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**THE INFLUENCE OF THE SOVIETS ON THE RESEARCH AND  
EDUCATION OF HISTORY IN THE CENTRAL ASIAN TURKIC  
REPUBLICS IN THE PERIOD OF SOVIET;  
THE KAZAKHISTAN'S CASE**

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## ABSTRACT

As having a “multi national” structure, Soviet Union tried to keep those different nations under the Soviet umbrella by asimilations of those by alienating them from their national roots.

Such asimilation activities were practised on “History” as it was practised at all part of National Culture. On all Congress of Communist Party of Soviet Union they came to that decision ;as it should be in all sciences , also in science of history “the researchs should be made to increase the friendship among the Soviet People, to strenghten the Soviet patriotism and to work intellectually against the nationalism.”

In that work I tried to examine the History Studies and the schedules of History lectures by giving examples from the Study Books (of history) in Kazakhastan by the help of decisions made on Communist Party Congress (especially concerning the Central Asian Turkic Republics).

## KISA ÖZET

“Çok milletli” bir yapıya sahip olan Sovyetler Birliđi farklı milletleri Sovyet çatısı altında tutabilmek için onları asimile ederek milli köklerinden uzaklařtırmaya çalışmıştır.

Bu türlü asimilasyon faaliyetleri milli kültür öğelerinin bütün alanlarında olduđu gibi “tarih” alanında da uygulanmıştır. Sovyetler Birliđi Komünist Partisinin yapmış olduđu kongrelerde almış olduđu kararlarla, bütün ilim adamlarından olduđu gibi, tarihçilerden de “Sovyet halklarının dostluđunu” ve “Sovyet vatanseverliđini” güçlendirici “Milliyetçiliđi” engelleyici çalışmalar yapmaları istenmiştir.

Sovyet tarihçileri Komünist Partisinin etkisinde kalarak özellikle Orta Asya Türk Cumhuriyetlerinde yapılan tarih arařtırmalarında üç nokta üzerinde sübjektif deđerlendirmelerde bulunmuşlar ve bu sübjektif deđerlendirmeleri tarih ders programları ve ders kitapların yerleřtirmişlerdir. Bu deđerlendirmeler şunlardır;

- 1- Orta Asya Türk halklarının Çarlık Rusyasına katılması gönüllü olmuştur
- 2- Bu katılım Orta Asya Türk halkları için ilerici bir hareket olmuştur

3- arlık dnemi Orta Asya Trk halklarının Rusya'ya karşı yapmış oldukları milli mcadele hareketlerinin gerici hareketler olduėu konularındadır.

Yapmış olduėum bu tez alıřmasıyla Komnist Partisi kongrelerinde alınan zellikle Orta Asya Trk Cumhuriyetlerini ilgilendiren kararlar ışığında Kazakistan'daki tarih arařtırmalarını ve hazırlanan ders programları ile ders kitaplarını rnek gstererek Komnist Partinin etkilerin ortaya koymaya alıřtım.



## INTRODUCTION

The Russian Empire and as we accept it, its successor the Soviet Union, which was one of the most important states in human history in terms of governing large territories and giving shelter to many nations, used different policies to solve the “nationality” problem.

The expansion movement, which began in Russia in the time of Ivan IV and that came to discipline in the time of Tsar Peter I, was so successful that in the 1987 there were 146 different nations<sup>1</sup> living the extending from the Baltic Sea to the Chinese Sea.

After the French Revolution in 1789, the nationalist movements, which spread all over the world, influenced the different nations living within boundaries of Tsarist Russia and led to the struggle of these nations against the Tsarist regime. In the last days of Tsarist Russia it was certain that the ones who were not Russians were threaten to Russia. Because people living in the Baltic provinces were superior to Russians in terms of both cultural and political traditions. On the other hand the Russian hostility movement strengthened due to desire of continuation of own identity among Kazan Turks in head and among Turks and Muslims living in Russia.<sup>2</sup> Because of this Tsarist Russia to solve this problem applied an assimilation policy by oppressing these nations.

Tsarist Russia while suppressing non-Russians also tried to make them lose interest in their language, religion and culture, Ilminskiy, who was supported by Tsarist regime, was particularly active during this period. According to him there was just

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<sup>1</sup> Hans KOCH, “Sovyetler Birliđi Kominist Partisinin 20.Kongresi ve Sovyetler Birliđi Millet Meselesi”, Dergi-6 (Sovyetler Birliđini öğrenme Enstitüsü dergisi), 1956, p.20

<sup>2</sup> Akdes Nimet KURAT, *Rusya Tarihi*, Ankara,1993, p.376



one way to ratification, non-Russians living in Russia, that was to teach the Russian language and the Christianity.<sup>3</sup> In 1917 Bolshevik Revolution occurred as a result of rebellions by peasants and workers, which took place where there were large number, of Russia Peasants and workers who had financial difficulties resulting from the prolonged first World War and who were suppressed by landlords and the bourgeoisie, were incited by the communists. Afterwards civil war broke out between the Red Army, that was controlled by revolutionists, and Tsarist supporters. Other nations which were colonised by Russia in the Tsarist period began to see the built their independence.

So in such a complicated period, of on 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1917, there was published a declaration titled as addressed to all Muslim proletariat of Russia and the East which was signed by leaders of Bolshevik revolution Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and Josef Stalin.

“Comrades! Brothers!

Great events are taking place in Russia. The end of the sanguinary war, begun over the partitioning of foreign lands, is drawing near. Under the blows of the Russian revolution, the old edifice of slavery and serfdom is crumbling. The world of arbitrary rule and oppression is approaching its last days. A new world is being born, a world of the toilers and the liberated. At the head of this revolution stands the workers and peasants government of Russia, the Council of People's Commissars.

All Russia is dotted with revolutionary councils of workers soldiers and peasants deputies. Power in the country is in the hands of the people. The labouring people of Russia are burning with the single desire to achieve an honourable peace and to help the downtrodden peoples of the world to win their freedom.

In this sacred cause, Russia does not stand alone. All the toilers of the west and the East are taking up the mighty call to freedom sounded by the Russian revolution. Exhausted by the war, the peoples of Europe are already stretching out their hands to us, working for peace. The workers and soldiers of the West are already rallying under the banner of socialism, storming the strongholds of imperialism. Even far-off India, the very country which has been oppressed for centuries by “European plunderers, has already raised the standard of revolt, organising its councils of deputies, casting off from its shoulders the

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<sup>3</sup> Mehmet SARAY, *Kazak Türkleri Tarihi*, İstanbul ,1993, p.72

hated yoke of slavery, and summoning the peoples of the East to the struggle and to liberation.

The empire of capitalist plunder and violence is crumbling. The ground under the feet of the imperialist plunderers is on fire.

In the face of these great events, we turn to you, the toiling and under privileged Muslims of Russia and the East.

Muslims of Russia, Tatars of the Volga and the Crimea, Kirghiz and Sarts of Siberia and Turkistan , Turks and Tatars of Transcaucasia, Chechens and Caucasian mountaineers... all you, whose mosques and shrines, whose faiths and customs have been violated by the Tsars and oppressors of Russia!

Henceforth your beliefs and customs, your national and cultural institutions, are decreed free and inviolable! Build your national life freely and without hindrance . You have the right to the it. Know that your rights like those of all the peoples of Russia, are being protected by all the might of the Revolution, and by its organs, the councils of workers soldiers and peasants deputies.

Therefore support this Revolution and its authorised government! In whose lives and property , in whose freedom and native land the rapacious European plunderers have for centuries traded ! All you whose countries the robbers who began the war now desire to partition!

We declare that the secret treaties of the dethroned Tsar regarding the seizure of Constantinople, which was confirmed by the despot Kerensky, now are null and void The Russian Republic and its government , the Council of People's Commissars , are against the seizure of foreign territories. Constantinople must remain in the hands of the Muslims.

We declared that the treaty for the partition of Persia is null and void. As soon as military operations cease, the armed forces will be with determination of their own destiny.

We declare that the treaty for the partition of Turkey , Which was to deprives her of Armenia, is null and avoid . as soon as military operations cease, the Armenian will be guaranteed the right of free determination of their political destiny

It is not from Russia and her revolutionary government that enslavement awaits you , but from the European imperialist robbers , from those who have transformed your native land into a "colony" to be plundered and robbed

Overthrow these robbers and enslaves of your countries! Now, When war and desolation are demolishing the pillars the old order, when the whole world is blazing with indignation against the imperialist usurpers , when any spark of indignation is transformed into a mighty flame of revolution , when even the Indian Muslims, oppressed and tormented by the foreign yoke , are rising in revolt against their subjugators.. now, it is impossible to remain silent. Lose no time in throwing off the yoke of the ancient oppressors of your lands! Let them no longer rob your hearts! You yourselves must build your own life in your own way and in your own likeness. You have the right to do this, for your destiny is in your own hands!

Comrades! Brothers!  
Let us advance together firmly and resolutely towards a just and democratic  
peace .'<sup>4</sup>

Would Lenin who published this manifesto, keep his word? What was Lenin's opinion on the different nationalities? What were the events that changed Lenin's opinion?

In order to learn Lenin's opinion about nationality question it is necessary to look at his ideas before the above declaration was published. Before the Bolshevik revolution took place Lenin's special order was discussed in the summer meeting of the Central Committee of the Russian Social Proletarian Party concerned nationalities program and following points were noted: "The right of independence must be given to all nations forming Russia otherwise it will be nothing but us usurpation and annexation policy these words excited strong reactions in Russia."<sup>5</sup>

We can learn the reasons why Lenin expressed such radical ideas like giving sovereignty to all the non-Russian nations from political developments in Russia in that period of time. The period when Lenin was asserting his ideas coincided with the time when nationalist ideas began to emerge among nations living within the Russian Empire, and these developments also affected the programs of the parties in Russia. The Rightist parties by asserting the superiority of Russians were opposed to independence the separatist power of nationalism and planned to use it as a force against Tsarist Russia.<sup>6</sup>

Essentially, there was no difference between Lenin, who was appeared to have very radical ideas about nationality problems, and other socialists. Like other socialists

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<sup>4</sup> Mehmet SARAY, *Atatürkün Sovyet Politikası*, İstanbul,1990, p.p.11-112

<sup>5</sup> Serge ZENKOVSY, *Rusyada Pantürkizm ve Müslümanlık*, İstanbul, 1983, p.13

<sup>6</sup> Richard PIPES, "Sovyetler Birliğinde Milliyet Meselesi", *Dergi-48*, 1967, p.5

he also considered nationalism as an additional product of capitalist manufactures made and believed that it would collapse as socialism was established. But unlike other socialist he knew that for the dominance of socialism in Russia they needed an ally and to achieve his goal he planned to win non-Russians over by telling such lies as giving them the right of sovereignty, and he kept in secret his real intentions.

We can learn Lenin's true opinion about nationality problem from the letter he wrote on 6<sup>th</sup> December of 1913 to one of the Armenian Communists, Soumyan, who did not like the double-faced national policy of the Bolsheviks. Lenin wrote in his letter as follows :

“ In Russia for the non-Russian nations the right for separation, in the meaning we consider, and right for setting their own rights is an exception.

It must be comprehended as program's play upon words. This exception is necessary and done to take powerful weapons from hands of “opportunists” doing nationalism ; this exception can not be commented on a large scale .Because there is no anything other than truth and there can not be.”<sup>7</sup>

From the letter Lenin sent to Shaumyan it can be easily understood that Lenin was not sincere in the promise he gave to non-Russian nations.

Lenin, who always struggled to bring Pushkin's idea “all rivers will meet together in Russians' sea” into reality<sup>8</sup> in fact applied the tactics of distracting the attention of the non-Russian nations by publishing his declaration on 3<sup>rd</sup> December in the short period of time it became clear that the main goal of the new Soviet regime was to prevent the efforts towards autonomy of Turks who were developing according to their national principles.

<sup>7</sup> “ V.İ . Lenin Socineniya vol.17 1935, P.89 ” quoted in P.URBAN ,“Sovyet Milli Siyasetinin Bugünkü Eğilimleri”, Dergi-34, 1964 , p.8

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p.8

When the non-Russian peoples began to establish their own national states, after this declaration was published, Lenin and the Bolsheviks by steady blood and joined states established by non-Russian nations to form the new Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

We can learn how reliable what Lenin and the Bolsheviks said about the "nationality question" was from a discussion between Lenin and the leader of Bashkarts ( non-Russian nation living in Russia) Zeki Velidi Togan.

" Twenty years ago while I was talking to Lenin in Moscow I wanted to learn his opinion about treaty decrees between two states . He quite easily told me that these treaties were just some pieces of paper and no more. I replied that in our motherland in accordance with traditions of our ancestors we accustomed to keep a promise. He gave me such an answer ! So this means that your ancestors were idiots, don't look at the pieces of paper look at the facts." <sup>9</sup>

To tell the truth, Lenin and his friends forgot what they said before revolution and in the revolutionary declaration, and did not give a permit to non Russians to establish their own government and to separate. In order to claim ownership of the inheritance left from Tsarist Russia, They changed the difficulty of holding together more than a hundred states.

The communist ideologist of the Soviet Union, who considered the nationality question as a "temporary product of a certain period, as capitalism will come to and nations will also wither away , always looked at nation and nationality question as a subject.<sup>10</sup> The Communists after strengthening the communist regime in the Soviet national republics by assimilation and terrorism in principle did not find it necessary to conceal their real intentions and to take precautions. Nationalism was discredited whenever an opportunity presented itself considered how the Soviet Union-

<sup>9</sup> Sir Olaf CAROE, *Sovyet İmparatorluğu ve Sömürülen Topraklar* , vo.II, Zerhan Yüksel (tr) p.177

<sup>10</sup> Süleyman TEKİNER, "Sosyalist Millet Efsanesi", Dergi-44 , 1966, p.54

Germany war in 1941 served for strengthen of Russian nationalism and the greatness of the Russian nation and how its superiority in every field began to be shown whenever an opportunity presented itself in Soviet Union, which was supposed to be “composed of free union of independent nations owning equal rights.”<sup>11</sup>

The new phase of the communist regime’s nationality policy communist regime carried out in the Soviet Union began in 1953 after the death of Stalin. In the Soviet Union ,which was known as happy family of different nations for many years , it was consider imprudent to speak openly about “superiority of Russian nation.” It was considered to be harmful to the propaganda will be done for the future the future expansion years of communism.

The liberal policy, lad by the Soviet government after the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress, was the reason for the ideologue movement and agitation in all Soviets including Turkistan territory, It was permitted to non-Russian nations within the Soviet Union were permitted to develop falsehoods stated by Soviet historians in the national history research of these nations. At the same time esteem was returned to many national authors and poets who had become victims of Soviet terrorism during Stalin’s government through “Bourgeoisie’s Nationalism”.<sup>12</sup>

As an example of new policy of the Moscow government’s new policy in Turkistan it is possible to give a speech made in October 1956 at the first congress of Uzbekistan’s intelligentsia by the former First Secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party’s Central Committee N.A.Muhittinov. In his speech he said that they had to give up the former mentality of Soviet history concerning Turkistan’s dark historical past and he explained the history he had in mind as follows:

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp.57-58

<sup>12</sup> P.URBAN, “Türkistan Sovyet Cumhuriyetlerinde Milli İdeolojik Eğilimler”, Dergi-23 , 1961, p.66

“The Uzbek people are one of the ancient nations. This nation in the face of its best descendants gave many achievements to the world's treasure of science and culture.”<sup>13</sup>

In this period of time in the result of appearing of partial freedom the hope of possibility of gaining some new national rights was born among people living in Soviet Republics. But all these developments were wished to be prevented with the fear of “Bourgeoisie's nationalism”. In the Soviet press it was emphasised that the signs of “Bourgeoisie's nationalism” started to appear in Turkistan Soviet Republics. As a result in 1959 in Tashkent an assembly of Soviet Union's Scientific Academy and the Central Asian Soviet Socialist Republics' Scientific Academies was held and the ways of preventing “Bourgeoisie's nationalism”, appeared in last years, were sought and in the end they came to this conclusion

“The annexation of Central Asia to Russia was the progressing event for people of Central Asia. The people aim Turkistan have to accept the situation in Soviet Turkistan and they must not object to the blessings of the Soviet national policy given to them.”<sup>14</sup>

Even the first Secretary of Uzbekistan Communist Party's Central Committee Sh.R.Reshidov discussed this point in his speech addressed to Turkistan's historians. According to Reshidov

“A merciless struggle must be imposed against the imperialist liars' assaults on Soviet national policy which are full of calumny, the slander of bourgeois falsities must be exposed.”<sup>15</sup>

At the 22<sup>nd</sup> Congress of Communist Party in 1961 in the fourth part of the party's program there were stated him of the party in the field of national

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p.47

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p.49

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p.49



problems. Khrushchev, in the report he read on the congress said the following regarding Soviet national policy.

“... Of course you can coincide with ones who complain about abolishing national differences , there is our answer ; Communist won't preserve and cant preserve national differences , even national leftovers' smallest sign's root must be destroyed with Bolshevik's reconciliation.”<sup>16</sup>

What the first secretary of Kazakhstan Communist Party's Central Committee N.Dijandildin thought about this issue is important in terms of learning a point of view of Communist Party's leaders about nationalism ideology in this new atmosphere. Djandildin in one Communist magazine published in Moscow spoke ill of “Narrow Nationalist Mentality” in such a way :

“In the international relations there still exist nationalist remains of the old , bourgeois view in Kazakhstan , these leftovers on the one hand appear to be the chauvinism of great state, appear to despise the importance of culture , language and traditions of national minorities and to neglect the principle of national equality. On the other hand in local nationalism an effort to be far away from other nations and to pursuit narrow local interest stands out. The narrow nationalist mentality often appears to violate Lenin's principles in the matter of dismissing permanent staff and in allocating various positions. Some time ago the required answer was given to Kazakhstan's public opinion's statements claiming that only those intellectuals who speak Kazakh can occupy important positions in government.”<sup>17</sup>

In the new program accepted in 1961 “it was stated that it is the party's duty from now onto make different nations come together and to unite them in one whole.”<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> “Pravda 19.10.1961” ’ quoted in Urban, “ Sovyet Milli Siyasetinde Bugünkü Eğilimler”, p.71

<sup>17</sup> N Candildin: “ Nehotoriye voprosı internatsionalnogo vospitaniya” no:13, 1959, pp. 33-34’ quoted in Urban, “ Sovyet Milli Siyasetinde Bugünkü Eğilimler”, p.52

<sup>18</sup> “ Sovyetler Birliğinin Komünist Partisinin programı, Moskova , 1961 pp.111-113’ quoted in Tekiner, “Sosyalist Millet Efsanesi”, p. 59



The political directions of the struggle which the Soviets made against “Bourgeoisie’s nationalism” were due to the abolish on of even apparent independence of national republics and bring them closer to “national republics” completely dependent on Moscow with the help of the leaders of the Communist Party. The population policy of the Soviet leaders was directed to realise this.<sup>19</sup>



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<sup>19</sup> P.URBAN, “Sovyetler Birliđi ve Milli Kurtuluş Hareketleri” , Dergi-44 , 1966 , p.34

## CHAPTER 1

### SOVIET ASSIMILATION IN THE FIELDS OF LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND HISTORY

#### 1.1.The assimilation in the language field

The assimilation done by the Soviet Union's leaders among non-Russians in the Soviet Republics characterised as a continuation of the assimilation activities of the Tsarist period. The Soviet leaders did not deviate in any way from the plan of the Christian missionary Nikolay Ilminsky, known for his schools he founded in Tsarist times, which were aimed to Russify the Turkic peoples. Ilminsky's plan was based upon this formula : to adopt the Russian alphabet to Turkish language and to christianise and russify them by giving education in schools in their native language.<sup>1</sup>

Another of Ilminsky's aims was to increase the distinctions between various Turkish dialects and to develop them as different languages, thus trying to prevent language unity among the Turks.<sup>2</sup>

However Ilminsky's russification program was prevented to a large extent by successful educational system performed in new method schools (usül- u cedid mektep) and madrasahs under a slogan of Gaspıralı İsmail , “ unfy language , idea

<sup>1</sup> Baymirza HAYİT, *Türkistan Devletlerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi*, İstanbul , 1995, p.356

<sup>2</sup> SARAY, *Kazak Türkleri Tarihi*, p.107

and actions". The resolute activities of Gaspıralı formed strong ties between Turks in Turkey and Turkic people living under the domination of the Russians.<sup>3</sup>

Soviet leaders who aimed to break down relations between Turkic peoples living in Soviet Russia and Turks in Turkey at first started their work by making changes in alphabets. The first alphabet changes were done in Azerbaijan, because most of the Azerbaijan's intelligentsia believed that it was necessary to adopt the alphabet used in the West to achieve the progress of Western civilisation. During the Soviet government, by a the decision it was taken at the end of 1924, officially Azerbaijan wished to use the Latin alphabet. On 1<sup>st</sup> May 1925 by a decision taken by the Azerbaijan Soviet government it became obligatory to use the Latin alphabet in newspapers and in communication.<sup>4</sup>

The haste of the Soviet leaders in making alphabet changes was explained thus by the Azarbaijani poet Mehmet Emin Resulzade;

"There was no time to lose for Bolsheviks. For them application of Latin letters and Azerbaijan was more an effort to prevent cultural relationships between Turkic provinces in Russia and Turkey, and to a bring Russian culture to more suitable state in the struggle between Turkic cultures which was taking strength from nationalism principles and Russian culture covered by communist skin, rather than satisfying national needs in the cultural field of Azerbaijan."<sup>5</sup>

In Turcology congress assembled in 1926 it was announced that the Latin alphabet was accepted by people speaking in Turkish dialect living in the Soviet Union.<sup>6</sup> When the new alphabet was adopted, attention was paid especially to the differentiation among alphabets applied in Turkish dialects. The aim of the Soviets

<sup>3</sup> For details see, SARAY, Gaspıralı İsmail Bey'den Atatürk'e Türk Dünyasında Dil ve Kültür Birliği, İstanbul, 1993

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p.83

<sup>5</sup> Mehmet Emin Resulzade Harf inkılabı muvacebesinde Azeri Türk dergisi, İstanbul, no.18' quoted in Mirza BALA "Sovyetler Birliğinde Türkoloji Türk Dilleri ve Türk Milleti.", Dergi-8, 1957 p.80

was clear : to separate the Turkish dialects in terms of alphabet, while eradicating common points among them to make stranger new growing up generation to very rich cultural richness written in Arabic letters.<sup>7</sup>

Another goal of the Soviet leaders in changing the alphabet was the effort to hinder the influence coming from Muslim countries using Arabic alphabet and from Republic of Turkey which did not change its alphabet and was still using the Arabic alphabet.<sup>8</sup>

The changes which the Soviet Union made in alphabets at non- Russian nations was reason for reaction among the intelligentsia of these nations against these returns and Soviet leaders. For example, from Sultan Galiyev one of the anti-reformist , in Tataristan. Alimjan Sherif, who was considered by the Soviets as the leader of Tatar national bourgeoisie<sup>9</sup> and in Kazakhstan. Such intellectuals as Ahmet Baydursun were always opposed to transfer from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet.<sup>10</sup>

While such events were taking place in Soviet Russia after the proclamation of the republic, in education field as in all other fields the recovery in Anatolian Turkishness began under the leadership of Atatürk. The reform of the alphabet was one of these with the decree issued in 1928 Latin alphabet was officially accepted. Atatürk desired to transfer the Latin alphabet for following reasons :

a-) Learning is much more easier with the Latin alphabet, education would be more productive and widespread. Moreover, relations with Europe world improve with this alphabet.

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<sup>6</sup> Elizabet E. BACON, *Central Asians under Russian Rule* , New York,1966, p.190

<sup>7</sup> SARAY, *Kazak Türkleri Tarihi* , p.107

<sup>8</sup> Bacon, *op.cit.*, p.191

<sup>9</sup> Robert CONGUEST, *Sovyet Nationalities Policy in Practice* , New York ,1967, p.73

b-) The Latin alphabet would be helpful in restoring Turkic cultural unity. Because from 1924 on Azerbaijani Turks and from 1927 on Turkistan Turks and other Turkic societies began to adopt the Latin alphabet, most helpful to Atatürk in this issue were such nationalist intellectuals educated among Turks in Russia, as Yusuf Akchura, Sadri Maksudi, Ahmet Agaoglu and Mehmet Emin Resulzade.<sup>11</sup>

As a matter of fact that Turkic peoples living under the control of Soviets and Turks in Turkey have a common alphabet, even if it had some differences, was the reason for immediate revive of cultural relations between Turkey and its relative republics. Such a situation disquiet Soviet administrators a lot.<sup>12</sup> Because Soviet leaders considered alphabet reformation happened in Turkey as the first step taken in the way of forming cultural unity between Turkey and people speaking Turkish and thus they rethought this issue.<sup>13</sup> When the Second World War began Soviet leaders prohibited Turkic republics in Soviet Union to use Latin alphabet and made compulsory to use Cyrillic alphabet different from each other.

The issue of accepting Russian alphabet instead of Latin alphabet became more intense in 1937 with an instruction given by Moscow. Moscow showed such reasons for that second turn: as though

“As Latin letters gave birth to many difficulties in national methods they also spoiled relations between Russian nation and Turkic peoples, Thank to Cyrillic letters youth can more easily pass from national schools to Russian schools, furthermore, since Latin letters make it difficult to read

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<sup>10</sup> Saray, *Kazak Türkleri Tarihi*, p.107

<sup>11</sup> For details see, Saray, *Gaspıralı İsmail Bey'den Atatürk'e Türk Dünyasında Dil ve Kültür Birliği*,

<sup>12</sup> Saray, *Kazak Türkleri Tarihi*, p.108

<sup>13</sup> Caroe, op.cit., p.240

works of Lenin and Stalin, most of people were deprived on making use of them.”<sup>14</sup>

All books and documents in Soviet Turkic Republics written in Latin alphabet were annihilated, Turkish dialects were treated as different languages and for their being adequate the use of Russian technical terms in these languages was required.<sup>15</sup>

In response to the great difficulties emerged for Turks while Russian alphabet was carrying through practice, as it became clear that it's not possible to stay loyal to the principle of not crossing borders of Russian alphabet it was agreed that inserting new additional symbols was only the way out. As a matter of fact, these additional symbols were not used according to a certain scientific principle. According to that one Soviet scientists said, who concerned this issue;

“Because of not taking into the consideration trials of other republics in applying additional symbol by any national republic are province and because of central institutions didn't consult experts about this issue inappropriateness on a large scale appeared in this field, as a result, it was seen that even in relative languages different symbols were used for the some sound”<sup>16</sup>

It's hard to think that all these very inappropriate differences in Turkish dialects were done without awareness of Moscow. All these changes have done had a bad consequences for Turkish dialects.

The facts that Georgia and Armenia were exempted from this last alphabet change,<sup>17</sup> made it clear that this change was done by Soviets to

<sup>14</sup> V. MUSAYEV, “İdil-Ural Türkleri Dil ve Yazılarının Sovyetleştirilmesi ve Ruslaştırılması.”, Dergi-15, 1959, p.57

<sup>15</sup> Saray, *Kazak Türkleri Tarihi*, p.108

<sup>16</sup> K.M.MUSAYEV: *Alfaviti yazıkov naradov SSSR, Moskova, 1965, p.12.* quoted in Süleyman TEKİNER, “Sovyetler Birliği Türklerinin Alfabelerinde Birleşme Eğilimi”, Dergi -61, 1970, p.56

<sup>17</sup> Caroe, op.cit., p.240

prevent unity which could be formed among Turks. Soviet ideologists, who were really aimed to use every opportunity to divide the Turkic world, held a meeting in 1937 in Baku to attain their object. The title of “Azerbaijani language” from other Turkic accents<sup>18</sup>.

We can clearly apprehend the Soviet assimilation from comparison done between Karakalpak and Kazakh accents by A.K.Bravkov who criticised the complex and difficult situation that came into being by applying the Cyrillic alphabet to Turkish dialects. “

Of course showing consideration to different methods in adopting the Russian Alphabet would affect the result attained, for instance, Karakalpak and Kazakh Language which are such extremely close to each other in terms of phonetics, that the only difference is the absence of the letter “h” in the Kazakh alphabet; and so these two languages in writing became different from each other.”<sup>19</sup>

This last alphabet change was explained in the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia in such a way

“This last alphabet change done in the Soviet Union on the one hand will in the future provide development of these languages by getting rich with the words borrowed from Russian, on the other hand, will facilitate assimilation for Russians.”<sup>20</sup>

Soviet ideologists later on said the following about the change done in the alphabet two times.

“If the transfer to the Cyrillic alphabet was done in the beginning of the Soviet Union, it would be considered as turning back to the Russification movement, which took place in the times of the Tsarist regime.”<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Bala, op.cit., p.15

<sup>19</sup> Sovetskoye vostokovedeniye, no.4,1956, p.105.’ quoted in Tekiner, “Sovyetler Birliđi Türklerinin Alfabelerinde Birleşme Eğilimi”, p.59

<sup>20</sup> Conquest, op.cit., p.75

<sup>21</sup> Conquest, op.cit., p.75

The second stage of assimilation, the Soviet Union's Communist Party's leaders made in language of non-Russian nations was to distort these languages by inserting many words for the purpose of enriching them. Soviet leaders on the one hand impoverished languages of non-Russian nations especially in Turkic Republics, by excluding some words, claiming that they reflect "Bourgeoisie's nationalism". On the other hand by lending words from Russian to these languages, required apparition was given for the assimilation of these languages. According to study done in Uzbek culture about the influence of Arabic and Persian in Uzbek language dropped from %37 in 1923 to %25 in 1940.<sup>22</sup>

The research done in Tadjik language showed us that, the words taken from Russian widespreadly used in Tadjik language. These words taken at most were used in scientific language<sup>23</sup> In another study done, increase of Russian words in Tadjik language was seen in Russian – Tadjik and Tadjik- Russian dictionaries prepared in 1933-34, 1946, 1948, 1951.<sup>24</sup>

These returns done to unite and teem non-Russian nations living in Soviets under Soviet roof, were explained in such a way in the great Soviet Encyclopaedia of 1947.

"On the one hand, words borrowed from Russian enrich and develop these languages, on the other hand together with Russian language and Russian culture, they cause the great agreement among other nations living in Soviets."<sup>25</sup>

According to Soviet thesis, there is just one aim of word transfer from Russian to non-Russian languages enriching them.<sup>26</sup> However by such a way

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<sup>22</sup> Conquest, op.cit., p.76

<sup>23</sup> Bacon, op.cit., p,196

<sup>24</sup> Bacon, op.cit., p,196

<sup>25</sup> Conquest, op.cit., p.76

<sup>26</sup> Bacon, op.cit., p.197



hundreds of words were included into languages of other people and thus, were reason for the change of these languages structures. Soviet leaders to solve this problem demanded by order issued in June of 1953 spelling of Kyrgyz language's orthography recording to Russian words; this was nothing but an effort to eradicate languages of non-Russian nation.<sup>27</sup>

The policy of Soviets lead, affected all languages other than Russian, which had presented in its structure, The most evident example of this assimilation can be seen in Moldavia. Soviet leaders had spoilt relationship between Moldavia and Romania which speak the same language By including Russian words into Moldavian language, this language became different from Romanian.<sup>28</sup>

The third stage of assimilation, Soviets made in language field was the effect to teach Russian to all people living in Soviet Union by bringing Russian to the for in times of Krushev in 1959 the trials of realising language reforms in Soviet national republican schools first began in schools of Cardelia autonomous Soviet Republic and partly in Belarussian Soviet Republic. In this region education given in native language was repealed in 1951-1955.<sup>29</sup>

To make Russian language widespread in those years in Soviet Union the quality of schools giving education in Russian was raised and thus demand for these schools among people increased. Even the decree under the title "To strengthen ties of school with everyday life" was issued on this matter.<sup>30</sup>

In the party's new program of 1961 the followings were said about languages of non-Russian nations

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<sup>27</sup> Conquest, op.cit., p.75

<sup>28</sup> Conquest, op.cit., p.71

<sup>29</sup> Urban, "Sovyet Milli Siyasetinin Bugünkü Eğilimleri", p.71

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p.72

“The wish to learn Russian besides native language play an important role in our life. Because this helps to participate in experience exchange, helps to all people living in the Soviet Union to join cultural successes of other people living there and enter to the culture of the world.”<sup>31</sup>

Russian language today became a mean of unification and useful co-operation of peoples within the Soviet Union.

According to the Soviet propaganda, Russian language is “sole leading” and “progressive” and the Future belongs to this language. We can see from the words of the Soviet writers that their ideas were nothing but chauvinism:

- a-) Russian is the language of the leading nation of the Soviets – Russians
- b-)The absolute majority of the country can speak Russian freely
- c-)Russian is the most developed language in the country and local languages of the nations day by day take this wealth to their ones.<sup>32</sup>

The propaganda of the importance and spreading of Russian language by the Soviet Communist party became so effectively. The Communist propagators, as another way to increase the popularity of Russian amongst non-Russian peoples, began to advance thesis claiming the superiority of Russian language. An example to this is said Azim Shirvani(1835-1888) Azerbaijani great poets advice to his son about learning Russian were used later as evidence of Russian language superiority to every Azerbaijani.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Pravda 2.11.1961' quoted in Urban, “Sovyet Milli Siyasetinin Bugünkü Eğilimleri”, p.72

<sup>32</sup> E.V tedevasyon “natsionalniya USSR v periov razvernatega stroitstva Kommünizma” Prepadavanniya istorii v škole no-2 1962 p.7' quoted in Urban, “Sovyet Milli Siyasetinin Bugünkü Eğilimleri”, p.73

<sup>33</sup> Kamil Mirzabegirov: Maarif perver şair, Bakü 1959, no.8, p.164' quoted in A.CAFEROĞLU, “Sovyetler Birliđi Türkoloji Araştırmalarında Rus Kültürü Üstünlük Davası”, Dergi- 66, 1971 p.30

Famous Kazakh Turk intellectuals, Chokan Velihanov and Abay Kunanbayev are found among those who suffered from the subjective directed scenario of the Soviet propagators.<sup>34</sup> So that period, the words of Kunanbayev about the necessity of learning Russian for the youth were deviated as instrument for the Soviet propaganda,

“We need to teach Russians art , science , wisdom are found in Russians They knew the language of the world and became like this. If you learn their language, you will be awakened as well.”<sup>35</sup>

As a result, we can say that the policy of assimilation and distortion of the languages of non-Russians by the Soviets began with alphabetic reforms and went on by transferring many Russian words into those languages and, finally, to complete this assimilation by exalting Russians among other discriminated languages by teaching it to all people

### **1.2.Assimilation in the field of culture**

The Soviet ideologist, having as an aim to create a single nation and culture tried several ways to melt non-Russian nations living in the Soviet Union in the Soviet crucible represented by Russian culture itself . In fact ,assimilation made in the field of culture are not so different from those of language. To take away non-Russian nations, especially Turkic peoples , from their roots, several nations writings were caught by the Soviet censorship

The Soviets, acted for certain political purpose while throwing away historical realities. During that period at the time when the some of historic persons were accepted as nobody for the argument of “the bourgeoisie nationalists” ,some presented them according to their purposes. Famous Turkistan medical scientist Ibn-i Sina was

<sup>34</sup> Caferoğlu ,op.cit., p.30

<sup>35</sup> *Kazak SSR Tarihinin Hirstomatiyası*, Almatı, 1963 , p.79

represented as a ‘‘herald of materialism’’ because he had been a doctor and a specialist of natural sciences.<sup>36</sup> Again ,the same way , after Aristotle in the Western and Eastern literature , Turkistan philosopher Ebu Nasir Farabi mentioned as ‘‘ second great master’’ , was a scientist to whom the Soviets did not pay attention for long years. Only in 1961 , this great thinker was introduced as a man of materialist thought.<sup>37</sup>

One of the basic works of Turkic culture and literature ‘‘Dede Korkut’’ book was ignored for the idea of keeping the traces of ‘‘ bourgeoisie nationalism’’ . In 1951 , in Azerbaijan, the book was thrown down and, under the mask of marks of ‘‘Panturkism and bourgeoisie nationalism were found.<sup>38</sup>

The same thing occurred with the books of Turkmens. The Turkmenistan Communist Party saw Dede Korkut as a story of nationalism and the product of religious fanaticism.<sup>39</sup>

Islamic thinker of the 12 the Century Hodja Akhmet Yasevi was also prohibited, but anyway did not lose his influence among people. The ideas of this great thinker did not even take a little place in the Soviet literature. When some Uzbek writers showed their desire investigate . The ideas of this great thinker did not even take a little place in the Soviet literature. When some Uzbek writers showed their desire to investigate Yasevi’s ‘‘Hikmetler’’ (hidden meanings) As written in rhyme and metric , it was then said to perform it by Kazakh writers. The Soviets by these tactic games, tried to prevent the young generation from spiritual inheritance.<sup>40</sup>

The Kyrghyz legend of Manas is also one of the culture treasuries to suffer such prevention. The legend Manas was criticised not only by Russians ,but by Kyrghyz

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<sup>36</sup> Baymirza Hayit, ‘‘Türkistanda Rus Emperyaliminin İzleri’’ İstanbul, 1978, p.196

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p.190

<sup>38</sup> Conquest, op.cit., p.67

<sup>39</sup> Conquest, op.cit., p.67

Communists ,as well. And it was re-published after censorship and taken out some reactionary lines.<sup>41</sup>

On the one hand , in Turkistan, while such historic and national sources were tried to clear up, on the other hand , for the intelligentsia who tried to preserve the sources were marked as ''nationalist'' and were taken under oppression. In Turkistan , there was the most merciless and severe disputes and struggles between the national and the communist ideologies in the area of literature.<sup>42</sup>

Bolsheviks, since the moment of the establishment of the Soviet power, tried to take national literature under their own influence. However, Turkistan national writers and poets did not deviate from their loyalty to national traditions and features, and went on the way of national works. The Soviet Proletarian literature could not find a firm base for itself in Turkistan until 1925. Turkistani writers, poets, and literary men executed the struggle , first openly , then secretly.<sup>43</sup>

They called the people for struggle by writing about the nation's demands and wishes. At head of them there were such persons, as Suleiman Cholpan and Magjan Djumabay .<sup>44</sup> Cholpan's literary activity began in the society of ''chatay gurungi'', The aim and purpose of this society was to preserve Turkistan literature from foreign influences and to develop national literature .Magjan Djumabay spent his life in struggle under the oppression of the Soviets too. He wrote numerous poems against Red Moscow<sup>45</sup> Yet, according to communists, the inheritance to take inspiration for Turkistan Turks got old and the literature being tried to be formed by strugglers was bourgeoisie literature .And for this reason, Turkistan classics were left away , and above

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<sup>40</sup> Hayit, op.cit., p.191

<sup>41</sup> Conquest, op.cit., p.67

<sup>42</sup> Veli ZÜNNUN, ''Bugünkü Türkistan Edebiyatı'', Dergi-33, 1963, p.21

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p.21

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p.21

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p.21

,Turkistan thinkers, poets, and writers met difficulty in trying to learn something from Russian novels and stories. The Soviet-Tadjik poet Mirza Dursunzade expresses his idea about this issue as follows<sup>46</sup>

“ On the initial years of the Soviet power many young Soviet poets naturally directed themselves towards their own classics inheritance while looking for an example. The only realist writings to look for the precise reflection of today's life and to find answer of the questions it put forward had been Russian classics.”<sup>47</sup>

With the fixing of the Communist ideology by Stalin, the oppression over national writings increased. If we need to give examples showing the dimensions of those oppressions ; In Turkmenistan , a Turkmen poet K.Kabusakhatow can be a good example .The poet , after his poem of “Turkmenistan” where he showed how the annexation of Turkistan with Russia was by force, came up against with a lot of reaction. That is ,because ,according to the Soviet thesis, Turkmenistan escaped from slavery by joining Russia.<sup>48</sup>

The Soviet government privileged Russian writers to praise their fatherland but it did not give the same right to Turkistani people. Russian poet Ivan Doronin wrote his praises to the great Russia in his poem of "Russian land". However Turkistan poet K.Amanjelow when said in his poem of “Kazakhstan” , “when I see a Kazakh man in national hat ridden on horse I get glad” he could not escaped being marked as one who idealised the past.<sup>49</sup> In the newspaper of “Kazakh literature “ for a long period national questions were printed. Among them, R.Berdibayev's “ Native language must be respected” . In all the writings several unfair actions towards Turk Kazakh

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p.22

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p.21

<sup>48</sup> Conquest, op.cit., p.64

<sup>49</sup> Conquest, op.cit., p.26

languages and How rich verbal writings were included in re black list of the Soviet censorship.<sup>50</sup>

The Kazakhstan Communist Party felt those conditions of the writers. That is why, governmental officials and party newspaper reporters were given duty to attack.

Kazakh intelligence “Socialist Kazakhstan” and “ Kazakhistsanskaya Pravda” newspaper, which were published by the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, accused the newspaper of “Kazak Literature” of “ publishing harmful bourgeoisie literature” and stated the need of “Kazakh culture to join deep socialistic meaning in order to develop itself”.<sup>51</sup>There is a special reason for the Soviet assimilation of Turkistan region, especially Kazakhstan, This region for Moscow , had been somewhat of Russian assimilation policy experience area during both, Tsarist and the Communist periods.<sup>52</sup>In Turkistan assimilation was not only by oppression and digestion. Soviet ideologists, in order to attain their own interests, ordered some writers to write praising communism and the Soviet brotherhood .Daghestani poet Suleiman Stalski and Kazakh poet Jambul Jabayev are good examplas. A mountain villager Stalski told his writings as if he was ordered to memorise them. By his writing and words he supported the Soviet propaganda.<sup>53</sup>

Literature and poem writings supported by the Soviet propagated friendship with Russian people in Turkistan. In the writings like this it is frequently spoken of friendship with Russians and good relationship with Russian emigrants.<sup>54</sup> In the Soviet –Kyrghyz literature the friendship with Russians took important place too. For example, in the novel of Borodin , the XV. Century’s disasters brought by Timur’s soldier and the

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<sup>50</sup> Conquest, op.cit., p.29

<sup>51</sup> Conquest, op.cit., p.21

<sup>52</sup> Bayram MİRZA, “Kazakistanda Milliyetçilik” Dergi-4, 1965, p.3

<sup>53</sup> Conquest, op.cit., p.64

<sup>54</sup> N.N.POPPE, “Harpten Sonraki Devirde Sovyetlerin Türkistandaki İdeailist Siyaseti” Dergi-17, 1959, p.15



friendship of local people with Russian craftsmen living in Semarkand as though.<sup>55</sup> Now, Russification by means of socialism” principle replaced the principle of “Russification by means of Christianization”. In order to show “cultural progress” of the Soviets in Turkistan the abundance of books published in Turkistan was emphasised. According to the information given in the book named “Press in USSR in 1960” in Uzbekistan, in 1960, 1875 books and brochures were printed.<sup>56</sup> A few of them were published in native language of Turkistan Republics. To show the Soviet Russian exploratory culture policy’s feature is to say that % 60 of the books printed in Turkistan between 1940 and 1960 were translated from Russian.<sup>57</sup>

The Uzbekistan SSR’s Culture Minister of that period Sabir Muhammedov boostingly about this topic as,

“During last decade the number of books with the topic of Marxism – Leninism printed in Uzbek Language found 134. Their edition number counted 3,325,000. Within that period there were printed about 3 mln. of Russian classics copies.”<sup>58</sup>

The Soviets applied the same policy in educational area. No attention was paid to the learning of “national literatures” We can see this from the article of “Voprosi Literaturi” (The question of literature) magazine. In secondary schools pupils have the lessons of the Soviet literature. From 132 hours of the lessons only six hours are devoted to the literature of local people. There it is learned about the creativity of the Soviet literary men. But there is no effort to give any idea about the literature of the peoples of the Soviet Union.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p.15

<sup>56</sup> Hayit, op.cit., p.195

<sup>57</sup> Hayit, op.cit., p.195

<sup>58</sup> Kızıl Özbekistan 24.3.1962’ quoted in Hayit, op.cit., p.196

<sup>59</sup> Voprosi Literaturi no. 5, 1962, p.64’ quoted in A. ADOMOVİÇ, “Sovyetler Birliğinde Milli Edebiyatlar”, Dergi-33, 1963, p.3



The Soviet assimilation took place in features of national culture, such as music and architecture, similarly to that of literature. S. Himaluistle, in 1963, in his art magazine wrote enlightedly the article of “the facts of national decorative art in the Central Asia”. The writer expressed briefly the position of the Soviets against the architecture of Turkistan. According to Himelhitski, architecture and mural in the age. We live in do not need national art government.<sup>60</sup> As for him, none feels any necessity to see them in Turkistan. Like Teplov and Sidilnikov, Russian writers sprayed flame to archaeology in the articles in the newspaper of “Tashkentskaya Pravda”

As they thought, those excavations brought about the remnants of the feudal period.<sup>61</sup> Because of those excavations people were to know about their past. This did not fit the aims of the communists.

Even the Turkistan music suffered from the attaches. As the Uzbekistan Communist Party former first secretary Muhiitinov admits, the Uzbekistan Composers Union with Russian chairman Vahodin, denied the thousands-year existence of Uzbek musical culture.<sup>62</sup>

For the Turks live in Central Asia the word ‘Turkistan’ meant a lot. It was the name of their motherland. So the Soviet Union tried to do away with the meaning of the word had by dividing Turkistan, which was primarily a Turkic land. In 1920, Lenin ordered to make a map of Turkistan, which would consist of Uzbekistan, Kyrghyzia, and Turkmenistan. And the real separation occurred in 1924. From then on, Turkistan had been excluded from the governmental history, and even science lexicon.<sup>63</sup> Many geographical names reflect cultures of the nations living there. Soviet government tried to accomplish full cultural assimilation by getting rid of names. By converting Yayik to

<sup>60</sup> *Dekorativnoye İsskotsvo*” Moskova 1963 no-3 quoted in Hayit, op.cit., p.199

<sup>61</sup> Hayit, op.cit., p.197

<sup>62</sup> Hayit, op.cit., p.197

<sup>63</sup> Edige Mustafa KIRIMAL, “Sovyet Türkistanında Milliyetçilik”, Dergi- 41, 1965, p.56

Ural, Idil to Volga, Tavkala to Orsk , Ayakoz to Sergeypol, Kyzylar to Petropavlovsk, the elements making geography a motherland were sought to destroy. <sup>64</sup>

### **1.3.Assimilation in the Field of History**

As in all ideological states, in the Soviet Union in order to set the now regime on a lasting basis and increase dependence of various nations living in the Soviet Union on the Soviet regime by providing full interaction ,it was tried to introduce some subjective evaluations into those nations, history education.

This subjective evaluations ,generally consist of biased and erroneous evaluation of historic events that could make the Russians the predominating element of the Communist regime and the Soviet Union-Uncomfortable. In the Party congresses Communist Party leaders themselves issued decisions so that historians were directed and mentioned above subjective evaluations imposed. By the thesis work, we will investigate the subjective evaluations, which were tried to impose on history of non-Russian nations of the soviet Union.

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<sup>64</sup> Mustafa KAFALI, Notes on the conference of Turkish History at Ahmet Yesevi University 23 –May 1997

## CHAPTER.2

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET HISTOIGRAPHY

Before starting to investigate the influence of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Central Asian Turkic Republics' history and historiography activities, are needed to look into development periods of Russian historiography from the Tsarist Russia up to the nations with most changeable historiography in the world .Under the changes undergone, it is possible to view Russian history investigation in two parts.

2.1 Historiography of the pre-Soviet Union( Tsarist Russia) period

2.2 Historiography of the Soviet Union period, which may be classified into 3 periods:

2.2.1.The period from 1917 to the 1930s ;

2.2.2.The period from the 1930s to the 1950s

2.2.3.The period from the 1950s to the collapse of the Soviet Union

#### **2.1.Historiography of the pre-Soviet Union (Tsarist Russia) Period:**

The historiography conducted the Tsarist Russia was not so different from historiography performed at the time in other countries of the world and, especially those of Europe. In spite of Christian philosophy influence, at the time events were analysed with a certain degree of objectivity. All the period, when there was a tendency towards modern historiography conception, the biggest Russian historiography fault was the prevalent treatment of issues from the Russian point of view with chauvinist mentality. And despite the modern development they could not completely dispose of the Christianity influence. This is especially seen of the Tsarist Russia's very expansion

period in the 18<sup>th</sup> the and the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the Tsarist period Russians reached the peak. <sup>1</sup>

Russian historical research on Central Asian States and fast developed parallel to expansion policies. In other words ,when doing research on Central Asian Muslim States, the occupation of the states started. In some cases Eastern countries were studied after occupation .For instance ,after the conquest of Kazan, Siberia ,Turkistan and the Caucasus ,especially, in areas populated by Turkic people ,Turkology acquired great importance. <sup>2</sup> Official documents and other historic materials, which were seized by Russian officials during occupation of Turkic lands, along with the major part of research reports were given to the Eastern Studies library in Petersburg. These materials served as a source for Russian scientist in the teachings. These young people turned out to found the bases of Turkology in Russia. W.Radloff (1837-1928),W.Bartkhold (1861-1932), A.N.Samoylowich (1880-1938) are among the Turkologists. <sup>3</sup>

## 2.2.Historiography at the Soviet Union Period

Marxist history was at the basis of Soviet historiography. According to the historical conception called materialist historiography, If history science manages to learn correctly the quality of physical nature's laws' being influential in development of humanity ,it will be a science. This approach's representatives either take as a basis the theory of Darwin on animals' and human race's origin, and struggle for life; are accepting influence of economic factors proposed by Karl Marx. Moreover, Engels's bases supporting economy and Lenin's views about classes are popular too. <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mehmet SARAY, " Rus Tarih Arařtırmalarında Trkmenistan'ın İřgali", *Trk Kltr Arařtırmaları*, Ankara ,1986 , p.85

<sup>2</sup> Saray, " arlık ve Sovyet Dneminde Rusların Trkler Hakkındaki Grřleri ve Siyaseti" *Avrasya Ettleri*, Tika, 1994, p.22

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p.23

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p.29

According to Lenin, class struggle occurs not only among different societies and members but also within the societies. Other reasons are at the background in historical works written from this perspective. Marxist historians in order to spread their own theories in history gave even more importance to history science, since they defined historical materialism as of the Marxist socialism. K.Kautsky's "Materialistische Autassung der Gechichte" is the most notable work in this area. Because oh its importance, the text with some additions was translated into Russian by a Russian communist ideologist Bukharin.<sup>5</sup>

### 2.2.1.Soviet Historiography at the Period from 1917 to the 1930s.

Although Russian historiography tended towards modernity before the Revelation, at the Soviet period Russian historians' nationalist attitudes and, along with this, Russian officials' chauvinistic administration in the occupied Central Asian Turkic States created a great reaction among the Turks and this even led to national riots. It is obvious that Russia tried to prevent any separation of non-Russian nations living in the empire that would make use of disorders at the time of fixing the revolution. So Russian history research on Central Asian Turks was very insufficient. But in spite of insufficiency, there are several quite appropriate and close to objectivity researches made at the period.<sup>6</sup>

One of the most prominent historians of the period is Pokrovsky, who is accepted to be one of the establishers of Marxist historiography. He lived out of Russia for a long time. In 1917 he finished his book "Russian history from ancient times" in France. After returning to Moscow, Pokrovsky undertook an active role in preparing the Bolshevik revolution. when analysing historical

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p.29

<sup>6</sup> Saray, "*Rus Arařtırmalarında Trkmenistan iřgali*", p.86

events Pokrovsky always acted according to historical materialism in his research. He sought the main power of historic events not in “political activities of historic figures” but in “economic reasons”.<sup>7</sup>

Pokrovsky, had put forward such ideas that generated a lot of criticism at later periods. In his opinion, the Russians had no any special acculturation role, nor Russian imperialism carried any “savior” function. He criticised the expansionist and colonialist policy of Tsarism.<sup>8</sup> However, after being well promoted and given the order of Lenin from 1917 to the 1930s Pokrovsky was heavily criticised later

### 2.2.2 The Period from the 1930s to the 1950s

With Stalin’s strengthening of his own positions, “Leninism” and “Stalinism” started to take over for “Marxism”.<sup>9</sup> The new developments included the Party leaders sharing Stalin’s views A.A.Zhdanov and S. Kirov to start a campaign of re-writing the existing history books in the Soviet Union in the 1930s. According to this campaign, the true guide of the Soviet people was the Communist Party and historians should have written their books in this direction.<sup>10</sup>

It was emphasised that revealing truths about historians of nations living in the Soviet Union was just nonsense. What important was people’s brotherhood and friendship that was important. Moreover this was wished by Lenin. Such a point of view would be victory for Soviet historians and a new discovery of Soviet

<sup>7</sup> P.URBAN, “Sovyet Tarihiçisi Pokrovski’nin İtibarının İade Edilişi”, Dergi-32 , 1963, p.25

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p.27

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p.26

<sup>10</sup> Saray, “Çarlık ve Sovyet Döneminde Rusların Türkler Hakkındaki Görüşleri ve Siyaseti”, p.29

historiography.<sup>11</sup> The stated above approach was accepted by Soviet historians shortly after their proposal and history was then re written in line with the Communist Party views. From then on, no truths about nations living under the Soviet rule would have been pronounced. The only thing to mention was people's friendship and brotherhood. Furthermore, there was a thesis on voluntary annexation of non- Russian nations to Russia. Development and modernisation of the nations were seen in Russian language and culture . The change in approach was defined by a leading Soviet historian, Dr M.P.Kim Korean by nationality, as follows: “ Soviet historians are responsible for playing creative role in work related to the establishment of communism.”<sup>12</sup>

In the new works of Soviet historians Tsarist Russia is presented as a country economically mature for the socialist revolution. The October Revolution is just an inevitable and logical consequence of the maturity. “The Russians’ being a big brother in the soviet family was especially stressed.”<sup>13</sup>

One of the characteristics of the time are severe criticism of Marxist Russian historian Pokrovsky. Compared to historians of Stalin period, Pokrovsky made a major mistake in way of understanding Russian history and interpreting Russian historic state circles. Basing on historical materialism, Pokrovsky tried to analyse as a struggle of a dominant class for strengthening its dominance either inside or outside a country. Acting respectively , he avoided idealising activities of historic personalities not noticing national factor and national interest and precautions of a political state.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p.30

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p.30

<sup>13</sup> Urban, “*Sovyet Tarihçisi Pokrovski'nin İtibarının İade Edilişi*”, p.28

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p.27

Pokrovsky and his history school's approach and mentality were undoubtedly unsuitable to the Communist Party's new policy, taking as a goal establishing "socialism" on a national basis in a particular country. Some tried to reveal "anti-Marxist" character of Pokrovsky's school.<sup>15</sup>

The post war period was quite a complicated time for Soviet historians. After the Second World War, Soviet historiography was made an instrument of a new Party thought based on national patriotic content, which had reached its highest level.<sup>16</sup>

Most of the Party leaders directly influenced writing history of non-Russian nations. At the time Soviet Patriotic thought was considered the binding force of the Soviet Union. Emphasising the Russians leadership continued during the war. Stalin officially proclaimed the superiority of Russian nation and in a celebration related to the Red Army, Stalin proposed to "bow in front of the great Russian nation". According to him, "the only nation being able to guide other nations were the Russians." This approach affected historiography as well.<sup>17</sup>

According to the new interpretation, there was need to emphasise economic and cultural improvements in the regions after their occupation by the Russians. Parallel to new conquest and work of making eastern Europe a political servant, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union launched a new approach to interpret the history of development of the Russian Empire from then on the Tsarist Russia's colonialism was shown in the light of "choosing the lesser of two evils".<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p.28

<sup>16</sup> Yuri BORİS, "Sovyet Tarihçiliği ve Rusya Kolonizmi Üzerine bazı Kayıtlar" Dergi -5, 1965, p.68

<sup>17</sup> L. TİLLET, *The Great Friendship: Soviet Historians on the Russian Nationalities*, N.Caroline, 1969, p.86

<sup>18</sup> Boris, op.cit., p.68



In November, 1946, in a magazine "Culture and Life" historians making slow transition into the new Soviet thought in history textbooks were criticised. It was argued that historians were mentioning few advantages brought to non-Russians a result of joining the Russians. Textbooks were evaluating the movement towards lands of the Tsarist period non- Russians as a colonialism. These all should have been corrected<sup>19</sup>

In an article in "Vaprosi İstorii" of 1951 Russian historian Nechina, states that Russian invasion of Turkistan was a better solution than Turkistan's continuing to stay under local rulers or its invasion by forces other than Russians.<sup>20</sup>

In December,1949, The Communist Party of the Soviet Union's gazette Pravda severely criticised those interpreting and explaining Turkistan history, and especially, the fight of Turkistan peoples against the policy of Russian colonizers, from their own point of view.<sup>21</sup> As a consequence of the campaign, these were conducted a few meetings in Tashkent. In these meetings national movements were classified as being backward. According to the participants, these movements were backward because they wanted separation from Russia.<sup>22</sup>

There was a conference on " History problems of pre- Revolution Central Asia and Kazakhstan ". In the conference Turkistan's joining Russia was considered to be a forward event. From then on, Soviet historians tried to explain

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<sup>19</sup> Tillet, op.cit, p.90

<sup>20</sup> Boris, op.cit., p.68

<sup>21</sup> Baymirza HAYIT, Sovyet Koloni Siyasetinin Bir Örneği Olmak Üzere Türkistan", Dergi-25, 1961, p.46

<sup>22</sup> Boris, op.cit., p.68

Russians' occupying Turkistan as a defensive precaution against English attacks from India<sup>23</sup>

### 2.2.3 Soviet Historiography from the 1950s to the Present

Stalin's death at the beginning of the 1950s started a temporary mitigation and some liberalisation movement. This also started a new period for Soviet historiography. The historians being encouraged by mitigation found an opportunity to use most of historic documents existing in historical researches, which they issued in the second half of the 1950s.<sup>24</sup> Especially after the 20<sup>th</sup> Communist Party Congress some liberal ideas were formed and pronounced and respective research was made.<sup>25</sup> In the atmosphere of freedom, formed by the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress pressures made on historians during the Stalin period were pronounced to current director of "Voprosi İstorii" Anna Pankratova proposed revising history books and thoughts of the Stalin period, and rewriting them with Leninist approach. She also deemed necessary to write a new history related to the Tsarist Russia's expansion movements and the policy of colonialism.<sup>26</sup>

Russian historian E.N.Gorodostky's words are important to understand the extent of subjectivity of the Stalin period's Russian Historiography with respect to the Tsarist period imperialist movement.

"When analysing issues related to Tsarist's national and colonialist policy history, a lot of distortion and even deceit took place. While all of issues about relations between Russia and non-Russian nations consisted of Tsarist's colonialist policy of Tsarist's either Russian feudal lords or Russian capitalists."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Boris, op.cit., p.69

<sup>24</sup> Saray, "Rus Tarih Arařtırmalarında Türkmenistan'ın İřgali", p.87

<sup>25</sup> Urban, "Türkistan Sovyet Cumhuriyetlerinde Milli İdeolojik Eğilimler", p.46

<sup>26</sup> Voprosi İstorii, Moskova no.3 1956' quoted in Mirza BALA, "Sovyet Sömürgeciliğinin Tarihi-İdeolojik Kaynağı ve Mukadder Akıbeti", Dergi-7, 1956, p.3

<sup>27</sup> Moskova üniversitesi dergisi, Moskova 1956 no-6 quoted in Bala, "Sovyet Sömürgeciliğinin Tarihi-İdeolojik Kaynağı ve Mukadder Akıbeti", p.3

In a historians meeting in Moscow at the period from December 18 to December 21 ,1962, Russian historian B.N.Ponomaryov said the following on Stalin's negative influence on development of Soviet historian:

“ Stalin's personality braked the advancement of Soviet history according to Lenin ideals ,but he failed to stop it. He could not prevent the risk of Soviet historiography but just was like letters on Soviet history. The Communist Party has conducted important work on terminating the negative influence having been formed so far by Stalin . Especially , with Khrushchov's proposals in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> Congresses of the Communist Party on historiography, mostly wrong Stalin's ideas in the field of ideology were opened to criticism .”<sup>28</sup>

Khrushchov's liberalism , which started in 1956 , helped to revive many aspects of history science , which were terminated in Soviet National Republics during the 1930s. Along with this , in 1957 the same Khrushchov saw traces of “Bourgeois nationalism” in this. Again in 1957 many scientific councils were set related to problems of history in the system of Soviet Union Academy of Sciences <sup>29</sup> Processing and solving issues related to Soviet historian cadres , operating scientific researches all over the Soviet Union were given to the Councils. This type of science councils were established in Soviet National Republics too. However , these councils were deprived of rights possessed by the Soviet Union Academy of Sciences. All their work was subordinated to the direction and control of the academy Science councils.<sup>30</sup>

But in the second half of the 1950s, we see gradual decline of tolerance towards Soviet historians. At the beginning of the 1960s, criticisms of the Tsarist Russia ceased and praising struggles against the Tsarist imperialism was replaced by criticising.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> B.N.PONOMARYOV, “Zadaçi İstoriçeskoy nauki İ Podgotovka nauçno-pedagoğičeskikh Kadrov v Ablasti İstorii” Voprosi İstorii, no.1, 1963, p.10

<sup>29</sup> P.URBAN, “Sovyet Milli Siyasetinin Bugünkü Eğilimleri”, Dergi-63, 1971, p.71

<sup>30</sup> Urban, op.cit, p.72

<sup>31</sup> Saray, “Rus Tarih Araştırmalarında Türkmenistan'ın İşgali”, p.82

At the beginning of 1960 , the Communist Party of the Soviet Union decreed to write a ten-volume history of the Soviet Union. This task was given to the Soviet Union Academy of Sciences' History Institute. The multi-volume work , which encompassed histories of nations of the Soviet Union from ancient times to 1967, was written basing on special directives of the Party in 1961.<sup>32</sup> The directives of 1961 were directives ratified in the 22<sup>nd</sup> Party Congress.<sup>33</sup>

According to the directives , in the work, there was no place for materials that explained private historic developments of non-Russian nations and , so, could revive "national thought and trends". When describing historic events in the multi-volume work, the main focus was not on points "separating" Soviet nations in the past but on matters " drawing together" these nations and the Russians. In the work the Russians' "important historical role" and non- Russians' "importance reformers" was quite exaggerated.<sup>34</sup>

At the same time , a secretary of the Communist Party , historian Ponomaryov, in a speech made to Soviet historians said the following on their writing on especially non-Russian nations' history:

"The Soviet historian should take into account the wide historical perspective . Respectively , those Soviet Republics' historians that win objectively try to explain and show the positive meaning of their on own nations' proximity and unification with the Russians, will be entitled to any assistance in their goal and will get it. Once, for some nations, uniting with Russia was the only way to escape direct physical annihilation. It is necessary to present historic of the diverse republics as piece of history of one and undivided country."<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Urban, op.cit., p.78

<sup>33</sup> Urban, op.cit., p.78

<sup>34</sup> Urban, op.cit., p.78

<sup>35</sup> Ponomaryov, op.cit., pp.16-17

In 1966 in the Communist Party 23<sup>rd</sup> Congress important decisions to influence Soviet historians were taken. According to the decisions,

“The Party was calling for solving the society’s problem and raising people’s moral level by being in close relation with needs of the communist infrastructure. Scientist, including historians, were to have an important role in this”.<sup>36</sup>

Also, the views that social sciences are used for propaganda and no use in practice were defined as erroneous. Marx and Lenin’s theories’ need in fortifying Communism was emphasised and was to be accomplished by social scientist.<sup>37</sup>

The 23<sup>rd</sup> Congress decisions seem to be a kind of returning to the Stalin period historiography approach. It was argued that attacks made on Stalin period historiography, especially after Stalin’s death were excessive and subjective according to the conception,

“Under the title of criticising worshipping the personality, for quite a long time there were subjective mistakes understating long-run activities of our Party and people in the socialist institution.”<sup>38</sup>

According to the nearly- formed conception, leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were against historical research conducted between 1956 and 1965.<sup>39</sup> The Communist Party tried to save the previous Stalinist view instead of “re-evaluating evaluations, which had been made on historic events.”<sup>40</sup> There were the following statements in decisions of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Congress:

“Certainly, mistakes originating from subjectivity affected evaluation of works written on history of the Party. Those works issued in the 1930s. and

<sup>36</sup> Bolşiya zadaçi Voprosı İstorii, 1966, no.6, p.8

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p.5

<sup>38</sup> XXIII.syezdKPSS I zadaçi istorikov parti”, Voprosı İstorii KPSS, 1966, no.5, p.9

<sup>39</sup> Urban, "Sovyetler Birliđi Komünist Pratisinin XXIII. Kongresinden sonra Sovyet Tarih İlimi" Dergi-47, 1967, p.53

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p.54

the 1940s. , as a result of evaluations made indiscriminately , were ignored by historiography for a long time, thought they included not only defects and mistakes ,but also important historical materials, which important may not be overlooked .”<sup>41</sup>

The 23<sup>rd</sup> Congress emphasised the need to develop art and literature .The submitted reports stressed that the Congress was waiting for artists and historians to create works that would have develop Communism’s spiritual structure , have increased spiritual value of Soviet people and Soviet Patriotism and internationalism.<sup>42</sup>

In the Communist Party of the Soviet Union 23<sup>rd</sup> Congress the need for fighting against trying to “sully” the honour of the “heroic” Soviet People and Soviet Socialist order in “ all manifestations of foreign ideology” , and especially in historical works was noted .<sup>43</sup>

As a consequence of ideological directives taken in the congress in August 1971 . The Communist Party of the Soviet Central Committee and the Soviet Union Government’s decisions on;

“Precautions taken in order to provide further development of Soviet sciences and increase their roles in the Communist System” were promulgated .<sup>44</sup>

These decisions were foreseeing a set of structural precautions in order to destroy ideologically weak elements in Soviet history and social science and promote the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee’s organs’ control and censorship over the sciences.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Voprosı İstorii KPSS, 1966, no.5, p.10

<sup>42</sup> Urban, “ Sovyetler Birliđi Komünist Pratisinin XXIII. Kongresinden sonra Sovyet Tarih İlmı”, p.7

<sup>43</sup> Otçotniy doklad L.İbrejnev’a rezolyutsia XXIII syezda KPSS” Pravda, 30 Mart ve 9Nisan 1966 quoted in P.URBAN, “Sovyet Tarih İlminin Bugünkü Durumu” , Dergi- 63 , 1971, p.17

<sup>44</sup> O maerah po dalneyşemu razvituyu obstçestvennih nauk I pevişeniyu ih roli v kommunistiçeskom stroitelstve” Voprosı İstorii, no.9, 1967, p.3-11’quoted in Urban, “ Sovyet Tarih İlminin Bugünkü Durumu”, p.17

Soviet ideologists understanding the importance of history science in fortifying an ideology were not refraining from punishing those disobeying their directives. A.M.Nerkich, who was dismissed from the history institute of the Soviet Union in 1967 for his book "June 22 1941" is an example for this.<sup>46</sup>

In order to better control scientific issues, Scientific Research Centres were established and planning of all scientific work in the Soviet Union was given to the institutions. For example, planning historical research by History Institutes of Science Academies of the Union Republics was given to The Soviet Union History Institute and the General History Institute. So, there would be control Soviet history research, influence of historical research in the Soviet Union would increase, and works "ideologically" contradicting communist interest would be hindered.<sup>47</sup>

Soviet historians' October Revolution and socialist and communist systems history in the field of Russia's Soviet period history should be re-written. This means "creating the history new". This aims not at subjective description of such historic events, as Leninism, Party dictatorship, October Revolution "based on scientific principles" and "legal from historical perspective", but at objective re-writing historic events and the way passed through by the Soviet Union.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Urban. "Sovyet Tarih İlminin Bugünkü Durumu", p.17

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p.18

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p.20

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p.22

## CHAPTER 3

### EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS USED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO GENERATE A NEW HISTORY CONCEPTION IN TURKIC REPUBLICS

#### 3.1. The issue of voluntary annexation of Kazakhstan and Central Asia to Russia.

The Soviet ideological policy was to introduce communism into economic and political lives of the Soviet Union people and increase their dependence on the regime. The idea of voluntary annexation was periodically tried to impose on the nations bound the Soviet Union. The annexation was a historic necessity and resulted in progressive consequences.

Especially, after the World War II ,when sovereign states started to emerge one by one in the former colonies, Soviet ideologists used any measures to manage to hold non-Russian nations under the same root. One of the measures was to change historical facts and evaluate them in terms of their own needs , and one of the subjective evaluations was on voluntary annexation of Turkistan to Russia , not to mention its coercive nature.

According to propaganda, even Turkistan nations' interests required this. The nations had understood that unification with Russia was a progressive event for them.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> N.N.POPPE, op.cit, p.4



Primarily, it is necessary to dwell on the Soviet thesis claiming that Central Asian and bordering nations voluntarily united with Russia and that the unification was positive and progressive act. According to the thesis, especially after the Second World War in historians' works it is rare to see records defining little dwelling on the progressive nature of Turkistan's unification with Russia. The historians argued that unification occurred peacefully, as was the case for the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyzs.<sup>2</sup>

Soviet leaders and historians in 1981 conducted celebration ceremonies related to unification of Kazakhstan with Russia. There was formed a scientific conference to analyse the voluntary unification.<sup>3</sup>

Soviet ideologists, Frequently emphasised the non- Russians' need to join Russia and voluntary nature of the joining in course outlines and course books prepared for schools. In the book "teaching materials of the 4<sup>th</sup> grade Kazakh SSR History course" used as a teachers' guide, The following are proposed to teachers for then to easily teach pupils that Kazakhstan's unification with Russia was voluntary:

"It is needed to use the picture in the course book to show how Kazakhstan's joining started. Pupils should carefully look at the picture and learn that the Khan and those nearby swore about voluntary unification with Russia and seemed pleased with their new position."<sup>4</sup>

In the same book it is written as follows:

"Teacher should mention interior disorders and attacks and pressures from out side on Kazakhstan at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and explain the need for a country to help Kazakhstan in such bad conditions. The country

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<sup>2</sup> N.N.POPPE, op.cit., p.5

<sup>3</sup> Baymirza HAYIT, *Sovyetler Birliğinde İslamın ve Türklüğün bazı Meseleleri*, İstanbul, 1985, p.190

<sup>4</sup> *IV.Klasta Kazak SSR Tarihi materyaldarını okutu*, Almatı, 1970, p.25

should be Russia. Abilhayr Khan's promise to the Russian Tsarina should be read to understand the matter clearly."<sup>5</sup>

In the same manner in history course books too, "Kazakhstan's voluntary unification with Russia" was explained as follows :

"Toward the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Kazakhstan's condition got quite hard as a result of attacks from the east by Jungars and from the south by Hive feudal. Persian Nadir Shah's pressure made the matters even worse.

In this period of time relations between Kazakhs and Russian began to strengthen, both sides began to send envoys to each other.

In 1726 Abilhayr Khan send an envoy delegation headed by K. Kobekov to Petersburg. Kobekov expressed to Russian government the which of Kishi Djuz to join Russia. However negotiations interrupted. In 1730 Kazakh people of Kishi Djuz again wrote a letter to Anna Ivanova asking for joining Russia and for help against Jungars joining of Kishi Djuz with own desire to Russia happened under the official contract issued by Anna Ivanova."<sup>6</sup>

"In 1731 Orta Djuz began joining Russia. Khan of Orta Djuz by sending his envoy to Russian ambassador Jemeki- Tevkelev expressed his desires and promises of joining himself and Orta Djuz notables Russia"<sup>7</sup>

The news of annexation of Orta Djuz to Russia spread all over the Kazakhstan and as a result of this Ulu Djuz too send his envoys to Abilhayr Khan and asked him to be mediator. Ulu Djuz Khan send a letter to Anna Ivanova asked whether they could or couldn't join Russia. In 20<sup>th</sup> April of 1739 Anna Ivanova signed a contract concerning this matter and officiated annexation of Ulu Djuz to Russia by mentioning that we annex Ulu Djuz too according to conditions Abilhayr Khan accepted."<sup>8</sup>

It is clear from materials we examined above that it was tried to increase loyalty of young generation in Turkistan and especially in Kazakhstan to Soviets by teaching them such a subjective view annexation of their ancestors to Russia

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p.26

<sup>6</sup> Ermehan BEKMEHANOV, N. BEKMEHANOVA, *Kazak SSR Tarihi*, 7/8. Klas, Almati, 1987, p.56

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p.57

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p.57

It is really true that, as Soviet ideologists claimed, “Kazakhstan’s annexation to Russia was volunteer”? The principle of Soviet claims on this matter based on expression of loyalty of Kazakh Khans to Russia doesn’t mean that all Kazakh people as volunteers wished to become a part of Russia. Hence it is necessary to recall Russia’ east policy to understand that Kazakhstan wasn’t annexed to Russia as voluntarily.

Peter I, 1722 by means of the Kazakh lands, put forward his plan for expansion to Asia.

“ These Kazakh hordes are the doors and the clues for all the Asia. So, we have certainly to take them under the dominance of Russia.”<sup>9</sup>

Again , the same way, the revolts of Sırım Batur in 1783-93, Jolaman Tilenshi in 1822-23, and Sultan Kenessarı in 1837-46 and the overall joining of Kazkhs to them showed not reluctant of Kazakh to annex to Russia.

Stalin, in 1918 when saying about the republics of Crimea, Kaukaz, Tatar Bashkort and Turkestan stated that,

“ These countries were put under the political dominance of Russia by force. Force and compulsion were used to annex them.”<sup>10</sup>

In the great Soviet Encyclopaedia published in1937 it is written, as follows. “ The legend of voluntary annexation of Kazakh people to Russia, created by chauvinist is a certain lie.”<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Mehmet SARAY, “Rusya’nın Asya’da Yayılması” *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*; no. 10-11 (1979-80), p.289

<sup>10</sup> Y.V. STALİN,Socinenie C.IV p.67’ quoted in Hayit, *Sovyetler Birliğinde İslamın ve Türklüğün bazı Meseleleri*, p.141

<sup>11</sup> Bolşaya Sovetskaya Ensiklopediya c.XXX p.591’ quoted in Hayit, *Sovyetler Birliğinde İslamın ve Türklüğün bazı Meseleleri*, p.141

Kazakh historian Sanjar Isfendiyar, accused of nationalism and murdered in 1937, wrote the followings about the annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia in his book of "Kazakh history".

“ Russian capitalism, like another types of capitalism, grew up on the blood of millions of people. Russian history was written by blood and sword. As some chauvinists say, it is not true that the annexation was bloodless, voluntary, from the side of Kazakhs, and in the result of the annexation of the middle Asia to Russia was attained by oppression.”

All this information showed us that the annexation of the Middle Asia and Kazakhstan to Russia was not voluntary. The Soviet historians, in order to legitimate the invasive movements of Tsarist Russia found themselves in such subjective evaluations.<sup>12</sup>

### **3.2.The conquest of Turkic lands by the Soviets and showing the conquests as a progressive factor**

The Soviet history, from its first year to the present, found itself in many basic and controversy estimations about the lands the Russia of Tsar have conquered. But today, the duty of the Soviet historical science, at the first sight, was to analyse historical events scientifically and showing the attacks of the Tsarist Russia to its neighbours as positive and essential. The Soviet historical science tried to prove that the colonisation by Russia had been much more useful than those of the English and the French.

Showing the annexation of Turkistan region, especially Kazakhstan, to Russia as a progressive movement began in the Soviet Union since 1948. In the book, printed in 1948, it was written about “voluntary Kazakh annexation to

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<sup>12</sup> Sanjar Isfendiyar, *Istoria Kazakstana*, Almaty, 1993, p.110

Russia , and it being of great importance.”. This view , after being discussed in 1950 at the “congress of historical matters of Tsarist Russia dominance in Turkistan” , become an official idea of the Soviet regime. While the work of Prof. Dr. Ermahan Bekmahanov written in Russian named “Kazakhstan of the XIX Century’s 20-40” was judged, the event of the annexation began to be officially as progressive. So, it became official to speak about that.<sup>13</sup>In the conquest of history, changing with regard to conditions in the Soviet Union, the direction of progress have been strengthened and increased in size of time.

They have been printed many historical books separated especially for the topic of “progressive meaning and importance” of the annexations of non-Russian nations and their “historical ties and relations” with Russia, when their general history is described. A.Nurkanov: Kazakh people forever with the great Russian people, Almatı,1957; K Userbayev: The progresivve meaning of the annexation of the Kyrghyzstan to Russia, Frunze, 1957; T.Shoinbayev: The progressive meaning of the annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia, Almatı,1963. The books named above are the best example for the workings written with this purpose.<sup>14</sup>

In March 1951, in Tashkent, a conference took place under the name of “The character of national movements of the Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the period of colony.” The following thesis were introduced; the joining of the Central Asia and Kazakhstan to Russia is the single progressive way all the national struggles are backward reactions. since they aimed separation from Russia.<sup>15</sup>

Some Turkistan historians who did not want to consider the annexation as progressive were accused of being nationalist. This situation was told about in the official newspaper of the Soviets

<sup>13</sup> Hayit, *Sovyetler Birliğinde Türklüğün ve İslamın bazı Meseleler*, İstanbul, 1986, p.147

<sup>14</sup> Urban, “Sovyet Milli Siyasetinin Bugünkü Eğilimleri”, p .79

<sup>15</sup> Hayit *Sovyetler Birliğinde Türklüğün ve İslamın bazı meseleleri*, p.143

“The red Uzbekistan” “In our country, nationalist inclines, appear national classes and historical questions of the past to be by giving idea. Some writers acted to decrease the importance of annexation of the central Asia to Russia and even to neglect it.”<sup>16</sup>

When historical matters were discussed on the XXI Congress the First Secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Sh.R Reshidov told the following to historians .

“The annexation of the Central Asia to Russia was realised in different forms, but the progressive aspect is un discussible . As a result of it, the peoples of the Central Asia got acquainted with the revolutionary labour class of Russia who wanted to overthrow all the oppressions the relationships of the Central Asian people with the notables of Russia led to the formation of warrior unity of the Russians and the peoples of Central Asia.

Our historical science showed that it had great progressive meaning . The learning of the Russian culture by the oppressed people also has a progressive meaning. The advancing Russian culture played enlightened and democratic role in science, philosophy, and literature in the Central Asia, and provided development of democratic circuits... For 200 years peace living people India tasted the colonisation of the English. The English men, by doing slyness, used the richness of India. English Colonisation brought to India poverty and pain. The Central Asian people escaped all these by joining Russia.”<sup>17</sup>

Reshidov, at the same meeting, gave a piece of advice to the scientists who studied annexation of the Middle Asia to Russia.

“Most of the scientific sources were not used truly on the Tsarist period. Some writers confuse reactionary movements with the enlightenment. The anti-feudal movements during Khan states of the Central Asia must be studied. The political, economic, and cultural role of the Russians over the peoples of the Central Asia must be studied deeply. And it is the duty of scientists.”<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Kızıl Özbekistan, Taşkent 11.8. 1959. p.43' quoted in Hayit, *Sovyetler Birliğinde Türklüğün ve İslamın bazı Meseleler*, p.143

<sup>17</sup> Voprosı İstorii , no.8, 1959, pp. 180-181

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p.181

The Soviet Union Science Academy History Department Academic Secretary V.M.Jukov, who participated at the same meeting, told the followings after some evolutions,

“In some speeches there are two contrasting extremes. The first is made by exaggerating historical ties of the Central Asia with Russia. The progressive direction of the annexation of the Central Asia must not be looked for in old history. On the contrary to this, the friendship of the Central Asia with Russia just before the revaluation, is belittled and it's wrong. Because the revolutionary unity of Russian proletariat with other peoples was established before the October revolution. The annexation of the Central Asia with Russia is a progressive event, because the fate of Russians and other Central Asian peoples bound before the revolution.”<sup>19</sup>

The reason for their representation of Tsar's annexation movements as progressive was to look for historical ideology and legal basement and root. By arguing the progressiveness of it, they claimed historical necessity of the establishment of the Soviet state.

According to the Soviet ideologist A Sachko, colonisation is divided into three types;

1-) The first type colonisation, is by taking under captivity a country with regard to political and economic gains and colonise the land and the people of the captive region.

2-)The second type colonisation, is when an over populated country takes over less populated one and locates there by forcing the native people to migrate.

3-)The third type colonisation, is by capturing of the empty area by a country strong enough economically and demographically. The colonisation made by economic recovering is applied only to the area

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p.182



A. Sachko stated that the first two of these types belong to England and America. And the third type is the feature of the Soviets.<sup>20</sup>

When we come to 1981's 250.th anniversary of annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia, there were passed 56 notifications. According to the Soviet historians the real purpose of that conference was to put forward the importance of progress and historical bases of the annexation of Kazakhstan and the Central Asia to Russia above this, the topics, like improving effect of the October Revolution for Kazakhstan and Central Asia.<sup>21</sup>

The first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Dinmuhanmet Kunayev told on this meeting the followings,

“The annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia was not realised in one day and one hour. Reactionary feudal, religious officials, other enemies did not want the annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia. However, because the friendship with Russians never extinguished the process of the annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia realised. Kazakhsistan made the joining real causes they understood that they could have no future without Russians.”<sup>22</sup>

Kazakh historian Tulepbayev listed the factors for the annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia in such in a form:

1-)Russians played vital role in prevention of Tatar-Mongol attacks and unification of all the people under the same state roof.

2-)The feeling of brotherhood, Russian and Kazakh people over history fought common enemies together.

3-) Kazakh people were bored by other enemies and inner disputes, and wanted immediately to come to the state of peace.

<sup>20</sup> A.Saçko, *jizn natsionalnosty*, Moskova, 1923, no.2' quoad in Bala, “Sovyet Sömürgecilığının Tarihi-İdeolojik Kaynağı ve Mukadder Akibeti” Dergi-7, 1956, p.14

<sup>21</sup> Hayit, *Sovyetler Birliğinde Türklüğün ve İslamın bazı meseleleri*, p.131

<sup>22</sup> *Komunist*, 1982, no.10, p.27



4-)Bukhara, Hiva Khan states and Jungar attacks made Kazakh come to a state of vital danger. Behind those attacks there was threat of English colonisation.

5-)Political and economic relationships rooted in the long past.<sup>23</sup>

It has never been ignored to include the topic of the progressive direction of the annexation into educational programs. In Kazakh schools “About the placement of Kazakh history lessons to the cirrocumuli” article printed in “Jas muallim” newspaper is essential to the topic. The placement of the Kazakh history lessons is explained , as follows.

“It is very useful for teachers to explain the lessons of Kazakh history in schools. Kazakh people have long history of the Past. It had close relations with Russian and other Central Asian peoples. To learn Kazakhstan history by true understanding will be helpful in learning of the socialist life and developing political ideas.... By learning the history of Kazakhstan pupils can learn progressive role of joining their country to Russia . The annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia brought with it self increasing interest among people, developing production, and growing up of such enlightened persons, like Abay Kunanbayev, Ibray Altinsarı, Shokhan Velihanov, Secondly, If Kazakhstan did not Join Russia, it could not have stood other attacks, would have been torn into pieces by The peoples of the Central Asia , and have lost its independence.

The other important result of the annexation was the interest of both people and improving production.

The later would Kazakhstan join Russia, the later it would be able to walk on the way of economic development. If it had not been effected by bright Russian civilisation, It would stay of the some level of the backward Muslim East.”<sup>24</sup>

It was demanded to pay special attention to emphasise the progressive role of the annexation to Russia in the schools programs;

<sup>23</sup> Tulepbayev, *Kazakistan SSSR* , Almatı, 1983, p.22

<sup>24</sup> *Cas Muallim*, 1958 , no.7, p.32

“By the help on historic materials, it is needed to show the importance of Russian supports against Jungar attacks. As it concerns Kazakhstan’s annexation, it is necessary to explain Russia’s role in civil and economic changes of Kazakhstan. It is also important to emphasise the joining of worker Kazakhs to revolutionary acts and independence struggles.”<sup>25</sup>

In schools books, prepared under the light of this program, it is explained, as follows;

“After the annexation of Kazakhs they started giving taxes to Russian treasury. The country performed all the duties it had. It started building bridges, and give camels for carrying of the material. The Tsar colonisation also had its uses for Kazakhstan. Russians rescued Kazakhs from the Jungars the England, and other Central Asian peoples’ cruelties.”<sup>26</sup>

To show their colonisation movements right and turn themselves blind to historical realities, the Soviet ideologist tried to show the period of Tsar for the Central Asian peoples, especially Kazakhs, as if it was troubled before.

The Soviet historians and Kazakh historians, notables of the Kazakhstan Communist Party and their newspapers did not suit right the information given above with important realities that is.

1-As the Soviet historians put it, The Soviets had not been less colonialist than The England and the others.

2-The Kazakh and Kyrghyz people wanted Rusian’s help in the lack of means against the Mongoloid Kalmuk and Jungar attacks. However, the people never wanted to annex to Russia. Even though, The Soviet historians, under the communist restraint, persuaded on the progressive results born by the annexation, there were also found some historians who described difficult conditions brought by Russian occupation and the brutalities made by Russians.

<sup>25</sup> *Sekiz Jildik Orta Mektep Proqraması*, Almatı, 1976, p.11

<sup>26</sup> Bekmehanov, Bekmehanova,,*Kazak SSSR Tarihi 7/8. Klas*, p.56

One of those historians is Pokrovski, explained before. For him, the Russian empire was established on attacks. And other nations did not annex voluntarily. Pokrovski denied the idea that Russia occupied the land in order to preserve those peoples. In his opinion, the danger of England for the Central Asia and Coucasus was not bigger than that of Russia's. He described the brutalities of the Tsarist period with all the details.<sup>27</sup> As we told before, Pokrovski's esteem had been taken from him because of his writing.

The sacrifice of studies made at the cost of exposing the historical realities, Sanjar Isfendiyaroğlu, wrote, in his book named "Kazakhstan", about how Russia became a prison nations.<sup>28</sup>

The Russian historian E.N.Gorodetski helped us, with his speech, to learn the truth about Russian occupations, while the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress dictated historical faculties their duties in the contrary way.

"The Tsarist period is studied, it clear that falsification had been made to the policy of colonisation and nationalities. While the relations of the Russians with non-Russian people consisted completely of the Tsarist colonisation policy, many historians wanted to suppress the colonisation policy of the Tsar and the feudal lords."<sup>29</sup>

As we see from the materials examined above, the Soviets used historical events in their interests by oppressing historians. In such a way, they have wanted to make us believe in the good use of joining of Turkic people to Moscow before and in the present day.

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<sup>27</sup> Tillet, op.cit., p.28

<sup>28</sup> Tillet, op.cit., p.29

<sup>29</sup> Moskova üniversitesi dergisi, Moskova 1956 no.6 quoted in Bala, "Sovyet Sömürgeciliğinin Tarihi-İdeolojik Kaynağı ve Mukadder Akibet", p.3

3-It is true that Kazakhstan and other Central Asian peoples were assisted by Russia, especially in the field of education. However, it is the fact that the some people were distances by force from their national identities and were caused great harm by Russian colonisation.

4-As Russian ideologist and notables of the Kazakhstan Communist party argue there had not been realised any brotherhood between Russian and Kazakh peoples. In fact, it was not possible for them to live together because of the differentiation in language, religion, and race.

### **3.3.The evaluation of revolts made in the Tsarist period**

#### **3.3.1. The evaluation of revolts against the Tsarist Russia in the advancement of the Soviet historians.**

The sight of the Soviet Communist Party at the independence movements in the Tsarist period in terms of history science, which it used as an ideological weapon, had continuously changed with regard to conditions of a period.

As it is known, in the period of Peter I and after his death, to realise his will, Russia always went on expansion side to the Turkic land during all the Tsarist periods. In result of those expansionist movements, when it come to the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, large parts of the control of the Tsarist Russia. Especially, the difficulties brought by inner complexities and continuous wars fought to outer hostile, made it easier for Russians to occupy weak regions. The sight to the revolt movements always changed with respect to a period conditions.

However, according to a Turkic tradition, it was impossible for a Turkic peoples to live under control the other's. In just the some way, the some as in the Central Asia in Caucasus there have been a lot of independence movement. The Soviets discussed much two event, which both are very important. Because the two revolts gave them trouble not only in the Tsarist Russia but in the Soviets, when they met trouble in coming out of different ideas during its evaluation. The discussed two struggles are the struggle of Sheiks Shamil in Caucasus and the struggle of the Kenessarı Kasımoğlu in Kazakhstan.

When the Soviet historians considered those independence movements, they did deviate from the principle of writing the history with respect to the communism interest. For example , in the book of the USSR history, pressed in 1949, the activities of Sheikh Shamil are described pretty delicate .<sup>30</sup> At the some time , Kenessarı Kasımoğlu , accepted as the leader of the national liberation movements of Kazakhs against the Tsarist government, and those movements , being shown as important for Kazakhs,<sup>31</sup> were re-thought since 1950.

The Soviet historians Shoinbayev, Aydanov and Yakunin in their articles written in "Pravda newspaper" considered Kenessarı Kasımoğlu as a reactionary movement.<sup>32</sup>

The example to be given below is an essential one to show the dimension of the Soviet history's sight to the independence movements during the Tsarist Russia. As a Soviet film producer told,

“The first my work was about the leader of national struggle movements, Sheikh Shamil. However, the opinion about him changed since 1930s, He become an agent of imperialism. I admitted my mistake. But,

<sup>30</sup> İstoria SSSR, vol. II “ Rossiya v XIX veke” Gospotitized , 1949, p.264

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p.264

<sup>32</sup> Vestnik akademii Navuk Kazakskoy SSSR, Noh 1953, p.43 quote in Poppe, op.cit., p.9

during the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War he became a leader of independence movement again. I admitted my mistake again, However, in 1949s, he became the agent again, and again admitted my mistake.”<sup>33</sup>

When evaluated generally, in historical books of the Tsarist period, the persons, like Shamil and Kenessari Kasimoglu were described as to push people to revolt in order to become Khans and receipt their own status. The studies performed and historical book of the Soviet period are not the different. In that period, historians, like A Rızanov, M. Steplin, A.Yakunin,, M.Vyatkin wrote book related to Kenessari.

### **3.3.2. The case of Bekmehanov and the evaluation of the Kenessari revolt.**

One of the Kazakh historian notables of the Soviets, Bekmehanov had his signature in many historical works. He worked as a professor in the Kazakh State University, director of the Archaeology History Institution, and editor in the Magazine of Social Sciences. The first his important work is the History of Kazakhstan, written in 1943. His book named “Kazakhstan between 1820-1840s” aroused great echoes, when was published. It was discussed widely. He was blamed because of this work. And the work wasn’t told about amongst Kazakh bibliography.<sup>34</sup>

The Kazakh historian Ermehan Bekmehanov, in his book of “The 20-40<sup>th</sup> years of the XIX Century Kazakhstan” criticised the books written about Kenessari. And he determined many mistakes and deficiencies in those books.

One of the historians Bekmehanov spoke about was Rızanov. He sought the reason of the revolt movement not in taking over Kazakhs under oppression by

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<sup>33</sup> Conquest, op.cit., p.86

<sup>34</sup>Tillet, op.cit., p.112

Russia's colonisation policy but in deteriorating natural conditions and the psychological conditions of Kazakhs.<sup>35</sup>

Really, when Kazakhs started the struggle, they had been being found in land and pasture difficulties. The reason for these is not bad natural conditions but the removal of Kazakhs from their fruitful lands by the Tsarist government. This is one of the most important reasons for the revolt of the Kenessari. Rızanov turned his blind on to this reason, and related the difficulty of pasturelands to drought and drawing back of the river waters. Rızanov's another failure is to describe Kenessari as struggling for himself and his own interest man who did not recognise the law.<sup>36</sup>

The other historian to be mentioned by Bekmehanov was A Vyakinin made the similar mistakes. His first failure was to show Kenessari as being extered by people and being pushed to isolation by time; and the other one was in the cruelty of Kenessari to his obedient.<sup>37</sup>

According to the main thesis of Bekmehanov, the movement, started by Kenessari, was directed towards improvement and progress. He defended his thesis in two main points. According to him, Kenessari tried to do away with in harmony between Kazakh tribes and to establish a strong united government. He struggled with the steppe aristocracy, local sultans, the Central Asian Khans and the Tsar. Bekmehanov defended his popularity among Kazakh people and his being supported by wide masses<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> E. BEKMEHANOV, *19. Gasırdın 20-40 jıllarında Kazakhistan*, Almatı, 1993, p.22

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p.22

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p.23

<sup>38</sup> Tillet, *op.cit.*, p.112

Bekmehanov some times abstained from idealising excessively the personality of Kenessari, as well. He told that Kenessari wanted reforms in order to create a strong Kazakh state and to govern it as a khan. Because with respect to tradition, khan was a host of all the property in the state. As for him, Kenessari made cruelties from time to time. He destroyed some villages when its residents refused to support him. According to Bekmehanov, at the end of the revolt he attacked Kyrghyzes directly. Bekmehanov this assault as a defence movement in base. Because the regime of the Tsar provoked some Kyrghyzes to attack Kenessari when he came you ask for their help. As for him, Kenessari was not killed by normal Kyrghyzes people.<sup>39</sup>

Bekmeahnov wanted on the hand not to attach the reaction of the Communist Party and be attentive, and on the other hand, tried to receipt the opinions about Kenessari not changing them in the base.

Bekmehanov understood the ideological danger of speaking about creating a central governmental state and struggling for independence instead of speaking about progressive help of Russia, in the post-war period. Because the ideological climate could change every moment amongst the scientist. Bekmehanov, who understood that situation, had to humiliate compulsory on the demand of the Communist Party. And, thus, he avoided showing the revolt of Kenessari as more important than the annexation to Russia.<sup>40</sup>

In the end of 1947, before the book was examined he successfully summarised the Kazakh history. In 28 January 1948, the USSR Science Academy disputed the book of Bekmehanov. Andora, who participated the meeting about the leadership of Grikov, criticised the book pitilessly and showed Kenessari

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<sup>39</sup> Tillet, op.cit., p.112

<sup>40</sup> Tillet, op.cit., p.113



Turanist and a nationalist. For them, Bekmehanov was in ideological problems, ignorant of the whole Party guidance, and far from the impression of Stalin and Lenin.<sup>41</sup>

Druzhin, who attended the meeting, supported Bekmehahanov fundamentally and told that the movement of Kenessari carried a national character. Viatkin and A.P:Kautkin opposed Aidora. The stated the necessity of not considering the movement of Kenessari as a natural class struggle. Bekmahanov opposed the opinion of Aidora about hostile attack of Kenessari to Kyrghyzes and defended the argument that there had been found no document witnessing to hostility of Kenessari with Kyrghyzes.<sup>42</sup>

The critics related to Bekmehanov went on strengthening in those years and, in 1950, he was accused of his book about Kenessari in the newspaper of Pravda. According to the newspaper, he showed Kenessari Kasımoğlu as a hero. Again, it accused the movement of being anti-colonist and being shown as attended by wide masses of people.

According to Pravda

“ All the historical data shows that the movement of Kenessari was, neither revolutionary, nor progressive. The movement of Kasımoğlu was a reactionary one. He wanted to bring down the Kazakh people back to the Middle Ages Khans level.”<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Tillet, op.cit., p.113

<sup>42</sup> Tillet, op.cit., p.113

## CHAPTER 4

### THE USAGE OF "HISTORY" LESSONS AS AN IDEOLOGIST MEANING IN THE SOVIET UNION.

Since 1930s the Soviet historians, under growing suppress of the Soviet Communist system, have re-written history of their country in accordance with the daily political purposes and with the aim of expansion of communism in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet historians played major role in the ideological struggle for the establishment of the new Soviet society. The Soviet historians continuously emphasised the rationality of the policies and activities of the Communist Party in order to increase its prestige and authority over the Soviet people. Besides this, they wrote the history in the form of supporting the Soviet patriotism in order to increase their loyalty to the Soviet Union and prevent separations, which could break down in the multi-national Soviet Union. This rewritten history did not only include the period of the Soviet Union. going to the past, there have prevailed the Soviet history comprehension in consideration of the Tsarist period, as well.<sup>44</sup>

In that period, this new history comprehension was not only effective in the writing of history but teaching, too. In the Soviet Union, school lesson books included special chapters devoted to support the new Soviet history comprehension. And it was demanded from teachers in their guiding books to emphasise those topics. For example, in Kazakhstan, the teachers to occupy duties in schools were demanded to emphasise those topics continuously.

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<sup>43</sup> Pravda Aralık 1950 quonted in Conquest, op.cit., p.83

<sup>44</sup> Tillet, op.cit., p.9.

“ The history lessons must be proceeded on the aspect of increasing their love to the Socialist motherland, the Communist Party, and Lenin. Besides student’s patriotism, proletarian and international feelings and ideas have to be developed. The materials to improve the idea of atheism have to be tough repeatedly . A teacher must never forget the educational rules counted above when preparing his every lesson plan. Before all, in a history teaching, education- increasing materials are important. He must submit those data until they influence the inside of world of the students.”<sup>45</sup>

The Soviet ideologist began to give the communistic education to students by means of history lessons from the primary level of education.

It is explained in the book of “ How can the communistic education be given in the history lessons to the 4<sup>th</sup> class student”, kind of education can be caused to acquire in an explanation of any historical event. In this book, the purposes of teachers in history lessons are explained in such a way.

“To make the future generations acquire the communism education, the USSR history tales prepared for the 4<sup>th</sup> class are of great importance. The students are needed to be grown up on the aspect increasing their love towards multi-national country, the Communist Party, and the Soviet people. Hence, the importance of the country history lessons is great.”<sup>46</sup>

For instance, when the post-October revolution is examined in the some book, explanation of the Soviet people’s struggle is said to strengthen proletarian and international feelings of the students.

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<sup>45</sup> *IV.Sınıf Kazak SSR Tarihi materyalderinin ügretilvü* Almatı , 1970, p.5

<sup>46</sup> *IV.Klas Okuşularına Tarih sabaktarı jolu men Komünizm terbiyesi veruv* Almatı , 1972, p.6

#### 4.1. The emphasis of brotherhood of people living in the Soviet Union

Together with the Communist revolution, the Soviet historian, who stayed under the influence of the Communist Party, began to emphasise the brotherhood of the Soviet starting back in the middle age. The cruelties made in the Tsarist period were forgotten. And the friendship of the Soviet people turned to the far past was stressed.<sup>47</sup>

According to the Soviet propaganda, the annexation of Turkistan people to Russia became willingly. Although, there happened some little revolts, they were carried out by lords and sultans of the upper level who didn't want to loose their rights. The people had always behaved friendly to the Russian nation. This idea was also seen to be supported by the intelligentsia of Turkistan.

For example, one of Uzbekistan Socialist enlightened persons, Karı Niyazov was among those who defended that idea. According to Niyazov, the historical ties of the Middle Asian people rest on many centuries ago. These ties firstly established on trade relations. All the ties were created personally by the enterprise of those nations. And as a result, mutual perceptiveness helped their approach to each other. Another words, Karı Niyazov tried to prove the fact that the reasons preparing the friendship of Russian and Turkistan peoples show themselves in many centuries ago.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Tillet, op.cit., p.4

<sup>48</sup> Poppe, op.cit., p.11

When we look at the in many Soviet writings, the annexation of Turkistan to Russia definitely approached those people to Russian nation. Despite the Tsarist government's colonisation policy, there founded a friendship increasing day by day. Again, as we can learn from the Soviet Writings in spite of national hostilities incited by the Tsarist regime Kazakhs tied stronger by an increasing bond to Russian nation.<sup>49</sup>

In that period, the brother hood between people was located in almost all the Soviet historians. The examples to support friendship between Turkistan and Russian peoples increased their number. There were created imaginary trade cultural relations and friendships in the middle age. In Caucasian region. The new Soviet historians found mise-en-scenes including relationships between the east Slovene and the regional peoples.<sup>50</sup>

There was also emphasised to deep friendship between Russian and Kazakh people in the Kazakhstan secondary education history books. In the book, named “The relations of the Kazakh Khan state and Russia” initial Kazakh-Russian relations were described, as follows.

“In the middle times of the 16<sup>th</sup> century sailing ships visited sides of Astrahan and Mangistav two times a year. Nevertheless, Russian ship caravans went upwards Ertis. Beginning with the bank of river Yayık and Ural, reaching Bukhara and Siberia, they passed Turkistan on their trade way and went on the way of rivers Sarisu Ersil and Ertis.

Russian tradesmen sold to Kazakh things, like grain and fabric clothes, dried fruit. That trade made economic affairs easier between Kazakhstan and Russia.”<sup>51</sup>

It continued in the same book as,

<sup>49</sup> “V. İnstitute İstorii Arheologii I etnografii Akademii Navuk Kazakskoy SSR” Voprosı İstorii , No.2, 1952, p.146’de

<sup>50</sup> Tillet, op.cit. p,14

<sup>51</sup> Bekmehanov, Bekmehanova, *Kazak SSR Tarihi 7/8 Klas* , p.33

“The annexation of the western Siberia caused, till today, develop the friendship between Kazakhstan and Russia. To develop this relationship, in Russia, they built a Tara fortress on the bank of the river castle. It protected Kazakhs from sudden attacks. In time of Haknazar, Kazakh lived, migrating from river Yayık to river Idil. Haknazar, decided to use the friendship established with Russia after their severe attacks on the Nogay Horde and Kuchüm Khan state in Siberia. The relationship between Russia and Kazakhstan also improved after the taking over of Kazan by Russians.”<sup>52</sup>

The 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries relations were summarised, as follows.

“After the Middle Asian trade roads fell under danger because of the Oyrat attacks, the Tsar Fedor Ivanovich, by agreeing with Khan Abilay, used force to keep those roads secure. There was signed an agreement to improve trade between Russian and Kazakh peoples. Russia saw Kazakhstan as a key and a door to the development of the Eastern trade. All those evolving relations accelerated the annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia project.”<sup>53</sup>

It was demanded to strengthen the friendship ties of other nations with Russians by explaining their struggles made together against other enemies in the history.

“When they studied people’s fights during Napoleonic wars, the purpose of using those materials was to show that the 1812 war was a real motherland people’s war. The people lengthwise the river Volga established a dike against the outer enemies of Russia neighbouring lands. The joining of Kazakhs to it must be stated. In such a way, the love of students to their ancestors will increase and it will be useful for the education of the friendship soul between the people.”<sup>54</sup>

The other question, which the Soviet ideologist forced the Central Asian Turkic peoples to accept was the friendship of Russian immigrants located on the untouched

<sup>52</sup> Bekmehanov, Bekmehanova *Kazak SSR Tarihi 7/8 Klas*, p.33

<sup>53</sup> E.BEKMENEHOV, N.BEKMENEHANOVA, *Kazak SSR Tarihi 9/10 Klas*, Almatı, 1980 p.46

<sup>54</sup> *IV.Klasta Kazak SSR Tarihi materyaldarını okutu*, Almatı, 1970, p.16

lands of the Central Asia with local people of the region. In that period , as in all areas, the friendship in the field of history was emphasised.

The Kokchetav village secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Province Committee, M. Fazilov wrote an article, named “Untouched lands are the universtiy of nations’ friendship.” He explained the cultural inter fluency of non- Russian people with Russians as follows.

“With the coming of Russian immigrants it did not only stay with opening of new areas in agriculture, but the life, traditions settled by centuries and time made it Possible to rmove everything past, Now the marriages of Kazakh girls with Russians and Ukranians are not of rare happenings. And it is the fact, Kazakhs began to give their children names of their Russian brothers. Boyas Kaliyev, living in Kekat village, gave his son the name of the Cosmomate in te world-Yuri. A tractorist Jumbay Yoldashev gave his doughtier the name of Zoya on the honour of Zoya Kozmedamyanski.”<sup>55</sup>

The good use of Russian immigrants for local people and the brotherhood and friendship between two people idea also took its place in the lesson books. In Kazakhstan, this topic was considered in school books like this.

From the countries bordering with Kazakhstan villagers engaged in agriculture came and located in the Kazakh lands. Kazakhs learning agriculture from the immigrants began to saw wheat, barley and corn. Numbering of Russian immigrants caused the improvement of trade and production. It developed the relationship of Kazakh and Russian peoples. It tied these two countries on the aspect of economy and civilisation.<sup>56</sup>

With the second World war, the Hitler Germany became a suitable material to emphasise the brotherhood of the Soviet Union peoples. When the war was explained in lesson books with all the details, “The great unity of the Soviet people” was frequently emphasised.

<sup>55</sup> *Kazakstankaya Pravda* 7.6. 1964

<sup>56</sup> Bekmehanov, Bekmehanova, *Kazak SSR Tarihi 7/8 Klas*, p.63

The unity in that was described as follows,

“After the Hitler Germany started the war against the Soviet Union, the view of the Soviet country being multi – national on the contrary proved how strong it was . The political , military and economic unity of the Soviet Socialist nations developed against the Fascist powers.

The heroes of different nations fought to bring the Soviet Union to immediate success. In immortal fighting in the edges of Moscow, the hero descendants of Russian, Ukrain, Kazakh, Kyrghyz people cut the front of the tanks come to the capital. In Leningrad, as well as in Stalingrad fighting, together with Russians other Soviet nations struggled against the enemy. In the protection of Pavlov house, different Soviet nations’ soldiers fought. Among those soldiers Russians, Ukrain, Georgians, Tadjicks, and Kazkhs were found.”<sup>57</sup>

#### 4.2 The role of Russians’ big brother and the superiority of Russian culture

In the Soviet Union consistent of many different nations with the end of the Second World War, they started to emphasise the big brother and leading role of the Russian nation and superiority of Russian culture above other cultures. In 1945, the speech made by Stalin to the Red Army commanders will be helpful to understand a new sight on the Russian nation in the Soviets.

"I drink to the health of Russian men. Because they are unchangeable basement in the Soviets. I want to congratulate Russian people because they became a guiding power in our country.

I drink to the health of Russian people. Because they have not only been a leading nation but, above all acted as open-hearted and constant people.”<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Bekmehanov, Bekmehanova, *Kazak SSR Tarihi 9/10.Klas*, , p.74

<sup>58</sup> *Pravda* Mayis 25. 1945 quoted in Coquest, op.cit., p.90



This view, put forward by the Soviet leaders, was also supported by Turkistan local Communist leaders. The first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist party, Reshidov wrote a statement in the newspaper of "Pravda Vostaka", which will be helpful to learn the new points of view of local Communist leaders.

"The great Russian nation was a power being good for uniting all nations of our country into one relative family. The heroism of Russian nation, its clear mind generous heart, sincerity, constant brother help, its being every moment ready for self-sacrifice let it gain general love and deep esteem."<sup>59</sup>

This view and opinion of Reshidov was published in the "Communist magazine", in Moscow, and repeated in his article of "forever together with Russian people." So, Reshidov separated a special and initial place for Russian people among the Soviet people.

One of the members of the Uzbekistan soviet Republic's Science Academy, Recebov spoke in the same way and wrote the same statement.

"Among relative family of the Soviet Union nations, the Central Asian people under the leadership of the Communist Party, have learned and are learning a lot from Russian people who have their struggling revolutionary traditions. And they will continue to learn The Central Asian people will always be indebted to great Lenin, the Communist Party and the great Russian nations."<sup>60</sup>

In the field of historical education, there were also opened chapters focused on increasing the love to Russian people by other people, and on revealing the leading role of Russian nation. In a methodical book,, prepared for historians, this idea was emphasised, like this.

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<sup>59</sup> Ş.R.Reşidov: " O merah po usileniya komministçeskogo vopitaniya trudyaşsihsya", Pravda Vostaga , 11.8.1959' quoted in Urban, "Sovyet Cumhuriyetlerinde Milli İdeolojik Eğilimler", p.51

“ The influence and helpful role of Russian civilisation in the development of other nations in the Soviet Union and all over the world.”<sup>61</sup>

In the story of M.N. Kalin written in the 4<sup>th</sup> August 1943 for the soldiers fighting in the Second World War, explained the sight of other nations at Russian people as their big brother. The bravery history of Russian people national heroes and great poets are well-known by you.”<sup>62</sup>

The purpose of the Stalinist mentality of advancing the idea of superiority of Russian nation above other nations in the Soviet Union, was to increase the loyalty to the Soviet Union, consisting Fundamentally of Russian culture and civilisation.

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<sup>60</sup> *Pravda Vostoka* gazetesi 27.5.1959’ quoted in Urban , “Sovyet Cumhuriyetlerinde Milli İdeolojik Eğilimler”, p.56

<sup>61</sup> *Jana Tarihta Metodolojik kural* , Almatı , 1955, p.27

<sup>62</sup> Bekmehanov, Bekmehanova, *Kazak SSR Tarihi 9/10. Sınıf* , p.56

## CONCLUSION

By the end of the First World War a great change had been occurred in world political balance; Tscharic Russia , which had occupied the widest geographic area from Baltic Sea to China Sea, had corrupted and replaced by Soviet Union.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks were promised the right of 'Self Determination' before the Bolshevik Revolution , but they broke their promise after the revolution and they tried to asimilate them for keeping them in the Soviet Administration. Assimilation Policy is closely concerned with the "Nation Question", from Lenin till the end Soviet Union.

The assimilation which had been made on especially on field of "History" . Especialy we can see effects of assimilation on the studies which had been made for the research of Central Asian Turkish Republics' history, and this has been used extensively on programming the Schedules of Lectures (History) and on preperation of Text Books.

Especilly by coming of Stallin the Soviet Historicans oriented on the decision of Peoples' Brotherhood and Friendship, and it was said that it was very ridiculous to work to research the historical realities of Nations.

Working under the orders of the Communist Party this continued until the end of the Second World War. During this period, in order to completely establish Marxist-Leninist views in these republics, the historians of these countries have been treated with moderation. Thus the Turkic historians these republics have to some extent found

to change to write their own national histories. But after the coming to power of Khrushchev in 1954, during the Soviet Historians Conference organised in Tashkent, especially the Turks have been asked to deny the works that had previously reflected the facts of their national history.

The Soviets believing that the above mentioned oppression did not reach its intended result, decided to rewrite a new 10 volume history of Soviet Union. In this new history, planned by the Communist Party, the following particulars were to be paid attention: in the histories of non-Russian nations, especially in Turkic history, materials which explain the distinctive development of the histories of these nations thus causing a national idea and inclination to emerge will not be included. Why historical events are being classified in these 10 volumes work to focus should not be on the points which "separated" the Soviet Peoples from each other in the past, but on events which will bring these nations "closer" to the Russians. The so called "progressivism" of the Russian Empire, "the exceptional rule" of the Russian Nation and the "progressive meaning and importance" of the annexation of the non-Russian nations to Russia should be strongly emphasized.

From now on, the historians of the Caucasian and Central Asian Turkic Republics – within the above mentioned directives- had to explain in the history books they had wrote that the annexation of their countries by Russia was a good event for their development, that the population saw Russia and The Soviet regime as saviors and had these opened their arms to the Russian armies, that they worked hand in hand under the present communist regime and that their development was progressing for the better and finally that the Russians as their "big brothers" had come to these countries and had helped these brother nations to develop.

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## APPENDIX-1

### LENIN'S NOTES ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION, AS PUBLISHED IN KOMMUNIST No. 9, 1956

I am, it appears, much at fault before the workers of Russia for not having intervened with sufficient energy and incisiveness in the notorious questions of autonomisation, which is officially called, it seems the question of the union of soviet socialist republics.

In the summer, only to have a talk with Comrade Drezhinsky, who had arrived from the Caucasus and who told me how this question stood in Georgia. I managed also to have a word or two with Comrade Zinoviev and express to him my apprehensions on these questions. From what Comrade Dzerzhinsky, who headed the commission sent by the Central Committee to investigate the Georgian incident, reported, I could derive only the gravest apprehensions. If matters have reached the point where Ordzhonikidze could have exceeded himself to the extent of using physical force, as I was informed by Comrade Dzerzhinsky, it can be imagined what a bog we have slipped into. Evidently this whole scheme of autonomisation was fundamentally incorrect and inopportune.

It is said that a unified apparatus was required. From where did these assertions originate? Was it not from the same Russian apparatus, which, as I have already pointed out in one of the previous issues of my diary, was borrowed by us from tsarism and only barely anointed with Soviet chrism?

Undoubtedly this measure should have been held over until we could have said that we could guarantee our apparatus as being our own. And we must now in all conscience state the opposite, that we call our own an apparatus, as being our own.

And we must now in all conscience state the opposite, that we call our own apparatus which, in fact, is thoroughly alien to us and which represents bourgeois and Tsarist hotchpotch, which in five years there has been no opportunity of altering in the absence of aid from other countries and with the predominance of military matters and the struggle against famine

In such conditions it is very natural that the freedom of secession from the Union, with which we justify ourselves, will prove to be a mere scrap of paper incapable of protecting the other nationalities in Russia from the inroads of that truly Russian type, The great Russian chauvinist, essentially a scoundrel and bully, which is the typical Russian bureaucrat. There can be no doubt that the insignificant percentage of Soviet and Sovietised workers will drown in this sea of the chauvinistic Great-Russian rabble like a fly in milk

It is said in defence of this measure that separate People's Commissariats dealing directly with national psychology and with national education, have been set up. But here the question arises as to whether these commissariats can be completely separated, and a second question is: have we shown sufficient solicitude in taking measures effectively to protect the other nationalities from the truly Russian Derzhimorda? I think we have not taken these measures, although we could and should have done so.

I think that a fatal role was played here by Stalin's hastiness and administrative predilections, and also by his irascibility towards the notorious social-nationalism. In general, irascibility usually plays the worst possible role in politics.

I am also afraid that that Comrade Dzerzhinsky, who went to the Caucasus to investigate the case of the crimes of these social-nationalists here also distinguished himself only by his truly Russian attitude (it is well known that Russified non-Russians are always on the prodigal side when it is a matter of truly Russian attitudes)..

## APPENDIX-2

HISTORY TEXT BOOK; KAZAKH SSR TARIHI 7/8. KLAS ,  
ERMEHAN BEKMEHANOV , ALMATI , 1987

# ҚАЗАҚ ССР ТАРИХЫ

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Е. БЕКМАХАНОВ, Н. БЕКМАХАНОВА

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АЛМАТЫ «МЕКТЕП» 1987

## APENDIX-3

HISTORY TEXT BOOK; KAZAKH SSR TARIHI 9/10. KLAS,  
ERMEHAN BEKMEHANOV, ALMATI, 1980

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корреспондент-мүшесі П. В. Волобуев*

Өңделіп, толықтырылған

Он бірінші басылымы

## APPENDIX-4

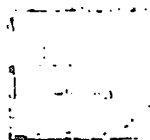
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