples of Central Asia*. p. 190; Nuri, Maqsoodul Hassan, (1997). *Regional Studies*, 15(3). p. 92.
58. Kazakhs considered it a colonizational threat to their very survival. Pandey, Rahul. (2009). *The Emergence of Ethno-Nationalism in Kazakhstan: 1991-2001*. New Delhi: M. Phil Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University. p. 25.
59. Harris, Chauncy D. (1993). “The New Russian Minorities: A Statistical Overview.” *Post-Soviet Geography*. 34(8). Chicago: University of Chicago. p. 8.
60. Nurpeis, K. (2005). *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol. VI. p. 254.
61. For details see Athar, G M. (2000). *Journal of Central Asian Studies*. 11. p. 50.
62. Krader, Lawrence. (1963). *Peoples of Central Asia*. p. 215; Dave, Bavana and Peter Sinnott. (2002). *Demographic and Language Politics in the 1999 Kazakhstan Census*. p. 22; Athar, G M. (2000). *Journal of Central Asian Studies*. 11. pp. 50-51; Nurpeis, K. (2005). *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol. VI. p. 254.
63. For Example, in 1950s, Kazakhs had the highest birth rate with 7.4 children per family. Retrieved from <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/762/Kazakhstan>. On 14/05/2018. Peyrouse, Sebastien. (2008). *Occasional Papers*. p. 3.

64. Tishkov, Valery A. (1995). "Russians in Central Asia and Kazakhstan." Yaacov Ro'i (Ed.). *Muslim Eurasia: Conflicting Legacies*. London: Frank CASS. p. 292.
65. McNeill, William H. (1964). *Europe's Steppe Frontier (1500-1800)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp. 154-155.
66. Olcott, Martha B. (1987). *The Kazakhs*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press Stanford University. pp. 83-99.
67. Fisher, Lyn R. (1989). *Nationalism and Revolution in Kazakhstan, 1900-1920*. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Montana. p. 25.
68. However, this does not mean that whole of Kazakhstan was turned to sedentary mode of life, which is shown by the fact that overall cultivated area amounted to 8 or 9 per cent of Steppe oblast on the eve of the First World War. On the other hand, in 1916, on an area covering present day Kazakhstan, there were 18 million sheep and goats, 5 million cattle and 4.5 million horses. Poujol, C. and V. Fourniau. (2005). "Trade and the Economy (Second Half of Nineteenth Century to Early Twentieth Century)." Chahar Adle (Ed.). *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol. VI. Paris: UNESCO. p. 60.
69. Fisher, Lyn R. (1989). *Nationalism and Revolution in Kazakhstan, 1900-1920*. p. 26.
70. Fisher, Lyn R. (1989). *Nationalism and Revolution in Kazakhstan, 1900-1920*. p. 27.
71. The great nomad chieftain with countless herds could be struck by the zhut, or his rivals could carry off his livestock, leaving him a poor man dependent on his wealthier kin. By working for them, he could attain animals for himself, or he could let his kin pasture what livestock he had left, while he grew millet and harvested wild hay for them. The ex-nomad's goal was always to regain his herds.
72. Olcott, Martha B. *Kazakhs*. p. 18.
73. Fisher, Lyn R. (1989). *Nationalism and Revolution in Kazakhstan, 1900-1920*. p. 24-28.
74. The economic situation changed differently in different regions e.g., in the north, close to the Russian markets and transport, the wealthy Kazakh was Russian-oriented. In the remote east, the traditional milieu was least affected. In the south, due to the influence of Kokand, the Kazakh elite was incorporated in the Turkestani world; however, there also developed large numbers of nomadic Kazakhs who had drifted southward as the Russian pressure in the north forced them to seek other pastures. Finally, in the west, those near Russia were much affected but the tribes in the Ust-Urt and Turgai regions remained much more traditional. In the four northern oblasts in 1916, the herds totalled 2,200,000 horses 2,400,000 cattle, 500,000 camels, and 9,200,000 sheep and goats. Demko, George J. (1969). *The Russian Colonization of Kazakhstan, 1896-1916*. Netherlands: Indiana University. pp. 179, 223).
75. Olcott, Martha B. *Kazakhs*. pp. 93-94.
76. Olcott, Martha B. *Kazakhs*. p. 93.
77. Williams, D S M. (1966). *Central Asian Review*. 14(2). p. 111; Gorshenina, Svetlana. (2004). *The Private Collections of Russian Turkestan in the Second Half of the 19th and Early 20th Century*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag. pp. 73-74.
78. Although Kazakhstan remained a much smaller cotton producer than other Central Asian Republics. Josephson, P. et al. (2013). *An Environmental History of Russia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp. 69-72.
79. Poujol, C. and V. Fourniau. (2005). *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol. VI. pp. 57-60.
80. Matley, Ian M. (1967). "Agricultural Development." Edward Allworth (Ed.), *Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule*. New York and London: Columbia University Press. p. 274.
81. The Czarist agricultural policy aimed at increasing cotton growing fields. This extension of cotton growing

tracts appropriated lands previously used for raising Sorghum, alfalfa and rice rather than grains such as wheat.

82. For more details about the construction of new dams and irrigation canals see W P and Z K Coates. (1951). *Soviets in Central Asia*. pp. 102-104.
83. Josephson, P. et al. (2013). *An Environmental History of Russia*. pp. 81-83.
84. This drop in the productivity can be assigned to the disorders and frustrations resulting from Collectivization campaign.
85. Matley, Ian Murray. (1967). *Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule*. p. 290.
86. Agriculture of Northern Kazakhstan in the context of command administrative system of managing, 11 October 2013, <http://e-history.kz/en/contents/view/1622>. Accessed online on 15/12/2017. p. 2.
87. Agriculture of Northern Kazakhstan in the context of command administrative system of managing, 11 October 2013, <http://e-history.kz/en/contents/view/1622>. Accessed online on 15/12/2017. p. 1.
88. Agriculture of Northern Kazakhstan in the context of command administrative system of managing, 11 October 2013, <http://e-history.kz/en/contents/view/1622>. Accessed online on 15/12/2017. p. 2.
89. Josephson, P. et al. (2013). *An Environmental History of Russia*. pp. 92-93.
90. Krader, Lawrence. (1963). *Peoples of Central Asia*. p. 257.
91. *Economic History of Kazakhstan*. <http://factsanddetails.com/centralasia/Kazakhstan>. Accessed online on 20/03/2018. p. 3.
92. Voznesensky, N A. (1948). *The Economy of USSR During World War II*. Washington D C: Public Affairs Press. pp. 50-57.
93. Petrick, Martin. Richard Pomfret. (2016). *Agricultural policies in Kazakhstan*. Discussion Paper No. 155. Germany: Leibniz Institute of Agricultural Development in Transition Economies. p.10.
94. Out of 39 million hectares of cultivated land, 65 % was devoted to cereals and 33 % to fodder crops.
95. Petrick, Martin. Richard Pomfret. (2016). *Agricultural policies in Kazakhstan*. p.10.

