## Contents

Ack	knowledgments	XV
Intr	roduction	1
PA]	RT I: TSARIST CENTRAL ASIA	7
1	Precolonial Central Asia: Nomads and People of Oases Introduction Document 1.1: Ivan Andreev, Description of the Kazakhs' Middle Horde Document 1.2: Johann Gottlieb Georgi, About Tartar Peoples Document 1.3: Burnashev and Pospelov, The Trip to Tashkent Document 1.4: Ármin Vámbéry, Travels in Central Asia	9 9 12 18 24 28
2	Russian Policies and Steppe Realities in the Eighteenth Century	39
	Introduction 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	39
	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
	11.01.01	

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
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 Biis of the	
Nazarov Tribe Concerning the Attack on the Tliau Tribe,	
July 18, 1843	70

Contents

	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, October 9, 1878	81
	Document 4.3: Petition of the Kokand <i>Ulemas</i> to His Excellency, the Minister of War, Regarding Taxation on	01
	Waqf Income	84
	Document 4.4: Memorandum of the General Staff on the Request of Kokand <i>Ulemas</i> Regarding the	
	Taxation of <i>Waqfs</i> Document 4.5: Order of the Turkestan Governor-General to	85
	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, Russian Muslims	101
	Document 5.2: A. Bukeikhanov, "Kirghizes"	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 General Kuropatkin to Nicholas II, September 13, 1898	128
	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 the Mobilization of Workers Taken from the Native	
	Population, July 12, 1916	130

	Document 6.4: Report of the Assistant of the Military	
	Minister, Frolov, to the General Staff Concerning	
	Measures on Conducting the Mobilization in Turkestan	
	Krai, According to the Decree of June 25, 1916, Taken	
	by the New Governor-General of Turkestan Krai,	
	Kuropatkin, July 26, 1916	132
C1	Document 6.5: Order of the Governor-General of Turkestan	132
	Krai, Kuropatkin, Concerning the Process of Mobilization	
	for Rear Works, August 23, 1916	122
	Document 6.6: Report of the Assistant to the Chief Military	133
	Public Prosecutor, Ignatovich, to the Commander in Chief	
	of the Armies of Turkestan Military District, Kuropatkin,	
	Regarding the Character of the Revolts in Fergana,	
	Syr-Daria, and Other Oblasts, and Their Differences from	
	the Revolt in the Dzhizak District of Samarkand Oblast	101
	and in the Semireche Area, December 31, 1916	134
	Document 6.7: Excerpt from the Official Report of the	
	Governor-General of Turkestan Krai, Kuropatkin, to	
	Nicholas II Concerning the Reasons and the Course	
	of the Revolt of 1916 in the Krai, and also Regarding	
	the Measures Taken by the Administration on Its	
	Suppression, February 22, 1917	137
	Document 6.8: Excerpt from the Request of the Kirghizes of	
	the Utegen Village of Pishpek District to the Governor-	
	General of Turkestan Krai, Kuropatkin, October 10, 1916	142
PA	RT II: SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA	145
7	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
	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	152
	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	154
	Document 7.5: Excerpt from the Minutes of the Meeting	
	of the Party Active of Semireche Oblast on the	

Contents ix

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	133
[Promulgated by] the Commissariat of Agriculture of	
Turkestan Republic, December 18, 1918	157
Document 7.7: Appeal of the Pishpek City Committee of	
the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks to the	
Volost and Rural Party Organizations and Committees	
of the Poor Concerning Carrying out Expropriations,	
November 18, 1920 2021 No year agreed miletim	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 June	
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	100
Committee of Famine Relief on the Causes of Famine,	
April 30, 1922	161
Basmachi Movement	165
Introduction	165
Document 8.1: Mullah Ibrahim Bek, Government Bulletin	
(Original is in Tajik)	168
Document 8.2: To the Respected Military Commanders	
Ibrahim Bii, Mullah Ziauddin and All Other Military	
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 Communist	172
Party, August 7, 1922	173

9	Soviet Policies toward Islam and Education Introduction	185
	Document 9.1: Report of the Extraordinary Commission of the Central Executive Committee of People's Education	185
	of Turkestan Republic, December 4, 1919  Document 9.2: The Chief of the Municipal Department of	188
	People's Education A. Muradov to the Chairman of the Turkestan Commission, March 19, 1920	101
	Document 9.3: Inspector-Informer Pchel'nikov's Report on Publications	191 192
	Document 9.4: Inspector-Informer Pchel'nikov's Report on Muslim Clergy, July 24, 1928	192
10	Women's Question and Criminalization of Traditions 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
al	Document 10.4: OGPU's Report on the Central Asians' Attitude to the Emancipation of Women	212
	Document 10.5: OGPU's Summary of Women's Campaign	213 216
	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	
	the Soviet Union (Classified)	220
	Document 10.7: Head of the Department of Female Workers 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 Document 10.8: Report on Domestic Legislation by Assistant	222
	Prosecutor Zhelannaia	223
11	Soviet Nationalities Policies: Nativization, National	227
	Delimitation, and Deportation Introduction	227 227
	Document 11.1: Resolution of the First Congress of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks of Turkestan	221
	of Bolsheviks of Turkestall	

Contents

	Republic on the Party Work among the Local Proletariat, June 29, 1918	230
	Document 11.2: Decree of the Revolutionary Committee of	320
	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	
	the Middle Volga from Kazakhatan, April 4, 199191, 01	233
	Document 11.4: On the National-State Delimitation (Theses	222
	for Presenters) Keell Steel St	233
	Document 11.5: Translation of an Article Regarding the	
	Delimitation of Central Asia into the National Republics	226
	(Newspaper Ak-Zhol June 23, 1924, Number 450)	236
	Document 11.6: Petition to the Central Asian Bureau of the	
	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	
	Kyrgyz Population of Bukhara on the Issues of National	
	Delimitation of Central Asia	241
	Document 11.9: Report of Construction-Technician M. M.	
	Musakiev on Situation of the Special Settlers Exiled to	
	Kazakhstan from the Caucuses: Ingushes, Chechens,	
	and Balkars O silding to altramagnitude more and more a	243
2	Soviet Economic Policies in Central Asia: Cotton Growing	
	and Collectivization	251
	Introduction 0001 matebleds U 10	251
	Document 12.1: The Address of Turkestan Bureau of the	
	Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party	
	of Bolsheviks to All Working Peasants of Turkestan  Penublic to Sow All Fields with Cotton May 1921	254
	Republic to Sow All Fields with Cotton, May 1921  Document 12.2: Politico-Economic Conditions of Turkmen	234
	Soviet Socialist Republic (Top Secret)	255
	Soviet Socialist Republic (Top Secret)	233

xii Contents

	Document 12.3: Report of the Kazakhstan People's	
	Commissariat Concerning Class Struggle in an Aul in	
	Connection with the Forthcoming Confiscation of Bai	
	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 Raions 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,	
	August 1932	262
	Document 12.7: Overall Assessment of the Situation and the	
	Reasons for Anti-Soviet Actions of the Pastoralists	264
	Document 12.8: Report to the Director of Kokand Plant	
	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
46	SEA LEDISON TO HOUSE HELD	
14	Perestroika and the Rise of Central Asian Nationalism	297
	Introduction — The state of the	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	210
	of Uzbekistan, 1990	310
	Document 14.3: The Charter of the Islamic Council	214
	of Consent (1991)  Document 14.4: Popular Front "Mustalril" ("Independent")	314
	Document 14.4: Popular Front "Mustakil" ("Independent").	
	An Address to the Uzbek Population (Tashkent, December 1989)	215
	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
Glo	ossary	341
Bib	Bibliography	
Inde	ex	351
Aho	out the Author	361