

EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH AND
GRADUATE STUDIES

AN ANALYSIS OF THE WESTERN
SCHOLARLY DISCOURSE ON TURKIC
IDENTITY IN CENTRAL ASIA

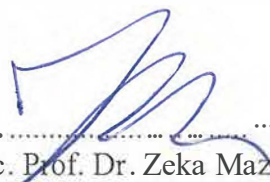
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May 2009

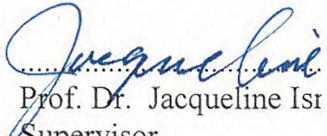
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Acknowledgements

This is an opportunity for me to thank to my family for their everlasting support for me. I also take this opportunity to thank to every single member of the Department of International Relations family. Particularly to my thesis supervisor Prof. Jacqueline S. Ismael and my boss Prof. Tareq Y. Ismael, my teachers Dr. Cyrus Manzoor and his wife Monelle Manzoor, Dr. Wojciech Forysinski, Dr. Moncef Khaddar, Dr. Seymen Atasoy and other precious members of the Department. I also would like to thank my friend Department Secretary Akile Serinkanli for her dearest friendship and support. Lastly I would like to thank to the Library Personnel of the Eastern Mediterranean University especially to Besime Guresun, Ahmet Sertcanli, Duriye Sentas, Arzu Yilmaz, Akman Dincyurek, Ece Celme and Seda Elci! for all their help throughout my studies at Eastern Mediterranean University.

Abstract

It is not quite possible to determine what is the true knowledge. This fact becomes much more apparent when we think of the knowledge on political issues. It is possible to argue that political knowledge is shaped by the international political conditions of the era that they came out. Since political atmosphere plays the crucial role in the emergence of knowledge it is hard to define the 'intellectual responsibility' of a scholar?

It is really hard to answer a question like: How far it is possible for the scholars to stay away from the effects of the international political atmosphere? How knowledge is created which is one of the important sources of power? In my case I will try to find an answer to these questions by studying the creation of a discourse on the Turkic identity in Central Asia by the Western scholars.

The research question is formulated for this study as: Did Western scholarly discourse published in the period between 1950s and 1990s on Turkic identity in Central Asia reflect the Cold War political environment? When there is a rivalry between two states or two groups of states, it can be argued that the study of the other side tends to be biased and created to legitimate the sustainment of the rivalry. When we look at the Cold War political environment, which marked division of international relations into two political poles (East and the West), it is possible to observe this sort of a behavior between those parties as well. My research question relates to this tendency for ideology

to affect knowledge. To examine this, I focused on the study of Turkic identity in Central Asia by the Western scholars. If one looks at the initial stage of the Western scholarly studies on the Turkic identity in the region s/he will find that the decade of 1950s, which coincides with the initial years of the Cold War as well, constitutes my starting point. Throughout the thesis I will try to answer the research question by analyzing the discourse

Özet

Gerçek bilginin ne olduğunu tayin etmek pek mümkün değildir. Bu durum politik konular hakkındaki bilgi göz önüne alındığı zaman daha bariz bir hal alır. Politik bilginin ortaya çıktığı uluslararası politik koşullar doğrultusunda şekillendiğini ileri sürmek mümkündür. Politik atmosferin bilginin ortaya çıkışı üzerinde oynadığı bu rol bir bilim adamının 'entellektüel sorumluluğunun' tanımlanmasını hayli güçleştirir.

Bilim adamlarının uluslararası politik atmosferin etkilerinden uzak durması ne derece mümkündür? Gücün önemli bir kaynağı olan bilgi nasıl üretilmiştir? Gibi sorulara cevap vermek gerçekten zordur. Ben bu sorulara Orta Asya Türk kimliği üzerine batılı bilim adamları tarafından yaratılan söylemi inceleyerek cevap bulmaya çalışacağım. Bu çalışma doğrultusunda formüle edilen araştırma sorusu: "1950'li ve 1990'lı yıllar arasında Orta Asya Türk kimliği üzerine basılmış olan Batılı akademik söylemler üzerinde Soğuk Savaş politik koşullarının etkisi olmuş mudur?" olarak belirtilebilir.

İki ve ya daha fazla devlet arasında ortaya çıkan bir çatışmada bir tarafın diğeri hakkında ürettiği bilginin taraflı ve var olan çatışmayı besleyici bir karaktere sahip olduğu iddia edilebilir. Soğuk Savaş dönemi politik koşullarına baktığımızda da bu tarz bir tutumu gözlemlememiz mümkündür. Benim araştırma sorum bu tutuma ideolojinin bilgiyi ne derece etkilediği açısından yaklaşmaktadır. Bunu sınamak için de Batılı bilim adamlarının Orta Asya Türk kimliği üzerine yazılmış çalışmalarını ele aldım. Orta Asya Türk kimliği üzerine yazılmış yazıların başlıca çıkış tarihlerinin 1950'ler olması ve bu

tarihin Soğuk Savaş Dönemi'nin ilk yıllarına denk gelmesi benim başlangıç noktamı oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışma boyunca Orta Asya Türk kimliği üzerine yazılmış batılı akademik söylemi inceleyerek cevap bulmaya çalışacağım.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

Absract

Özet

Chapter 1	Introduction	1
	A. Section 1- Research Question	1
	B. Section 2- Significance of the Study	4
	C. Section 3- Conceptual/Theoretical Background	6
	D. Section 4- Methodology	8
	E. Section 5- Sources of Data	14
	F. Section 6- Limitations	15
Chapter 2	Existing Literature on Turkic Identity: A Research Note	19
	A. Section 1- Accessing Bibliography on Central Asian Turkic Identity Through CD-ROMs and Internet	21
	B. Section 2- University Libraries	27
	C. Section 3- Selection of a Sample of Literature for This Thesis	29
	D. Section 4- Historical Background	30
	1. The Jadid Movement	33
	2. The Basmaci Movement (1916)	36
	3. Turkish Muslim Congresses in the Russian Empire (1905-1917)	38
	a. Revolution of 1905 and the Turkish Moslem Population of Russia	39
	b. First Congress (15 th August 1905)	40
	c. Second Congress (13 th – 23 rd January, 1906)	43
	d. Third Congress (16 th – 21 st August, 1906)	45
	e. Fourth Congress (15 th – 25 th June, 1914)	47
Chapter 3	Theoretical Background	52
	A. Section 1- Literature Review	
	1. Nationalism	52
	2. Turkic Identity in Central Asia	59
	B. Section 2- University Libraries	61

Chapter 4	An Analysis of the Discourse	65
	A. Section 1- The Cold War Literature on the Turkic Identity under the Tsarist Administration	67
	B. Section 2- Cold War Literature on Turkic Identity Under Soviet Regime	72
	C. Section 3- Post-Cold War Literature on Turkic Identity Under Tsarist Regime	79
	D. Section 4- Post-Cold War Literature on the Turkic Identity under Soviet Regime	85
Chapter 5	Conclusion	95
Appendix		100
Bibliography		110

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The project of containing the Soviet Union and its allies is a predominant theme of contemporary history, which merits some comment.

The fact that the rhetoric of "containment" carries with it some rather significant presuppositions has of course been recognized in the scholarly literature. In one of the leading studies of containment, John Lewis Gaddis observes that "the term 'containment' poses certain problems, implying as it does a consistently defensive orientation in American policy." He nevertheless finds the term appropriate, because "American leaders consistently perceived themselves as responding to rather than initiating challenges to the existing international order" and were in fact concerned with "maintaining a global balance of power with the perceived Muscovite challenge to that equilibrium" in Western Europe. Leaders of other powers have similar perceptions, but we do not permit this fact to guide our interpretation of history.

Noam Chomsky, Necessary Illusions

A. Section 1- Research Question

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Central Asia has been one of the rather recent centers of scholarly investigation of our decade. A general geographical definition of the region can be made as it is composed of five former Soviet states – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tadjikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan. Except Tadjikistan, the rest are considered Turkic states. Although it is possible to mention the presence of other nationalities, i.e. Russian, the main demographic group of the Turkic states are of Turkish speaking and Muslim. It is very interesting that still today Central Asian states have preserved these two identifying characteristics (Turkishness and Islam) under a colonial administration that was opposed to both religion and nationalism.

My study is about the Western scholarly discourse on Turkic identity. The research question is formulated for this study as: Did Western scholarly discourse published in the period between the 1950s and 1990s on Turkic identity in Central Asia reflect the Cold War political environment? When there is a rivalry between two states or groups of states, it can be argued that the study of the other side tends to be biased and to legitimate the sustainment of the rivalry¹. When we look at the Cold War political environment, which marked the division of international relations into two political poles (East and the West), it is possible to observe this sort of a behavior between those two parties as well². My research question relates to this tendency for ideology to affect knowledge. Did the Cold War affect Western scholarship on the Turkic world of Central Asia? To examine this, I focus on the study of Turkic identity in Central Asia by Western scholars.

If one looks at the initial stage of the birth of Western scholarly studies of Turkic identity s/he will find that the decade of the 1950s, coincided with the initial years of the Cold War as well. Intense geopolitical rivalry between the West and the Soviet Union that initiated this rivalry, called the Cold War, took many forms – ideological, economic, political, military. This thesis relates to the impact of this rivalry on Western scholarship on the Turkic World, then under Soviet domination. A central question to be addressed is whether Cold War discourse is apparent in Western scholarship on the Turkic areas of Central Asia.

This leads to a related question: to what extent does the international political environment affect scholarly discourses? The concept of environment refers to the political and economic conditions that shape the international agenda. Involvement of

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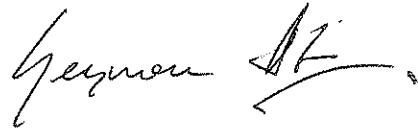
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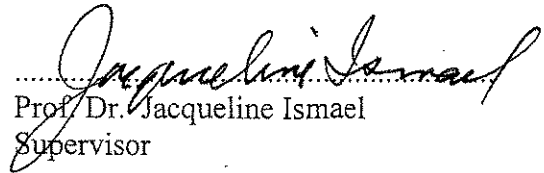
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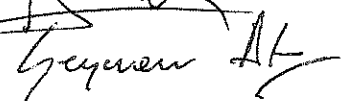
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more than one state or sometimes non-state actors establishes the international character of the environment in question. An international political environment can be of short or long duration and wide or narrow in scope. The duration and scope of an international political environment can change depending on its particular shaping conditions. This can be illustrated within the following examples: (1) the tense political environment that emerged in March 2000 between Turkey and Ukraine because of the attacks of the Ukrainian sea police on five Turkish fishing boats, illustrates an international political environment of narrow scope and short duration. (2) the colonial political environment or Cold War political environment is wider in scope as they encompasses many nations and are longer in duration. This wide scope has a variety of dimensions that can change from economics to politics, literature to arts. The impact of the colonial political environment on scholarly discourse has been definitively analyzed in Edward Said's book *Orientalism*. Said clearly discusses the creation of a body of knowledge on the "Other" (colonized) people and their lives.

The discourse on a particular topic can be defined as the whole body of knowledge that is created on that topic. Let us recall the research question once again: Did Western scholarly discourse, published in the period between the 1950s-1990s, on the Turkic identity in Central Asia, reflect the Cold War political environment? It is possible to define Western scholarly discourse as the body of knowledge that was produced by Western scholars right after the end of the Second World War till the dissolution of the Soviet Union, that is the Cold War. Since we defined the Cold War political environment as the rivalry between the East and West, we can name the United States 'containment' policies as a part of this rivalry. It is hypothesized in this study that

the Western scholarly discourse on Turkic identity that came out between the 1950s-1990s is a byproduct of the Western containment policies for the East.

B. Section 2- Significance of the Study

Discourse analysis has been one of the important methodologies that are used by scholars from various disciplines. That is why it is possible to find various definitions of the term. The general understanding of discourse analysis in linguistics is based on linguistic analysis of a particular transcript of a speech or a text. However, Micheal Foucault's studies brought other dimensions to the study of discourse in social sciences and questioned the classical style of history writing. He was confronting the idea that there is a single unified history. According to Foucault 'history is characterized by discontinuity, rupture, and arbitrariness'. His conception of history writing as subjective and momentary differs him from other historians like Marx and Hegel who tried to explain historical events by concepts like 'reason' or 'class struggle'. Foucault perceived those concepts as 'reductionist explanatory devices', which he was trying to avoid their use while explaining the historical events. The reason for his creation of the concept of "discursive formations" was to provide explanation to 'fundamental shifts' in human history. With his 'discursive formations', he was confronting the works of other historical thinkers, which were producing 'universal generalizations and claims', based on historical readings.³ The definition of discourse analysis for the purpose of this study is going to be from the Foucaultian point of view and can be formulated as an analysis of

the scholarly works on a particular issue to find the reason behind the creation of literature on it.

The studies that I have reviewed on discourse analysis are mainly textbooks that are informative about the theories of discourse and mainly focuses on linguistic analysis of the texts. My study will be different from linguistic text analysis. I will try to show how a body of knowledge can be created (in my case on the Turkic identity in Central Asia) by myths and metaphors based on Cold War ideology. "Myths, defined as representation of circumstances based on individually generalized grains of truth, distort our understanding of the subject; metaphors, defined as analogies which imply interconnections between actors, institutions, culture and process, lead to inferences of questionable validity, especially where myths are units in their construction."⁴ I will focus on the availability of material in English on the subject and how they presented the issue.

Theoretically my study is significant in elaborating the relationship between knowledge and power generally. Specifically it addresses the relationship between scholarship, national interest and the international political environment. Hopefully it will provide hints about the interconnectedness between scholarship and international politics. By focusing on Turkic identity in Central Asia I will try to show whether Cold War political conditions played a role in the shaping of Western scholarly literature on the subject or not.

On the practical dimension my study becomes significant for pedagogical purposes. Longman Dictionary of Active Study defines the word 'pedagogical' as the "adjective for material relating to teaching" (p.485). Based on this definition my study is

practically significant in analyzing the material that is used for teaching. The intellectual responsibility of a teacher is to provide correct information to his/her students. In his book *Powers and Prospects* Noam Chomsky defines the intellectual responsibility as “the intellectual responsibility of the writer, or any descent person, is to tell the truth”⁵. However, it is not easy to define that truism. Looking at following words of Chomsky will clarify what he meant;

The responsibility of the writer as a *moral agent* is to try to bring the truth about *matters of human significance to an audience that can do something about them*. That is part of what it means to be a moral agent rather than a monster. It is hard to think of a less contentious proposal than this truism. Or so one might think. Unfortunately, that is not quite the case, for a simple reason: the standard practice of the intellectual communities to which we (more or less) belong rejects this elementary moral principle, with considerable fervor and passion, in fact. We may even sunk to historical lower depths, in this regard, by the natural measure: comparison of the standard practice of to the opportunities available.⁶

It is crucially important to free what we write or teach from passion and to be able to draw the line between scholarship and political conditions either national or international. Pedagogical significance of my study becomes much more apparent when we think of the Cold War power rivalry (both political and economic) between East and West and their influence on scholarly works.

C. Section 3- Conceptual/Theoretical Framework

Since my study is about the discourse on Turkic identity and nationalism, chapter two of the study will be composed of the theoretical and historical background. The theory of nationalism constitutes the theoretical background of the study. In this section,

I will first provide a review of the general definitions nationalism and Turkish nationalism. The second part of this chapter will constitute the historical background of Turkic identity in Central Asia. Since national resistance movements (which initially emerged against the Russian conquest of the region) can be regarded as the milestones in the process of identity building, I will provide a brief historical survey.

Studying Turkic identity in Central Asia makes us to look at two concepts that constitutes the characteristics of people- Islam and Turkishness. In the third chapter of the study, the availability of literature on Turkic identity written in English since the beginning of the Cold War will be studied. Chapter four will dwell on the analysis of samples of this literature with a comparative approach to the study of Turkic identity both under the Tsarist and Soviet administrations. The final chapter provides a summary of the findings and conclusions.

The division of the study of literature on Turkic identity under the two administrations will provide us the opportunity to see what was the scholarly treatment of the issue of Turkic identity in relation with the international political conditions. My aim with this division is to show the existence of a possible dichotomy in the existing literature dealing with two different administrations depending on the setting of the international political conditions. By analyzing the literature on Turkic identity in Central Asia produced during the Cold War period for the pre- Bolshevik Revolutionary era and the Soviet era will provide us opportunity to see the changing reapproachment of the western scholars on the same topics within different political conditions.

D. Section 4 - Methodology

What is "discourse analysis"?

In *Longman Dictionary of the English Language* the definition of the word discourse were given as;

discourse: 1. a conversation, especially of a formal nature; formal and orderly expression of ideas in speech or writing; also such expression in the form of a sermon, treatise, etc.; a piece or unit of connected speech or writing.⁷

On the other hand "discourse analysis" as a methodology defined in *The Social Science Encyclopedia* as;

Discourse analysis refers to a lively but theoretically contested crossroads between several social science disciplines. Here social and cognitive psychologists have come into creative but sometimes rather uncomfortable contact with sociologists, philosophers, rhetoricians, linguists and literary theorists as they rework their theoretical ideas in the terrain of discourse (itself a contested notion). To further the confusion, discourse analysis is sometimes treated as a generic term to refer to virtually all work on language use in its social or cognitive context and at other times as a label for specific bodies of work, or as a contrast to text linguistics or conversation analysis. It is perfectly possible to have two books on discourse analysis, which have no overlap in content at all.⁸

In his book *The Archeology of Knowledge* (1972) Micheal Foucault raises arguments against traditional history writing. He views traditional history writing as a discipline that is full of discontinuities and totalities which has to be eliminated, According to him:

... history, in its traditional form, undertook to 'memorize' the *monuments* of the past, transform them into *documents*, and lend speech to those traces which, in themselves, are often not verbal, or which say in silence

something other than what they actually say; in our time, history is that which transforms *documents* into *monuments*. In that area where, in the past, history deciphered the traces left by man, it now deploys a mass of elements that have to be grouped, made relevant, placed in relation to one another to form totalities. There was a time when archeology, as a discipline devoted to silent monuments, inert traces, objects without context, and things left by the past, aspired to the condition of history, and attained meaning only through the restitution of a historical discourse; it might be said, to play on words a little, that in our time history aspires to the condition of archeology, to the intrinsic description of the monument.⁹

He aims to open the cover over history and suggests the establishment of structural links between the changing character of history writing which he names as 'epistemological mutation of history'.

In her book *Discourse* Sara Mills (1997) stresses the increasing usage of 'discourse analysis' in a wide range of disciplines, changing from linguistics to sociology, critical theory to social psychology, philosophy to some other fields. While trying to analyze the fields of different usage of the term, she mainly groups her ideas around the definitions that was provided by Michael Foucault. However, her aim with this study is not to provide a clear-cut definition for the term 'discourse'. She is aiming to identify the contexts in which the term is used.

Firstly she provides a comparison of ideology and discourse. She stresses that "in much of Foucault's work on discourse, there has been an open discussion and dialogue with the term ideology, and in some sense the term discourse has been defined in dialogue with and in reaction to the definition of ideology". Then she provides an analysis of discursive structures in which she reaches the conclusion that there are 'unwritten regulations' in the practice of discourse that can change from people to people

or subject to subject. She also provides information on the theories of discourse such as the feminist discourse or postcolonial discourse in order to provide examples for the possible contexts method used.

In his book *Discourse and Social Change*, Norman Fairclough (1994) mentions the problem of the lack of a method of discourse analysis that can be useful in understanding social change. He stresses that the increasing use of discourse analysis in scientific studies in various disciplines proves the necessity to develop a method of discourse analysis that can be used for the study of social change in a given society. He stresses the importance of language in understanding a given society and how society can be observed by analyzing the use of language itself. The analysis of language that Fairclough mentions is not the mere linguistical analysis of spoken dialogs or texts. He stresses that “ ‘text analysis’ and ‘discourse analysis’ in this sense do not share the traditional limitation of linguistic analysis to sentences or smaller grammatical units; instead they focus upon higher-level organizational properties of dialogue”.

Throughout the book he first provides approaches to linguistic text analysis. However he stresses the fact that those approaches are lacking the ability to study the social aspects of discourses. Then he provides a discussion of Micheal Foucault’s perspectives on discourse analysis. However, he stresses that Faoucault’s method of discourse analysis alone is not sufficient to understood social change as well. He suggests that an incorporation of two methods (linguistic and Focault’s), will provide a much more useful method for the analysis of social change. This combination of two approaches constitutes Fairclough’s “multidimensional approach” for the analysis of discourse.

While Mills provides more theoretical and practical information on the usage of discourse analysis, Fairclough goes a step further and provides a strategy itself for the possible usage of discourse analysis in social sciences. Although he concentrates mainly on spoken language texts he provides useful guidelines.

“Discourse analysis” as a method in political science mainly became popular after the works of Micheal Foucault about the study of history. His definition of the word discourse can be understood from his following words: “... instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word ‘discourse’, I believe that I have in fact added to its meaning: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements”.¹⁰

According to Foucault, every piece of statement written or spoken about a topic that has a meaning can be regarded as discourse. Moving from this definition, how can we define the use of “discourse analysis” as a methodology in social sciences?

I prefer to define discourse analysis as a method that can be used for questioning the existing body of knowledge on a particular issue. But it has to be noted that this questioning does not have to confront the existing knowledge although, it may do that. It can be defined as an epistemological and ontological study of the knowledge, which is an important form of power.

It is possible to observe the use of ‘discourse analysis’ in social sciences as in the forms of “The Feminist Discourse Theory” or “The Colonial and Post-Colonial Discourse Theory”. While feminist theorists were analyzing the oppressed and discriminated position of women in general, they are mainly using discourse analysis to show this

oppression in the daily social relations. Those studies can be either in the way of analyzing the language of the news in television and newspapers or through the analysis of the transcript forms of the daily speeches.¹¹

The seminal work of Edward Said *Orientalism*¹² can be given as an example for the “Colonial Discourse Theory”. In *Orientalism*, he examined the creation of “otherness theory”. He questioned the creation of a body of knowledge on the colonized people by the colonizers, which is sometimes shaped around misconceptions and falsehood, or what can be called myths and metaphors. “Edward Said has shown that there are a number of features which occur again and again in texts about colonized countries and that those can not be attributed simply to the individual author’s beliefs, but are rather due to large-scale belief systems structured by discursive frameworks, and are given credibility and force by the power relations found in imperialism.”¹³

The point of feminist and colonial discourse is its linkage with power. The analysts such as Edward Said show how the discourse on a topic legitimates the power relationship that is beneath the surface of the topic. The linkage between power and discourse can be better understood when we look at Foucault’s definition of power;

According to him power is not merely something that individuals, groups, or classes exercise though of course it can be this. He argues that discursive formations are networks of power within which we are all enmeshed. As he claimed on several occasions power is everywhere and everything, and is therefore “dangerous”. However, power, he argues, can be positive as well as negative, productive as well as repressive. What is more, he insists that every instance of power brings with it an instance of resistance to power. His concept of power has been criticized for its vagueness and its generality. However, his own historical writings provide illustrations of his understanding of power and its relationship to discursive formations.”¹⁴

Thus the discourse analysis method that I use is not mere analysis of texts. I try to analyze the existing body of knowledge on Turkic identity in terms of its relation to Cold War ideology. I will examine a group of texts dealing with Turkic identity in Central Asia that were written in English, in the period from 1950s to 1990s in terms of how they represent the issue?

Chapter three focuses on the availability of resources on the subject for each period – the Russian Empire (1864 – 1917) and the Soviet Union (1917 – 1991). In this chapter information is provided on the number and availability of resources on the subject. Chapter four concentrates on two administrations respectively in terms of their position towards Turkic identity. This chapter will provide an analysis of the contents of the literature. This provides the opportunity to compare the available information on the position of Turkic identity under the two administrations.

I tend to name the typology of analysis that I use throughout this study as the “Big Power Discourse Theory”. This is a broad name that incorporates the cold war environment, colonial environment as well as other political environments where more than one big power is present. However, this thesis will concentrate on the big power discourse of the cold war environment, where a body of knowledge on Turkic identity was created as a result of this process.

E. Section 5- Sources of Data

Since I am doing a secondary resource study, the main resources for this thesis were derived from library research. I collected useful information at the Eastern Mediterranean University Library. However, I have to mention that Internet was very useful for me to be able to collect information on the bibliography and to be able to search through the homepages of the University Libraries in Turkey. This study helped me to economize my time when I went to Ankara to the Libraries of the Middle East Technical University and Bilkent University. Internet was also useful in terms of being able to compare my bibliography with the other bibliographies on Central Asia that are provided by the major universities in the world, i.e. Harvard University Research Forum for Central Asia.

When doing research on a particular topic, there are several methods that we can use to learn about the existing literature on that particular topic. There are citation indexes provided or we can search through the search engines of the university libraries in order to reach the bibliography of the literature that we look for. In social sciences, one of the main information providers for the researcher on the subject is the Social Sciences Citation Index that was provided by the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI). Eastern Mediterranean University is a member of the ISI Social Sciences Citation Index as well and is used in this study.

Nowadays Internet became one of the basic tools that we can use for doing research as well. Especially if we think about the availability of homepages for the university libraries which provide us the opportunity to search through the cyber-shelves of the libraries we want and reach the information about the literature on the particular

topic that we are searching about. For this study as mentioned previously the library search through Internet was done for the two big universities in Turkey – Homepage of the University of Bilkent Library and Homepage of the Middle East Technical University Library, as well as the search engine of the Eastern Mediterranean University Library. In addition to the CD-ROMs and university libraries, the research for this study is carried through Internet as well.

F. Section 6- Limitations

In defining the limits of my study I can say that one of the major limitations to it was the fact that I do not know Russian, which block me to look at the resources that were written in Russian on the region. However, one can rightfully think about the existing Turkish literature on Central Asia and especially on Turkic identity in the region. Although it is possible to find materials in Turkish on the topic it is hardly possible to find objective and academic works. Bearing in mind the time and financial constraints I have decided to concentrate on the existing English literature which will be narrower in scope.

Since the study of Central Asia is rather new compared to other area studies, such as Middle East, it was not easy to collect information on the region in general and even more difficult on a specific issue like identity. Because of this very fact, my study does not include everything available in the Western literature on the Turkic identity in Central Asia.

As one of the major limits of my study it is possible as well to add the fact that I will not do linguistic analysis of the discourse. When one talks about ‘discourse and

discourse analysis' mainly an idea of linguistic analysis shapes in the minds of people. However, linguistic analysis is not the only component of discourse analysis and this is not going to be a part of discourse analysis method that I will use throughout this thesis.

It is possible to summarize the outline of my thesis as follows;

Chapter 1 aims to provide an introduction to the study by providing the research question and objectives of the study. It also includes an elaboration of the significance of the study and informs the reader about the methodology.

Chapter 2 aims to provide a theoretical background to the study on nationalism and provides a review of the literature on nationalism. Also the second part of this chapter provides information on the historical background of the Turkic identity in Central Asia.

Chapter 3 aims to provide information on the population of resources on the subject. The analysis for this chapter has been carried out in several dimensions ranging from classical library shelves to the cyber library shelves and CD-Roms.

Chapter 4 is composed of the analysis of sample resources and the presentation of the issue of Turkic identity in those resources for the two administrations – Tsarist and the Soviet.

Chapter 5 provides a summary of the findings and conclusions.

Endnotes

¹ See; Hans J. Morgentahu, revised by Kenneth W. Thompson, Politics Among Nations, The Struggle For Power and Peace, 6th edition,(New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985) pp. 31-40.

²See also; Ronald E. Powaski, The Cold War The United States and the Soviet Union, 1917-1991, (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) Robert D. Schultzinger, US Diplomacy Since 1900, 4th ed. (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

³ Ian MacLan, Oxford Dictionary of Politics, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)p. 187.

⁴ Jacqueline S. Ismael and Tareq Y. Ismael. "Studying the Arabs: Myths and Metaphors", Studies in Comparative International Development, Summer 1995, Vol. 30, No.2, p. 46.

⁵ Noam Chomsky, Powers and Prospects, Reflections on Human Nature and the Social Order, (London: Pluto Press, 1996) p.55

⁶ Chomsky, p 56

⁷ Longman Dictionary of the English Language, 2nd ed., Hong Kong: Longman Group, 1991, p. 450.

⁸ Adam Kuper and Jessica Kuper, The Social Science Encyclopedia, 2nd ed., (London, New York: Routledge, 1996) p. 188.

⁹ Michel Foucault, The Archeology of Knowledge and Discourse on Language, Translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972) p. 7.

¹⁰Foucault. p. 80.

¹¹See Sara Mills, Discourse. , pp. 77-104.

¹²Edward Said, Orientalism, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979)

¹³ "Edward Said has shown that there are a number of features which occur again and again in texts about colonized countries and that those can not be attributed simply to the individual author's beliefs, but are rather due to large-scale belief systems structured by discursive frameworks, and are given credibility and force by the power relations found in imperialism." Mills, p.106.

¹⁴ Ian MacLan, Oxford Dictionary of Politics, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)
p. 187.

CHAPTER 2

Existing Literature on Turkic Identity in Central Asia: A Research Note

What is knowledge? How it is created and who creates it? Those are important questions that we have to ask to ourselves. How do we acquire knowledge on a particular topic? Do we ask questions or read books? How do we know that it is the truth written in the book? Or what is the truth?

Of course it is not easy to answer these questions. But it is possible to say that knowledge is an important form of power and the ones who create it or possess it are the actual power holders. This generalization is also correct for history writing. Imagine two countries that are enemies of each other for decades. They have their own history books written from their own perspectives. The same historical events are taught with different presentations. Those different presentations make it possible for these states to hold their people under control.

When we look at the history books written during the Cold War we can see the situation was not that different from our imaginary two enemy countries. On one hand, we can see that each side developed a body of knowledge justifying its own cause. On the other hand, we can see that they have also produced information on the "Other" side as well. Creation of knowledge on the "other" as Edward Said says makes it easier to define "own-self".¹ Moreover, creation of perceptions on the weak aspects of the other side even makes it easier to weaken the other side easily. If we recall the containment strategies of the United States during that period, we will remember the cultural tools that

were used against the Soviet Union. By these cultural tools I mean the production of tremendous amount of movies (i.e Rambo series) and books about the Soviet Union.

Bearing in mind the Western literature on Turkic identity, which was mainly stressing the Soviet oppression on nationalities, what would be the answer if one asks the question of whether this literature was created as a result of the Cold War rivalry between East and West?. In this chapter I will focus on the population of resources and their availability, where Chapter four will focus on the analysis of the contents of this literature. By population of resources, I mean the amount of resources on Central Asia that is particularly informative about the position of the nationalities living in the region. The aim of this chapter is to provide a numerical analysis of the literature that has been created by the West about the East on the Turkic identity in Central Asia.

While gathering information on a particular topic there are several ways that can be followed in order to access resources. The common way is to go to a library and search about the subject. However today there are several other tools than mere shelves of libraries that can help us to do research. Here it is possible to mention the role of computers. Under the general title of computers, Internet and CD-ROMs can be mentioned as alternative tools.

In this chapter I will try to provide a research note for a researcher at the Eastern Mediterranean University, North Cyprus that wants to reach information about the Turkic identity in Central Asia. The chapter is going to be composed of four parts. Part one is going to be on the availability of information about literature on the subject in CD-ROMs and Internet and part two is going to be on the access to information through the University Libraries. Part three is going to be on how I choose my sample of literature for

the analysis in Chapter 4 and in part four a historical background of Turkic identity in Central Asia will be given with a study of the Turkish literature.

A. Section 1- Accessing Bibliography on Central Asian Turkic identity Through CD-ROMs and Internet

In almost every aspect of life usage of CD-ROMs and Internet has become more common as we enter to the 21st century. It is possible to use these tools in social science research as well. Today there are different institutions that prepared very useful services through the use of computers for the researchers. It is possible to mention CD-ROMs and institutional homepages at the Internet, which was prepared by the specialists and related institutions for informing and guiding scholars about the existing literature and information.

In this part of the study I will discuss the availability of reference compact discs in Eastern Mediterranean University Library as well as their position regarding research on the Turkic identity in Central Asia. Furthermore, I will discuss the use of Internet, which can be mentioned as a tool. Although, it has been criticized a lot by the academicians, yet we can not deny its existence and its possible contribution to academic work.

As a researcher, one of the first things that I have done before starting to gather material on the 'position of Turkic identity in Central Asia' was to search through the CDs that is available in the Eastern Mediterranean University.² There were ten CDs that can be used for social science research. However, only four of them were working and

EMU has subscription for only two out of this four CDs. The remaining two were there because of the donations to the university library.

For this study the latest available versions of the two subscribed CDs, namely *BookBank*³ and *Books in Print*⁴, plus the two donated CDs, namely *MAS Fulltext: Elite*⁵ and *Social Science Index*⁶ which we do not have the access to the latest versions used. The analysis of the existing literature will be done first, by looking at the availability of the resources in each CD, with a historical order. It has to be noted that the research about the 'Central Asian Turkic identity', was done by giving the key word "Central Asia" to all of the search engines. But of course, this does not mean that all of the resources that was listed under the matches to the keyword Central Asia would have information on Turkic identity as well. As a result a thorough study was done within the population of listed resources to narrow down the list to the resources that is only related with the Turkic identity in the region.

In *Social Science Index*, there were only five matches to the key "Central Asia" and none of them was related with the national identity let alone "Turkic identity" in the region. In the *MAS Fulltext: Elite* there were only sixty-three matches for the key "Central Asia" and only twelve were related with the concepts ethnicity, nationalism or Islam in which we can find information on the Turkic identity.

From the research that was done through the more recent CDs we can see that on *Bookbank* there were 355 matches for the key word "Central Asia". Only 29 of these matches were related with identity, which is predicted to have information on Turkic identity in the region as well. From the *Books in Print* CD there were 544 matches to the

key word and only 40 of them were related with the national identity. Below Table 1 will provides a summary of the data that was found:

Table 1- CD-ROM Databases

Name of the CD-ROM	Date	Number of matches for the key "Central Asia"	Number of resources which has information on identity
Social Science Index	January- June 1992	5	0
MAS Fulltext: Elite		63	9
Bookbank	November 1999.	355	29
Books in Print	November 1999.	544	40
AVERAGE		241	26 (10.7%)

For information on the bibliography reached through CD-ROM search see Appendix 1

Having an average of 10.7 % of resources on the Turkic identity in Central Asia is not a very little amount if we think of the diversity of the topics that those CDs might have. When we look at those CDs that research was carried out, excluding *Social Science Index*, the rest have a general focus. Taking into consideration the diversified

disciplines that this general focus might include ranging from geography to economy, ecology to tourism, 10.7 % percent is not very low.

It is worth noting that the lack of enough CD-ROMs with a much more concentration on particular disciplines such as social sciences is because of the economic problems that university library is facing. Subscription to these CD-ROMs costs too much to EMU-Library. Administrators are trying to find alternative tools to substitute this lack and satisfy the demands of students and teachers. It is possible to mention the lately established subscription of the EMU-Library to academic search engines on the Internet.

Internet, where its access is widely provided by EMU to both teachers and students, is another tool that can be used for the purposes of this research. However, it has been criticized a lot. The main reason behind those criticisms was the fact that it is too easy to fill in Internet with lots of junk information. Anybody who wants to propagate something can easily open a webpage on the net and say whatever he or she wants to say. But the contribution of Internet for scientific research is a useful and easy fact of our lives, provided that the research was done carefully without getting into the traps of propaganda.

There are special sites that store academic resources and can be accessed through the special accounts and passwords that is provided for institutions and individuals in return for a membership fee. Eastern Mediterranean University Library has membership to one of these sites which is named as *Proquest*.⁷ It has to be noted that from the bibliography that can be reached through the search at *ProQuest* most of the time it is possible to download the articles or at least their abstracts that is impossible to reach that quickly by other means.

The search engine that is provided by the "Proquest" provides the opportunity to narrow down the research in two dimensions. On one dimension you can limit the search only for resources that has academic reliability and on the other dimension it is possible to provide date ranges.

For research at this search engine on my thesis topic, the same key word "Central Asia" is used. The research at *Proquest* was done in two stages. These stages were prepared according to the publication dates of the resources in the archives. The stage one was composed of the search in citations and abstracts that is available in the 'backfiles' of the ProQuest archives. Backfiles constitute the time range from 1986 to 1997. The research was only limited to *Social Science Plus* and *Academic Research Library* databases of the "ProQuest" search engine.⁸

The second stage of the research was done at the 'current file' archives that has the dates of 1998-Present. The research is again done for finding citations and abstracts that is only limited to the same databases of the ProQuest search engine as in the backfiles search.

As a result of this search at Proquest, at the end of stage one there were 1000 matches to the key word "Central Asia" and 45 of these matches were related with the concept of identity in the region. At the end of the second stage there were 461 matches to the keyword and 14 of them were related with the concept of identity in Central Asia that would have information on the Turkic identity in the region as well. Below Table 2 provides a summary of the results of the ProQuest search:

Table 2- Proquest Database at Internet

	Date Ranges	Number of matches to the key word "Central Asia"	Number of matches related with the concept of identity
STAGE 1	BACKFILE 1986-1997 (During 11 years)	1000	45
STAGE 2	CURRENT FILE 1998- Present (During 2 years)	461	14
TOTAL	1986- Present (During last 13 years)	1461	59 (4 %)

For information on the bibliography reached as a result of the ProQuest search see Appendix 2

Other than the special search engines like *Proquest* it is also possible to do research through the search engines that is for free and commonly used by Internet users like *Altavista*, *Infoseek*, *Yahoo* etc.. However, the risks of getting misleading information through these search engines are higher. By using those search engines it is also possible to reach some bibliographies that is provided by interested scholars or some research centers active in Universities. For this study I choose two examples of this sort of bibliographies that I reached as a result of the research I have done through the *Altavista* search engine.⁹

First one is a web page that is sponsored by the Harvard Forum for Central Asian Studies at the Harvard University.¹⁰ Under the title of *Central Asia Studies World Wide* (CASWW) they have prepared a general list of recent literature on Central Asia. There

were 112 resources listed and 47 of them had information on the concept of national identity. The bibliography that is presented by CASWW is composed of resources that are published in and after 1991. A percentage of 41.9% out of the total 112 on Turkish national identity is an important amount that a researcher can not disregard.

Second of these private lists was prepared by two scholars at the Hawaii University, namely Anthony and Rebecca Bicheal, under the title of *Interactive Central Asia Resource Project*.¹¹ There were a total of 179 resources listed and 42 of these resources were related with the concept of identity in Central Asia.

B. Section 2- University Libraries

Research at the university libraries constitutes the last phase of the research done for this study. Those university libraries are the University Libraries of the Eastern Mediterranean University, Middle East Technical University, and the Bilkent University. It has to be noted that since the journal articles (i.e like the articles in Central Asian Survey) were not included in the databases of the search engine of the EMU the research at university libraries was done only on the book-search level. As a result of this very fact below findings might be little bit less than the actual numbers. However, below information will also provide us sufficient evidence for the purposes of this study.

In the Eastern Mediterranean University Library there were 25 matches to the key 'Central Asia'. Five out of this 25 books were related with the issue of identity in Central Asia in general, which includes information on the Turkic identity as well.

In the Middle East Technical University (METU) Library there were 31 matches to the key word "Central Asia" and 16 of them were related with the concept of identity

in the region . In the Bilkent University Library there were 322 matches to the key word and only 44 of those matches were related with the concept of national identity in Central Asia. The table below (Table 3) will provide a figure of the availability of information on the national identity in Central Asia in the three main libraries that a researcher at the Eastern Mediterranean University can reach.

At the Bilkent University search engine there were 322 matches to the keyword, which is the highest within the sample that is used. Among those findings at Bilkent, there were 44 resources related with the issue of identity in the region. In sum we have a percentage of 21.6% of books in the three main libraries that a researcher at Eastern Mediterranean University can reach.

Table 3- University Libraries

Name of the University Library	Number of matches for the keyword "Central Asia"	Number of matches for the concept of identity
Eastern Mediterranean University	25	5
Middle East Technical University	31	16
Bilkent University	322	44
AVERAGE	126	21.6 (17.1 %)

As a conclusion, it can be said that the amount of resources that is available in the Western literature is small but significant. Moreover, I think it is enough to create a

perception of the position of Turkic identity under the Tsarist and Soviet regimes. The crucial question here was what is the content of this perception? Is it a body of knowledge that was created by the West about the "Other" (East) during the Cold War? What about the post- Cold War publication? Were they still under the obsession of the Cold War about stressing the negative aspects of the "Other"? or was it possible to observe a change in the trends of the content of the literature with the changing international political conditions? Hopefully, chapter four will shed a light on these questions.

C. Section 3- Selection of a Sample of Literature For This Thesis

First two sections of this chapter provided a detailed review of the population of the literature on the Turkic identity in Central Asia. In this section the concentration is going to be on the selection of a sample for the analysis in Chapter 4. The ideal form of sampling for a research in order to overcome the possible mistakes is to do 'random sampling'. Random sampling procedures can be defined as the "... sampling procedures [that] provide the greatest assurance that the sample drawn accurately represents the population. There are four basic random sampling procedures: simple random sampling, stratified random sampling, and cluster sampling."¹² For an analysis of discourse on a particular topic the 'simple random sampling' procedures can be defined as 'the ideal method of drawing a sample'.¹³

For my research the best method for selecting a sample would be the simple random sampling procedure. However, I could not overcome the problem of availability.

That is why the selection of my sample will depend on the available literature. Provided these conditions it is possible to define the sampling method that I am going to use as the 'availability sampling'. The basic disadvantage of this type of a sampling is that the findings apply only to that sample studied.

My sample will consist materials that are available for me in the three university libraries that is the Library of the Eastern Mediterranean University, Library of the Middle East Technical University and the Library of the Bilkent University. However, it is important to not that, although, the sampling here is not random sampling and bound with the literature available, it is this literature that students in Turkey and Cyprus can reach and it is this literature that they will base their researches on. This very fact gives significance to the available sample. There is one more point that has to be noted about the sample used for this research is that those cited books are the most referred resources by the scholars of Central Asia. It has to be noted that the findings of this research are rather exploratory and the observations and conclusions are tentative and open to further research.

D. Section 4- Historical Background

One can better understand the position of Turkic identity under Russian rule by studying the historical evolution of the Turkish Moslem resistance movements in the region. Initially starting as a result of the colonial policies of the tsarist regime with the Soviet re-conquest Turkish Moslem resistance movements took different shapes. Although there were numerous minor revolts and uprisings, this section will dwell only

on some major movements that had significant effect on the shaping of Turkic identity in Central Asia.

The Russian conquest of Central Asia was completed by the last decade of the 19th Century. The end of conquest meant the beginning of new problems that the empire was to face in a new region. Although the Russian administration did not want to directly change the lifestyles and traditions of the local people, this attitude changed later on. By the end of the 19th century, the region became one of the main pillars of the Russian economy. It was the market, at the same time the center of the natural resources. However, day by day increasing numbers of Russian immigrants together with the question of "surplus lands" lead to an expansion of problems in the Turkistan *guberniia*. The native people soon felt disturbed on the account of the Russian policies of discrimination favoring the Russian immigrants. Just after the end of the conquest of Central Asia, from 1891-92 the empire was to face the emergence of famine in the region. This famine contributed to Russian migrations to the newly conquered lands. By the year 1893 the number of Russian immigrants to Central Asia, especially to the Kazak steppe climbed to 200, 000.¹⁴ This meant the expropriation of arable lands of the steppe by the Russian Empire.

The Russian expropriation of the arable lands of Turkistan impoverished the local peoples and was accompanied by violence. Day by day, increasing expropriation decisions, together with the increasing number of immigrants, extended the burden on the shoulders of the local Muslim population. They became poorer and poorer. The decisions of expropriation continued even after the First World War.

As a result of discriminatory the rule of the Russian Empire, unrest within the region soon erupted into uprisings and revolts. They were not, however, well organized or based on widespread support. In almost all of these revolts the native leaders aimed at the restoration of the ex-khanates in the region. These leaders were the religious elite of the local people. The first revolt in the Ferghana Valley occurred in 1885 under the leadership of Darwis Khan Tore who declared himself the new Emir of the Khokand Khanate. This attempt was quickly suppressed by the Russian administration. It is not surprising that around the year 1892 the "Cholera Revolt" or 1898 Andijan Revolt and similar rising against the Russian incumbency blamed the authorities for failure to find solutions to local problems. Nevertheless, all of the later rebellions shared the same fate with the revolt of Darwis Khan Tore (1885). They were crushed down by the Russian authorities as soon as they came out.

Since the Russian administration showed no willingness to comprehend, respect and enhance the culture of the local peoples, their reform policies for the region did not take into account the demands of the Muslim population. This was the case too in 1892 when the Russian administration proceeded with a health program meant to combat cholera in the region. The combat against cholera was carried out in such a way that the treatment of females seemed as threatening the basis of the traditional Muslim society and annoyed conservative feelings.¹⁵ Since the Russian authorities did not know much about conservative living styles of the indigenous people and the position of women in the society their treatment towards them was not suitable to the lifestyles of the local people.

1. The Jadid Movement

The Jadid movement originated from the ideas of *Usul Jadid*. *Usul Jadid* refers to the introduction of a new form of education for the Turkish Muslim population living under the Russian Empire. Jadid motto was the achievement of unity in language, action and mind (*iste, dilde, ve fikirde birlik*). For decades religious leaders, the *mullahs*, were responsible for the main educational activity of Muslim Central Asia. This *mullah* education had nothing to do with the Western scientific method. Their education program was composed only of memorization of some parts of the Qur'an, which made no contribution to the scientific enlightenment of the society. However, it can be said that during the Russian administration, this type of conservative educational system contributed to the preservation of national and religious identity of the people.

This situation of society was disturbing for some of the more educated and enlightened people (*aydin*) of the Muslim society. It is possible to mention the name of Ismail Bey Gaspirali (*Gasprinsky*) as one of these personalities.¹⁶ He was a Crimean Tatar who supported the liberalization of Islamic thought and the achievement of national independence. By liberalization of Islamic thought, Gaspirali was thinking of the achievement of unity in education, language, mind and action among the Muslims of Russia. This process was named as *Usul Jadid* or Jadidism

In 1882, Gaspirali received permission from the Russian administration to publish a newspaper. This was a good opportunity for him to spread his ideas throughout the Muslim population, because the paper was going to be published both in Turkish and Russian. To this end, in 1883 he started to publish *Tercuman* (Perevotchik) newspaper.¹⁷

There were also some other newspapers, which also published in Turkish in the region.¹⁸ However, *Tercuman* was the most important of them.

Publication of newspapers, however, were only one aspect of *Jadidism*. Gaspirali and his friends also started to open *Usual Jadid* schools which taught the Latin Script and new forms of education with scientific method. The first Jadid school was opened in *Bahcesaray* by Gaspirali himself.¹⁹ Similar Jadid schools were opened later on in other cities too. *Tercuman* was the main tool that was used to give information about these schools and to motivate people to learn this new form of education. It was initially the Tatar merchants who gave their support to the opening of Jadid schools in different parts of the Crimea.

Having achieved success in the Crimea Gaspirali turned his attention to Turkistan. In order to be able to spread his reformist ideas in this region, he went to Bukhara in 1893. Here he aimed to explain his ideas and open new Jadid schools in Bukhara too. However, only by 1900 Munavvar Qari (an Uzbek educated in Turkey) opened the first reformed school in Bukhara only for the young Uzbeks. After this first experiment there were some more reformed schools opened in the Bukhara region. The main aim behind the opening up of the primary schools was to educate young Central Asians using new scientific methods that will prepare the grounds for a society ready for independence.

The autonomy that was given to the Bukharan Emir at the end of the Zirebolak Agreement which put Bukhara under the Russian administration was soon taken away. Although until the Revolution of 1905 unrest remained below the surface, increasing Russian domination in the internal affairs of Bukhara also increased unrest in the region.

The Revolution of 1905, which mainly emerged from the defeat of Russo-Japanese War created great tension and internal problems within the Russian Empire. "The defeat was significant not only for Russia, but also for the world; it was the first time for many centuries that a conquering power from the Christian West had collapsed before a non-white people."²⁰ Although the revolution of 1905 was not a Central Asian phenomenon its impact on Central Asia and the emergence of resistance movements can not be denied. The revolution made Muslim population of the region start to think about the possibility of having national autonomy in the region. The Revolution contributed to the awakening within the Muslim population. Hopes of independence and emerging nationalism in the region led to the emergence of Muslim national groupings.

Jadidism (*Usul Jadid*), however, was not the only idea within the Muslim population. The emergence of Jadidism divided the Muslim population in the region into two. On the one hand there were conservative Muslims who did not want to see any change. And on the other hand, there were Jadids who wanted to bring reforms. The conservatives rejected this change blaming Gaspirali and his friends for spoiling the religion. These conservative groups established alliances with the Russian administration in order to crush the activities of reformist groups. It was the policy of the Russian administration to bring an end to the Jadid movement. They were aiming the division of the Muslim society and which will make it easier to rule.

When the Bolshevik unrest began it appeared that some Jadids were taking the side of Bolsheviks with the hope of achieving their own national independence. However after a while they have realized the aim of the Soviets and joined to another liberation movement the *Basmachi*. During the first decades of Soviet Rule almost all of the Jadid

activists were arrested and executed. However this did not bring the end of the resistance movements in Bukhara and more widely in Central Asia. It can be argued that, the Russian behavior in the region led to the emergence of stronger movements like the *Basmaci* Movement.

2. The Basmaci Movement (1916)

Especially after the 1898 Andijan Revolt the unrest within the Muslim Turkish population towards the Russian Empire continued to increase. Establishment of nationalist groups²¹ with short term aims and later on the emergence of Jadid Movement were all the reflections of the desires of Turkish Muslim people living in that region. The biggest of the local reactions towards the Russian Empire was held in 1916. The break up of this widespread revolt in Fergana Valley can be mentioned as the last resistance of the local Turkish Muslim population of Central Asia against the Russian Empire –The *Basmaci* Movement.

The role of the *Basmaci* Movement in the Turkistan national struggle was significant. Starting from the last days of the Russian Empire, the Revolution of 1916 and the movement that emerged after played the role of a forum for the asserting the demands of the Turkish Muslim Society in Central Asia. The name *Basmaci* was given to the people participating in the revolution. It was the Russian administration, which gave this name meaning illegal belligerents. It was also argued by some scholars, this name was given to them to crush down the movement even before it started.²²

The effects of the First World War were reflected in the Russian Empire as in other participants too. Quite naturally these tensions were also felt in Turkistan *guberniia*

as well. The decree of the Russian Tzar, which came out on 8 July 1916²³ was the seed of the revolution. He was ordering the recruitment of Turkish workers from Turkistan, which is going to work in the battlefields. Central Asian people regarded this decree as humiliating because they were going to be recruited as servants but not as soldiers of the Russian army. Moreover they did not want to take part in a war waged against Germany, an ally of the Ottoman Empire – their ‘ethnic brother’.²⁴

All of the above mentioned factors together gave Central Asian Turkish Muslim population the cause to unite and revolt in the Fegana Valley. The revolt took place in Tashkent and began on 11 July 1916. It was to begin with the character of a demonstration against the decision of the Tzar regarding taking people from Turkistan to work in battlefields. However this demonstration soon turned into a bloody revolt. The Russian administration reacted to this revolt in a very harsh way. Kropatkin was appointed as the governor of Turkmenistan *guberniia*, just two days after the revolt began. The main reason behind Kropatkin’s appointment was that it was believed he was the only person who knew the people of the region well. Kropatkin and his forces immediately crushed the revolt. Many people were arrested and killed without trial. Despite the harsh end of the 1916 revolt this was just the beginning of the *Basmaci* movement and it was to continue until the mid-1930s.

It is also known that Enver Pasha who was the ministry of foreign affairs and representative of the commander in chief of the Ottoman Empire on the Eve of the First World War had actively participated in the Basmaci movement as well. Moving of Enver Pasha to Moscow dates back to the defeat of Ottoman Empire on the side of Germany in the First World War which participated as a result of his decision. He was first brought

to Russia by Soviet initiatives in order to play a mediator role between Central Asians and the Soviet government. However, then he turned to take the leadership role of the movement who is waging organized armed-struggle against Soviet oppression in the region, where he died in one of these armed attacks in 1922. It was thought by the Soviet administrators of the time that his death would bring the end of the Basmaci movement who was facing problems on the new leadership. Nevertheless, this was not the case and the movement continued until mid-1930s.²⁵

3. Turkish Muslim Congress in the Russian Empire (1905-1917)

Mainly as a result of the Russian Revolution of 1905 Turkish Muslim population too was looking forward to find possibilities to increase their voices and to find solutions to their problems. Although they did not participate in the 1905 Revolution this movement made them to unite and to think of collective solutions to their problems. As a result of this search the Muslim Congresses of the pre-Bolshevik revolution era came out. These congresses carry importance in the national awakening of the Turkish Muslim society living under Russian hegemony.

Before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, three Muslim congresses were held in Russia. They were respectively held in the years of 1905, 1906 and 1914. It is worth to mention these congresses in order to understand the emergence of further actions of Turkish Muslim society in Central Asia. This part of chapter one will concentrate on the position of the Turkish Muslim population during the Revolution of 1905 and the emergence and the consequences of the congresses which mainly came out because of the revolutionary influences.

a. Revolution of 1905 and the Turkish Muslim Population of Russia:

It was inevitable for the Turkish Muslim population of Central Asia to escape from the influences of the ongoing reactionary movements which especially mushroomed as a result of the growing economic depression at the end of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905.²⁶ Group movements and riots that were mushrooming in almost every part of the Empire started to give signals of mass, strongly organized civil movements against the Tsarist administration. Frightened from the possibility of a mass reaction in 17 September 1905 Tsar Nicolai II had to accept the "Manifesto" provided by the Russian civil organizations.

In general, the essence of this "Manifesto" was consisted of the accordance of basic rights and freedoms to the Russian people. "By this manifesto the emperor granted the Russian nation: 1) the fundamental principles of civil liberty —inviolability of person, and freedom of thought; speech, assembly, and organization; 2) democratic franchise; 3) no law to be henceforth without the consent of the Duma."²⁷

Acceptance of these basic rights and freedoms led to the emergence of a "freedom" environment in the Russian Empire. This environment gave birth to an increase in the number of ideological political books, journals, and newspapers. The effects of these reformist movements were soon felt among the Central Asian Muslim population as well.

Almost all of the movements that came out in Central Asia before 1905 were not mature and they were lacking in organization. It was noted by Hablemitoglu that the main important pre-1905 Turkish Muslim event in Central Asia was the anniversary

celebrations of the "Tercuman" newspaper. It was also mentioned that the 10th and 20th celebrations of "Tercuman" in 1893 and 1903 respectively were the biggest organizations of the time. There was no Russian opposition to these celebrations because they did not have any political character. Furthermore, in order to not to led to the emergence of any opposing opinion Gaspirali was inviting Russian officials and generals to those meetings too.²⁸

Establishment of Turkish Muslim groupings started even before the Revolution of 1905. However, because of the legal and political conditions of the time these groupings could not expand and all were secret. That is why the organization of First Congress of Turkish Muslim Population of Russia was held secretly. In fact, before the first congress, the leaders of the society have asked for the permission for gathering, nevertheless, all their requests were rejected. The outbreak of the Revolution of 1905 had a positive effect on the organization of further meetings with the hope of reform in 'land, property and religious independence' issues. These groups were mainly formed by intellectuals that are composed of increasing number of Jadids and the audience of "Tercuman". Moreover, increasing communication among Central Asian people, mainly through widespread railway network, can be mentioned as other contributing factor to the awakening of local people and pawed the way for organization of Turkish Muslim Congresses and institutions.

b. First Congress (15th August 1905)

Revolutionary sentiments in the first half of 1905 were felt among Turkish Muslim population of Russia as well. In fact it can be said that pre-Revolutionary

economic depression were felt among non-Russian population more than the Russians. The reason behind this was the discriminatory treatment of the Tsarist regime towards the Russian and non-Russians.

The first congress of Turkish Muslim population was held with the aim of elimination of these inequalities between people. As a matter fact, before the organization of the First Congress, several petitions were submitted to the Tsarist administration from different Muslim parts of the Russian Empire. Nevertheless none of these petitions got a response. Organization of a wider based event like a congress of Turks from all around the Empire was expected to mobilize the Turkish Muslim population and bring their affairs to the attention of the administration.

It is possible to name Abdurresid Ibrahim(ov) as a key person behind the organization of first congress. It was him who organized meetings among Turkish Muslims all around the Russian Empire to set a public opinion about their collective needs. The aim of these initial meetings was to prepare petitions to the Empire explaining their situation. However, these meetings later on turned out to be preparatory steps of a big congress that was participated by the representatives of the Turkish Muslim population all around the Russian Empire.

Consequently, it was decided that all of the representatives will meet in the Mekerce Fair at Nijni Novgorod.²⁹ In order to be able to held the first congress, Ismail Gapirali, Abdurresid Ibrahimov and other leaders of the Turkish Muslim society asked for permission for gathering from the Nijni Novgorod administration. Their request was rejected and this made them to look for having this meeting held secretly. As a result of this fact, for security reasons it was decided to held the meeting in a ship floating on the

river. A trip appearance was given to the gathering. Participants came to 'Gustav Struve' ship as coming to a ship trip on the 'Oka River'.³⁰

The decisions of the first congress were for the establishment of an organization that would unite all Turks of Russia. This was seen as the vital precondition for the achievement of their basic rights and freedoms. For this end, it was also decided that, if it was necessary they could unite with the Russian elite who is sharing the same beliefs.

At the end of the first congress, the establishment of a "Muslim *Ittifak*" or "*Ittifak*" (Union) was decided. *Ittifak* was not organized in the form of a political party, mainly because of the legal and political conditions of the Empire. The political conditions of the time was not giving room for the development of this sort of a political organization.

It is possible to summarize the decisions of the first congress under five topics: 1) The conditions of the Empire necessitates the union of all Muslims in social, cultural and political action; 2) Taking action with the Russian reformists for achievement of legal conditions for equal representation; 3) For the achievement of their aims it was decided to use all necessary means; 4) Education was one of the essentials for the future of the Turkish Muslim society. For this end, vitality of opening schools, reading rooms, publish journals and books was stressed; 5) The establishment of sixteen local *majlises* that is working for the achievement of the above mentioned aims and organization of further Muslim congresses.³¹

Although "*Ittifak*" was not formed as a political party representing Turkish Muslim population, the First Congress played an important role in the awakening of the

society. It is possible to mention the congress as a success for a society that is suppressed by an Empire, mainly illiterate and has almost no idea about civil action.

c. Second Congress (13th –23rd January, 1906)

The political environment in the Russian Empire after the acceptance of Manifesto of September 30th raised the hopes of Turkish Muslim population. The developments in the Empire made them to look for the organization of a second congress that will clarify the position of *Ittifak*. The initial preparatory announcements of the second congress came out as newspaper articles in “*Ulfet*” and “*Tercuman*”. In their articles, Abdurresid Ibrahim and Ismail Gaspirali articles were trying to show the society how vital it is to have the second congress organized.

Even starting from November Gaspirali was pointing out his ideas about the agenda of the second congress through his articles: 1) deciding the administrative style of the ‘*Rusya Muslumanlari Ittifaki*’ (The Union of the Muslims of Russia)³²; 2) deciding the selection of the Russian political party that they are going to cooperate; 3) Discussing the ways how the number of Turks in Duma can be increased; 4) protection of lands of Turks; 5) elimination of laws that are putting barriers in front of the rights of Turks; 6) according Kigiz and unsettled populations the right to become included into religious centers; 7)giving the opportunity to the people who were pushed to choose Christianity to be able to choose their religion; 8) accordance of the same rights to Muslim religious men as accorded to the Russian religious men; 9) opening of schools suitable to the standards of modern life; 10) opening teacher schools; 11) appointing qualified people as the heads of religious centers.³³

During the formation days of the *Ittifak*, the establishment of political parties was illegal in the Russian Empire. However, after the Manifesto of September 30 and the post 1905 revolution Empire faced the establishment of various political parties. In order

to provide the opportunity to the Turkish Muslim population to be represented in the Duma it was necessary to organize *Ittifak* as a political party. Nevertheless, time was not enough for the participation of *Ittifak* as a political party in the Duma elections. Existing political setting required the organization of Second Congress of Turkish Muslim population of Russia.

The duty of the organization of the Second Congress was given to the Kazan *Majlis*. Yusuf Akcura, who was the leading activist of the Kazan *Majlis*, started the preparation of the second congress, that was declared to be held in 15th of January 1906 at St. Petersburg. He also informed other *majlises* and asked for the permission from the administration for this sort of a gathering. However, it was not possible to receive a positive answer. Until January 22nd representatives who came to St. Petersburg were coming together informally and trying to find out a possible solution to the permission problem. On January 22nd St. Petersburg newspapers declared that "all kind of meetings are permitted" by the administration. Consequently in January 23rd, with the participation of more than fifty representatives second congress was held in the house of one of the participants – Muhammed Alim Maksud- in St. Petersburg.³⁴

The Second Congress marked the establishment of the political party called the *Rusya Muslumanlari Ittifaki* (The Union of Muslims of Russia)³⁵ although, it was not yet legally accepted and could not participate in the first Duma elections. It was also decided on the basis of the first congress that the party will be divided into sixteen districts.³⁶

The main outcome of the Second Congress was the decision regarding the participation of the Central Asian Turkish Muslim population in the Duma elections.

Since the position of the Union was not legal, it was decided at the end of the congress to participate in Duma elections on the side of the Russian Kadet Party (the Constitutional Democrats).

d. Third Congress (16th- 21st August 1906)

As it was decided at the end of the second congress, *Rusya Muslumanlarinin Ittifaki* (The Union of the Muslims of Russia) participated in the first Duma elections in cooperation with the Kadet Party. Thirty six members of the Union of the Muslims of Russia were elected for the Duma. However the first Duma did not had a long life. Just after few months from its first meeting it was dissolved with the order of Tsar Nicolai II.

The idea of the organization of the Third Congress was decided in the previous gathering, and the duty to get permission, was given to the Muslim members of the Duma. Naturally, this was not an easy task for them. For this they have done several unsuccessful attempts. In the end, the final application, which was prepared very conservatively – pro Russian– and managed to receive a positive response. However, the conservative content of the application disturbed the liberal feelings of some activists like Ismail Gapirali. The proposal that was submitted to the administration for the Third Congress did not have any political agenda and this was the main point that received reaction and created division among the members of the union. It was just composed of the cultural and religious affairs of the Turkish Muslim population. Nevertheless, this was the only way to get permission from the administration.

In order to eliminate the divisions Abdurresit Ibrahim(ov) –a member of the Duma– made a declaration in the beginning of the congress mentioning that the

conservative aspects were used in the proposal only for the security and the legal purposes and he himself was also for the discussion of the political issues. This announcement helped to eliminate the internal tension and division.

The Third Congress took place in Nijni Novgorod during the Mekerce Fair, as the First Congress. It resulted with the acceptance of the declaration of Union as a political party with its charter and program decided in the Second Congress.³⁷ The first day of the congress ended with the establishment of two commissions namely the "commission of education" and the "commission of religion". Each of the commissions was formed of fifteen members with the responsibility of preparing reports concerning educational and religious needs of the Turkish Muslim society. The conference ended with the discussion and acceptance of these reports prepared by the two commissions.³⁸

The main outcome of the Third Congress was the decision regarding the declaration of Union of Muslims of Russia as a political party. For this end Central Administrative Committee of the Union made a legal application to the Tsarist administration for the establishment of the party on legal bases. However this application was rejected. This was an attempt by the Tsarist administration to prevent increasing Muslim representation in Duma.

Abolition of the second Duma with its thirty-nine Muslim members, increasing discriminatory policies of the Tsarist administration against the Muslim population in the third Duma elections, moreover, harsh attacks on Jadids and Jadid schools almost erased the unionist attempts of the Turkish Muslim population of Central Asia till the Bolshkevik Revolution.³⁹

e. Fourth Congress (15th-25th June 1914)

Organization of the Fourth Congress was not easy in the post Third Congress environment. It took seven years after the third congress to establish the fourth one. Dissolution of the second Duma and the worsening conditions in the Empire made it impossible to get permission for the fourth congress. These conditions made most of the activists like Yusuf Akcura, Abrurresid Ibrahimov to leave the country.

The permission for the organization of the Fourth Congress of Turkish Muslim population of Russia could only be requested by the few Muslim members of the Duma. They had been able to get the permission for the fourth congress to be held on 25th of June 1914 in St. Petersburg. The congress was announced through the Turkish Muslim newspapers in the Empire.

Hablemitoglu argued that it was not just a coincidence for the Tassarist administration to give permission to the fourth congress just before the outbreak of the First World War. According to him the mere aim behind the permission for the Fourth Congress was to learn the position of Muslim population plus, to gain popularity in the eyes of millions of Muslim population bearing in mind the coming war.

It is not possible to accept the effects of the Fourth Congress same as previous three. It can be characterized as a forum in which religious and cultural affairs were discussed and demands requested from the empire –which received no response. The Fourth Congress had almost no influence on the national political struggle of the Turkish Muslim population. Worsening conditions in the Empire soon break out in Central Asia in the form of a revolt in 1916 as previously mentioned.

When the Russian Empire was facing the February Revolution in 1917 what was this wind of change was promising for the Central Asian local people? Although they did not actively participated in the revolution it was inevitable for them to not to get influenced from the ongoing change. Initially February revolution and later on the Bolshevik Revolution gave a hope of independence to the hearts of Central Asian Society. Being subject to oppression by the Russian Empire and also by their local feudal leaders was disturbing Central Asian liberal elite very much.

One has to remember that since the Russian conquest of Central Asia local people were showing their opposition towards oppression by the resistance movements which mentioned in Chapter two. However liberal elite of Central Asia society was aware of the fact that it was not possible for them to achieve their national self-determination all alone. Because on the local level they had to fight with the khan or emir and the conservative group around them. Also they had to fight with the forces of the Empire too. For the sake of achievement of national independence and avoiding oppression they knew that they had to get help from outside.

In the February Revolution it is possible to say that there is not any Central Asian input. Almost everything planned and acted in Petersburg. But the news and influences of the revolution gave Central Asian liberal elite (Jadids) an opportunity to look for help from the Provisional government for the overthrow of the local monarchies and the establishment of new reformed states in the region. Furthermore, Bolshevik slogans find a popular appeal in the region because it was promising Central Asian population the right for self-determination.

Although the result was not the achievement of national independence in the region. The promises of the Bolsheviks, even though a bit misleading, was something that they were looking for a long period of time.

Endnotes

¹Edward Said, Orientalism, (New York:Vintage Books, 1979) pp. 4-8.

² The list of the CD-ROMs available in EMU can be seen at <http://www.emu.edu.tr/04/0402/CDROM.htm>

³Bookbank, Whitaker, November 1999.

⁴Books in Print, Bowker Electronik Publishing, November 1999.

⁵ MAS Fulltext:Elite, EBSCO Publishing Fulcrum Technologies Inc., October 1992-March 1994, Revised at March 1995.

⁶ Social Science Index, "Compcat Disk Edition With Abstracts", Institute for Scientific Information (ISI), January- June 1992.

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⁸ There are eleven databases at the Proquest search engine. Those are *ALL Databases*, *Academic Research Library*, *ProQuest Arts*, *ProQuest Children's Interest*, *ProQuest Education Complete*, *ProQuest Humanities*, *ProQuest Legal*, *ProQuest Military*, *ProQuest Women's Interest*, *Religious Periodicals*, and *Social Science Plus*. <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?ROT=407&TS=947588786>

⁹<http://www.altavista.com>

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- ¹² Gary D. Bouma, The Research Process, revised edition, (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) p. 120.
- ¹³ Bouma, p. 120.
- ¹⁴ Micheal Rywkin, Asya'daki Rusya, Translated by Behzat Tanc, (Istanbul: Bogazici Yayinlari, 1975) p. 25
- ¹⁵ Abdullah Recep Baysun Turkistanli, Turkistan Milli Hareketleri, (Istanbul, 1943) p. 6. Helene Carrere d'Encausse. "Systematic Conquest, 1865 to 1884", in Central Asia, 130 Years of Russian Dominance, A Historical Overview, 3rd ed. Edwards Allworth ed., (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1994)pp. 165-6.
- ¹⁶ Nadir Devlet, Ismail Bey Gaspirali, (Ankara: Basbakanlik Basimevi, 1988)
- ¹⁷ Nadir Devlet, Ismail Bey Gaspirali, (Ankara: Basbakanlik Basimevi, 1988) pp. 23-42.
- ¹⁸ Those newspapers were *Taraqqi* (Progress), *Khurshid* (The Sun), *Tujjar* (Merchants). For more information on these newspapers see: Helene Carrere d'Encausse, Islam and the Russian Empire, Reform and Revolution in Central Asia, (London: I.B. Tauris, 1988) pp. 78-82.
- ¹⁹ Devlet, p. 60.
- ²⁰ Helen Carrere d'Encausse, Islam and the Russia Empire, Reform and Revolution in Central Asia, (London, I.B.Tauris, 1988) p.71.
- ²² Baymirza Hayit, "Basmacilar" Turkistan Milli Mucadele Tarihi (1917-1934), (Ankara, Turkiye Diyanet Vakfi Yayinlari/261, 1997) pp. 1-5.
- ²³ Hayit, p. 9.
- ²⁴ Abdullah Recep Baysun, Turkistan Milli Hareketleri, (Istanbul, 1943) p;18.
- ²⁵ Hayit, p. 320.
- ²⁶ For more information see: Bernard Pares, History of Russia, (New York: Vintage Books, 1965) pp. 447-66.
- ²⁷ George Vernadsky, A History of Russia. 4th edition, (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1954) p.266.
- ²⁸ Necip Hablemitoglu, Carlik Rusyasi'nda Turk Kongreleri, 1905-1917, (Ankara: Ankara Universitesi Basimevi, 1997) pp. 44-5.
- ²⁹ Hablemitoglu, p.53.

³⁰ Hablemitoglu, pp. 53-54.

³¹ Nadir Devlet, Ismail Bey (Gaspıralı), (Kultur ve Turizm Bakanligi Yayinlari: 962, Ankara: Basbakanlik Basimevi, 1988) pp. 80-81.

³² In fact in September 1905 the charter and program of "*Ittifak*" was formulated by Ali Merdan Topcubasi, Ahmet Aga(ev) and Abruresid Ibrahim, in order to find ways to stop Armenian attacks on Turks in Caucasia and Azerbaijan. Baku *majlis* declared the temporary center of "*Ittifak*" however it is possible to say that they have not been successful. Hablemitoglu, p. 56.

³³ Hablemitoglu, p. 58.

³⁴ Devlet, p. 84

³⁵ For the party charter and the program see: Hablemitoglu, op.cit., pp. 59-68.

³⁶ “

Name	Center
1. Caucasia	Baku
2. Crimea	Simferopol (Akmescit)
3. Petersburg-Moscow	Petersburg
4. Lithuania	Minsk
5. Lower Volga (Astirhan)	Astirhan
6. Upper Volga	Kazan
7. Ufa	Ufa
8. Orenburg	Orenburg
9. Sibir	Irkutsk
10. Turkistan	Tashkent
11. Dala (Bozkir: kazakistan)	Uralsk (Cayik)
12. Omsk	Omsk
13. Semipalat	Semipatalinsk
14. Yedi Su	Alma Ata
15. Akmolla	Petropavlovsk (Kizilyar)
16. Zakaspi (Hazar otesi)	Askhabad” Devlet, op.cit., p. 85.

³⁷ Hablemitoglu, op.cit., p. 74.

³⁸ Hablemitoglu, pp. 74-79.

³⁹ For more information see Hablemitoglu , p.85.

CHAPTER 3

Theoretical Background

The purpose of this chapter is to set the theoretical and historical background of the study. On theoretical background section the review of the literature on nationalism plus the relation of the concept with the Turkic identity in Central Asia will be presented. Section two will be composed of the study of the historical background of Turkic nationalism in Central Asia.

A. Section 1- Literature Review

1. Nationalism

Nationalism and the struggle for national identity have always been an interesting topic for the political science. Lois L. Snyder's book *The Dynamics of Nationalism, Readings in Its Meaning and Development* which is published in 1964 still stays as one of the crucial sources on nationalism. There are seventeen chapters in the book that is composed of hundred and seventy articles among which one can find writings of Hans Kohn, Kemal Ataturk, Napoleon Bonaparte, Guiseppe Garibaldi, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Ziya Gokalp Benitto Mussolini etc. In his book Snyder defines nationalism as:

What is nationalism, this most powerful of historical forces? It admits of no simple definition, since it is a complex phenomenon, often vague and mysterious in character. Perhaps its most perplexing feature is that it differs in its form according to the specific historical conditions and the special social structure of any given

country. In various epochs of history there were different groups to which supreme loyalty was given. The term "nationalism" is used in so many different senses that such attractive figures as Mazzini, Bolivar, and Woodrow Wilson are described as apostles of nationalism along with the widely detested Mussolioni, Hitler, and Stalin.¹

In the second edition of his book *Nationalism: Its meaning and History* (1965) Hans Kohn tries to study the phenomena of nationalism and its various forms with a historical approach. He discusses the emergence of the issue of nationalism starting from the 17th century till the modern times. His approach towards the concept of nationalism has wide historical grounds ranging from Europe to United States and the Russian State. According to him "nationalism is a state of mind, in which the supreme loyalty of the individual is felt to be due the nation-state. A deep attachment to one's native soil, to local traditions and to established territorial authority has existed in varying strength throughout history. But it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that nationalism in the modern sense of the word became a generally recognized sentiment increasingly molding all public and private life."² In his book, he provides a survey of the emergence of nationalist movements all around the world throughout the history with a special emphasis on each particular case.

In His book *Nationalism* Kenneth R. Minogue provides five different characteristics of nationalism: first one according to him can be named as 'originals'. Those are the nationalisms that emerged in the Europe namely in France, Italy, Germany and Hungary. He defines 'original nationalisms' as "European peoples who strove to establish states which would incorporate all the members of the nation within one

sovereign state.” He stresses their difference from the ‘secondary nationalisms’, which he defines as the nationalism feeling among Jews, Croats, Czachs and etc.

Second type of nationalism according to Mingoue is the nationalism that emerged in the ‘underdeveloped’ countries of the Afro-Asian world. Almost in all of the ‘underdeveloped’ countries the establishment of states dates back to the decolonization period. He gives the African example in order to stress the pseudo character of nationalism in those countries: “In Africa, political boundaries were drawn up by European statesman, and they cut across tribal and ethnic boundaries with a fine disregard for all the foundations of nationalism”.³

The third form of nationalism according to his classification was the pan-movements. He argues that “these movements are distinguished by the fact that the nation in question is more than usually scattered and diffuse”⁴. He mentions Pan-Turanian and Pan-Arab movements as well under this category in which he defines them all unsuccessful. The fourth type of nationalism that Minogue defines is the “nationalism of people in search of a home.”⁵ The best examples for this category that is provided by him as “Zionism and its imitator among American Negroes called Black Muslim Movement.”⁶ And the last form of nationalism according to his categorization is fascism or totalitarian nationalism, which was demonstrated with the actions of Hitler and Mussolini.

Having made the above categorization of the definition of nationalism he provided the three stages of its emergence. Stage one according to him is named as *stirrings* and he defines this as “the period in which the nation becomes aware of itself as a nation suffering oppression”.⁷ Stage two is named as *struggle*. This struggle is the one

for the achievement of independence. Stage three is the process of *consolidation*. According to Minogue this stage 'hardly exists at all'.

Elie Kedourie's work *Nationalism* (1994) became an important contribution in the literature for the researchers of nationalism. In his book Kedourie makes a thorough theoretical and historical examination of 'nationalism' - an ideology that did not lose its popularity in the international agenda since the French Revolution. This fourth edition of the book seems mainly motivated by the dissolution of the USSR, which brought the issue of nationalism to the top of the international agenda once again.

In his book *Nationalism* Kedourie defines nationalism as a doctrine that "pretends to supply a criterion for the determination of the unit of population proper to enjoy a government exclusively its own, for the legitimate exercise of power in the state, and for the right organization of a society of states."⁸ This definition requires us to ask for the definition of what a nation is. He defines a nation as: "...a body of people who a government is responsible through their legislature; any body of people associating together, and deciding on a scheme for their own government, form a nation..."⁹

In the beginning of the book he provides philosophical information on the concept of social contract and how groups of people come together and on what grounds they decide to give the control to a sovereign? Having set the philosophical background, he analyzed the concept of nationalism in its relation to the principle of national self-determination.

According to Kedourie, the emergence of a nationalist doctrine starts with the establishment of the notion of national identity. Although the composing parts of

“national identity” is not fixed for ever, it is possible to define national identity as the common characteristics that a group of people share.

He concludes his book by stating that after the establishment of national identity there are ups and downs in the development of the doctrine of nationalism. Nationalism is sometimes used for economic or security purposes; however, the important factor in the development of nationalism according to the author is the process of the definition of national identity.

Ernest Gellner (1993) in his book *Nations and Nationalism* examines the problem of nationalism within the context of how nationalism emerged? What are its deficiencies? And how nationalist principle can be applied? He defines nationalism in connection with the concepts of state and nation. His definition of state includes the Weberian definition of state. Where Max Weber defines the state as an “...agency within society which possesses the monopoly of legitimate violence”, Gellner defines state as “..that institution or set of institutions specifically concerned with the enforcement of order (whatever else they may also be concerned with). The state exists where specialized order-enforcing agencies, such as police forces and courts, have separated out from the rest of social life. They are the state”.¹⁰ He argues that the mere existence of nationalism is not possible. For the emergence of nationalism it is necessary to have a state. The coexistence of different nationalities under one state may sometimes provoke the emergence of nationalism as a problem under that particular state. However, this does not mean that in each state nationalism will emerge as a problem. He stresses that the emergence of nationalist sentiments depends on the status of ‘ethnic boundaries’ within a state. When

ethnic boundaries cut across political boundaries this provides the ripe environment for the birth of nationalism.

Gellner provides two provisional definitions for the term nation. He names his first definition as the 'cultural definition' of the term. However, he notes that it is not adequate to understand the principle of nationalism. So he provides a second definition of the term nation in order to provide the background for understanding the principle of nationalism. Gellner's cultural definition; "Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating."¹¹ The second definition that he provides to strengthen his basis for understanding nationalism is a 'voluntaristic definition' of the concept of nation as he names it;

Two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. In other words, *nations maketh man*; nations are the artefacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities. A mere category of persons (say, occupants of a given territory, or speakers of a given language, for example) becomes a nation if and when the members of the category firmly recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it. It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate that category from non-members.¹²

Gellner argues that nationalism came into existence in the third phase of the human history. The first stage was hunting and gathering. The second one that Gellner mentions was the agrarian phase and the third one in which the principle of nationalism came into existence is the industrial phase. His main explanation for why nationalism emerged in the industrial phase was the very fact that a state's need for unity in order to

achieve economic development. Gellner stresses that the deepening of nationalist principle in world is mainly because of the spread of industrialism. Moreover, since economic development was achieved in some parts of the world, the nationalism became a standardized way of life. Gellner concludes his study by observing that within the international economic atmosphere of today's world there is high mobility of capital among states. Nevertheless, this interaction has not yet made it possible for all people of the world to get unified, people still stay culturally different.

In his book *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780, Programme, Myth, Reality* E.J Hobsbawm (1993) aimed to provide an analysis of the history of nationalism since French Revolution. For the definition of the term nationalism, he accepts Gellner's definition, which states that the nationalism is "primarily a principle, which holds that political and national unit should be congruent". For the study of nationalism he uses historical division of nationalist movements that was provided by Hroch¹³:

In nineteenth-century Europe, for which it was developed, phase A was purely cultural, literary and folkloric, and had no particular political or even national implications, any more than the researchers (by non-Romanies) of the Gypsy Lore Society have for the subjects of these enquiries. In phase B we find a body of pioneers and militants of the 'national idea' and beginnings of political campaigning for this idea.... My own concern in this book is more with phase C when- and not before- nationalist programmes acquire mass support, or at least some of the mass support that nationalists always claim they represent.¹⁴

Hobsbawm argues that depending on the international political and economic atmosphere of the world the definition of a nation and nationalism can change. This change will occur according to the position of a particular state to the changing economic and political atmosphere of international relations.

On the one hand both Keddourie and Gellner define nationalism according to its relevance with state and nation. Keddourie stresses that the use of the nationalist principle by a state mainly relates to the developmental aims of that particular state. These aims can be either political or economic aims and are closely associated with the establishment of a national identity around that aim. Gellner stresses that the mere existence of nationalism is not possible without the existence of a state. His emphasis is on the relations between different ethnic groups and the emergence of nationalist sentiments where those relations took the form of clashes. On the other hand, Hobsbawm provides an analysis of nationalist activities and studies on nationalism which present a changing character of nationalism throughout the history since its emergence.

2. Turkic Identity in Central Asia

In his article *Kazakhstan and the Kazakhs* Ingvar Svanberg (1990) aims to provide a historical and ethnic background information about Kazakhstan. The main concentration of the article is on the Soviet rule and the Kazakh national identity during the Soviet regime. He stresses harsh Soviet Russification policies and their influences on the Turkic identity of the Kazak people. He concludes the article with the post Soviet era and the role of the dissolution of the USSR on the national identity of the people and how this lead to a sort of chauvinistic ideology nowadays.¹⁵

On the Other hand in her article *Uzbekistan and the Uzbeks* Shirin Akiner (1990) tries to provide a historical survey to the history of Uzbek people and how their national identity shaped. Her conclusion was that the main determining factor of Uzbek national

identity was the division that was made by Bolsheviks in Central Asia during 1920s, where those divisions were made according to ethnic and linguistic similarities.¹⁶

In their article *Turkmenistan and the Turkmen* Annette Bohr's concentration is on the national identity of Turkmen. With this article she aims to provide a historical and political survey to Turkmen people. Starting from the years of Russian expansion the process of development of Turkic identity in Turkmenistan analyzed till its position today.¹⁷ Bohr's other article that she wrote together with Simon Crisp titled *Kyrgyzstan and the Kyrgyz* (1990) is on the development of national identity in Kyrgyzstan. Starting from the development of Turkic identity in the region. Their focus is on the development of Kyrgyz national identity which mainly caused as a result of Stalin's delimitation of nationalities program.¹⁸

In his article *Convergence and the Nationality Literature of Central Asia* Robert J. Barret (1973) studies the writings of Central Asian intellectuals, which mainly formed as a result of the Soviet policies in the region. As a result of his analysis he reaches a conclusion the Central Asian literature gives the hints of hope for independence within the intellectuals. However he also mentions that they were aware of the fact that having national independence is too hard to achieve under the rule of the Soviet Union.

In the book *Pan-Turkism from Irredentism to Cooperation* Jacob M. Landau's (1995) main focus is on the evolution and development of Pan-Turkism in Turkey. However he can not differentiate this process from the rest of the Turkic world, especially Central Asia which had an impact on the development of Pan-Turkism in the latest years of the Ottoman Empire. Landau tries to produce a comparative analysis of the "irredentism" where Pan-Turkism is his concentration. He concludes with saying that

like many other “irredentist ideologies” Pan-Turkism too lost its initial aggressive character and nowadays is passing through a process of rapprochement that is composed of more moderate aims, i.e cooperation.

Serge A. Zenkowski in his book titled *Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia* (1960) analysis Pan-Turkism and Islam as the main political and social factors that played role in the Turkish Moslem identity building. His study is a survey of the history of Turks of Russia with a wide geographical diversity ranging from Central Asia to Azerbaijan. His main focus is on the years between 1905-1920. His conclusion was that after this period it is not much possible to talk about nationalist groupings and resistance.

Helene Carrere D’Encausse’s article titled *Systematic Conquest. 1865 to 1884* (1994) focuses on the Russian expansion in Central Asia and the initial disturbances caused within the Muslim population of Central Asia as a result of the Russian immigrants. She is focusing on the emergence of initial Muslim groupings which mainly started after 1905 Russian Revolution and the harsh colonial policies.¹⁹

Literature that is reviewed about the discourse theory will help me to set the methodology of the study where the literature of the nationalism will help me to develop the theoretical part of my study. I will use the existing Western literature on the emergence of Turkish Moslem resistance movements in Central Asia as the available Western discourse of the Turkic identity in the region.

B. Section 2- Nationalism and the Turks of Central Asia

Discussions on the concept of nationalism have always been one of the hot topics of the scholarly agenda. International political events such as wars, revolutions or military coups have been the influencing factors of the nationalism and the discussions

about the concept. This section aims to provide a general understanding to the concept of nationalism and its relation to the Central Asian Turks.

The 1789 French Revolution can be mentioned as the starting point for nationalism in Europe. The motto of the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen', which came out as a result of the French Revolution, was that " 'men are born and remain free and equal in rights', that 'the aim of all political association is to preserve the natural and imprescriptible rights of man', and that 'these rights are liberty, security, and resistance to oppression'".²⁰

This paved the way for the creation of nationhood, which can be defined as the unifying bond for groups and it is the basis for the development of nationalism. In his book *People and Power, An Introduction to Politics*, Eddie J. Girdner (1996) defines the concept of nationalism as "the tendency of populations to identify psychologically with a particular nation or nation-state. This is a basis for love of a nation-state, or patriotism".²¹ From Girdner's definition we can see that one of the main components of nationalism is the nation and the other one is the identification. He defines a nation as " a group of people who are bound together and recognize a similarity among themselves because of a common culture, ethnicity, language, or sometimes religion, that provides a basis for the creation of nationhood".²² When we look at the Girdner's definition of a nation and think about the Central Asian Turks we can say that they also share a common culture, ethnicity, similar (but not identical) language and same religion. These components of the characteristics of Central Asian Turkish population pushes us to think about the position of their national identity. Girdner again defines the national identity as "the tendency of individuals to identify themselves with a particular

nation or nation-state which may serve as a source of pride, chauvinistic feelings, and loyalty toward a particular nation or nation-state. National identity may tend to become stronger when a person travels abroad".²³

The main identifying factors of Central Asian Turks was that their ethnic background as Turks (although it has its subdivisions as Turkomen, Uzbeks, Kyrgyz or Kazakh) and their religion; Islam. One can better identify the existence of Turkic identity in Central Asia by looking at the evolution of Turkish Moslem resistance movements in the region.

Endnotes

¹ Louis. L. Snyder, The Dynamics of Nationalism, Readings in its Meaning and Development, (Canada: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1964) p. 1.

² Hans Kohn, Nationalism: Its Meaning and History, Revised edition, (Canada: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1965) p. 9.

³Kenneth R. Minogue, Nationalism, (New York: Basic Books, 1967) p. 13.

⁴ Minogue, p. 13.

⁵ Minogue, p. 15.

⁶ Minogue, p. 15.

⁷Minogue, p. 16.

⁸ Elie Kedourie, Nationalism, 4th expanded edition, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994) p. 1.

⁹ Kedourie, p. 7.

¹⁰ Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism, (Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1993) p. 4.

¹¹ Gellner, p. 7.

¹²Gellner, p.7.

¹³ See; Miroslav Hroch, Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). Cited by E.J. Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism Since 1780, Programme, Myth, Reliaty, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) p. 12.

¹⁴ Hobsbawm, p. 12.

¹⁵ Ingvar Svanberg, "Kazakhstan and the Kazakhs," in The Nationalities Question in the Post-Soviet States, ed, Graham Smith (New York: Addison Wesley Longman Publishing, 1996, pp. 318- 33

¹⁶ Shirin Akiner, "Uzbekistan and the Uzbeks," in The Nationalities Question in the Post-Soviet States, ed, Graham Smith (New York: Addison Wesley Longman Publishing, 1996, pp. 334- 47

¹⁷ Anette Bohr, "Turkmenistan and the Turkmens," in The Nationalities Question in the Post-Soviet States, ed, Graham Smith (New York: Addison Wesley Longman Publishing, 1996, pp. 348- 65

¹⁸ Anette Bohr and Simon Crisp, "Kyrgyzstan and the Kyrgyz," in The Nationalities Question in the Post-Soviet States, ed, Graham Smith (New York: Addison Wesley Longman Publishing, 1996, pp. 385-409

¹⁹ Hellene carrere D'Encause, "Systematic Conquest, 1865 to 1884," in, Central Asia, 130 Years of Russian Dominance, A Historical Overview, ed. Edward Allworth, 3rd.ed. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994) pp. 131-150.

²⁰ David Thomson, Europe Since Napoleon, (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1990) p. 30.

²¹ Eddie J. Girdner, People and Power, An Introduction to Politics, (Istanbul: Literatur Yayincilik, 1996) p. 348.

²² Girdner, p. 348

²³ Girdner, p. 348

CHAPTER 4

An Analysis of the Discourse

Analyzing the contents of texts on a particular subject can help us understand the relationship between knowledge and power. Creation of knowledge about international relations becomes a tool of the international political order¹. For example reading Edward Said's *Orientalism* and thinking about the historical political conditions of the colonial period, we can understand the devastating literature created about the "Orient" for the sake of establishing solid legitimacy in the colonized parts of the world.² Furthermore, this trend continued even after the end of the colonial rule when new forms of colonial relations were established between the core and the periphery states.

For this part of my thesis I have concentrated the existing literature in English on the Turkic identity during and after the Cold War. My hypothesis is that the literature during the Cold War was a part of "Big Power political discourse" which came into existence with the end of the Second World War. It is possible to define this Big Power political discourse as a whole body of literature on the two main poles of the period that is the Soviet Union and the United States of America. This international political discourse has two dimensions. The first one consisted of the books, articles, movies and many other instruments prepared in the West about the East and the second one is the reverse, that is all the information prepared in the East about the West.

My concentration is on the first dimension of the "Big Power Political discourse". Specifically, I focus my attention on the academic discourse on Turkic identity in Central Asia. In the first part of chapter 4, I will study the literature on the Turkic identity in

Central Asia that was written during the Cold War about the period of Tsarist administration. I call this group 1. Then I will examine literature on Turkic identity that written during the Cold War about the period of the Soviet administration, I call this group 2. After comparing groups 1 and 2 to detect any changes in the way Turkic identity addressed, I will examine material written after the Cold War for the position of Turkic identity during the Tsarist administration, I call this group 3. Finally I will address material written after Cold War on the Soviet administration, I call this group four. Table four summarizes this breakdown accordingly.

Table 4: Grouping of the literature available on Turkic identity in Central Asia

Subject of Literature	Literature written during	
	Cold War 1950-1989	Post-Cold War 1990-present
On Tsarist Regime	Group 1	Group 3
On Soviet Regime	Group 2	Group 4

In the last two sections of this chapter, the Post-Cold War literature on the two administrations provided in order to see if there is a change in the approaches of writers after the Cold War, or the same Cold War mode is still valid when it comes to the issue of Turkic identity in Central Asia.

A. Section 1- The Cold War literature on the Turkic Identity Under the Tsarist Administration: Group 1

The rationale for analysing tsarist regime and the presentation of the position of Turkic identity in the discourse written during the Cold War is to provide a criterion for the comparison with that of the Soviet regime. The aim is to show how the position of writers changed on a particular topic depending on the international political conditions. The presentation of the Russian conquest and its influences on the local people in the Western literature will be studied. Considering the fact that initial responses that came out against the Russian policies were the seeds of development of an identity in the region, this section will provide the first step to go further in the analysis of the issue of Turkic identity in the region. For the purposes of this section analysis will be done through a sample of texts that is grouped according to their publication dates and the historical time spans that they are dealing with.

As a late coloniser country when the Russian Empire was moving towards Central Asia, their main justification for their move was the immediate need to take security precautions. Inconsistent relations between Central Asian Khanates made this process even easier for the Russian Empire to go on and achieve its goals. For the tsarist regime people of the region were uncivilised nomads and in need for some power above them to rule and protect their lives. However, one can not deny the fact that this justification is not much more different from the justifications of other colonizer countries.

Reading the following passage from Helene Carrere D'Encausse which is one of the respected scholars of Central Asia will give us hints about how the Russian conquest

was justified by her words while she was explaining the conquest of the Emirate of Bukhara:

The Crimean War temporarily restricted Russia's relations with the emirate; but once the war was over, Russia was free to turn anew towards Asia, where external threats were taking clear shape. Having consolidated its position in India, Britain was extending its presence in Afghanistan, and British envoys were multiplying in the Central Asian kahantes. Meanwhile, the Afghan ruler Dust Muhammad had just taken Balkh and was extending his control over the entire region to the south of the Amu Darya. It became urgent for the Russian government to re-establish friendly links with the rulers of Central Asia, primarily with Bukhara, which was the object of the strongest Anglo-Afghan pressure"³

In the above lines we can see that the stress is on the need for "urgent" security precautions for the sake of the Russian Empire. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that if we want to look at the position of the international agenda during those years of the Russian conquest of Central Asia, we can see that there is a widespread tendency in the industrialised countries of the time to conquer less developed places and maintain resources as well as markets for their industrial production. Above mentioned Crimean War (1853-56), was the last move of the Russian imperialism towards Middle East which was crushed down by the Ottoman Empire with tremendous British and French support. This leads me to question the mere political reasons given for the conquest of the region.

The conquest of Central Asia by the Russian Empire meant initial Russian encounter with Islam. When we look at her definition of Islam before the Russian conquest in Bukhara we can get clear ideas on how important is the role of Islam in the lives of Central Asian people as a whole.

Over and above men and the regime, Islam furnished a meeting-place and a catalyst for all the forces that were either shaking or immobilising the emirate. There are few Islamic countries in which during the nineteenth century the role of religion was so fundamental; for it was simultaneously the basis of the state and the only force that stood apart from the emir's power and might possibly serve as a counterweight to him - a force that transcended all others and participated, at all levels, in the life of both rulers and masses.⁴

Since Islam was playing that crucial role in Central Asia any attempt by the Russian rule to change any aspect of Islam meant an attack to the identity of the local people. As soon as the protectorates established as a result of the Russian conquest in Central Asia, tsarist administration started to take some measures about the lives of people. As described above, Islam plays the major role in their daily lives. This explains the reason for usage of the Arabic script as the main medium of written communication in the region. All over Central Asia, Arabic script was used as the common binding factor in the lives of the local people. It was a medium of communication that is totally different from that of the new masters of the region.

While defining the culture of Central Asian peoples in her book *Central Asians Under Russian Rule: a study in Culture Change*, Elizabeth Bacon was using the word as: "The Arabic script was thus something all the Central Asian peoples had in common, both as a familiar system of writing and as a symbol of religious and cultural ties with the larger Islamic world. A few scattered attempts to introduce the Cyrillic alphabet in the nineteenth century had been ineffective".⁵

From her above words the reader gets the impression that there was not any serious attempt by the tsarist regime to alter the lifestyles of the local people although

there were "few scattered" moves to change the Arabic script with the Cyrillic alphabet! The importance of her word on the tsarist regime becomes much more significant when we look what she wrote about the Soviet attempts to change the local alphabet with more or less similar aims with the tsarist regime: "..... to a Soviet Government that had had to establish its control over Central Asia by force, the dangers soon became obvious of allowing its people to continue to use of an alphabet that at once separated them from Russians and gave them a common mode of expression with Muslim neighbours outside the Soviet Union. In 1925 the importation of materials was forbidden by decree".⁶

The issue of alphabet and the attempts to change it becomes much more important if we think of the very fact that language plays an important role in the identification of people themselves with a particular group. From her above words we can see that there is a stress on the Soviet rather than the tsarist policies to change the indigenous alphabet.

Moreover, as a result of the Russian colonial policy day by day the number of Russian settlers were increasing in the region and local people were pushed to share their land with their new neighbours.⁷ Disharmony of the two societies in the region was one of the main sources for the emergence of local revolts in Central Asia. As mentioned in historical background of chapter 2 as well, these revolts were the founding steps of the development of Turkic identity in the region. Nevertheless, while being one of the main sources of the birth of conflict in this part of the world, Russian settlers were viewed as the modernisers of the region. When we look at Seymor Becker's words *Russian Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865- 1924*(1968) he was saying that "The most important channel of Western influence in Bukahara was the Russians, who arrived in increasing numbers after 1885, either as soldiers to operate the railway,

garrison the cantonments, and guard the Amu-Darya frontier, as merchants, shopkeepers, and workers."⁸ We can see that he was not following a much less different pattern from that of the Orientalist swriters who were presenting the colonisers as gifts of mercy to the colonised people.

When we look at the presentation of the Jadid Movement, which is one of the milestones that played an important role in the development of Turkic identity in the region we can see that it is presented as a mere educational movement.

The aims of the Bukharan liberals remained essentially educational, but in a broader sense than before. They set themselves the task not only of eliminating illiteracy and ignorance in the khanate but also of educating the people to an awareness of the uselessness and the reactionary role of the clergy, of government arbitrariness and illegality, and of the emir's appropriation for his own use of state revenues that ought properly to be spent on the needs of the country.⁹

When we recall the motto of Jadid Movement that was developed by Ismail Gapirali "*dilde, iste ve fikirde birlik*" (unity in language, action and mind), we can see that it propagates the establishment of a unity of Turkish people. This unity aims at the development of a monotype language for all Turks of Russia, which will be followed by the monotype action and ideology (mind). Jadid slogan has a much broader meaning than educational as Becker stressed it. However, the significance of Jadidism as a political factor in the development of Turkic identity is a fact not only of Central Asia but of the Ottoman Empire as well. It is clear that the Jadids who fled to Istanbul had influenced the emergence and participated in the 1908 Young Turk Revolution, which is the generator of Turkish nationalism in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰

In sum it is possible to say that regarding the Turkic identity in Central Asia under tsarist regime there is not much information provided by the writers of the Cold War period. The Russian conquests were represented as a slight process and their role vis a vis the local population were represented as the modernisers who brought civilisation. Moreover, the blame for the worsening condition of the local peoples was placed on the local leaders, who are mainly represented as concerned only for their own wellbeing.

B. Section 2- Cold War Literature on Turkic Identity under Soviet Regime: Group 2

As discussed in the previous section, the issue of Turkic identity under Tsarist regime was somehow skipped over quickly and the concentration was given on the Soviet regime and its policies. It seems that the main reason behind this was the on going Cold War environment, which had its reflections on the academic works as well. The almost unnoticed position of Turkic identity under Tsarist rule gained a rapprochement when the discourse focuses on the Soviet administration. The concentration of this section will be on the presentation of the revolutionary environment of 1917 and the position of Turkic identity in the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The promises of the revolution, in general, were filled with the concepts of freedom, equality and self-determination.¹¹ 'What did those concepts mean for Central Asians?' is a significant question to ask. In her book *Islam and the Russian Empire* (1988), Helene Carrere D'Encausse presented an overview on the meaning of the revolution both for Russians and indigenous Central Asians:

For the Russians, the revolution meant bread and individual freedom; for the locals, it implied bread, but above all independence. This difference of viewpoint, which appeared clearly from the summer of 1917 on, merely grew sharper thereafter. In the Bolshevik Revolution the indigenous population placed their sole hope in the revolution keeping its promises to the oppressed nations when the party was in opposition.¹²

D'Encausse stressed the 'promised independence' for Central Asians. It seems that by stressing the promised character of independence for Central Asians, she is trying to show that this promise was never operationalized under the Soviet regime. Her intention of assaulting the Soviet rule becomes much more clear when we read her words on the national delimitation policy of the early 1920s which is pursued by the Soviet regime:

With its reorganization of Central Asia the Soviet government delivered a terrible blow to the pan-Turk dreams of the Jadids. The fragmentation of Turkistan into national republics endowed with national languages and, worse still, the creation of a non-Turkish republic of Tajikistan, in which a Persian dialect was spoken, put an end to any hope of a regroupment and unification of all the Turks of Central Asia. As early as 1923,... the existence of a region called 'Turkistan' was impossible, since it was the most blatant demonstration of a 'Great Turkish aspiration which should be erased from the Soviet terminology as soon as possible'.¹³

The above lines provide a clear demonstration of the Cold War attitude towards the Soviet Union. It seems that with stressing the negative Soviet attitudes by using words like 'terrible blow', D'Encausse is trying to awaken a sort of Turkic nationalism in the region by presenting the Soviet regime and its policies as the mere obstacle in front of

the establishment of a unified Turkistan and the development of a unified Turkic identity in Central Asia.

A similar pattern to that of D'Encausse can be observed when we look at the part dealing with Central Asia in Walter Kolarz's book called *Russia and Her Colonies*. Like D'Encausse, Kolarz as well stressed the negative effect of the delimitation policies on Central Asian identity building. Moreover, he has a special stress on the effects of these policies on Turkic identity as well.

By dividing Soviet Central Asia into five national republics the Government of the Soviet Union not only served the aims of its foreign policy but also safeguarded the stability of Russian rule in Soviet Central Asia itself. With the exception of the Tadzhiks and some minor ethnical groups, the nationalities of Soviet Central Asia are all Turkic peoples intimately inter-related. The formation of a Central Asiatic federation would, therefore, be quite logical and would probably correspond to the desires of the peoples concerned. Such a federation is, however, bound to threaten Russian predominance and weaken the links between the Central Asian power and each of five Central Asiatic Republics. The Soviet central government has, therefore, strongly opposed all federative tendencies.¹⁴

Kolarz stresses with his above words the fact that Soviet policies in the region have no respect for the demands of the local people, but the mere reason for the formation of these policies was to safeguard the interests of the regime. If we recall the promises of the revolution for the local Central Asians and look again to the words of Kolarz which stresses that a possible Central Asiatic federation is a major threat to the Soviet integrity. It seems to me that by stressing the fact that the majority of Central Asian population is Turkic and they were oppressed by the Soviet regime; he was in

effect, if not by intention, focusing attention on this very fact in the scholarly discourse on Central Asia.

It is worth noting that Kolarz's book was published in 1952 when during that decade Cold War rivalry between Soviet Union and the United States of America was just beginning to escalate. It is interesting also when we look at an article that is written by Immanuel Wallerstein in a book edited by Edward Allworth in 1973, named *The Nationality question in Soviet Central Asia*. In this article titled *The Two Modes of Ethnic Consciousness: Soviet Central Asia in Transition*, which is published two decades after Kolarz's work we can see that Wallerstein as well emphasized Turkic identity, though he was approaching the subject from a different ideological perspective:

In ideological terms, Russia's colonies were an embarrassment for the communist leadership. In terms of their immediate collective objectives, maintaining these "colonial" areas within the political hegemony of Russia was, however, vital to the political economy.... Evidently they felt that "Central Asianism" would inevitably escalate into separatist pressures. Instead they encouraged the crystallization of five "nations" (in the official terminology) plus a few further "nationalities".... What is clear, it seems to me, is that Soviet Central Asia is today a turning point, and that any analysis of the "nationality question" must take into account the different ways in which ethnic consciousness and class consciousness intertwine, and hence the possible major shift in the political forms of expressing sentiments of "Central Asianism".¹⁵

If we assume the development of a unified identity in Central Asia what can be the possible components of this identity in the region? In the first instance, we have Islam; secondly we have Turkic character of the majority of the population of the region. Here the importance of the presentation of Islam in the Western literature emerges, which

is one of the vital components of identity building in Central Asia in the western literature.

While defining Islam's role in Central Asia, Micheal Rywkin, *Moscow's Muslim Challenge Soviet Central Asia* (1990) was using the following words:

Islam is not only a religion but a part of personal identity: one can not simply call oneself an Uzbek or a Tajik and, at the same time, reject Islam. This not only strengthens the Islamic tradition but makes it part and parcel of the ethnic one. And ethnic traditions, even apparently much weaker ones, are highly resistant to change or erosion.¹⁶

In his last sentence there is a stress on the strength and resistance of ethnic traditions to the external influences. Looking at his first sentences which is on the Uzbek, Tajik or other identities which was created by the Soviet delimitation policies, it can be seen that he is rejecting the actual existence of this artificially created identities for the Turkic and non-Turkic peoples of Central Asia. Moreover, when we look at his words on the current —that is the very ends of the 1980s— position of Islam in the region it can be seen that he views Islam as a great danger to Moscow's control over Central Asia.

Rapid modernization (education, urbanization, technical progress, etc.), however, has not brought with it the acculturation desired by the Soviets. An educated Uzbek manager and party member may speak Russian, ride to work in an automobile, and dress in Western style; but this has no bearing on his national-religious feelings. On the contrary "his" Islam is even more dangerous to Moscow. It is not a faith of "superstitions" or of *perezhitki* (survivals from the past), something a skillful agitator might at least try to demolish at the next public meeting. Rather, it is the basis of his national-religious identity and consciousness.... Of the two dogmas, the communist and the Islamic —both collectivist and authoritarian, both encompassing the

temporal as well as the spiritual, both competing for the Soviet Muslim's allegiance—the communist one, being a Russian import, appears to be the weaker. In the nationalist-Muslim-communist triad, therefore, the communist element seems the only one potentially discardable.¹⁷

On the other hand, when we look at the presentation of the Basmaci Movement we can see that there is not common agreement on the date of the emergence of the movement. While D'Encasse argues that the movement started as early 1920s, Rywkin was giving the date of 1918 which is right after the Bolshevik Revolution. However, as I have discussed in chapter 2, the actual roots of the Basmaci movement goes back to the Central Asian revolt of 1916 in the Fergana Valley¹⁸. This means that the birth of the movement was before the Soviet regime. However, it is interesting to note that the Cold War writers tend to give stress to the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution. This kind of an attitude can be given as a justification of an hypothesis on the impact of the Cold War rivalry on the creation of a body of knowledge on the Turkic identity in Central Asia. Micheal Rywkin defines the Basmaci movement as:

....the Basmachi movement was a national-liberation movement on par with the many similar ones that have emerged in Asia and Africa since the end of the World War II. It is worth noting that the descendents of the Basmachi who took refuge in Afghanistan in the 1920s were in the forefront in the guerilla battle against the Soviet troops "pacifying" Afghanistan —sixty years later, with greater success this time.¹⁹

While stressing the national liberation movement character of the Basmachi movement the author also emphasized the post-World War II environment. The end of World War II meant the end of colonial rule in most parts of the world —as mentioned

by Rywkin in Asia and Africa too. The world faced the establishment of numerous new independent states in the second half of the 20th century but Central Asia still remained under colonial control. His stress on Afghanistan and the success of Afghan masses, with the “descendants of the Basmaci who took refuge ... in the 1920s” can be given as another important aspect of Cold War rivalry. Below Table 5 will provide a summary of the presentation of the issue of Turkic identity in group 1 and group 2 literature. (For Table 5 see the following page)

C. Section 3- Post-Cold War Literature on Turkic identity under Tsarist Regime: Group 3

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union were two of the milestones of the 20th century that marked the end of the Cold War. This meant the end of an era of bi-polar rivalry between East and the West. According to some, it was the beginning of a new world order. Was it a real new international order or was it the continuation of old order with some modifications to the new conditions? In this section I will try to find an answer to this question from the point of the position of the existing literature on the Turkic identity in Central Asia.

In 1994, Edward Allworth published the third edition of his edited book *Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule* which was first published in 1967. This the time book's name was *Central Asia, 130 Years of Russian Dominance: A Historical Overview*. First book was published during the Cold War. However, it is interesting to observe that although the Cold War period ended for three years when the third edition of the book came out in 1994, the words 'Russian rule' changed with much more stronger words of 'Russian dominance'. Even this small alteration in the title of Alworth's book can give

Table 5: Comparing the available literature in terms of their presentation of the components of Turkic identity and the policies from Moscow

		Tsarist Regime	Soviet Regime
Turkic Identity	Language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Before 1917, usage of Arabic alphabet was common to all Muslims in Russia, not only in Central Asia. Although there were dialectical differences among them, the practice of the same alphabet gave the Muslims of Russia the opportunity to be in communication with each other. Moreover their usage of Arabic script was also giving them the opportunity to be in contact with the rest of the Muslim world (i.e. the Arabic world and Turkey). This very fact was playing a crucial role in the preservation of the identities of the indigenous population of Central Asia. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 1923, the first Soviet policy for the modification of the Arabic alphabet. - In 1925, the Soviet regime prohibited the import of materials printed in the Arabic alphabet. - In 1928, Latin alphabet was introduced to Central Asia instead of the Arabic alphabet - 1939-40 the Latin alphabet was replaced with the Cyrillic alphabet. <p>All these above policies which took about two decades resulted in the increase of illiteracy among the Central Asian local people and made their youth to cut off their cultural heritage and lose ties with the rest of the Muslim world.</p>
	Religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Policies of the Tsarist regime regarding Islam were shaped with 'disregard' for Islam. Turkistan Governor General Kaufman's perception of Islam and its treatment can be summarized with the following sentence from Anatoli Vasilyevich Lunacarski: <i>Religion is like a nail; the more you hit it, the deeper it goes in.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Islam like other religions was confronted by the communist ideology of the Soviet state. As a result of this confrontation many restrictions were placed before the people for practicing Islam.
Policies of Moscow	Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - masses had no say in the political activity. Right after the conquest of the region khanates of Central Asia became protectorates of the Russian Empire and a local government named Turkistan <i>Gubernia</i> was established for the administration of the region. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Delimitation of the region and establishment of the local SSRs made it easier for the center to rule the periphery. - Establishment and maintaining control over Central Asia was also important in terms of the geopolitical location of the region.
	Socio-cultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The lifestyles of the Russian migrants was totally alien to the lifestyles of the locals. They were presented as carrying the mission for bringing modernization to the region. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - harsh policies against religion plus the delimitation policies had important effects on the socio-cultural structures of the Central Asian society.
	Economics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - not only for security reasons as presented in the initial literature, economic factors were also one of the important aspects behind the conquest of the Central Asia. Its possession of rich natural resources was crucial for the industrial development of the Russian Empire. - Construction of the railroads all around Central Asia was more for serving the purpose of transportation of raw materials rather than developing infrastructure for the locals. - It was Russian migrants who were supplying the crucial human resources for economic development activities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Soviet leaders, although, ideologically opposed to imperialist tendencies were not willing to give up the rich natural resources and the markets of Central Asia. For this reason they established new forms of domination procedures with the establishment of the regional SSRs.

us hints regarding the post cold war attitudes of the writers. It seems that although the Cold War and the rivalry between the East and West ended the old dogmas continued in the new era as well.

Just six years after the publication of her book *Islam and the Russian Empire; Reform and Revolution in Central Asia*,²⁰ where D'Encausse was stressing the political factors which lie behind the Russian conquest of Central Asia for security reasons, in this edited book of Allworth she is stressing the economic reasons behind the conquest of the region:

The Crimean War at first had the effect of arresting Russian progress in Central Asia, but led, after its disastrous conclusions, to a renewal of interest in this region. For a while, at least, the czar had to give up the great foreign engagements which had involved him in the Balkans and the Near East, and he found it necessary to reinforce his position in Central Asia. For Russia, set on a course of capitalist development, the control of this region, with its unrivaled market and suspected rich raw materials, was of considerable importance.²¹

In her book *Islam and the Russian Empire; Reform and Revolution in Central Asia* that was written during the Cold War D'Encausse's stress was on Soviet rule and its policies rather than the Tsarist regime. It is particularly because of that reason that perhaps she did not concentrated much on economic forces behind the conquest of the region; she preferred to identify it simply as; the conquest is for the 'security reasons'. Ending East-West rivalry with the end of the Cold war, opened the road for further studies on the pre-Soviet regime as well and provided grounds for better analysis of the forces behind the Russian conquest of the region. Observing this change in the

presentation of the initial encounter between the two societies will become much more crucial when we further analyze the presentation of other issues as well.

When she was explaining the post conquest environment, in terms of the administration of the region in the initial meeting, her words still carries a mild approach to the Russian conquest of the region: "in actual fact, Russian intervention in local institutions was then very limited. For a long time the local and the Russian hierarchies coexisted with very close ties". However, the flow of her words prepares the reader to a then changed situation. Her following words provides information on the changing attitude of the Russian regime and its influence on the Muslim population:

Any lowering of authority and decline of Russian prestige from this time forth in local opinion stemmed not, it would appear, from political or judicial limitations but quite simply from the scandals which marked the Von Kaufman period, and especially from the personality of his successors, who did not know how to assert themselves among the associates or over their subordinates. In the remote colony of Turkistan guberniia each local Russian leader tended to behave as petty king whose power was not limited by any authority; this provoked frequent clashes with the Muslim population.²²

Different from the works that came out during the Cold War this time a cognizance of the negative aspects of the Tsarist regime on the Turkic identity building as well can be observed. It seems that she preferred to describe the initial Turkish resistance movements, which played an important role in the shaping of Turkic identity in the region as 'frequent clashes' between the locals and the Russian authorities. However, in Chapter 2, when the historical background was laid down for the study of Turkic identity in the region, we have seen that those resistance movements were much more than 'frequent clashes'.

Furthermore, when we look at Mehrdad Haghayghi's book named *Islam and Politics in Central Asia*, which came out in 1995 the description of the pre-conquest Central Asia and reasons given for the Russian conquest of the region were presented as follows:

The exploitative nature of tax and surplus expropriation on the one hand and the absence of well-defined borders among the three principalities on the other hand, left the majority of the peasant population destitute and the region in a semi-permanent state of conflict. Against this backdrop Russia embarked upon the colonization of the whole of the Central Asia. The general strategy was motivated, above all by three broad objectives: political, economic and cultural. Much like other European colonial strategies of the nineteenth century, the czarist political aim was first to undermine the power of the traditional political authority at the highest level, though not dismantle it altogether, and second to extend its own political administrative authority, already in place elsewhere in the empire into that region.²³

Haghayghi's above lines reminds us the Orientalist justifications of the colonial and postcolonial stand of the West vis a vis the colonized countries. According to him the position of the Central Asian people was terrible before the conquest of the region and the Russian conquest was necessary to put an end to this negative conditions and bring civilization and modernization to these peoples. On the local resistance to the conquest he was saying that:

Despite the widespread resentment, passive resistance and frequent rebellion, the Russian political reorganization of central Asia achieved its objectives: it divided the population along artificial lines, thus weakening the much cherished tribal cohesion, undermined the khan's political and financial authority, extended the coercive arm of the colonial government into the far reaches of the land and

helped pave the way for further financial exploitation of the population.²⁴

In the above lines author's acceptance of the existing resistance against the Russian policies in order to preserve the local identity by the Central Asian population can be observed. Moreover, there is also a stress on the exploitative character of the Russian presence in the region where it was not common to observe this sort of a definition of the Tsarist regime in the books that came out during the Cold War. Haghayghi defines the Central Asian behavior towards the Russian conquest and post-colonial policies as:

The Central Asian response to these developments generally followed two distinct patterns. The first was outright rebellion, which became an increasingly frequent method used against the Russian colonization after the Andijan uprising of 1898. The most serious incident of widespread rebellion occurred in 1916. Triggered by the czarist decree of June 25, 1916, that required labour services to the empire by the Muslim population, as well as by the misguided land policies in the Steppe, the rebellion engulfed almost the entire region leaving behind a large number of dead and wounded. The clerical establishment had played a leading role in this and many other rebellions and riots that swept through Turkistan. Although suppressed expeditiously, the rebellion clearly politicized the population and intensified the anti-Russian sentiments. Nevertheless, the rebellion sent a clear signal to St. Petersburg as the volatility of the situation and the necessity to formulate the Central Asian policy: Islam had once again proven to be a potent anti-colonial instrument.²⁵

It is important to note that Haghayghi who is one of the post-Cold War writers of Central Asia realizes the importance of resistance movements during the Tsarist administration. From his above words we can see that Islam which is a significant aspect of the lives of local people plays a vital role in the emergence of local resistance movements. Whereas these resistance, as he mentions as well, were the clear politicized

demonstrations of the anti-Russian feelings and shaping of the Turkic identity in the region.

Nevertheless, like Cold War writers he also has a conclusion at the end of his argument on the Tsarist regime and Islam which pushes the reader to have a bias vis a vis the comparison of the Tsarist administration versus Soviet administration of Central Asia and its people.

Whether out of fear or negligence, the czarist cultural strategy did not include the wholesale destruction of the Islamic tradition. Instead, it aimed at projecting a positive image of the Russian culture, assuming that over the time "inferior" and archaic Islam would wither away. This policy, however, was to be radically challenged in the aftermath of the October Revolution of 1917 by the victorious Bolsheviks who believed that religion in general and Islam in particular would not wither away on its own, but must be dealt with swiftly and systematically if socialism was to succeed in Central Asia.²⁶

Above lines provides us hints about the projected bias on the treatment of two administrations, both Tsarist and Soviet, towards the indigenous people. Where the first one was presented as designer of a set of policies that approaches to the local people rather mildly, the latter presented as having violent approach toward the culture and Islamic identity of the local policies. In the post-Cold War writing on Central Asia it is however, possible to observe a rather balanced treatment of the position of two administrations vis a vis the Central Asia and its population compared to the Cold War writings. Although, it is possible to observe a rapprochement towards the Tsarist regime and its policies on Central Asia, it is not yet possible to say that the Cold War trend totally eliminated.

In sum it seems to me that it is possible to draw and conclude by saying that it is not an easy task to keep political influences away from scholarship. Whenever they cut

across it is not easy to eliminate or change the created body of knowledge and adjust it to the new international political conditions.

D. Section 4- Post-Cold War Literature on the Turkic Identity under Soviet Regime: Group 4

In this last section of chapter 4 the emphasis is on the analysis of the post-Cold War discourse and the presentation of the issue of Turkic identity under soviet regime. As in the previous sections a sample of literature chosen to show the trends in the post-Cold War era vis a vis the Soviet treatment of the Turkic population of Central Asia.

When in 1917 the revolutionary winds were blowing in the Russian Empire their effect on the Central Asian population carries importance in the determination of the position of the people vis a vis the new regime that came out as a result of this atmosphere. Although in February Revolution Central Asian population was not active they were pretty much influenced by the changing conditions in the region. D'Encausse defines those revolutionary days as:

The February Revolution had been received with mix sentiments by the Central Asian population, giving the regime empowered there until the October revolution its specific character...They [Central Asian population] did not participate in the new events, for the scars of coercion still remained, but the downfall of a defeated power filled them with hope....Central Asians paid more attention to Muslim organizations [i.e. Muslim congresses] in which they thought their destiny was truly being manifested.... The only point on which the Muslim delegates took a definite stand was that their destiny should not be unilaterally determined by Russia.... For the first time since Central Asia became involved in nationalistic movements, local citizens really took in hand the destiny of the drive.²⁷

Author stresses the mixed sentiments that Central Asians were living towards the February revolution. Those mixed sentiments were present because, on one hand there are indigenous desires for independence and on the other hand the past severe experience of the 1916 revolt in the Fergana Valley. Above mentioned Muslim organizations were the 'All Muslim' congresses that was established in the region in order to cope with the unbalanced treatment of the local independence needs by the revolutionary leaders. However, because of the internal fragmentation within indigenous elite itself it was not possible for them to come together and act. When we look at Haghayghi's words on the reasons for local support to Bolsheviks we can see how he explains the Bolshevik manipulation of the existing fragmentation between the Muslims of Russia to unite them to support the Bolshevik cause:

Lenin was fully aware of the significance of non-Russian nationalities in the battle for power, and as early as 1913 he had recognized the right of the nationalities to secede from Russia if they so desired...As a gesture of goodwill the Koran of Usman, which had been confiscated at the time of the Czarist conquest of Samarkand was returned to the Muslims. Such deliberate maneuvers were designed to galvanize the native Muslim population in favor of the revolution, but instead it further intensified the old aspirations for cultural independence and political autonomy, for which a number of congresses and Muslim organizations had been convened and established as early as 1905.²⁸

In the above lines the stress is given on the successful manipulation of the independence desires of the Muslim population of the Central Asia by the Bolshevik leader, Lenin. Moreover mentioning the Bolshevik gesture which is the returning back of the 'Usman's Koran' is another demonstration by the author for the manipulation of the

religious feelings of the indigenous people. In the beginning Bolsheviks seemed to supporting the independence cause of local Muslim people, however, his following word stresses the changing Bolshevik attitude towards Central Asian local identity and than developed attacks against the nationalist tendencies.

There is a very little doubt, however, that early 1918, the Bolsheviks had reversed their liberal position on the nationalities question, and set out to dismantle all Muslim nationalist organizations in Turkistan, the Kazakh Steppe, and elsewhere. As a result, a military unit under the leadership of the Tashkent Soviet was dispatched, successfully defeating the Muslim resistance in Kokand, where the main anti-Soviet clerical organization had moved to escape the persecution of the local Soviets. Until, November 1919, when the road to Tashkent was finally secured by the Red Army, leading to the resumption of the central command and communications to the region, the local Russians were left free to conduct antireligious campaigns during which mosques were profaned, clergy shot, religious endowment land confiscated, Shariah courts closed and religious schools were demolished.²⁹

Haghaygi presents a short description of the harsh Bolshevik policies in the aftermath of the revolution. It is fascinating to observe that the same line of the Cold War followed here as well. In addition to Haghaygi's words Yaacov Ro'i gives his explanation to this changing Bolshevik attitude, an explanation based on the undeniable role of Islam as the basic element of the indigenous Central Asian identity.

Islam like other religions, fell victim to the militant atheism that was an integral component of the materialist ideology of the Bolshevik party. Religion, 'the opium of the masses', was by definition an 'enemy of the people' *par excellence*....Pan-Islam and Pan-Turkism, if allowed to prosper, might bring together the otherwise diverse ethnic Muslim groups and enable them to withstand, and even break away from Russia, whose new rulers' authority had not yet been fully established.³⁰

In the above lines Ro'i emphasized the Islam as a threatening factor to the legitimacy of the regime. Because as a religion and as a way of life it has a strong place in the identification of local people themselves. In a region like Central Asia, where the majority of people are Turks and Muslim, groupings based on Islamic identity were happened to be viewed by the Soviet rulers as a possible threat that may also trigger the ideas of pan-Turkism in the region. As a result of these threats to regime, the policies that were taken by the Soviet administration aimed the elimination of any sort of identification in the region.

It seems that Ro'i's stress of the anti-Islamic Soviet policies carries much of the character of a provocative strategy. A strategy that may engineer a sort of unity among the Turkic Muslim peoples of Central Asia against the Soviet Union which once eliminated their chance for independence.

While talking about the national delimitation policies that enhanced the impossibility of the establishment of unity in Central Asia Shirin Akiner was using the following words:

The National Delimitation, on paper at least, appeared to be a dramatic gesture of decolonisation. In reality it was the first step towards a far more radical form of colonization that had been practiced under Tsarist rule. It entailed a fundamental remodelling of Central Asian society, the avowed aim of which was the modernization and Sovietisation of the region.....³¹

Central Asian people who were bored of colonization and desperately looking for independence faced with another form of colonization by the Soviet regime. Akiner's

words follow a similar character to that of Wallerstein if we recall the edited book of Allworth that came out in the very beginning of 1970s. Although communism is not presenting a threat to the West anymore above lines still continues in the same pattern to attack the communism and the communist regime. This is a clear evidence for the fact that if a body of knowledge created as a result of the international political conditions it was not that easy to change the flow of this knowledge when the international political conditions were not present anymore. Akiner's following words again seems to have an encouraging character for the Central Asian majority to come together and get united.

All other interpretations of history were banned. The break with the past was made even more complete by the changes of script, from the Arabic to Latin in 1930, from the Latin to the Cyrillic in 1940. The very languages themselves were reshaped, partly through emphasizing a selected dialectical base, partly through the addition of a considerable number of Russian/international terms. The only written sources of information that were available were those that, quite literally, had been sanctioned by the authorities.³²

Since the alphabet and the history writing can be accepted as the important aspects of the self-identification of a nation Soviet attitudes to eliminate these aspects were stressed. Above lines from Akiner proves an attack against Soviet administration and its policies vis a vis the treatment of nationalities in Central Asia, where the majority are Turkic. The creation of artificial nationalities was presented to be one of the 'divide and rule' policies that are developed by any colonial rule as well.

The new republics were given such trappings of independence as their own Constitutions, flags and national anthems. They also had their own branches of the

Communist party, the Communist Youth League (Komsomol) and the trade unions. However, the reality behind the facade was that the republics were entirely subservient to the centre.... Central Asians today describe this experience with anguish as "a loss of memory". This is no exaggeration. The enforced westernization and Sovietization of society very nearly succeeded in obliterating traditional spiritual and cultural values.³³

Akiner presented new republics of Central Asia as artificial outcomes of the Soviet policies, which does not possess the main essential component of a state that is the nation. According to the author, Soviet created nations of Uzbek, Kyrgyz, or Tajik can not be regarded as pure nationalities. Rather they were different sects of a larger nation that is the Turkic Muslim nation of Central Asia which for more than seventy years tried to be eliminated by the Soviet regime. Akiner defines this period as an 'anguish loss of memory' for more than seventy years where she stress that it is not an exaggeration. But what is going to be the situation now since the elements that are causing for the memory loss were softened or almost eliminated? This is still left as an open-ended question!

Endnotes

¹ Said's definition of pure and political knowledge: "It is very easy to argue that knowledge about Shakespeare or Wordsworth is not political whereas knowledge about contemporary China or the Soviet Union is", Edward Said, Orientalism, (New York: Vintage Books 1978) p. 9.

² Where Said himself defines the *Orientalism* as a "...style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and (most of the time) "the Occident". Edward Said. p.2.

³ Helen Carrere d'Encausse, Islam and the Russian Empire; Reform and Revolution in Central Asia, (London: I.B. Tauris, 1988) p. 37

⁴ D'Encausse p. 31

⁵ Elizabeth E. Bacon, Central Asians Under Russian Rule: A Study in Culture Change, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1980) p. 190.

⁶ Bacon, p. 190

⁷ "By 1912 more than 1½ million Russians made up 40 percent of the population of the Kazakh steppes. In a continuing cycle, the ever-growing Russian population forced the Kazakhs into smaller spaces and the contradiction of the Kazakhs encouraged still further Russian coloniazation. From the Russian point of view, colonization made it possible to convert the fertile steppe region from pastoral to agricultural uses, to secure against possible revolts, and to reduce population pressure in Western and Central Russia. From the Kazakh point of view it meant the destruction of their society. The Kazakhs were forced into daily conflict with Russian settlers and were deprived of their migration routes, water, and land" Ira M. Lapidus, A History of Islamic Societies, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991) p. 787.

⁸ Seymour Becker, Russian Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924, (Cambridge, Masachussets: Harvard University Press, 1968) p.193

⁹ Becker, p. 205.

¹⁰ Sevket Sureyya Aydemir, Makedonya'dan Ortaasya'ya Enver Pasa, cilt 2 (1908-1914), (Istanbul: Tukselen Matbaacilik Limited Sirketi, 1971) pp. 448-473.

¹¹ For further information see: J.V. Stalin. "Marxism and the National Question", from J. V. Stalin, Works. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954), Vol.2 pp. 300-81 at <http://gate.cruzio.com/~marx2mao/Stalin/MNQ12.html> , J.V. Stalin. "Concerning the Presentation of the National Question", from J. V. Stalin. Works. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953), Vol.5, pp. 52-60 at

<http://.gate.cruzio.com/~marx2mao/Stalin/CPNQ21.html> , V.I. Lenin. "The National Question in Our Programme", from V.I. Lenin. Collected Works. 4th edition, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), Vol.6, pp. 454-63 at <http://.gate.cruzio.com/~marx2mao/Lenin/NQP03.html> , V.I. Lenin. "The Right of Nations to Self determination", from V.I. Lenin. Collected Works. 4th edition, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), Vol.20, pp. 393-454 at <http://.gate.cruzio.com/~marx2mao/Lenin/RNSD14.html> , V. I. Lenin. "The Soviet Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self determination (Thesis)", from V.I. Lenin. Collected Works. 4th edition, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), Vol.22, pp. 143-56, at <http://.gate.cruzio.com/~marx2mao/Lenin/SRSD16.html>

¹² D'Encausse. pp. 149-159.

¹³ D'Encausse. p.184

¹⁴ Walter Kolarz, Russia and Her Colonies. 1952, pp. 259-60.

¹⁵ Immanuel Wallerstein. "The Two Models of Ethnic Consciousness: Soviet Central Asia in Transition?", in The Nationality Question in Soviet Central Asia, ed., Edward Allworth ,(New York: Praeger Publishers Inc., 1973)pp. 172, 173, 175.

¹⁶ Micheal Rywkin, Moscow's Muslim Challenge Soviet Central Asia, revised edition, (New York: M.E. Sharpe Inc., 1990) p. 89.

¹⁷Rywkin. p.91

¹⁸ See also; Baymirza Hayit, "Basmacilar" Turkistan Mill' Mucadele Tarihi (1917-1934), (Ankara: Turkiye Diyanet Vakfi Yayinlari/261, 1997).

¹⁹ D'Encausse p.43

²⁰ Helen Carrere d'Encausse, Islam and the Russian Empire; Reform and Revolution in Central Asia, (London: I.B. Tauris, 1988.)

²¹ Hellene Carrere D'Encausee. "Systematic Conquest, 1865 to 1884" in Central Asia 130 Years of Russian Dominance: A historical Overview, ed., Edward Allwoth, (USA: Duke University Press, 1994) p.131

²² D'Encausee, in Allwoth ed., p.156

²³ Mehrdad Haghaayghi, Islam and Politics in Central Asia, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995) p. 3.

²⁴ Haghaayghi, p. 5.

²⁵ Haghaayghi. pp. 9-10.

²⁶ Haghaayghi. p. 10.

²⁷ D'Encausse in Allwoth ed., pp, 215-17

²⁸ Haghaayghi. p. 16

²⁹ Haghaayghi. p. 17.

³⁰ Yaacov Ro'i, ed., Muslim Euroasia; Conflicting Legacies, England: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1985 p. 5.

³¹ Shirin Akiner, Central Asia: New Arc of Crisis?, (GB: Sherrens Printers, 1993) p.10

³² Akiner. p. 11.

³³ Akiner. p. 13, 17.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

... the determining impingement on most knowledge produced in the contemporary West (and here I speak mainly about the United States) is that it be nonpolitical, that is, scholarly, academic, impartial, above partisan or small-minded doctrinal belief. One can have no quarrel with such an ambition in theory, perhaps, but in practice the reality is much more problematic. No one has ever devised a method for detaching the scholar from the circumstances of life, from the fact of his involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position, or from the mere activity of being a member of a society. These continue to bear on what he does professionally, even though naturally enough his research and its fruits do attempt to reach a level of relative freedom from the inhibitions and the restrictions of brute, everyday reality. For there is such a thing as knowledge that is less, rather than more, partial than the individual (with his entangling and distracting circumstances) who produces it. Yet this knowledge is not therefore automatically nonpolitical.

...it is above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by the exchange with political power (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with ideas about what "we" do and what "they" cannot do or understand as "we" do).

Edward Said, Orientalism

Edward Said was defining Orientalism "... as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient".¹ Starting from his definition of Orientalism and Orientalist discourse as a tool of power for achievement of control and authority I tend to define the Western scholarly discourse on Turkic identity as one of the tools for the containment of the East— that is Soviet Union. Starting from this definition a comparison of the Said's perception of the Orientalist discourse with my perception of the Western scholarly discourse on Turkic identity will be provided below:

1) While Said was providing his 'reasonable qualifications' for the study of Orientalism he was saying that "... it would be wrong to conclude that the Orient was essentially an idea, or creation with no corresponding reality'. This statement is valid if we apply it to the issue of Turkic identity in Central Asia. It would be wrong if one argues that the issue of Turkic identity and treatment of nationalities by the Soviet administration was totally exaggerated. However, the important side of the analysis of the discourse on the Turkic identity for my study was to see how the presentation of the issue shifted depending on the international political conditions. While the Tsarist administration and its treatment of nationalities were presented as a rather mild process Soviet policies were stressed and criticized.

2) The above argument becomes clearer when we look at his second 'qualification' for the study of Orientalism. He was arguing that

...ideas, cultures, and histories cannot seriously be understood or studied without their force, or more precisely their configurations of power, also being studied. To believe that the Orient was created—or as I call it, "Orientalized"—and to believe that such things happen simply as a necessity of the imagination, is to be disingenuous. The relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony.... The Orient was Orientalized not only it was discovered to be "Oriental" in all those ways considered commonplace by an average nineteenth-century European, but also because it *could be*—that is, submitted to being—*made* Oriental.²

Said's above analysis of creation of the Orientalist discourse on Arabs provides means for me to argue that accepting the creation of a body of knowledge on the Turkic identity in Central Asia by the Western scholars as merely 'because of intellectual

curiosity is to be 'disingenuous'. It is necessary to understand the historical and political power structures of the era that they came out. Bearing in mind the Cold War political conditions and the rivalry between the East and the West it is natural to observe the reflections of life on scholarship as well. Recalling Said's words again a clearer expression of my argument: "No one has ever devised a method for detaching the scholar from the circumstances of life, from the fact of his involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position, or from the mere activity of being a member of a society"³

3) Said's third 'qualification' for the study of Orientalism are as follows:

Orientalism, therefore, is not an airy European fantasy about the Orient, but a created body of theory and practice in which, for many generations, there has been a considerable material investment. Continued investment made Orientalism, as a system of knowledge about the Orient, an accepted grid for filtering through the Orient into Western consciousness, just as that same investment multiplied—indeed, made truly productive—the statements proliferating out from Orientalism into the general culture.⁴

Just as the creation of an Orientalist body of knowledge which in practice stays for generations and still carries its power, the discourse on Turkic identity as well stays as a body of knowledge still carrying the signs of Cold-War rivalry between East and the West. Although the Cold-War ended it is not possible to eliminate what have been produced and start again. Moreover, as I have indicated previously it is interesting to observe similar patterns of presentation of the issue of Turkic identity in the Post Cold War literature as well.

Chapter one of my study helped me to set the structure of my study by defining the methodology and limits of it. Chapter two contributed to my study by providing an overall study of small but significant the literature on the subject and helped me to show the restrictions on the application of a random sampling procedure for the selection of the sample for analysis. Furthermore, a historical background for the study of Turkic identity was set through the study of the Turkish literature available on the subject. This had two reasons one in order to show that there is a body of knowledge available in Turkish as well and two to cover local resistance movements in detail. Because it has not been possible for me to find resources in English covering those movements in detail.

Chapter 3 helped me to set the theoretical background of the study with a review of the literature on nationalism, which also helped me to enhance me knowledge on nationalism as well. First three chapters prepared the grounds for the presentation of Chapter 4 which constitutes the meat of the study. It covers an analysis of particular texts chosen among the available literature in the inquiry for an answer to the hypothesis: Did Western scholarly discourse published in the period between the 1950s and 1990s on Turkish national identity in Central Asia reflect the Cold War political environment? Analysis of the resources came our during 1950s and 1990s helped me to show the continuing trend in the Western scholarship regarding the issue of Turkic identity.

The analysis of the Western literature on the Turkic identity showed us an example to the creation of a body of knowledge as a result of the international political conditions. It seems to me that the mere motivating factor behind this act was the old political game named 'divide and rule'. West was trying to insert divisions to East, which will make it easier to contain. Furthermore, when the need for containment ended,

however, it was not fully possible to eliminate what is already produced. Table 6 provides a comparative summary of the presentation of the Tsarist and the Soviet administrations within Cold War and the Post- Cold War literatures on Turkic identity in Central Asia.

Table 6- Comparison of the presentation of Turkic identity in Cold War and the Post-Cold War literatures

		Tsarist Regime		Soviet Regime	
		Literature Written		Literature written	
		During Cold War	Post Cold War	During Cold War	Post Cold War
Turkic Identity	Language	-not touched	- changed a lot	-not touched	- changed a lot
	Religion	- ignored by the authorities	- harshly confronted	-ignored by the authorities	-harshly confronted
Policies of Moscow	Political	-no political participation	-pseudo political participation	-no political participation	pseudo political participation
	Socio-cultural	-not much interference to the indigenous life -bringing civilization	-changing the local lifestyles for the creation of the "Soviet" people (personality cult)	-not much interference to the indigenous life -bringing civilization	changing the local lifestyles for the creation of the "Soviet" people (personality cult)
	Economics	Construction of infrastructure	A new form of imperial exploitative administration	Construction of infrastructure	A new form of imperial exploitative administration

Endnotes:

¹Edward Said. Orientalism (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), p. 3

² Said. p. 6

³ Said, p. 10.

⁴ Said. p. 6

APPENDIX

Appendix 1

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