

Notes

Introduction

- 1 The use of “Kyrgyz” and “Kazak” is not unproblematic. The population group that today is referred to as “Kazaks” was in Russian terminology earlier referred to as “Kirgiz”. As a result, the forerunner of today’s Kazakhstan was the Kirgiz ASSR, established in 1920. At the same time, what has after 1925 been referred to as “Kyrgyz” was then labeled “Kara-Kirgiz”. This terminology was changed in 1925 when what had until then been called “Kirgiz” became “Kazak” while “Kara-Kirgiz” was replaced with “Kyrgyz”. In line with this change, the Kirgiz ASSR became the Kazak ASSR in 1925, while the Kara-Kirgiz AO became the Kyrgyz AO. When I refer to these two categories in my text, I use “Kazak” and “Kyrgyz” as they were used in official Soviet-Russian terminology from 1925 on. I do this even when referring to pre-1925 discourse. In quotations, however, I stick to the original. In order to make clear to which category the text refers, I give the post-1925 designation in brackets when needed. Thus, in quotations including pre-1925 terminology “Kirgiz” will be followed by “(Kazak)”. Similarly, the term “Kara-Kirgiz” will be followed by “(Kyrgyz)”. I emphasize that these terms refer to conceptual categories and not to real entities.
- 2 The Tajik ASSR was originally established as Autonomous *Oblast* (AO) within the Uzbek SSR, but was remade into a separate SSR in 1929. The Kyrgyz SSR was first set up as the Kara-Kirgiz AO as a part of the RSFSR in 1924. In 1925 it was renamed the Kyrgyz AO, and in 1926 its status was changed into an ASSR. In 1936 it became the Kyrgyz SSR. The Karakalpak AO was originally set up as part of the Kazak republic. In 1936 its status was changed from AO to ASSR, and it was transferred to become a part of the Uzbek SSR.
- 3 Suny 1992: 28.
- 4 Hirsch 2000: 202.
- 5 Even though Soviet accounts all stress the local dimension in the process, they concur that the national delimitation essentially was the creation of the party. See for example Turgunbekov 1969.
- 6 Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Records of Modern History (RTsKhIDNI) fond 62.
- 7 The State Archives of the Russian Federation (GARF) in Moscow.
- 8 Brower and Lazzarini 1997: xviii.
- 9 Anderson 1983, Gellner 1983, Smith 1991.
- 10 According to Alexander Motyl nationalism as a belief system is a political ideal that views statehood as the optimal form of political organization for each nation (Motyl 1990: 53). The problem with this view is that it takes “nation” or the national community for granted. In my opinion, however, nationalism as a belief system signifies the importance of ethnic criteria in

the conceptualization of group boundaries, but it does not necessarily imply that this group aspires towards statehood. In that sense one might say that nationalism as a belief system developed in Central Asia prior to and after the Russian revolution.

- 11 Smith 1991: 68ff.

Chapter 1

- 1 Letter from Marx to Kugelmann cited from *From Marx and Engels Correspondence* 1968. International Publishers. At <marxists.org/archive/marx/letters/kug/69_11_29b.htm>
- 2 Motyl 1990: 74ff.
- 3 Smith 1999: 21.
- 4 Pipes 1997: 23. For a detailed account of the different positions in the national question see Connor 1984.
- 5 Slezkine 1994: 416.
- 6 Siegelbaum 1992: 119.
- 7 Pipes 1997: 41ff.
- 8 Pipes 1997: 45.
- 9 Martin 1996.
- 10 Pipes 1997: 296.
- 11 In essence, this interpretive framework holds a prominent position in the works of Conquest (for example 1970), Connor 1984, Carrère d'Encausse 1992, Simon 1991, and Blank 1994.
- 12 Connor 1992: 21–4.
- 13 Carr 1950: 378.
- 14 Carr 1950: chapter 12.
- 15 Kommissrud 1996: 27.
- 16 Slezkine 1994: 414ff.
- 17 Refers to Stalin's famous slogan that the culture of the different Soviet peoples ought to be national in form and socialist in content.
- 18 Martin 1996.
- 19 Hirsch 2000.
- 20 Hirsch 2000: 203.
- 21 Smith 1999: 239–40.
- 22 Smith 1999: 240.
- 23 See for instance Gordienko 1959: 154, Tursunov 1971: 314, Khojaev 1932: 149, Turgunbekov 1969 and Vakhobov 1961: 386.
- 24 Khodzhaev 1932: 149.
- 25 Tursunov 1971: 314ff.
- 26 Vakhobov 1961 and Turgunbekov 1969 are examples of this orientation.
- 27 Vakhobov 1961: 387–8.
- 28 Vakhobov 1961: 388.
- 29 See for instance Nemchenko 1925 and Vareikis and Zelenskii 1924: 44. This is not entirely unlike an argument that will be made in Chapter 4. However, rather than increased tension between well established groups, what changed were perceptions of groupness, which quite probably concerned only very limited parts of the population. Secondly, these changes were

hardly the result of a divide and rule strategy, but rather of a combination of social, economical, cultural and political changes in Central Asian society.

- 30 Vareikis and Zelenskii 1924: 45–6.
- 31 Gordienko 1959: 159.
- 32 Gordienko 1959: 147.
- 33 Nemchenko 1925: 14ff.
- 34 Vareikis and Zelenskii 1924: 59.
- 35 Nemchenko 1925: 14.
- 36 Vaidyanath 1967: 105.
- 37 Wheeler 1964: 124.
- 38 See for example Hayit 1963.
- 39 Bennigsen and Lemerrier-Quellejay 1967: 134.
- 40 Khalid 1998: 184.
- 41 Blank 1994: 140.
- 42 Blank 1994: 128.
- 43 Mustafa Chokaev quoted in Sabol 1995: 237.
- 44 Allworth 1990: 202 and 208.
- 45 Allworth 1990: 179.
- 46 Allworth 1990: 198.
- 47 Allworth 1990: 208.
- 48 Carrère d'Encausse in Allworth 1989: 256.
- 49 Roy 2000: 73.
- 50 Roy 2000: 68.
- 51 Bennigsen and Lemerrier-Quellejay 1961: 27.
- 52 There is a clear parallel between this tendency and the emergence of new positions in studies of the Russian Revolution in the final decades of the Cold War period. While the traditional interpretations had seen the October Revolution largely as a result of the manipulation of ignorant masses by the central leadership of the Bolshevik party, less, or at least differently politically-charged research began to focus on the popular masses as conscious and rational actors in the revolutionary period. Far from being tools in the hands of a revolutionary minded intelligentsia: "the masses acted upon the political leaders as much as they were acted upon by them" (Acton 1990: 46).
- 53 Fragner 1989: 31.
- 54 Fragner 1989, in particular 29–31.
- 55 Khalid 1998.
- 56 Khalid 1998: 185.
- 57 Khalid 1998: 185.
- 58 Khalid 1998: 214.
- 59 Carlisle 1994: 104.
- 60 Carlisle 1994: 104.
- 61 Carlisle 1994: 104.
- 62 Allworth 1990: 201.
- 63 Sabol 1995: 235.
- 64 Siegelbaum 1992 and Tucker 1977: 79.
- 65 Pipes 1995: 390–1.
- 66 Pipes 1995: 374.

- 67 I will not go into details about the NEP economy. The essence of it, however, was liberalization and limited privatization as compared to the previous period. On the NEP economy see for example Carr 1952: chapter 19.
- 68 Typical representatives of this interpretation are Tucker 1977, Cohen 1971 and Lewin 1985.
- 69 Cohen 1980: 276.
- 70 Pipes 1995: 347.
- 71 Werth 1999.
- 72 Pipes 1995: 409.
- 73 Cohen 1980: 271–2.
- 74 Cohen 1980: 272.
- 75 Siegelbaum 1992: 115–16.
- 76 Tucker 1977: 81.
- 77 Siegelbaum 1992: 116.
- 78 On “nepmen” see Ball 1987.
- 79 Carrère d’Encausse 1992: 171.
- 80 See for example Bennigsen and Broxup 1983.

Chapter 2

- 1 Even though there was a clear link between the wish to control and the desire for knowledge, there was also an element of enlightenment and a civilizing mission involved as well. In an article arguing for the necessity of gathering material on Turkestan, knowledge is linked to “a cultural and peaceful development of the region, and its integration into the group of civilized countries” (Iomudskii 1910: 139).
- 2 Khalid 1998: 199 ff.
- 3 Samoilovich 1910: 267.
- 4 Samoilovich 1910: 267.
- 5 Bartol’d 1964: 313.
- 6 Schoeberlein-Engel 1994: 166 ff.
- 7 Schoeberlein-Engel 1996: 13.
- 8 Khoroshin 1874: 314.
- 9 Khoroshin 1874: 317–19.
- 10 Cited in Bartol’d 1964: 528.
- 11 Samoilovich 1910: 267.
- 12 Such as N. A. Aristov, cited in Khalid 1998: 200.
- 13 Schoeberlein-Engel 1996: 13.
- 14 Schoeberlein-Engel 1994: 20.
- 15 Bartol’d 1964: 528.
- 16 Samoilovich 1910: 269. “Ethnic” is here to be understood as referring to origin and linguistic practice as opposed to socioeconomic aspects or aspects concerning social organization.
- 17 Samoilovich 1910: 269.
- 18 Fragner 1989: 22.
- 19 Fragner 1989.
- 20 Bartol’d 1964: 528.
- 21 Mukhitdinov 1928.

- 22 See the discussion of “multiple identities” in Smith 1991: 3 ff.
- 23 Akiner 1995: 17 ff.
- 24 Demidov 1976: 14. Demidov concluded that the notion of *övlät* and their particular position in society was still a reality in Turkmenistan of the 1970s.
- 25 Demidov 1976: 19 ff. Examples of *övlät*-inspired names are ones beginning with Khoja-, such as Khojaberdi (“Khoja gave”) and Shikhberdi (“Shikh gave”).
- 26 Demidov 1976: 175.
- 27 Iazlyev 1992: 198.
- 28 Cited in Iazlyev 1992: 198.
- 29 John Schoeberlein has pointed out that this was acknowledged already by the orientalist of the Tsarist period (Schoeberlein-Engel 1994: 160).
- 30 Samoilovich 1910: 268.
- 31 This research strategy fits in very nicely with the political ambitions of the Soviet regime to weaken Islam’s legitimacy. This project typically led to titles such as *Pre-Islamic Beliefs and their Survivals among the Kyrgyz* (Baialiva 1972).
- 32 Khalid 1998: 192.
- 33 This is based on analysis of various documents in the files of the Central Asian Bureau in the years 1922–24.
- 34 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 3, d. 9, l. 53.
- 35 Schoeberlein-Engel 1994: 227.
- 36 Nissman 1997: 642.
- 37 Lemerrier-Quelquejay 1985: 22.
- 38 Allworth 1990: 236.
- 39 Khalid 1998: 188.
- 40 See for instance *Istoriia Turkmenskoi SSR* 1957, Wheeler 1964: 13, Bennigsen and Wimbush 1985a: 101.
- 41 Dzhikiev 1991: 332.
- 42 See for instance *Obychnoe pravo Turkmen (adat)* written by Lomakin in 1897 (published 1993).
- 43 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 102, ll. 62–6.
- 44 Saray 1989: 62 ff.
- 45 Saray 1989: 62 ff.
- 46 *Istoriia Turkmenskoi SSR* 1957 I, 2: 117 ff.
- 47 Saray 1989: 70.
- 48 The tribe of Teke is subdivided into two groups, the Akhal-Teke and the Mary-Teke. Historically, these two groups had separate leadership, but Nurberdy Khan is one of the rare examples of a khan common to the two groups (*Istoriia Turkmenskoi SSR* 1957: 46).
- 49 *Istoriia Turkmenskoi SSR* 1957: 72 ff., Saray 1989: 62.
- 50 *Istoriia Turkmenskoi SSR* 1957: 117 ff.
- 51 Carrère d’Encausse 1989c: 212.
- 52 Tarasov 1951.
- 53 Cited in Tarasov 1951: 114.
- 54 Smith 1991: 21.
- 55 Horowitz 1985: chapter 2.
- 56 Schoeberlein-Engel 1994: 22. Perhaps a parallel situation might be found in the Scandinavian countries. On the Norway–Sweden border, for instance, a

- dialect spoken on the Norwegian side may be at least as close to the one spoken on the Swedish side as to dialects from other parts of Norway. This does not mean that the people in question are not Norwegian- or Swedish-speakers respectively.
- 57 Menges 1989: 72.
 - 58 Whether the various Turkic language forms should be considered languages or dialects is a matter of some controversy, generally very politically laden. Those emphasizing the unity of Turkic-speaking peoples typically refer to dialects, while nationalists, seeking to highlight differences, are more likely to think of the various linguistic forms as languages.
 - 59 See Dzhikiev 1991, particularly chapter 2.
 - 60 *Istoriia Turkmenskoi SSR 1957 I*. An example of how dramatic and warlike events take on symbolic meaning, is the reassessments of the battle of Gök-Tepe among Turkmen scholars of the Glasnost period. Now, the battle was used to express aspirations of independence in relation to Russia (Annanevsov 1989). However, it is quite probably indicative of the status of national identity in contemporary Turkmenistan that, during fieldwork in the republic, I was told (by non-Teke Turkmen) that the event was being used by the Teke to strengthen their own position within the country, rather than as a nation-building device.
 - 61 See for example Kolstoe 1995.
 - 62 Dzhikiev 1991, *Istoriia Turkmenskoi SSR 1957 I*, 2: 7 ff.
 - 63 According to Smith, “nationalism . . . may be regarded as a form of culture as much as a species of political ideology and social movement” (Smith 1991: 71).

Chapter 3

- 1 Carrère d’Encausse 1988: 7.
- 2 Olufsen cited in Carrère d’Encausse 1988: xiii.
- 3 Becker 1968: 11.
- 4 See Chapter 2.
- 5 Kappeler 1992: 120.
- 6 Kappeler 1992: 117 ff. As opponents to this view have argued, there is no shortage of instances of aggression, violence, repression, discrimination and a complete absence of tolerance. According to Kappeler, however, these should be seen as examples of frequently occurring discrepancies between centrally formulated policies and local practices.
- 7 For a discussion of the role of the Emir in Russian society, see Becker 1968: 195 ff.
- 8 Kappeler 1992: 124.
- 9 Khalid 1998: 47.
- 10 *Istoriia Turkmenskoi SSR 1957*, Wheeler 1964, Carrère d’Encausse 1989a.
- 11 Carrère d’Encausse 1989a: 131 ff.
- 12 Khalid 1998: 45.
- 13 Kappeler 1992: 124.
- 14 For a detailed discussion of both the ideas behind the non-intervention strategy as well as its character, see Khalid 1998: chapter 2.

- 15 Carrère d'Encausse 1989a: 154.
- 16 Martin 1997: 257. While most scholars tend to focus on the stability and maintenance of traditional and local understandings and practices during the Tsarist period, Martin argues that this atmosphere of legal syncretism changed conceptions of meanings embedded in customary laws and practices.
- 17 Olcott 1995: 101 ff.
- 18 Olcott 1995: 115.
- 19 The administrative and territorial organization of Central Asia changed during the Tsarist period. The indicated form of the Governorate-General of Turkestan was established in 1898. See Carrère d'Encausse 1988: 153 ff.
- 20 Carrère d'Encausse 1989a: 157.
- 21 Khalid 1998.
- 22 In particular, this related to the question of the preservation of the Ottoman Empire.
- 23 For an account of various attitudes to reform within the Muslim world, see Yapp 1987: 115 ff.
- 24 Voll 1994: 85.
- 25 Khalid 1998: 92.
- 26 Khalid 1998: 89 ff.
- 27 *Millets* were the administrative units in the Ottoman Empire for the non-Muslim community, organized on the basis of religious affiliation rather than ethnic origin.
- 28 Yapp 1987: 110 ff.
- 29 Yapp 1987: 216.
- 30 See Chapter 2.
- 31 In the nineteenth century a new doctrine appeared in the Ottoman Empire, claiming that the Sultan was the rightful Caliph, having inherited the office from the last Abbasid Caliph. From 1860 this pan-Islamic claim was used to justify Ottoman interests in Turkestan, from then on under Russian control (Yapp 1987: 181 ff.).
- 32 Yapp 1987: 194.
- 33 Khalid 1998: 198.
- 34 Carrère d'Encausse 1989a: 189.
- 35 Allworth 1990: 128.
- 36 The extensive presence of Tatars in reformed schools led to new legislation in 1907 which required teachers in elementary schools for the natives of Central Asia to be either Russians or of the same group as the students (Khalid 1998: 182).
- 37 Allworth 1990: 131.
- 38 Khalid 1998: 90.
- 39 The tendency to disregard differences between the Tatar reformers and their Central Asian counterparts is in a sense typical of much of Western scholarship in this field, having frequently been based on a dichotomy between Russians and non-Russians, relating to the Tsarist period as well as to the Soviet era. Focusing on conflict situations between non-Russians and Russians, the level of unity between non-Russians has often been exaggerated. Bennigsen was a prominent exponent of this orientation (see for example Bennigsen and Wimbush 1979). As far as the interrelation between

- Tatars and Central Asians is concerned, Khalid (1998: 90 ff.) has documented that this was a complex one. Tatars generally saw themselves as leaders vis-à-vis the Central Asians, a position not necessarily congenial to the Central Asians themselves, who had their own ambitions. Moreover, Tatars often felt Central Asia to be strange to them. The following excerpt from a discussion in the Central Asian Bureau in 1924 underscores this feeling: "Tatars are disliked to the extreme in Khorezm. This is an unhealthy state of affairs. That being said, it must be admitted that the Tatars are everywhere trying to get into leading positions" (RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 20, l. 45).
- 40 Allworth 1990: 139.
- 41 Carrère d'Encausse 1988: 83 ff.
- 42 See Chapter 5.
- 43 Becker 1968: 11.
- 44 See for example Vakhobov 1961.
- 45 Khodzhaev 1926: 128.
- 46 The Bukharan Jadids, for instance, received invaluable material help from wealthy reform-minded merchants (Carrère d'Encausse 1988: 88).
- 47 Carrère d'Encausse 1989a: 206, Abduvakhitov 1994: 70.
- 48 Geoffrey Wheeler maintained that: "Since the peoples of Central Asia had not yet been affected by national consciousness and had not yet drunk the heady wine of genuine or synthetic nationalism, they were not offended by the phenomenon of alien rule" (Wheeler 1964: 96).
- 49 Carrère d'Encausse 1988: 120.
- 50 Menitskii 1926, Fedorov 1926, Kuz'min 1926.
- 51 Khalid 1998: 241.
- 52 Khalid 1998: chapter 5.
- 53 Khalid 1998: 136.
- 54 Cited in Khalid 1998: 136.
- 55 Khalid 1998: 150 ff.
- 56 See Chapter 2.
- 57 See Chapter 2.
- 58 Smith 1991: 8 ff.
- 59 Carrère d'Encausse 1988: 86.
- 60 Carrère d'Encausse 1988: 86–7.
- 61 Khalid 1998: 172 ff.
- 62 Khalid 1998, especially chapter 5.
- 63 Khalid 1998: 184 ff.
- 64 Carrère d'Encausse 1988: 112.
- 65 Bennigsen and Lemerrier-Quellejay 1964.
- 66 Yapp 1987: 181 ff.
- 67 The supportive attitude of the Jadids towards Russian war efforts in World War I is clearly demonstrated by Khalid, who points to Jadid poetry of the time unequivocally supporting Russia in the war (Khalid 1998: 241).
- 68 See Chapter 2.
- 69 Abdullah Awlani in 1914, cited in Khalid 1998: 209.
- 70 For the various treaties between Russia and Khiva/Bukhara, see Becker 1968: chapters 2–4.
- 71 Khalid 1998: 214.
- 72 Allworth 1990: 123.

- 73 Allworth 1990: 123.
- 74 This is based on the presentation of Jadid historiography given in Allworth 1990: 122–30.
- 75 Kangas 1992: 115.
- 76 Khalid 1998: 291.
- 77 Carrère d'Encausse 1988: 147.
- 78 Allworth 1990: 176–7.
- 79 See Khalid 1998, particularly chapter 8 and the epilogue. The perspective of competition between groups in society is an interesting one, and it deviates from the mentioned tendency to interpret native Central Asians only through their relations to Russians. In the view of many Western scholars, Central Asians represented an almost natural unity in opposition to Russia and the Russians, and failure to unite against Russia has been attributed to “misunderstandings”, as in the following interpretation by Allworth, where he writes about the local anti-reform forces: “They failed to understand that the Reformists offered the best chance Central Asia might have to retain and improve its Muslim civilization and heterogeneous polities” (Allworth 1990: 120). This is similar to the notion frequently met in Soviet historiography of people who failed to see their “real” (class) interests.
- 80 An example of the growing importance of Turkness in the consciousness of the Jadids and in their thoughts about community was their rejection of the “Sart” category, used for those groups which did not correspond to the criteria of the nation (Khalid 1998: 203 ff.).
- 81 Khalid 1998: 214.
- 82 Khalid 1998: 208.
- 83 Allworth 1990: 179.
- 84 This use of “Uzbek” is documented in Khalid 1998: 206–7.
- 85 According to Khalid, “Russian officialdom mistook the striving for inclusion for separatism” (Khalid 1998: 244).
- 86 Allworth 1990: 161.
- 87 Election results presented in Khalid 1998: 261.
- 88 Cited in Carrère d'Encausse 1988: 136.
- 89 Carrère d'Encausse 1989a: 225.
- 90 Tursunov 1971: 173.
- 91 Tursunov 1971: 152.
- 92 Khalid 1998: 289.
- 93 Roger Kangas (Kangas 1992: 115 ff.) underscores that the Jadid reform movement was quite heterogeneous as regards political preferences. The more radical orientations among the Jadids had considerable common ground with the Bolsheviks.
- 94 Carlisle 1994: 106.
- 95 Becker 1968: 264.
- 96 Becker 1968: 301, Carrère d'Encausse 1988: 167, 174.
- 97 Olcott 1995: chapter 5.
- 98 Suny 1993: chapter 1.
- 99 Olcott 1995: 115.
- 100 Olcott 1995: 139.
- 101 Brubaker 1996.
- 102 Olcott 1995: 139.

- 103 Bennigsen and Lemerrier-Quelquejay 1961: 27.
- 104 Edgar 1999: chapter 1.
- 105 Edgar 1999: chapter 1.

Chapter 4

- 1 Khalid 1998: 185.
- 2 *Istoriia Bukharskoi i Khorezmskoi narodnykh sovetskikh respublik* 1971: 212.
- 3 *Istoriia Bukharskoi i Khorezmskoi narodnykh sovetskikh respublik* 1971: 212.
- 4 Becker 1968: 306.
- 5 Becker 1968: 307.
- 6 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 20, l. 44.
- 7 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, ll. 35–6. Karklin to CC RCP (Rudzutak, Stalin).
- 8 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, ll. 110–16. Karklin to Stalin 10/4–24.
- 9 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, ll. 110–16. Karklin to Stalin.
- 10 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, ll. 10–11.
- 11 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, ll. 4–7. Karklin to CC RCP 27/1–24.
- 12 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 88, l. 18. Secretary of CC BCP to Karklin, Stalin and Rudzutak.
- 13 Becker 1968: 307.
- 14 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 88, l. 18. Secretary of CC BCP to Karklin, Stalin and Rudzutak.
- 15 See for example Zevelev et al. 1981: 94ff.
- 16 Fitzpatrick 1999: 12.
- 17 A prominent example is Hayit 1963.
- 18 Allworth 1990: 174 ff.
- 19 Hayit 1963: 27.
- 20 Hayit 1963: 31ff.; Allworth 1991: 175 ff.
- 21 Khalid 1998: 286.
- 22 Khalid 1998: 286.
- 23 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, ll. 138–41.
- 24 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 27, l. 111.
- 25 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, ll. 10–11.
- 26 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 3, d. 22, ll. 4.
- 27 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 3, d. 22, ll. 4.
- 28 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 27, l. 111.
- 29 Carrère d'Encausse 1989c: 250ff.
- 30 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 27, l. 111.
- 31 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 122, ll. 13–18.
- 32 See above.
- 33 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 122, l. 16.
- 34 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 123, ll. 9–10.
- 35 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 123, ll. 9–10.
- 36 Getty 1998.
- 37 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, l. 140.
- 38 Allworth 1990: 175.
- 39 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 123, l. 12.

- 40 See above.
- 41 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 122, ll. 145–7.
- 42 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 122, ll. 145–7.
- 43 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 123, l. 8.
- 44 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 122, ll. 145–7.
- 45 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 122, ll. 145–7.
- 46 Cited in Vaidyanath 1967: 151.
- 47 Lallukka 1990: 36.
- 48 See note 1 in the Introduction.
- 49 Becker 1968: 229. This account of Turkmen–Uzbek relations in Khiva is primarily based on Becker 1968: 229–36.
- 50 Becker 1968: 233.
- 51 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 20, ll. 44–50.
- 52 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, ll. 110–16. Karklin to Stalin 10/4–24.
- 53 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 20, ll. 44–50.
- 54 For example Schoeberlein-Engel 1994.
- 55 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 20, l. 177.
- 56 The Turkmen Branch of the Bukharan CEC, established in 1922.
- 57 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 32, ll. 8–9.
- 58 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 32, l. 9.
- 59 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 32, ll. 8–9.
- 60 GARF fond 6987, op. 1, d. 1, ll. 2–4.
- 61 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 88, ll. 25–8.
- 62 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, l. 151–4.
- 63 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 20, l. 45.
- 64 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, ll. 110–16.
- 65 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 88, ll. 25–8.
- 66 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 123, l. 26.
- 67 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 20, l. 46.
- 68 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 23, ll. 24–7.
- 69 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 20, ll. 46–7.
- 70 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 20, l. 47.
- 71 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, ll. 110–16.
- 72 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 20, ll. 179–80.
- 73 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 89, ll. 18–19.
- 74 Sabol 1995: 234.
- 75 *Turkistan Newsletter*, Tuesday, June 20, 2000, Volume 4: 123.
- 76 It should be stressed that the material that I have made use of here was presented by the commission for strictly “internal purposes”, and was not meant for publication or distribution. It is therefore reasonable to believe that the commission represented the matter as they saw it, and not as it could have been presented if the aim had been to give legitimacy to the project.
- 77 GARF fond 6892, op. 1, d. 36, ll. 1–16.
- 78 GARF fond 6892, op. 1, d. 36, ll. 19–20.
- 79 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 8, ll. 41–2.
- 80 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 88, ll. 12–13.
- 81 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 88, l. 119.
- 82 Said 1978.

- 83 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, l. 16.
- 84 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, l. 18.
- 85 Carlisle 1994.
- 86 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 17, l. 8.
- 87 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 17, ll. 8–9.
- 88 Edgar 1999: chapter 2.
- 89 Smith 1999: 239–40.
- 90 Slezkine 1994.

Chapter 5

- 1 Schoeberlein-Engel 1994: 23.
- 2 Brubaker 1996: 19.
- 3 Brubaker 1996: 16.
- 4 I will return to this question in Chapter 9.
- 5 Cited in Tursunov 1971: 150.
- 6 Safarov cited in Vaidyanath 1967: 90.
- 7 Vaidyanath 1967: 92.
- 8 See Chapter 7.
- 9 Vaidyanath 1967: 91.
- 10 Schoeberlein-Engel 1994: 150.
- 11 Vaidyanath 1967: 144.
- 12 Vaidyanath 1967: 145.
- 13 Khodorov 1925: 66.
- 14 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 51, ll. 53–4.
- 15 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 51, ll. 120–2.
- 16 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 3, d. 22, ll. 3ff.
- 17 The location of this address to the Central Asian Bureau is RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 8, ll. 59–68.
- 18 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 8, l. 62.
- 19 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 8, l. 69.
- 20 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 8, l. 69.
- 21 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 96.
- 22 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 3, d. 9, l. 22.
- 23 Gordienko 1959: 152–4.
- 24 Gordienko 1959: 153.
- 25 Gordienko 1959: 153.
- 26 Gordienko 1959: 153–4.
- 27 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, l. 5.
- 28 See Chapter 5.
- 29 GARF fond 6987, op. 1, d. 1, l. 4.
- 30 Both Aitakov and Atabaev had early been integrated into the Russian orbit, and they had both worked as translators before the October Revolution. A striking similarity in their background is that they were both orphaned in early childhood, which might well be more than a coincidence. In the early 1920s they both had central positions in the communist apparatus, and after the delimitation they enjoyed prominent positions in the new Turkmen republic. As was the case with so many other Central Asian communists, neither of them survived 1937.

- 31 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, ll. 5–6.
- 32 That the introduction of the NEP had great significance for national relations was an opinion many Central Asians shared. I return to this issue at a later point.
- 33 *XII s'ezd RKP (b) 17–25 apr. 1923 g., Stenograficheskii otchet*, Moskva 1963: 488.
- 34 *XII s'ezd RKP (b) 17–25 apr. 1923 g., Stenograficheskii otchet*, Moskva 1963: 481.
- 35 *XII s'ezd RKP (b) 17–25 apr. 1923 g., Stenograficheskii otchet*, Moskva 1963: 488.
- 36 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, ll. 73–6.
- 37 Brubaker 1996: 5ff.
- 38 Anderson 1983.
- 39 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 133, l. 15.
- 40 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 20, l. 182.
- 41 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 3, d. 10, l. 9.
- 42 Fierman 1991: 50ff.
- 43 Turar Ryskulov, born 1894, was a Kazak politician and historian from a wealthy nomadic family. He had joined the national Kazak movement before World War I, and joined the Communist Party in 1917, having been jailed during the uprising in 1916. By 1920 he was one of the leading Muslim communists, and enjoyed a number of prominent positions until 1923–24. In 1923 Ryskulov was elected candidate member of the Central Committee of the RCP. From then on he gradually lost most of his influence in Central Asia, becoming Comintern representative in Mongolia in 1925. He was arrested in 1937 and executed the following year.
- 44 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 3, d. 9, l. 131ff.
- 45 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 3, d. 9, l. 54.
- 46 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 3, d. 9, l. 53.
- 47 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 3, d. 9, l. 53.
- 48 Slezkine 1994: 418.
- 49 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 51, l. 123.
- 50 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 9, ll. 59–68.
- 51 Central Asians were not alone in “playing the backward card”. Terry Martin has demonstrated that a number of different groups also did this in order to secure special financial help (Martin 1996: 182ff.).
- 52 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 96.
- 53 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 96.
- 54 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 41.
- 55 See for example RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 9, ll. 59–68.
- 56 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 25, l. 60.
- 57 Fayzullah Khojaev was born into a wealthy merchant family in Bukhara in 1896. He was educated in a Russian school in Moscow, and he joined the Jadid movement. He became one of the most prominent Young Bukharans and, when the Young Bukharans in 1920 decided to dissolve and join the Communist Party, he became a member of the Central Committee of the BCP. He was a member of the Central Asian Bureau, and after the delimitation he was chairman of the Uzbekistan Sovnarkom, a position he had until Stalin’s purges ended his life in 1938. Fayzullah Khojaev was sen-

- tenced in one of the “show trials” and executed together with, among others, Bukharin and Rykov.
- 58 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 25, l. 57.
- 59 S. Khojanov came to prominence in the party organization of Semirechie in Turkestan in 1920. He became the head a group referred to as “Khojanovtsy”, which included the former members of the Kazak-language organ of the Communist Party of Turkestan. Khojanov had never associated with the Alash Orda, and insisted on the preservation of the tribal structure among the Kazaks. This conflicted with the idea of the national delimitation, and Khojanov lost his position in the party shortly after the delimitation. Along with the rest of the so-called Kazak right-wing, associated with the “wrong” social elements, Khojanov was expelled from the party leadership in December 1925 (Olcott 1995: 212–13).
- 60 Vaidyanath 1967: 167.
- 61 Khojanov was not the only Kazak to oppose the national delimitation. On the contrary, the other Kazak communists of the Turkestan republic shared his position. Khojanov served as the mouthpiece for this group.
- 62 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 100, l. 21.
- 63 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 100, l. 21.
- 64 Vaidyanath 1967: 167ff.
- 65 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, ll. 172–3.
- 66 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 107.
- 67 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 107.
- 68 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 108.
- 69 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, ll. 172–3.
- 70 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, ll. 53–4.
- 71 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, ll. 76ff.
- 72 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, ll. 28ff.
- 73 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 90.
- 74 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, ll. 31–2.
- 75 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 22, ll. 219–22.
- 76 Allworth 1990: 196.

Chapter 6

- 1 The Territorial Committee was organized by the Central Asian Bureau when it had been decided that a political reorganization was to be accomplished. It consisted of representatives of the national groups involved, organized in separate subcommittees. In addition, the Committee included members of the central Soviet authorities.
- 2 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 46–55.
- 3 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 91–5.
- 4 A nation is a historically evolved, stable community based on a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture.
- 5 Hirsch 1997: 259.
- 6 As commented upon in the previous chapter, in discussions on the national delimitation there was no coherent application of the various concepts

- such as *narodnost*, *natsional'nost*, *narod*, or *natsiia*. The way in which the various terms were used did not correspond to ideas about the different stages in historical development.
- 7 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 43.
 - 8 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 115, ll. 3–15.
 - 9 The records of the Territorial Committee are located in RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104 (*Stenogrammy zasedanii territorial'noi komissii po razmezhevaniu Srednei Azii*).
 - 10 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 115, ll. 3 ff., RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 30–2.
 - 11 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 24.
 - 12 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 17, l. 112.
 - 13 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 17, ll. 112–13.
 - 14 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 107.
 - 15 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 73.
 - 16 Allworth 1990: 196.
 - 17 A thesis on the establishment of an Uzbek republic stated that: “Probably, the designation Kuramintsy is disappearing in same way as did Sart” (RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 115, l. 3).
 - 18 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 150–1.
 - 19 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. d. 104, ll. 75–6. The Uzbek side was not slow to respond to the claims of historical ties. In a discussion in the Territorial Committee, Segizbaev argued: “The Kirgiz [Kazaks] now underline their good relations with the kuramintsy. However, we did not identify much support on the part of Kirgiz Republic to the Kurama when they were attacked and plundered by the basmachi” (RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 169).
 - 20 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 103, l. 29 ff.
 - 21 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 30–2, 60–9.
 - 22 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 67 ff.
 - 23 These addresses are found in RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 109.
 - 24 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 109, l. 183.
 - 25 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 109, ll. 187–9.
 - 26 See for example Schoeberlein-Engel 1994: 166 ff.
 - 27 Schoeberlein-Engel 1994: 171.
 - 28 Khalid 1998: 214.
 - 29 Schoeberlein-Engel 1994: 171.
 - 30 Baldhauf 1991: 81.
 - 31 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 25, l. 59.
 - 32 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 128.
 - 33 Baldhauf 1991: 82, Schoeberlein-Engel 1994: 170–2.
 - 34 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 112 ff.
 - 35 Schoeberlein-Engel 1994: 149–52.
 - 36 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 109, l. 10.
 - 37 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 95, l. 249.
 - 38 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 112–14.
 - 39 Cf. Chapter 2, pp. 36 ff.
 - 40 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. d. 104, l. 68.
 - 41 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. d. 104, l. 79.

- 42 Masov 1991: 22.
- 43 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 76, l. 155.
- 44 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 103.
- 45 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 100, ll. 28 ff.
- 46 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 24, l. 165.
- 47 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 1.
- 48 The Politburo of the Central Committee, RCP decided on October 11, 1924, that the Tajik entity was to have the status of an Autonomous Republic and not *oblast* (RTsKhIDNI fond 17, op. 3, d. 468).
- 49 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 237.
- 50 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 227–39.
- 51 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 102, l. 14 (*K proektu o organizatsii Tadzhijskoi avtonomnoi oblasti*).
- 52 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. d, d. 88, l. 86.
- 53 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 233.
- 54 Carrère d’Encausse 1989c: 256.
- 55 Chinar Imamov was, beginning in 1924, First Secretary of the Temporary Autonomous Republic of Tajikistan and a member of the Central Asian Bureau. From December 1924, he was the Director of the Communist Party Organization of Tajikistan, and Tajikistan’s representative in Uzbekistan.
- 56 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 1744, ll. 6–8.
- 57 Vaidyanath 1967: 105.
- 58 Masov 1991: 10.
- 59 Masov 1991: 48.
- 60 Roy 2000: 69.
- 61 Masov 1991: 11.
- 62 Schoeberlein-Engel 1994: 167 ff.
- 63 See for example RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 9, ll. 59–68.
- 64 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 233–4.
- 65 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 235.
- 66 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 18–19.
- 67 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 1744, ll. 6, 106–18.
- 68 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 237–8.
- 69 Masov 1995: 89.
- 70 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 235.
- 71 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 236.
- 72 Fagner 1989.
- 73 GARF fond 3316, op. 12, d. 129, l. 31.
- 74 Masov 1991: 12–18.
- 75 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 1744, ll. 106–18.
- 76 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 89, ll. 18–37.
- 77 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 1744, ll. 115–18.
- 78 Many articles were translated by the Central Asian Bureau. Their archival location is RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 1744.
- 79 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 1744, l. 117.
- 80 See Chapter 3.
- 81 Fierman 1991: 104.
- 82 Schoeberlein-Engel 1994: 287, note 78.

- 83 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 1744, l. 29.
- 84 Kommisrud 1996: 187.
- 85 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 89, ll. 18–37.
- 86 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 1814.

Chapter 7

- 1 RTsKhIDNI fond 17, d. 112, l. 510.
- 2 Paksoy in *Turkistan Newsletter* Tuesday, June 20, 2000, Vol. 4: 123.
- 3 Bennigsen and Lemerrier-Quelquejay 1961: 27.
- 4 For an explication of the different positions, see Abramzon 1971: chapter 1.
- 5 See for example Vakhobov 1961: 40–9.
- 6 Chotonov 1998: 37.
- 7 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. d. 2, 104, l. 118.
- 8 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 102, ll. 40–1.
- 9 Bennigsen and Lemerrier-Quelquejay 1961: 27.
- 10 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, l. 82.
- 11 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 88, ll. 85–7.
- 12 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 20, l. 209.
- 13 In 1930, the Karakalpak AO was transferred from the Kazak republic to the RSFSR and renamed an ASSR. In 1932, it became a part of the Uzbek SSR, and in December 1991 it was declared an autonomous republic in sovereign Uzbekistan.
- 14 *Istoriia Karakalpakskoi ASSR v dvukh tomakh* 1974, II: 118.
- 15 Nurmukhamedov et al. 1971: 12–13.
- 16 Obviously, this phenomenon is not restricted to the historiography of the Karakalpak ASSR or to Soviet historiography on Central Asia in general. A similar teleological dimension is characteristic of national historiography in general, leading to an anachronistic attribution of categories developed at a later point in time. However, it seems as if, in the case of the Karakalpak ASSR, the teleological and anachronistic aspects were particularly strong.
- 17 Bennigsen and Lemerrier-Quelquejay 1961: 33.
- 18 Bennigsen and Lemerrier-Quelquejay 1961: 32–3.
- 19 See note 2 above.
- 20 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 3, d. 16, l. 241.
- 21 Becker 1968: 166.
- 22 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 3, d. 22, l. 65.
- 23 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 102, ll. 93–5. Address from the Karakalpak people of Amu-Darya to the Central Asian Bureau.
- 24 See Chapter 5.
- 25 GARF fond 1235, op. 26, d. 7, l. 135.
- 26 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 245.
- 27 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 88, l. 86.
- 28 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 88, l. 85.
- 29 Bennigsen and Lemerrier-Quelquejay 1961: 33.
- 30 Motyl 1990: chapter 3.

Chapter 8

- 1 Hirsch 2000: 211.
- 2 Hirsch 2000: 211.
- 3 For example Roy 2000: 66 ff.
- 4 Carlisle 1994: 104.
- 5 GARF fond 1235, op. 26, d. 7, ll. 127–8.
- 6 Carlisle 1994, Goble 1995.
- 7 Chuev and Resis 1993.
- 8 Goble 1995.
- 9 Goble 1995.
- 10 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 105.
- 11 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 21.
- 12 Hirsch 1997: 1 ff.
- 13 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 21–5.
- 14 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 22.
- 15 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 87.
- 16 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 23.
- 17 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 211.
- 18 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 93–5.
- 19 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 46–55.
- 20 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 122 ff.
- 21 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 128.
- 22 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 24.
- 23 It might be interesting to note that in the discourse on economy and market there are no signs that “market” is seen as being essentially alien to Soviet society or as something that would soon be abolished. There was no principal rejection of or opposition to market-based arguments.
- 24 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 52–3.
- 25 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 109, l. 75.
- 26 Here, one must take into account that while literacy was rare enough in the urban areas, it was almost entirely absent in the rural districts.
- 27 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 109, l. 58.
- 28 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 109, l. 58.
- 29 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 109, l. 57.
- 30 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 109, l. 18.
- 31 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 109, l. 15.
- 32 Olimov and Olimova 1998: 204.
- 33 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 103, ll. 14 ff.
- 34 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 188.
- 35 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 88, ll. 85–7.
- 36 Allworth 1990: 200.
- 37 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 90, l. 4.
- 38 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, l. 73.
- 39 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, l. 73.
- 40 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 76.
- 41 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, ll. 68–9.
- 42 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, l. 76.
- 43 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, ll. 73–6.

- 44 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 103, l. 29.
- 45 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 107, l. 55.
- 46 “Sart” is here used in the same way as “Uzbek” was generally used for the purposes of the delimitation. When “Sart” was preferred here, it was obviously an attempt to reduce the legitimacy of the Uzbek category altogether.
- 47 GARF fond 1235, op. 26, d. 28, l. 4.
- 48 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 165.
- 49 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 100, l. 77.
- 50 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 100, ll. 17–18.
- 51 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 100, l. 23.
- 52 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 101, ll. 75–85 and *passim*.
- 53 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 20, ll. 240–1.
- 54 RTsKhIDNI fond 17, op. 3, d. 443, l. 4.
- 55 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 3, d. 16, l. 248.
- 56 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 3, d. 16, l. 248.
- 57 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 3, d. 16, l. 248.
- 58 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 3, d. 16, l. 247.
- 59 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 112–14.
- 60 It is quite possible that it was the memory of the discussion of Tashkent that made Molotov say that the borders in Central Asia were Stalin’s work.
- 61 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, l. 77.
- 62 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 88, ll. 64–9.
- 63 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 146.
- 64 For more on the project of the Uzbek subcommittee see RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 46–55.
- 65 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 103, ll. 29–30.
- 66 See for example RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 68–9.
- 67 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 50.
- 68 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 46–55.
- 69 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 60–9.
- 70 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 49.
- 71 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 60–9.
- 72 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, for example ll. 177–80.
- 73 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 21, l. 194.
- 74 My discussion of these newspapers is based partly on translations of a selection of articles found in the archive of the Central Asian Bureau, and partly on discussions of the Central Asian press in the analyzed material.
- 75 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 102, ll. 45–6.
- 76 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 21, ll. 188–9.
- 77 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 194.
- 78 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 188–9.
- 79 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 190–2.
- 80 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 205. These *volosts* were split up into Kazak and Uzbek regions on the basis of the 1920 census. See RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 17, l. 111.
- 81 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 22, l. 100.
- 82 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 207.
- 83 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 22, l. 100.

- 84 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 22, l. 100.
- 85 This protest is located at RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 110, ll. 14–16.
- 86 See for example Choukourov and Choukourov 1994: 63 ff.
- 87 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, l. 184.
- 88 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 104, ll. 118–33.
- 89 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 87, l. 103. Letter from Karklin to Stalin.
- 90 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 17, ll. 4–10.
- 91 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 1, d. 21, ll. 198–9.
- 92 See Chapter 4.
- 93 Roy 2000: 69.

Chapter 9

- 1 See for example Masov 1991, Choukourov and Choukourov 1994, Chotounov 1998.
- 2 Bennigsen and Wimbush 1985a: 98.
- 3 See for example Bohr 1996: 348.
- 4 Mukhammetberdiev 1992: 116 ff.
- 5 On the Kazak case, see for example Schatz 2000, Esenova 1998. Concerning the Kyrgyz see Kostiukova 1994.
- 6 Schoeberlein-Engel 1994: 297.
- 7 Allworth 1990: 313.
- 8 Martin 1996: 176 ff.
- 9 This point has been elaborated by, for example, Edward Schatz 2000.
- 10 Schoeberlein-Engel 1994: 297.
- 11 Daniels 1993: 125 ff., 1998: 122.
- 12 Carrère d'Encausse 1993: chapters 3–6.
- 13 Suny 1992: 22 ff.
- 14 Suny 1993.
- 15 Suny 1992: 22.
- 16 Brubaker 1996: 25–6.
- 17 Hirsch 2000: 213.
- 18 Hirsch 2000: 217.
- 19 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 169, ll. 36 ff.
- 20 See Chapter 8.
- 21 RTsKhIDNI fond 62, op. 2, d. 169, l. 47.
- 22 Kangas 1992: 290.
- 23 Cornell 1999.
- 24 Kangas 1992: 255–6.
- 25 Recently, this interpretation of the “Great Retreat”, and indeed the notion of a Great Retreat altogether, has been problematized. Terry Martin has argued convincingly that policy changes in the 1930s were intimately linked to Russian resentment with the Soviet practice of Affirmative Action in the favor of non-Russians (Martin 1996).
- 26 See for example Simon 1991: 138 ff.
- 27 Cohen in Tucker 1977: 13 ff.
- 28 Suny 1992: 29–30.
- 29 Critchlow 1991: 20.

- 30 Exactly the same kind of questions engaged Norwegian historians in the nineteenth century, that Norwegians more than other Nordic peoples were entitled to the Old-Norse literary heritage.
- 31 Poliakov 1992: 125.
- 32 Tillett 1969.
- 33 A good example is Annanepesov 1989.
- 34 Lapidus and Zaslavsky 1992: 14.
- 35 Zaslavsky 1997: 78.
- 36 Kotz and Weir 1997: 144.
- 37 Carrère d'Encausse 1993: 147.
- 38 King 1994.
- 39 Kotz and Weir 1997: 144 ff.
- 40 Kotz and Weir 1997: 145 ff.
- 41 Daniels 1993: 122.
- 42 Kolstoe 2000: chapter 9.
- 43 Lewin 1995: 271.
- 44 Lewin 1995: 272.
- 45 Lewin 1995: 273.
- 46 For example, a fact such as the Gagauz declaration of autonomy within Moldavia must primarily be understood in light of the history of the national question in the Soviet Union, and the role of the concepts of national autonomy and self-determination in Soviet theory and practice.
- 47 Daniels 1993: 121.
- 48 Goldman, Lapidus and Zaslavsky in Lapidus and Zaslavsky 1992: 3.
- 49 Hildermeier 1998: 1082 ff.
- 50 Zaslavsky 1997: 82.
- 51 Alexandre Bennigsen was an early proponent of the view that pan-Turkic and pan-Turkestan sentiments might develop into a considerable political factor (Bennigsen and Wimbush 1979: 61 ff.).
- 52 Khalid 1998: 185.
- 53 Sayeed 2000.
- 54 Allcock 1992: 186–91.
- 55 Malik 1994: 12.
- 56 See for example Bremmer and Taras 1997.
- 57 Brubaker 1996.
- 58 These examples are taken from International Crisis Group 2001, *Uzbekistan at Ten: Repression and Instability*: 20.
- 59 Schatz 1997: 5.
- 60 Slezkine 1994: 441.
- 61 Getty and Naumov 1999.
- 62 Slezkine 1994: 439.
- 63 International Crisis Group 2001, *Uzbekistan at Ten: Repression and Instability*: 27 ff.
- 64 See Chapter 6.

Conclusion

- 1 Hirsch 2000.

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Index

- Abdovakhitov, A., 56
affirmative action in the Soviet Union, 214
Afghanistan, 162
Aitakov, N., 115, 122, 123, 150, 185, 203
Akçura, Y., 54
Akmola, 196
Ak-Zhol, 196
Alash Orda, 71, 72, 168
All-Russian Central Executive Committee, 2, 5, 19, 95, 122, 176, 182
Altinsarin, I., 70
Andijan, 141, 189
Aralbaev, 117, 119, 130, 148, 150, 151
Armenians, 145
assimilation, 17, 22, 229–30, 235
 forced assimilation of Tajiks, 154
 of Kurama to Uzbeks, 143
 Uzbek pull of, 108, 137, 207
Atabaev, G., 95, 122, 150, 187
Austria-Hungary, 1
Austro-Marxists, 11
autonomy, 22, 99, 217, 218, 219
 Bukhara and Khiva in Tsarist period, 69–70
 Central Asians' understanding of, 178, 197, 198
 cultural, 11–12
 demands for, 26, 73, 120, 122–3, 125, 176, 194
 during perestroika, 220–2
 fictitious, 152
 territorial, 71
Avoz-i-Tajik, 159–60
Azerbaijan, 124

backwardness, 16, 17, 20, 41, 47–8, 57, 58, 62, 117, 130, 131, 176, 196–7
Baltic republics, 221
Bartol'd, V. V., 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 217

Basmachi, 19, 79, 81–90, 157, 237
 and the Bukharan Emirate, 88
 in the Turkestan ASSR, 83
 in Western historiography, 82–3
 Soviet perceptions of, 82–4
 Soviet struggle against, 84–90
Bauer O., 11
Bazar-Kurgan, 192
Belorussia, 222
Bennigsen, A., 14, 21, 23, 61, 72, 168, 171, 177, 212
bilingualism, 33, 65, 64
Boiarshinov, 83
Broido, G., 93–4, 99, 127
Bukeikhanov, A., 71
Bukhara
 and Jadids, 25, 55, 68, 69–70
 Emirate abolished, 70
 in Tsarist period, 48, 49
Bukhara, People's Republic of, 2, 3
 and the Basmachi, 83–90
 autonomous entities in, 96–7, 114, 187
 ethnic relations, 34–5, 40, 42, 94–7, 115–17, 120–2, 125, 130–2, 136, 139, 148, 149
 fourth all-Bukharan conference September 1923, 116, 121
 purges in Communist Party, 77
 representatives of USSR in, 76
 Soviet power in, 77–80
 struggle for power in, 103–4, 153
 tribal relations in, 101
Bukhara, the city of
 inclusion into the Uzbek republic, 149–50, 152, 153, 154
 Tajiks claim, 156–7
Bukharan Central Executive Committee
 Kazak national branch, 114
 Turkmen national branch, 115–16, 130
Bukharin, N., 27

- censuses, 145, 183–4, 202
- Central Asian Bureau, 3–5, 76–80
relations to Central Committee (RCP), 76, 103, 182–4
- Central Asian Economic Council, 200
- Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, 3–5, 76, 170
and the question of Tashkent, 198–201
as decision maker, 76, 182–4, 198–201, 209
Politburo, 3, 198
relation to Central Asian Bureau, 3, 75–9, 83, 92–3, 102–5, 121–3, 153, 171–2, 182–3, 198–201
requests from Central Asians to the, 121, 148
- centralization, 14, 107–8, 186, 188, 219, 234–6
- Charjou, 42, 114–15, 121, 130, 185, 187
- chauvinism, 16, 96, 134
Stalin's accusation at 12th party congress, 124
- Chicherin, G., 89
- Chimkent, 141, 199, 203
- Chokaev, M., 22
- civil war in Tajikistan, 228, 231
- civil war, Russian, 68, 71, 73, 113, 237
- Cold War and scholarship 14, 24, 52
- colonial relations, 133–4
- Comintern, 176
- Commissariat of Nationality Affairs of Turkestan (*Turkonnats*), 111–14
national subdivisions, 112
- Communist Party of Bukhara, 79, 80, 94, 102, 103, 104, 132, 148
- Communist Party of Turkestan, 111, 127, 128, 134–5, 150, 152, 183, 198
- consensus
as dimension in Soviet policies, 26–7, 29, 181, 193, 194, 209
- decentralization, 107–8
- Demidov, S., 37
- Dosnazarov, A., 150, 175–7
- economy
and administrative reorganization, 100–2
and backwardness, 20, 117–18
and identity, 142, 144, 157, 170, 192
and national conflicts, 92–3, 133, 195
and *perestroika*, 220–4
and the Basmachi, 82–6, 90
and the integrity of Central Asia, 133, 135
economic viability, 197–8, 230–1
post-soviet Central Asia, 230–2
significance for Russian Empire in Central Asia, 48–51
significance in border-making, 181, 187–92, 195, 197–8, 202–3, 205
- education
and languages, 129, 168, 188
and nationality, 213, 218, 230
in the Uzbek republic, 159–60
role of education in Jadid project, 55–6, 61
role of education in soviet project, 69, 100, 127
- ethnic relations
ethnicity and political representation, 94–5
in Bukhara, 34–5, 40, 42, 94–7, 115–17, 120–2, 125, 130–2, 136, 139, 148, 149
in Khorezm, 91–7, 107, 114, 116, 120–2, 124–6, 137, 148
in Post-Soviet Central Asia, 226–32
Kazak-Uzbek relations, 133–4, 140–6, 203–4
Soviet understandings of, 91–7
Turkmen-Kazak conflicts, 95–6
Turkmen-Uzbek relations, 91–4, 131
Uzbek-Tajik relations, 159–64
- experts' role in delimitation, 184
- Farab district
nationality of population, 139
- federalism
Kazak proposal for federation in Central Asia, 135

- federalism (*contd.*)
 the Social Democrats rejection of,
 12
- Ferghana Valley, 26
 Basmachi in, 83
 delimitation of, 152, 188–94
 ethnic relations, 130–1, 144
 identity, 18, 119–20, 170
 population in, 34
 proposition for separate Ferghana
 oblast, 194
 tribal relations, 26, 100
- Fitrat, A., 55, 61, 64, 70
- Gasprinsky, I., 52, 53, 54
 Georgia, 124, 221
 Gorbachev, M., 219, 223
 Gordienko, A., 120–1
 Governorate-General of the Steppe, 52
 Great Friendship, the, 220, 230
 Greater Turkestan, 24, 82
- Ichkilik, 192
 Ikramov, A., 219
 Imamov, Ch., 151, 152, 153, 157
 Iranian culture, 33, 34, 38, 64
 Ishan-Khojaev, E., 105
- Islam
 Tsar-Russia's view of, 48–52
 Islamic identities, 35–41, 48–9
 Islamic modernism, 53, 60
 Islamic reform, *see* Jadids
 Islamov, 128, 150, 189, 203, 207
- Jadids, 24, 25, 47, 146
 and Russia, 56–8
 and the Bolsheviks, 68–70
 and the nation, 59–66
 and traditional elites, 67–8
 reform ideology, 52–9
- Jalal-Abad, 191
 Jews, 145
 Junaid Khan, 44, 78, 92, 95, 99
- kalym*, 29
- Karakalpak
 identity, 172–4
 oblast in Khorezm, 174
 political claims, 175–7
- Karakalpak AO, the, 172–8
 Karimov, 129
 Karklin, O., 83, 92, 93, 98, 99, 104,
 122, 123, 172, 177, 187, 199, 201,
 203
 Kashgar-Kishlak, 191
 Kashgarlyk, 140, 144
 Kazak Autonomous oblast in
 Khorezm, 97
 Kazak Autonomous Soviet Socialist
 Republic, 72, 123, 124
 Kazak National Bureau, 151
 Kazak regional conference in 1921,
 120
 Kazak-Karakalpak Autonomous oblast,
 96
 Kazaks
 and nomadic identity, 140–6
 identity in early 1920s, 140–5
 identity in pre-soviet period, 45–6
 in the Uzbek republic, 135
 intellectuals among, 71
 Islam and, 143
 national identity of, 70–2
 of Turkestan, 135
zhuz organization among, 45
 Khan-Abad, 191
 Khidir-Aliev, 105
 Khivan khanate, 2
 and Jadid reform, 69–70
 in Tsarist period, 51
 Turkmen rebellions, 91–2
 Khojaev, F., 25, 55, 64, 103–4, 135,
 146, 150, 152, 153, 162, 187, 203,
 208, 219
 Khojanov, S., 117, 132, 133, 134, 135,
 143, 149, 150, 152, 169, 184, 195,
 198, 199, 203, 204
 Khojent, 152
 transfer to Tajik ASSR, 153–4, 163
 Khojibaev, 153, 156, 157, 158, 159, 197
 Khorezm Communist Party, 4, 77–80
 rejection of delimitation plan, 174
 Khorezm People's Republic, 2
 autonomous entities in, 97, 136,
 174–5
 dissolution of, 185
 ethnic relations in, 91–7, 107, 114,
 116, 120–2, 124–6, 137, 148

- reformers in, 70
- Soviet control in, 79–80, 84, 98, 127, 131
- Stalin about, 124
- tribal relations in, 101–2
- uprising January 1934, 99
- Khoroshin, A., 32
- Khujum*, 28–9
- Kipchak, 140
- Kokand, 2
 - incorporation into Russia, 51
 - as economical center of Ferghana Valley, 189
 - government, 22
- Kravchuk, L., 222–3
- Kurama, 140–1, 143–4, 149, 202
- Kyrgyz
 - distinctness from Kazak, 168–9
 - identity in early 1920s, 141–6
 - identity in pre-Soviet period, 45–6, 168–9
 - National Bureau, 151
 - political demands in the name of, 170
- Kyrgyz ASSR (and the Kyrgyz Autonomous Oblast until 1926), 167–72
 - borders, 188–94
 - Uzbeks in, 217
- Kyrgyz SSR, the, 2
 - economy of, 231
- language
 - national, 129–31
 - official languages in TASSR, 113
 - political significance of, 39, 64, 127–9, 131, 159–61, 221
- Lenin, 20, 27
 - and nationality, 11–14, 16, 68, 19, 195, 137, 195
 - and self-determination, 97, 113
- literacy, 64, 112, 126
 - see also* language, political significance of
- Luxemburg, R., 11
- Magtymkuli, 45
- Margilan, 191, 192, 193
- Marx, K., Marxism, 1, 10–12, 18, 19, 22, 23, 84, 91, 133, 234
- Masov, R., 150, 154–5, 159
- Mendeshev, leader of Kazak ASSR CEC, 196
- Mensheviks, 12
- millat* in the Jadid project, 61
- modernization, 10, 13–17, 20, 52–4, 59–60, 100–2, 110, 127, 186–8, 221, 234–5
- Moldavian Popular Front, 222
- Mukhammetberdiev, 212
- Mukhitdinov, A., 103–4, 153, 162
- Muslim language, 39–40, 129
- Naiman, 192
- Namangan, 193
- Narkomnats*, *see* People's Commissariat for Nationalities, 111–13
- national antagonism in Central Asia, 18, 115–18, 131–2, 217
 - in Soviet historiography, 19–20
 - Soviet authorities' perception of, 90–7, 122–4, 200, 203–4
- national engineering, 17, 224
- national liberation, 12, 56–7, 82–3, 85, 87–8, 90
- nationalism, 110, 133
 - and perestroika, 215–16
 - in post-Soviet Central Asia, 220–1
 - Jadids and, 59–64
 - minority nationalism, 125–6, 131, 160–1
 - national demands, 115–26
 - Central Asian Bureau's assessment of national demands, 122
- New Economic Policy, 4, 26–9, 117, 237
- nomads, 31–3, 36–8, 45, 51, 57, 66, 74, 130, 139–43, 156, 160, 163, 168, 186, 190–3, 196, 201, 202, 208, 217
- Nurberdy Khan, 43, 44
- Orenburg as Kazak capital, 135, 196
- Orientalism, 6, 104
 - in European world-view of European communists, 104–6
- Osh, 189, 191, 199

- Ostroumov, N., 34
 Ottoman Empire, 1
 and pan-Islamism, 61
 and pan-Turkism, 54
 millets, 54
 övlat groups, 36–7, 41
- pan-Islamism 20, 54, 61, 62, 83, 84
 pan-Slavism, 53
 pan-Turkism, 20, 54, 62, 83, 132, 133,
 154–5, 158, 226
 Paskutsky, 136
 People's Commissariat for
 Nationalities, 111–13
 political culture in Central Asia,
 103–6
 popular appeals concerning the
 delimitation, 191–3
 Pozdnyshv, 94, 104
- Qari, M. 58, 60
- Radlov, V., 31, 33
raionirovanie, 100–2
 Rakhimbaev, 105, 131, 132, 170, 203
 reform-movements, *see* Jadids
 Renner, K, 11
 Rudzutak, I., 79, 170, 201
 Rukh, Ukrainian national movement,
 222
 Russian Communist Party, the, 3, 76,
 103
 12th party Conference, 124, 128
 relation to party branches in
 Khorezm and Bukhara, 77–80,
 see Central Committee
 women's section (*zhenotdel*), 28
 Russian Empire
 political organization of Central
 Asia, 51
 relation to Turkmen tribes, 44
 scholars in Central Asia, 30–3
 settlement in Kazak lands, 45
 strategy in Central Asia,
 48–52
 Russian Social Democratic Labour
 Party, 11–13, 14, 68
 Rykunov, 203
 Ryskulov, T., 69, 117, 128
- Said, E., 104
 Samarkand city
 inclusion in Uzbek republic,
 149–50, 152
 reformed schools, 55
 Tajik claims, 153–5
 Tajik population in, 152, 158
 Samarkand region
 and the Basmachi, 83–6
 identity in, 34, 37, 149
 population in, 34
 Samoilovich, A., 31, 34
 Saray, M., 43
 Sart, 18, 30–4, 66, 143, 146–9
 schools
 for Tajiks in the Uzbek SSR, 159–60
 Kyrgyz demands for, 170–1
 reformed schools in Central Asia,
 55, 60
 Russian schools in Central Asia, 50
 Soviet use of reformed schools, 127
 Tatar reformed schools, 52–3
 Turkmen demands for, 130, 135–6
 self-determination, 113
 Semipalatinsk, 196
 Sergaziev, 117, 119
 Sovnarkom, Council of People's
 Commissars, 2, 19, 112, 182
 Stalin, 23, 25, 124, 140, 177, 193
 and nationality, 12, 16, 68
 at 12th party congress, 124
 role in the delimitation, 76, 82, 113,
 182, 194, 198, 200, 201
 Stalinism, 26–7, 86, 218–20
 statistical material, 182
 Sultan Galiev, 22, 137
 Sultan-Kary, 186
 Syr-Darya, population in, 34
- Tajik ASSR, 2
 inclusion in the Uzbek SSR, 149–52
 separation from the Uzbek SSR,
 159–64
 territorial claims, 153–5, 157, 158
 Tajik SSR, 2, 162–4
 the economy of, 231
 Tajiks, 18, 22
 and pan-Turkism, 154
 emergence of nationalism, 153–9

- identity in early 1920s, 149–53
- identity in pre-Soviet period, 30–4
- reactions to Turkification in the
 - Uzbek republic, 159–64
- regional dimension of Uzbek
 - identity, 186–7
- subcommittee of the Territorial
 - Committee, 151–3
- Tashauz, inclusion in Turkmen
 - republic, 185–6, 199
- Tashkent city
 - as exception in delimitation, 198
 - ethnicity, 195, 197
 - incorporation into the Uzbek
 - republic, 194–201
 - Kazak protests against inclusion
 - into the Uzbek SSR, 198–200
 - significance for Kazaks, 195–7
 - significance for Soviet power, 200
- Tashkent uezd
 - ethnic complexity, 201
 - intervention in border discussions,
 - 205
- Tatars, 145
- Territorial Committee of the Central
 - Asian Bureau, 4, 138–40, 141
 - choice of capital for Uzbek SSR,
 - 208–9
 - conflicts in, 193–4, 203–4
 - inclusion of Karakalpak
 - subcommittee, 176–7
 - minorities in other republics, 228
 - protests against, 205–6
 - relations to the Central Asian
 - Bureau, 182–4, 205–6
 - relations to Soviet power, 207
 - Soviet authorities' attitude towards,
 - 207–10
 - Tajik subcommittee, 151–3
- Totalitarian school, 27
- towns
 - significance in border-making,
 - 185–6, 188–91, 194–201
- Transoxanian identity 34, 41, 45, 46,
 - 62, 66, 156–7
- tribal relations, 33, 38, 40, 41–6
 - and administrative organization,
 - 100–2
 - and economic rationality, 100–2
 - and national identity, 70–4
 - authority of tribal leaders, 98–100
 - in Bukhara, 101
 - in Khorezm, 101–2
 - significance in Soviet period,
 - 212–15
 - Soviet perceptions of, 97–100
- Turkestan ASSR, 2
 - and the Basmachi, 83
 - discussions about splitting up in
 - 1920, 19–20
 - Kazak population of, 123
 - national conflicts in, 96, 131
 - national representation in
 - government, 118
 - population of, 113
 - relations with Khorezm and
 - Bukhara, 90
 - Tajik population in, 154
 - 12th conference of Soviets, 121
- Turkestan Bureau, 3, 154
- Turkestan Commission, 3, 19, 69, 154
- Turkestan Front, 83, 86, 89
- Turkestan Governorate-General, 51
- Turkestan town, 142
- Turki, 140, 141, 202
- Turkic culture, 33, 34, 38, 64
- Turkmen
 - and national identity, 72–3, 94–5
 - demands of national autonomy,
 - 115
 - governments after revolution, 73
 - identity in pre-Soviet period 41–4,
 - 72–3
 - in Bukhara, 132, 136
 - in Khorezm, 136
 - National Bureau, 136, 151
 - Turkmen oblast in Bukhara, 96
 - Turkmen oblast in Khorezm, 96
 - Turkmen oblast in Turkestan ASSR,
 - 114
- Turkmen SSR, the
 - administrative reorganization of,
 - 100–2
 - the borders of, 182–8
- Turkonnats, *see* Commissariat of
 - Nationality Affairs of Turkestan
- Uigur Regional Bureau, 144

- Uigurs, 144, 145
 claims made in the name of, 145, 178–9
- Ukraine, 222–3
- Ulama, 36, 53, 58, 60, 118
 and the Bolsheviks, 68
 political competition with Jadids, 67–8
- Uzbek SSR, the
 administrative reorganization of, 101–2
 Kazaks in, 135
 separation of Tajik ASSR from, 162–4
 Turkification in Uzbek republic, 159–63
- Uzbeks, 18, 22, 66
 and Sarts, 146–9
 as privileged group in delimitation, 206–10
 identity in early 1920s, 139–64
 identity in pre-Soviet period, 30–4
 National Bureau, 151
 political dominance of, 137, 226
 socioeconomic dimension of Uzbek identity, 139–46
- Vakhobov, M., 18
- Valikhanov, Ch., 70
- Vareikis, I., 201, 203
- violence, 26, 85, 86, 219, 229, 237
- War communism, 27
- Yeltsin, B., 222
- Young Bukharans, 64, 68, 70
- Young Khivans, 70
- Zaslavsky, V., 221, 225
- Zelenskii, I., 80, 100, 105, 183, 187
- Znamenskii, 96, 103, 104