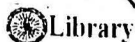


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MUSLIM REPUBLICS OF THE (U.S.S.R.)

The following is the second of a series of articles describing recent works published in the U.S.S.R. on the subject of the six Muslim Soviet Socialist Republics (Azerbaijdzhan, Uzbekistan, Tazdzhikistan, Turkmenistan, Kirgizia, and Kazakhstan) and their borderlands (Persia, Afghanistan, Sinkiang, and Tibet). The series is being contributed by the Central Asian Research Centre in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford.

The present article deals with books received in November and December, 1958. As these include none on Azerbaijdzhan or the borderland countries, the present article deals only with the Muslim Republics of Soviet Central Asia.

I. THE MUSLIM REPUBLICS TODAY

New tourist guide-books

TOURIST guide-books are a recent phenomenon in the Soviet Union. Until very recently there was no post-war guide or even street-map to Moscow. Now, however, tourism is encouraged and guide-books to various regions of the Union are being published. On the Muslim republics there are now two such works: *Uzbekistan—A Handbook* (Uzbekistan. Spravochnik. Uzbek State Publishing House, Tashkent, 1958. 279 pp.) and a *A Trip with you through Kirgizia* by Viktor Vitkovich (S vami po Kirgizii. "Molodaya Gvardiya," Moscow, 1958. 335 pp.). The handbook to Uzbekistan gives a brief history of the Republic from the earliest times and then proceeds to a description of Tashkent and each oblast of the Republic. Care is taken to point out new buildings, canals and factories, but full descriptions are also given of historical monuments such as the Registan Square in Samarkand and other tourist attractions such as spas and nature reserves. There are interesting photographs on nearly every page, but the standard of reproduction is unfortunately extremely low. When the book appeared it was subjected to scathing criticism in the official Russian-language newspaper of Uzbekistan *Pravda Vostoka* on account of its numerous typographical and stylistic errors, repetitions, and factual inaccuracies. In spite of some imperfections, however, the book can be recommended as useful and rewarding to anyone visiting the Republic.

Vitkovich's guide to Kirgizia is more in the nature of a travelogue. The author takes his readers through the Chu Valley, round the Lake Issyk-Kul, to the south of Kirgizia, and through the central Tien-Shan mountains. Colourful descriptions of nature and of local inhabitants are interwoven with factual information. The book contains several good full-page marginless photographs. Both these guide-books have maps. Neither gave any information on hotel accommodation or travel facilities.

An anthropological study of the Central Asian peoples

In the last article in this series some account was given of L. V. Oshanin's *The Anthropological Composition of the Population of Soviet Central Asia and the Ethnogenesis of its Peoples*. The second part of this work has now appeared. (Antropologicheskiiy sostav naseleniya Sredney Azii i etnogenez yeye narodov. Part 2. Yerevan University: Trudy XCVII, Yerevan, 1958. 148 pp.). Chapter I considers the ethnogenesis of the Kirgiz and Kazakhs, Chapter II that of the Kara-Kalpaks, and Chapter III that of the Uzbeks and Tadzhiks of Uzbekistan. The author bases his findings on a detailed study of the physical types to be found in Soviet Central Asia, together with a consideration of archaeological, historical, and linguistic materials. The book includes sixty pages of tables showing physical details of the peoples studied such as colour of eyes, growth of beard, head measurements. There is a bibliography of 108 titles and twenty-five pages of photographs of racial types. Oshanin is an established authority on the anthropology of Soviet Central Asia and has been working in the field for over thirty years. His book is very fully documented.

The eradication of traditional customs among the Uzbeks

Another pamphlet has appeared on the subject of the persistence of traditional customs among the Central Asian peoples. (The last article in this series reviews one on "harmful survivals" among the Kazakhs). T. T. Inoyatov's *The Courts of Soviet Uzbekistan in the Struggle against Feudal-Bay Survivals* (Sudy sovetskogo Uzbekistana v bor'be s feodal'no-bayskimi perzhitkami. Central Asian State University: Trudy 124, SAGU, Tashkent, 1958. 42 pp.) is a brief, poorly produced propaganda pamphlet. It considers the laws under which customs such as polygamy, bride-purchase, and forced marriages are now punishable in Uzbekistan and gives some examples of cases. There is no indication to what extent these customs are still prevalent, but the very publication of the work may suggest that they are still not entirely outmoded.

The Central Asian State University

Evidence of the remarkable activity of the Central Asian State University at Tashkent is the *Index to Publications of the Central Asian State University* (1922-1956) (Sistematicheskiiy ukazatel' k izdaniyam sredne-aziatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. V. I. Leninas 1922-1956 gg. 2nd edition, revised and enlarged. SAGU, Tashkent, 1958. 192 pp.). The index includes all articles and books published by the University between 1922 and 1956 and comprises 2,036 titles. Of these 239 are concerned with the history of the University, 344 with Arts subjects (philosophy, history, archaeology, ethnography, law, economy, linguistics, literature, art, and pedagogy), 1,361 with natural sciences (mathematics, astronomy, physics, meteorology, chemistry, mineralogy, geology, hydrology, geography, soil cultivation, biology, botany, zoology), seven with technology, 38 with medicine, 37 with bibliography. Only six of the 344 Arts titles are written in Uzbek, the remainder being in Russian; it may be assumed that all the

scientific works are also in Russian. There is an overwhelming preponderance of Russian or Slav names among the authors, and the majority of those with Islamic names write in Russian. The list of authors includes many famous orientalists: Barthold, Bertels, Masson, and A. A. Semenov. A brief history of the University, together with accounts of its principal serial publications is given in the introduction. There is no doubt that the quality of work produced by the University is extremely variable; its output includes propaganda such as the pamphlet described above by Inoyatov and scholarly works such as those by Pugachenkova whose latest book is reviewed below.

The teaching of Russian to Tadzhiks

While much effort is made to develop local languages and literatures in Soviet Central Asia, it is still essential for anyone of ambition to have a thorough knowledge of Russian which is the language of higher education and higher administration. An inter-republican conference was held recently to consider methods to improve the teaching of Russian in Tadzhik schools and its proceedings have now been published: *Papers of the Inter-Republican Conference on Improving the Teaching of Russian in Tadzhik Schools* (Materialy mezhrеспублиkanskoй nauchnoy konferentsii po voprosam uluchsheniya prepodavaniya russkogo yazyka v tadzhikskikh shkolakh. Tadzhik Ministry of Education, Stalinabad, 1958. 131 pp.). The opening paper was read by T. P. Pulatov, Tadzhik Minister of Education, who spoke of the importance of knowing Russian and gave examples of the low standard of results in many Tadzhik schools. He ascribed this to the difficulty of Russian pronunciation for Tadzhik school-children, to shortages of textbooks and of qualified teachers, and to the overloading of the syllabus with too much theoretical instruction. He pointed out that many pupils had little knowledge of Russian and yet were not thoroughly grounded in their own language, and called for a change in the syllabus that would give more time to language instruction. Following speakers gave practical examples of how to conduct classes in Russian for Tadzhik pupils of various age-groups.

Kazakh and Kirgiz literature

An important new book on Kazakh Soviet literature is the symposium *An Outline History of Kazakh Soviet Literature* edited by M. O. Auezov and others (Ocherki istorii Kazakhskoy sovetskoy literatury. Academy of Sciences of Kazakh SSR, Alma-Ata, 1958. 485 pp.). The work contains sections on Kazakh literature in the early days of Soviet rule, during the pre-war Five-Year Plans, during the war, and since the war. The latter section is divided into prose, poetry, drama, and criticism. Then follows full accounts of the life and works of thirteen leading Kazakh writers including the popular bard Dzhambul, novelists such as Sabit Mukanov and Gabit Musrepov, and the great novelist and authority on Kazakh literature, Auezov. Since the war many Kazakh writers have had their works severely criticized (See for example *Central Asian Review*, Vol. III, No. 2

for an account of the Central Asian writers' congresses held in 1954); Auezov himself was attacked during the Zhdanov period (but emerged unscathed without having recanted) for his great novel *Abay* on the life of the nineteenth-century Kazakh enlightener Abay Kunanbayev (for the controversies that raged over this much-disputed figure, see *Central Asian Review*, Vol. II, No. 4). In the present volume, however, there seems to be no echo of these past criticisms. There is a full and eulogistic description of *Abay* in the section on Auezov and the novel is rightly judged as one of the finest examples of modern Kazakh literature. The works of other writers receive some criticism from a literary viewpoint, but none for their ideological content. Socialist realism is still, of course, unchallenged, but the narrow interpretation of the genre that stifled literary activity in the post-war years seems to have been dropped.

A useful guide to the writers of Kirgizia is *Writers of Soviet Kirgizia* (Pisatteli sovetskogo Kirgizstana. Kirgiz State Publishing House, Frunze, 1958. 273 pp.). This book, like that on Kazakh writers, was issued for the festivals of national art held in Moscow last year. It is in fact a "Who's Who" to the Kirgiz literary world, containing photographs, biographies and lists of works of leading writers. It is divided into sections on "Popular singers and story-tellers," "Kirgiz Soviet writers," critics, translators into Kirgiz, and finally "Moscow translators and critics." This last section consists mostly of Russians who have either co-operated with Kirgiz writers or who are professional translators into Russian.

One of the Kirgiz writers decried is K. Dzhanotoshev, a prolific novelist and playwright. A Russian translation of the first volume of his long novel *Kanybek* has just appeared (Kanybek. Kirgiz State Publishing House, Frunze, 1958. 405 pp.). The four volumes of this novel appeared in Kirgiz in 1939, 1941, 1949, and 1958. At the Kirgiz Writers' Congress held in September 1954 the novel was condemned as a distortion of history, but nonetheless Dzhanotoshev was elected Vice-President of the Kirgiz Writers' Union. *Kanybek* is a colourful, picaresque novel telling the adventures and misfortunes that befall Kanybek, a poor Kirgiz shepherd. His strength, daring, and musical talent win him wide renown and his exploits give him the reputation of a Robin Hood. His adventures include being sold into slavery, running away with the wife of a rich Kashgari merchant (whom he marries bigamously), stealing the finest horse of his task-master, imprisonment in Kashgar goal, and finally capture by the police in Russian territory, when his revolver fails him. The volume ends with Kanybek condemned to Siberia. Interwoven in the text are snatches of the songs that made Kanybek famous among his people and the whole book is full of local colour.

Another new Kirgiz novel is *Dawn over the Steppes* by S. B. Dzhan-tuarov (Zarya nad step'yu. Kirgiz State Publishing House, Frunze, 1958. 275 pp.). As there is no mention of a translator it may be assumed that the novel was written directly in Russian. The novel describes life in a Kazakh village during the Civil War period and the exploits of the partisans. The style is unoriginal but direct and the tale is told as a straight adventure story. When the counter-revolutionaries are defeated at the end of the story one of the villains, Alabugin, turns out to be none other than

the English spy Sir Oliver Camby who "for ten years had been active in the Kazakh steppes."

Finally there is the Russian translation of a Kirgiz epic *The Tale of the Hunter Kodzhodzhash* as told by the bard Alymkul Usenbayev. (Skazaniye ob okhotnike Kodzhodzhashe. Kirgiz State Publishing House, Frunze, 1958. 182 pp.). The poem has been well rendered into Russian tetrameters.

II. HISTORY

The historical monuments of Turkmenistan

The Soviet authorities pay much attention to archæology. In Turkmenistan, for instance, two large-scale organizations are at work studying the rich sites of the Republic. Since 1938 Professor Tolstov's expedition has been at work in Khorezm, and since 1946 the South Turkmenistan Complex Archæological Expedition (YuTAKE), under Professor Masson, has been studying the southern part of the Republic, an area which includes such sites as Merv and the great Parthian city of Nisa. The leader of the architectural team of YuTAKE, G. A. Pugachenkova, has now published a comprehensive study of the architectural remains of southern Turkmenistan. *Steps in the Development of Architecture of southern Turkmenistan* (Puti razvitiya arkhitektury yuzhnogo Turkmenistana pory rabovladieniya i feodalizma. U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Moscow, 1958. 492 pp.) is a splendidly produced work containing many line drawings, photographs, plans, sketches of reconstructions, and some full-page colour plates. It suffers from lack of an index or map. It is a work of careful scholarship; the author is widely read and has used the findings of Western and other Soviet scholars to draw comparisons and parallels between the architecture of her own area and that of adjacent lands. Two ideas underline the work: firstly, the historical background is given in Marxist terms. Periods are defined not by the dominant dynasty or victorious invaders, but by the social order that is assumed to have existed. For instance, the new style of architecture that developed after the Arab conquest in the seventh century is ascribed as much to the change from a "slave-owning" society to a "feudal" one as to the influence of the invaders. Secondly, the author is at pains to stress the continuity of architectural style in Turkmenistan. The Turkmen Republic is, of course, a most recent creation, and before the Russian conquest in 1882 the area was at different periods of history parcelled up among different states or ruled by various invading peoples; but the author pays particular attention to building materials and decorative details and throughout tends to stress the native contribution as a counter-balance to the more obvious influences of successive invading peoples.

The introduction gives an account of previous archæological expeditions to southern Turkmenistan, including pre-revolutionary studies. The first chapter describes prehistoric sites and archæological remains up to the time of Alexander the Great's conquest. Excavations have shown that at the time of the great civilizations of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Indus Valley the tribes of southern Turkmenistan were already sufficiently de-

veloped to have an extensive irrigation system. Between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. the area came under the sway of the Achæmenians; the cities of Erk-kala (Merv) and Sultan-desht (near Koshout) can be ascribed to this period and remained later to be obstacles in the path of Alexander's armies.

Parthian architecture (third century B.C. to third century A.D.) is dealt with in the second chapter. The author makes a spirited attack on those scholars who consider Parthian art to be merely barbarized Hellenism. Western scholars, she argues, have only studied the Parthian monuments of Mesopotamia which was on the fringe of the classical world and thus under stronger classical influence. Parthian art can only be truly judged by a consideration of the monuments of southern Turkmenistan, an area which was the heart of the Parthian empire. Since 1948 YUTAKE has paid special attention to Parthian remains and in particular to the great city of Nisa. The author gives a full and detailed account of the remarkable finds made on this site. There are numerous illustrations including full-page sketches of conjectured reconstructions of the Temple at Old Nisa, the Square Chamber, and the Round Temple.

The following chapter covers the period of "early feudalism," *i.e.* the sixth to tenth centuries, from just before the Arab conquest to the fall of the Samanids. One of the most interesting sites of the fifth or sixth century is a church, evidently Christian, at Kharoba-koshuk (near Merv). The ruins, studied by YUTAKE in 1951, are the only remains yet to be found of the many Christian churches that are known to have flourished in the area between the fourth and seventh centuries. Few buildings of the early Arab period are still standing, an exception being the Mazar Shir-Kabir mosque (near Mestorian) dating from the ninth or tenth century, and several mausoleums. Already by the tenth century, the author argues, a definite style can be noticed in the architecture of Khorasan—the province of which southern Turkmenistan was then a part.

The fourth and longest chapter is on the architecture of "developed feudalism," or the period from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. This was the heyday of the great mediæval cities of Merv, Dakhistan, and Abiverd. The chapter is divided into three parts: the pre-Mongol, Mongol, and Timurid periods. Notable ruins of the pre-Mongol period are the palaces and public buildings of Merv, the great trade-route caravanserais such as Akcha-kala (between Merv and Chardzhou) and Daya-Khatyn (between Chardzhou and Khorezm), and mosques such as that of Talkhatan-baba near Merv. The most numerous relics of the period are mausoleums such as those of Alamberdar (near Kerki), Abu-Said (at Mekhna), and Muhammad ibn-Zeid (at Merv); that of Khuday-Nazar-ovliya (near Bayram-Ali) with its ornate brickwork had never previously been studied. The most renowned mausoleum of the period is, however, that of Sultan Sanjar at Merv, a masterpiece of composition and decorative detail. Sultan Sanjar is not, in the author's view, an isolated masterpiece but the logical culmination of south Turkmenistan or Khorasani architecture of the pre-Mongol period.

The second part of the chapter deals with architecture of the Mongol period. Few monuments date from this period of invasion and destruc-

tion. An exception, however, is a remarkable Buddhist temple at Merv. The ruins were studied by YuTAKE in 1950-51 and the temple can now be dated to 1250 (which can be corroborated by Juvaini). It was destroyed in 1295 when the Mongol ruler, Gazan Khan, became converted to Islam. Among many fragments of sculpture and decorations is a fine majolica panel which is reproduced in colour.

The third part of the chapter describes "one of the most brilliant pages in the history of Central Asian architecture," the Timurid period in the fifteenth century. Under the Timurids many new buildings appeared at Merv and other cities. One of the finest buildings of this period was the great mosque of Anau, a superb composition with its twin minarets, great entrance arch, and richly decorated façade. An original feature is the use of dragon motifs set in the decorated panel over the entrance. The mosque was thoroughly studied by YuTAKE in 1947, a year before it was almost totally destroyed in the Ashkhabad earthquake.

Trade between nomads and settled peoples

An example of how a Marxist approach by its emphasis on economics can shed new light on the more obscure periods of history is to be seen in V. S. Batrakov's *Economic Links between Nomadic Peoples and Russia, Central Asia and China* (From the fifteenth to middle eighteenth centuries) (Khozyaystvennyye svyazy kochevykh narodov s Rossiyei, Sredney Aziyey i Kitayem. Central Asian State University: Trudy CXXXVI. SAGU, Tashkent, 1958. 104 pp.). The author sets out to prove that "contrary to the widely held view inherited from bourgeois scholarship" the relations between nomads and their settled neighbours were not confined to raids and wars but were founded on peaceful economic intercourse. Batrakov considers firstly, economic relations between the Nogays and Kazakhs on the one hand, and Russia and the Central Asian oases on the other in the sixteenth century; secondly, relations between Eastern Mongolia (Khalkha) and China from the fifteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century; and thirdly, relations between Western Mongolia (Dzhungaria), on the one hand, and China, Russia, and the Central Asian oases, on the other, in the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century. Batrakov argues that nomadic peoples, such as the Nogays, Kazakhs, and Mongols, being primarily cattle-breeders, were to a greater or less extent dependent on their settled neighbours for agricultural produce and manufactured goods; thus, if for any reason these trade relations were broken, it was the nomads who took the initiative to re-establish them, or failing this, compensated for their loss by plunder and raids.

The economy of the emirate of Bukhara

A thorough study of the economy of eastern Bukhara after it had come under Russian suzerainty is provided by B. I. Iskandarov's *Some Changes in the Economy of Eastern Bukhara in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (O nekotorykh izmeneniyakh v ekonomike vostochnoy Bukhary na rubezhe XIX-XX vv. Tadzhik Academy of Sciences: Trudy LXXXIII. Stalinabad, 1958. 140 pp.). The first chapter gives a

general picture of the economy of the emirate with particular emphasis on the position of the peasant. Subsequent chapters consider the gold-mining industry, which was developed largely through Russian private enterprise, trade, and "the growth of revolutionary conditions." The book contains a mass of detailed information drawn mostly from Tsarist sources, both Government papers and published books, and is a valuable and thorough account of a little-known subject. Certain passages such as those describing the fortunes and misfortunes of the first Russian gold-prospectors are vividly written.

A new look at the history of Central Asia in the Soviet period

In May, 1957 a conference of historians was held in Alma-Ata to consider the history of the peoples of Soviet Central Asia since the October Revolution of 1917. The conference considered methods of improving historical writing and research in the light of criticisms made at the XX Party Congress when Soviet historians were accused of "dogmatism" and "bookishness" and of having failed to produce ideologically acceptable general histories of the Soviet period. The conference received little publicity at the time although a few reports appeared in learned journals later in 1957. Now the full stenographic report of the papers and discussions have been published: *Papers of the joint learned Session on the History of Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the period of Socialism* (Materialy ob'yedinennoy nauchnoy sessii, posvyashchennoy istorii Sredney Azii i Kazakhstana epokhi sotsializma. Edited by S. B. Baishev and others. Kazakh Academy of Sciences, Alma-Ata, 1958. 506 pp.). Within the rigid ideological framework discussions seem to have been remarkably free; but the arguments were over details of fact or questions of emphasis, and general premises such as that the revolution was inevitable and predetermined and that the strategy of the Communist Party infallible were not questioned (it is, however, now allowed that the tactics or the members of the Party may have been mistaken). As the latest and most authoritative statement of the Soviet interpretation of Soviet policy in Central Asia the book is extremely important.

The conference was divided into two parts: the history of the Revolution and the establishment of Soviet authority, and the history of the "building of Socialism" in the years that followed. After a brief panegyric to the Party by Baishev (Vice-President of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences) who also welcomed the delegates, the first paper was read by G. N. Golikov (of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences) on the state of historical writing on the Revolution. He deplored the fact that there was as yet no acceptable history of the Revolution and passed judgment on past writers, including M. N. Pokrovskiy (who until very recently has been unmentionable since his disgrace under Stalin; Golikov rather contradictorily characterized him as "a great Soviet historian" and his work as "anti-Marxist"). He then gave certain points that writers on the Soviet period should bear in mind: the predetermined nature of the Revolution, the alliance between the workers and peasantry, and the leadership of the Communist Party. He gave no special consideration to the problems of Central Asian historians beyond advising them to take account

of the "specific characteristics . . . of the national regions." Golikov's paper aroused no comments other than approval and many subsequent speakers followed his example of giving brief consideration to questions of historiography.

Following speakers read papers on the Revolution in Russian Turkestan, in Kazakhstan, in the emirate of Bukhara, in Turkmenistan, Kirgizia, and Kara-Kalpakia. The first was K. Ye. Zhitov (Uzbek Academy of Sciences) on "The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Turkestan"; his paper was in fact a history of the events of 1917 and 1918 in Tashkent and of the Bolshevik Government that seized power there. This period is one of the least reputable in Soviet history: the Tashkent Bolsheviks in alliance with the left-wing Social Revolutionaries carried on a policy of extreme national oppression. In February, 1918 they sacked and looted the city of Kokand, then seat of the short-lived Muslim autonomous government of Turkestan. When in 1919, at the end of the Civil War, contact was re-established with Central Russia, Lenin had to send a special Turkestan Commission to re-establish order, win the support of the native population, and indeed reverse the policies of the previous administration. Zhitov, however, far from showing the tyranny and oppression of the Tashkent Bolsheviks describes them as the executors of a wise and deliberate policy and as the bearers of a revolution that was to bring a new and better life to the peoples of Central Asia. Their errors are barely mentioned and then are glossed over or ascribed to anti-Party infiltrators into the Bolshevik ranks. All Muslim opposition is said to have been inspired by the reactionary clergy and careful attempts are made to show the support of the poorer natives for the Bolsheviks. The paper consists largely of accounts of Soviet and Party meetings.

Various speakers commented on this paper, mostly favourably, and some added to the information Zhitov gave. Of particular interest are the comments on the Kokand autonomous government. G. K. Rashidov (from the Uzbek Academy's Museum of History) elaborated on the theme that the Muslim depressed classes stood throughout firmly for the Tashkent Bolsheviks and that they "unmasked" the Kokand government as "counter-revolutionary." B. Yakubov (Andizhan Pedagogic Institute) gave a brief history of the Fergana Valley in 1917-18 in which he attempted to prove that the Bolsheviks had widespread support in the area and that the capture of Kokand was but the final step in winning Fergana to the Soviets. M. U. Aminov (Uzbek State University, Samarkand) dealt more fully with the political programme of the Kokand autonomists and suggested that the question should be dealt with more fully.

By far the most interesting comment on Zhitov's paper came, however, from A. V. Pyaskovskiy (U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences). He began: "It is no secret that the history of the Soviet State and the history of our Party are usually described as if there have been no serious obstacles in our path, no serious failings or mistakes, and as if the whole history of Soviet society was a continuous triumphal advance 'from victory to victory'." He then gave examples of the "serious mistakes" made by the Tashkent Bolsheviks and ascribed them to the "infiltration of colonial, chauvinistic, and nationalistic elements" and to "the old colonial tradi-

tion, according to which the native population was looked on as people of 'second rank,' incapable of Party or administrative work." To prove this he quoted from the resolutions of the V Congress of the Turkestan Communist Party, held in 1920 after the arrival of the Turkestan Commission. Turning to Zhitov's paper he said: "I personally was active at that time in the struggle against colonial, chauvinistic elements in Turkestan. And when I remember what in fact happened and compare it with K. E. Zhitov's paper, it is clear that his paper shows only the 'façade' of the October victory in Turkestan; the sharp corners are rounded off, the negative aspects are toned down, historical reality is embellished . . . In the 46 pages of the text of K. E. Zhitov's paper, only 20 lines are allotted to the serious mistakes made in the national question and then only in general form. Nothing is said of the struggle with chauvinistic . . . elements, nor of the anti-Party activity of the 'Old Communists' group which fevered the Turkestan Party during the whole of the second half of 1918. Tobolin (leader of this group) and Kolesov (head of the Tashkent Government) are shown as restrained Bolsheviks . . . and there is no word of their most serious errors. Nothing is said even about the Basmachi movement, although, as is well known, it became widespread immediately after the liquidation of 'Kokand autonomy' early in 1918." Pyaskovskiy concluded: "We shall only be able to reveal the true greatness of the October victory if we show how this victory was in fact won . . . Some people think: will not the truthful account . . . harm the friendship between the peoples of our country? I think not. On the contrary, friendship won in the fire of battle is the best guarantee that no force in the world can now shatter it."

Zhitov in reply brushed aside Pyaskovskiy's criticisms: "On many problems we think alike although we have disagreed more than once. In the past I noted embellishment of events in his work on the 1905 Revolution in Turkestan, and now he says the same to me about my paper. But his criticism is not fully objective. He gives a one-sided picture of the state of the Party organization in Turkestan and shows everything in a dark and gloomy tone."

The second part of the conference was devoted to "the victory of socialism in the Soviet republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan" and included papers on the nature of socialism, on the development of the Tadzhik state, on the national demarcation of the present republics in 1924, on the emancipation of women in Turkmenistan, on the industrialization of Kazakhstan, on collectivization in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, on the development of Kirgizia, and the cultural revolution in Turkmenistan. The discussion that followed was not as lively as that following the first part and in the main speakers were more concerned with the correct Marxist-Leninist interpretation of events than with events themselves. Thus considerable time was devoted to a discussion about whether the land and water reforms of 1921-22 and the distribution of arable and meadow land in 1925-28 were "socialist" or only "revolutionary-democratic." Many speakers were perplexed to resolve the dicta that socialism was predetermined and yet that the way to socialism differed from country to country. Golikov and Baishev, for instance, had urged historians to

see the specific characteristics of different areas in this respect. Sh. Ya. Shafiro, however, commented: "At this conference considerable time . . . has been devoted to the question of the characteristics of the October Revolution and the building of socialism in the national republics . . . Frequently, these characteristics were shown only as backwardness and difficulties . . . But this is only one side of the picture . . . To take an example from Kazakhstan: it cannot be denied that one of the greatest difficulties in collectivization . . . was the preservation of a nomadic form of life by the great mass of the Kazakh peasantry. But to mention only this reduces the characteristic features of collectivization to the difficulties of collectivization and does not explain why the kolkhoz system was victorious . . ."

M. Kh. Nazarov (Central Asian State University) returned to the question of the Tashkent Bolsheviks. He urged historians to make a fuller study of events and personalities and not merely to ascribe to them "serious mistakes." He then went on to discuss what have evidently up to now been forbidden subjects: the local Muslim Communist Bureau which existed in Turkestan from early 1919 to the arrival of the Turkestan Commission; the position of the left Social-Revolutionaries with whom the Bolsheviks for a time co-operated; and finally the Turkestan Commission itself, some of whose members were not opposed to the idea of Turkestan becoming a Turkic republic with its own Turkic Communist Party. (The conception of a Turkic nation in Central Asia is of course now anathema in the Soviet Union. Care is taken to show the national characteristics of each of the peoples inhabiting the area. Pan-Islam and pan-Turkism are heinous sins). It is not clear why Nazarov raised these subjects—unless to indicate to other historians that they were now permissible subjects—permissible for criticism if not for evaluation. This appears to have been confirmed by the closing speech to the conference delivered by A. L. Sidorov of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences who said: "The national question is one of the most complex and neglected in historical literature. Moreover, recently the idea has been current that there is no need and that it is even harmful to study the history of bourgeois parties, reactionary nationalist movements, and ideas hostile to us. But in order to combat our enemies we must study them. Otherwise people abroad can read only what is written by White emigres and bourgeois historians on these questions. We must ensure that the works of Soviet historians are circulated both in the Soviet Union and abroad."

It may well be that Central Asian historians are now on the horns of several dilemmas. On the one hand they are urged to throw off the "dogmatism" and "personality cult" of Stalinist times, and to avoid an "illustrative" approach. They are encouraged to make full use of archive material and to pay attention to historiography. They may now probe deeper into subjects which previously were barely mentioned, if at all. They are to indicate national differences in the road to socialism. On the other hand, they are to remember that they are "Marxist historians," that their function is to justify the history of the Soviet Union according to criteria laid down by the Communist Party, that their duty is to attack and discredit bourgeois writers. Two schools of thought were apparent

at the conference: one which included writers such as Zhitov and most of the non-Russian historians seemed loth to penetrate deeper into inflammatory episodes and ideas; the other which included Pyaskovskiy and to a lesser extent Nazarov and Sidorov held the point of view that as the Soviet Union in its present form was a success and had achieved what it set out to do there could be no harm in examining controversial subjects in past history. It will be interesting to see which school will predominate and how Central Asian historians will resolve the conflicting demands placed upon them.

As a postscript, it is interesting to note that *The October Revolution in Uzbekistan* by Kh. Sh. Inoyatov (Oktyabr'skaya revolyutsiya v Uzbekistane. Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1958. 319 pp.) which was written after the conference devotes nearly 50 pages to a consideration of the Kokand government and other forms of opposition to the Tashkent Bolsheviks. The few sources that are quoted are contemporary newspapers or Uzbek State Archives, but the picture that emerges from the book is not new: the Tashkent Bolsheviks are heroes who were supported by the native population; all opposition was inspired by reactionary circles or the British interventionists. The true story of the October Revolution in Tashkent has in fact yet to be told.

