

# Research Trends in the Former Soviet Central Asian Countries

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## 1. General Observations: Change and Continuity

### 1.1. '*Perestroika*' and the reexamination of history

The formation of national republics in Soviet Central Asia was followed in each republic by the development of academic institutions, a process that became rapid in the 1940s. Researchers produced many works, some fundamental and others narrowly specialized, using methods that were orthodox although often ideologically biased and outdated. Primary sources—manuscripts, archival materials, works of “enlighteners” of the nineteenth century, ethnographic and linguistic materials—were extensively collected, studied and published, although many themes could not be studied for political reasons. Development of various fields of learning was not always evenly balanced, and great importance was attached to Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the history of the Communist Party. Political science and sociology in the Western sense were almost absent.

The effect of ideological liberalization during *perestroika* emerged in Central Asia later than in most other parts of the Soviet Union. This was due in part to the more conservative political culture, but also to Gorbachev’s crackdown on the Central Asian elites, manifested in the campaign against “Kazakh nationalism” after the Almaty events in December 1986 and prosecution of Uzbek officials suspected of corruption in the “cotton affair.”

Around 1988, however, scholars and politicians in Central Asia started reexamining history.<sup>1</sup> Those intellectuals who had been accused as “bourgeois nationalists”—such as Uzbek Jadids and Kazakh activists of the Alash Orda autonomous government—were rehabilitated, and their works began to be published. Some revolts against Tsarist Russia, once dismissed as reactionary movements (most notably, the rebellion led by Kenesari in Kazakhstan in 1837–1847), were now hailed as national-liberation movements. Historians also investigated negative sides

<sup>1</sup> Books published as late as 1990 often had old-fashioned views on historical figures and events, partly because of the time it usually took to publish a work and sometimes also because not all scholars were quick to change their views.

of Soviet history, such as the great famine caused by forced settlement of the Kazakh nomads in the early 1930s<sup>2</sup> and Stalin's "Great Terror" in the late 1930s. In addition, contemporary political upheavals evoked a variety of analyses of political events and ethnic conflicts.

### 1.2. Soviet legacies and nationalist scholarship

With the collapse of the socialist economic system, researchers faced a lack of funds and even of paper for printing books. After a few years, however, the problem of lack of paper disappeared and those who found sponsors—either state or private—could publish. The books included re-publication of works written (or collections of documents compiled) in the Tsarist and the early Soviet periods, which under the Soviets were either extreme rarities<sup>3</sup> or banned, and translations of primary sources into modern Central Asian languages. These are no doubt useful, although some have misprints, mistranslations, and even forgery of sources.<sup>4</sup> New series of history from ancient times to the present day,<sup>5</sup> collections of documents (including some hitherto inaccessible), and various encyclopedias have also begun to be published.

However, the expectation that the fall of the Soviet Union would make it pos-

<sup>2</sup> The following article about the great famine sent shock waves through historians: ABYLKHOZHIN, Zhulduzbek B., KOZYBAEV, Manash K., and TATIMOV, Makash B., "Kazakhstanskaya tragediya," *Voprosy istorii* 1989/7: 53-71. The famine and the terror remained important themes for Kazakh historians after the collapse of the Soviet Union: QOYGELDIEV, Mämbet and OMARBEKOV, Talas, *Tarikh taghlimi ne deydı?* [*What Do Historical Lessons Tell?*], Almaty: Ana tılı, 1993, 206p.

<sup>3</sup> Important examples of this kind of book include the re-publication of Levshin's classic work on the Kazakhs (originally published in 1832) with detailed commentaries and indexes, and the publication of Aristov's unpublished work on the Kyrgyz and a part of the Kazakhs written at the end of the nineteenth century. LEVSHIN, Aleksei I., *Opisanie kirgiz-kazach'ikh, ili kirgiz-kaisatskikh, ord i stepei*, Almaty: Sanat, 1996, 655p.; ARISTOV, Nikolai A., *Usuni i kyrgyzy ili kara-kyrgyzy: ocherki istorii i byta naseleniya zapadnogo Tyan'-Shanya i issledovaniya po ego istoricheskoi geografii*, Bishkek: Soros-Kyrgyzstan, 2001, 576p.

<sup>4</sup> An example of unreliable work is the re-publication of a collection of documents about the Alash Orda, originally published in 1929. Although even the original was compiled in a rather careless way, the new edition added more misprints and omitted the table of contents and index. For example, the Samara Committee of Members of the Constituent Assembly (Komuch) appears as the "Samarkand Committee" (p. 146). MARTYNYENKO, N., ed., *Alash-Orda: sbornik dokumentov*, Alma-Ata: Aikap, 1992, 191p.

<sup>5</sup> To the author's best knowledge, three volumes of the history of Kazakhstan, printed separately in Kazakh and Russian and to be completed in five volumes each, and two volumes of the history of Tajikistan have so far been published: *Qazaqstan tarikhı (köne zamannan büginge deyin)* [*History of Kazakhstan: From Ancient Times to Today*], vols. 1-3, Almaty:

sible to research everything freely and correctly in an academic sense proved illusory. Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan almost eliminated freedom of speech soon after they became independent, and other countries have also gradually limited it. The mission now ordained for scholars is to help strengthen the statehood (*gosudarstvennost'*) of the newly independent state: historians are expected to prove the greatness of states that existed on the territory of their country and to praise historical figures believed to have contributed to building these states; archaeologists have to excavate more “deeply” and prove that people with advanced culture have inhabited the territory since the most ancient times; and specialists in folklore and literature think it their duty to glorify their nations’ cultural heritages.

In fact, not all these phenomena of nationalist scholarship are new. Already in the 1940s, under the guidance of the Soviet leadership, scholars began to compile national and ethnic histories of Central Asian peoples. They asserted that all these peoples began to take shape in the second half of the first millennium B. C. on roughly the same territories they currently occupy, and have since developed “autochthonously.”<sup>6</sup> They also assigned ancient and medieval culture to the heritages of modern nations. Thus, Navā’ī (1441–1501) became an Uzbek poet and Jāmī (1414–1492) became a Tajik poet. In a booklet published by the Committee for Navā’ī’s 500th anniversary, the medievalist Aleksandr Yakubovskii claimed that all the Turkic elements that existed on the territory of Uzbekistan before the nomadic Uzbeks conquered it in the sixteenth century can be called “old Uzbek.”<sup>7</sup>

Although the concept of ethnic and cultural continuity in the history of a Soviet republic was created to justify the Soviet nationalities policy, Central Asian intellectuals later used it to promote their national pride. In the post-Soviet independent states, the logic of “autochthonous” ethnic history continues to be employed

Atamūra, 1996, 1998, 2000; *Istoriya Kazakhstana (s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei)*, vols. 1-3, Almaty: Atamūra, 1996, 1997, 2000, 538+624+766p.; *Istoriya tadzhikskogo naroda*, vols. 1-2, Dushanbe: Institut istorii, arkhologii i etnografii AN RT, 1998, 1999. Both series use new materials and are more detailed than Soviet-time editions. The plan to publish a history of Uzbekistan from the ancient times has apparently stalled after only the third volume appeared (*Istoriya Uzbekistana*, vol. 3, *XVI-pervaya polovina XIX veka*, Tashkent: Fan, 1993); however, another series of history from the Russian conquest to 1999 in three volumes (*O'zbekistonning yangi tarixi [A New History of Uzbekistan]*) was published in 2000: vol. 1, *Turkiston Chor Rossiyasi mustamlakachiligi davrida [Turkistan in the Period of Tsarist Russia's Colonialism]*, Tashkent: Sharq, 463p.; vol. 2, *O'zbekiston Sovet mustamlakachiligi davrida [Uzbekistan in the Period of Soviet Colonialism]*, Tashkent: Sharq, 687p.; vol. 3, *Mustaqil O'zbekiston tarixi [A History of Independent Uzbekistan]*, Tashkent: Sharq, 560p.

<sup>6</sup> “Sessiya po etnogenezu Srednei Azii,” in *Sovetskaya etnografiya: sbornik statei*, VI-VII, Leningrad, 1947: 301-325.

<sup>7</sup> YAKUBOVSKII, Aleksandr Yu., *K voprosu ob etnogeneze uzbekskogo naroda*, Tashkent: UzFAN, 1941, 19p.

for emphasizing the historical rights of the nations to their territory. Only the purpose has changed, from justifying the Soviet policy to proving an ancient and great statehood of the Central Asian states. (In this sense, the dominant research trend here should be called not only nationalistic but also explicitly statist.) Thus, as Yuri Bregel points out,<sup>8</sup> Central Asian scholarship has not fundamentally changed and continues to serve political causes.

In addition to ideological biases, confinement of objects of research to the territory of an existing country produces epistemological shortcomings. For example, political history of the Tsarist period has usually been studied in the framework of the republics (now independent states), not of the governor-generalships and *oblasts* (provinces), which were the actual administrative units of Russian Central Asia. Researchers have therefore either fragmented the region's history or neglected differences among the governor-generalships and oblasts. They rarely take into account the inseparable connection between internal policies of the governor-generalships and external military strategies. From another point of view, it is true that detailed studies of all five republics by Soviet scholars had a great advantage when Western scholars relied mainly on secondary sources and had rough and uneven knowledge of these republics, but now, with the development of Western and Japanese scholarship on Central Asia, the advantage is gradually diminishing.

Another Soviet legacy, besides confinement to a republic's territory, is the habit of pinning labels on historical figures and events. Although such rigorous categories as "progressive," "reactionary," "revolutionary," and "feudal-monarchic" have disappeared, scholars often evaluate historical figures and events in extremes. Evaluation seems even more simplistic than in the Soviet period: native revolts, which were formerly divided into "progressive" and "reactionary," are all now evaluated favorably as "national-liberation movements." Non-native intellectuals and politicians of the Tsarist and Soviet periods are either neglected or evaluated based on whether or not they supported the natives. Judgments usually derive from present-day values rather than historical contexts. Scholars may resort to seemingly scientific but in fact subjective use of specific terms, as in the dispute as to whether the Kazakh khanate was a "state" or not (see below). Some works of authors who try to be neutral are in fact patchworks of archival materials without analysis.

### *1.3. New disciplines and popular genres*

Of those disciplines not developed under Soviet rule, political science has advanced the most remarkably, in countries where freedom of speech is limited but still

<sup>8</sup> BREGEL, Yuri, *Notes on the Study of Central Asia*, Bloomington: Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1996.

exists-Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The first political scientists were former Marxist-Leninist philosophers and historians who had engaged in “exposure of falsifications by bourgeois historians” and had access to Western literature, but soon a younger generation of experts with more specialized knowledge appeared. Reference to Western literature has become common, thanks to an increase in knowledge of English and translated literature published in Russia.

Most works in this field, however, are either pro-presidential, or oppositionist, or purely descriptive; impartial in-depth analyses are rare. Methodological shortcomings are also a problem: for example, a popular method in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan is so-called “expert questionnaires (*ekspertnyi opros*),” in which researchers ask other scholars and members of the elite their opinions about the degree of influence of politicians and political institutions, processes of decision-making, and so on. The criteria for selecting “experts” are often unclear, and the results offer only the total number of “experts” who selected each answer, without distinguishing which experts have a direct connection to the issue and which do not. Consequently, research based on such questionnaires represents neither the authors’ own analyses nor the views of policy-makers, but instead merely the vague averaged responses of a disorganized mix of people. Economic research is also developing, although it, too, often has the purpose of justifying state economic policies.

Another popular genre is the study of localities. Not only individual works<sup>9</sup> but also encyclopedias of *oblasts* have been published (most systematically, in Kyrgyzstan).<sup>10</sup> While local studies (*kraevedenie*) was also considered an important subject in the Soviet period (after the repression of the 1930s, however, it substantially lost academic character and almost became schoolwork and a hobby for amateurs), under present conditions it sometimes becomes a means of expressing the authors’ pride in their home provinces, if not political regionalism. In former nomadic regions, local studies is often connected with studies of tribal genealogies

<sup>9</sup> For example: KASYMBAEV, Zhanuzak K. and AGUBAEV, Nurtay Zh., *Istoriya Akmoly, XIX-nachala XX veka: issledovaniya, istochniki, kommentarii*, Almaty: Jeti jarghi, 1998, 176p.; KASYMBAEV, Zhanuzak K., *Istoriya goroda Semipalatinska, 1718-1917*, Almaty, 1998.

<sup>10</sup> For example: *Chuy oblusu/Chuiskaya oblast’: entsiklopediya*, Bishkek: Glav. red. Kyrgyzskoi entsiklopedii, 1994, 722p.; *Isik-köl oblusu/Ysyk-kyolskaya oblast’: entsiklopediya*, Bishkek: Glav. red. Kyrgyzskoi entsiklopedii, 1995, 664p.; *Narin oblusu: entsiklopediya [Naryn Oblast: Encyclopedia]*, Bishkek: Glav. red. Kyrgyzskoi entsiklopedii, 1998, 420p.; *Akmola (gorod i oblast’): entsiklopediya*, Almaty: Atamūra and Qazaq entsiklopediyası, 1995, 400p.; *Atyrau: entsiklopediya*, Almaty: Atamūra, 2000, 456p.; *Batıs Qazaqstan obilisi: entsiklopediya [West Kazakhstan Oblast: Encyclopedia]*, Almaty: Arys, 2002, 638p. The latter includes useful biographies, often difficult to find in other publications, of people who have been prominent in Western Kazakhstan (for example, activists of the western branch of the Alash Orda).

(*shejire* in Kazakh and *sanjira* in Kyrgyz), which were abundantly published in the first half of the 1990s but are not always reliable. (In most cases, compilers do not specify their sources.)

A considerable amount of literature on regional and tribal heroes has also been published, often in timeserving political contexts. In Kazakhstan, Qarasay batır, a hitherto little-known hero of the Shapīrashtī tribe who is said to be an ancestor of President Nazarbaev, suddenly became famous.<sup>11</sup> In Kyrgyzstan, Shabdan Jantaev, a wealthy *manap* (tribal leader) of the Tsarist period, whom the Soviets considered an exploiter, is now hailed as “Shabdan batır.” Some say that Shabdan is an ancestor of President Akaev. In Tajikistan, Mīr Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī, a Kubravī Sufi of the fourteenth century, has become an important historical figure. His mausoleum is situated in Kulob, President Rahmonov’s home region, and venerated by Kulobi people.

Islamic studies are also popular, but government hostility against political Islam and terrorism puts a serious limitation on them, especially in Uzbekistan. Tashkent Islamic University, established in 1999, has a clear aim of propagating a version of Islam that is loyal to the secular state. In Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, sometimes the researchers’ insufficient knowledge of Islam makes their analyses rather superficial.

## 2. Research Trends in Kazakhstan

As we examine more closely the research trends of Central Asian countries, we will focus on Kazakhstan, not only because of the author’s familiarity with research trends there but also because Kazakhstani scholars have issued more publications than their colleagues in the other Central Asian countries.

### 2.1. History: wide range of research and discussion

In Kazakhstan, after an intensive reexamination of history during *perestroika*, the main organizer, Manash Qozībaev,<sup>12</sup> and most other historians went on to write Kazakh national history, emphasizing the Kazakhs’ heroic and tragic struggle for

<sup>11</sup> ABAEV, A. et al., eds., *Qarasay batır: tarikhi zertteuler, ölen-zhirlar* [*Qarasay batır: Historical Studies, Poems and Songs about Him*], Almaty: Sanat, 1998, 240p.

<sup>12</sup> Qozībaev worked as the director of the Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences (now the Institute of History and Ethnology of the Ministry of Education and Science) from 1988 until his death in 2002. A principal collective work that he edited on the reexamination of history is *Istoriya Kazakhstana: belye pyatna*,

national liberation, which is thought to have laid the foundation of independent Kazakhstan (for example, Qozi̇baev called the revolt of 1916 a “revolution” and “national-liberation war”<sup>13</sup>). A minority of historians, on the other hand, focused on aspects of history that are considered to have left negative effects on today’s Kazakhstan. Thus, Jũldĩzbek Ābĩlkhõjin, a well-known specialist in the socio-economic history of Soviet Kazakhstan, argues that forcible settlement of nomads in the 1930s, having destroyed the traditional social structure but not created a modern society, made the Kazakhs “marginal.”<sup>14</sup> As a result, he and his close associates argue, the Kazakhs even today helplessly depend on the state and will not have a future unless they undertake overall modernization.<sup>15</sup>

A similar and even more striking cleavage appeared in a heated dispute in the mid-1990s as to whether the Kazakh khanate was a “state” or not. Some historians asserted that the khanate was a full-fledged state and the prototype of today’s Kazakhstan, while others claimed that the khanate lacked the centralized power structure that a state should possess, suggesting that the foundation of independent Kazakhstan was fragile.<sup>16</sup> Although this dispute may have seemed futile to outsiders, the increased attention it gave to the Kazakh khanate (whose importance was underestimated under the Soviets) is welcome. Related works include Meruert Ābuseyĩtova’s study of the khanate from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries;<sup>17</sup>

*sbornik statei*, Alma-Ata: Qazaqstan, 1991, 345p., although we should note that this book is the product of a transitional period and contains old-style views. Many articles that reexamined history, including the history of literature, also appeared in the journal *Izvestiya Akademii nauk Respubliki Kazakhstan (Seriya obshchestvennykh nauk and Seriya filologicheskaya)* in the first half of the 1990s. Since 1998, the Institute of History and Ethnology has been issuing a new journal *Otan tarikhĩ* [*History of the Fatherland*].

<sup>13</sup> *Natsional’no-osvoboditel’noe dvizhenie v Kazakhstane i Srednei Azii v 1916 godu: kharakter, dvizhushchie sily, uroki*, Almaty: Institut istorii i etnologii MN-RK, 1996, 95p.

<sup>14</sup> ABYLKHOZHIN, Zhulduzbek B., *Traditsionnaya struktura Kazakhstana: sotsial’no-ekonomicheskie aspekty funktsionirovaniya i transformatsii (1920-1930-e gg.)*, Alma-Ata: Ghilim, 1991, 238p.

<sup>15</sup> AMREKULOV, Nurlan A. and MASANOV, Nurbulat E., *Kazakhstan mezhdú proshlym i budushchim*, Almaty: Beren, 1994, 205p.

<sup>16</sup> Works that support the Kazakh khanate’s statehood include PISHCHULINA, Klavdiya A., “Kazakhscoe khanstvo v XV-XVII vv.,” in *Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei (Ocherk)*, Almaty: Dãwĩr, 1993: 144-165; SULTANOV, Tursun I., “O date obrazovaniya pervogo kazakhskogo gosudarstva,” in *Evolyutsiya gosudarstvennosti Kazakhstana*, Almaty, 1996. For arguments against that statehood, see MASANOV, Nurbulat E., *Kochevaya tsivilizatsiya kazakhov: osnovy zhiznedeyatel’nosti nomadnogo obshchestva*, Almaty-Moscow: Sotsinvest and Gorizont, 1995, 320p.; MOISEEV, Vladimir A., “K voprosu o gosudarstvennosti u kazakhov nakanune i v nachal’nyi period prisoedineniya Kazakhstana k Rossii,” *Vostok* 1995/4: 22-26.

<sup>17</sup> ABUSEITOVA, Meruert Kh., *Kazakhstan i Tsentral’naya Aziya v XV-XVII vv.: istoriya, poli-*

detailed data on all known khans of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, compiled by Irina Erofeeva; a well-documented biography of Äbülkhayır Khan written by the same author;<sup>18</sup> and biographies of other khans by Janüzaq Qasımbaev.<sup>19</sup> Klara Khafizova's work on Chinese diplomacy also contains interesting observations on Kazakh khans.<sup>20</sup>

The mid-1990s also included a period in which the Kazakhs celebrated anniversaries of famous poets and writers every year: Abay's 150th anniversary in 1995, Jambıl's 150th in 1996, and Mükhtar Äuezov's 100th in 1997. Some people said that the Senior and the Middle *Jüz* competed in holding extravagant celebrations. (Abay and Äuezov belonged to the Middle *Jüz*, and Jambıl belonged to the Senior *Jüz*.) While it is difficult to judge who won in this alleged competition, publications about Abay were much more numerous than those about Jambıl, examining Abay's world from the various viewpoints of history, literature, linguistics, philosophy, and musicology.<sup>21</sup>

Intellectuals of the early twentieth century (especially activists of the Alash Orda) that were rehabilitated during *perestroika* also became important objects of research. Collections of the works of Älikhan Bökeykhan, Akhmed Baytürsınov, Mir-Yaqub Dulatov, Maghjan Jümabaev, Mükhamedjan Tinışbaev, Khalel Dosmükhamedov and others have been published. They are generally well edited, despite some mistakes in transcription from Arabic script into Cyrillic because many Kazakh scholars do not know Arabic script well. Biographies of these people have also been written.<sup>22</sup> Important works on the Alash Orda include those of

*tika, diplomatiya*, Almaty: Daik-Press, 1998, 268p.

<sup>18</sup> EROFEEVA, Irina V., "Kazakhskie khany i khanskie dinastii v XVIII-seredine XIX vv.," in *Kul'tura i istoriya Tsentral'noi Azii i Kazakhstana: problemy i perspektivy issledovaniya*, Almaty: Soros-Kazakhstan, 1997: 46-144; Idem, *Khan Abulkhair: polkovodets, pravitel' i politik*, Almaty: Sanat, 1999, 336p.

<sup>19</sup> KASYMBAEV, Zhanuzak K., *Gosudarstvennye deyateli kazakhskikh khanstv (XVIII vek)*, Almaty: Bılı́m, 1999, 288p.; Idem, *Khan Aishuak (1719-1810)*, Almaty: Jeti jarghı, 2001, 254p.; Idem, *Khan Zhantore (1759-1809)*, Almaty: Bılı́m, 2001, 364p.; Idem, *Zhangir Khan (1801-1845)*, Almaty: Nash mir, 2001, 352p.

<sup>20</sup> KHAFIZOVA, Klara, *Kitaiskaya diplomatiya v Tsentral'noi Azii (XIV-XIX vv.)*, Almaty: Ghilim, 1995, 286p.

<sup>21</sup> To cite only some of them: *Abay: entsiklopediya*, Almaty: Qazaq entsiklopediyası and Atamūra, 1995, 720p.; İSMAGHÜLOV, Jümaghali, *Abay: aqındıq taghılımi* [*Abay: A Poetic Model*], Almaty, 1994, 280p.; *Abayding dünietanımı men filosofiyası* [*Abay's Worldview and Philosophy*], Almaty: Ghilim, 1995, 181p.; SİZDİQOVA, Rābigha, *Abayding söz örnegi* [*Abay's Verbal Ornament*], Almaty: Sanat, 1995, 208p.; GIZATOV, Bisengali, *Abay i muzyka*, Almaty: Ghilim, 1995, 123p.

<sup>22</sup> We do not list here biographical works, which are many, but do cite the invaluable mem

Mämbet Qoygeldiev (now the director of the Institute of History and Ethnology), Kenges Nürpeýsov, and Dina Amanjolova.<sup>23</sup> The first two authors explored the multi-faceted activities of Kazakh intellectuals, relying on documents from the archives of Kazakhstan. Amanjolova (a historian from Semipalatinsk who lives in Moscow) worked intensively in Russian archives and found many useful documents about the relations between the Alash Orda and various Russian governments during the civil war, though her analyses are sometimes confused. Mustafa Chokay, who was a member of the Alash Orda but was more prominent as a leader of the Turkistan autonomous government and later of the émigré movement for Turkistan independence, also attracts the attention of Kazakh scholars; an interesting work on him and the Nazi Turkistan Legion has recently appeared.<sup>24</sup>

As a related topic, Ömirзақ Ozghanbay studied Kazakh deputies to the Russian State Duma, many of whom later joined the Alash Orda.<sup>25</sup> Üshköltay Subkhanberdina has compiled indexes and collections of important articles of Kazakh newspapers and journals, published under the Alash Orda and before—especially *Dala walayatining gazetı* (“The Steppe Region Newspaper”), published under the direction of the Governor-General of the Steppe.<sup>26</sup> Some Kazakh Communists of the early Soviet period, such as Tūrār Rısqūlov, Oraz Jandosov and

oors of Gülnar Dulatova, the daughter of Mir-Yaqub Dulatov: DULATOVA, Gülnar M., *Shıñdıq shıraghı* [*The Light of Truth*], Almaty, 1995.

<sup>23</sup> QOYGELDIEV, Mämbet, *Alash qozghalısi* [*The Alash Movement*], Almaty: Sanat, 1995, 366p.; NÜRPEÝSOV, Kenges, *Alash häm Alashorda* [*Alash and the Alash Orda*], Almaty: Atatek, 1995, 255p.; AMANZHOLOVA, Dina A., *Kazakhskii avtonomizm i Rossiya: istoriya dvizheniya Alash*, Moscow: Rossiya Molodaya, 1994, 216p.

<sup>24</sup> SADYKOVA, Bakhyt, *Istoriya Turkestanskogo legiona v dokumentakh*, Almaty: Qaynar, 2002, 248p.

<sup>25</sup> OZGANBAI, Omirzak, *Gosudarstvennaya Duma Rossii i Kazakhstan (1905-1917)*, Almaty: Arys, 2000, 281p.

<sup>26</sup> SUBKHANBERDINA, Üshköltay, ed., *Dala walayatining gazetı: ädebi nüsqalar/ Literaturnye obraztsy*, in 3 vols., Almaty: Ghilim, 1989, 1990, 1992, 656+572+576p.; Idem, ed., *Dala walayatining gazetı: adam, qogham, tabighat/Chelovek, obshchestvo, priroda, 1888-1902*, Almaty: Ghilim, 1994, 815p.; Idem, *Dala walayatining gazetı: mazmündalghan bibliografiyalıq körsetkish, 1888-1902* [*Dala walayatining gazetı: Annotated Bibliographical Index, 1888-1902*], Almaty: Ghilim, 1996, 213p.; Idem, ed., “Qazaq,” “Alash,” “Sariarqa”: *mazmündalghan bibliografiyalıq körsetkish* [*Qazaq, Alash, Sariarqa: Annotated Bibliographical Index*], Almaty: Ghilim, 1993, 200p.; SUBKHANBERDINA, Üshköltay, DÄWİTOV, S., eds., “Ayqap,” Almaty: Qazaq entsiklopediyası, 1995, 366p.; SUBKHANBERDINA, Üshköltay, DÄWİTOV, S., and SAKHOV, Q., eds., “Qazaq” gazetı [*The Qazaq Newspaper*], Almaty: Qazaq entsiklopediyası, 1998, 560p. Besides indexes and collections of articles, there are studies on these newspapers, among others: ATABAEV, Qambar, *Qazaq baspasözi: Qazaqstan tarikhining derek közi (1870-1918)* [*The Kazakh Press: Sources of*

Názır Töreǵılov have also attracted renewed attention.<sup>27</sup>

Reexamination of history included historiography and the fates of historians.<sup>28</sup> Sanjar Asfendiarov, Ermükhan Bekmakhanov, and other historians who were repressed under Stalin have especially attracted attention. On the other hand, however, the tradition of compiling systematic historiographies and extensive bibliographies seems to have declined, and those compiled in the Soviet period are still useful.<sup>29</sup>

Changes in evaluation of history have also influenced other fields of learning, such as literature, and many specialists have been rewriting the history of literature, underlining the importance of works of rehabilitated poets and writers.<sup>30</sup> Relations between Kazakh literature and the literature of other Asians have also become a popular topic. (Comparative literature also prospered under the Soviets, but with primary importance attached to Russian literature.)<sup>31</sup> Oriental studies in general have gained momentum, although specialists on Asian peoples other than Central Asians are still few. The Institute of Oriental Studies of the Ministry of Education and Science, established in 1996 on the basis of the former Institute of Uyghur Studies, publishes many books on Central Asian, Mongolian and Chinese studies,

*Information on the History of Kazakhstan (1870-1918)*], Almaty: Qazaq universiteti, 2000, 358p.; ĀBDĪMANOV, Ö., “*Qazaq*” *gazeti* [*The Qazaq Newspaper*], Almaty: Qazaqstan, 1993, 166p.

<sup>27</sup> QONGĪRATBAEV, Ordalı, *Tūrār Rısqūlov: qoghamdıq-sayasi jāne memlekettik qızmeti, Türkıstan kezengi* [*Tūrār Rısqūlov: His Social, Political and Public Activities*], Almaty, 1994, 448p. Collections of Rısqūlov’s works and documents about Jandosov were published with commentaries by scholars of the Institute of History and Ethnology. RYSKULOV, Turar, *Sobranie sochinenii*, in 3 vols., Almaty: Qazaqstan, 1997, 1997, 1998, 335+383+447p.; *Uraz Dzhandosov: dokumenty i publitsistika, 1918-1937 gg.*, in 2 vols., Almaty: Qazaqstan, 1999, 400+304p.; TÖREǴULOV, Názır (TYURYAKULOV, Nazır), *Shıgharmalar/Sochineniya: Diplomati*, Almaty: Qazaqstan, 1997, 336p.

<sup>28</sup> KOZYBAEV, Il’yas M., *Istoriografiya Kazakhstana: uroki istorii*, Alma-Ata: Rawan, 1990, 135p.; Idem, *Istoricheskaya nauka Kazakhstana (40-80-e gody XX veka)*, Alma-Ata: Qazaq universiteti, 1992, 149p.

<sup>29</sup> A volume of articles that review research trends in various fields of historical studies is *Voprosy istoriografii i istochnikovedeniya Kazakhstana (dorevolutsionnyi period)*, Alma-Ata: Nauka KazSSR, 1988, 262p.

<sup>30</sup> QIRABAEV, Serfık, *Ādebietimızdıń aqtandaq betteri* [*Blank Pages of our Literature*], Almaty: Bıfım, 1995, 288p.; ELEUKENOV, Sheriazdan R., *Ādebiet zhāne ūlt taǵdiri* [*Literature and the Fate of the Nation*], Almaty: Jalın, 1997, 368p.; *20-30 jıldardaghı qazaq ādebieti* [*Kazakh Literature in the 1920-1930s*], vol. 1, Almaty: Ghilim, 1997, 512p. Many works on the history of Kazakh literature from the period of the Kazakh khanate to the Soviet period have also been published.

<sup>31</sup> KUMISBAEV, Utegen K., *Problemy arabo-persidskikh i kazakhskikh literaturnykh svyazei (XIX-XX vv.)*, Almaty: KazGU, 1996, 292p.

organizes courses on Arabic and Islamic studies, actively cooperates with foreign scholars, and convenes international conferences.

History after World War II, a field in which earlier studies of the history of the Communist Party, the Komsomol, trade unions and so forth have become totally obsolete, is now somewhat set aside by most historians and still awaits research from new points of view. More or less well-studied topics include the history of the Academy of Sciences (especially its first president, Qanış Sätbaev),<sup>32</sup> the repression of historians,<sup>33</sup> and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kazakh SSR.<sup>34</sup> The memoirs of politicians of the Soviet period, such as Dınmükhamed Qonaev (former First Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan) and people who worked under him, have been published and may serve as material for future research.

## 2.2. *Ethnography and related fields: nomadic culture in focus*

Ethnography, which somehow was not given priority in Soviet Kazakhstan, still has development difficulties today.<sup>35</sup> Khalel Arghınbaev and Marat Mūqanov, the best ethnographers of the late Soviet period, both died in 1998, and Nūrbolat Masanov, the Kazakh ethnographer who is probably the best known to Russian and Western scholars, now spends most of his time on oppositionist political activities. Nevertheless, nomadism and nomadic culture have been attracting the attention of many scholars, not solely ethnographers. Nomadism was also studied during the Soviet period but was considered a primitive stage of development, and its originality was not adequately acknowledged. In 1978, young Kazakh scholars who had studied in Moscow and Leningrad tried to publish a book in Almaty that emphasized the uniqueness of nomadic culture, but it was banned and only republished after Kazakhstan independence.<sup>36</sup> The situation began to change in the 1980s, and in 1987 a Soviet-French symposium on “Interactions between nomadic culture and

<sup>32</sup> Sätbaev was a geologist, but also contributed to the humanities. See: BATYRBKOV, Gaziz O., *Nasledie akademiika K. I. Satpaeva po obshchestvennym naukam*, Almaty: Ghilim, 1997, 240p.

<sup>33</sup> See I. M. Kozybaev's books mentioned in note 28.

<sup>34</sup> KOZYBAEV, Il'yas M., *Diplomatiya Kazakhstana: stranitsy istorii*, Almaty: Örkienet, 2001, 205p.

<sup>35</sup> A standard outline of ethnographic studies of the Kazakhs is *Kazakhi: istoriko-etnograficheskoe issledovanie*, Almaty: Qazaqstan, 1995, 350p.

<sup>36</sup> *Kochevniki, estetika: poznanie mira traditsionnym kazakhskim iskusstvom*, Almaty: Ghilim, 1993, 264p. One of its authors, Äsiya Mükhambetova, has continued to criticize the Soviet practice of adapting Kazakh music to the model of European music, and to emphasize the need for studying and playing Kazakh music in accordance with its traditional style based on the worldview of Turkic nomads. AMANOV, Bagdaulet Zh. and MUKHAMBETOVA,

ancient civilizations” was held in Almaty.<sup>37</sup>

After Kazakhstan gained independence, the interest in nomadic culture continued to grow. In 1995, a conference entitled “Culture of nomads on the thresholds of centuries” was convened.<sup>38</sup> Masanov’s “Nomadic civilization of the Kazakhs,”<sup>39</sup> published in the same year, can be called a monumental work of Kazakh nomadology. His basic methodology is Marxist socio-economics, but he successfully combines it with ecological methods. He relies almost exclusively on Russian sources, however, and does not use folk literature and other materials in Kazakh; as a result, he fails to recognize many cultural and spiritual aspects of nomadism. Some other scholars, such as Änwar Ghaliev and Nürilya Shakhanova, are attempting to analyze Kazakh customs and value systems by methods of semantics and semiotics.<sup>40</sup> Jurists are studying customary law, an indispensable part of the social system of nomads, and have published collections of documents (especially *erejes*—sets of rules promulgated at legal assemblies—and court decisions) and articles on the subject.<sup>41</sup> The authors of a book on this issue argue that the forcible abolition of customary law in the 1930s was tragic not only in itself but also in the sense that it did not create modern social norms and let some degenerate parts of tradition revive afterwards; they thus present a view similar to the one Äbülkhojin holds on socio-economic issues.<sup>42</sup>

Asiya I., *Kazakhskaya traditsionnaya muzyka i XX vek*, Almaty: Daik-Press, 2003, 542p.

<sup>37</sup> *Vzaimodeistvie kochevykh kul'tur i drevnikh tsivilizatsii*, Alma-Ata: Nauka KazSSR, 1989, 463p.

<sup>38</sup> *Kul'tura kochevnikov na rubezhe vekov (XIX-XX, XX-XXI vv.): problemy genezisa i transformatsii, materialy mezhdunarodnoi konferentsii*, Almaty, 1995.

<sup>39</sup> See note 16.

<sup>40</sup> GALIEV, Anuar A., *Traditsionnoe mirovozzrenie kazakhov*, Almaty: Fond Evrazii, 1997, 167p.; SHAKHANOVA, Nurilya Zh., *Mir traditsionnoi kul'tury kazakhov: etnograficheskie ocherki*, Almaty: Qazaqstan, 1998, 192p.

<sup>41</sup> *Qazaq ädet-ghürp qäqighining materialdari/Materialy po kazakhskomu obychnomu pravu*, Almaty: Jeti jarghi, 1996, 206p. In Moscow, a collection of Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Turkmen customary law was published: *Stepnoi zakon: obychnoe pravo kazakhov, kirgizov i turkmen*, Moscow: Staryi sad, 2000, 289p. In contrast to most Kazakh scholars, who emphasize the “traditional” character of customary law, Virginia Martin of the United States underscores that Russian officials and scholars were the first to record diverse rules and principles and then identify them collectively as the “customary law” of the Kazakhs, thus in a sense “inventing” it: MARTIN, Virginia, *Law and Custom in the Steppe: The Kazakhs of the Middle Horde and Russian Colonialism in the Nineteenth Century*, Richmond: Curzon, 2001, xvi-244p.

<sup>42</sup> KENZHALIEV, Zailagi Zh. and DAULETOVA, Sof'ya O., *Kazakhskoe obychnoe pravo v usloviyakh Sovetskoï vlasti (1917-1937 gg.)*, Almaty: Ghilim, 1993, 143p. See also note 14.

### 2.3. *The search for broader ties: Turkism, Eurasianism and diasporas*

Folklore, as generally accepted, gives keys to understanding the nomads' style of thinking, but as a field of research is generally separated from ethnography and studied by specialists in literature. Epic studies are especially popular.<sup>43</sup> Because many epics are common to a number of Turkic peoples, specialists in epics (as well as linguists) often emphasize common Turkic heritages, as is suggested by the title of a book by Rakhmanqūl Berdībay, "From Baikal to the Balkans."<sup>44</sup> Although the Kazakhs in general are not especially enthusiastic about either Islam or the idea of Turkic unity, literature on Turkic history, Turkism and Islamic teachings has grown remarkably in recent years. (We have not listed these books here, because most of them are either translations of foreign literature or have a non-academic character.) Another popular ideology that argues for broad cultural ties of the Kazakhs with their neighbors is Eurasianism.<sup>45</sup> The history books of one of its main ideologues, Lev Gumilev, are popular in Kazakhstan, and "Eurasian University" in the new capital, Astana, is named after him. Although in Russia Eurasianism is sometimes associated with Russian nationalism and searches for Russia's allies in Asia in opposition to the West, Kazakhstani Eurasianism has more to do with President Nazarbaev's idea to identify Kazakhstan as a Eurasian state and to reinvigorate its relations with Russia and other former Soviet countries, without sacrificing its relationship with the West.

Kazakhstan is a multiethnic state, and studies on ethnic minorities who live here as diasporas constitute an important part of Kazakhstani studies. The history and contemporary situations of the Koreans,<sup>46</sup> the Uyghurs, the Germans, the Poles, and others are usually studied by scholars from the ethnic groups themselves, and sometimes in cooperation with scholars from their historic homelands. Many of these minorities were deported to Kazakhstan on the eve of and during World War II by order of Stalin, and the history of deportation continues to attract the attention of historians.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, Kazakh diasporas in China, Mongolia, Turkey

<sup>43</sup> İBİRAEV, Shākīr, *Epos әлемі [The World of Epics]*, Almaty, 1993. A number of collections of epics have also been published.

<sup>44</sup> BERDĪBAY, Rakhmanqūl, *Bayqaldan Balqangha deyin [From Baikal to the Balkans]*, Almaty: Qazaqstan, 1996, 255p.

<sup>45</sup> *Idei i real'nost' evraziistva: materialy Valikhanovskikh chtenii 11 dekabrya 1998 g.*, Astana, Almaty: Daik-Press, 1999, 296p.; *Evraziiskii talisman*, Almaty: Bīlīm, 1996, 184p.

<sup>46</sup> KAN, Georgii V., *Istoriya koreitsev Kazakhstana*, Almaty: Ghīlīm, 1995, 207p.; KIM, German N., *Istoriya immigratsii koreitsev, Kniga I: vtoraya polovina XIX v.-1945 g.*, Almaty: Daik-Press, 1999, 424p.

<sup>47</sup> *Deportirovannye v Kazakhstan narody: vremya i sud'by*, Almaty: Arys and Qazaqstan, 1998, 412p.

and other countries have also become a significant object of research.<sup>48</sup>

#### 2.4. Social sciences

Political studies have been developing rapidly in Kazakhstan. Besides individual researchers, the following institutes have greatly contributed to development of the field:

- The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President (KISI, or KazISS) organizes conferences, carries out international research projects, and publishes the journals *Kazakhstan-Spektr* and *Analytics*. A significant number of publications of the institute are available at its website (<http://www.kisi.kz/>).

- The Institute for Development of Kazakhstan (IDK) publishes the journals *Sayasat* and *Evraziiskoe soobshchestvo*, as well as various books and encyclopedias.<sup>49</sup>

- Central Asia Agency of Political Research (CAAPR) publishes the journal *Tsentral'naya Aziya: politika i ekonomika*, as well as booklets on various topics such as security issues, international relations, political parties, and lobbyism in Central Asian countries. It also has a very informative website (<http://www.caapr.kz/>).

Most political scientists, including the directors of these institutes, are young. Following Janiljan Jünisova's pioneering work,<sup>50</sup> many researchers have adopted the custom of citing famous theoretical works of Western scholars. Most works, however, are published as relatively short articles in newspapers, magazines, and proceedings of conferences, and full-length works with sophisticated structure and analysis are rare.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, some books provide good overviews of Kazakhstani politics.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> MENDIKULOVA, Gul'nara M., *Istoricheskie sud'by kazakhskoi diaspori: proiskhozhdenie i razvitie*, Almaty: Ghilim, 1997, 264p.

<sup>49</sup> In addition, the institute compiled nine volumes of reference books on the Kazakhs' traditions, historical figures and events, genealogies and other subjects: *Qazaqtar: köpshilikke arналghan toghiz tomdiq aniqtamaliq/Kazakhi: devyatitomnyi populyarnyi spravochnik*, Almaty: IDK-TIPO, 1998, 430+532+370+367+206+404+285+480+542p.

<sup>50</sup> DZHUNUSOVA, Zhanylzhana Kh., *Respublika Kazakhstan: Prezident, instituty demokrati*, Almaty: Jeti jarghi, 1996, 208p.

<sup>51</sup> For critical views of Kazakh scholars themselves on the present conditions of political science in Kazakhstan, see: SATPAEV, Dosym A., *Politicheskaya nauka v Kazakhstane: sostoyaniye distsipliny*, Almaty: ARG, 2002, 195p.

<sup>52</sup> The following book is not only an overview of politics and the political history of Kazakhstan, but also an attempt at theoretical analyses of various political phenomena, including the role of traditions in politics: NYSANBAEV, Abdimalik, MASHAN, Meirzhan, MURZALIN, Zhanbolat, and TULEGULOV, Askar, *Evolyuetsiya politicheskoi sistemy Kazakhstana*, in 2 vols., Almaty: Qazaq entsiklopediyasi, 2001, 351+543p.

Economic research lags somewhat behind political studies, although the above-mentioned KISI, IDK, and some other institutes engage in it. Some politicians have also written more or less serious works on economics.

Legal studies, with a tradition since the Soviet period and boasting such famous veteran scholars as Saliq Zimanov and Ghayrat Saparghaliev, continue to be productive. The leading organization in this field is the Kazakh State Law Academy, which was established as a college in 1994 and in 2000 incorporated the former Institute of State and Law of the Academy of Sciences. One of the main topics in legal studies is constitutionalism in Kazakhstan.<sup>53</sup>

### 3. Research Trends in Other Countries

#### 3.1. Kyrgyzstan

In Kyrgyzstan, the reexamination of history, although not carried out in as dramatic a way as in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, resulted in the reevaluation of some historical figures who had been labeled as reactionary.<sup>54</sup> The revolt of 1916 was also reevaluated in a more positive light; although under the Soviets it was on the whole regarded as a national liberation movement, its Kyrgyz part was viewed negatively because of the bloody conflict between the Kyrgyz and Russian peasants. Today's researchers recognize its "heroic" but at the same time tragic nature.<sup>55</sup>

The 1000th anniversary of the epic *Manas* in 1995 and the 3000th anniversary of the city of Osh in 2000 (of course, "1000th" and "3000th" are only approximate figures) greatly stimulated academic activities. A lot of related publications appeared, not only on folklore and ancient history, but also on *Manas*'s influences on Kyrgyz culture in general and the modern history of Osh and the Ferghana Valley.<sup>56</sup> *Manas*, the most important cultural heritage of the Kyrgyz, is even now

<sup>53</sup> KOTOV, Anatolii K., *Suverennyi Kazakhstan: grazhdanin, natsiya, narod (voprosy konstitutsionnogo prava)*, Almaty: Jeti jarghi, 1997, 288p.; BAISHEV, Zholymbet, *Sudebnaya zashchita Konstitutsii*, Almaty: Jeti jarghi, 1994. The latter book, written by a judge of the Constitutional Court, is not only a useful analysis of complicated legal problems in the transitional period but also a valuable historical record of activities of the Constitutional Court, which was abolished in 1995.

<sup>54</sup> For example, about Abdykerim Sydykov (1889-1938), who was prominent as an autonomist and historian, see: KURMANOV, Z. and PLOSKIKH, Vladimir M. et al., *Abdykerim Sydykov-natsional'nyi lider*, Bishkek: Kyrgyzstan, 1992, 184p.

<sup>55</sup> USENBAEV, Kushbek, *1916: geroicheskie i tragicheskie stranitsy*, Bishkek: Sham, 1997, 203p.

<sup>56</sup> For example: "*Manas*" *entsiklopediyasi* [Encyclopedia of *Manas*], in 2 vols., Bishkek: Glav. red. Kyrgyzskoi entsiklopedii, 1995, 440+432p.; MOLDOBAEV, Imel' B., "*Manas*"-

an important object of research and a kind of state symbol of Kyrgyzstan.

In the field of ethnography, the ethnic consciousness of the Kyrgyz and interethnic relations in Kyrgyzstan, including the conflict between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in Osh in 1990, have especially attracted the attention of researchers.<sup>57</sup> As for the ethnic history of the Kyrgyz, although there is a rough consensus that both autochthons of the Tienshan and migrants from the Yenisei and the Altai played their roles in the Kyrgyz ethnogenesis, under the Soviets the accent was put on the role of autochthons. Now, more and more attention is paid to the Yenisei Kyrgyz. Some Kyrgyz scholars call the latter's domain the "Great Kyrgyz Empire," which is likely to enhance the historical legitimacy of Kyrgyzstan's statehood. Furthermore, President Akaev, as well as scholars, believes that a description in Sima Qian 司馬遷's *Shiji* 史記 of an event in 201 B.C. in North Asia proves the existence of a Kyrgyz state at that time, and he designated (and had the United Nations General Assembly designate) 2003 as the 2200th anniversary of Kyrgyz statehood.<sup>58</sup>

There are also a number of research works on minorities in Kyrgyzstan, especially the Germans and Dungans.<sup>59</sup> In the field of literature, many research projects are dedicated to the works, life story, and philosophy of the famous writer, Chinggiz Aytmatov. Linguists are also active, as before.

### 3.2. Uzbekistan

In Uzbekistan, the reexamination of history during *perestroika* was carried out very actively and covered a variety of issues, such as the Andijan uprising in 1898, Jadidism and Jadid writers, the Basmachi movement, the process of "national delimitation" in 1924–1925, and so forth,<sup>60</sup> but this reexamination did not necessarily

*istoriko-kul'turnyi pamyatnik kyrgyzov*, Bishkek: Kyrgyzstan, 1995, 311p.; *Osh-3000 i kul'turnoe nasledie naroda Kyrgyzstana*, in 5 vols., Bishkek: Muras, 1998, 72+123+118+131+81p. Many of the publications related to the Osh anniversary are dated before 2000, because some events for the anniversary began already in 1997.

<sup>57</sup> ASANKANOV, Abylabek, *Kyrgyzy: rost natsional'nogo samosoznaniya*, Bishkek: Muras, 1997, 228p.; RAZAKOV, Talant, *Osh koogalangü/Oshskie sobytiya (na materialakh KGB)*, Bishkek: Rennessans, 1993, 111p. Aynura Elebaeva has conducted sociological research on interethnic relations.

<sup>58</sup> For more about recent Kyrgyz historiography, see: TCHOROEV, Tyntchtykbek, "Historiography of Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34/2 (2002): 351–374.

<sup>59</sup> KRONGARDT, Gennadii K., *Nemtsy v Kyrgyzstane: 1880-1990 gg.*, Bishkek: Ilim, 1997, 415p.; *Dunganovedenie v Kyrgyzstane*, Bishkek: Ilim, 2000, 116p.

<sup>60</sup> Numerous articles appeared in journals (most notably, *Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane*,

result in publication of fundamental works in the following years. Severe limitation on freedom of speech after independence reduced the range of research projects that might touch on politically delicate problems. Most books on modern history were published in small volumes (fewer than 100 pages), possibly for economic reasons. On the other hand, Uzbekistan has a rich tradition of research in ancient and medieval history, and such festivals as Timur's 660th anniversary in 1996 and the 2500th anniversary of Bukhara and Khiva in 1997 did not mobilize specialists in modern history so widely as anniversaries in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan did.

After the Cabinet of Ministers of Uzbekistan adopted a decision about developing the activities of the Institute of History on July 27, 1998, however, the situation changed drastically. The institute started its own journal, *O'zbekiston Tarixi* [*History of Uzbekistan*], in 1999, and scholars at the institute published some fundamental works on the history of Uzbekistan in the early twentieth century, with the accent on national-liberation movements.<sup>61</sup> This change clearly shows how state policy affects historical studies in contemporary Uzbekistan.

Another important topic is Sufism. Among others, Bakhtiyor Babajonov studies Sufi orders from the period of the Shaybanids to the present day, based on primary sources, and actively publishes works both in Uzbekistan and abroad.<sup>62</sup> It is

as well as literary and popular journals *Sharq Yulduzi* [*Oriental Star*], *Zvezda Vostoka*, *Yoshlik* [*Youth*], *Fan va Turmush* [*Science and Life*], and others), and also in books such as: *Oktyabr'skaya revolyutsiya v Srednei Azii i Kazakhstane: teoriya, problemy, perspektivy izucheniya*, Tashkent: Fan, 1991, 384p. Reexamination of the national delimitation, an issue with a potential to undermine the legitimacy of the Central Asian republics, soon went out of fashion.

<sup>61</sup> *Jadidchilik: islohot, yangilanish, mustaqillik va taraqqiyot uchun kurash (Davriy to'plam 1)* [*Jadidism: Struggle for Reform, Renovation, Independence and Progress* (Periodical Collection 1)], Tashkent: Universitet, 1999, 218p.; A'ZAMXO'JAEV, S., *Turkiston muxtoriyati: milliy-demokratik davlatchilik qurilishi tajribasi* [*The Turkistan Autonomy: Trial of Establishing a National Democratic Statehood*], Tashkent: Ma'naviyat, 2000, 168p.; ZIYOEV, H., *Turkistonda Rossiya tajovuzi va hukmronligiga qarshi kurash: XVIII-XX asr boshlari* [*Struggle against Russian Invasion and Rule in Turkistan: From the Eighteenth to the Beginning of the Twentieth Centuries*], Tashkent: Sharq, 2000, 480p.; *Turkestan v nachale XX veka: k istorii istokov natsional'noi nezavisimosti*, Tashkent: Shark, 2000, 672p. As to Uzbek commentaries on these new publications, see OCHILOV, E., "O'zbekiston tarixining yangi sahifalari [New Products of the History of Uzbekistan]," *O'zbekiston Tarixi* 2001/2: 53-60. Also, see *O'zbekistonning yangi tarixi* in three volumes, cited in note 5.

<sup>62</sup> For example, BABADŽANOV, B., "On the History of the Naqšbandiyya Muğaddidiyya in Central Māwarā'annahr in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries," in *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, eds. Michael Kemper, Anke von Kügelgen, and Dmitriy Yermakov, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1996: 385-413; Idem, "Dūkčī Īsān und der Aufstand von Andižan 1898," in *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, vol. 2, eds. Anke von Kügelgen, Michael Kemper, and Allen J. Frank, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1998: 167-191.

also noteworthy that scholars in Karakalpakstan (the westernmost part of Uzbekistan) have their own tradition and orientation of research, and they are especially enthusiastic about studying epics.

### 3.3. *Tajikistan*

In Tajikistan, despite five years of civil war and subsequent economic hardships, researchers are quite active. There are interesting works on various topics ranging from architecture and folklore to local history and legal studies. Probably the most well known works on modern history are those of Rahim Masov, who fiercely denounced the unfairness of national delimitation in 1924 and the resulting “Uzbekization” of Tajiks in Uzbekistan.<sup>63</sup> There are also works on the history of Tajik-Russian relations<sup>64</sup> and the Tajik diaspora in the world.<sup>65</sup>

In the fields of political and sociological research, works by Saodat Olimova and Muzaffar Olimov are well known to foreign scholars. Most publications in Tajikistan, however, rarely reach outside the country. The value of documents and memoirs about the civil war, compiled by Ibrohim Usmonov, the late Safarali Kenjaev, and others is recognized only a few of outside researchers.

### 3.4. *Turkmenistan*

In Turkmenistan, although even during the Soviet period the humanities and social sciences were not very productive (for example, a full-scale history from ancient times to the present day was published only once, in 1957), in the early 1990s some interesting works did appear,<sup>66</sup> including the controversial booklet of Marat Durdyev, who emphasized similarities (especially in racial features) between the Parthians and the Turkmen.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>63</sup> MASOV, Rakhim, *Istoriya topornogo razdeleniya*, Dushanbe: Irfon, 1991, 192p.; Idem, *Tadzhiki: istoriya s grifom “sovershenno sekretno,”* Dushanbe: Tsentr izdaniya kul’turnogo naslediya, 1995, 200p.

<sup>64</sup> MASOV, Rakhim, ed., *Rossiya v istoricheskikh sud’bakh tadzhikskogo naroda*, Dushanbe: Sharki ozod, 1998, 156p.

<sup>65</sup> BOBOKHONOV, Mansur, *Ta’rikhi tojikoni jahon [History of the Tajiks in the World]*, Dushanbe, 1999.

<sup>66</sup> DZHIKIEV, Ata, *Ocherki proiskhozhdeniya i formirovaniya turkmenskogo naroda v epokhu srednevekov’ya*, Ashkhabad: Turkmenistan, 1991, 333p.; GUNDOGDYEV, Ovez and ANNA-ORAZOV, Dzhuma, *Slava i tragediya: sud’ba tekinskogo konnogo polka (1914-1918)*, Ashgabat: Rukh, 1992, 60p.

<sup>67</sup> DURDYEV, Marat, *Turkmeny (poiski predkov turkmenskogo naroda i ego istoricheskoi*

The recent situation, however, is disastrous. Many books in libraries, mostly written during the Soviet period or soon after independence, have reportedly been made inaccessible to readers because they contradict Niyazov's view on Turkmen history. Paradoxically, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, the countries that outsiders criticize for their Soviet-style political and economic regimes, condemn the Soviet past more harshly than others and try to create their glorious national histories with even more enthusiasm. Niyazov's *Rukhnama* is regarded as a "sacred book," and for scholars to study it has become an important assignment. The number of lecturers and students at universities has been reduced. Contact between Turkmen and foreign scholars is rare.

An exceptionally prolific scholar, Ovez Gundogdyev, covers various themes such as the Turkmen ethnogenesis, the Oguz tribes in Rus, and Turkmen horses, cavalries, carpets, women and so on, but most of his works are based on secondary sources or translated primary sources, and his zeal to glorify his own nation sometimes clouds the objectivity of his research.<sup>68</sup>

#### 4. Future Perspectives and Challenges

As we have seen, post-Soviet Central Asian scholars have produced rich results, although situations are more favorable in some countries than in others, and some disciplines are more developed than others. Foreign studies, once almost absent in Soviet Central Asia,<sup>69</sup> are a field still slow in developing, although teaching of various foreign languages is now widespread in universities. Relatively well-studied fields are China (especially Xinjiang) and Afghanistan, either a part of historical Central Asia or overlapping with it, and Persian and Arabic philology, which has a long tradition of study in Central Asia. It is characteristic that "oriental studies" in Central Asian countries mean, first of all, Central Asian studies. If we assume that comparative methods are indispensable to area studies, and that the quality of self-representation depends to some degree on the quality of representation of others, further development of foreign studies may be essential to Central Asian scholarship as a whole.

Another worrisome phenomenon is the low level of cooperation among the different countries of the region. Although some scholars do visit other Central Asian

*prarodiny*), Ashkhabad: Kharp, 1991, 52p.

<sup>68</sup> GUNDOGDYEV, Ovez, *Proshloe turkmen*, Moscow: Interstamo, 1998, 629-xvip.

<sup>69</sup> Of the 302 Kazakhstani professors and doctors of the humanities and social sciences listed in a handbook published in 1986, only one person specialized in foreign studies—the history of Cuba. See: *Biobibliografiya obshchestvovedov Kazakhstana*, Almaty: Nauka KazSSR, 1986, 477p.

countries for participation in conferences, they usually report on their own country and cling to views favorable to themselves. Dialogues between scholars from different countries are not easy, as were noticeable even during the Soviet period. Joint projects are rare. It is difficult to obtain books from other Central Asian countries. To some extent, journals published outside the region draw Central Asian authors together. Two notable examples are *Acta Eurasica/Vestnik Evrazii* (Moscow) and *Tsentral'naya Aziya i Kavkaz/Central Asia and the Caucasus*, edited by Murad Esenov, a Turkmen émigré in Sweden.

Contact between Central Asian scholars and their colleagues in Moscow and St. Petersburg is also not close (although with some exceptions); moreover, specialists on Central Asia are not as common in these cities as one might expect.<sup>70</sup> This is all the more regrettable because archives there hold many documents about modern Central Asian history. Some scholars in Siberia, most notably in Omsk and Barnaul, are actively working with Kazakhstani scholars.<sup>71</sup>

Contact between Central Asian scholars and scholars from countries outside the former Soviet Union—the United States, Turkey, Japan, European countries, China, Iran and others—is increasing. Unfortunately, not only linguistic but also certain methodological barriers still impede adequate mutual understanding between Central Asian and Western scholars. In a longer perspective, however, such contact will undoubtedly contribute to improvement in the quality of research of both sides.

Despite all the difficulties, the demise of the Soviet regime has clearly opened

<sup>70</sup> To cite some recent works on Central Asia of scholars in Moscow: BEKMAKHANOVA, Nailya E., *Rossiya i Kazakhstan v osvoboditel'nom dvizhenii: poslednyaya chetvert' XVIII-pervaya polovina XIX veka*, Moscow: Institut rossiiskoi istorii RAN, 1996, 302p.; ISKHAKOV, Salavat M., "Mustafa Chokaev o revolyutsii 1917 goda v Tsentral'noi Azii," *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 18 (2001): 204-223; POSTNIKOV, Aleksei V., *Skhvatka na "Kryshe Mira": politiki, razvedchiki i geografy v bor'be za Pamir v XIX veke*, Moscow: Pamyatniki istoricheskoi mysli, 2001, 412p.; NARBAEV, Nazym B., *Rossiya i Evraziya: problemy gosudarstvennosti, vtoraya polovina XIX-nachalo XX veka*, Moscow: Nauka, 1997, 288p.; BUSHKOV, Valentin I. and MIKUL'SKII, Dmitrii V., *Anatomiya grazhdanskoi voiny v Tadzhikistane*, 2nd ed., Moscow: Institut etnologii i antropologii RAN, 1997, 166p. There are also numerous publications on contemporary problems of Central Asia by Aleksei Malashenko, Vitalii Naumkin, Aziz Niyazi, Irina Zvyagel'skaya and others. Works of scholars in St. Petersburg include: SULTANOV, Tursun, *Podnyatyie na beloi koshme: potomki Chingiz-khana*, Almaty: Daik-Press, 2001, 276p.; KURYLEV, Vadim P., *Skot, zemlya, obschchina u kochevykh i polukochevykh kazakhov (vtoraya polovina XIX-nachalo XX veka)*, St. Petersburg: Muzei antropologii i etnografii RAN, 1998, 287p. Another prominent St. Petersburg historian who studies earlier periods is Sergei Klyashtornyi.

<sup>71</sup> *Stepnoi kraj: zona vzaimodeistviya russkogo i kazakhskogo narodov, XVIII-XX vv., mezh-dunarodnaya nauchnaya konferentsiya*, Omsk: Omskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 1998, 225p.; *Rossiya, Sibir' i Tsentral'naya Aziya: vzaimodeistvie narodov i kul'tur, materialy III mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii*, Barnaul: BGPU, 2001, 238p.

new possibilities for most of Central Asia's scholars. In the 1990s, economic hardships forced a number of scholars to quit research activities, and few university graduates chose to become scholars. In recent years, however, at least in Kazakhstan more and more young people are aspiring to serious academic research. There is a hope that they will make a significant contribution to Central Asian studies in the near future.