Contents

Acl	knowledgments	XV
Intı	roduction	1
PA.	RT I: TSARIST CENTRAL ASIA	7
1	Precolonial Central Asia: Nomads and People of Oases	9
	Introduction	9
	Document 1.1: Ivan Andreev, Description of the Kazakhs'	
	Middle Horde	12
	Document 1.2: Johann Gottlieb Georgi, About Tartar Peoples	18
	Document 1.3: Burnashev and Pospelov, The Trip to Tashkent	24
	Document 1.4: Ármin Vámbéry, Travels in Central Asia	28
2	Russian Policies and Steppe Realities in the Eighteenth	
	Century	39
	Introduction	39
	Document 2.1: Decision of the Board of Foreign Affairs	
	on the Letter Sent by Abu'l Khayr Khan, Approved by	
	Empress Anna. October 30, 1730	42
	Document 2.2: Text of the Oath by Abu'l Khayr Khan	
	on the Acceptance of a Russian Protectorate, Approved	
	by the Board of Foreign Affairs. March 26, 1731	43
	Document 2.3: Letter of Abu'l Khayr Khan to Anna	
	Ioannovna with a Request to Send Tevkelev to Him	
	and to Construct a Fortress at the Mouth of the	
	River Or' (February 26, 1734)	44

vi Contents

	Document 2.4: Catherine II's Decree to the	
	Governor-General of Simbirsk and Ufa about the	
	Maintenance of Order on the Kazakh Steppe, the	
	Safety of Borders, the Khan's Powers, the Appointment	
	of Mullahs to Kazakh Clans, and so on, 1784	45
	Document 2.5: Letter of Khan Bakhadur Nur-Mukhambet-Ali	
	to the Head of Orenburg Province and the Commander-	
	in-Chief of the Regular and Irregular Armies of	
	Orenburg, Baron Igelstrom, July 21, 1785	47
	Document 2.6: Report of Baron Igelstrom to Empress	
	Catherine II on the Causes of Conflict in the Small	
	Kazakh Horde, October 31, 1785	48
	Document 2.7: Decree Issued by Catherine II in Reply	
	to the Letter of O. A. Igelstrom Concerning the	
	Organization of Border Courts, the Khan's Authority,	
	and so on, June 3, 1786	49
	Document 2.8: Report of the Orenburg Military Governor	
	Bakhmetev to Emperor Alexander I about the Policies	
	of the Orenburg Governors Concerning Kazakhs during	
	the Last Fifty Years and about the Necessity of Sending	
	a Retaliatory Detachment against the Kazakhs, 1802	50
	Document 2.9: Muhammad Salikh Babadzhanov, "Notes on	
	the Kirghizes Written by a Kirghiz"	52
3	Speranskii's Reform and Kenesary Kasymov's Rebellion	57
	Introduction	57
	Document 3.1: Mikhail Speranskii, Regulations Governing	
	the Siberian Kirghizes, July 22, 1822	59
	Document 3.2: Letter of Sultan Shama Ablaikhanov to the	
	Omsk Regional Head Regarding His and His People's	
	Attitude to the New Regulations, August 27, 1824	66
	Document 3.3: Letter of Kenesary Kasymov to the Governor-	
	General of Western Siberia Regarding Rebel Demands	
	and the Relationship between the Insurgents and Tsarist	
	Authorities, December 1838	68
	Document 3.4: Address of the Governor-General of Western	
	Siberia Prince Gorchakov to the Sultans, Biis, Elders,	
	and the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde with Demands to	
	Oppose Kenesary Kasymov, March 6, 1839	69
	Document 3.5: Letter of Kenesary Kasymov to the <i>Biis</i> of the	
	Nazarov Tribe Concerning the Attack on the Tliau Tribe,	
	July 18, 1843	70

Contents vii

	Document 3.6: Report of the Sultan Administrator of the Eastern Part of the Orenburg Kazakhs Ahmed Dzhantiurin to the Orenburg Frontier Commission on the Relations between Kenesary Kasymov, and the Iappas	
	and Argyn Tribes, January 4, 1844	71
4	Tsarist Policies in Central Asia in the Late Imperial Period Introduction	75 75
	Document 4.1: On the Issue of Granting Passports to the Muslims Leaving to Worship in Mecca (From the Main Headquarters of the Turkestan Governor-General to the Minister of War, January 11, 1873, St. Petersburg)	79
	Document 4.2: On the Necessity of the Russian Colonization of Central Asia. To the Minister of Internal Affairs,	19
	October 9, 1878 Document 4.3: Petition of the Kokand <i>Ulemas</i> to His	81
	Excellency, the Minister of War, Regarding Taxation on Waqf Income Document 4.4: Memorandum of the General Staff on	84
	the Request of Kokand <i>Ulemas</i> Regarding the Taxation of <i>Waqfs</i>	85
	Document 4.5: Order of the Turkestan Governor-General to the Chief of the General Staff, December 24, 1897 Document 4.6: Extract from the Report of the Semipalatinsk	87
	Governor, 1910	88
5	Jadidism and Central Asian Nationalism Introduction	97 97
	Document 5.1: Ismail Bey Gasprinskii, <i>Russian Muslims</i> Document 5.2: A. Bukeikhanov, "Kirghizes"	101 110
6	The Central Asian Rebellions of 1898 and 1916 Introduction	119 119
	Document 6.1: Report of Lieutenant General Korol'kov to the Governor-General of Turkestan, Lieutenant General Dukhovskoi, August 3, 1898, No. 240	122
	Document 6.2: Report of the Minister of War, Lieutenant	100
	General Kuropatkin to Nicholas II, September 13, 1898 Document 6.3: Minutes of the Meeting Chaired by the Chief of Zakaspiiskaia Oblast Concerning Taking Measures Directed at the Elimination of Violent Resistance to	128
	the Mobilization of Workers Taken from the Native Population, July 12, 1916	130
	- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

viii Contents

Document 6.4: Report of the Assistant of the Military	
•	
<u> </u>	
	132
1	
	133
<u> </u>	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
	134
	15.
	137
**	137
	142
General of Turkestan Krai, Kuropatkin, October 10, 1910	142
RT II: SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA	145
Revolutions and War Communism in Central Asia	147
Introduction	147
Document 7.1: Program of Alash Party	150
Document 7.2: Resolution of the Emergency Kazakh-Kirghiz	
Congress, December 1917	151
	152
March 1918	154
of the Party Active of Semireche Oblast on the	
	Revolutions and War Communism in Central Asia Introduction Document 7.1: Program of Alash Party Document 7.2: Resolution of the Emergency Kazakh-Kirghiz Congress, December 1917 Document 7.3: Appeal of the Council of People's Commissars: "To All Working Muslims of Russia and the East," November 20 (December 3), 1917 Document 7.4: Instruction of the Pishpek District Soviet of Deputies Concerning the Expropriation of Surpluses of Grain and Its Delivery to the Poorest Population, March 1918 Document 7.5: Excerpt from the Minutes of the Meeting

Contents ix

Confiscation of Horses of Capitalists in the Pishpek	
and Tokmak Districts, and on the Actions Aimed at	
the Extermination of Speculation and Marauding,	
July 29, 1918	155
Document 7.6: Excerpt from the Legislation on Land Reform	n
[Promulgated by] the Commissariat of Agriculture of	-
Turkestan Republic, December 18, 1918	157
Document 7.7: Appeal of the Pishpek City Committee of	137
the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks to the	
Volost and Rural Party Organizations and Committees	
of the Poor Concerning Carrying out Expropriations,	157
November 18, 1920	157
Document 7.8: Report of the Fergana Land Management	
Commission on the Implementation of the Decisions of	
the Executive Bureau of the Fergana Oblast Municipal	
Committee of the Communist Party of Turkestan on Jur	
19, 1922, on the Conduct of the Political and Economic	
Land Reform in Bazar-Kurgan Raion, Andijan Uezd.	
Prepared on August 9, 1922	160
Document 7.9: Excerpt from the Report of the Central	
Committee of Famine Relief on the Causes of Famine,	
April 30, 1922	161
r	
Basmachi Movement	165
Introduction	165
Document 8.1: Mullah Ibrahim Bek, Government Bulletin	100
(Original is in Tajik)	168
Document 8.2: To the Respected Military Commanders	100
Ibrahim Bii, Mullah Ziauddin and All Other Military	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	160
Commanders of Kabadiyan Vilaet	169
Document 8.3: Excerpt from the Report of the Revvoensovet	
(Revolutionary Military Council) and the Commander	
in Chief of the Armies of the RSFSR Concerning	
the Military-Political Situation in Turkestan, September	
17, 1919	170
Document 8.4: Address of Frunze to the Indigenous	
Population of Fergana Oblast with an Appeal to	
Struggle against the Basmachis, May 24, 1920	171
Document 8.5: Report of the Chairman of the	
Commission on the Extermination of <i>Basmachis</i>	
Sokol'nikov to the Central Committee of the Communis	st
Party, August 7, 1922	173
J, "O"" - ', '	0

8

x Contents

9	Soviet Policies toward Islam and Education	185
	Introduction	185
	Document 9.1: Report of the Extraordinary Commission of	
	the Central Executive Committee of People's Education	
	of Turkestan Republic, December 4, 1919	188
	Document 9.2: The Chief of the Municipal Department of	
	People's Education A. Muradov to the Chairman of the	
	Turkestan Commission, March 19, 1920	191
	Document 9.3: Inspector-Informer Pchel'nikov's Report on	
	Publications	192
	Document 9.4: Inspector-Informer Pchel'nikov's Report on	
	Muslim Clergy, July 24, 1928	192
10	Women's Question and Criminalization of Traditions	203
	Introduction	203
	Document 10.1: Data for the Report on the Legislation on	
	Domestic Crimes	205
	Document 10.2: Notes to the Report "On the Party's Work for	
	the Emancipation of Women of Central Asia" (May 1926)	211
	Document 10.3: Report of the Tashkent Okrug Commission	
	on the Improvement of Working and Living Conditions	
	of Working Women and Peasants (From March 15, 1925,	
	to December 1, 1927)	212
	Document 10.4: OGPU's Report on the Central Asians'	212
	Attitude to the Emancipation of Women	213
	Document 10.5: OGPU's Summary of Women's Campaign	216
	Document 10.6: On the Criminal Activity of the Groups	
	Hostile to the Emancipation of Women. To All Members	
	of the Central Asian Bureau of the Communist Party of	220
	the Soviet Union (Classified) Document 10.7: Head of the Department of Female Workers	220
	and Peasants of Central Asian Bureau of the Central	
	Committee of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks	
	Muratova's Report on the Resistance of Anti-Soviet	
	Classes to Women's Emancipation	222
	Document 10.8: Report on Domestic Legislation by Assistant	222
	Prosecutor Zhelannaia	223
		225
11	Soviet Nationalities Policies: Nativization, National	
	Delimitation, and Deportation	227
	Introduction	227
	Document 11.1: Resolution of the First Congress of the	
	Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks of Turkestan	

Contents xi

	Republic on the Party Work among the Local Proletariat, June 29, 1918	230
	Document 11.2: Decree of the Revolutionary Committee of	230
	the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, December 31, 1924,	
	Number 48	232
	Document 11.3: Radiogram of the Central Committee of	232
	the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks, Central	
	Executive Committee, to the Regional Committee	
	of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks of	
	Turkestan Republic Regarding the Necessity of Attracting	
	Workers of Local Nationalities to State Activities, July	
	10, 1919	233
	Document 11.4: On the National-State Delimitation (Theses	233
	for Presenters)	233
	Document 11.5: Translation of an Article Regarding the	233
	Delimitation of Central Asia into the National Republics	
	(Newspaper Ak-Zhol June 23, 1924, Number 450)	236
	Document 11.6: Petition to the Central Asian Bureau of the	230
	Russian Communist Party on Behalf of the Karakalpaks	
	of the Amu-Daria Oblast	237
	Document 11.7: Petition of the Authorized Representative	231
	of the Citizens of Chugur-Margent Rural Community	
	of Marghazhan Volost of Margazhan Uezd of the	
	Autonomous Republic of Uzbekistan Mullah Kamal	
	Tiuriakulov	239
	Document 11.8: Memorandum from the Delegates of the	237
	Kyrgyz Population of Bukhara on the Issues of National	
	Delimitation of Central Asia	241
	Document 11.9: Report of Construction-Technician M. M.	271
	Musakiev on Situation of the Special Settlers Exiled to	
	Kazakhstan from the Caucuses: Ingushes, Chechens,	
	and Balkars	243
	and Darkars	213
12	Soviet Economic Policies in Central Asia: Cotton Growing	
	and Collectivization	251
	Introduction	251
	Document 12.1: The Address of Turkestan Bureau of the	-01
	Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party	
	of Bolsheviks to All Working Peasants of Turkestan	
	Republic to Sow All Fields with Cotton, May 1921	254
	Document 12.2: Politico-Economic Conditions of Turkmen	
	Soviet Socialist Republic (Top Secret)	255
	r	

xii Contents

	Document 12.3: Report of the Kazakhstan People's Commissariat Concerning Class Struggle in an <i>Aul</i> in	
	Connection with the Forthcoming Confiscation of <i>Bai</i>	
	Property, August 14, 1928	257
	Document 12.4: Data of the Kazakhstan Republican Collective	
	Farm Union on the Course of Collectivization in the	
	Republic, March 18, 1930	259
	Document 12.5: Memorandum of the Children Committee	
	to the Presidium of Children Committee at the Central	
	Executive Committee on the Situation with the Children	
	of Outmigrating Kazakhs Who Moved to the <i>Raions</i> of	
	the Middle Volga from Kazakhstan, April 4, 1932	260
	Document 12.6: Letter of the Chairman of the Council of	
	People's Commissars of Kaz SSR Uraz Isaev to Stalin,	262
	August 1932 Document 12.7: Overall Assessment of the Situation and the	202
	Reasons for Anti-Soviet Actions of the Pastoralists	264
	Document 12.8: Report to the Director of Kokand Plant	204
	Management, Member of the VKP(b) Comrade	
	Grobovoi (Top Secret)	266
	Document 12.9: Brief Summary of the Situation and the	
	Moods of Peasant Masses in the Fergana Okrug	268
13	Central Asia under "Developed Socialism"	273
	Introduction	273
	Document 13.1: The Merger of Nationalities	276
	Document 13.2: Uzbek Culture in the 1980s	279
	Document 13.3: Corruption in the Uzbek SSR	285
14	Perestroika and the Rise of Central Asian Nationalism	297
	Introduction	297
	Document 14.1: Events of December 1986 in Alma-Ata.	
	Report on Group Infringements of Public Order in	
	Alma-Ata and Some Towns and Villages of Kazakhstan	300
	Document 14.2: "For our and your Freedom." The Special	
	Issue of the Newspaper "Birlik," the National Movement	• • •
	of Uzbekistan, 1990	310
	Document 14.3: The Charter of the Islamic Council	314
	of Consent (1991) Document 14.4: Popular Front "Mustakil" ("Independent").	314
	An Address to the Uzbek Population (Tashkent,	
	December 1989)	315

Contents	xiii
15 Post-Soviet Central Asia	317
Introduction	317
Document 15.1: Tahir Qahhar, "Day of Freedom"	320
Document 15.2: Human Rights Watch. Uzbekistan:	
Country Summary, 2009	322
Document 15.3: The Presidents for a Life of Independent	
and Neutral Turkmenistan	326
Glossary	341
Bibliography	345
Index	351
About the Author	361

The primary purpose of this source book is to assist college and university professors in acquainting students with the basic political, social, and economic evolution of Central Asian civilization in its colonial (1731–1991) and postcolonial (1991–present) periods, as well as gaining a mature understanding and appreciation of the uniqueness and dignity of Central Asian history. Among other aspects of Central Asian history, the documents included in this reader shed light on such topics as the issue of resistance and accommodation of native societies to the policies of the imperial center, the transformation of Central Asian societies under Tsarist and Soviet rule, and the history of Islam in Central Asia and its role in nation- and state-building processes. This primary source book is instrumental for familiarizing students with the nationality policies of imperial Russian, Soviet, and post-Soviet governments, and the effects produced by these policies on the natives of the region.

The documents collected in this reader challenge the traditional approach, which has viewed Central Asians as passive recipients of the policies imposed on them by central authorities. The documents demonstrate the active participation of the indigenous peoples in contact with other peoples by examining the natives' ways of organizing societies, their precolonial experience of contact with outsiders, and the structure of their subsistence systems. This source book also helps students to place the major events and activities of Central Asia within a global context. In addition to the importance of the documents for the study of Central Asian history, many of them foster comparative analysis and a cross-disciplinary approach to enlighten crucial historical and contemporary problems pertinent to many parts of the world.

For many decades, Central Asia was both the frontier of the Russian Empire and its only colony. The comparison of Russian imperial policies in Central Asia with those of European powers in the Americas, Asia, and

Africa elucidates the nature of modem imperialism. For example, the primary documents enable students to conduct a comparative analysis of the factors that determined the character of interactions between colonizers and indigenous people in Central Asia and North America. This reader also demonstrates the factors responsible for the dual function of the frontier as the contact zone, or the barrier separating colonizers and indigenous peoples. Additionally, it explains the study of cross-cultural encounters, not only as a history of resistance and confrontation in some regions but also as one of collaboration which led to the deliberate construction of alliances between the natives and newcomers.

The Central Asian source book also assists students in the study of the rise of ethnonationalism and religious fundamentalism in postcolonial settings. This phenomenon is quite typical in contemporary postcolonial societies, and Central Asia is by no means the only region in the world which experiences these developments. Religious fundamentalism and ethnonationalism are among the most significant factors which threaten the world's stability and security at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Central Asia provides a very good case for the study of the religious and ethnic radicalization of societies.

In short, this source book is not only useful for the study of Central Asian history in its colonial and postcolonial periods but also provides a primary source foundation for research aimed at comparative studies of frontier, imperialism, interethnic and interreligious relations, nationalism, and the rise of religious fundamentalism in different settings.

The documents included in this reader center on the history of the region that extends westward from the border of China to the Caspian Sea and the lower Volga, and southward from Siberia to Iran and Afghanistan. Central Asia covers an enormous territory of more than 1,500,000 square miles, which is about half the size of the United States and more than seven times the size of France, with a population of over 70 million.

Today Central Asia comprises Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan. Its rich resources of oil and natural gas and its important strategic position have made the region the new battleground for influence between China, the United States, and the Russian Federation. Yet, despite its strategic and economic significance, the region remains largely a mystery to outsiders.

The documents included in the reader focus on the colonial period of Central Asian history, which lasted for 260 years from 1731 to 1991. The reader also includes one chapter on the precolonial history of Central Asia to accentuate the effects produced by imperial rule on the peoples of the region, and one chapter on postcolonial Central Asia to establish connections between the past and the present.

A colonial page in the history of the Central Asia was opened in 1731 when Abu'l Khayr, the Khan of the Kazakh Younger Horde, petitioned to become the subject of Russian Empress Anna Ioannovna. In the following 140 years, the Russian Empire slowly, but steadily, incorporated the territories of Central Asia, turning them into its colony. By 1870, the entire territory of Central Asia was included into the Russian Empire and, over the course of the following 120 years, the natives of Central Asia were considered subjects of the Russian Empire and its successor, the Soviet Union.

According to renowned writer, commentator, and journalist Dilip Hiro, of the many non-Slav regions of the Tsarist Empire, Central Asia experienced the most turbulent experiences after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.1 These radical changes included the following: the delineation of Central Asia along the ethnic lines, which resulted in the emergence of five republics on its territory; the conversion of several spoken vernaculars into written languages; a drastic transformation of property rights and economic organization of the Central Asian natives; a severe attack on Islam which led to almost complete abrogation of places of worship; development of the system of education unprecedented in the history of Central Asia; a change of the position of women in society; and criminalization of those Central Asian traditions which defined and reflected their place in earlier times. The ultimate purpose of these reforms was the creation of a new society. According to the policy-makers in Moscow, this society had to be thoroughly different from the traditional Central Asian one. The documents collected in the reader demonstrate the strategies used by the Soviet government to introduce these changes, the reaction of the native population to the Soviet policies, and the results of these reforms. Though the aims and the policies of the Soviet government were considerably different from those of the tsars, one may see a very important similarity between them: The plans of imperial policy-makers were noticeably corrected by Central Asian realities.

Then, in 1991, the collapse of the Soviet Union heralded the independence of Central Asia. The colonial past, however, has left an indelible impression on all aspects of Central Asian life, and continues to define the social and political structures in all newly independent Central Asian countries: The very division of Central Asia into five republics is a Soviet creation, the vast majority of members of native elites made their careers in the Soviet administrative and party apparatus, and the present economies of these countries were formed for the most part during the colonial period of its history. This is why I consider the colonial period of Central Asian history as the most significant one for the understanding of present-day political, social, and economic situations in Central Asian countries.

This book is aimed at undergraduate and graduate students, and scholars specializing in Central Asian and Russian/Soviet history. I originally

prepared the reader for my class on the history of modern Central Asia, which I am currently teaching. The documents collected in this source book will allow students to write research papers on any one of the following topics.

- 1. Compare and contrast Tsarist and Soviet imperial policies toward the peoples of Central Asia. What were the interests of imperial officials in these areas during different time periods, and how did these interests define colonial policies? Your answer should include the political, social, legal, cultural, and religious policies of the imperial center toward the aboriginal societies of Central Asia.
- 2. Discuss the transformation of the social, political, economic, and gender structures of Central Asian societies under Russian and Soviet rule. Consider both nomadic and sedentary Central Asian peoples. Were these transformations planned by the imperial center? How would you evaluate these transformations?
- 3. Discuss the issue of resistance and accommodation of native societies to the policies of the imperial center. Trace the development of the attitudes of different groups of the native population to Tsarist and Soviet rule. What factors permitted the Russian state to establish and maintain its control over Central Asia? What were the most important challenges to Russian rule in the time period studied in this class?
- 4. Compare and contrast the causes, developments, and consequences of revolts against central authorities and their representatives, which took place in Central Asia during Tsarist and Soviet periods. What were the rebels' motives in both instances? How did the central authorities react to these rebellions? What do the grievances of the insurgents tell us about the imperial policies of the Tsarist and Soviet regimes?
- 5. Discuss the emergence of Central Asian nationalism and its relation to the Islamic identity. How did nationalistic ideology manifest itself? What were the aims of Central Asian nationalists of the different time periods studied in this class? What were their strategies to gain popular support?

Scholars and students in other fields, such as nationalism, imperialism, colonialism and postcolonialism, Islam, interethnic and interreligious relations, and frontier studies also would be interested in this book.

Andre Gunder Frank justly compares Central Asia to a "black hole in the middle of the world," and argues that Central Asia is both the most important and the most neglected part of the world and its history.² There are no published English-language primary source readers on the history of modern Central Asia yet, which makes the work of professors teaching the history of Central Asia at both undergraduate and graduate levels very problematic.

This reader includes primary documents which have never been published in English-language sources.

In terms of chronology, this reader is a logical continuation of *Islamic Central Asia: An Anthology of Historical Sources*, edited by Scott C. Levi and Ron Sela published by Indiana University Press in November 2009. Their anthology, rightly advertised as "the first English-language anthology of primary documents for the study of Central Asian history," covers the period from the Arab conquests of the seventh century to the Russian conquest. My source book differs from Levi and Sela's anthology in two major aspects: First, it concentrates on a later period of Central Asian history and, second, it is primarily concerned with the interplay between imperial policies and the natives' reaction to them. More than anything else, it is a study of colonialism, anti-colonialism, and postcolonialism within a Central Asian setting. Another difference is Levi and Sela's concentration on the southern part of Central Asia. I believe that Kazakhstan, being the largest and most economically productive Central Asian country, also deserves careful study.

NOTES

- 1. Dilip Hiro, *Inside Central Asia: A Political and Cultural History of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkey, and Iran* (New York: Overlook Duckworth, 2009), 391.
- 2. Andre Gunder Frank, *The Centrality of Central Asia* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1992), 45.