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THE PAN-TUFANIAN IDEA

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Foreword

Interest of the author for the history, culture and economy of Turanian peoples (peoples speaking Turkic and Mongolic languages) caused him to take up the private study of the various groups of Turkic languages, in the course of which, during the study of oriental languages and economies at the University of Berlin, he met individuals of like interests among the German professors, among Germans returned from Turkey, as well as Turkish, Turco-Tatar and Mongolian students. He visited groups of Turkic peoples in Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, and in the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of the Crimean Tatars (ASSR Crimea) in the USSR. His attempt, via Intourist, to visit the Volga Tatars (ASSR Tatar) and, in Central Asia, the constituent Kazakh and Uzbek republics (Kazakh SSR and Uzbek SSR) failed, as there are "no Intourist bases" there. After outbreak of war with the USSR (22 June 1941), the German Command commenced segregating the non-Russians among the captured formations of the Red Army, and forming them into (auxiliary) legions. Puppet governments were also established on German soil, and newspapers published in the various languages in order to exert an influence on these groups and prepare them for possible collaboration if the attempt were made to partition Russia on the basis of national states. Under these circumstances the author made the guarded attempt, with as little recourse to German offices as

possible, to contact these groups in order to ascertain the true political currents and practical possibilities of these ethnological groups. The knowledge gained from this unofficial contact with, for the most part, young Azerbaijan Turics, Tatars, Kazakhs, Kirghis, Turicams, and Uzbeks, as well as from material -- mostly of Soviet origin -- obtained from them, has been summarized on the following pages. It was naturally taken into consideration that only such things as were used -- upon sober reflection -- of the deluge of data, including divergent and aberrant facts, as the author repeatedly noticed that these still pretentious orientals lacked the mental schooling and the objective realism of a cultured European or American, not to mention the fact that statements based on printed Soviet material could not be accepted without scepticism. Furthermore, he evaluated statements of persons concerning their own homeland higher in credibility than information concerning more or less distant neighboring territories; for instance, statements of Uzbeks concerning Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang), on the annexation of which the USSR is also working. Unfortunately, part of the author's notes were lost at the end of the war.

In order to eliminate false facts and fill up knowledge gaps, generally accessible literature and encyclopedias were consulted. The subdivision of Turkic languages and dialects, however, is the author's, based upon exhaustive studies, on the groundwork of the conception of Wilhelm Radloff, the famous Turcologist. The fact that the development and aims of the adherents of the Pan-Turkic idea are based for the most part on Turco-Tatar as well as Mongol circles who met in Germany, is due to the author's residence (Berlin), therefore having had little if any contact with similar circles in other countries. The possible differences between groups in Germany and those in other countries, especially in

Turkey and Britain, should not be essential differences, and should hardly touch basic attitudes and opinions. The groups in Berlin, for their part, were always endeavoring to maintain contact with other groups. Moreover, the author merely desires to present a general survey, as the dissertation would become too extensive for the purpose of general information of interested circles, should numerous details be included.

15 September 1948

I

The Pan-Turanian Movement

Under the impression of an awakening national feeling of non-Turkic peoples, governed by Turks whose fight for liberty seriously endangered the existence of the Turco-Tatar states in today's Russia and the Ottoman Empire in Asia Minor, Africa and Europe, the Pan-Turanian movement came into being around the middle of the past century among the cultured classes of Turkestan and Turkey.

Thus the struggle of the Russians against the Turks of the Caucasus ending in the latter's subjugation, was initiated at the beginning of the past century (Baku, the center of the Azerbaijan Turks, became Russian in 1813) and concluded with the Russian victory near Gunib (1859) in the fight for Daghestan and the Caucasus mountains, not only leaders but whole tribes thereupon emigrated to Turkey.

In Central Asia, the subjugation of Turk peoples began in the second half of the past century. Tashkent, the center of Central Asia, became Russian in 1865, important Samarkand in 1868. The independent Emirate of Bokhara became a vassalage in 1868 and the khanate of Khiva was conquered in 1873. The Turkomans were subjugated between 1881 and 1886.

At about the same time (1864-77) the Chinese conquered the kingdom of Kashgaria, a Turk state in today's Sinkiang.

Turkey, however, (the Ottoman Empire then) also suffered seriously. Greece liberated itself (1821-29). As a result of the Crimean war (1853-56), it lost its influence on Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia. The Russo-Turkish war (1877-78) brought about the loss of over 50% of the nation's territory in Europe through the separation of Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Cyprus fell to the British.

From all these countries, Turks returned to Turkey. They recognized the reason for the disastrous development as the backwardness of their country in all spheres, which had failed to keep step with the rapid technological progress of the west.

As a result, groups of intellectuals were formed (who sought closer contacts between the Turkic nations) and strove for modern domestic reforms on the western model. These liberal circles, who in Turkey called themselves Young Ottomans were able to win over the young crown prince Abdul Hamid (1842-1918) for their ideas. When in 1876 he became sultan of the Ottoman Empire as Abdul Hamid II, he immediately introduced a liberal constitution. His clearly defined autocracy and his inborn suspiciousness were skillfully used by conservative and reactionary elements. They succeeded in bringing to fall the liberal Grand Vizier Ahmed Midhat, adherent of the Young Ottomans and outstanding novelist, and thus gained the upper hand. The constitution thereafter lost all importance. Beginning with 1882, the press was subjected to strict censorship. These measures considerably increased political tension. Since 1896, the movement for the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1876 took on a belligerent character in that the so-called "constitutional movement of the Young Turks" came into being, leaning heavily on officers, officials, savants, authors, students, and merchants. A "Secret Society of Union and Progress" was formed by the Young Turks under the leadership of Talaat Bey and the notable Rahmi Bey. The central office of this organization, erected along lines of Masonic Lodges, was in Saloniki, which belonged to Turkey at that time. Due to the persecution of its adherents by the State as a result of their revolutionary activities, many of them had to emigrate abroad, where they gathered, especially in Paris, Geneva, Brussels and London, forming committees for the support of the underground organization in the fatherland. The liaison man between headquarters in Saloniki and the committees in the above-named European cities was Dr. Nazim. The outstanding representatives of this secret society in the Turkish Macedonian Army of that time were the officers Major Niazi (subsequent leader of the victorious revolution of 1908), Enver Pasha (later War minister), Ahmed Djemal Pasha (later general and politician) and Mustafa Kemal Pasha (later first president



of the Turkish Republic). Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938), who was transferred to Damascus in 1905 because of his progressive opinions and activities, there formed the secret society "Vatan" (Fatherland) and secretly came to Saloniki to help found the "Society of Liberty", which later merged with the "Secret Society of Union and Progress". He always maintained his own position, however, and was frequently in opposition, representing a more moderate course with reference to foreign policy questions. Turkish refugees, who with the passage of time came from Turkestan, the Caucasus, and Southeast Europe, exerted the influence which gave the "Society of Union and Progress" a Pan-Turanian mold.

Their numbers were further increased by Turco-Tatar leaders from all parts of Russia, who had to leave the country after the abortive revolution following upon the defeat of Russia in the war against Japan (1904-1905), because they had attempted to profit from the general confusion. They had sought to improve the position of suppressed minorities. Thus, at that time, a Moslem Congress was held at Kazan on the Volga (the center of Tatars), at which equal citizenship rights with the Russians were demanded. In Azerbaijan and other caucasian areas (Georgia, Armenia) uprisings took place seeking the liberation of these peoples from the Russian "prison of nations". In 1905 even in Eastern Siberia - in Yakutsk on the Lena - a conference took place, at which a "Union of National Minorities" was formed.

These people were able, with the help of the influential and great sociologist Ziya Gokalp (1875-1925) as well as Mehmet Emin, a patriotic poet with excellent propagandizing ability, to have the program extended to all Turkic peoples. The term "Turan" refers to the very vague name of the stretches of land northeast of Persia, i.e. Central Asia (Turkestan), the original home of the Turks.

This "Young Turkish movement" established the following goals:

- 1) westernization by domestic reforms through introduction of new codes of civil and commercial laws.

2) Guarantee of liberty by restoration of the democratic parliamentary constitution.

3) Guarantee of "full liberty, equality, and fraternity" in accordance with the ideas of the French revolution of 1789, to the non-Turkish and non-Moslem nationalities.

These demands brought the Young Turks the temporary but complete support of many nationalities of the Ottoman Empire, especially Albanians, Macedonians, Bulgarians, and Armenians. Friction arose, however, through the endeavor of the Turkish nationalists toward a centralizing power in opposition to the decentralizing tendencies represented by Arab and Christian nationalities.

The danger threatening the most important Islam state also brought some Pan-Islamites into the arena, who supported the progressive Young Turk movement. To them belonged the famous agitator Djemaladdin Afghani, a Persian by birth, who assumed an Afghan name and who had been active since 1870 in Turkey, Egypt, India, and since 1883 in Europe (France, England, Germany). In 1889 he met in Munich with the then Shah of Persia concerning pan-Islam collaboration. He spent his last years in Turkey, where he exerted great influence at the University of Constantinople. He died in 1897 in Nisantash.

The general struggle, however, was for the most part carried on by Turkey. The political differences increased year by year. In July of 1908 preparations had advanced to such a stage that an armed uprising against the regime of Abdul Hamid II was possible. Although the movement was supported throughout the land, the Macedonian army, led by Nizzi Bey, formed the nucleus. The political campaign was directed by Enver Pasha. The impression made upon the Sultan was so great that he renounced without bloodshed. His successor became Mehmet V (1909-1918) and the Young Turks were given most of the government position. The splendid success of the revolution, the re-introduction of the dormant constitution of 1876 and the implementation of reforms, made an enormous impression in Turkey and Europe. Enver

Pasha rapidly became a popular national hero. He was invited to France, where he was honored by leading circles, and in Great Britain he was even introduced to the House of Lords and Parliament. Enver Pasha was dispatched to Berlin as military attache in 1909, where he learned to speak German fluently and became a friend of Kaiser Wilhelm II. He there studied the organization of the Prussian Army and the Turkish army was re-organized on this model. But all reforms were unable to stop the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, which was involved in a series of deteriorating wars in the course of the ensuing years, whereby the differences of opinion on tactical political questions between Enver Pasha and Kemal Pasha became deeper and deeper. (War of Tripolis 1911-12, First Balkan War 1912-13), Second Balkan War 1913). Not even this development, however, permitted the "Pan-Turanism" idea, sometimes also called "Pan-Turkism", to die out. In 1912, under the sponsorship of authors, including the above-named Ziya Gokalp and Mehmet Emin, the organization of Turkish hearths (Turkocagi) was formed for spiritual deepening through publication of these ideas. The chairman of the movement from 1912 to its dissolution in 1931 was almost without a break Hamdullah Suphi Tanriover (born 1885), whose speeches and writings became famous and are of lasting value in Turkish literature. Beginning in 1909, he was professor of esthetics at Istanbul University, member of the Ottoman parliament, member of the Great National Assembly in 1920, minister of Education in 1920 and 1925, diplomat from 1931 (envoy in Bucharest, Romania).

The hope, with German help to realize the dreams of Pan-Turanists in world war I, caused Enver Pasha, who became minister of war in January 1914, to carry on secret negotiations with Germany of which only the Grand Vizier and Talat Pasha knew and which led to the secret German-Ottoman alliance, concluded on 2 August 1914, and directed solely against Russia. Although the position of the Ottoman Empire in Arabia and Africa was not taken into consideration and the alliance was not concluded against England and France, Turkey was nevertheless automatically drawn into the war on the side of Germany against the western Powers (1914-1918) and lost this war together with the Central Powers.

After the collapse, thanks to the superior personality of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, whose adherents came into power in Turkey, planned reforms were carried out within the framework of the Turkish Republic (1923), whose first president he became later being given the family name Ataturk (Father of the Turks). He was more successful than his predecessors, faithful to the principles he had back in 1908: extreme caution in foreign matters, but drastic internal reforms. In the clear realization of the weakness of the young Turkish republic and the necessity of consolidating it in order to save the last independent Turkic state, and to improve the living conditions of its population, Kemal Ataturk relinquished the demands of the Young Turks concerning expansion, and dropped the most radical adherents of these demands. Only in this way was it possible to establish good relations with the Western Powers, especially with Russia.

Talat Pasha (1874-1921), one of the most important leaders of the Young Turkish party, who had become Grand Vizier from February 1917 to October 1918, had to leave the country, and fled to Berlin in 1919. There he was murdered by an Armenian in 1921.

The Minister of War Enver Pasha (1881-1922), at one time the head of the Pan-Turanian movement, the most popular and brilliant figure in Turkish politics, also fled to Germany in 1919, being sentenced to death in absentia for war crimes. The same year, however, he went to Russia, where he strove for the secession and independence of the Caucasus from Russia in collaboration with Anton J. Denikin, a Russian general heading an anti-Bolshevistic army. After the Red Army was victorious there, and Denikin fled to England, Enver Pasha remained a short time in Azerbaijan, which had temporarily made itself independent (1917-1920), becoming involved in adventures of a most contradictory type for the revival of the Ottoman Empire. When hope faded there, he went to Afghanistan via Persia, where the Emir of Bokhara had fled, whose state the Soviets were on the verge of annexing. Enver, who was successful in winning the Emir for the Pan-Turanian idea, became commander-in-chief of the army of the Emirate of Bokhara. At the close of November 1921 Enver gave the signal for an insurrection against the

Soviets, which became famous under the name "Basmachi Revolt". The goal of this uprising was the establishment of a grand "Pan-Turanian Empire" comprising the areas of the former Russian imperial governor-generalship of Turkestan, the Emirate of Bokhara, the Khanate of Khiva, Afghanistan, Persia and eventually Turkey. The campaign began with an ultimatum to the Soviets demanding their total abandonment of Turkestan. As the Soviets did not accede, a war broke out in January of 1922. In this struggle, Enver Pasha fell in action, after only seven months, on 25 July (4 August) 1922 in an operation against superior Bolshevik troops in Rajivan near today's capital of Tajikistan (Stalinabad-Dyushambe). After conclusion of the uninterrupted fighting, Turkestan became an autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Emirate of Bokhara as well as the Khanate of Khiva "People's Independent Soviet Republics". A few years later, out of these territories, were evolved Kazakhstan, Kirghizistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Karakalpakia, and Turkmenistan.

Ahmed Djemal Pasha (1861-1922), old member of the "Committee of Union and Progress", politician and general, also fled with other members of this group to Switzerland and to Germany in October 1918. After a short stay in these countries he went to Russia and finally to Afghanistan, where he gained great influence and awakened the spirit of nationalism in Central Asia. This contributed to the strengthening of the political Afghan resistance against Soviet Russia thus preventing the Russians from including this country in their chain of Islam states. During an attempt of the Soviets to recapture the Transcaucasian Republics, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, against the resistance organized by him he was murdered at Tiflis on 22 July 1922.

While the adherents of the radical group of the Young Turk movement remained unsuccessful, the more moderate groups who came into power in Turkey were able to prevent the complete disintegration under Kemal Pasha, the heart and soul of the Turkish national resistance against the attempt to exploit the country. Kemal effected a break with the government of the Sultan in Constantinople (now Istanbul), called a "Turkish National Assembly" in

July 1919 in Erzerum, and in September of the same year in Sivas, and with the backing of this body formed a de facto government in 23 April 1920 (Grand Turkish National Assembly) at Ankara (Angora), the new capital. Shortly thereafter he was able to wage a victorious war against Greece (1921-22) and hurled the Greeks base, driving them completely out of Asia Minor and Thrace. Subsequent to the departure of the Sultan from Constantinople, Kemal Pasha was elected president and Turkey was proclaimed a republic by the National Assembly, the governing body, in 1923.

A new phase began. Of the Osman State of Nationalities became a Turkish National State. Government, administration, and the army were turkized, as well as the entire spiritual and economic life. Everything thereafter was under the sign of "Turkism". The necessary philosophical and sociological foundation therefore, however, was again laid by a former "Young Turk": Ziya Gokalp, who in one of his last volumes "Turkculugun Esaslari" (The Foundation of Turkish Nationalism) laid down the program of Turkism. The political, social, cultural and spiritual reforms of the Turkish Republic, carried out on the above basis, are well known. (f.i. dissolution of the Sultanate 1/ introduction of the Republic, removal of the Caliphate 2/ removal of the Moslem Sheriat 3/ introduction of latin script and modernization after western pattern of practically all of the administrative and economic set-up in all public institutions.)

The Young Turks were able to see from this that their hopes had come to naught for a resurrection of the Ottoman state with many racial minorities, so they sought to instil in the Turks and all their linguistic relatives the ancient ideal of Turanism in the form of a new national consciousness. This thought was energetically rejected by Kemal Ataturk who recognized its danger (disruption of

1/ Turkish institution similar to monarchism.

2/ Mohammedan institution similar to papacy.

3/ Church law permeating all civic life.

relations with Russia). This official disavowal of the pan-Islam and pan-Turanian idea is of great importance.

The above line of reasoning was announced by Kemal Ataturk as early as his speech of 1 December 1921, that is while the Turco-Greek War was going on. He said:

"Gentlemen:

"We do not belong to those counterfitters who tag along behind images of phantasy and lend themselves the appearance as if they were accomplishing things which we cannot do. We have done no great and phantastic things. But because it looked as if we had done them, we have drawn upon this land and this nation the enmity and the hatred of the entire world. We did not pursue Pan-Islamism but said: we do and shall do so. A moment earlier, however, the enemies said, in order that we should not do so: we shall kill them. We did not pursue Pan-Turanism, but said: we always do so, we do so now, we shall do so. And again they said: let's kill them.

"That is all that is at stake. Instead of multiplying the number of our enemies and increasing our distress through vague ideologies, let us keep to our natural and legal borders. We wish the prosperity of all moslem nations. We wish that they might re-establish their independence; but that can only be a pledge!"

Despite this programmatic declaration of the chief of state of the Turkish Republic, many adherents of the Pan-Turanian idea remained loyal to the cause. The "organization of Turkish Hearts" continued to work, as did the "Union and Progress" party with whose leading members Kemal Ataturk continued to clash. The important influence of Halide Edip Adivar (born 1883) perhaps the greatest author of modern Turkey, also continued. Her avowal of this idea, set down in her political novel "Yeni Turan" (The New Turan) made a far-reaching impression. In addition, Kemal Ataturk, although he retained his liberal and progressive ideals, used dictatorial government methods as he considered - and justifiably so - that the general backwardness of the country and the complete absence of a genuine

democratic tradition was a danger, which might make the preparations and establishment of a liberal democracy unsuccessful should the government assume a lax attitude. And as a result, the existing constitution was practically not fully effective and against this, an opposition party was formed, with far-reaching support of the members of the Young Turk movement, who, in doing so, sought to have their other goal politically represented. The party which emerged was the Republican Progress Party, which in turn stemmed from the Liberty Party founded in 1921. This party opposed the Republican People's Party, founded by Kemal Atatürk. Due to clashes between members of the two lines of thought on the occasion of the Kurd revolt, which demanded the unification of all national forces, the Republican Progress Party was dissolved in June 1925.

A year later, an alleged conspiracy against Kemal Atatürk was discovered in Smyrna (now Izmir), which he used to suppress completely the unpleasant opposition. Among the 18 important persons arrested, who were condemned to death in June 1926 were five former leaders of the Young Turks, including Dr. Nazim, Rauf Bey, the former president of the National Assembly and of the Ministry, while Dr. Adnan Bey, who represented the Foreign Office in Istanbul, with his wife Halide Edip Adivar, was banished for 10 years, General Kâzım Karabekir and General Ali Fuad Pasha being acquitted because of the pressure of the military. In 1930 an opposition party was permitted as a sop for foreign opinion, that is, the Libertarian Republican Party under the leadership of the then ambassador in London, M. Fethi. But this party was banned again soon thereafter. In addition, the Organization of the Turkish Hearths (Türkocagi) under Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver, was also dissolved in 1931. The Pan-Turanian movement thereby lost more and more political influence, but continued to hold its influential position in the new literature. This was not changed even when in 1934 the ingenious poet Ahmed Hashim and the great 80-year old lyric poet Abdülhak Hamid, who were connected with these circles, died in 1934 and 1937, respectively. Others took their place and enthused, especially youth, with their ideas. Halide Edip continued to be highly honored and returned to Turkey after an absence of 15 years. Yakub Kadri Karaosmanoglu, creator of the new novel, placed his services at the disposal of the new



national cultural movement. In addition Resat Nuri Güntekin, Sadri Ertem, Shevket Sureya and many others helped to prepare the soil. In the literary part of this treatise we shall see what influence these literary circles exerted on the spiritual life and the younger generation. Pan-Turanian groups were also formed abroad, in which Turkic refugees from the Soviet Union were especially strongly represented.

An important event for these circles was a renewed attempt to make a Turkic nation in Asia independent again. When in 1928 the Chinese governor of Sinkiang died, a province with a 4,3 million Turkic population, General Ma Chung-ying attempted to separate this area from China by means of a revolt, and to found a Mohammedan state. The last attempt of this sort in Sinkiang took place on the occasion of an insurrection of the Dungani in 1862, when the very able Yakub Beg, who tried to unite Turkestan, succeeded in establishing the kingdom of Kashgar to rule this area, which remained until 1877 and was recognized by Russia and Great Britain. Thereafter it was reconquered by the Chinese. General Ma also appeared to succeed at first. The fighting for independence, begun in 1928, became heavier in 1932 and lasted until 1937, when it was suppressed by the new Chinese governor with the help of White Russian troops and armed Soviet intervention. The Swedish explorer Sven Hedin told me - if I do not err, in the year 1936 - on the occasion of a lecture in Lübeck (Germany) that General Ma had said to him in East Turkestan, he placed great hopes in intervention of a war between Germany and Russia. <sup>1/</sup>

When World War II approached closer and closer, Pan Turanian circles increased their activity and drew new hope for the realization of their idea. It is not

<sup>1/</sup> Between 1927 and 1935, Sven Hedin had directed three major expeditions into Central Asia, of which the last one (1933-35) was undertaken under the commission of the Chinese Government to study the possibility of constructing highways along the old Caravan routes to Sinkiang (Turkestan). I only learned some years later that General Ma had actually been in Berlin for a short time.

surprising, that the Turkish government was little inclined further to complicate its dangerous situation, due to international tension, by countenancing the activities of these groups in its own territory. It could only be interested in consolidating and safeguarding its position and independence. The resulting suppression of Pan-Turanian circles in Turkey - defensible under the circumstances - forced these circles to transfer their activity abroad. It was obvious that in doing so they had to choose Germany as their main base of operations, as Germany was the only country at that time with the aim of smashing Russia, and on this goal, the Turkic peoples, the second largest ethnological group in Russia, thought it could base its hope for freedom. Furthermore, the Pan-Turanists, despite the anti-Soviet attitude of the Western Powers after the first World War, had found little support, especially from Britain, in their battle for and endeavors toward freedom in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Similar experiences drove the Mongolians into the arms of the Japanese, who propagated a Mongolian State, while the Mongolians could hope for no help or freedom from China or other states.

This situation moved many nationally inclined Turco-Tatars from Russia, to side with Germany in order to liberate their homeland. This was not done out of love for Germany but in the hope Germany might be in the position to smash the Soviet Union, and also because all other countries which might have played a similar role became allies of Russia. Among these people, to my knowledge, two noteworthy personalities played a role in Berlin in World War II: Veli Kayumkhan, later president of the Greater Turkistan "exile Committee" (he was a contributor to the Berlin newspaper "Naher Osten" - "Yakin Sark" /Near East/); as well as Mustafa-bij Choqai-ogli, a Turanian politician, well-known in France, who died, however, at the age of 52 in Berlin on 29 December 1941 (subsequent to 1929 after his flight from the USSR he published the newspaper "Yas Turkistan" in Paris). It was Mustafa-bij Choqai-ogli, who told his applauding fellow-countrymen: "All six countries, Kazakhstan, Kirghizistan, Karakalpakistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan as well as Tajikistan

are to form one state: Turkestan. The population of these regions have the same blood, the same language, the same religion, and the same viewpoint." In the military sphere the following were especially active: the commander of the Moslem regiment, 1st Lt. Qulam Alim-ogli, and 1st Lt Ibrahim Nazary.

Among the Azerbaijanis, the leading people were the historian, Professor Ibrahimoglu, as well as Major Fatalibayli, leader of the Azerbaijan National Committee, together with the politician, Abbas Atamali-bayli and Jahangir Bay, chief of the liaison staff. The other better known non-Turki representatives of the Caucasian nations were A. Jamalian (Armenia), M. Kediya (Georgia) and A. Qantemir (North Caucasus), who maintained contact with the Azerbaijanis via A. Alibayov. For the North Caucasians, Manius Mansur, editor-in-chief of the weekly "Gazavat", and Kuchuk Chapar, head of the cultural section, were of special significance. These leaders were in favor of a federation of Caucasian states.

The Kalmucks, a Western Mongolian people, have also worked against the USSR ever since the occupation of part of their country. Mostly cavalry, they pursued the anti-bolshevik tradition of their leader Okon Shanunov, who in 1920 headed a Kalmuck revolt against the Bolsheviks (7 months), and was killed in action. Nikolai Mandjikov, Papa Lidshiev and 1st Lt Lyalin were their leaders on the German side. A Kalmuck national organization "Khalmag Tangchin Tug", founded in 1928 by Shamba Balinov and the late Balykov was supported by the Germans, and the "Kalmuck National Committee" founded in Berlin collaborated with this organization. They were willing to join a Federation of Caucasian States.

The military units formed of members of these minorities, showed that it is easy to find fit men among these minorities of the USSR who are anti-Bolshevik and willing to fight against the Soviets, in their national cause. I believe that there is no better proof for this allegation than the fact that almost all autonomous republics of national minorities in the USSR, which were occupied by German troops, actively turned against Russia and were for this reason dissolved after the war. This is true of the Tatar ASSR Crimea, the Karachai AR, the Balkarians of the Kabardino-Balkarian ASSR, the Checheno-

Ingush ASSR in the Northern Caucasus, the Nogais of North Daghestan, and the Kalmuck ASSR west of the Caspian Sea and the lower Volga. Thus, for instance, on 25 June 1946, the dissolution of Checheno-Ingushetia, proclaimed during the war, was ratified by the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR for the reason that many Chechens waged armed war jointly with the German invaders, set up sabotage groups in the rear of the Soviet troops, and the bulk of the population did not offer opposition to these activities. The same was true of the other peoples mentioned in this connection. And this was true despite the fact that German army offices operated very unskillfully from a psychological point of view (master-race idea, etc).

The morale of these nations, despite Soviet propaganda (decoration of Abdusamet Kazakpayev, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan; Abduvali Muminov, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan; public praise of the Uzbek general Sabir Rahimov; decoration of Turbay Kulatov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Kirghiz SSR) is shown by the fact that they have never forgotten the two proverbs which characterize mutual Russian-Turkic opinion: A Russian official once said: "There is no other way to manage the Kazakhs except through massacres". And a Kazakh proverb states: "If a Russian travels with you, hold an ax in readiness".

When I stated above that Pan-Turanian groups in Turkey were suppressed and could hardly operate in public, it did not imply that they were not in existence, and also active. At the very beginning of the war, the German successes in Russia gave them considerable impetus. My sources of information in Berlin told me that student and military circles were strongly imbued with Pan-Turanian ideas. Although these circles were in contact with German officials in Berlin, I cannot state for certain whether the German embassy in Ankara had contact with these circles and tried to make use of them. This was rumored, however, in Pan-Turanian Berlin circles when an attempt was made on the life of Ambassador Franz von Papen in February 1942, in which five Russians were involved (two of them employees of the Soviet Consulate in Istanbul). It is natural that Pan-Turians are as a

matter of principle willing to undertake espionage against the Soviet Union, in the Caucasus and Central Asia, and have undertaken them on the basis of their ties. I know from my own work that the Turks very easily obtained people in Iranian Azerbaijan, settled by Turks, to report on troop movements of the Soviets in this area and in the Caucasus. In May 1944 I received word of a Pan-Turanian plot, which was allegedly uncovered in Istanbul, without however learning of the true reason behind it.

After the collapse of Germany in 1945, parts of the Turko-Tatar groups in this country formed a Moslem League, whose members, naturally enough, felt little desire to be repatriated. After grass had grown over their activities, and they had been somewhat forgotten, the Turkish Government, true to its old tradition, in 1948 offered displaced Mohammedans in Europe a chance for resettlement in Turkey, where they could obtain Turkish citizenship. This attitude has made these circles very happy, and not only them but also many Mohammedan Caucasians of non-Turkic stock.

From my contacts with members of almost all Turkic peoples during the recent years I can state, despite the historic development up to now which has been against these circles, that the Pan-Turanian idea has not been destroyed by this war. In the following lines I therefore wish to summarize the fantastic appearing result of my research:

- a. The Pan-Turanian movement remains alive among all Turkic peoples.
- b. The small number of active advocates, now being officially combatted everywhere, would, if permitted free activity, be of a surity able to convert the majority of the population for a union of all Turkic states.
- c. The linguistic and cultural differences among their peoples are small and easily bridgeable.
- d. The economic structure, on the basis of natural resources available in their settlement area, assures them of a healthy (economic) existence and a promising future, if these peoples are independent.

e. On the basis of these assumptions, the advocates of the Pan-Turanian idea are striving for the establishment of the United Turco-Mongolian state, from Turkey to Manchuria.

f. Hope for the practical realization of this grand and weighty idea has, ever since the inception of Pan-Turanism in Turkey and Central Asia, been based on a Russo-German or else Russo-British armed conflict, ending with the defeat of Russia. For this reason these circles have for decades past maintained contact with Berlin, but also with certain London circles. This hope has now turned toward the United States under the impression of the recent development of the political conditions in the world.

g. In the event of a conflict with the USSR, according to the experience of the past war, the collaboration of these peoples can be counted on, but they are not by far strong enough to contribute essentially to the break-up of Russia.

h. These ideas, making their appearance to an increased extent before, during and after periods of armed conflict, thus especially before, during and immediately after the first and second World Wars, are, after all but post-war hopes, which in their possible results constitute an essential weakening of the Russian state, without, however, destroying it, or even making it moribund. On the other hand, the strength of a consolidated Turco-Mongolian federal state would never be great enough to disturb the peace and security, by itself, in that part of the world. Opening of these extensive areas, segregated up to now, would bring democratic liberty and technical progress to millions of humans of almost identical languages and culture, with great economic possibilities, who up to now have borne perhaps the greatest load of trammels. Such a political structure would simultaneously be a buffer state, which would prevent Russia from bordering on the Iran, Afghanistan, India, Tibet (through Sinkiang), and China, with the exception of Manchuria. The advocates of this idea consider it a constructive creation capable of withstanding realistic investigation, and therefore worthy of some attention.

In the chapters to follow, the author will attempt to provide a realistic basis for these claims on hand of material available to him. In doing so, the other non-Russian peoples, as well as those belonging to the Turco-Mongolian group, but living outside the boundaries of the main settlement area, have of course not been taken into consideration. Their number is not significant. Armenians, Georgians, Caucasians and Tajiks will, however, be considered. In view of the immensity of the subject, only a short survey can be presented in this dissertation.

II

The Turanian Race

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In this chapter the author will try to give a characterization of the Turanian race, population, geographic distribution, and classification of their languages and dialects.

North of the settlement area of the Chinese and Tibetans in the East, south of the settlement area of the paleo-asiatic (Sibirid) race in the north and the Finno-Ugric peoples in the West, in the far reaches of the plains of South Siberia and the steppes between the Caspian Sea and the Altai Mountains, there emerged, from a community of race and language which in early times probably included the Mongols and Tunguses, under the influence of great ruler personalities who rose from small nomad groups, the Turki race group. Upon the inception in history of these peoples, when they advanced from the mountain reaches and the foothills of the Tien Shan into the Central Asiatic steppes, they already show a molded racial character, which the anthropologists term "turamid". Their settlement area today extends from Northeast Siberia and Mongolia to Asia Minor and Southeast Europe, and includes over 20 races organized into states with together some 65 million inhabitants in an area somewhat less than 5,000,000 square miles, of which Yakutia has almost 1,170,000 square miles, Kazakhstan 1,066,000 square miles, Sinkiang 706,000 square miles, and Outer Mongolia 626,000 square miles. Turkey proper has almost 300,000 square miles (Continental United States has 3,027,000 square miles). This today, is their natural settlement area.

An Azerbaijani, belonging to a Pan-Turanian group, gave the following figures concerning the racial and religious composition of the population living in this region.



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<u>Racial</u>	<u>Religious</u>
48,190,000 Turks	) 51,490,000 Mohammedans
3,300,000 Caucasians & Tajiks)	1,390,000 Buddhists
1,390,000 Mongols	4,800,000 Gregorian Christians
4,800,000 Armenians, Georgians	57,680,000 non-Russians
7,320,000 Slavs	7,320,000 Greek Orthodox Christians or atheists
<hr/>	<hr/>
65,000,000 inhabitants	65,000,000 inhabitants
<hr/>	<hr/>

These figures are only used as sign-posts, so to speak, as they appear plausible, even though not exact, and are very difficult to check. Thus, for instance, he did not mention any Persians who live in Iranian Azerbaijan and the Caucasus (Baku); no Chinese who reside in Sinkiang and Mongolia, and makes no differentiation between Russians and Ukrainians (under the heading of Slavs), while in fact a large number of Ukrainians live in the North Caucasian and Crimean area. In the figures for religion, the Chuvash, for instance, are missing, who when they were incorporated in Czarist Russia, had to take the Russian Orthodox faith. Also not mentioned were the Shaman. These things would not, however, change the over-all picture much, and the peoples and religions forgotten by my informant no longer play an important role in Russia. The aforementioned country toward which the advocates of the Pan-Turanian idea are striving, is considerably smaller in area (at most 3,750,000 sq.m.) as in addition to some smaller race groups, the extensive Yakut ASSR in Northeast Siberia with 1,170,000 sq.m. and a population of only 421,000 has been included for the sake of the survey. However, the area of the country for which they are striving will be treated later.

In comparative philology the languages of these peoples are considered as belonging to the Uralo-Altaiic family of languages (known also as Turanian). The link between the altaic language group with the Ural language group, comprising the Finno-Ugric-Permic-Samoyed language branches (among them Finnish and Hungarian) has not, (according to O. Donner, Setälä, Böthlingk, Németh), however,

been definitely established, although some linguists claim that there is already sufficient evidence available (H. Winkler, Holger Pedersen). Likewise, the oft claimed relationship between the Altaic language group and the Korean and Japanese has not been convincingly established. On the other hand, the Mongolian, Manchu and Tungusic languages are rightly considered part of the Altaic (Turanian) language branch. (The inclusion of the widely scattered few Manchus, an extremely small percentage of the population of present-day Manchuria and China, descendants of the almost completely assimilated conquerors of China, and of the Tunguses in the area of the projected state is also not being attempted).

The common characteristics of these Altaic languages are briefly as follows: they have no grammatical gender (masculine, feminine, neuter) and only two numbers, singular and plural (no dual). They are agglutinative (distinguished from inflectional) languages, that is, languages which do not indicate relationship of the words through changes in the root (flexion) but instead through suffixes (a formative element attached to the end of a word or root to modify it). These languages do not have prefixes (syllables or particles used as the first element of a word) and infixes (a modifying addition inserted in the body of a word). Phonetically, the harmony of the vowels is remarkable. These languages only permit either dark (a, o, u, ɣ) or only light (e, o, ʉ, i) vowels in one word. Naturally, there are words in these languages which contain both types of vowels. They are, however, for the most part words taken from other languages. These languages are very flexible languages which abound in grammatical forms. Almost four dozen suffixes make possible several thousand mutations of verbs on the basis of relatively simple rules.

At this point must be inserted a classification of the Turanian languages and dialects of present importance. The author foregoes reference to the large number of dialects which Turcologists listed during the times of the czar and later, using every local language coloration to distinguish between dialects. The Turanians have always fought against this tendency, which was championed especially by the Russians in an effort to split up the Turanians. One of the most important of language "dis-integrators" of czarist times was the Russian missionary

Ilminsky, who was opposed by the Tatar Ismail Gasprinski. The latter had evolved a Turanian literature language and attempted to find backing among London circles. The Soviets did not continue these efforts at cleavage to their full extent, although the Turanians reject the levelling language re-grouping as subservient to the objectives of splitting them up. According to the viewpoint of many Turanians, it would have been better to introduce the Turkish language (Osmanli) including in the areas of Russia settled by Turkic peoples, or the Jagatai (Uzbek-Turki\* which also has a literary tradition. As the Soviets have developed 18 Turkic dialects (without Turkish and Gagauzi) into written languages and the broad masses were not familiar with Turkish letters, the German High Command decided to issue weekly newspapers in the three main dialects: "Azerbajcan" (Editor: Mecid Qarsalan) for the Azerbaijan Turks, "Idel-Ural" (Editor: Ziam Gelief) for the Tatars of the Ural-Volga area, as well as "Yani Turkestan" (Editor Abil Zavqij) for the Turanians of Central Asia. For this purpose, however, mostly Kazakh was used, as it is a better bridge to Turkish than the Uzbek with its greater number of (language) peculiarities. Many Turanian linguists would concur with the author if he were to classify only three as languages, Chuvash, Yakut and Turkish, and the rest as dialects. It is to be regretted that somewhat of a confusion has been caused by the fact that Turkish statesmen no longer call the Turks Osmans, who talk Osmanli, so that the term "Turks" and "Turkish" might be used as collective words for the whole family of languages. Thus the linguists, out of sheer self-defence so to speak, had to use "Turki" and "Turkic" to differentiate from "Turks" and "Turkish", referring to present-day Turkey. Thus, the Turkic languages and dialects known today may be classified as follows:

I. North Turkic

II. South Turkic

The South Turkic, in turn, is divided into four dialect groups, which the author calls:

- A. Southwest Turkic
- B. Southeast Turkic
- C. Northeast Turkic
- D. Northwest Turkic

In parenthesis, behind the name of the dialect, the author adds the area where the dialect is mainly spoken, as well as the number of the population speaking it as mother tongue. The figures given do not correspond with the total population of the autonomous republics mentioned, nor are these languages restricted to these regions as these peoples overflow their "state boundaries".

I. North Turkic

1. Yakut (Yakut A.S.S.R., 375,000 people)
2. Chuvash (Chuvash A.S.S.R., 1,440,000 people)

II. South Turkic

A. South-West Turkic

3. Turkmen or Turkoman (Turkmen S.S.R., 855,000, Northeast Iran and Northwest Afghanistan, 30,000 people)
4. Azeri (Azerbaijani) (Azerbaijan S.S.R., 2,400,000 people, Republic Nakhichevan, 130,000 people; Northwest Iran, 2,000,000 people)
5. Kumuk (A.S.S.R. Daghestan, 100,000 people)
6. Karanogai or Karatatarian (A.S.S.R. Daghestan, 80,000 people)
7. Balkarian or Kabarda-Tatarian (A.S.S.R. Kabardino-Balkaria, 42,000 people)
8. Karachai (Autonomous area of the Karachai in the province of Ordzhonikidse, 76,000 people)
9. Osmanli (Ottoman) or Turkish (Turkey, 17,000,000 people)
10. Gagauzi (Bassarabia-Southwest U.S.S.R., 56,000)

11.. Crimean Tatarian (spoken by 300,000 people in the A.S.S.R. Crimea, which was dissolved after World War II because of collaboration with the Germans. This dialect is also said to be spoken by the remaining Tatars and Karaites of Southern Russia near Odessa, Dniepropetrovsk, and along the Don River).

B. Southeast Turkic

12. Uzbek of Jagatai (Uzbek S.S.R., 5,100,000 people)
13. Turki or Kashgar (Chinese Turkestan - Sinkiang, 3,500,000 people)

C. Northeast Turkic

14. Tuvinian or Soyonic (Tuva A.R., 74,000)
15. Khakassian or Abakan (Khakass AR, within Krai Krasnoyarsk, 56,000)

D. Northwest Turkic

16. Kazakh (Kazakh SSR, 4,300,000 people)
17. Karakalpak (A.S.S.R. Karakalpakia 200,000)
18. Kirghiz (Kirghiz SSR, 1,100,000)
19. Bashkirian (A.S.S.R. Bashkiria, 900,000)
20. Volga Tatarian (ASSR Tatars, 1,780,000 in other surrounding Volga and Ural areas, 2,720,000 together 4,500,000)

These almost 45,000,000 Turkic people, who, according to the advocates of the Pan-Turanian idea are to constitute the nucleus of a common state, would probably introduce Turkish, which has the best developed literature of all these dialects. This decision would also give impetus to the spread of the Latin alphabet, introduced in Turkey in 1928 to replace the Arabic alphabet. The dialects which in early times were used for writing, originally employed

the Arabic alphabet, which later, mostly through the Soviets, was replaced by Russian letters. Subsequently there was even a period when almost all of these languages were written with Latin letters, plus some additional letters. However, since the war with Germany, in 1940, the Soviets re-introduced the Russian alphabet for these languages. This continual change, acting as a deterrent, would then at last be ended.

The Mongolian languages, which also belong to the Altaic branch of languages, are divided into three main groups, without however dwelling upon linguistic peculiarities of the main language stem.

I. West Mongolian

1. Kalmuck (A.S.S.R. Kalmuckia, 150,000 people)
2. Oirat (Oirat AR within Krai Altai, and Dzungaria, 80,000 people)

II. North Mongolian

3. Buriat (ASSR Buriato-Mongolia, 250,000 people, Agin Buriato-Mongol MD, 30,000; Ust-Ordin Buriato-Mongol MD, 80,000 people)

III. East Mongolian

4. Khalkha (Mongolian People's Republic, 900,000 people)
5. Shara (Inner Mongolia, Mongchiang, 300,000 people)

While, the Buriato Mongols and the Kalmucks living in Russia are writing their language with Russian letters (See also Kalmuck weekly of the German High Command "Khalng Daach" (The Kalmuck Fighter), Editor: Nikolai Manshikov), the inhabitants of Outer Mongolia have developed their own historic alphabet. Introduction of the Latin alphabet would also bring many advantages to the 1,790,000 Mongols mentioned above.

The difference between the figure of 48,190,000 Turks as given by my informant (see page 22 ) and the figure at which I have arrived, i.e. of some 45,000,000 Turkic speaking people, may be explained by the fact that my informant was much more liberal in his estimates than I. For instance, he included the entire population of Turkey (18,145,000) while I took into consideration national minorities living there (Kurds, Armenians, Arabs, Greeks), and only estimated 17,000,000. There were further differences for East Turkestan (Sinkiang), and other regions. Exact figures cannot be determined anyway. My purpose was only to present an approximate picture of the situation.

III

Historical and Cultural Background

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In this section I should like to give a short sketch of the political history as well as the cultural heritage of the Altaic (Turanian) peoples, which, according to the viewpoint of the adherents of the pan-Turanian ideal, are the wellsprings from which they draw strength and hope for the struggle to realize their idea.

A. Political History

1. Early History up to the Hegira (622 A.D.)

The information we derive from Chinese annals and other sources concerning the Altaic peoples in the last 2,000 years before the birth of Christ, show us that at an early date this race was distributed over an enormous settlement area between East Asia and Europe, and from this original community of languages three racial groups crystallized, the Turks, the Mongolians, and the Tunguses. History shows that the most important group by far was the Turkish group, the Mongolians second, with a wide distance separating them from the Turks, the Tunguses third, a "quantity negligible". This relationship shows itself again today in the population of these three groups, of which the Turks have more than 48,000,000, the Mongolians not quite 1,800,000 and the Tunguses only 90,000. The consideration accorded to the Mongolians in the writing of history is explained by the fact that they in the course of their ancient history temporarily produced high quality leaders. From the racial viewpoint, however, they can hardly be considered as the pillar of their ancient empires. Their armies were evidently composed for the most part of Turco-Tatars (racially related to them), who by and large today inhabit all the areas conquered by the Mongolians at that time, while racially and linguistically there is no trace of the Mongolians other than in their ancient homeland. The Kalmycks west of the Caspian Sea



did not arrive there until the 16th century. This fact has caused most Pan-Turanists, whom I met and with whom I remained in contact, to arrive at the plausible conclusion that many racial groups, whose Altaic origin is undeniable, of whom it is not definitely known whether they were Mongolians or Turki, should be considered Turki, despite the fact that unequivocal scientific proof thereof has not been forthcoming as yet, although on the other hand, there is no definite proof to the contrary either. This lack of clarity exists principally concerning the oldest known Altaic people, the Hiung-nu of the Chinese and Huns of the Europeans<sup>1/</sup>, furthermore, the Sien-pi<sup>2/</sup>, the To-pa or Tabghach<sup>3/</sup> the Juan-Juan of the Chinese, and Avars of the Europeans<sup>4/</sup>.

Perhaps the Turki Yakuts, living in East Siberia, northeast of the Mongolian-Tungusic settlement area, can be considered as descendants of one of these peoples, which allegedly passed out of history without leaving a trace. This contention cannot be disregarded without further ado if the linguistic position assumed by the Yakuts as concerns the southern Turkic peoples is taken into consideration. Possibly the linguistic position of the Bolgaro-Chuvash--West of the central Volga--who are closely related to the Yakuts in their language, may be explained the same way.

a. The Eastern Huns (300 B.C. - 220 A.D.)

There are a considerable number of entries in Chinese annals concerning the early history of the Hiung-nu (Huns) from the second millenium before Christ on. They, however, convey the impression that up to approximately the third century before Christ, the Huns drifted around in the enormous expanse of the region north of China, harassing its borders, as warlike nomadic tribes, without becoming organized into huge hordes. This condition of the unification of the Hunnic tribes into one horde, or at least a few large hordes, was reached at

1/ The agreement of the terms Hiung-nu = Huns can hardly be doubted; Mongolians or Turki, probably Turki.

2/ Mongolians or Tunguses, probably Mongolians.

3/ Mongolians or Turki, probably Turki (Turco-Chinese dynasty in China).

4/ Mongolians or Turki; Eastern Avars probably Mongolians, Western Avars probably Turki.

about 300 B.C. and soon made itself felt in great and dangerous invasions, As a protection against these continuous invasions in the course of the third century A.D., the Great Wall of 2,550 miles in length was built along the northern and north-western frontiers, and completed after China had become united (214 B.C.). This wall actually had the effect that the steady raids of the Huns were essentially decreased in number. Thereupon the Huns now, after 170 B.C., in the course of a series of major operations, tried to extend their territory to the West and Southwest, and captured Central Asia, from where, in the course of the succeeding decades, expelled the Tokhorians, the Alani (a Scythian tribe) and the Sacae, driving them to the West. When conditions had become stable in China, its rulers began to advance northwest into the country of the Huns, and in 121 B.C. they wrested from them the present-day province of Kansu, thus opening the first part of the world-famous Silk Road, which was to connect China with the western Greco-Iranian world. Around 102 B.C. this road already led from the last Chinese station Tunhuang in Kansu into Hun territory through the ancient cities in the oases of Miran-Cherchen-Khotan-Yarkand-Kashgar in the Tarim Basin, down into the Ferghana Valley in West Turkestan. Three years later, however, in 99 B.C. the Huns cut the caravan route over which the Chinese had imported a large strain of horses for their cavalry 1/. In 73 B.C. the Chinese resumed their advance, after strengthening their protectorate over the oasis region of Lop-nor in the Tarim Basin. They took advantage of the dynastic quarrels of the Huns, which weakened the Hun empire and finally led to its division into the Western Horde (Turkestan) and the Eastern Horde (Mongolia). In the process, the region of the oases around Turfan and Karashar came under Chinese suzerainty. In order to remove the continuous threat from the North, the Chinese dynasty decided upon further operations and was able, in 51 B.C., to subjugate the Eastern Horde of the Huns, without however undertaking actual annexation. This Eastern Horde, which was only subject to tribute, divided into two hordes as early as 43 B.C., namely the Southern Horde in the Chinese provinces of Kansu, Shensi and Shansi south of the Hoangho, as well as the Northern Horde in Mongolia. Around 36 B.C., the Chinese turned on the Western Horde, and in the course of the ensuing war, the latter's leader, Che-Cho Khan-yu was killed, and this horde lost its southern territory in the Tarim Basin. Now lively trade developed with the West over two roads, both leading through ancient places of culture, one as described above: Tun Huang-Miran-Cherchen-Khotan-Keriya (with a branch to North-

1/ The Aryan word "na" for horse was thus introduced into Chinese; English mare, German Mahre.

west Tibet)-Khotan-Yarkand-Kashgar (with branch to the South over Gilgit to Srinagar-India and southwest to Balkh (Bactria) center of the ancient Iranian Empire) and the other, the Northern route of Tun Huang-Hami-Turfan-Karashar-Kucha-Kizil-Aksu (with a branch to Kashgar)-Tashkent-Samarkand-Merv-Iran. As a result of this development, the settlement areas of the Huns were moved. The tributary Eastern Empire, which crystallized in North Mongolia and Dzungaria, while the independent Western Empire became a great Asiatic empire of the steppes in Central Asia (Russian Turkestan) including the extensive territories around Lake Balkhash, Lake Aral as far as east of the Caspian Sea. Around 10 B.C., the Eastern Empire of the Huns shook off Chinese suzerainty and with Dzungaria as base occupied the areas of the Tien-Shan and the northern caravan route, and made the region of the oases in the South, Hun protectorates. With Northern Mongolia as base, they directed invasions against China, so that the communication between China and the West were cut off. It was not until a generation later, in 58 A.D., that the first Chinese sally took place, leading to the establishment of communications with Bactria, and military cooperation with Bactria against the Huns. Thanks to this cooperation Hami (west of the Gobi desert) was recaptured from the Huns in 73 A.D., and in the following year, Turfan as well as the Tarim Basin south of Turfan. In 87 A.D. Kashgar was recaptured, in 90 A.D., Kucha, and in 94 A.D., Karashar. Twelve years later, however, in 106, the Huns in the Tarim Basin revolted, and the Chinese were unable to get these territories back under control until 123-127 A.D.

Beginning with the middle of the century, the Hun-Chinese controversies over commerce via the Silk Road came to a standstill by the appearance of a third power, the Sien-pi, who by keeping China busy through a series of petty wars were going to establish a kingdom in Manchuria, and, in the second century, became strong enough to turn upon the Huns, too, wresting extensive regions from them, and, from 220 A.D. on, subjugating them altogether.

b. The Sien-pi (150 A.D. - 402 A.D.)

Around the middle of the second century, a confederacy of probably Mongolian<sup>1</sup> tribes had established a state in Manchuria which was well organized and expanded rapidly. In a series of raids against China in 156, 158, 177, 207, and 215 they established an important base for their empire. The mili-

<sup>1</sup>/ Vid., Laufer, Rockhill, Pelliot.

tary power of this empire sufficed to enable them to subjugate the empire of the Eastern Huns beginning in 220 AD. A few decades later the empire extended from Manchuria over Mongolia and Dzungaria to Lake Balkash in Central Asia. In 279 they mixed into the Chinese civil war as the ally of the northern (Hunnic) provinces against those of the South. In the period of weakness for China following upon the civil war, the Huns tried to carry out a coup d'etat in 308, in that their chieftain demanded the heritage of the Han dynasty, and further demanded that China be placed under his rule. When this was rejected in the course of endless disputes, he caused a Hun insurrection which, in 311, resulted in the capture of all of North China, where he established a Hun dynasty, while the Sien-pi took advantage of this opportunity to thrust into the Kansu province and to annex the territory of the Kuku-nor. However, the Hun dynasty in China was not given the chance of consolidating. The Sien-pi in 349 again fell upon North China, where heavy fighting continued between the Chinese, the Huns and the Sien-pi until 374, into which a further Turanian people, the Tabghach (Chinese: To-pa), coming from South Manchuria, also joined. In 386, after decades of wars, destruction and disorganization, the Celestial Empire was definitely exhausted, but the empire of the Sien-pi was also badly shaken, and only the To-pa were still intact. They drove away the Sien-pi and in place of the Hun dynasty in China, they established an empire of their own. The empire of the Sien-pi did not again recuperate from this loss of blood and in the years between 390 and 400 it disintegrated due to internal strife. It was destroyed in 402 during a revolt of the Avars, which they formerly had subjugated (Chinese: Juan-Juan), and these, in turn established an empire on the soil of the former Sien-pi Empire.

c. The Tabghach (To-pa), (386 AD-557 AD)

The Tabghach were mentioned in Chinese annals as far back as 280 AD as a tribe living in the Northeast of today's Peking, in Southern Manchuria, and which now, a century later, established another Turanian dynasty in Northern China. Their leader, To-pa Kuei (386-409), with the army which had emerged victorious from the war against Chinese, Huns and Sien-pi for Northern China, defeated the Tunguses and established an empire in Shansi and Hopei in 398. This empire was strengthened and enlarged under his son To-pa Seu (409-423). His court slowly fell under Chinese and Buddhist influence. This influence was combatted by his son To-pa Tao (423-452), who carried out a campaign against Buddhism in his empire. He also carried on an active policy abroad, captured the provinces Shensi in 431, Jehol in 436, Kansu in 439 and resumed invasions of the Tarim Basin to

the West. The dynasty, now rooted in China, was called the dynasty of the rulers of North Wei (436) by the Chinese. His son To-pa Sium (452-465) continued this policy and captured the region around Hani in 456. Under his successor, To-pa Hong I (465-471), the Turanian heritage was lost. He was converted to Buddhism and his court sino-ized and finally, under his son, To-pa Hong II (471-499) the dynasty was fully assimilated by the Chinese. It continued in existence for several decades more and was succeeded, around the middle of the sixth century by a genuine Chinese dynasty.

d. The Western Huns (370-565).

In the meanwhile the Western Huns had divided themselves into two great hordes, the eastern horde, the White Horde, also called Ephtalites, and the Western Horde.

1) The Western Horde

About thirty years before the empire of the Avars came into being the Western Horde under their leader Jormandes Balamir, set out for the West around 370 A.D. from the area between Lake Aral and the Caspian Sea, and crossed the Volga into the Don Basin and Kuban region in Northern Caucasus, and by 375 A.D. they had reached the Dnieper and continued toward the settlements of the Germanic Ostrogoths (eastern branch of the Goths) on the Black Sea and subjugated them. Alarmed by this development the Visigoths (western branch of the Goths) whose famous bishop and missionary Ulfilas (translator of the Bible) requested aid of the Western Christian countries, and when his people migrated toward the Eastern Roman Empire, where they were settled between the Danube and the Balkans, they only stayed six years (395-401). Under their King Alaric they then continued on towards Italy, and captured it. The Huns in 405 undertook a major thrust toward Southeastern Europe and settled in Hungary, thus precipitating a migration of European peoples westward. The position of the Huns in this region was soon consolidated and in 441, on the occasion of political confusion in the Mediterranean countries, the Huns under their great King Attila, captured Bulgarian and Greek territories from the Eastern Roman Empire, and in collaboration with Persia, in the treaty of 443 forced Eastern Rome to pay tribute in gold. By 449 A.D. two further Hun expeditions to Greece had been carried out. By reason of confused conditions in France, and the cry for help from one of the contending parties, Attila, in 451, dispatched an army composed more of vassal troops than Huns through Germany to France. These troops were repulsed, however, in the battle of the Champs Catalauniques. In 452 Attila again tried to carry out his plan by means of a direct attack on Italy, during which he captured the North Italian plain and then con-

cluded peace, through the mediation of the Pope, Leo I. Attila died in the following year (453 A.D.) and a short time thereafter the vassals of the Huns revolted, among them the Ostrogoths, who had migrated to the Balkans with the Huns; and they destroyed the empire of Attila. After the death of his son Ellak, part of the Huns under Ellak's brother Denzigikh returned to the steppes of Southern Russia, while the other part remained in Southeast Romania and Northeast Bulgaria (Dobrudja, Moesia) and became subject to the Eastern Roman Empire. After a final unsuccessful attack on Constantinople the Huns in the South Russian steppes split into two hostile clans, the Kutrigurs north of the Crimea and the Sea of Azov, and the Utrigurs in the Don Basin, who were continuously set against each other by Eastern Rome during the ensuing decades. Nevertheless, they ruled the territory north of the Black Sea until the middle of the following century, when they were subjugated by the Western Avars.

## 2) The Eastern Horde

The horde of the White Huns (Ephthalites) had stayed behind in the Central Asiatic territory and had, in the meanwhile, consolidated themselves well; that is, the Avars (Juan-Juan), shortly after establishing their empire, penetrated into this area and formally made the White Huns their vassals, but they maintained their empire and carried on their own policies. Around 425 A.D., they advanced from West-Rurkestan to the South and captured Bactria with the cities of Merv and Balkh. After consolidation of their position in this area, of ancient Persia, they continued to Kabul (Afghanistan). Between 455 and 470, the White Huns directed continuous attacks on India and finally succeeded in breaking into the Indus Basin, where they also settled. Their position was hardly shaken during the ensuing decades. They remained strong enough to mix into Persian affairs (498) especially through re-introduction of King Kavadh who had a Hun princess for wife, and into Indian affairs, the latter especially under their King Mihirakula (502-530), who from Punjab temporarily spread then the Hun sphere of influence deeper into India.

After the Turki (Tukiue) had smashed the empire of the Avars in 552, thousands of Avars sought refuge with the White Huns. The fate of their empire, however, had also been sealed. After an unsuccessful war against the combined forces of Turki and Persians in 565, their empire was divided up among these two. Thousands of White Huns and Avars migrated to the West.

e) The Eastern Avars (Juan-Juan), (402-552)

As has already been noted, the Avars had overthrown the disintegrating empire of the Sien-pi in 402, and established on its soil an empire of their own. Their leader at that time, bearing the title of Khan, was able not only to unite all territories ruled by the Sien-pi but to extend his empire beyond their confines, incorporating Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Dzungaria and making the White Huns in Middle Asia his vassals in a series of brilliantly executed campaigns. Merely the Chinese under the Turanian dynasty of the To-pa were stronger and won the fight for the territories of the Tarim Basin south of Dzungaria in campaigns in 429, 443, 448 to 449, and 456. There followed a period of internal peace in the empire of the Avars, while their western vassals, the White Huns, extended the empire in Persia and India between 455 and 500. In 520 unrest broke out in the empire of the Avars, in which the Turki (Tukiue) for the first time played a leading part as racial entity, and they steadily increased their influence. When in 551, the proud chieftain of the Turki, Bumin, requested in vain the hand of a princess from the Avar Khan A-na Kuei, he caused a revolt of the Turki in agreement with the To-pa of North Wei (China) in the course of which the empire of the Avars broke asunder under the blows of the combined Turco-Chinese forces.

Some of the tribes of the Avars either fled to China or to the White Huns, while the bulk of them migrated to the steppes of Central Asia and Eastern Europe and, in 557, arrived at the frontiers of the Eastern Roman Empire and requested land from its emperor, Justinian I, who concluded an alliance with them against the Hunnic Hordes of the Kutrigurs and Utrigurs, who ruled north of the Black Sea. After having annihilated them, they established, on their land, the Avar Empire of the West.

f) The First Turki Empire (552-659)

As has already been noted, the national character of the Turki (Tukiue) and the Mogols (Mong-Ku) had become more pronounced and the people as well as their rulers had become more conscious of racial differences. The consequence of this development had finally led to the break-up of the bi-national empire of the Juan-Juan Avars in spite of a different outward reason. After their successful uprising in 551 it became possible, in 552, to proclaim the founding of an independent Turki Empire. Its chief, Bumin Khan, however, died in the year of his victory (552) and the empire founded by him a short time before was divided into two parts by his successors. His

son Mokan (governed from 553 to 572) received the Eastern Khanate (Mongolia) and his brother Istami (governed 552-575) the Western Khanate reaching to Lake Aral (East and West Turkestan). The empires consolidated themselves rapidly and introduced a brilliant Turki epoch. While in 560 A.D. the Eastern Khanate completed an expedition against the Mongol empire of Kitan, Istami Khan became involved in a quarrel with the White Huns (Ephtalites) and allied himself with the Persian King Khosroes I. The Huns were defeated in 565 A.D. by the combined Turco-Persian troops and their great empire reaching from the steppes of West Turkestan to India broke asunder, was divided up between the two countries, Khosroes I. receiving the ancient Iranian province of Bactria and Istami Sogdiana, i.e. the area of South West Turkestan down to the Caspian Sea. The remnants of the defeated White Huns and their Avar refugees departed from the steppes of Asia now ruled by the Turki. They migrated to the Empire of the Avars in the steppes of East Europe.

Immediately thereafter, in 556 A.D., Istami Khan dispatched a delegation to the court of the Sassanids in Persia to negotiate the establishment of orderly transport conditions through Persia for transit on the trade routes (Silk Road) between China and Eastern Rome, which threatened to break down due to Persian arbitrariness. The negotiations failed and led to a deterioration of diplomatic relations between the Turki West Khanate and Ancient Persia. In 567 A.D. Istami dispatched a delegation to Byzantium to Justinian II (565-578) by way of the Caspian Sea via the Lower Volga and Caucasus, to negotiate a trade agreement, i.e. to transfer the silk road north of the Caspian Sea and through the Caucasus thus by-passing Persia; and to establish a military alliance against Persia. These negotiations were successful. At the same time, the Turki West Khanate established permanent diplomatic relations with the Greeks (even the names of the ambassadors have been handed down). From 568 on, Istami pursued a mailed-fist policy toward Persia with visible intentions on the northeast province of Bactria. In 572 Justinian II decided to resume the crusade against Persia under the pretext of having to protect the Armenians. The war continued under his successors (Tiberius II, 578-582, Maurice, 582-602) with fighting in the Balkans against Avars, who were allies of Persia, while Istami died in 575 and his son and successor Tardu (575-602) had other objectives. He wanted to reunite the two Turki khanates and therefore, for the time being, relegated ideas of conquest in the West to a second place. His endeavors toward unity led to a war against the Eastern Turki Khanate in 582-584, as a result of which the latter was partly incorporated, while the remnant was weakened by internal struggle.



over the throne. In 588 Tardu again turned on Persia, King Khosroes II having fled to Byzantium as a result of civil war. In collaboration with Emperor Maurice, Tardu reinstated him as the legal king of Persia, and for services rendered, Tardu pocketed the Province of Bactria, which was annexed. In addition he received the region of Gandhara, (Kabul, Afghanistan), while Eastern Rome received a major portion of Armenia. In the Empire of the West Turki, a period of cultural and economic prosperity began, based on trade with China and the western countries, as well as cultural exchange between India, Iran and China, for which Turki became the mediators. Especially Kashgar and Kizil became flourishing centers of commerce, culture and art. It was not long before the smashing of the East Turk Khanate proved to have been a mistake and China under Yang Kien (589-604) (founder of the Sui dynasty) having become united and stronger in the meanwhile, rapidly gained influence there, and played the embittered tribes of the East against Tardu. The Chinese were even able to organize a revolt of another Turki tribe, the Uighurs, against Tardu in 603, by reason of which Tardu was forced to flee. The successor and son of Yang Kien, Yang Ti (605-616), was able, in further pursuance of the policy of his father, to occupy the oasis of Hami in 608 and to make the regent of Turfan subordinate to the Chinese Court in 609. The unfortunate Korea policy of Yang Ti (three unsuccessful expeditions) led to revolution and anarchy in China in 615, which made possible the restoration of the East Turki Khanate under Hie-li (620-630) so that the region of the oases of Turfan and Hami again became Turkic. A renewed Turki invasion of China was not successful, however, as the emerging, strong personality of Li Che Min, founder of the glorious Tang dynasty (618-907) was able to master the precarious situation. Under his energetic leadership, the Chinese within a short time attained to great power, while the West Turki, as allies of the East Roman Emperor Heraclius (610-641) became involved in a war against Persia (620-628), in the course of which the last national dynasty of ancient Persia, the Sassanids, were defeated. As the West Turki were weakened by the war, notwithstanding the victory, the Chinese subjugated the eastern khanate of the Turki, two years later (630). Despite the fact that consolidation of this region required two and one-half decades, the Chinese in 659 were able to make the western khanate of the Turki into a vassalage.

g. The Western Avars (Varkhonites, Ogors)  
(557-632)

It was previously stated that numerous Avarian tribes, after the collapse of their empire in the East, had

had left these territories in 557 and had established an empire of their own in the steppes north of the Black Sea, after the subjugation of the Western Hunnic clans of the Utrigurs and Kutrigurs. This empire rose with imposing rapidity, and in the course of but two years reached an extent covering the area from the Volga to the Danube. Cooperating closely and continuously with the Byzantine Empire, they subjugated the Bolgars who had in part been living there ever since the Hun invasion. They also subjugated Slavic tribes whose uninterrupted raids on the Byzantine border regions had caused much unrest. The Avars made Pannonia (Hungary) their main Western settlement area. After establishing their position in Southeast Europe, they sought to make further conquests in Central Europe. Reinforced by auxiliaries, they penetrated into Europe up to Thuringia (562) in Germany. There, however, they were checked and thrown back by the troops of Sigobert of Austrasia, king of the Franks. This defeated their immediate plans and brought them internal difficulties, which were overcome however, when in 565 A.D. the energetic leader Bayan became Kaghan of the Avar Empire. He was able, after the collapse of the empire of the White Huns, to incorporate the consanguineous tribes coming from the East in his empire. His empire was thus strengthened at its core in the steppes of Southern Russia, while in Southeastern Europe, with the exception of Pannonia (Hungary) and in Bulgaria<sup>1/</sup>, Slavic tribes were everywhere settled (Bohemia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia). As early as 566, he began to round off the territory of the Avar Empire by supporting the Teutonic Longobardi, who were going to establish a kingdom in Northern Italy (modern Lombardy) in their fight against the rivaling kingdom of another Teutonic tribe, the Gepides in Southeastern Europe. After the successful conclusion of the war, this territory was also incorporated in the Avar Empire, now comprising the entire area of the Danube from the Alps to the Black Sea. This territory was divided into seven Hagans (provinces), headed by a Tarkhan living in the "ring" under the supreme rule of the Khagan. The most influential archpriest was named Bokal Abras. In 570 A.D., the year of Mohammed's birth in Mecca, Bayan again attacked the empire of Sigebert, king of the Franks, and ran roughshod over his troops. Sigebert was taken prisoner and released against payment of a ransom, later in 571 concluding peace with the Avars. Around 579 the Avars again advanced on the Eastern Roman Empire and

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<sup>1/</sup> The then Turkic Bulgars were slavized in the course of time.

after some successes in Greece were able, beginning in 581, to carry on the settlement of this dangerous frontier region with auxiliaries, according to plan as ordered, which brought about strong ethnic revolution in Eastern Europe. (Complete De-Teutonization). Soon however, under Emperor Maurice (582-602) in Byzantium, another war broke out between the Eastern Roman Empire and the Slav vassals of the Avars along the Danube frontier (591-602), which did not change the frontier hardly at all. Because of the confusion in Byzantium, after the death of Emperor Maurice (revolt of the Balkan Army), the Avars, allied with Persia, continued the war and advanced farther. Eastern Rome was barely able to hold on. From 619 onwards, stronger Avar offensives resulted in one break-through after the other, although a revolt of the Slaves under Samo, the Frank king, in 623, had to be localized and checked. Finally plundering took place in the suburbs of Byzantium and in 626 the entire city was beleaguered by the Avars. Only the success of the new Emperor Heraclius (610-614) in the fighting against the Persians saved the Eastern Roman Empire. At the time of the death of Mohammed in 632, the empire of the Avars stood solidly on the plains of Europe between Volga, Danube and Elbe.

2. From the Hegira to the Mongolian Campaigns (622-1215)

a. The Second Turki Empire (682-745)

Twenty-three years after the Chinese had subjugated the first Turki Empire, the Turki were able to shake off Chinese suzerainty and establish an empire, though small, of their own. In 682, under the leadership of their Kaghan Kutluk, the united tribes of the former eastern khanate instigated a successful revolt and maintained their independence. Under the descendants of the founder of this empire, who did not wage wars, culture and trade flourished as was proven by excavations at the site of their capital, Kara Balgasun, on the Orkhon River in today's North Central Mongolia. Tribal strife grew up in 700 and thereafter, especially with the Uighurs and Karluks. This strife initiated internal deterioration, expressing itself in overt civil war after the death of Bilga Khashan (731) and his brother Kultegin (734). In the course of this strife the Uighurs obtained the upper hand, removed the former dynasty and established an empire of their own on the land of the former rulers.

b. The Empire of the Uighurs (745-840)

After the Uighurs had captured the capital of Karabalgasun, they speedily established law and order and united all tribes under their leadership. Culture and trade soon flourished again and reached a level never before attained by a Turki tribe in the course of the 100-year peaceful rule of the Uighurs. The empire was not strongly centralized and the rulers permitted the various districts far-reaching liberties, so that one might call it a federation of Turki principalities, of which each one was free to develop its own cultural center. The capital was variously moved westward in the course of time, which was proven by extensive excavations in the later capital Kara Khocho (today's Idikut Shahri or Daqianus), about twenty miles east of today's city of Turfan. Under Boku Kaghan the court and the nobility became converted to Manichaeism <sup>1/</sup>, a syncretistic, strictly dualistic religion, which was eradicated root and branch by Christians and Mohammedans, who at one time found it widely disseminated in Northern Africa, Southern Europe and Western Asia. The largest part of the Uighur people, however, avowed Northern Buddhism. Of other religious communities, Nestorian Christians <sup>2/</sup>, formed large congregations, while Zoroastrians <sup>3/</sup> formed smaller congregations near the capital and near some other important places. All religionists, scientists, artists, emigrants and refugees of the world of that time lived in harmony under the protection of the Manichaean kings of the Uighurs. The alphabet used by the Turki was replaced by the Uighuric script, a derivation from the Sogdian alphabet, which

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- <sup>1/</sup> Religious philosophy of the Persian Mani, in which light and goodness, personified as God, are represented as in conflict with chaos and evil; sometimes typified by the soul and body respectively. (Developed in the third century).
  - <sup>2/</sup> A sect named after Nestorius, a Syrian patriarch of Constantinople (Byzantium) of the 5th century, who was condemned and banished as an heretic.
  - <sup>3/</sup> The religious system of Zoroaster (Zarathustra), held by the modern Parsees, and known to antiquity as the religion of the Magi. The founder of this ancient Persian religion, who lived about 600 BC is credited with parts of the Zend-Avesta, a collection of sacred writings.

was later used as a model by the Mongols, Manchus, and Kalmucks. Block printing, often illustrated with wood cuts, was introduced (probably from China). The rich artistic adornment of books by means of calligraphy, polychromy and miniatures is source of surprise and wonder of today's savants and typographers. Besides this, rich religious literature, a fine lyrical and epic literature was also flourishing. The Uighur Empire was, indeed, a "paradise of culture and tolerance".

After the empire had existed about a century, it disintegrated under the pressure of two neighboring empires. While the southwestern territories of Central Asia (Turan) little by little fell under the rule of the Arabs and were Islamized, the northern parts of the Uighur Empire were conquered by the Kirghiz in 840, while in the south, from the Kuku-nor in the East to the Pamirs in the West, some Uighur principalities were left intact.

c. The Kirghiz Empire (840-910)

The Kirghiz, who in 840 assumed the leadership for about 70 years among Turki tribes were early mentioned in Chinese annals. They allegedly received their name from their legendary leader called Kirghiz, who ruled over two large tribal federations, that of the Kara-Kirghiz, who drifted around in the mountainous regions north of the Tien Shan range in West Siberia, and that of the Kazakh-Kirghiz, living as nomads West of the Kara-Kirghiz in the limitless steppes stretching from Northern Central Asia to the Caspian Sea and the Volga. As their culture did not exceed the level of nomadic tribes, and they also did not otherwise emerge into the light of history through further conquests or other historic deeds, almost nothing has been handed down of their empire. Between 910 and 932 the Kirghiz Empire lost its dominant position in the Turki world, when it lost step by step the old cultural regions in East and West Turkestan, which they themselves had conquered to the newly emerging Kara-Kitais.

d. The Empire of the Kara-Kitais (932-1212)

The Kara-Kitais were Turki who were pushed westward by the Chinese, these having destroyed their kingdom on the Yellow Sea. In 910 they invaded the Kirghiz Empire and after twenty years of fighting succeeded in establishing an empire of their own in the Tien Shan region (932)

Their first ruler is said by saga to have been Abdul-kerim Satuk Boghra Khan, who was converted to the Islam, and resided at Balasaghun. Under his grandsons, who bore the title of Gur-Khan, the empire of the Kara-Kitais was extended step by step. The remaining Uighur principalities of Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, Turfan and Hami down to the Chinese border were captured. Finally, in 999, the Karacities of Tashkent, Samarkand and Bokhara. Thereupon their capital was moved to Kashgar.

The empire of the Kara-Kitais, the first Moslem empire of the Turki, stood on a high cultural level. They inherited the spiritual heritage of the Uighurs, whose script they continued to use, in addition to Arabic script, which gained an increasingly firm foothold in their empire. In the cities they constructed mednesses (Moslem colleges), mosques, and stately tombs; along the main ---caravan routes, they constructed caravanseries and bridges. Literature was also cultivated and Iranian poets were even invited to court. The two famous books dating back to those times, as mentioned in the chapter on literature, are the "Kudatku Bilik" by Yusuf Has Hajib from Balasaghun, written in 1069 in the Uighuric script, a book of wisdom with a laudatory poem to Boghra Khan; together with the "Divan Lugat at-Turk" by Mahmud al Kashgari, a Turk textbook for Arabs, written in 1073.

Although the western province of the empire, with its main center at Samarkand, fell temporarily under the influence of the Khorezm Shahs and the Seljuks, the empire of the Kara-Kitais continued almost three centuries without being involved in war, until in 1212 it was overrun by the troops of Genghis Khan. The name of (Kara) Kitais at that time was used by Arabs and Russians to denote all of East Asia ("China" in Arabic is "Khatay", in Russian "Kitai").

e. The Empire of Khorezm (1097-1219)

(The fourth dynasty of Khorezmian Shahs)

A few decades after the Kara-Kitais advanced into West Turkestan, the Seljuks, another emerging Turki

tribe, captured the region of and around Khiva (Khorezm) and there installed as governor Anush Tekin, a member of the Oghuz tribe 1/. The son of this Vali, as the governor was called, became his successor. He, Kutbuddin, established the fourth dynasty of the Shahs of Khorezm. This dynasty became the mightiest since the fourth century, the date of establishment under Kutbuddin being 1097. One of his successors, Atsiz by name, made an unsuccessful attempt to liberate himself from the suzerainty of the Seljuks. Thereafter the Shahs of Khorezm collaborated with the Seljuks, as their vassals, and extended their empire far beyond the confines of the original country. As the inhabitants and subjects of the empire of Khorezm were very industrious, and generally esteemed, the rulers of Persia showed great preference for them, employing them not only as officers and soldiers in their armies, but also as officials in their administration. The natural result was, that these men of the empire of Khorezm gained more and more influence in the Persian army and administration. They did not let this opportunity go by unused, and brought one Persian province after the other under their control. Finally, under powerful rulers such as Alaeddin Mohammed, they captured almost all of Central Asia, including Persia and parts of Afghanistan and Irak. Under the Khorezm leader Mahmud (Jemin ad-Daula) they undertook major campaigns of conquest as far afield as India and the Caucasus. They established a great Turki Moslem Empire. This empire, viewed from a cultural standpoint, attained to the greatest and highest position under Turki peoples converted to the Islam. It provided a fertile soil for the rich cultivation of the arts and sciences, and these flourished mightily, in all spheres. It was at that time that one of the greatest scholars, sages, and savants of the age lived in this empire. His name is immortally conjoined with a famous book in Arabic dealing with India, a consummate example of the description dealing with the world of a foreign culture from a high vantage point. This greatest scholar, sage, and savant of that age was named Abu'r-Raihan Muhammed al-Biruni.

This empire is another one of the many, many, which went down before the Mongolian onslaught (1219).

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1/ The Oghuz are a tribe closely related to the Seljuks.

f. The Empire of the Seljuks (970-1243)

Contemporaneously, a new, large empire, the empire of the Seljuks slowly came into being. Around 970 AD, Seljuk, the chieftain of a tribe (Kunuk) belonging to the eastern branch (Ujck) of the Oghuz, sallied forth from his principality in the Kirghiz steppe east of Lake Aral to Turan (Bokhara) and to where he extended his domain. After the tribe had become converted to the Islam religion, they called themselves Turkmen. Although the grandsons of Seljuk, Toghrul (Tughril-beg Muhammed) and his brother Chakir (Chaghri-beg Da'ud) were not yet able to conquer the kingdoms of Bokhara and Samarkand, they extended their sphere of influence to Merv (today's Mari in Turkmenistan) and pushed forward with their armies to Persia, Irak and Azerbaijan (1043). Upon consolidating their position in Persia, they moved their residence to Rey, near today's Teheran, and after annexation of parts of Irak, Toghrul returned to his throne in Bagdad the caliph al-Ka'im who had fled because of the fighting, and in return received the title "King of the East and the West", having become the most powerful nation of the Moslem world. Toghrul died in 1063. His grandson Alp Arslan extended the empire in 1071 by adding Armenia, Georgia, East Anatolia, and parts of Syria. Under this courageous and mild-mannered ruler, the Seljuk Empire experienced its most brilliant epoch in history. However, he met an early death while attempting further conquests in the East (1072). This imposing epoch continued under his son and successor Malik Shah, who extended the empire to all sides in the course of a series of successful campaigns. In the East he conquered the kingdoms of Samarkand and Kashgar as far as the Tien-Shan mountains; in the Northwest he captured further parts of the Caucasus; in the Southwest, in Asia Minor, Antioch, Syria and Palestine as far as the Egyptian frontier, as well as a strip of Southwestern Arabia along the coast of the Red Sea as far as the Yemen frontier, and Irak down to Basra and the Persian Gulf. The capital was transferred to Isfahan and the entire empire decentralized through the establishment of 12 vilayets (provinces), governed by princes of the ruling dynasty. Cultural life during this epoch remained at a high level, aided and promoted not only by the ruler himself, but also by the cultured vizier, Nizam al-Mulk, who had previously served under Alp Arslan, and who had been a boyhood friend of the famous Persian poet, mathematician and astronomer Omar Khayyam (Rubaiyat), the "tent maker".

After 1092, the year of ill fortune, in which Nizam al-Mulk was murdered and Malik Shah died at the age of 38, a definite sign of deterioration was the formation of four large sultanates namely Khorasan, Irak, Syria and Anatolia, which later became independent. At this time, the European crusades for the conquest of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher (1096-1271) were initiated, resulting in the loss of Jerusalem, Antioch and Urfa. Malik Shah's son, Kilij Arslan I. continued, from the Anatolian sultanate, the



conquests, but was killed during a campaign in the region of Mosul (Iraq) in 1107. Under his son, Mas'ud I., in turn, East Asia Minor was conquered including, finally, Konya (Turkey), the later capital. After Mas'ud's son, Kilij Arslan II ascended to the throne, further territories of modern Turkey (province Malatya) were conquered, and it was not until the rule of his successor, Sultan Mohammed who died in 1124, that a period of peace came into being. After the latter's death, signs of fall and decline made themselves evident under the rule of his successors. When Sultan Sanjar, who made a final attempt to save the empire of the Seljuks, fought against the Kara Kitais and the revolutionary Oghuz nomades in Khorasan, he fell prisoner. He died in 1157 shortly after his return from three-year captivity.

After his death, the Seljuk Empire split into four principalities, namely Kerman (Iran), Irak, Syria and Anatolia, while the Shah of Khorezm took Khorasan. In the principalities of Iran (Fars), Irak (Mossul), and Syria (Aleppo), the Seljuk rulers were soon replaced by other Turk dynasties whose rulers assumed the title of Atabey and pursued their own policies. Among these, the Zengi Dynasty attained to the greatest power under the famous Saladin (Salaheddin Yusuf Ibn Ayub, 1137-1193), who fought against the crusaders, recaptured Jerusalem in 1187 and finally became sultan of Egypt, introducing a new, brilliant epoch, during which Turki architecture (Mosques, medresses, mausoleums, arches), which, under the Seljuk rulers had spread over Iran, Azerbaijan and Asia Minor, was brought to the Nile Valley.

It was only in Anatolia that Seljuks continued to rule, fighting alternately against the Byzantines and against the crusaders. In 1243 came the Mongol invasion. After the battle of Kösedagh, the Seljuk sultanate of Anatolia fell under Mongol rule. The Seljuk dynasty was overthrown and the area divided into beyliks (lordships). From one of these, half a century later, there emerged the dynasty of Osman I, who, by reason of his declaration of independence in 1301, became the founder of the Ottoman Empire. The last descendant of the Seljuk dynasty, Mas'ud II, died at Kaisariye in 1303.

g. The Empire of the Khazars

While thus, during the centuries between the Hegira and the Mongolian campaigns, Turki tribes created mighty empires on the soil of the ancient empire of the Tukiue in the deserts and steppes of Asia with, in part, a high cultural level, and thrust forward their sphere of influence as well as their settlement area in direction of Asia Minor, the simultaneous development on the soil of the ancient empire of the Avars in the steppes of Europe remained negative and poor and this also applies from a cultural standpoint.

Bordering upon the Empire of the Kirghiz, between the Lower Volga and the Caspian Sea in the East and the Black Sea in the West, in the 6th century the Khazars made themselves independent and in the 7th century began to extend their empire to the

detriment of other Turki tribes, vassals of the Avar Empire. Further north, along the Volga they subjugated the Volga-Bolgars, weakened by migration of part of their people to the Balkans, and then turned west, emanating from the territory north of the Caucasus along the northern coast of the Black Sea, reaching and settling the Crimea in the 8th century. From the steppes north of the Crimea, they advanced beyond Kiev and reached the Oka, south of Moscow, from whence they advanced their frontier westward to the Dnieper and the Bug. In the process, Slavtribes fell under their rule. Their empire was governed by a Khakan, aided by a Beg as supreme commander. The standing army of 12,000 men, the Larssiei, consisted of Mohammedan mercenaries. Their capitals were Itil (Astrakhan) and Semmender. They constructed the fortress of Sarkel (Bielaya Wiesh) aimed against the Pechenegues. At this time, part of the Khazars were converted to the Jewish faith and thus split, from a religious viewpoint, from their tribal compatriots who did not join them, as well as the other Turki tribes included in their empire, weakening their position. In 965, the empire was attacked by the Russians, who thrust forward to the Volga, crossing the Oka by means of barges, and, under their leader Sviatoslav, subjugated first the territory of the Bolgars on the Kama and from there executed a campaign against the Khazars and destroyed their empire in the North Caucasus between the Caspian Sea, the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. Remnants of the Khazars were able to hold on to the Crimea, where they had retreated, subjected, until 1016, to continued attacks of the Pechenegues. Then they were dispersed by Greeks and Russians 1/. After that they ceased playing a political role.

h. The Empire of the Pechenegues

The Pechenegues, (kangli, Kangar) who settled north of the Caspian Sea between Volga and Yaik under the Avars, were driven from their homes in 870 AD by the united Khazars, Comanes and Slavs and migrated to the southern Ukraine and East Romania, driving before them the Hungarians who lived between Don and Dniester at that time (883). They were able to establish their own empire between Don and the Aluta in Transylvania (a region in Romania) west of the Empire of the Khazars. They were divided into eight large tribes. After warlike invasions of the Byzantine Empire at the beginning, they became the allies of the latter and fought as paid allies against the Hungarians and against the Russians, who also sought their friendship. Finally the Russian Grand Prince Igor in 944 AD was able to conclude a pact with them. This

1/ The few thousand Karaites, living in Southern Russia and in former Polish provinces, for the most part as tradesmen, are said to be descendants of the Khazars. German troops reported about them during World War II.

pact collapsed, however, during the unlucky joint campaign -under Igor's son, Sviatoslav in 970 for the purpose of capturing Bulgaria. They switched sides and attacked the retreating Russian army in the rear, destroying it completely. Sviatoslav was killed in the course of the fighting, in 972. The prince of the Pechenegues ordered that a cup be made from the skull of the Russian leader. He had it plated with gold and used it on festive occasions. Around 1008 the missionary Bruno von Querfurt made the attempt to convert them to Christianity, successful only in part, and only for the time being. During the crusades of the Christians of Western Europe for the conquest of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre (1096-1271) they made repeated assaults from Transylvania on Serbia and Bulgaria. Beginning with the 12th century, they became subjects of the Hungarians and by the close of the 13th century, were assimilated, ceasing to exist as a people.

i. The Empire of the Comanes

Another Asiatic steppe tribe of Turkic extraction also ruled South Russia for several centuries, namely the Comanes (Polovtsi). They had settled in the Northern Caucasus in the area of the Kuma north of Daghostan, and in the 11th century migrated West. They were wild hordes of riders, armed with bow and arrow, who carried with them light barges for crossing rivers. They harassed the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire, which later hired some of the squadrons. During their second invasion in 1089, Vladislav inflicted a serious defeat on them at the Temes and settled all prisoners who agreed to Christian conversion in today's Hungarian province of Jasz-Nagykun-Szolnok (Large and Small Comania) in the Danube-Tisza plane. A second victory of Vladislav over the Comanes on the Lower Danube secured Hungary for a long period of time against their attacks. In the Russian steppes they were more successful, however, and after their defeats in Hungary they captured the Crimea and then invaded the Russian territories situated north of the Black Sea steppes, took many prisoners, and sent many of them to the Eastern slave markets. In doing so, they were aided by Russian disunity, which made it possible for them to ally themselves with individual Russian princes against the others. Due to this, entire districts along the Dnieper were

depopulated of Russians and the commerce of the state of Kiev with the Eastern Roman Empire paralyzed. An army of the prince of Novgorod-Seversk under Igor Sviatoslavitch, sent against the Comanes in 1185, was completely annihilated and Prince Igor taken prisoner. The empire of the Comanes between Don and Danube remained completely intact until the Mongolian Invasion (1235), but never progressed beyond the condition of a primitive nomad culture.

j. The Empire of the Avars

The Empire of the Avars disintegrated in the course of the two centuries following upon the Hegira. This development was initiated after the death of Bayan Khagan (630 AD) when their vassals liberated themselves. The first to do so were the Bohemians and Moravians (Czechs) under the Frank King, Samo, then the Serbs under their leader Dervan and other Slavic peoples, (Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats) and the Bulgarians (635). Despite this, they continued to invade Italy and Germany far into the 8th century. It was not stopped until Charlemagne (742-814), king of the Franks (768-814) and Emperor of the West (800-814) broke the power of the Avars, who had supported the rebel Duke Tassilo of Bavaria against him. He himself advanced in 791 to the Raab (Győr), a tributary of the Central Danube, in Hungary, and his son, Pippin, in 796 stormed the headquarters district between Danube and Tisza. All the treasure which the Avars had taken from the Greek Byzantines and other peoples for 300 years past were captured. The Khagan Tudun permitted himself to be baptized at Aachen (Aux-la-Chapelle) and swore fealty to Charlemagne. Nevertheless, in 799 he incited the Avars to a revolt which was suppressed, however, just like Zodan's revolt in 803. In the ensuing course of history even the name of the Avars were eradicated in the Danube region, in that the Avars retreating over the Tisza allied themselves with the Bulgars and those remaining on this side of the river, were assimilated by the Slavs. The eastern part of their empire, upon reaching the Caspian Sea, was, as indicated in previous chapters, taken over by other tribes such as the Khazars, Pechenegues and Comanes, in the measure of their needing fresh blood from their eastern territories to make up for losses in the West, where better soil and larger riches tempted them to conquest, more than the

steppes of Southern Russia. Their empire and culture in the West disappeared completely from history (827) through assimilation. Their name remained merely in the Lesghian tribe of Avars in Daghestan in North Caucasus, where probably some Eastern splinter groups retreated. In the North Caucasian newspaper "Gazavat" of the German Supreme Command, in the Second World War, articles were published in this language.

As may be seen from historical tradition, of the five Turanian tribes which had founded empires in the steppes of East Europe between the Hegira and the Mongolian invasion, three disappeared from history without leaving a cultural trace, prior to the continent shaking Mongolian European and Asiatic invasions. They were the Khazars, Fechenegues, and Avars who were destroyed, while two empires of relative importance remained; the empire of the Comanes (Polovtsi) which was almost as extensive as that of the Avars before them, as well as the Volga-Bolgars, from which today's small nation of the Chuvash developed.

k. The Chuvasho-Bolgars

The Chuvasho-Bolgars, of which part drove to the Balkans with the army of the Huns in the fifth century, settled farthest north at that time and touched the Finno-Ugrian settlement area, which extended over Moscow beyond the Urals. Through this contact with Finnic peoples, their language was also influenced, without however losing Turkic character. They did not remain a purely nomadic people, but also became farmers, traders, and hunters in the forests of both sides of the bend of the Volga and the Kama. In the 9th century they had established an empire of their own, which was shaken in 965 during a crusade of the Russians under Sviatoslav but regained its independence de facto in 972 upon Sviatoslav's death. Their capital and cultural center was Bolgary near today's village of the same name, 40 miles south of Kazan near the confluence of the Kama and the Volga. The remnants, the "Black Castle", the "Small Minaret", the ruins of the magnificent baths in which a complicated system of clay pipes furnished hot water, and finally the dimensions of the ruined city, bear witness to the culture of the empire of the Chuvasho-Bolgars, existing from the ninth century to the thirteenth century and the Mongolian

invasion. Reports are available from Arab travelers and Russian annals, according to which they maintained lively ties with the Slavic tribes and the princedoms to the West and with the "Biarmiti" to the North-east. This area is today an archaeological reservation.

### 3. The Mongolian Campaigns and State Foundings

The history of the Mongols as an entity did not begin until the appearance of their most famous leader Genghis Khan. Prior thereto they formed more or less strong confederacies on a tribal basis, approximately in the same area in which they are still living today. Their social organization, despite a certain similarity with that of the Turks, was more complicated due to its dual nature, being partly ecclesiastical and partly military. Their name, possibly a derivation of the word "mong", which means "brave man", also makes its appearance like the term "tukie" (Turk) in the annals of the Chinese Tang dynasty (618-907) in references to "mong-ku" invaders.

In the year 1155, a son was born to the Mongol Khan Yisukai ruling some 30 to 40 Mongolian and Turco-Tatar clans. He was named Temuchin, and his birthplace was headquarters on the Onon River. Temuchin was named for a Tatar khan which Yisukai had just defeated. Yisukai was involved in continuous fighting with various Turco-Tatar tribes; at the time of his death, Temuchin was only 13 years old. When he was named successor of his father, various clans revolted and the resulting fighting seriously endangered the khanate. It was only thanks to the energy of his mother Yulun that when he came of age, about half of the clans were still loyal to him. After taking over government, he was able to earn great renown for himself through energy and wisdom. In years of fighting, he was able by 1206 to create for himself a powerful basis upon which he was to build his future empire. He was proclaimed "Khan of the United Mongol and Tatar Tribes" and took the name of Genghis Khan (Mongolian: Chingiz; Chinese: Cheng-sze=perfect warrior). He established his capital on the Orkhon River, about 25 miles away from the former capital of the Uighur

Empire and gave it the name: Karakorum. It was erected in the years between 1206 and 1219. His first military operations were against the Tatar Empire of the Kin established on the soil of the Chinese Sung dynasty, and as a result he gained a footing in Hia and Kansu. In 1213 his position was strong enough to overrun the empire of the Kin, and the campaign was concluded in the following year with the capture of Yenking (Peking). His sons Juji, Jagatai and Ogodai took part in this campaign as officers. Serious differences of opinion with the Kirghiz (Naimans) led to the latter's subjugation. The Mongolian Oirats sided with Genghis Khan under their chieftain Kara Kiragho, who became one of the nine most famous Mongolian generals. The Naiman Khan, Kushlek, in the meanwhile found refuge in the empire of the Kara-Kitai and there, taking advantage of the law of hospitality, removed the legal ruler and himself mounted the throne. This development led to war with the empire of the Kara-Kitais and ended with the latter's subjugation, while the Uighur principalities to the south thereof, voluntarily placed themselves under the protection of Genghis Khan. At this stage, the development appeared to cease, as Genghis Khan felt satisfied with the riches and the power he had gained. He dispatched an embassy to Mohammed, Shah of Khorezm, with the suggestion to introduce a trade treaty and peaceful relationships. His suggestion was accepted and only an unfortunate incident made peaceful relationships impossible. The first mission dispatched by Genghis Khan, on their way to Khiva in the region of the Governor of Otrar, Inaljuk, was arrested and executed under suspicion of espionage. Thereupon Genghis Khan demanded the removal and punishment of Inaljuk, which was however rejected in an insulting way by Shah Mohammed (execution of the ambassador). As a result, war broke out in 1219 against the empire of the Shah of Khorezm. Jagatai led the North Army against Otrar and Juji the South Army against Khojent. An Army group under the leadership of another son, Tului, captured Tashkent, Nur and Bokhara. The invasion of the troops of Genghis Khan could not be checked by Shah Mohammed, and the advance went far beyond Samarkand to Balkh, while the Turkomans in Khorasan deserted to the Mongols. Tului's troops occupied Merv. Mohammed had to flee and died soon thereafter in Astara on the

Caspian Sea. The remaining empire he left to his son Jelaleddin, who retreated to India (Delhi), where he found support. This development led to war from Persia and Afghanistan to the Indian provinces of Peshawar and Lahore. The remnants of the army of Jelaleddin, retreating to the West, were dispersed and pursued to the Caucasus, the Kurdish Mountains and Mesopotamia (Iraq). Merely the Seljuks, who bowed to Genghis Khan, saved a principality in Southwest Iran (until 1278). North thereof the Mongols entered the Caucasus, where in 1222 armies of Genghis Khan under Generals Chepe and Sabutai thrust into Azerbaijan and Georgia and later defeated the Lesghians, Circassians and Comanes. The latter fled westward to the Black Sea and into the Donets Basin, when the city of Astrakhan in the North of the Caspian Sea was captured. The Mongols thereupon occupied the land west of the lower Volga and the Caspian Sea, down to the Black Sea and the Don. Recognizing the danger threatening their empire from the loss of North Caucasian territory, the Comanes turned to the Russian princes with the request for a military alliance against the Mongols, and declared: "If you do not help us, we will be defeated today, but you tomorrow!" The alliance was concluded and the Great Khan of the Comanes, Kuthan, was able to repel two serious attacks of the Mongols. In 1223, a battle took place on the banks of the Kalka River which flows into the Sea of Azov. The Comanes and Russians fought side by side. The Mongols and their Turco-Tatar auxiliaries defeated first the Comanes and then the Russian troops, without, however, pursuing the defeated armies or advancing beyond the Kalka. A large part of the Mongol troops was ordered back to Asia. When Genghis Khan died four years later in 1227 and his mortal remains were secretly transferred to the valley of Kilien, he left to his son a world empire of greatest extent, from Manchuria to the Donets Basin. It had been erected through military operations marked by superior tactics and executed with unparalleled speed and power, coupled with an extended espionage system. On Genghis Khan's seal were engraved the words: "Seal of the Ruler of Humanity".

This empire of the Turanian race established at the beginning of the 13th century is, in its extent, almost exactly the empire of which modern Pan-Turanists



dream, only larger extending beyond the Caucasus and Turkey to the Mediterranean. Indeed, in this area there still live Turks and Mongols, either independent (Turkey) or at least in administrative autonomy.

After the death of Genghis Khan, his empire was further extended by his sons and grandsons, but no longer was it guided centrally with such strictness. It turned into a sort of confederacy of states of Mongols and Turki under the presidency of a Great Khan (Kaghan), elected by the assembly of nobles (Kuriltai). The administrative center remained for the time being Karakorum.

After extended conferences, two years later in 1229, Ogodai, the third son, became kaghan and successor of Genghis Khan. This was counter to tradition, but the first son, Juji, died six months prior to his father. The second son, Jagatai, who had great influence, became khan over the western territories of the empire, comprising East and West Turkestan and the area of Khorezm and Khorasan (Northeast Iran) as a nucleus. The eastern territories of the empire, with the homeland of the Mongols as nucleus, was given to the fourth and youngest son of Genghis Khan, Tului. The extended region of steppes of North Central Asia west of the Yenisei to the steppes of East Europe in the North Caucasus and Donets Basin, called Kipchak by the Mongols, had four years before been given to Batu Khan, the second son and successor of Juji.

To the east of the country, Cathay (North China) had been subjugated, partly through campaigns of Genghis Khan against the empire of the Kin under the "Golden Dynasty" of Tatars, who had established their residence in Kai-feng Fu on the Yellow River. The subjugation was continued on his sons and grandsons and completed in 1234. Thereafter began expeditions into the Southern China empire of the dynasty of Sung. The conquest of this empire turned out to be lengthy and required about 50 years in all, after unsuccessful attacks beginning in 1235. Thus it extended beyond the rule of Kaghan Ogodai, who died 1241, as well as his son and successor Kuyuk, who was not elected until 1246 and governed only until 1251. It was not until the rule of his successor, Mangu, the eldest son of Tului, that the conquests gained momentum. The latter appointed

Kublai (1216-1294), the second son of Tului, as his military adviser, who implemented a vast and daring strategy. On the occasion of a campaign in Szechuen, in which Mangu Kaghan participated, he was killed and thus Kublai Khan became his successor in 1259, not, however, without strong inner resistance. Thus was verified the statement of the Mongol poet-chronicler, Sanang Setzen, according to whom Genghis Khan had already predicted a brilliant career for the young Kublai.

a. The Empire of Kublai Khan in China

Kublai Khan became the founder of the Mongol dynasty (Yuan dynasty, 1259-1368) in China and transferred the capital to Yenking (Peking) in 1264, where, in 1267, he had the part of the city today known as "Tatar City" built. The Chinese called the new capital Tai-tu (great court), the Mongols and Turco-Tatars, Khan-balik (City of Khan). The subjugation of China continued successfully. In 1267 the capital of the Sung dynasty was captured, and three years later (1279), the conquest was concluded. Several attempts to subjugate Japan after the conquest of Korea were unsuccessful, however, and the last major attempt in 1281, which failed due to a storm, resulted in negative inner political repercussions. On the other hand invasions of Champa (Cochin-China), Tonkin, Burma and Tibet were successful, while an attempt to gain a footing in Java miscarried. Kublai Khan, who liked to get reports about foreign countries, dispatched expeditions to Southern India, Madagascar and the East Coast of Africa, charged with gathering information. Many details regarding life at his court and the events in his empire became known in Europe thanks to the famous Venetian globe-trotter and author, Marco Polo (1254-1324), who lived in East Asia for 25 years, and was also at the court of Kublai Khan. Kublai died in 1294 after ruling 35 years on the Mongol Throne. Among the nine successors there were none of major importance. Under the last representative of the Mongol dynasty, Toghon Timur, the empire collapsed due to a rebellion of China and Korea in 1368, and was replaced by the Chinese Ming dynasty, founded by Hung-Wu in 1368. It lasted until 1644 and dispersed or assimilated the Mongols completely.

b. The Empire of the Kipchaks in Russia

The founding of this Mongol dynasty in the East was paralleled by similar foundings in the West. Under the Khanship of Ogodai, the Kuriltai (assembly of nobles) in 1235 commissioned the martially talented second son of Juji, Batu, to subjugate East Europe. He had been elected Khan of the Kipchaks in 1223 and ruled the entire region of steppes of Asia, north of the Jagatai empire. The empire of the Kipchaks disintegrated into two hordes, the most powerful in the West called the Golden Horde, and the other the Eastern White Horde. Batu Khan, accompanied by sons of Jagatai, Ogodai and Tului, thereupon launched an invasion in 1236 and first conquered the empire of the Volga-Bolgars (Chuvash), whose capital was captured the following year. As early as 1237 began the invasion of the Slavic regions of Russia with the occupation of the principality of Ryazan in the region of Oka southeast of Moscow. At the same time, troops crossed the Don in a westerly direction, invading the territory of the Comanes under the Tatar general Nogai, captured the Crimea, where Batu Khan personally ordered the establishment of the new capital of Bakhchi Sarai. In the course of the ensuing fighting in the steppes north of the Black Sea, the Comanes were completely defeated and their Great Khan Kuthan fled with 40,000 families of his people to Hungary, where King Bela settled them in the territory between Tisza and Danube. This was the end of the empire of the Comanes <sup>1/</sup> and also initiated their annihilation

<sup>1/</sup> In Hungary, the Comanes long and vigorously opposed all attempts to christianize them and make them settlers. The Hungarian King Vladislav IV permitted them to remain heathens and nomads, for which he received the cognomen "the Comane". Equality with the Hungarians, which they finally attained, led to much friction, so that Pope Nicolas IV in 1287 preached a crusade against them, and forced the Catholic King of Hungary to fight against them. The Comanes took revenge by predatory expeditions. In their course, King Vladislav IV was murdered in 1290. Their conversion to Christianity was only effected in the middle of the 14th century, forcefully, as was their acceptance of Hungarian customs. Their descendants live in Great and Small Comania and were granted great privileges until 1638. They are now completely magyarized.

as a race. In the following year, 1238, the Mongols captured the Russian cultural center north of the conquered principdom of Fyazan, the region of Susdal, and fourteen cities in addition to the capital of Vladimir. Shortly before that, Moscow had also been occupied. It was at that time a small and unimportant city. A further advance of the Mongol and Turco-Tatar hordes into the principdom of Novgorod failed because of the impenetrable swamps and forests fronting it. Subsequent campaigns were then transferred to the Ukraine, which was also conquered. In the year 1240 Kiev, "Mother of Russian Cities", was besieged and destroyed. The subsequent advance westward took place with great speed, a "blitzkrieg". Columns under Generals Baidar and Kaidu captured Poland, one group advancing into Silesia beyond Cracow almost annihilated an army of Henry II, duke of Silesia, in the battle of the Wahlstatt near Liegnitz, on 9 April 1241, while the other groups advanced just as rapidly on Hungary, captured Budapest and crossed the Danube, only to come to a halt in 1241 near the city of Fsztergom (Gran), northwest of Budapest. Further sections pursued the fleeing Hungarian King Bela IV to the Adriatic coast in today's Yugoslavia, while another group thrust into Bulgaria.

During this period of expansion of the empire in the West, Kaghan Ogodai and the Khan of the Western Empire Jagatai, died shortly after each other (1241 and 1242, respectively). This new internal situation caused the Mongols to forgo further conquests in order to solve the important question of a successor, and to consolidate the empire. It was not until 1246 that Ogodai's eldest son, Guyuk, was elected Great Khan. He died a few years later, however, and the eldest son of Tului, Mangu, was his successor in 1251.

Mangu Kaghan was a tolerant ruler and countenanced, almost like in the old empire of the Uighurs, the activity of Christians, Buddhists and Mohammedans, although Shamanism was the state religion. Karakorum was a brilliant court.

Batu Khan had, in the meanwhile, also constructed a pompous residence named Sarai on the Akhtuba,

an arm of the Volga, not far from today's Stalingrad. Previously, headquarters had been designated "Sir Orda" (Golden Camp), which accounts for the name of the Golden Horde. Through Batu Khan, another Turkic tribe rose into the light of history, the Tatars. They originally had settled in the Gobi Desert. Their name is derived from the term Ta-Ta mongols, which differentiated them from the real Mongols, settled nearby, and by whom they were ruled for a long time. To them also belong the Siberian Tatars in the territory of the Altai Mountains and the rivers Yenisei (Krasnoyarsk), Ob (Tomsk), and Irtysh (Tobolsk), cultured from the 4th to the 8th century, who were subdued by Mongols. Their descendants in Mongolia and Siberia, having lived under Mongols and Kara Kitais, came to Russia under the leadership of Batu as part of the empire of the Kipchaks. Actually, only Batu, his staff of officers and a limited number of troop units were Mongols, the bulk consisted mainly of Tatars. Three main settlement areas were founded: the largest in the Ural-Volga territory north of the capital of Sarai, now called "Kazan-Tatars"; south thereof on the Lower Volga and the northern coast of the Caspian Sea, now called "Astrakhan Tatars", as well as on the Crimea, called "Crimean Tatars" or "Nogais". All three groups represented an honest, industrious type of human being, producing excellent farmers and gardeners. They formed the racial nucleus of the empire of the Golden Horde, established by Mongols and rulers over Russia for 242 years (1238-1480). Their founder Batu died in 1255. His successor was his brother Bereke.

c. The Empire of the Jagatai in Central Asia

As noted previously, the southwestern territories of the Mongolian empire had been placed under the rule of Jagatai, the second son of Genghis Khan, after the latter's death (1227). Jagatai, due to other work, was not able to administer the area (East and West Turkestan) himself. For this reason, a vali (governor) was installed. Jagatai died in 1242. Conditions in the empire bearing his name had not been normalized, and after his death they deteriorated even further. Finally, in 1253 in Iran unrests broke out, which were instigated by the activity of Ismailites 1/, members of a sect of the Shiah branch of Islam that recognized as the last of the imams Ismail, of the house of Ali. This sect of oriental fanatics that practiced assassination became

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1/ Also called Assassins; Arabian; Hashshashin (hashish-eaters).

a danger to the safety in those areas. For this reason the Great Khan Mangu dispatched his brother Hulagu with an army to Persia in order to re-establish law and order and to punish the Ismailites. This undertaking led to a major campaign straight across Persia which was completely conquered; as well as Transcaucasia, which he also subjugated; westward to the eastern part of the empire of the Seljuks, which was practically destroyed with the exception of the principality of Konya; into the empire of the Abbassids in Irak, where the Mongols marched into Bagdad in February 1258 and thus terminated the caliphate established in 749 AD. From there, troops of Hulagu thrust further west and conquered Syria, sacking Aleppo and occupying Damascus in 1260 under General Kitboga, as Hulagu was recalled to Mongolia for a meeting of the Kuriltai in Karakorum in view of the fact that Mangu Kaghan had been killed in Szechuen (1259). Kitboga did not get far beyond Syria, because Egypt, under the Mameluke ruler Baibars <sup>1/</sup>, joined in and offered considerable resistance. The Kuriltai, which elected Kublai, elder brother of Hulagu, Great Khan, bestowed the captured territory on Hulagu, who assumed the title of Ilkhan and thus founded the Mongolian dynasty in Persia, which continued in existence until 1370, officially under the Kaghan, but independent to all intents and purposes. This was the third state to be established on foreign soil subsequent to Kublai Khan in China and Batu Khan in Fussia. Practically, it was the extension of the empire of the Jagatai, to which this newly created empire of the Ilkhans was officially but loosely tied.

The further stages of development of these allied empires were roughly as follows. Toward the end of the conquests in Persia and Asia Minor, the state structure was consolidated. A point of contention with the Golden Horde, between Hulagu and Bereke, despite military incidents, did not lead to a change in the power constellation of either sides. The third Ilkhan, Nikudar Ahmed, who reigned from 1281-84, completed the introduction of the Islam in his domain, while some time later, in Jagatai, Tarmashirin, whose Moslem name became Alaeddin, was only successful in part. The empire reached a high stage of prosperity under Ilkhan Ghazan, who acceded to power a decade later and ruled from 1295 to 1304. He was a grandson of Hulagu. Under his rule commerce and culture flourished. He transferred the capital of the empire to Tabriz (Northwest of Iran, province of Azerbaijan). His brother (Uljaitu Khodabanda),

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<sup>1/</sup> A former Turki officer of a famous cavalry corps in Egypt, who had seized power in 1254.

who became his successor, maintained both internal order and outside power. Under his rule, the capital was moved to near-by Sultaniye, it having been enlarged for this purpose. Around 1321, however, a change took place in the development of the Jagatai Empire, leading to a division into two khanates. When Ilkhan Dua, a great-great grandson of Jagatai had died, a feud between the descendants of Kublai and Kaidu was rekindled over the question of the succession to the throne, in which the adherents of the house of Kaidu declared East Turkestan an independent khanate and elected a son of Dua to the throne. Kashgar was selected as capital, which however, was soon transferred to Yarkand later to Aksu, while the larger West Jagatai Khanate chose Samarkand as its capital. As the Western Khanate had weak rulers, however, further tendencies toward fissures made their appearance, which Ilkhan Abu Said was able to prevent only for the time being. After his death, no less than five petty dynasties came into being in 1335, of which one existed in Azerbaijan until 1355, another one in Irak (the Jelairids in Bagdad) until 1400. The close of the Mongolian dynasty in Persia approached when Kazan Khan, who only reigned from 1343 to 1346, was dethroned by Kurgan in a coup d'etat, this in turn leading to civil strife in the western Jagatai territory, which by reason thereof practically disintegrated by 1353. That is, outwardly it was still ruled by a titular khan but practically actual rule devolved more and more upon Turk emirs. This situation caused the ruler of the East Jagatai khanate, Toghluk Timur, a grandson of Dua, to attempt in 1360 the restoration of the old Jagatai Empire by military means. This undertaking miscarried, however, due to the superior personality of a young emir, who was predestined by history to replace the Mongol dynasty with a Turk dynasty. It was Tamerlane (Timur Lenk).

d. The Empire of the Timurids

Tamerlane was 24 years old at that time, emir at the court of Western Jagatai, and had enjoyed an excellent literary and military training. He had been born in Kesh in 1336 (also known as Shahr-i-Sabz = the "green city"), about 50 miles south of Samarkand. as son of the head of the tribe of the Berlas, Teragai, who himself was a great-grandson of Karachar Nevian, minister of Jagatai, and Turk by descent. After the death of his

father he became the head of the tribe of Berlas and had allies in the camp of the partisans of Kurgan, dethroner of Kazan Khan. Strife with Taghluk stretched over years, made more difficult by his rivalry with his brother-in-law Hosain, who was finally murdered in 1369. As a result, his power was extended, when he claimed his heritage and was proclaimed sovereign of Balkh. As such he mounted the throne in Samarkand. Now the development began to gather momentum. As early as 1370 Tamerlane conquered East Turkestan with Dzungaria, thus becoming, by right of conquest, Khan of both sections of Jagatai. In the following 20 years he consolidated his position and founded the dynasty of the Timurides, who ruled until 1409. It became one of the most enlightened and cultivated Turkish dynasties. Especially in regard to culture, the country flourished. Literature was cultivated, and Arabic as well as Persian became the language of literature and the savants, while Turkish was the poet's language. Many cities of Central Asia were extended and beautified. In the decade between 1380 and 1390, Tamerlane's empire was in danger of subjugation by the mighty Khan Toktamish of the Golden Horde over strife concerning the possession of Khorezm. A combined army of the Golden and White Hordes even captured parts of Persia and the former capital of Tabriz, but were repulsed and driven off in 1390, thus conclusively placing Persia and the Caucasus under Tamerlane's rule. A further war against Toktamish five years later led to the smashing of the latter's Kipchak Empire, Tamerlane's troops destroying Astrakhan and Sarai, and advancing to Moscow in 1394. This was the beginning of a policy of conquest. In 1398 he was able, during a campaign of but three months, to reach in India the mouth of the Ganges in the Bay of Bengal, annexing the Punjab including the district of Delhi. A further war saw his troops advancing to Egypt through Syria in 1401, and Asia Minor in 1402, against the Turks, reaching Ankara (Angora), the Turkish sultan Bayezid I. being captured in the process. When Tamerlane died in a camp at Otrar (Turkestan) on February 17, 1405, while preparing an eastward campaign to China, he left behind an empire extending between the Volga and Irtysh in the North, the Persian Gulf in the South, and just short of the Dardanelles and the Ganges from West to East.



e. The Empire of the Golden Horde

While the empire of the Jagatai and the Timurids developed as sketched above, for the empire of the Kipchaks, composed of the Golden Horde in the West and the White Horde in the East, after the death of Batu Khan, the following development took place under his successors since Bereke Khan (1255). After a short period of consolidation in the newly acquired settlement areas (Ural-Volga district, South Russian steppes in North Caucasus, north of the Black Sea and the Crimea), a supervisory system was evolved in the Slavic territories. As much emphasis was placed upon the payment of tribute, exact censuses were conducted and Tatar Baskaki with great powers installed in all districts. They collected the tributes and supervised the impressment of soldiers and artisans. In the field of politics, it almost became a rule to take advantage of disunity among the six to eight Russian princedoms and to play one against the other. When friction resulted between the Baskaki, who frequently ruled arbitrarily, and the Russian population during the collection of tributes, a new state organization was introduced, analogous to that of the Tatars. Of the Russian princes, one was named grand prince, with residence in Vladimir, and he received a patent of investiture 1/. This grand prince was then responsible for the payment of tribute. The baskaki were withdrawn. Under the second khan after Bereke, Toktu Khan, coins were already issued, that is, in the years 1291-1312. Under Uzbek Khan, who reigned from 1312 to 1340, Islam was finally introduced. After existing for about one-hundred years, a restive development was introduced by court intrigues. The son and successor of Uzbek Khan, Tinibeg Khan, was murdered after a few months of reigning, and Janibeg Khan usurped his throne, who in turn was murdered by his own son Berdibeg in 1357. Despite this inner disorder, the stability of the empire had not suffered until then. It became shaky, from within, under the son and successor of Berdibeg, Kulpa Khan. The development was speeded up by the strengthening of the Russian princedoms while Moscow, thanks to a wise policy of friendship with the Tatars gained the upper hand and the Yarlyk. With the death of Ahmed Khan, disintegration became evident and separatist tendencies came into evidence

1/ Yarlyk.

among the territorial khans who acted more and more independently. In 1367, the Kremlin in Moscow, which until then had only had wooden ramparts, was surrounded by today's strong stone wall and the Russians, under Dimitri Ivanovitch began to improve the organization of their army. Furthermore, the Russian nationality began to crystallize. From local dialects, there evolved a unified Russian language. The same happened with the Ukrainians and the Byelo Russians.

During the period of weakness of the Golden Horde (1357-1378), a similar development took place within the White Horde. It too was strong, inwardly and outwardly, up to the year 1360, the year in which Urus Khan died. His successor Tuktakie died within a few weeks, and his successor in turn, Timur Malik (the second son of Urus Khan) was murdered by an enemy of his father, Toktamish, who seized power in 1378, after he had found refuge and support for a time with Tamerlane. This energetic, extremely ambitious and ruthless khan undertook the attempt to unite the White and Golden Horde, in which he succeeded thanks to the inner weakness of the Golden Horde. There, a Tatar army leader named Mamai, in charge of a tuma (10,000 men) had seized power and planned on re-establishing stability by disarming the Russians. He prepared a military expedition in collaboration with the Lithuanian prince Yagiello and the Russian prince Oleg of Ryazan. Thus, a battle took place in September 1380 between Tatars and Russians along the Don on the battlefield of Kulikovo, in which the Russians were victorious for the first time, without however attaining independence. Their prince thereafter received the cognomen of Dimitri Donskoi. It was at this time that Toktamish, the khan of the White Horde, succeeded in uniting the two hordes, and he marched to Moscow and Vladimir and thus assured the Tatars of Russian dependence. Having become overconfident, he sought to extend the re-united empire of the Kipchaks to the South by demanding of Tamerlane the territory of Khorezm, despite the debt of gratitude which he owed the latter. Tamerlane refused and an army of Toktamish occupied wide reaches of Tamerlane's empire beyond Tabriz to Persian Azerbaijan. He was, as mentioned above, defeated by Tamerlane in 1390,

the first time, and in 1395 his army was wiped out, and the capitals of Astrakhan and Sarai were destroyed, while armies of Tamerlane now appeared before Moscow and other Russian cities. The spoliation of Slav territory caused a Russian relapse so that the Tatars were assured of a further century of rule over Russia, having reinstated order. The Kipchaks, however, also did not attain to their former power and soon evidence of cleavages appeared. The first khanate which seceded from the Kipchak empire federation to become independent was the nucleus of the Volga-Ural Tatars, who founded their own state in 1438 with the capital in Kazan on the Volga. The so-called Kazan Tatars established their khanate in the settlement area of their own people plus that of the related Chuvash (Volga-Bolgars) and Bashkirs, as well as of the Mordvin, Mari and Udmurt peoples, which, like the three above-named Turki peoples, still have their own autonomous republics there. They also continued to rule the Russians and continued to represent the Golden Horde.

The second independent khanate was formed three years later (1441) on the Crimean and the steppes situated north thereof along the coast of the Black Sea - today's Ukraine - between North Caucasia and Romania. The khan of the Crimea, Mengli Girai, undertook repeated invasions despoiling the Russian territory up to Lithuania.

This development continued with the establishment of a Siberian khanate east of the Urals with capital at Isker (Tobolsk). It ruled gigantic areas and also levied tribute in the form of furs upon the peoples there (Yasak). The entire region was subdivided into a large number of principalities which were called Ulus.

South thereof, the Kazakh Hordes, forming a sort of federation, attained to an independence of sorts in the territory of today's Kazakhstan. These were the "Great Horde" in the area of Semipalatinsk, the "Middle Horde" in the area of Akmolinsk, as well as the "Little Horde" in the steppe of Chkalov (Orenburg). From these developed the Kazakh nation in the 14th and 15th centuries with relative independence.

The Moscow princes attempted, in the face of the disintegration of the Golden Horde, to rid themselves of their continuing dependence. Ivan III. (1440-1505 who became czar of Muscovy in 1462, began to pay tribute irregularly and took advantage of friction among the Tatar khans. When the Crimean Khan, Mengli-Girai arose against the Golden Horde, Ivan III concluded a military pact with him. In 1480, war broke out against the Kazan Tatars of the Golden Horde, in which the Russians mobilized and thus tied down troops of the enemy and thereby enabled their allies, the Crimean Tatars, to defeat the Kazan Tatars under Akhmat Khan, the Siberian khanate also lending its support to the Crimean Tatars. Akhmat Khan was assaulted by them and killed. In this way, the Tatars finally lost their influence on the Russian territories, which thereafter became independent and were united by Ivan the Great (Ivan III) through the creation of the Russian Empire. A further war of the Crimean Tatars, which had developed into the most powerful khanate, was directed against the Kazan Tatars in 1502, and resulted in the final and complete elimination of the Golden Horde. In the territory of its historic center, along the Lower Volga, a further khanate was then established with capital at Astrakhan. Thus the Turco-Tatars definitely and finally lost domination of the Slavs in Russia and were limited to their settlement area, which nevertheless, still left to them the settlement area they had had for centuries, namely from Mongolia to Romania.

f. The Empire of the Uzbeks

It was at this time that the Uzbek nation was established through secession. The Uzbeks were an East Turkic tribe of high cultural qualities, which, because of it, has a special and esteemed position among the Turkic peoples. Their name appears in the history of the Golden Horde, from which it emerged, when the chieftain of this tribe, Uzbek Khan, who reigned from 1312 to 1340 as khan of the Golden Horde, introduced the Islam, and his tribe assumed his name after conversion. The dynasty of the Uzbeks traces its descent to a branch of Genghis Khan's eldest son Juji, which was Turkicized in the course of time. Nevertheless, as a member tribe of the federation of the Golden Horde they led an unimpressive life until

the beginning of the 15th century Abulkhair Khan united the various groups of the tribe and ruled the Uzbeks as a racial entity. Thus, they are introduced in history as a unit in 1465, when they seceded from the Golden Horde and migrated from the North into the empire of the Timurids, who to all intents and purposes continued the empire of Jagatai. Abulkhair's grandson, Mohammed Shaibani Khan (Shahi Beg) became the real founder of the power of the Uzbeks, his dynasty lasting from 1500-1599. He was able to capture the northern half of the Timurid Empire in 1500 at the same time that Kizilbash of the Persian Shiah sect revolted and made their country independent, thus founding the Persian Empire under rulers of the Safawid house in 1499-1502 (Ismail Safi was their first ruler). In the course of the fighting, they took from Baber, the ruler of the house of Timur, the territory between Oxus and Jaxartes, the region of Ferghana, Tashkent, Kashgar, as well as Khorezm (Khiva) and Hissar. The expansion of the Uzbeks in a southerly direction in Khorasan (Turkmenistan) was limited however by defeat in the battle of Merv in 1510 at the hands of troops under the Persian Shah Ismail. Shaibani Khan was killed and they lost Khorasan and the district of Samarkand to the Persians in 1511. North thereof, however, they held on, and recaptured Samarkand in 1514. Despite fluctuating fortunes, they did not lose their independence in the course of the ensuing 400 years. In the course of time they formed several Uzbek khanates and emirates, which became such great cultural centers as Bokhara, Samarkand, Kokand, and Khiva, and maintained relations (envoys) with the Russians since Czar Feodor (1584-98) but were not subjugated until 1865-1878 (with the exception of Bokhara and Khiva, which maintained their dynasties until 1917-1919). The resurgence of Persia as well as the rule of Turkestan by the Uzbeks since 1500 led simultaneously to the empire of the Timurids. Their last but energetic ruler, Baber, was of such high caliber, that with the last remaining forces and connections at his disposal, he gained a foothold in Northwest India in 1526 and founded the Mogul Empire there, which was ultimately destroyed by the English in 1803.

g. The Mogul Empire in India

Zahir ud-din Mohammed, whose surname Baber means "tiger", is one of the most interesting, yes, the most romantic personalities to be met among the Turanian race. He was the son of Omar Sheik, descendant of Timur and king of Ferghana. Baber (1483-1530) succeeded to the throne of Samarkand in 1495 and found no peace in his lifetime. In 1501 he was driven away by the Uzbeks, his nobles in Persia and Afghanistan revolted and crowded him into India. On the way there, in 1504, he took Kabul (Afghan capital) having crossed the Hindu Kush. A pact with Hussain Mirza of Herat (Afghanistan) against the Uzbek Khan Shaibani broke down due to Hussain Mirza's sudden death. Alone on all sides, the death of Shaibani in 1510 accrued to his benefit, and a speedy coup against Samarkand succeeded in 1511. It was recaptured by the Uzbeks in 1514. Incapable of opposing the Uzbeks in the North of the Persians in the West, this man, who never gave up, allied himself in 1521 with some Afghan nobles against Ibrahim, emperor of Delhi (India). In 1526 he defeated the numerically by far superior Indian with his army of 12,000 men in the battle of Panipat and took Delhi and Agra. Thereafter a Rajput confederacy was established under the gallant Rana Sange of Mewar (Rana of Udaipur) and Baber's troops suffering from the unaccustomed climate of India, again had to fight against a numerically superior enemy. In 1527 his army defeated the Indians at Kanvaha (Sikri near Agra) and at that time created the basis for the Turki dynasty of the Moguls in India. The last three years of his life (he died in 1530 at the age of 48) he dedicated to the administrative and military consolidation of his empire. Baber is an example for the toughness and tenacity of which the Turki race is capable.

This empire under Baber's son, Humayun (died 1556) was again threatened with disintegration by the Afghans. Humayun even had to flee, but he was able to regain the throne and empire a short time thereafter subsequent to the death of the Afghan leader after a short reign.

Humayun died, when his son Akbar (1542-1605) was only 14 years old. The first seven years of the reign of the latter consisted of nothing but wars

for the preservation of the throne. Due to his great military and cultural achievements, he received the name of Akbar the Great. He enlarged the empire considerably between 1567 and 1594 (for instance, 1578 capture of Kashmir, 1592 of Sind, 1594 of Kandahar) and introduced innovations in administration (tax system), army and religion.

Under his son and successor Jahangir, who reigned from 1605 to 1627, the empire maintained itself upon a level of power thanks to the preparatory work of his father, while the British began to gain a footing in India.

His son, Shah Johan (1628-1658) the builder of the famous mausoleum Taj Mahal at Agra, brought the empire of the Moguls to its greatest magnificence.

During the reign of his third son Aurangzeb (1658-1707) the empire reached its zenith and the first stages of deterioration.

The ten emperors who reigned after him are not very important and left almost no mark in history. After the invasion of the Persians under Nadir Shah in 1739 the name of Mogul became a mere title without power. As puppets of foreign rulers, the Mogul throne continued until the last regent, Bahadur Shah, was exiled to Burma in 1857.

To round off the historical picture of the development of the Mongol and Turco-Tatar state structures established by the Mongols, the following sketches the development of the khanates in what is today Russia as well as in the Mongol motherland proper.

h. The Subjugation of the Tatar Khanates by Russia

After the empire of the Kipchaks had disintegrated in 1502 and Russia under Ivan III became independent in 1505, freeing itself of tributes to the Tatars, the individual khanates enjoyed several decades of peace until a retrograde development was initiated, subsequent to the allying of the confusion reigning at the Russian Court during the first half of that century, thanks to the energetic policies of Ivan IV (1547-1584), who mounted

to the throne of the Czars when only 16 years of age and later earned for himself the cognomen of Ivan Grosny (Ivan the Terrible). He introduced innovations in diversified spheres (administrative, jurisprudence, finances, army: introduction of fire arms) with relentless energy, and rid himself of his enemies, the Bulgars. Thereupon he turned to the securing of his Eastern frontier and the commerce routes over the Volga to the Caspian Sea and the road to the fur land of Siberia against the Eastern Tatar Khanates, who were about to secure backing from their racial comrades of the Ottoman Empire. The Russian struggle against the Tatar Khanates, which had begun under Ivan III and Vassili III, was now continued with great success under Ivan IV. In 1552, he attacked the khanate of the Volga Tatars with a 150,000-men army. The capital of the khanate was captured after a long siege and continuous bombardment with 150 cannon. The khanate was annexed by Russia. Four years later, in 1556, the khanate of Astrakhan was also subjugated and annexed by the Russians. In the same year Bashkiria became a Russian vassalage.

When the Russians, however, were involved in the Livland war, and thus found themselves in great difficulties, the Ottoman decided upon an alliance with the powerful Crimean Khanate in order to wrest the Volga territory from Russia again and to liberate their brethren. The expedition against Russia, under the direction of the Crimean Khan Devlet Girai, led to the capture and razing of Moscow in 1571, without, however, any permanent result, while at about the same time Poland and Lithuania united in a joint state, the Rzecz Pospolita, and moved against Russia, which protracted the Livland War, Russia finally emerging as loser. It recuperated thanks to imposing exertions under the guidance of the then still governing Ivan IV, who went to work with relentlessness. Ten years after the sacking of Moscow by the Crimean Tatars, Ivan was again in a position to place weapons, ships and money at the disposal of the courageous Ataman of the Don Cossacks 1/, Yermak, together with an army, in order to

1/ The name "Cossacks" is derived from Kazakhs, against whom the Russians had sent their own "military" pioneers (settlers).



open the road to Siberia, in the capital of which, Isker (Tobolsk), the Tatar Khan Kuchum reigned. Yernak succeeded in capturing Isker relatively easily, but Kuchum in turn was able after a short time, to wipe out the Russian army due to lack of supplies. Yernak drowned on his flight. The Cossacks were withdrawn and after a short space of time a second Russian army was dispatched, which captured the Siberian Khanate and subjugated it. Tobolsk was established as a fortress instead of Isker and the neighboring peoples of Siberia were deprived of their independence, while Kuchum withdrew into the southeast Steppes with part of his people. This victory over the Siberian Tatars introduced a new epoch in world history, because at that time the way was opened to Siberia and the Far East 1/.

i. The Decline of the Mongol Khanates in Asia

With the Russian advance eastward over the Ural, territories again are involved from which the invasion of Western Asia and Eastern Europe was launched.

The development of these peoples in their mother country, Mongolia, as well as in Siberia, was retrograde after the collapse of the dynasty of Kublai Khan in China in 1368 under Toghon Timur Khan, although now and again interspersed with periods of specious recovery to its former power. Toghon Timur Khan, soon after his banishment from China, had to defend himself against a Chinese invasion of Mongolia undertaken by his enemy and banisher Hung-wu. This invasion of the real mother country proved disastrous. It was not until Biliktu Khan

1/ Thus the Russians started their eastward expansion and subsequently reached Tomsk, for example, in 1604, Yeniseisk in 1618, Yakutsk in 1632, the Amur River in Manchuria in 1644, Okhotsk on the ocean in 1648 and Kamchatka in 1697. In this connection it must be remembered that the Russians settled in Kamchatka almost a century before they gained a footing on the Black Sea. They captured the Crimea in 1783 and the district of Odessa in 1792.

succeeded Timur, ruling until 1379 in the Khaganate, that conditions remained relatively quiet. Under his successor, Ussakhal Khan, however, the Chinese again invaded Mongolia and brought about the final ruin of the power of the eastern branch of the Mongols through their victory at Lake Buyur. They exhausted themselves thereafter in never ending tribal feuds, which made impossible either a united state structure or a consolidation of conditions.

In the meanwhile, another tribe assumed the leadership in the history of the Mongols, the Tumeds. They had moved to richer pasturage from the area of Ordos, and had gained power and fame in the course of time. The most famous of their chiefs became Altan Khan, who, after ceaseless fighting against China, on peace being made in 1571, was named a prince of the empire (his Chinese name was Yen-tan). His campaigns of conquest went as far afield as Tibet, which had already been partially conquered by Kublai Khan, and brought with him to Mongolia as prisoners, Lama priests who disseminated Lamaism, a branch of northern Buddhism, among the Tumeds. When Altan Khan died in 1584, his son Sengo Dugureng Timur succeeded him as chief. Thereafter their influence diminished. About a century later, the Chakhars, who settled in the Ordos territory, threatened with subjugation by the Kalmucks, accepted the rule of the Manchus, who had overthrown the Ming dynasty in 1644, at a convention of their chiefs at Dolon-nor in 1689. Expeditions and relations with China and Tibet led to rapid dissemination of Lamaism among the Mongolians, who completely lost their warlike character.

#### j. The Kalmuck Empire

By reason of this situation the western tribes were able to take over leadership. After 1400, the Western Mongol chief of the Kalmucks, Toghon, succeeded in establishing for himself an empire in North-western Asia. At his death, he left to his son, Yi-hsien, a well founded empire. This energetic and ambitious chief made the attempt to create a Greater Mongolian Empire and clashed with China during his campaigns east and southwards. In the war with China, he succeeded

in taking prisoner the Chinese emperor Chong-tung during a successful major invasion of China. In China proper, however, he was unable to gain a footing. After the death of Yi-hsien, the Kalmucks ceased their conquest eastward, but became all the more active in the North-west, that is, Siberia.

The opening of relations between Kalmucks and Russians, since 1672, through Ayuka Khan of the Torgods, above all, brought many advantages, at least for the time being. Russian encroachments, however, led Ayuka to establish contact with the distant Western Crimean Khan and dispatch an army against Russia, which fought its way to Kazan on the Volga. This campaign ended with the peace of Astrakhan in 1722, where Ayuka Khan and Peter the Great came to terms. Ayuka died soon thereafter and his successor and son Choren Donduk was removed by his nephew Donduk Ombö through a plot, who governed the empire vigorously and wisely. His son, Donduk Taishi, swore fealty to the Russians in 1741 on the occasion of the coronation in Moscow of Empress Elisabeth. This tendency to lean on Russia his son Ubasha also maintained upright. He rendered valuable support to the Russians during the revolution in the Volga-Ural area in 1769-70. He decided to withdraw from the Volga, however, due to the unfavorable development (further revolts and threat to his rear), and in January 1771 some 70,000 families (300,000 people) began their trek despite Russian attempts to hold them back. This trek led them 3,000 miles back to their old home on the Ili in Dzungaria, where they reached after 8 months, having been reduced to a third of their numbers through privations and attacks of Tatars and Kazakhs. The Chinese who had destroyed the Kalmuck state and ruled Dzungaria since 1757, received them in a friendly manner. Merely part of the people remained behind the Volga in the North Caucasus.

#### k. The Oirat Empire

The Oirats, under Galdan Khan, in the latter half of the 17th century, also achieved a political success through the conquest of "Little Bokhara" i.e., East Turkestan, where a viceroys was installed at Yarkand. Galdan thereupon again attempted to reestablish Mongolian unity, and attacked the Khalkhas precipitating a war in China,

which took an unfortunate turn. His successor Tsi-wang Arabtan became involved in disputes with the Russians over the possession of "Little Bokhara" (East Turkostan) to which Peter the Great (1672-1725) had forced his way. The Chinese, however, also took a hand, gained the upper hand, and named his successor Amursana "Khan of the Kal-mucks 1/ and Chief of Dzungaria", which was synonymous with subjugation. When Chinese commissioners and garrisons were stationed all over the country, Amursana revolted but despite initial minor successes, was driven from the country (1757-59). He died of small-pox in Siberia. The Buriato-Mongols who settled a considerable area around Lake Baikal, also became subjects of the Russians around the middle of the 17th century, together with the Turk Yakuts, who had settled north of the Buriato-Mongols. The Yenisei was reached by Cossack bands in 1618. They met with the strong resistance of Tunguse and Buriat tribes, so that they did not reach Lake Baikal until 1684, where the town of Irkutsk sprang from Russian winter quarters, established there in 1652, for the collection of a fur tax, levied upon the Buriats. In the area of the Yakuts, a fort was established as early as 1632, which grew into the present capital of the Yakut ASSR, Yakutsk, as center for the trade in furs, mammoth ivory, reindeer hides and cattle.

#### 1. Turki Revolts Against Russia

The manner of treatment accorded these peoples by the Russians prevented a feeling of allegiance to Russia, and always made them feel suppressed. On the occasion of every revolt at any time on whatever provocation, they rose up against the central power at Moscow, always yearn-

1/ The terms "Kal-muck" and "Oirat" are jumbled up and are used as a collective name for all Western Mongolian tribes. The Kal-mucks are the Torgods who migrated to the Volga and North Causasia. Oirat is not a tribal name but means "confederation" in Mongolian. To such a confederation (oirat) at that time four tribes belonged including the Torgods who had remained behind in Dzungaria and Mongolia. The West Mongolian tribes are also frequently delineated with the collective name of Elcuts.

ing for liberty.

Thus the Chuvash (together with the Mari and Mordvin) took advantage of the uprising of Don Cossacks under Stepan Razin, which began in 1667 on the Don and spread to the Volga area in 1670. to make themselves independent in 1670. Their hopes came to nought due to the defeat in the battle of Simbrisk and the death of Stepan in 1671.

In 1676, the Bashkirs undertook a revolt of their own under their leader Seit, which was also suppressed.

The uprising in 1705 of the Cossacks and peasants in Astrakhan lent new wings to the people's hopes. It collapsed but was repeated in 1707 and spread to the Don area under the direction of Bulavin, a Russian. Thereupon the Bashkirs undertook their second revolt under their leader Aldar. Both revolts collapsed in 1708.

In the ensuing years, the Russians were able to maintain their positions in peace and even extended them southeastwards. Thus the "Middle Horde" in today's area of Akmolinsk, and the "Little Horde" of the Kazakhs in today's area of Chkalov (Orenburg) accepted Russian rule in 1730.

As early as 1735-1741, however, the Bashkirs undertook their third national uprising, which lasted all of six years.

When the revolt of the Cossacks on the Yaik (Ural) began in 1770 under the leadership of the Don Cossack Pugatchov, spread to the Volga area in 1773 and in the next year to the Ural region, all suppressed Turk peoples joined in, Chuvash, Tatars, Bashkirs, and Kazakhs. The revolt received special impetus in Bashkiria, where the popular poet Salavat Yulayev called upon the Bashkirs in his songs to revolt for freedom. This revolt took an enormous proportions and even spread to the territory of Moscow, but was completely subjugated by

troops of the Czar in January 1775, Pugachov being executed.

After continuing efforts, the Bashkirs finally succeeded in forcing a tax exemption from the Russians in 1786. While the Russians forced the "Great Horde" of Kazakhs in today's area of Semipalatinsk to accept Russian rule in the years between 1798 and 1819, and a "Bukoyevskaya Horde" came into being in the area of Chkalov in 1801, the Bashkirs set up an irregular army to protect their relative independence in 1798.

After that, the difference in strength became too great and in the 19th century there was outward peace, while the minorities sought to secure unto themselves constitutional rights, which they did not obtain, however, in their present form until 20th century. This brought them access to administration and education of all types, and guaranteed to them the important cultivation of their language in the school, which they did not enjoy in the Czarist empire with its russification policy.

#### 4. The Ottoman Empire

##### a. Founding and Consolidation of the State

The gigantic activity of the Turanian race in the area between China and Europe found its splendid parallel in Asia Minor, where the Seljukian Empire burst asunder under the impress of Mongol campaigns, and disintegrated into local dynasties, of which one formed the nucleus for the Ottoman Empire. This dynasty was established under the leader Ertoghrul, who died at the age of 90 in 1288. While the Truk tribe under his leadership was still subjects of Ghazan Mahmud Khan, a descendant of Genghis Khan, who ruled at Tabriz (Persian Azerbaijan), the son of Ertoghrul, Osman (Othman) declared himself independent and established a state east of Ankara, which was to remain in existence for seven centuries under the dynasty of the same name, the longest-lived in the history of the world. During the first three centuries of its existence, the dynasty had vigorous personalities, who

ruled their country with breadth of vision and efficiency both as to policy and administration. It finally spread over three continents (Europe, Asia, Africa) covering an area the size of the USA, and for centuries was the largest and best organized state of its time as the Ottoman Moslem Empire of the Turkish nation, side by side with the Orthodox Greek Empire of the Russian nation and the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. Despite all of its achievements during short years of peace, the empire found no peace for six centuries, of which four centuries were centuries of conquest with lightning wars, and two centuries of defending its existence.

1) Osman I.

Turk historians thus date the founding of the Ottoman Empire as of the declaration of independence of Osman I (1259-1326), who began to rule in 1289 and bore the title of sovereign sultan. During his rule, the empire's territory was considerably extended to the West in Asia Minor against the Byzantine Greeks.

2) Orkhan I.

In the year of his death (1326) his son and successor Orkhan I. (1326-59) captured the city of Bursa in West Anatolia, south of the Sea of Marmora, and made it his capital. He wisely kept out of succession wars in order first to consolidate his empire, thus becoming the prime organizer of the empire. He married Theodora, the daughter of the Christian Byzantine emperor. This did not deter him, once having consolidated his position, from extending his territory at the cost of the Byzantine until it included a goodly portion of Asia Minor. In 1345 Orkhan I. crossed into Europe as an ally of the Byzantines against the Serbs, and laid the ground for the subsequent settlement of Gallipolis, which was converted into a Turkish stronghold (1345). During the reign of this remarkable ruler there occurred the establishment of the first standing army in Europe, the Janizary Corps, the establishment of schools, public utilities, and road construction.

eight years sufficed for him to regain almost all the territories of his father. Merely a naval war against Venice was lost. He had built the first Ottoman navy.

4) Murad II.

His oldest son, Murad II. (1421-51) succeeded him to the throne. He brought the Ottoman Empire back to its former height, although with changing fortunes. He won the second war with the Venetians and conquered their Aegean stations, annexed most of Albania and parts of Greece (Epirus, Salonika, 1430) and Walachia. On the occasion of his first invasion of Hungary, his troops were defeated by a coalition of Hungarians, Serbs, Bosnians, Poles and the Pope (Crusaders) under the leadership of the Hungarian Janos Hunyadi in 1442. A ten-year peace was concluded with Hungary in 1444 which placed Walachia under Hungarian suzerainty. Murad II. abdicated the throne the same year and named his young son Mohammed his successor. The Pope considered this a sign of weakness and incited the former Balkan coalition to a war of aggression. When their armies threatened, Murad II. re-ascended the throne and with his Asiatic army defeated the allied Balkan armies at Varna. The second invasion under Hungarian leadership led to the complete defeat of the Balkan countries in 1448 in the second battle of Kossovo. Murad II. died in Adrianople in 1451, succeeded by his vigorous son Mehmet who initiated a new epoch of expansion.

c. Century of European, Asiatic and African Expansion (1451-1566)

1) Mehmet II

When Mehmet II. (1451-1481) ascended the throne, he was 21 years old. In 1452 began preparations for the conquest of Constantinople, an old Ottoman plan, which he succeeded in realizing in 1453. It then became the capital of the Turkish Empire, which formerly was situated at Adrianople. Constantinople remained the Turkish capital until 1923. After eventful fighting against Hungary and Venice, he pushed the frontiers of the Empire in Europe further North toward Austria, in



the course of which Greece, Albania, Serbia, Bosnia, and Hercegovina were completely annexed and the Venetians and Genoese lost their outposts in the Adriatic and Aegean. He was able to gain a temporary foothold in Italy (Otranto). In addition, some further provinces in East Anatolia were incorporated belonging to the Tatar Crimean khanate under their active Khan Mengli Girai (1478). For a long time this territory remained base for Turkish operations against Russia (until 1777), and maintained upright Turco-Tatar influence. Moreover, Mehmet II. did much to extend administration, education, the army, as well the establishment of a legist and ecclesiastical organization (ulema) of the Ottoman Empire. It is said he himself spoke six languages. He was called Mehmet the Great.

2) Bayezid II.

Peace came with his successor Beyezid II (1481-1512), who was of a peaceful nature. In addition to family intrigues, he frequently had to repulse military attacks from the outside. He waged war with the Moldavians who attacked Turkish dominated Walachia, a war which ended after two years with Moldavia also becoming a Turkish vassal state. Then the Poles invaded Moldavia in 1496, which led to a Turkish counter-invasion of Poland, without a tangible result, however. The Polish campaigns lasted until the armistice in 1500. A year previously (1499) a war with the Venetians had broken out, and Venice had been beaten in the first great Turkish naval victory, at Lepanto, peace being concluded in Venice in 1502, through which Turkey gained several islands. Simultaneously, on the Asiatic side, the shah of Persia, Ismail Safi, in his religious zeal, had attacked the Ottoman Empire to propagate Shiah doctrines there, which led to war in 1501, without major annexations. Beyezid II. was also forced to repulse Egyptian armies under the Mamelukes, who had invaded the province of Adana. In 1512 he abdicated under the pressure of his energetic son but died a year later, a man who had kept together a large Empire in difficult times. During his reign the first exchange of diplomats with Russia took place.

b. Century of European Expansion (1359-1451)

1) Murad I.

Orkhan I. was succeeded by his son Murad I. (1359-89), who introduced a period of conquests in Europe, and tightened more and more the encirclement around the remnant of the Greek Byzantine Empire. He also made further conquests of land in Anatolia. His conquests on the Balkans, making Bulgaria and Serbia Turkish vassals, caused him to move his capital from Bursa (Anatolia) to European Adrianople (Edirne). A coalition against him of Bulgarians, Serbs, Bosnians, and Albanians led to a major victory of the Turks at Kossovo in 1389. Murad I. was murdered by a Serb on the day after this victory.

2) Bayezid I.

His successor Bayezid I. (1389-1403) gained great influence over the Byzantine Empire and in part determined its personnel policy at court. In Southeastern Europe he made further conquests in Valachia (Romania) and Northern Greece, and thus further rounded off his possessions in the southeast of Asia Minor. His attempts to capture Constantinople by means of a siege were not successful. In the meantime, the troops of Tamerlane advanced from the East, having reached Transcaucasia, Asia Minor and Syria in 1401. As some of the princes of the Anatolian territories had been dispossessed by Bayezid, they turned to Tamerlane with the request for reinstatement, and Tamerlane referred the request to Bayezid. The latter, however, curtly rejected the request, and a war broke out. The Turk army was completely defeated in a major battle near Ankara in 1402 and Bayezid was taken prisoner. He died eight months later in Ak Shehir. Tamerlane occupied all of Anatolia and the former capital of Bursa, but did not cross over into Europe, so that the Ottoman Empire remained intact. Meanwhile, Tamerlane died in 1405.

3) Mehmet I.

Thereafter, disputes broke out between Bayezid's sons over the succession. Mehmet I. emerged victorious from the ensuing civil war, and was recognized as sultan. He ruled from 1413 to 1421 and these

3) Selim I.

His son Selim I. (1512-1520), who had the cognomen of "The Grim", resumed conquests, but not in Europe. Rather did he turn to the East, and in 1515 attacked Persia, inflicted a defeat upon this country and annexed Azerbaijan and Kurdistan. In the following years he occupied Syria, Palestine, parts of Northern Arabia and defeated the Egyptian Mamelukes, conquering Egypt in 1517. There he received the title of Caliph from the last of the Abbasid caliphs, Mutuwakil. He was a Pan-Islamist and his favorite idea was the unification of Moslem states under Ottoman rule. He wanted to have Arabic as the official language in order to further his Pan-Islamic policy. During his rule, confined to eight years, he almost doubled the area of the Turk Empire.

4) Suleiman I.

Suleiman I. (1520-1566), also known as the "Magnificent" or the "Lawgiyer", the only son of Selim, resumed activities in Europe, without however forgetting Asia. He first captured the fortress of Belgrade (1521), belonging to the part of Serbia not yet under his rule. In 1523 he captured Rhodes and Cos. Three years later war broke out with Hungary, the Hungarians being severely beaten in the battle at Mohacs in 1526, King Louis II of Hungary being killed and the major part of Hungary including Budapest being captured. Suleiman I. had to forego further advances, however, because of a Shiah revolt in Azerbaijan, in which the Persians captured Tabriz, while the Turks occupied Armenia. When Austrians claimed the Hungarian throne where a regent (Zapolya) appointed by Suleiman was governing, a new war broke out, which Suleiman won in 1529. The result was the first Turk siege of Vienna, which was lifted after only three weeks, although Turk troops advanced to Bavaria, Germany. In 1532, the second march on Vienna took place --without definite result-- leading to the agreement of 1533, which divided Hungary between the two countries. In 1534, the Persians, impressed by Turk superiority when the troops deployed for battle, withdrew and Suleiman occupied territory as far as Bagdad and Mosul. In 1537 Suleiman dispatched an expedition to India, his admirals Piri Reis and Salih Reis conquering the coasts of Yemen and Aden as far as the

Gulf of Basra, while Muskat and Ormuz were lost to the Portuguese. In 1538 the Turk navy was so strong that the combined fleets of Charles V, the Pope and Venice were defeated in the Mediterranean off Preveza. In 1539 another war broke out with Austria, which Suleiman also won. In 1542, in a war against Charles V, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and head of the Holy League, the French king Francis I. supported him with his fleet. In the course of the naval campaign in the Mediterranean his admiral Barbarossa (Khair-ed-Din Pasha) son of a Turkish spahi, captured Tripolitania, Tunisia and Algeria. Tunis, however, was recaptured by the fleet of Charles V. The remaining territory, however, was attached as Garb-Ojaklari, known as the states of Barbary. The war ended with a five-year truce in 1547 in Adrianople, according to which the Turkish conquests (further parts of Austria-Hungary) were recognized. Further friction with Austria led to fighting over Transylvania (Romania), the fighting being stopped by the armistice of 1553, as the Persians had attacked the Ottoman Empire in the meanwhile. Peace was concluded with the Persians in 1555, and Turkey received Armenia, Georgia, and Erzurum. Even after the settlement of their differences in 1562, Emperor Ferdinand had to pay tribute. In 1566 (Ferdinand died in 1564) a new war broke out against Austria under Maximilian II, during which the 72-year old Suleiman died. At no time was Turkish naval power so strong and technically of such high calibre than during Suleiman's rule. In the field of science, much was accomplished, especially in theology, medicine, mathematics and physics. Concerning religion, it was the most tolerant state imaginable. All non-Moslem peoples were permitted freedom of religion. For instance, the Christian population of Morea as well as some Hungarian villages in Austria, voluntarily chose Turkish rule in preference to Venetian and Austrian. Turkish administration functioned in an excellent manner. Part of the country, the nucleus, was administered by the central government, divided into 24 vilayets (provinces) under a pasha called beyler-beyli, while other territories had their own administration and their own government such as the kingdoms of Hungary and Transylvania, the principalities of Moldavia and Walachia, the khanate (khanlik) of Crimea and the sherifate Hejaz (Arabia).

The states of Barbary were ruled by governors. A well trained standing army of between 200,000 and 300,000 men, a healthy financial administration, the mosques, Moslem colleges (medresses), schools, hospitals, asylums and fountains made a special contribution toward security of the state.

In 1536 the French ambassador concluded a treaty with the Sublime Porte to secure certain judicial and economic privileges which, on the other side, assured the Turks of a market in France. This treaty established the precedent for the later capitulations, which were to inflict so much damage on Turkey in her decadent days by European countries.

d. A Century of Clashes with the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (1566-1687)

The Ottoman conquests in Southeastern Europe were practically ended with Suleiman I, and a further advance on the Austria of the Hapsburgs was stopped by Vienna, which was besieged for the first time in 1529. The Holy League established by the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation against the Turks, comprised the Hapsburg Empire, the Pope, Hungary, Venice, Spain and the Knights of Malta, with Poland joining later. The war of the Ottoman Moslem Empire against this League were successful and initiated on a major scale by Suleiman, who thus established a basis of operations for the Turks.

1) Selim II

The successor of Suleiman, Selim II. (1566-1574), in 1568 renewed the peace treaty with Austria for eight years. In 1571, however, he violated the capitulations of Famagusta and invaded Cyprus, leading to war against the Holy League, which defeated the Turkish fleet off Lepanto. The Turkish counterblow took place in 1574 after Venice had left the Holy League, (1573) and led to the recapturing of Tunisia under the leadership of Sinan Pasha and Kilij Ali Pasha. This happened in the year of the death of Selim II, whose dream it was to extend his empire to the Volga and to build a Don-Volga canal in order to be able to travel to the Caspian Sea. An attempt to capture Astrakhan,

while he was at peace with Austria, miscarried, so that he turned to the West seeking further expansion.

2) Murad III

His successor Murad III (1574-1595) was heavily burdened from the beginning of his reign by court and harem intrigues, murders, corruption, and mutiny among his troops, and was immediately involved in a 12-year war against Persia, which, nevertheless, led to conquest of parts of Transcaucasia and parts of Daghestan. Thereupon came the "Long War" with Austria in 1593, resulting in a series of never ending raids in Bosnia, Austria, and Hungary. It lasted 14 years without success on either side. New capitulations were concluded with Tuscany in 1578, Great Britain in 1580, while they were renewed with France in 1581 and Venice in 1589. The first British ambassador made his appearance in Constantinople during Murad's reign.

3) Mehmet III

When Murad III died, Mehmet III (1595-1603) succeeded him, who like his father was involved in fratricide. Under his reign, the guerilla warfare against Austria and Hungary continued, in the course of which the Turks suffered minor losses of territory. Finally, there was a Persian aggression, leading to fighting in Azerbaijan.

4) Ahmed I, Mustafa I, Osman II

Under Ahmed I (1603-1617), who ascended the throne at the age of 14, the war against Persia continued. In the frontier warfare against Hungary, the Turks attained superiority and captured the capital city of Gran, while all of Transylvania voluntarily accepted Turkish suzerainty. The military situation in Persia caused Sultan Ahmet to conclude a final peace with Austria, this country being released of the tribute it had to pay, by making a 200,000 ducat payment. Friendly relations were also established with Poland. In 1611 a favorable peace was also concluded with Persia, Persia paying Turkey a million pounds of silk as indemnity. The rest of his life he dedicated to religious studies and left the affairs of state to his grand vizier.

The ensuing five years (1618-1623) were not important, as Mustafa I was incompetent to rule, and Osman II was murdered by janizaries.

5) Murad IV, Ibrahim I, Mehmed IV

Their successor, Murad IV (1623-1640) restored order, much blood being spilled. During his reign there occurred a victorious war against Persia, and the peace treaty fixed the Turco-Persian borders such as exist to the present day.

His successor Ibrahim I (1640-1648) was a weakling, incompetent to rule, and was dethroned by a mutiny, and killed.

Mehmet IV (1648-87) took over the leadership of an empire suffering from mismanagement and intrigues, which in the meantime had been governed more by women than men (Kussem Sultana, Turhan Sultana). Finally, Turhan Sultana (mother of Mehmet, who came to the throne while still very young) appointed an efficient vizier, Koprulu Mohammed, who thanks to drastic reforms created order during the boyhood years of Mehmet. After re-organization army and navy wrested the island of Lemnos from Venice and suppressed a revolt in Transylvania. As a result of this revolt, a war broke out against Austria, and Turkey suffered minor losses of territory on the basis of the peace treaty concluded in 1664. A war in the Mediterranean over Crete led to a Turkish victory, Crete falling into Turk possession in 1699. A war with Poland grew out of events in the Ukraine in 1672, and the Turks captured Lemberg (Lwow) and Lublin. The peace treaty, ceded Podolia to Turkey and imposed a yearly tribute of 22,000 sequins on Poland. A needless war of aggression against Russia in 1681 was unsuccessful. Internal Austrian disputes caused Turkey to launch an aggressive war against this country, leading to the second siege of Vienna in 1683. The imperial family and the court fled from the city. Austria was saved by the intervention of Poland under John Sobieski, who attacked the Turks from the rear and threw them back. Due to these aggressions Europe was so incensed against Turkey that an extended alliance, including Russia, was concluded. The military operations of this alliance, although limited, led to

continuous although minor losses of territory by the Turks. A mutiny among the army finally caused Mehmet IV to abdicate.

e. Two Centuries of Rear-Guard Action Against European Powers (1687-1917)

While war with Austria had already become chronic, there was added new and continuous fighting against Russia. Friction with Russia resulted from the Russian endeavors to reach the Black Sea, the northern coastal territories of which had been settled for centuries by Turco-Tatars who had been under Turk protection since 1478. The Ottoman Empire practically blocked the Russian Empire access to this area from the Sea of Azov to the Dardanelles.

Further fighting with Austria took place from 1682 to 1699 climaxing in the Turk siege of Vienna in 1683 and the Austrian capture of Belgrade in 1688; then 1714-18 and 1736-39; finally, from 1788 to 1791 over North Serbia and Bosnia.

The wars with Russia began under Mehmet IV from 1677 to 1681 and were continued from 1694 to 1702 (region of Azov); then 1710 to 1711 (Azov) and 1736-39 (Bessarabia) as well as 1768-74 (Moldavia, Walachia, Crimea) and 1787-1792 (Lower Danube)

1) Suleiman II, Ahmed II, Mustafa II

The rule of the following three sultans clearly showed the incipient weakness of the Ottoman Empire. Under Suleiman II (1687-1691), there was an efficient grand vizier, Koprulu Mustafa, who improved conditions in the army, the navy and administration, and earned for himself the sympathies of the non-Moslem minorities, thanks to his tolerant attitude. The wars with Austria continued with the Austrians in the offensive, but the wars remained without effect. Russian attacks on the Crimea were also repulsed. During the four-year rule of Suleiman's II brother Ahmed II (1691-1695) there were retreats in Hungary, and the Venetians captured Chios. His successor and brother Mustafa II (1695-1703) recaptured Chios and defeated the Austrians. The attacks of the Russians on the area north of the Sea



of Azov were successful, however, by reason of which Austria again obtained the upper hand and Prince Eugene defeated the Turks in 1697, and brought the war to a close with the support of Venice, Poland, as well as England - for the first time - and Holland, in the peace of Karlowitz (1699), detrimental to the Ottoman Empire, as Austria kept Transylvania, Poland retained Podolia, and the Ukraine, while Venice annexed Moreo and Dalmatia. In 1700 the district of Azov was ceded to Russia through an additional treaty. The Turkish army revolted and forced Mustafa II to abdicate.

2) Ahmed III

His successor was his brother Ahmed III (1703-1730). He was immediately involved in a war with Russia when the King of Sweden, Charles XII, after a lost battle (Poltava) in the Ukraine against Russia, fled to Turkey and found refuge there (1710). Russia was defeated and had to return Azov to Turkey, and also had to renounce all claims to the Crimea. Ahmed III answered Venetian activities in the Balkans with war, which he also won. He annexed further territories. When Austria intervened, a new Turco-Austrian war broke out in 1716, which Austria won. The peace of Passarowitz in 1718 gave Belgrade as well as parts of Walachia and the Banat to Austria, while Venice received some coastal places in Dalmatia and Albania. In order to quiet the restive army and people, war was declared on Persia, which was just experiencing a crisis due to an invasion of Afghans, Turkey annexing some territories in the Caucasus belonging to Persia. This caused friction with Russia, which sided with Persia, and this friction in turn led to the treaty of Constantinople in 1724, thanks to French intervention. Daghestan and Azerbaijan as far as Baku became Russian. The aroused populace of the Turkish capital forced the sultan to abdicate. The sultan had just introduced the first printing press.

3) Mahmud I

Under Mahmud I (1730-1754) Turkey lost further territory to Persia, which had allied itself with Russia. Thereupon Turkey was involved in a war on the side of France against Austria and Russia because of the succession to the throne of Poland, despite the fact that

Turkey had nothing to do with these matters whatsoever. The Russians invaded the Crimea, captured the Azov-Kuban area (1739) as well as Kilburun and Ochakov along the coast of the Black Sea. When Austria, however, made excessive territorial demands of Turkey in the Balkans, showing that a secret alliance existed with Russia, Turkey made vigorous efforts and recaptured territory both from Austria and Russia (Kilburun and Ochakov). It was also decided in the treaty of Belgrade (1739) that Russia was to have no warships in the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea. Kabardinia in the Caucasus became a buffer state between Russia and Turkey. A war which broke out when Persia sought to obtain Mesopotamia continued from 1743 to 1746, without Persia achieving its ends. The sultan thereafter pursued a policy of peace until his death eight years later.

4) Osman III, Mustafa III, Abdul Hamid I

The three-year rule of Mahmud's brother Osman III (1754-1757) was unimportant.

The latter's successor Mustafa III (1757-1773) established diplomatic relations with Berlin in 1761. During his reign, the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire became tangible, and a war with Russia over the succession to the throne of Poland, for which Turkey was ill prepared, brought about serious Turkish defeats, and Russia recaptured the Crimea (1771). The war was still in progress when Mustafa III died.

His successor Abdul Hamid I (1773-1789) who was weak of mind, began his rule under the after-effects of the war which was definitely lost by 1774. In the peace of Kuchuk Kainarji (1774) Turkey was permitted to retain the districts of Akkerman, Ismail, Ochakov and Bessarabia north of the Black Sea, but Kilburun, Kerch and Yenikale had to be ceded to Russia, and an indemnity paid. Thereupon Russia attempted to annex the Crimea entirely. This step was only postponed five years by the convention of Ainali-Kavak (1778) which made of the Crimea an independent Tatar khanate under Shahin Girai. In 1783 Russia annexed the territories of the Crimean khanate and the Kuban in the Northern Caucasus. Thereafter a conference took place between

Catherine II of Russia and her ally Joseph II of Austria to discuss the partition of Turkey. Russian propaganda launched in Moldavia and Walachia caused much resentment and the flaring up of a war-like spirit in Constantinople, the flames being fed by both England and Prussia, until war actually broke out. While the Austrians were repulsed by the Turks, the Russians under Suvorov captured large stretches of land on the Black Sea (Khotin, Yassy, Ochakov), the entire Tatar population, men, women, and children, being massacred on orders from General Suvorov. Abdul-Hamid I died in this year (1789).

5) Selim III

Selim III (1789-1807) successor of Abdul-Hamid, was a person who recognized the weakness of the Empire and was in favor of modernising both army and administration of the Ottoman Empire along Western lines. The situation was not only difficult on the Balkans and in Russia, but Turkish possessions in Arabia and Africa also began to threaten to secede and become independent. Intellectual life, which had attained to a high level under Suleiman, had become shallow, and only poetry flourished. Mathematics and other sciences experienced a retrograde development. In the peace treaty of Yassy (1792) Turkey received Belgarde again, but lost all the territory east of the Dnieper to Russia. Reforms were interrupted, in 1798, however, by the wars of conquest of France under Napoleon I, who attacked Egypt as a move against England, while Egypt belonged to the Ottoman Empire, thus making the latter an ally of England. Napoleon was defeated in Syria and his fleet was destroyed by Nelson at Aboukir, while the Turkish navy occupied some Greek islands. The war continued until 1802 without detrimental effect on Turkey. The last years of the reign of Selim III passed with the suppression of unrest in Serbia against Karageorgevich (George Petrovich) and in Arabia (Nejd) against the Wahhabis, while disputes with Russia over Moldavia and Walachia again broke out, leading to English intervention and war with Russia, until rebellion in the army against the reforms led to the dethroning of the sultan and armistice with Russia (1807).

6) Mustafa IV, Mahmud II

Anarchy continued during the approximately one-year rule of Mustafa IV (1807-08), who was also de-throned.

One of the first deeds of his successor Mahmud II (1808-1839) was to issue a proclamation that grand vizier and officials had to accord the population just treatment in accordance with the laws, and that order reign. As he was also in favor of reforms, the Russians took advantage of the situation to instigate revolts against his "anti-religious reforms" in parts of the Balkans, which Mahmud sought to counter by proclaiming them in the name of the Islam. The reform in the army along European patterns led to deeds of terror forcing the sultan to cancel the reforms. The armistice with Russia in 1807 proved of no value as the fighting did not actually stop. It was not until the conclusion of an Anglo-Turkish friendship treaty in 1809 that peace was made with Russia three years later (1812) in Bucharest, thanks to the mediation of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. As a result of this peace treaty, Turkey lost Khotin, Bender and Akkerman to Russia, and the Turkish frontier with Russia became the river Pruth. Unrests in Servia were not successfully quelled by the Turks and their leader Karageorgevich was in 1817 recognized as hereditary prince of Servia under a mild Turk suzerainty.

In the meanwhile during the Turco-Persian war Russia had established the road to Tiflis, capital of Georgia in Transcaucasia, as a trade route and was now working on the annexation of these territories. In 1813 Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan was occupied, which had been a Turki khanate under Persia. Turkey in the meanwhile was successfully busy in establishing order in Egypt and reinstating order in the Hejaz (Arabia) under Mohammed Ali Pasha, the governor of Egypt.

On the occasion of these events, which kept the Turks occupied, the Greeks attempted a revolt in order to regain their national independence, lost centuries before. The first revolt of 1821 was suppressed with much loss of blood on both sides, but the fighting

continued until in 1823 the Greek rebels were recognized as belligerents by Great Britain. The Russians broke their diplomatic relations with Turkey and suggested a conference in St. Petersburg in 1824, which was negative in results. When the Greek revolt threatened to become successful, Mahmud II called for the well disciplined Egyptian army and fleet under Mohammed Ali Pasha, who inflicted a serious defeat on the Greeks in 1827 and re-occupied Athens. Despite these continuous unrests and foreign policy altercations with Russia and Great Britain, Mahmud was able to carry out his army reform by removing the negative influence of the janizaries. The famous Prussian general Moltke was commissioned with the reform. The tax system was also improved and centralized. Before this could bear fruits, however, the Greeks, thanks to Russian, British and French naval intervention, resulting in the Turco-Russian war of 1828, were able, in the peace of Adrianople 1829 and the London Protocol, to create an autonomous Greece, whereby other Danubian principalities attained to practical independence. At the same time Russia had subjugated Armenia and occupied its capital Erivan in 1828. In 1832 Greece became an independent kingdom under the Bavarian prince Otto. Thereupon Bosnia and Albania revolted and France occupied Algiers. Simultaneously there was a break between the Sultan in Constantinople and his governor Mohammed Ali Pasha in Cairo. War broke out between Turkey and Egypt, the latter being supported by the French, and Turkey for the first time asked Russia for help and received it, as Mohammed Ali Pasha wanted to remove the sultan and found a new dynasty. Through English and French intervention, a peaceful settlement was effected after the Egyptian army had already reached Anatolia. Mahmud died while his troops fought in Syria against Egypt to bind it more securely to the Ottoman Empire. He was a man pursued by misfortune, whose honest efforts for the modernization of the Ottoman Empire were made impossible by general developments.

#### 7) Abdul Mejid I

His successor Abdul Mejid I (1839-1861) was 16 years old when he ascended the throne. Under his reign, in 1840, it was determined at the conference in

London, that Egypt should be governed, under Turkish suzerainty, by the house of Mohammed Ali Pasha, and in 1841, five powers signed the famous "protocol des detroits", closing the Dardanelles to warships of all powers. Now, at last, further reforms could be carried out, the young sultan being aided tremendously by Mustafa Reshid, the Turkish foreign minister, who became the greatest statesman and reformer of that time. Reforms in their most liberal form in all spheres of public life, under guarantee of personal freedom and greatest religious tolerance were implemented. These efforts considerably restored the prestige of Turkey abroad and a period of consolidation and quiet came into being. Russia in no wise appreciated this development and the Czar went to England in 1844 in order to suggest the partitioning of Turkey, which he called "the sick man on the Bosphorus". England refused. Thereupon lively activity resulted concerning the question of the Holy Places, which was however resolved peacefully. The stubborn Russian demands in Southeastern Europe, however, finally led to war, those demands being opposed by Great Britain, and this war between Russia and Turkey (1853), known as the Crimean War, found Great Britain and France siding with Turkey in 1854. The fighting took place solely on the Crimea and lasted until December 1855. In the peace of Paris in 1856, Russia had to recognize the independence and integrity of the territory of the Ottoman Empire. The "tanzimat", a decree to assure the population its rights, promulgated at the beginning of the sultan's rule, was again confirmed and extended by a further decree of the sultan (hatt-i-humayun). When additional modernization bode fair further to strengthen Turkey, the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Walachia, on instigation of Russia and France, in 1859 revolted and under their chosen leader Colonel Cusa as ruler, established the principality of Romania. In the meanwhile, since the early 19th century (1828) especially since 1834 to 1859, the mountain peoples of the Caucasus, under their courageous, successive leaders Daud Beg, Oman Khan and the famous Shamyl, who today is still glorified in songs in the entire Caucasus, as well as Khazi Mollah, had fought against Russian attempts to subjugate them, in which the Russians succeeded after more than 25 years, in the battle at

Gunib in Daghestan in 1859, and annexed the territory, thus setting in motion a stream of hundreds of thousands of Caucasian emigrants to Turkey, but only serving further to strengthen the dominating position of Russia in the Caucasus. In addition, uprisings among the Druses and Christians in Lebanon led to temporary French occupation of these territories.

Toward the close of the regime of Abdul-Mejid, a secret committee for the salvation of the Ottoman Empire was formed in Constantinople with the aim of introducing a constitutional regime. From it grew the government of "Young Turks".

#### 8) Abdul-Aziz

Abdul-Aziz (1861-1876) began his rule with the re-affirmation of the principles of the tanzimat. In opposition thereto, Russian Pan-Slavists instigated revolts in Montenegro and Hercegovina, which were, however, suppressed by the Turks. In the following year (1862) a revolt broke out in Serbia, initiating a campaign which, five years later, found Turkish troops quitting Serbia. On Crete, a Greek-instigated revolt also broke out, leading to the installation of a Christian governor, although the revolt was suppressed by the Turkish army. In 1866, an insurrection instigated by Russia broke out in Bulgaria. It was suppressed. This insurrection was repeated ten years later with the same result. It is understandable that the Ottoman Empire could not progress under such circumstances, and finally became impoverished, losing its prestige in Europe, which had been established and strengthened thanks to Turkish reforms. At the same time secret revolutionary societies of the "Young Ottomans" became ever more numerous and influential. Abroad (Paris), the two Turkish poets Namik Kemal Bey and Zia Pasha issued proclamations to the Turkish population to demand a constitutional government. They were fortunate enough to gain for their side the Governor of Nish, Midhat Pasha, who was working out a constitution, and the Young Ottomans were able to dethrone Abdul-Aziz in 1876.

9) Abdul-Hamid II

Abdul-Hamid II (1876-1909) successor of Abdul-Aziz, at first collaborated and promulgated the new constitution, but as early as 1877 war broke out with Russia over the liberation of the Slav Balkan states. Harrassed Turkey was defeated and in the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) had to recognize Romania and Serbia as independent states, while Bulgaria became a large principality under Turkish suzerainty. In addition Russia annexed the Anatolian provinces of Ardahan, Bayazid, and Kars, against which England protested, and suggested a congress. The congress of Berlin in 1878, resulting from the British protest, ended the dispute, under the leadership of Bismarck, "the honest broker". Serbia, Montenegro and Romania became independent, while Bulgaria was partitioned, one of the provinces receiving self-governing functions within the Turkish state. The Province of Bayazid in Anatolia remained Turkish. The retrograde development of Turkey did not, however, cease. Due to financial mismanagement in Egypt, the British and French had assumed far-reaching supervision and met with resistance in their effort to introduce western reforms. The two powers appealed to Constantinople and the sultan without further ado deposed the Khedive Ismail in Cairo and replaced him with his son Tewfik in 1879. The indigenous upper class, under the leadership of a fellah officer, Ahmet Arabi, organized an opposition against Turkey as well as against Great Britain and France, and as a result of the ensuing conditions, Great Britain occupied Egypt in 1882, following upon serious unrest. A year before, Tunis was lost to France.

In 1885, unrest again broke out in the Balkans in the Bulgarian province of Eastern Rumelia. Then Crete again revolted in 1890. Two movements for liberty began to be active in Armenia (Hinchak and Dash-naksutium), a revolution breaking out in 1894, which was suppressed with much loss of blood. As Greece had been the prime mover of the revolts on Crete, Turkey declared war in 1897. After Turkey had defeated the Greek army, the Western Powers intervened and ended the war. Greece had to pay 4,000,000 Turkish pounds indemnity, while Crete was placed under international control. This attitude of the Western Powers awakened in Abdul-Hamid sympathy for Germany, whose Emperor William II was friendly



toward Turkey. He received the concession for the construction of the Anatolian railroad and the Bagdad line in 1899, so that Germany, with its "Berlin-Bagdad" program emerged as a new power in the Orient. Abdul-Hamid wanted to retain the non-Turkish Moslem minorities in the Ottoman Empire and tried to overcome the racial-linguistic differences through championing of a Pan-Islamic ideal. Emperor William II, who during his visit in Jerusalem in 1898 called himself the friend of the "caliph of three hundred million Moslems", showed his understanding for this ideal.

In 1903 there was a Bulgarian insurrection, and the Balkans did not settle down at all thereafter. Conditions in Macedonia furnished fertile soil for the dissemination of "Young Turk" ideas, especially as in the course of time Abdul-Hamid had curtailed both the constitution and the press. The movement for the re-introduction of the constitution under the leadership of Talaat Bey was finally strong enough in 1908 to march on the capital with the Macedonian army, which it dominated. The coup d'etat was successful under the leadership of Major Niaz, and impressed by the will of the people Abdul-Hamid, under the pressure of the leaders of the revolt, formed a new cabinet under the constitution. Austria, taking advantage of the situation, after having discussed the matter with Russia, annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina about ten weeks later, while Bulgaria declared its independence. Reports about further revolts in all parts of the empire follows apace: the Albanians in Macedonia revolted, the Kurds in Anatolia and the Arabs in Yemen. As the machinery of state did not function under the impress of the hopelessness of the situation, and as Abdul-Hamid worked for the re-establishment of an absolute monarchy --against the constitution-- the parliament dethroned him in 1909, an action which was underscored by a renewed military revolt.

10) Mehmet V

Abdul-Hamid was succeeded by Mehmet V (1909-1918) under whom the constitutional regime was established by the Young Turk movement, whose influence was exercised through the "Union and Progress Party". The loss of territory of the past half century was enormous

and despite this, the Ottoman Empire still extended from the Adriatic to the Indian Ocean and from the Persian to the Tunisian borders. Despite all their resolution and knowledge, the Young Turks had inherited conditions which would have been a serious test for any government, no matter how good. Many foreigners were called to Turkey and worked in practically all spheres. While diplomatic tensions could be assuaged in 1909, the Greek Premier Vonizelos showing wise restraint, the war of aggression of Italy against Libya in 1911 could not be prevented. The Arab population of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica fought as one man of the side of Turkey, so that the Italians were only able to maintain their hold on some coastal points, but the country was lost to Italy in the Treaty of Ouchy (1912). Unfortunately there was a change of government in this year, in which reactionary circles gained the upper hand. Their attempt to put a final halt to the eternal comitadji raids in Macedonia by means of large razzias brought about a new alliance between Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Greece, who declared war on Turkey in 1912 and won it, so that the Treaty of London in 1913 deprived Turkey of further territory, including the former capital of Adrianople. Four weeks later strife was engendered among the victors during the division of the spoils and in the ensuing war Turkey recaptured the territory of Adrianople. Another change in government brought further alternations, as "Ottomanism", whose adherents wanted to unite all racial and religious groups in the Ottoman Empire, had failed, and other national minorities could simply not be assimilated, so that a renewed attempt was made with Pan-Islamism, in order, at least, to retain the Mohammedans in the empire. This tendency was aided and abetted by Enver Pasha and the "Young Turks" but when even the Arabs, incited by the French, evidenced separatist inclinations, and the great importance of nationalism and language manifested itself, the Young Turk Movement was pressed into a nationalist and Pan-Turanist mold, due to the above, and due to the progressively stronger influence of Turks under compulsion in Russia. The adherents of this movement now envisaged the union of all Turks in one empire. The first World War (1914-1918) appeared made to order for this line of thought, as Germany according to Turk arguments, was carrying on war against

the hereditary enemy of Russia, from whom territory could be wrested should Germany be victorious. In the course of the fighting it became apparent that Turkey, which had only concluded a pact against Russia with Germany, was not strong enough to fight on all fronts. Although Turkey was able with German help to defend the important Dardanelles successfully, it lost Palestine (1917) after an unsuccessful attempt to capture the Suez Canal (1915,1916) while the British, after varying fortunes of war, captured Mesopotamia with Bagdad (1917), and the Russians occupied parts of East Anatolia. The Communist revolution in Russia led to the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Russia in 1918, which returned to Turkey all the territories Russia had annexed since 1877. The Arabs, however, liberated themselves and Syria was occupied by the British in 1918. When the British concluded an armistice with Turkey on 30 Oct 1918, the war did not thereby end for this country.

11) Mehmet VI

In this year of military collapse and political confusion, Mehmet VI (1918-1922), brother of Mehmet V, ascended the throne. He sought to save his country from disaster by implementing Western reforms, but he too did not have sufficient time to complete his purpose. The development, initiated by the structure of the Ottoman Empire as a super church-state in an empire of the most diversified religions as well as a multi-national state without loyalty of ethnic groups among each other or allegiance to the throne, this development swept over the empire, whose rulers during the past century had not been able to find a solution between the centrifugal tendencies of Christian peoples and the Arabs, and the centripetal power of the Turk nationalists.

In May 1919 a Greek army landed in Asia Minor under the protection of the combined American, British and French fleets, in order to regain the foothold they had had there in previous centuries. A war with ghastly massacres and atrocities on both sides was the result. This Greek aggression, together with an Italian troop landing in Adalia kindled the Turk resistance to a degree not expected by the others. This resistance, however, had nothing to do with the sultan and

his government. It emanated from the people under the energetic leadership of a former "Young Turk", Kemal Pasha. The fighting qualities of the Turkish people were put to the acid test. Not only did the Italians occupy territory in the Southwest, the Greeks in the West, but the Western Powers (Britain, France and Italy) occupied the Dardanelles and Constantinople in the Northwest, and the British secretly supported the revolts of Kurds and Armenians (1920) in the East of the country. Merely the French were maneuvered out of Cilicia and Aintab, thanks to indecision on the part of the Allies.

Furthermore, Sultan Mehmet VI accepted the Treaty of Sevres (1920), according to which only a small Ottoman sultanate was to remain grouped around the Straits and Constantinople, while the major portion of the country was to have been divided up into a British and an Italian colony, while West Anatolia was to have gone to Greece, and in the East a Kurd and Armenian state was to have been established. Without taking the sultan into consideration, who was a "prisoner of a foreign army of occupation" in Constantinople, the forces working for the salvation of the Fatherland united in several congresses in Anatolia (July 1919 in Erzurum, September 1919 in Sivas, April 1920 in Ankara), where a body in the nature of a national assembly and the Anatolian Defense Rights Association worked out a National Pact, which demanded self-determination for Turks, guarantee of the territorial integrity for Turkey and abolition of all foreign privileges. In addition, the sultan was deprived of the right to act in the name of Turkey, as he continued to dabble in politics in Constantinople in order to save his throne and as a result worked against the adherents of a Turkish republic. Kemal Pasha and his adherents, however, won out. Armenia, which had already been proclaimed an independent state, was defeated militarily, and it had to cede to Turkey the old territories of Kars, Ardahan and Artvin under the Peace of Alexandropol (1921). In the same year, the Turks were able to route the Greeks who had advanced to almost within sight of Ankara. They were pushed back to the coast, where they stayed thanks to a diplomatic game of international intrigue, but they were forcibly ejected from the country in August and September of 1922. Thereupon was initiated the advance on Constantinople, and the French and Italian

troops were withdrawn immediately in order to avoid fighting. Merely the British remained behind and negotiated. Both the Turkish National Government and the Government of the Sultan were supposed to participate in the negotiation. This was circumvented by the establishment of a constitution calling for a division between sultanate and caliphate and abrogation of the sultanate, thus depriving Mehmet VI of his worldly power, while the caliphate remained to the house of his dynasty. The capital was transferred to Ankara. On 17 Nov 1922 Mehmet VI left the country on board a British warship, which took him to Malta. Turkey became an independent republic and a national state.

Thus the Ottoman Empire ceased to be. After 621 years, from 1301 to 1922 this, once the greatest, tri-continental empire of the world had disintegrated. It extended over the holy sites of stories of the Bible and the Koran, and the territories of the ancient empires of the Hittites, Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Macedonians, Greeks and Byzantines. From it emanated seven Southeastern European states (Hungary, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania), eight Arab states (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan, Iraq, Arabia, Yemen, and Egypt) and four African colonies (Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, Tunisia, and Algeria).

#### 5. The Subjugation of the Turkish States in Asia

##### a. Western Turkestan

While all Turki states in the territory comprising today's Russia, north of the Crimea, in the Volga and Ural area, as well as in the Caucasus and Siberia, had been subjugated in the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century, the descendants of the Uzbek dynasty of the Shaibanids (1500-1599) maintained the independence of their khanates and emirates in Central Asia until modern times. They too, however, like the Ottoman Empire, were involved in a period of progressive Russian pressure, placing them on the defensive continuously, which they finally were no longer able to master, due to their small population in comparison with the Russians, while on the other

hand they were not always adroit enough to take advantage of the rivalry between Russia and Great Britain.

1) The Khanate of Kokand

The Khanate of Kokand was a relatively powerful state after its founding in 1710. It comprised parts of West and East Turkestan. Its capital, "Kokand the Charming", was constructed under Abd-ur-Rahim in 1732 and was named Iski-Kurgan. This city was built at the place where Arabian travelers of the 10th century located the city of Hokand. The eastern portions of the country were lost to the Chinese, who conquered the Sinkiang of today (Dzungaria and East Turkestan) between 1758 and 1759 and forced the rulers, the Begs of Ferghana, to recognize Chinese suzerainty. The Khanate of Kokand was somewhat extended under Alim Khan, who around 1808 brought the smaller principalities of the Begs of Ferghana under his authority, and also conquered territory in Tashkent and Chimkent. His attempt to enlarge his state at the cost of the Khanate of Amuva miscarried. Then he was murdered in 1817, his brother and successor, Omar, continued the efforts to enlarge the khanate. He first captured the district of Azret and strove to incorporate the extensive territories lying north and northeast of his state in Kirghiz regions. Omar died in 1822 and his successor continued these efforts. In the meanwhile the Russians also strove to subjugate the Khirgiz, having conquered the "Great Horde" of the Kazakhs, as the last of the four Kazakh hordes in the period from 1798 to 1819. Friction caused thereby led to military operations on the part of the Russians in 1850. They thrust into the area southeast of Lake Balkhash, along the Ili River toward the Dzungarian border, thus commencing the subjugation of the Khirgiz, which was completed by 1870.

Moreover, the Khanate of Kokand was weakened internally by dynastic feuds, which finally led the Emir of Bokhara to interfere, and also led to the division of the country into two parts, the North under Alim Kul and the South under Khudayar Khan, who placed himself under the suzerainty of Bokhara from 1858 to 1866. In 1860 war against Russia broke out, Russia continuing to move southward steadily, and Alim Kul was killed in the

battle of Tashkent in 1865. Then the Russians invaded the Emirate of Bokhara in 1866 and Samarkand was captured in 1868 after two years of fighting, Khudayar Khan made the Khanate of Kokand independent again, and concluded a trade treaty with Russia. Peace only lasted seven years, however, for in 1875 war with Russia again broke out, and ended with the conquest of the Fort of Akhram as well as the capture in 1875 of the important cities of Marghelan and Kokand. Khudayar Khan fled, and when Russia captured Andijan in the course of a subsequent raid, it annexed the Khanate of Kokand (1876), uniting all conquered territories under the governor generalship of Turkestan.

2) The Emirate of Bokhara

The Emirate of Bokhara, once a recognized cultural center, was also declining. Although it had, in 1787 been able to wrest the territory of today's Turkmenistan from Persia, it lost this region to the Khanate of Khiva in 1832. Despite its decline, Russia and England sought its favor. Russia, in order to make easier the road to East Persia, Afghanistan and India through influence thereon; Great Britain in order to consolidate it as a buffer state between Russia and India. Emir Nasrullah, however, cast two British emissaries into prison in 1842, and killed them, which did not serve to cement relations with the West. The Afghans, under Emir Dost Mahomed became active between 1850 and 1859, and they were able to capture Afghan-Turkestan territory ruled by Uzbek Begs under the suzerainty of Bokhara, and annexed it as Hozar Province.

After subjugating the territories north of the Emirate, Russia in 1866 conquered the country itself with one army group, conquest having been completed within two years. After occupation of Samarkand in 1868, a peace treaty was concluded, according to which the Emir of Bokhara became a vassal of the Czar. It was his task to secure and protect Russian trade in the territory of his emirate. In 1882, a permanent political agent of Russia was sent to the capital of Bokhara, and a Russian bank was opened. Ten years later, in 1892, the Emir made a journey to Petersburg and thereafter had his sons educated in Russia. In 1893, Russia extended its

supervision beyond Eastern Bokhara and today's Tajikistan and annexed the region of the Pamirs (Gorno Badakhshan). The successive emirs of Bokhara, however, continued their traditional absolute and theocratic method of government without themselves extending any efforts toward the modernization and Westernization of their country, no more so than the Begs (nobles) and Mollahs (priests). The Russians permitted conditions to remain undisturbed, but penetrated the country steadily and according to plan, and thus practically tied it closer and closer to the governor generalship of Turkestan, ruling the Turki peoples north of Bokhara. As the mass of the population had hardly any civil rights to speak of, and on the other hand the court demanded high taxes and was very spendthrift, a new revolutionary movement came into being, the "Young Bokharans", which united all other dissatisfied groups, but were so suppressed that they were not able to achieve anything in practice. It was not until the events of 1917, that this organization appeared in public and demanded, in a manifesto, that elementary civil rights be granted the population and that the rights of the Emir be limited by a constitution. As the government rejected these demands, and persecuted the individual members of the organization, the Communist government which had acceded to power in Russia in the meanwhile, was able to make use of the organization and intervene openly. In 1918, a Council of People's Commissars dispatched an ultimatum, limited to 24 hours, to the Emir calling for civil rights. The Emir rejected and received an offer from Great Britain to stabilize his rule on a Western pattern, as well as the promise of troops, munitions, and money in return for a 99-year concession on Bokhara's railroads and mines. Before this could be practically implemented, after the Emir had finally accepted it, a Communist revolt broke out in 1920, which proclaimed a "People's Government" in August and spread rapidly. In addition the Red Army was on the advance and the Emir fled into the Eastern provinces of his country, and called upon the League of Nations, Great Britain, the United States, Japan and Persia for help. A plan was worked out with the British war attache, but served no purpose as the Communist-backed people's movement drove the Emir and his government out of Eastern Bokhara. The Emir sought refuge with King Amanullah of Afghanistan, who did not help him politically. In November 1921, Enver Pasha



arrived there, coming from Turkey via Germany and Russia, contacted the Emir and became his commander-in-chief. In the following year (1921) a Pan-Turanist, anti-Bolshevik insurrection, under the name "Basmachi revolt" was started, having as goal the establishment of a Pan-Turanian empire, comprising the Russian governor generalship of Turkestan, Afghanistan, Persia and possibly Transcaucasia and Turkey. In 1922 an ultimatum was dispatched to the USSR, calling for the vacuation of Turkestan, but it was answered with war. The soviet troops proved themselves the stronger and when Enver Pasha was killed during a rear-guard action, the revolt collapsed. After the complete suppression of the insurrection, the Khanate of Bokhara became an "independent People's Republic."

### 3) The Khanate of Khiva

Khiva, another khanate of great antiquity, was for a long time the capital of a once powerful empire of the Shahs of Khorezm, and the center of a Uzbek Khanate after its conquest in 1512. The Russian Czar, Peter the Great, had first dispatched a military force against Khiva in 1717, in order to "open mercantile relations with India through Turan". This expedition, after initial successes, was completely wiped out by the Khivans. After 1832, Russia was strong enough to wrest the territories of Turkmen steppes down to the Persian-Afghan border from the Emirate of Bokhara. Russia did not, until 1839, again turn its attention to the Emirate of Bokhara. In that year it again dispatched a military force in order to subjugate the country and to clear the road to India. This expedition also ended in complete disaster. In 1847, however, the Russians, with fresh troops, were able to advance to the mouth of Syr Darya in Lake Aral, where a fort (Kazalinsk) was established. From this point, Russia was able to bring the Kazakh nomads living in the surrounding territories under its rule. These nomads had belonged to the Khanate of Khiva and had paid their taxes to it. In the ensuing years, Russia was able to gain a footing in the area between Lake Aral and the Caspian Sea, where the Karakalpaks finally became their subjects in 1867. The Karakalpaks had lived as Nomads there, and south of Lake Aral, and had been divided into two hordes, each headed by a khan: the so-called "Upper Horde" and the "Lower Horde", which despite relative freedom were also subjects of the Khanates of Khiva. In order further

to strengthen the Russian position, Krasnovodsk was established on the East coast of the Caspian Sea in 1869, so that from these points, sallies could be prepared. After sufficient preparations had been made, a Russian expeditionary army, under General Kaufmann, launched a campaign from three bases in 1873, and occupied the entire territory in a surprise attack, almost without resistance. All the territory northeast of the Amu Darya was annexed and a heavy indemnity was imposed upon the Khanate. England, looking upon these Russian advances with suspicion, requested an explanation and was given the assurance that the Khan would continue to be an independent ruler. Thus the Khanate of Khiva remained nominally in existence but Russia bound the Khan by treaty not to carry on war or conclude pacts without Russian sanction. It thus became a Russian vassalage to all intents and purposes. This became all the more clear when in 1881 Russian troops marched into the southern territories of the land and, after five years of petty wars, subjugated the territory of the Turkmen (1881-1886), thus reaching the Persian-Afghan border which was fixed at its present status by mixed boundary commissions and a treaty. The development in the Khanate of Khiva from then on was similar to that of the Emirate of Bokhara.

After the outbreak of the Communist revolution in Russia in 1917, it sought to rid itself of Russian rule and was involved in much civil strife. By 1919 the Bolshevik position was strengthened sufficiently to dare the overthrow of the government, which was successfully accomplished in February 1920, after some give-and-take fighting. The Khanate of Khiva became a people's republic. The consolidation of the Soviet system in this republic took several years due to revolts and Pan-Turanian fighting.

b. East Turkestan

After China had conquered the state of the Oirats in Dzungaria in 1758 and subsequently, in 1759, wrested the territory of the Tarim Basin from the Khanate of Kokand--situated south and southwest of Dzungaria -- the political history of the Turanians there was practically at an end. They did not admit defeat and in a series of rebellions sought to establish their independence against the Chinese. These attempts were the main feature of practically the entire 19th century, during which they were several times successful in ridding themselves of Chinese rule. The first major revolt took place in 1825, temporarily expelling the Chinese. Upon their return,

the second revolt was carried out in 1830, with the same result. The same thing was repeated in the third revolt in 1847, and during the fourth revolt ten years later in 1857, always without a permanent success. The first faint ray of hope was granted them in 1862 when an insurrection of the Dungan (Chinese Mohammedans) broke out in the adjacent provinces of Shensi and Kansu, which in 1864 spread over the territory of Dzungaria and the Tarim Basin, from Hami over Khotan to Kashgar. After capture in 1868 of Kulja, the center of Chinese administration in Dzungaria, the Dungan and Taranchi, a Turki tribe in the Ili Basin, established the so-called Taranchi Sultanate.

1) Taranchi Sultanate

The Taranchi Sultanate only existed three years (1868-1871), as the Russians marched into this country and suppressed it, annexing the district of Kulja. It only remained under Russian rule for ten years (1871-1881) as it was returned to China under the Treaty of St. Petersburg (1881).

In the meanwhile, there were also apparently better prospects for the region of the Tarim Basin to become independent. Yakub Beg, a general who had played a prominent role in the Dungan insurrection, had helped to expel the Chinese in 1864, had then united the liberated territories with the goal of creating a free Turkestan and had made himself the master of East Turkestan one year later, when the Taranchi Sultanate was destroyed.

2) Kingdom of Kashgaria

The Kingdom of Kashgaria (1872-1877) proclaimed by Yakub Beg in 1872, even attained to diplomatic recognition of Russia and Great Britain. It was too weak militarily, however, to withstand Chinese efforts at recapture successfully, and was again occupied in 1877.

As China was granted Dzungaria and the district of Kulja by the Treaty of St. Petersburg, it united the two territories administratively and made them into the Chinese province of Sinkiang (1881).

c. Mongolia

Acceptance of Chinese suzerainty at the Congress of Dolon-nor in 1689 by Khalkha chiefs and the Chinese emperor Kang-hsi of the Manchu dynasty, has already been noted. The Mongols have never broken this agreement and remained a Chinese dependency for the duration of the government of the Manchu dynasty, that is, more than two centuries (1689-1911).

1) Outer Mongolia

As soon as the Manchu dynasty was dethroned in the revolution of 1911-1912, the Mongol princes gathered at Urga and declared their independence. They expelled the high Chinese officials from Urga and placed themselves under the rule of a Khutukhtu (the living Buddha), the theocratic ruler of the Khalkha tribes, who ranked third in degree of veneration among the dignitaries of the Lamaist Church. The independence of Mongolia was recognized by the Russian Government at a conference in Urga (1912). After Russo-Chinese negotiations, both governments agreed at a conference in Peking in 1913 that China's suzerainty would continue to be recognized, while China for her part recognized the autonomy of Mongolia. Agreements were reached concerning international law and the land frontiers between Mongolia, China and Russia at a tripartite conference in 1915. As the frontiers which were established did not include all Mongols, the new state was also called "Outer Mongolia".

2) Inner Mongolia

The territories in which the Mongols resided south of the border of Outer Mongolia were conjoined to China by an active Chinese colonization policy beginning a few decades ago, for fear that the territory could again be lost. China, until then had hardly settled any territories beyond the Great Wall. In 1914, that is, immediately after the establishment of an autonomous Mongolia, the territories remaining to the Chinese were re-organized administratively to make them an integral part of China. Three provinces took shape, Jehol, Chahar, and Suiyuan, and the military district of Sitao in the western desert area. The Mongol tribal organizations living within these territories, were placed under the supervision of Chinese officials. For these territories, the term "Inner Mongolia" came into use, which territories were to play a political role, just like "Outer Mongolia".

3) Tannu Tuva

In this connection a further territory must be mentioned, which was also a Chinese dependency formerly, namely Tannu Tuva or Uriankhai, adjoining Outer Mongolia in the Northwest. This Chinese dependency did not come under Russian influence until early in the 19th century, but the first Russian settlers did not arrive until 1907. After recent developments in Mongolia, subsequent to the revolution of 1912, Tannu Tuva in 1914 was declared a Russian protectorate. After the unsuccessful part of Russia in the first World War, the Tuvinians declared themselves an independent republic (1921). The Soviets recognized this republic.

46. The Modern Epoch of the Turanian Peoples  
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The Turanian settlement areas extant at the present time may be divided into three groups: (1) independent states, (2) dependent state territories with state rights within the state to which they belong (for the most part administrative and cultural autonomy), (3) state provinces of special types.

Of the first category, there is only one single example, the Turkish Republic, which, under international law, is a sovereign state.

To the second group belong Soviet Union Republics (SSR), Autonomous Republics (ASSR), Autonomous Regions (AR), and National Districts (ND), all units of the USSR, with graduated rights under the constitution. There are eight Union Republics, namely Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan; 15 Autonomous Republics of which three were dissolved after the second World War, namely, Abkhazia, Adzharistan, Bashkiria, Buriato-Mongolia, Checheno-Ingushetia (dissolved), Chuvashia, Crimea (dissolved), Daghestan, Kabardinia, Kalmauckia (dissolved), Karakalpakistan, Nakhichevan, North Ossetia, Tataria, Yakutia; nine Autonomous Regions, of which one was dissolved after the second World War, namely, Adygei, Cherkessia, Gorno-Badakhshan, Karachai (dissolved), Khakassia, Nagorno-Karabagh, Oirotia, South Ossetia, Tuva; and two National Districts, namely, Agin Buriat Mongol, Ust Ordin Buriat Mongol.

The third group is composed of the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, and the Chinese provinces of Sinkiang and Meng-Chiang (Inner Mongolia), that is, two provinces with Turki population, and one area with a Mongol minority.

The legal status of the Turkish Republic and the Iranian province of Azerbaijan<sup>1/</sup> is clear cut and unassailable. The status of the nominally Chinese province of Sinkiang and the area of Inner Mongolia is still a matter for speculation, i.e., it is not clear at present in how far Sinkiang is and/or will remain under Soviet (Communist) influence and thus, with the passage of time, will become a Central Asiatic SSR or ACSR, or will be included in a major Lamaist state of the type presently being discussed in Russia. Sinkiang would only be a geographic but not a racial or religious component part of such a state. The situation is similar in the case of Inner Mongolia.

This territory, should it fall completely under Soviet (Communist) influence would either as a whole or in part become a Mongolian SSR or ACSR by reason of Pan-Mongolian endeavors, or it would become attached to Outer Mongolia. The third possibility is that it might become part of a major Lamaist state to include Tibet and all Mongolian "states", and would extend from the frontiers of India to Lake Baikal in Eastern Siberia. The above development is hardly probable if it again comes under the jurisdiction of the national Chinese government at Chungking.

There merely remains something to be said of the state structures belonging unequivocally to the USSR. The legal status of these territories is defined by the following laws. These laws were promulgated after the establishment of the Soviet regime by reason of the October Revolution of 1917, and are: Declaration of the Rights of the People of Russia (December 1917); Approval of the Federative Nature of the Russian State (as explained at December 1918 Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets); First Constitution of USSR (January 1924, Second All-Union Congress); Second Constitution of

<sup>1/</sup> The status of the Iranian province of Azerbaijan as a part of Iran was temporarily endangered after the second World War, when the Russians created a good deal of confusion through the temporary occupation of the country, and later by instigating an insurrection with the hope of establishing a people's republic later to be incorporated in Russian Azerbaijan. These machinations were terminated by the arrival of Iran troops.

USSR (November 1936, Eighth All-Union Congress); Supreme Soviet Approval of Constitutional Amendment Granting Each of the 16 Union Republics the Right of Separate Diplomatic Representation Abroad (1 February 1944).

The complete powerlessness of Union Republics, Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions, and National Districts under the Soviet Constitution, may be seen from the following.

For reasons of propaganda, the individual Soviet republics copied the USSR in their organizational structure. According to the Soviet Constitution each Union Republic and Autonomous Soviet Republic can elect a Supreme Soviet (with a chamber) and this body in turn can elect a Council of People's Commissars, i.e., the government of the republic. On the other hand, according to the Soviet Constitution, these Councils of People's Commissars of the individual republics, are merely administrative offices of the central government at Moscow. By studying a series of articles of the Stalin constitution, it is not difficult to recognize the fact that the provisions concerning sovereignty and autonomy of the Soviet Republics have merely propagandistic value, for both sovereignty and autonomy are greatly curtailed or really suppressed by other articles and paragraphs.

Thus, it is stated in Article 16 that each Union Republic is to have its own constitution taking into consideration the special needs of the republic in question. The same article, however, sets forth the fact that the constitutions of the Union Republics are only possible if they are "in complete conformity with the constitution of the USSR". The same contradiction is contained in Articles 17 and 19. While Article 17 states, "To each Union Republic is guaranteed the right of free secession from the USSR". Article 19 invalidates this right by affirming that "the laws of the USSR have equal validity in the territory of all Union Republics". A free untrammelled decision is thus impossible. A further example is, that while Article 15 states that "the sovereignty of Union Republics" is "limited only by the limits indicated in Article 14", Article 14 recounts the twenty-three points of the rights of the "highest organs of power and organs of state administration of the USSR", by means of which the political, military, economic, and cultural life of the Union Republics is placed unequivocally under the rule of the central government at

Moscow, making sovereignty of the Soviet Republics impossible. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is so organized that, on the basis of the Soviet Constitution, the individual republics have no guaranty that their own representatives will be in this body.

Even more clear becomes the powerlessness of the individual Soviet Republics, if the articles of the constitution are kept in mind, which give the central government at Moscow the right, at any time to "suspend" or suppress the decisions of the governments of the member republics, as may be seen from the following citations.

Article 14. "The USSR, embodied by its highest organs of power and organs of state administration, is empowered . . . to see to it that the correspondence of the constitutions of the Union Republics with the Constitution of the USSR is guaranteed."

Article 20. "If the law of a Union Republic does not correspond with the law of the USSR, the law of the USSR is valid."

Article 21. ". . . every citizen of a Union Republic is a citizen of the USSR."

Article 67. "The decrees and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR are binding for the entire area of the USSR."

Article 69. "The Council of the People's Commissars of the USSR has the right . . . to suspend decrees and orders of the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union Republic."

Article 49. "The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR interprets the valid laws and issues decrees . . . suspends regulations and orders of the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union Republic not in agreement with the law."

In like manner, the laws and jurisprudence of the individual Soviet republics are made subservient to the central government at Moscow.

This is merely included to complete the general picture.



a. State Structures to be Included in Confederation

The following table contains the names of all state structures which would be eligible for a confederation of Turanian states, together with those territories of other racial groups which constitute minority "islands" within the area of Turanian peoples, as well as some which might become a source for manpower.

Geographical Subdivision and State	Area in sq. m.	Population
<u>I. Asia Minor</u>		
1. Turkey	294,492	18,145,000
<u>II. The Caucasus</u>		
<u>A. Transcaucasia</u>		
2. Azerbaijan SSR	33,345	3,372,000
a. Nakhichevan ASSR	12,277	138,000
b. Nagorno Karabagh AR	1,659	180,000
3. Iranian Azerbaijan	32,000	2,000,000
4. Armenian SSR	11,661	1,346,000
5. Georgian SSR	27,027	3,722,000
a. Abkhazian ASSR	3,358	303,000
b. Adzharian ASSR	1,080	180,000
c. South Ossetian AR	1,428	111,500
<u>B. Northern Caucasia</u>		
6. Daghستان ASSR	13,124	977,800
7. Checheno-Ingush ASSR <sup>1/</sup> (Grozny Oblast)	6,060	732,800

<sup>1/</sup> Dissolved because of anti-Soviet attitude of the population, and territory divided among neighboring areas.

Geographical Subdivision and State	Area in sq. m.	Population
(continued)		
8. North Ossetian ASSR	2,393	345,600
9. Kabardino-Balkarian ASSR	4,747	377,500
10. Stavropol Krai		
a. Karachai AR <sup>1/</sup>	3,125	104,000
b. Cherkess AR	1,273	97,200
11. Krasnodar Krai		
a. Adygei AR	1,505	254,000
12. Kalmuck ASSR <sup>1/</sup> (Astrakhan Oblast)	28,641	232,000
13. Crimean ASSR <sup>1/</sup> (Crimea Oblast)	10,036	1,184,000
III. <u>Ural-Volga District</u> <sup>2/</sup>		
14. Chuvash ASSR	6,909	1,132,300
15. Tatar ASSR	25,900	3,067,000
16. Bashkir ASSR	54,233	3,304,000
IV. <u>Central Asia</u>		
A. <u>West Turkestan</u>		
17. Kazakh SSR	1,066,533	6,458,000
18. Uzbek SSR	160,095	6,601,000
a. Karakalpak ASSR	79,631	437,000

<sup>1/</sup> Dissolved because of anti-Soviet attitude of the population, and area divided among neighboring territories.

<sup>2/</sup> The three Turco-Tatar Autonomous Republics within this area are not to be incorporated in the Pan-Turanian state confederacy, but are considered as a manpower reservoir, as its population is to be exchanged on a voluntary basis against Russians living at present in the Pan-Turanian state as planned. Not included in chapter on Economics.

Geographical Subdivision and State	Area in sq.m.	Population
(Continued)		
19. Turkmen SSR	189,033	1,317,000
20. Tadjik SSR	55,497	1,560,000
a. Gorno-Badakhshan AR	25,784	41,700
21. Kirghiz SSR	78,624	1,533,000
22. Krai Altai		
a. Oirot AR	35,936	169,600
23. Krai Krasnoyarsk		
a. Khakass AR	19,261	104,000
24. Tuva AR	78,120	86,400
B. <u>East Turkestan</u>		
25. Sinkiang	705,952	4,360,000
V. <u>East Asia</u>		
26. Outer Mongolia (Mongol Olos)	625,946	900,000
27. Inner Mongolia (Meng Chiang)	348,024	5,123,000
VI. <u>Siberia</u>		
28. Buriat Mongol ASSR	127,020	569,700
a. Ust Ordin Buriat Mongol ND	10,923	110,000
b. Agin Buriat Mongol ND	10,730	32,000
29. Yakut ASSR <sup>1/</sup>	1,169,927	421,000

<sup>1/</sup> This territory to be excluded from confederation, but included above because of traditional political collaboration with Turki peoples.

Asia Minor and Europe

1) The Turkish Republic

The Turkish Republic in Southeastern Europe and Asia Minor has 294,492 sq.m. (including Hatay or Alexandretta), subdivided into 58 vilayets (administrative districts) with a total population of 18,145,000 (1940). The capital is at Ankara (Angora) with 160,000 inhabitants.

The Turkish Republic was founded on 29 October 1923. The nature of the state is characterized by the six principles included in the Constitution of 20 April 1924. It was termed republican, nationalistic, populist, statist, secular and revolutionary. In 1937 these six principles were replaced by a decision of the Kamutay (National Assembly), the highest authority of the country. They decided on the six principles of the Turkish Republican People's Party, i.e., republicanism; nationalism; democracy; evolutionism; separation of Church and State; and State supervision of the principal industries, public utility services, and means of communication.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, president from 1923 to 1938. The founder and first president of the Turkish Republic had a successful military career behind him and came from the political atmosphere of the "Young Turks" movement. This forceful and well-balanced personality, in the 12 years of his activity for the Ottoman Empire, and in the 14 years of his activity as head of the Turkish Republic founded by him, achieved such successes as made him the most brilliant and successful figure in modern Turkish history. When he died at the age of 57, he had fulfilled the task of bringing his nation to maturity, and had laid the democratic foundation for the modern Turk state, that is, he successfully changed a medieval, oriental empire into a modern secular republic. As a sign of the nation's gratitude, the Kamutay bestowed upon him the highest title (Gazi) following upon his victory over the Greeks, and also bestowed upon him the family name of Atatürk (Father of the Turks). Upon his national monument is inscribed the legend: "Turks, be proud, hard-working, and self-confident".

The inner political activity is essentially outlined by these reforms which were considered the principal obstacles to modernization. These reforms included, as is well known, the entire scale of public and private life, and comprised laws on the abrogation of the monarchical institutions

of the Sultanate; the Pope-like institutions of the Caliphate; the separation of Church and State through the repeal of the Moslem law of the Sheriate (church law permeating all of civic life); the union of all education and scientific institutions, including Medresses (religious colleges) under one Commissariat of Public Instruction; modernization of jurisprudence, the administration and the army; introduction of Latin script in place of Arabic; unfezzing and unveiling; and introduction of family names.

It is understandable that inner opposition came into being against the wide scope of these reforms and modernization measures, the opposition ranging from the fight of the liberal circles who, on the basis of the liberal constitution, sought to carry on party politics which would have been detrimental to the newly established state, to the revolts of the backward and illiterate Kurds in 1925, 1929, and 1937. In general it may be stated, however, that the peaceful education of the Turk people toward democratic and Western ways of life, has had smooth sailing since about 1930.

As to foreign policy, Kemal Atatürk's government is marked by the introduction of the first period of policies for peace in 600 years. Way-stops on this road are the work for a Balkan Entente on the Northern frontiers of the republic, as well as the Saadabad Entente with Irak, Iran, and Afghanistan, in addition to a number of trade agreements and friendship pacts, especially with the "hereditary enemies" of the Turks, Russia and Greece. The only foreign policy complication during Kemal Atatürk's government was a conflict with Syria, mandatory of France, over the district of Alexandretta, inhabited in part by Turks. This conflict was allayed in 1938, in that a pact was concluded giving the district an administration such as the Turks desired, and thus granting them special status, which in turn made possible the incorporation of this district into Turkey in 1939. It became the province of Hatay.

Ismet İnönü, present president. The successor of Kemal Atatürk in 1938, and second president of the Turkish Republic, was Ismet İnönü, who took charge of this spiritually, economically and politically reconstructed nation after 20 years of close collaboration with Kemal Atatürk. From 1923 to 1937, Ismet İnönü was president of the Council of Ministers. He also had a military career and his reputation is based on two major successes. The first was the

victory over the Greeks in the decisive battle at İnönü, in which he was commander-in-chief. The National Assembly thereupon bestowed upon him the family name of İnönü as a signal mark of honor. The second success was a major diplomatic victory, which he won as the Foreign Minister and head of the Turkish delegation to the conference of Lausanne. This conference lasted eight months, and a pact was drawn up annulling the unfavorable pact of Sevres and recognizing the Turkish Government, as well as the frontiers and the integrity of the Turkish Republic.

A third major achievement for the Turkish Republic on the part of İsmet İnönü is considered his remarkable ability to keep Turkey out of the second World War, thanks to a policy of scrupulous neutrality, completely disregarding all opportunism, at a time of greatest threat to the nation and continuous changes in the foreign power constellations.

The formal declaration of war on Germany and Japan on 23 February 1945 was not the result of the free will of the Turkish nation, but as emphasized by the National Assembly, was the effect of Allied pressure. This declaration of war, coming in the dying moments of the second World War, did not involve Turkey in actual fighting.

The present president of Turkey, İsmet İnönü, was always intent upon the establishment of an efficient system of international security, as he himself declared in October 1943 while addressing the National Assembly: "(in order to lift the greatest weight which oppresses humanity and prevents it from breathing freely in an atmosphere of security". This was underscored by the statement of Prime Minister Saracoglu, in October 1944, also while addressing the National Assembly: "We are resolved to contribute with all our power and to participate in all activities which . . . grant individuals and nations the right to equality and liberty".

b. The Caucasus

The Caucasus has as varied a political composition as its multitude of diverse geographical panoramas. Although a major part of the population living there do not belong to the Turanian race, they are nevertheless allied, and have been for centuries, through joint religion (Islam), merely the Georgians and Armenians being Gregorian Christians. Beyond

that, these areas for centuries past either belonged to Persia, the Turki empire of the Timurids, or to the Ottoman Empire, as indicated previously in this dissertation. It was not until the past century, after years of hard fighting, including one war of 30 years duration, that the Russians conquered these countries (1859), but these peoples did not discontinue their efforts toward independence. After the first World War, subsequent to the collapse of the Czarist government, and taking advantage of the civil war between White and Red Russians, the Turkish Pan-Turanian and Pan-Islam Generals Djemal Pasha and Enver Pasha, with ease mobilized these peoples and established a short-lived emirate of the Northern Caucasus, which was to have been placed under the rule of Turkey. The recapture of this area by the Red Army was accomplished only after hard and horrible fighting, resulting in serious devastation of the country.

To the South, in Transcaucasia, the same efforts manifested themselves. In the confusion of the last days of the Ottoman Empire, Turkish troops on 14 April 1918 occupied Batum and on 15 September 1918, i.e., all of Transcaucasia. Under these auspices, the three Transcaucasian nations, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia declared their independence from Russia and founded the Transcaucasian Confederation. This confederation remained intact for two years and was suppressed by the Red Army in 1920, as help was not forthcoming from the Western Powers. These three countries were thereupon again incorporated in Russia. In the course of this struggle, the Red Army on 27 April 1920 occupied Baku and established the Soviet regime in Azerbaijan. On 2 December 1920, upon Soviet Russian initiative, a congress of the Peoples of the East was opened in Baku. On 29 November 1920, the Red Army captured Armenia and occupied Georgia on 25 January 1921.

After the consolidation of the Soviet system in Transcaucasia, on 12 March 1922 Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia were united in a Transcaucasian SFSR (Soviet Federated Socialist Republic). This Transcaucasian SFSR was dissolved in 1936 and its three component members became Union Republics in their own right, in conformity with the new Soviet Constitution.

Transcaucasia

1) Azerbaijan SSR

The Azerbaijan SSR, founded in 1936, is a constituent republic of the USSR. It is the largest and most important of the Caucasian countries. A plurality of its 3,372,000 inhabitants, living in an area of 33,345 square miles, are Turks. The republic is subdivided into 61 rayons (administrative districts) and has 19 cities and 1,110 village Soviets (communities with their own council - Soviet. Very small settlements and single farms are incorporated in a "village soviet"). The capital is Baku with 810,000 inhabitants.

Furthermore, the autonomous republic Nakhichevan, also inhabited by Turki, and the autonomous oblast (region) of Nagorno Karabagh, where 89% are Armenians and 10% Turki, also belong to the Azerbaijan SSR.

a) Nakhichevan ASSR

The autonomous republic of Nakhichevan, founded in 1924, an area settled by Azerbaijan Turki outside of the Azerbaijan SSR, near the Turkish frontier, which was subject of a plebescite between Turkey and Azerbaijan in October 1921, comprises 2,227 square miles with a population of 138,000. The land is divided into 6 rayons (administrative districts) and has two cities as well as 58 village soviets (administrative communities). The capital is called Nakhichevan and has some 14,000 inhabitants.

b) Nagorno Karabagh AR

The autonomous oblast (region) of Mountain Karabagh in the southwestern part of Azerbaijan SSR, which was established in 1923, is a closed settlement area of Armenians completely surrounded by Turki settlement areas. The region, which comprises 1,659 square miles with a population of 180,000 is divided into 5 rayons, in which lie two cities and 129 village soviets. 89% of the population are Armenians and 10% Azerbaijanis. The capital is Stepanakert, the former Khakendy, with about 5,500 inhabitants.

2) Iranian Azerbaijan

This province in northwest Iran (Persia) has always played an important role for Persia in the course of



its history, and the preponderant Turki population has usually shown great attachment for Teheran. Distinct efforts toward unity for a "Greater Azerbaijan" emanated practically only from the North, today's Azerbaijan SSR. There are no linguistic or racial differences between the two peoples. Pan-Turanian North-Azerbaijanis told me, however, that they would always lay claim to this area, but were ready to forego an attempt at annexation should such an attempt meet with great resistance. This basic attitude, I also heard voiced by Turks, who have always found numerous collaborationists in these areas.

The province comprises 32,000 square miles with a population of some 2,000,000. Turkish is the commonly spoken language of this area, the capital of which is Tabriz with 220,000 inhabitants. The province is divided into a number of administrative districts each with a governor (hakim) under a governor general who is a responsible minister appointed by the Shah in Teheran.

### 3) The Armenian SSR

Armenia, a constituent republic of the USSR, founded in 1936, covers 11,661 square miles with a population of 1,346,000 of which 8.2% are Azerbaijanis. The land is subdivided into 37 rayons with together 3 cities, 11 worker settlements (localities at which new industries were established, frequently with forced labor), and 607 village soviets.

### 4) The Georgian SSR<sup>1/</sup>

Georgia, another Transcaucasian constituent republic of the USSR, which was established in 1936, covers 27,027 square miles and has a mixed population of 3,722,000 Georgians, Abkhazians, Adzharians, Ossetes and 5.2% Turki. Three of these minorities have autonomous administrative districts, which will be discussed later. The republic is subdivided into 64 rayons with 27 cities, 2 worker settlements and 1,079 village soviets. The capital is Tbilisi (Tiflis) with a population of 520,000.

<sup>1/</sup> A man from Tiflis told me that the Soviets are doing a great deal to raise the culture and economy level of the land, as Georgia is the home of Stalin. He was born in 1879 at Gory, son of a Georgian father and an Osetian mother. Over his birthplace a protective temple was constructed, which attracts many "pilgrims" every year.

a) The Abkhasian ASSR

Abkhasia, founded in 1921 as part of Georgia, lies on the coast of the Black Sea and comprises 3,358 square miles with a North Caucasian population (Abkhasians, Mingrelians of Circassian stock) totalling 303,000, of whom about 33% are Georgians (100,000). They are predominantly Gregorian Christians. The area is subdivided into 5 rayons with 5 cities, 1 worker settlement and 108 village soviets. The capital is Sukhum with 36,000 inhabitants, a port and spa on the Black Sea.

b) The Adzharian ASSR

Adzharistan lies south of Abkhasia, also on the Black Sea. It was founded in 1921 as part of Georgia and is a mountain country with subtropical climate. It has 1,080 square miles with a South Caucasian population of 180,000. They are mostly Mohammedans. The land is subdivided into 4 rayons with one city and 48 village soviets. The capital is the well-known Black Sea port of Batum with about 70,000 inhabitants, export harbor for oil (pipe line from Baku) and manganese ore. About 14% (25,000) of the total population are Georgians.

c) The South Ossetian AR

The autonomous region of South Ossetia was formed in 1922 within the Georgian SSR, and has 1,428 square miles of area and a population of 111,500 inhabitants. Racially and linguistically these people belong to the Iranian branch. The country is subdivided into 4 rayons and has one city as well as 41 village soviets. The capital is Stalinir, 1/the former Takhinvali, with 7,300 inhabitants.

The Ossetes (Ossetians), viewed racially and historically, are an interesting people. They are the last descendants of the Scythians of the West, powerful in antiquity. During migration, the major part of this nation joined the Goths on their trek to Europe, where they became

1/ A man from Tiflis told me that Stalin's mother was of South Ossetian descent and that the change in name of South Ossetian capital to Stalinir was connected therewith. (His first wife, whom he is said to have poisoned, was Ossetian).

known under the name of Alani (their Scythian tribal name). The Goths were a branch of the German race that overran the Roman empire in the fourth century. They assimilated the Alani. The most recent popular literature of indigenous poets of the Scythians who stayed behind in the Caucasus, and today call themselves Irani or Ossetes, was published, beginning about 1890, in Russia. To these belong the inhabitants of the North Ossetian ASSR (see Par. c 3). The Ossetes are Gregorian Christians. They number more than 400,000 in all.

c. Northern Caucasia

1) The Daghestan ASSR

North of the Azerbaijan SSR, stretching along the Western shore of the Caspian Sea, is the autonomous republic of Daghestan, formed on 20 January 1921. It comprises 13,124 square miles and a very mixed population of 977,000. A teacher who used to live in Makhach Kala told me that school is held in seven languages, and taking into consideration further Caucasian dialects, the language difficulties are so great that it has been decided to use Turkish (Azerbaijani) as common language, and to teach and introduce it, although the majority of the population (64.5%) speaks Caucasian languages (Lesghian, and others), which are not, however, spoken or understood by a major national group.

These Caucasian tribes of Daghestan are united by the Soviets under the name of "Gortsy", which means "mountaineers". The most successful attempt up to now of introducing Azerbaijani (Turkish) was supported by the Turki groups residing there, the Kumuks, Karanogais or Karatatars (together 23.5% of total population or 230,000) who live along the coast of the Caspian Sea and along the main transport routes. They also are the main population of the capital. There are about 12% Russians there.

Daghestan is divided into 34 rayons, in which are four cities, four worker settlements and 586 village soviets. The capital of the republic is Makhach Kala, formerly Petrovsk Port, with a population of 87,000.

During the second World War, the Nogais, living north of the Terek River, showed an inclination, together with the Kalmucks, to fight against the Soviets. While studying the "politico-administrativnaya karta", a

Russian map edited in 1945, I discovered that all areas of Daghestan situated north of the Terek River had been joined to the newly formed Grozny Oblast, which came into being after the dissolution of the Checheno-Ingush ASSR. This fact permits of the conclusion that those peoples were punished by the Soviets and for the most part landed in the concentration camps established for disloyal minorities. The Daghestan ASSR lost more than 30% of its former area.

2) The Checheno-Ingush ASSR (Grozny Oblast)

West of Daghestan, on the northeast slope of the Caucasus range, lay the republic of the Checheno and Ingush. The Checheno comprised 58% (425,000) and the Ingush 13% (95,000) of the population (together 71% Caucasians, the remaining 29% are almost all of them Russians). The area covered is 6,060 square miles, and the population totals 732,800. It was subdivided into 24 rayons and had one city, three worker settlements and 222 village soviets. The capital was Grozny with 172,000 inhabitants.

The territory of the Checheno and Ingush was proclaimed an autonomous socialist soviet republic on 5 December 1936. It only existed 10 years, however, until 25 June 1946, when the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR ratified its dissolution because it waged "armed struggle jointly with the invaders". The decision is said to have been reached, to settle the population "elsewhere" (very probably in concentration camps for traitors) and to make the territory into the Grozny Oblast, which includes the area of the former Checheno-Ingushetia plus an approach to the Caspian Sea between Terek and Kuma rivers, which were taken from Daghestan and the Kalmuck ASSR, also dissolved. This is confirmed by a "politico-administrativnaya karta" of the European USSR, edition 1945.

3) The North Ossetian ASSR

This autonomous republic borders in the West on the Grozny Oblast and lies on the northern central slope of the Caucasus. It was created on 5 December 1946. The territory covers 2,393 square miles with a population of 345,000, belonging to the Iranian group of peoples. About 7% (23,500) of the population are Ukrainians. The country

is subdivided into 11 rayons with two cities and 79 village soviets. The capital is Dzaudzhikau (formerly known as Ordzhonikidze and Vladikavkaz) with a population of 127,000.

4) The Kabardino - Balkarian ASSR

Northwest of North Ossetia, on the northwest slope of the Caucasian mountains, lies the territory of the Kabardinians and Balkarians, two Mohammedan (Sunnite) peoples. The country was founded on 5 December 1936 and covers an area of 4,747 square miles with a population of 377,500. The Kabardinians comprise 60% (226,500) of the total population and are of Circassian descent, while 16% are Turkic Balkarians (60,400). The remaining 24% are Russians and Ukrainians.

The country is subdivided into 15 rayons with two cities and 110 village soviets. The capital is Nalchik with 23,000 inhabitants. A Balkarian soldier told me that Nalchik is a so-called "Little Lenin School City", with a Communist Party school, a pedagogical institute, an agriculture school and a technical institute for home industry.

The Kabardinians, who at one time played an influential role in the history of the Caucasus, have in recent times directed the attention of scientists on their country through the publication of poems by Russian philologists. The most famous poem, "Sosyruko" by Kazi Atazhukin was printed in 1864. The territory of the Balkarians appears of late to have been placed under the Kabardinian administration, as it no longer appears on the new Soviet map of 1945. The Balkarians worked against the Soviets during the second World War, and some of their people very probably landed in concentration camps for disloyal minorities.

5) The Stavropol Krai

This district formerly was called Ordzhonikidze Krai with Voroshilovsk (Stavropol) as capital. The two autonomous regions of Karachai and Cherkess also belong to it. On the "politico-administrativnaya karta" of the European USSR, 1945 edition, the Karachaian Autonomous Region is missing. I have not learned, however, whether the Karachaians lost their autonomous administration because of the support given to German troops, like the Ingush, Chechen, Kalmucks and Crimean Tatars. It is mentioned here, as it

is included in the Pan-Turanian plans (as supplemental re-settlement area for Crimean and Volga Tatars).

a) The Karachaian AR

This region lies west of the Kabardinian ASSR on the northwest Caucasus, and was established on 26 April 1926. It covers 3,125 square miles with a population of 104,000 inhabitants. The country is divided into six rayons, in which there is a city and 49 village soviets. The capital, or rather the administrative center, is Mikoyan Shakhar at the confluence of the Kuban and Teberda rivers, with a population of barely 3,000 persons. The Karachaians are Mohammedan Turco-Tatars.

This region, as mentioned above, is not included on the Russian administrative map of 1945. It is possible that this people also lost its autonomy because of "sabotage against the Soviet state", and its inhabitants were transferred to distant places as forced labor.

b) The Cherkessian AR .

Cherkessia lies west of the above-described territory in the northwest Caucasus and was established on 30 April 1928. The territory covers an area of 1,273 square miles and has a population of 97,200. It is divided into four rayons and numbers one city and 41 village soviets. The capital is Yeshovo-Cherkesk (formerly known as Batal-pashinsk and Sulimov) with barely 25,000 inhabitants.

The population consists predominantly of Mohammedan North Caucasians of Circassian descent, organized in three main tribes. The Cherkessians, who gave their name to the territory, comprise only 7.2% (7,000), while the Kabardinians constitute 33.3% (32,400) and the Beskeskabaz 30% (29,200). In addition a further Turkic tribe lives there, the Nogaitsi, who make up 17% (16,500) of total population. The remaining 12,100 inhabitants are Russians and Ukrainians.

The Cherkessians showed an especially strong spirit of resistance against the Russians and when their country was finally conquered after 35 years of fighting, 500,000 of them, in 1864, preferred to emigrate to Turkey.

6) The Krasnodar Krai

Like the Stavropol Krai situated east of this territory, it is a rich agrarian area, specializing in wheat and cattle. The word "Krai", in the Soviet administrative language means "territory", in which a non-Russian minority lives with certain autonomous rights. In this Krai is situated the rich area of another Circassian group. It will be briefly described below.

The Krasnodar Krai belongs to the RSFSR, comprising 81,500 square kilometers and 3,172,000 inhabitants, a mixture of Ukrainians, Russians and Circassians. The capital, Krasnodar (formerly Yekaterinodar) with over 200,000 inhabitants, has universities and naptha installations. It was formerly the capital of the Kuban Cossacks.

The Krai is subdivided into 72 rayons with 13 cities, four worker settlements and 610 village soviets. The Krasnodar Krai was also mentioned as a future area for a Pan-Turanian state (for instance as catch-basin for the resettled Bashkirs).

a) The Adygei AR

The autonomous region of the Adygei, established on 27 July 1922, lies northwest along the central Kuban, Laba and Bolaya rivers, the middle of the Krasnodar Krai. The Adygei as a race are of Circassian descent. The area of their territory covers 1,505 square miles with a population of 254,000. The country is divided into six rayons including one city and 53 village soviets. The capital is Maikop with 53,000 inhabitants.

7) The Kalmuck ASSR (Astrakhan Oblast)

The area of the Kalmuck ASSR, dissolved after the second World War because of the anti-Soviet attitude of its inhabitants, was created from the former Kalmuck reservation of the province of Astrakhan in 1920 and constituted on 22 October 1935. It comprised, with the Astrakhan area, 28,641 square miles with a population of 232,000 of which 10% (23,200) were Russians. The steppe territory, divided into 13 rayons, has almost no permanent settlements worth mentioning. One city and 109 village soviets are located within its boundaries. The administrative offices were in Elista, a locality with 9,000 inhabitants. In the North, the territory borders on the Volga

and the Stalingrad Oblast. The former administrative county (okrug) Astrakhan on the Lower Volga comprised 12,500 square miles and was subdivided into 8 rayons with one city (Astrakhan), three worker settlements and 165 village soviets.

Here also is to be found the concentration camp of Prorvinsk on the Caspian Sea, northeast of Astrakhan, whose inmates are occupied with fishing, work in oil fields, and railroad construction. Among them are thousands of members of Turkic, Caucasian and Mongol (Kalmuck) minorities from the Caucasus and Central Asia who were either "unreliable elements in the struggle against the German invaders", or refused from the very first to fight for Soviet Russia, or deserted from the Red Army.

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Subsequent to the conclusion of the description of the Caucasian countries, including the steppes north of the Caspian Sea, we arrive at the gigantic "land beyond the Volga", inhabited by Turkic people in West and Central Asia. Before describing these republics, however, which are in fact the aboriginal home of the Turkic peoples, four Turko-Tatar areas must be discussed briefly, from which the Pan-Turanists promise themselves a large voluntary immigration and exchange of population against Russians leaving "Greater Turan". They are the Crimean peninsula in the Western Black Sea, as well as Chuvashia, Tataria and Bashkiria in the north of the Ural-Volga region. In the description, historic and racial viewpoints (manpower reservoir) predominate, as a matter of course.

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#### 8) The Crimean ASSR (Crimea Oblast)

The Crimean Peninsula has an old history rich in changes, a history on which the Turkic peoples have left their stamp, although Europeans, especially Greeks, Genoese and Russians have also shared in this history since ancient times.

In the 8th century, the Crimea was already settled by a Turki tribe--the Khazars--whose empire spread from Northern Caucasia to the Caspian Sea. In the 10th



century, the rule of the Khazars was exchanged for that of another Turkic people, the Pechenegues. Shortly thereafter, from 1016 to 1050, the peninsula was subjected to Greek rule, until the Kipchaks took over. In the 11th century, the Comanes dominated the territory, until they in turn were incorporated in the empire of Genghis Khan under the Nogais. In 1237, the Crimea was cast to the empire of the Golden Horde. Its leader, and successor of Genghis Khan, Batu Khan, founded the capital of Bakhchi Sarai, which the author visited in 1936. When the empire of the Golden Horde was destroyed by the Russians in the 15th century, the Crimea became an independent khanate with the help of the Turks, who subjected it to a precautionary occupation in 1475. This khanate, which was under the protection of Turkey from 1478 to 1777, then became independent, but only for six years, as it was conquered by the Russians in 1783, and annexed. The population clung fast to the hope of liberation, but when the Russian rule was strengthened after the Crimean War (1856), many Turco-Tatars emigrated to Turkey. Continued attempts of the population to have its own culture and language, lead to the establishment of the Crimean ASSR in October of 1921. At the time of the outbreak of the second World War, only 300,000 of the total of 1,184,000 inhabitants living on the area of 10,036 square miles, were Tatars.

The predominant part of the population, which was decimated, consisted of immigrant Ukrainians (42%) and Russians. The capital is Simferopol with 90,000 inhabitants. When the German troops occupied the Crimea, the Tatars supported them against the Soviets, so that they lost their autonomy after the war, and swelled the inmates of concentration camps for "traitors of the Soviet fatherland".

d. The Ural-Volga District

The three Turco-Tatar autonomous republics within this region are not being considered for inclusion in the Pan-Turanian state. As the population living there favors the establishment of a Turanian state, however, it is considered as "manpower reservoir" (exchange of Tatars against Russians) but it is not included in the theoretical planning.

Viewed politically, the Volga-Ural district was not only, in days past, the settlement center of the Golden Horde, but after their disintegration, and under Russian rule, it was the basis for numerous revolts against Russia's domination in the 18th century.

In the 19th century, when armed revolts became hopeless, the political struggle was shifted to the sphere of constitutional rights, this territory was again in a leading position. It was especially the intellectually and culturally progressive Tatars with their center at Kazan who caused the Russians much trouble, and who closely collaborated with related groups in Central Asia until a uniform script-language had been evolved for all Turco-Tatar peoples in Russia. Taking this fact into consideration, the Soviets established a Tatar-Bashkir Soviet Republic within the Russian SFSR, as early as 22 March 1918. From this republic there later emerged three autonomous republics, namely, the Bashkir ASSR (23 March 1919); the Chuvash AR (established in the same year as the Tatar ASSR, i.e., 1920, and later made into an ASSR on 21 April 1925); the Tatar ASSR (27 May 1920). Thus, the present condition and situation was attained.

1) The Chuvash ASSR

Chuvashia, which was formed on 21 April 1925, is the smallest of these three Turkic republics, with an area of 6,910 square miles and a population of 1,132,000. The country is subdivided into 25 rayons in which there are seven cities and 630 village soviets. The capital is Cheboksary with a population of 18,000.

This densely wooded area with its severe winters was populated by Turki tribes prior to the time of the Mongol invasion. These Turki tribes intermarried with Finnic and Ugrian tribes, and, as has been noted previously, the Chuvash are descendants of the ancient Bolgars of the Volga, who had a large empire from the 9th to the 13th century, until it was conquered by the Mongols. From the time of their conquest by the Mongols, the Chuvash (Bolgars) formed part of the state of the Golden Horde (Kipchak) and later of the Khanate of Kazan (1438-1552) as well as of Russia, but without political significance. They were forcibly converted to the Greek Orthodox religion. In Czarist Russia, their province was a far distant, backward province. Ever since the establishment of an autonomous region for the Chuvash in 1920, and elevation to an ASSR on 21 April 1925, an upward movement began. The entire area was made accessible by a net of transport facilities in the construction of which the entire rural population had to help; and factories and schools were opened. In the cities all sorts of wooden articles are manufactured, thanks to rich timber resources, including tools, barrels, and

furniture. Yadrinsk even has an oil extracting plant. The farmers plant rye and oats and raise livestock, principally cattle and poultry. Russians constitute 16% (181,000) of the population, and live in the cities for the most part.

2) The Tatar ASSR

Tatary, which was established on 27 May 1920, is the second largest autonomous republic of this area, but does not by far include within its administrative borders all the Tatars living in the Ural-Volga area. The country has 25,900 square miles of area and a population of 3,067,000. It is subdivided into 63 rayons with 12 cities, seven worker settlements and 1,713 village soviets. The capital is old Kazan, rich in memories, with a population of over 400,000, situated just barely four miles east of the Volga.

The Tatar ASSR is strongly interspersed with Russians who constitute 42% of the entire population, so that 1,288,000 Russians live side by side with 1,779,000 Tatars. The total number of Tatars in the Ural-Volga area, however, amounts to 4,500,000. Three-quarters of the soil of their republic is tilled and 18% forested. Farming and cattle raising are the main pursuits in connection with flour mills, dairies and condensed milk plants, as well as leather works. The city of Kazan is an old Turkic and Moslem cultural center and has 13 mosques and a university with about 1,200 Tatar students, a branch of the Academy of Sciences, an Oriental pedagogic institute, a house of Tatar culture, several research institutes, a theater, and a good national (Tatar) opera house. The city further has a chemical, perfume and soap industry, large machine shops as well as factories for food processing, and a synthetic rubber plant, a factory producing typewriters, plants for the processing of furs, a film manufacturing concern and the largest felt factory of the USSR. Kazan was founded in 1438 by Ulugh Mohammed (Ulu Makhmat) at the time he was khan of the Golden Horde. South of Kazan, near the Volga, lies the concentration camp of Tetyushi, whose inmates either have to work in the mines or in forests.

3) The Bashkir ASSR

Bashkiria, founded on 23 March 1919, is the largest of the Turkic republics of the Ural-Volga area. It comprises an area of 54,233 square miles and has a population of 3,304,000. Administratively it consists of 62 rayons with

together five cities, 13 worker settlements and 1,211 village soviets. The capital is Ufa with 250,000 inhabitants.

The Bashkir autonomous republic is as densely interspersed with Russians as Tatar, Russians comprising 40% (1,322,000) of the total population. The Bashkirs, who are Moslems, together with the Volga-Bolgars (Chuvash) belong to the oldest inhabitants of the Ural area. Arabian travellers mention them as early as the 10th century at which time they were already removed, and their name made its appearance in European literature around 1200.

Economically Bashkiria is divided into two parts, the mountainous and wooded East (foothills of the Ural Mountains) and the steppe country to the West, where mainly farming and stock raising (cattle and horses) are pursued in connection with the industries arising out of this pursuit (dairying, leather tanning, flour milling). In the East of the country there are also pulp and paper mills. Bee-keeping is widespread. Rich mineral deposits (iron, copper, coal, gold, oil) furnished the basis for extended industrial installations, as for instance copper in Zilair (Preobrazhensk), wire rolling mills in Byeloretensk, mining in Zlatoust, petroleum in Ishimbai (pipe line to Ufa), and Tiimasa, wood processing and oil refineries in Ufa. As immigrants for the planned Pan-Turanian state, these people would undoubtedly be an asset.

e. Central Asia - West Turkestan

1) General History

As previously noted, the Soviets, after two to three years of fighting with the population, established the Turkestan ASSR (1920), while six to seven years of petty wars against the indigenous population and Pan-Turanian liberation struggle (Enver Pasha) led to the establishment of the Soviet People's Republic of Bokhara and the Soviet People's Republic of Khorezm (1923-1924). These political units were evolved from the governor-generalship of Turkestan of the Czarist Empire, and the Czarist vassal states of Bokhara and Khorezm. After the Soviet system had consolidated itself in the early '20s, the Kirghiz AR was formed from the Turkestan ASSR in 1920, later becoming the Kirghiz ASSR (1926), which ten years later was promoted to Kirghiz SSR. A unit of the Kirghiz SSR was the Kazakh ASSR, which

in turn became an independent SSR. From this Kazakh SSR, in turn, the Karakalpak ASSR, a component of the Kazakh SSR since its establishment in 1932, was joined to the Uzbek SSR in 1936. Moreover, from the Soviet People's Republics of Bokhara and Khorezm (1924/1925) were evolved the Turkmen SSR and the Uzbek SSR. In the latter, the Tajik ASSR was formed in 1924, becoming an SSR in 1929. In 1927, the Gorno-Badakhshan AR was founded within the Tajik republic. This continually shifting and complicated structure of Central Asia, the population of which knows only dialect difference in language, was considered by the intellectual circles of the indigenous population as Soviet efforts toward preventing the development of a great, unified nation. These circles thought that the Soviets were acting according to the classic motto of "divide et impera" (divide and govern). There follows a description of the various territories.

## 2) The Kazakh SSR

Kazakhstan, established in its present form in 1936, is the largest Turki "state", extending from the Caspian Sea and Lower Volga to the Chinese and Mongolian border, with an area equal to one third of Continental USA. The area covers 1,066,533 square miles and the population numbers 6,458,000. Of these 20% (1,292,000) are Russians, whose share in the population, especially in the cities, has greatly increased as a result of the second World War, although thousands attempt to return to Western Russia and the Ukraine, without official permission.

The administrative division is as follows: 13 oblasti with 171 rayons, including 28 cities, 37 worker settlements and 2,666 village soviets. The capital is Alma-Ata, formerly known as Verny, with a population of about 400,000.

Province	Center	Population	Subdivision
1. <u>Alma Ata</u>	Alma-Ata	350,000 (in 1947)	27 rayons, 2 cities, 6 worker settlements, 359 village soviets
2. <u>West Kazakhstan</u>	Uralsk	67,000	14 rayons, 1 town, 221 village soviets
3. <u>Guryev</u>	Guryev	36,000 (in 1933)	6 rayons, 2 towns, 4 worker settlements, 106 village soviets

Province (continued)	Center	Population	Subdivision
4. <u>Aktynbinsk</u>	Aktynbinsk	37,000 (in 1933)	13 rayons, 3 cities, 3 worker settlements, 222 village soviets
5. <u>Kustanay</u>	Kustanay	36,000 (in 1933)	14 rayons, 1 city, 1 worker settlement, 159 village soviets
6. <u>North Kazakhstan</u>	Petropav- lovsk	92,000	25 rayons, 4 towns, 2 worker settlements, 423 village soviets
7. <u>Akmolinsk</u>	Akmolinsk	36,000 (in 1933)	Political subdivision unknown to me; this area separated from Karaganda in 1939 (see 8)
8. <u>Karaganda</u>	Karaganda	170,000	Political subdivision unknown. Until 20 Oct. 1939, No. 8 and 9 to- gether were: 14 rayons, 4 cities, 4 worker settlements, 181 vil- lage soviets
9. <u>Pavlodar</u>	Pavlodar	29,000 (in 1933)	10 rayons, 1 city, 1 worker settlement, 159 village soviets
10. <u>Semiplatinsk</u>	Semipala- tinsk	110,000	Present political sub- division unknown. Formed from East Ka- zakhstan (q.v.) on 21 Oct 1933
11. <u>East Kazakhstan</u>	Ust-Kamono- gorsk	--	Present pol. subdiv. un- known. Prior to 1933, together with Semipala- tinsk: 20 rayons, 4 cit- ies, 4 worker settlen., 334 village soviets.
12. <u>South Kazakhstan</u>	Chirchikent	75,000	21 rayons, 3 cities, 10 worker settlements, 332 village soviets.

Spiritual progress of the Kazakhs, as well as the economic development of their land has been tremendous in the course of the past 25 years. The growth of their capital will prove this statement. In 1917 Alma Ata (Verny) had 35,400 inhabitants; in 1936, 197,000; in 1939, 230,500; and in 1947 allegedly 350,000! In 1920, there were 2,400 schools in the entire land; in 1946, more than 9,000!

### 3) The Uzbek SSR

Uzbekistan, founded in 1924, conformed by Soviet Congress in 1925, is the most populous constituent republic in Central Asia, and also the most highly developed in point of culture and economy. It covers 160,095 square miles and has a population of 6,601,000 of which Uzbeks comprise 76% (5,017,000) and the Russians only 6% (396,000).

The administrative subdivision is as follows. One autonomous republic (Karakalpakia), five oblasti (provinces), one okrug (district), 111 rayons (countries) with together 26 cities, 8 worker settlements and 1,386 village soviets. The capital of Uzbekistan is Tashkent, "the capital of all Central Asia" with about 700,000 inhabitants at present (1917 = 151,000; 1936 = 515,000; 1939 = 585,000). The eight provinces are as follows.

Province	Center	Population	Subdivision
1. <u>Tashkent</u>	Tashkent	700,000	14 rayons, 3 cities, 1 worker settlement, 162 village soviets
2. <u>Samarkand</u>	Samarkand	140,000	18 rayons, 4 cities, 230 village soviets
3. <u>Bokhara</u>	Bokhara	60,000	28 rayons, 6 cities, 3 worker settlements, 325 village soviets
4. <u>Ferghana</u>	Ferghana (Skobelev)	12,000 (in 1926)	30 rayons, 7 cities, 3 worker settlements, 402 village soviets
5. <u>Khorezm</u>	Urgench Khiva oasis	6,000	9 rayons, 2 towns, 144 village soviets
6. <u>Andizhan</u>	Andizhan	84,000	unknown to me; formed in 1941

Province	Center	Population	Subdivision
(continued)			
7. Namangan	Namangan	87,000	unknown to me; formed in 1941
8. <u>Zurkhan-Daryinsk</u>	Termez	30,000	formed in 1941 from the okrug (district) Zurkhan-Darya. 7 rayons, 1 city, 2 worker settlements, 89 village soviets

Note: For Karakalpakia see Par. 3)a), below.

a) The Karakalpak ASSR

Karakalpakia, established in 1932, the land of the "black bennets", lies in desert areas along the rivers southeast, south, and southwest of the Aral Lake in Central Asia. It is an autonomous republic within Uzbekistan, language ties joining the Karakalpaks with the Uzbeks. The territory covers an area of 79,631 square miles and comprises only 437,000 inhabitants, of whom 27% (118,000) are Kazakhs. The capital is the newly erected Nukus (12,000 inhabitants), as the original capital of Turtkul (the former Petroalexandrovsk) was in danger of being undermined by the wild Amu Darya (river) during the second World War. The land is subdivided into 12 rayons. It has four cities, one worker settlement and 123 village soviets. Prior to the new Soviet Constitution, the Karakalpak ASSR was an autonomous region within the former Kazakh ASSR.

4) The Turkmen SSR

Turkmenistan is the southernmost "state" of Russia in Central Asia along the Iranian and Afghan border, and area with a fluctuation and ancient history. It was founded in 1924 and confirmed by the Soviet Congress in 1925. The Turkmen SSR covers an area of 189,033 square miles and has a population of 1,317,000 inhabitants, of which 10% (131,700) are Uzbeks and 7.5% (99,000) Russians. The capital is Ashkhabad with about 130,000 inhabitants. The original administrative subdivision contained two districts, namely:



1. District Kerki (center: Kerki)  
7 rayons; 1 city, 1 worker settlement,  
47 village soviets
2. District Tashaus (center: Tashaus)  
8 rayons; 1 city, 85 village soviets

was changed on 4 April 1940 by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet into

1. Area Ashkhabad
2. Area Krasnovodsk )  
With administrative capitals
3. Area Mary (Merv) )  
of the same name
4. Area Tashaus
5. Area Chardzhoui

I am not able to furnish more accurate data.

5) The Tajik SSR

Tajikistan is a constituent republic of the USSR and has been since 1929. It covers 55,500 square miles and has a population of 1,560,000. Of these 78% (1,217,000) are Tajiks, a Mohammedan Iranian race, and 18% (281,000) Uzbeks.

The Tajik SSR is composed of an autonomous region (Mountain Badakhshan: see under a) and 4 administrative counties (with together 66 rayons; 7 cities, 16 worker settlements and 456 village soviets) which were established by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on 4 April 1940.

1. District of Stalinabad  
Capital: Stalinabad (Dyushambo), 85,000 inhabitants
2. District of Leninabad  
Center: Leninabad (Khojent), 55,000 inhabitants
3. District Garm  
Center: Worker Settlement Garm  
9 rayons; 1 worker settlement, 66 village soviets

4. District Kulyab  
Center: Kulyab  
10 rayons; 1 city, 78 village soviets

The capital Stalinabad has only emerged from the old dusty kishlak (indigenous settlement) of Dyushambe since the founding of the republic (1929). In 1927 it had 3,200 inhabitants, and in 1937 already 49,6000. The figure is said to be over 85,000 now.

- a. The Gorno-Badakhshan AR

The autonomous region of Badakhshan, created in 1927, which was formed within Tajikistan in 1925, is a mountainous country with severe climate. It covers an area of 25,784 square miles and has a population of 42,000 inhabitants. It borders in the West on Afghanistan and in the East on Sinkiang, in the South is separated from the Indian native state of Kashmir by the 10-mile wide valley of Vakhsh, belonging to Afghanistan. In Badakhshan we find the two highest mountains of the USSR, the Stalin Peak (7,495 m) and the Lenin Peak (7,127 m). This area, also known as Pamir, carried the poetic name of "The Roof of the World". It consists of 8 rayons, in which are one "city" and 44 village soviets. The capital is Khoreg, near the Afghan frontier, with only 1,500 inhabitants, connected with Stalinabad and Osh in the eastern Ferghana Valley through a new automobile highway through the high mountains.

- 6) The Kirghiz SSR

Northeast of the Tajik SSR, bordered in the East by Sinkiang and in the North by Kazakhstan, lies the constituent republic Kirghizistan, founded in 1936. It is also a land of mountains and a quintuple Switzerland. It covers 78,624 square miles and has 1,533,000 inhabitants, of whom 67% (1,027,000) are Kirghiz, 12% (185,000) Russians and 11% (169,000) Uzbeks. Kirghizia is divided into 5 administrative counties and 508 village soviets. The capital is Frunze (Fishpek) with about 100,000 inhabitants (in 1917 there were only 13,500).

The administrative counties are the following (since 4 April 1940).

1. County of Frunze  
Capital: Frunze (100,000 population)
2. County of Dzhahalal-Abad  
Center: Dzhahalal-Abad  
10 rayons; 1 city, 4 worker settlements,  
82 village Soviets
3. County of Issyk-Kul  
Center: Karakol (Przhevalsk)  
5 rayons; 1 city, 78 village soviets
4. County of Osh  
Center: Osh (30,000 population)  
14 rayons; 3 cities, 3 worker settlements,  
131 village soviets
5. County of Tien Shan  
(Center: Naryn (2,000 population)  
6 rayons; 1 city, 57 village soviets
- 7) The Krai Altai

The Krai Altai, which is situated along the Chinese border east of Kazakhstan, is an essential part of the early home land of the Turks and gave its name to the "Altaic language" and peoples family". In the area between the Irtysh and the Yenisei, there are still tribes of Turks and Mongols living today.

The present-day Krai Altai comprises approximately an area of over 100,000 square miles, of which more than a third (36,000 sq.m.) belong to the autonomous region of Circasia. The great economic importance of this area, especially the northern two thirds, has drawn many Russians, especially in the recent decades and especially since 1940, so that Krai Altai today has far more than 2,500,000 inhabitants. The province is divided into 68 rayons and has 6 cities, 6 worker settlements, and 1,060 village soviets. The capital is Barnaul, a center of coal mining and peat manufacture, with more than

100,000 inhabitants. In the real Krai Altai, the Altaic tribedom has been pushed back into the mountain regions, where they have been able to rescue their autonomy.

There is a concentration camp near Barnaul, whose inmates are used for work in transport and building.

a. The Oiroi AR

Oirotia, created on 1 June 1922, is a mountainous country comprising 35,936 square miles with 170,000 inhabitants. The land is divided into 10 rayons and has a city as well as 115 village soviets. The capital is Oiroi-Tura on the Katun river, (the former Ulala) with about 6,500 inhabitants.

8) The Krai Krasnoyarsk

The Siberian Krai Krasnoyarsk on both sides of the Yenisei, center of a gold mining district, is also very ancient home soil of Turkic peoples, but in modern times so Russianized that even Pan-Turanian extremists are only interested in the southwestern part left of the Yenisei (Khakassia) and a strip of foot hills along the Tuvinian AR, where there are even today predominantly Turkic settlements. For this reason, only this part of the Krai Krasnoyarsk is mentioned herein.

Due to the planned speedy development of these areas, there are a number of concentration camps in this area, whose population is used for the construction of railroads and factories, and work in forests, as well as mines. Administrative center of the camps is Kansk.

a. The Khakass AR

Khakassia forms the southwestern part of the Krai Krasnoyarsk with an area of 33,300 square miles and 284,000 inhabitants. It is divided into 7 rayons and has 2 cities, 7 worker settlements and 104 village soviets. The administrative center is Abakan (Ust-Abakanskoe), on a railroad line connected with the Trans-Siberian railroad.

9) The Tuvinian AR

Tanu Tuva, as it became known, was an independent republic only for nine years (1921-1929). When in 1929 the Soviets were able to defeat the regime in Mongolia, enemy of the Soviets, and brought troops into the country, Tannu Tuva was encircled and completely cut off from the outside world. Without going into the details of the development, in that year began the "peaceful penetration" of Tannu Tuva, which ended in that in October 1945, after successful establishment of a "People's Republic", the Tuvinian Autonomous Region (Tuvan AR) became an official part of the Soviet Union. The Tuvinian territory covers an area of 78,120 square miles and has 87,000 inhabitants. Of these 15% (13,200) are Russians. The majority of the population (74,000) consists of East Turks, (Russian Krasni, i.e. Red City), formerly known as either (Russian) Bielotsarsk or (Tuvinian) Khem-Bender, with a population of 11,000.

f. Central-Asia - East Turkostan

As has been noted in previous chapters, the independence of the Turki in the old homeland of their race had ceased to exist in the 18th century. The 19th century was filled with a series of revolts in an effort to regain liberty. These did not result in a permanent solution of any kind despite two successes culminating in the establishment of the Taranchi Sultanate in Dzungaria (with center at Aksu) in one case, and in the establishment of a short-lived Kingdom of Kashgar in the Tarim Basin (recognized by both Russians and British) in the other. These efforts did not cease with the 20th century, for in 1928, after the death of the Chinese governor, the Mohammedans (Turki al Ma Chung-Ying in order to remove the provincial administration of the Chinese. The Chinese efforts at effecting a recapture of the province lasted no less than nine years (1928-1937) and only succeeded with the help of White Russian troops plus Soviet air and land support. Then, however, events took a turn other than that expected by the Turki and Chinese, for the Soviet government took advantage of the opportunity to gain the upper hand in the province both militarily and economically. The Soviet government

expelled foreign missionaries and other circles from the most important centers (e.g. Kashgar, Yarkand) and began to weld the territory closer and closer to West Turkestan and Siberia, at the same time conforming public life to its own system. This situation continued for five years (1937-1942) and was changed in the course of the second World War, when the USSR was forced to establish friendly relations with China. It withdrew its troops in January 1943. Whether Chinese influence still exists there, appears doubtful in view of the course taken by the war between the national government and the Communists in China.

1) Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan)

East Turkestan or Sinkiang is an immense country, a country of mountains, deserts, and oases. It is clearly divided into three major sub-regions:

- (1) the Tarim Basin with the Takla-makan desert in the South,
- (2) the broad, rugged Tien Shan Range in the middle,
- (3) the semi-arid Dzungarian Basin in the North.

The entire territory with an area of 705,952 square miles and a predominantly Turki population (total 4,360,000), has at the present time a somewhat confused political status and shows an increasing orientation toward the Soviet Union. It is the historic transit country between Eastern/Western Asia and Europe. The famous Silk Road connected ancient China with the Roman Empire. In modern times, automobiles travel from Russia to China over fair desert roads. The capital of the land, a modern administrative center rather than an historic capital, is Urumchi (Tihwa) with roughly 60,000 inhabitants.

With reference to the administrative subdivision of the land, it might be said that the "counties" almost coincide with the number of oases, having grouped themselves since ancient times around the most important cities built in these oases. In recent decades Sinkiang has made much progress in all spheres; education has been improved considerably, farming methods have been made

much better, mining and industry have been developed, and transports have been extended.

a) The Tarim Basin

Kashgar (Chinese Shufu), the most westerly district of Eastern Turkostan, is the largest and most important oasis in the Tarim Basin on the eastern edge of the Pamirs-Tien Shan range, and the western approaches of the Takla-makan desert on the Kyzyl Su and Kashgar Darya. The city is the seat of a district official and has 85,000 inhabitants; the surrounding oasis has over 300,000 inhabitants.

Yarkand (Chinese Socho), the next largest oasis district southeast of Kashgar, is another center of the Russian Indian caravan trade on the western edge of the Tarim Basin and on the Yarkand Darya. The city has 75,000 inhabitants and the surrounding, irrigated oasis area over 200,000.

Khotan (Chinese Hotien) is the largest and most important oasis district along the southern edge of the Takla-makan, with lively commerce with Russia, India, Tibet and China. The city has about 50,000 inhabitants, while the figure for the oasis is 200,000.

Politically and spiritually, the city also played an important role. Buddhism was introduced into China via Khotan. For a long time it was a center of Buddhist and Islam culture. Often it was the starting point of Turki wars of independence against China and other countries.

These three cities and oasis districts are the most important in the South of the desert, together with the transit station of Kargalik (Quarkhalik, Chinese Yecheng) between Yarkand and Khotan, as well as east of Khotan, like a chain south of the Takla-makan desert, lied Koriya (Chinese Yutien), not far from the Koriya Pass, and from Charkhlik (Chinese Chochiang).

North of the Takla-makan there are joined northeast of Kashgar, the cities and oases of Uch Turfan (Chinese Wushih), a fortress, and Aksu (Chinese Wensu). Aksu, which has about 25,000 inhabitants and is the center

of this oasis region with a population of 190,000, played a temporary political role in connection with the Taranchi Sultanate. About 200 miles further east, on the northern edge of the desert, there is Kucha, which is also of some importance, as well as the city of Korla, southwest of Lake Bagrash, and north thereof Karashar, another Turki oasis town and trading center. Further East, on the southern slope of the eastern spur of the Tien Shan, lies the famous Turfan, a notable trading center with about 22,000 inhabitants. Turfan is a cultural center of great antiquity.

These are the best known trading centers around one of the most pronounced deserts in the world. Temperatures fluctuate between minus 25 degrees Fahrenheit and 100 degrees Fahrenheit in Summer. The land dunes of the Takla-makan desert are the largest of any in Asia. In addition this desert has another phenomena, the "wandering lake". The Lop Nor, as it is called, has a singular history. It contains water from the Tarim River and the Cherchen Darya.

b) The Tien Shan Range

North of the Tarim Basin lies the broad range of the Tien Shan, home country of the Turki since time immemorial. In the West, near the border of Kazakhstan, lies the city of Kulja (also known as Ili-Hote or, in Chinese, Hingyuan), with about 45,000 inhabitants.

Historically speaking, it was of great importance. The Uigurs and Kara-Kitais had their empire there. Genghis Khan left traces of his rule. At the close of the 16th century it belonged to the empire of the Oirats, and it was not until 1757 that the Chinese captured it. In 1862 it threw off Chinese rule in the course of a revolution, which ended with the establishment of the Taranchi Sultanate. From 1871 to 1881 it fell under Russian rule, only to revert back to Chinese rule. For a long time it was a Buddhist as well as Mohammedan cultural center. After having been capital of Sinkiang for quite some time, it is now the most important trading center linking Chinese and Russian Turkestan.

Centrally located on the northern mountain slopes of the Tien Shan lies Urunchi (Chinese, Tih-



wa) with about 60,000 inhabitants, the modern capital of East Turkestan. The city has strategic importance and it is the administrative and military center of Sinkiang. Trade flourishes and has expanded beyond the traditional market for skins and furs. In addition to the almost purely Turki population, there are also Chinese and Mongolians. The supply from Russia destined for the Chinese army during the fight against the Japanese in the second World War went over Urunchi via Kuching, Barkol (Chinese Chensi) and Konul (Chinese Hani) to Lanchow in China proper.

Konul (Hani) with its 6,000 inhabitants is the most easterly city of Sinkiang. It was at one time the Chinese supply base in the war against the Turki and Mongols. Later it became for centuries the chief town of the Uigurs until in the 17th century it was made part of a Kashgarian Kingdom. The Chinese did not reconquer it until 1720. From 1865 to 1873, the population of this territory tried to liberate itself from China. This endless fighting was in vain, however, and despite the city's remoteness, it has remained to this day a lively and live trading center.

c) The Dzungarian Basin

This territory also has a long and stormy history. Today the semi-arid plain is sparsely populated and the northwest frontier area of the Tabei-tai mountains appears to be the starting point for future economic development, due to the mineral resources there. The center of the Basin is the city of Durbuljin. The frontier city of Chuguchak is the port of entry for Russian trade with Dzungaria. Chuguchak and Durbuljin are linked up with each other. East thereof, another center is developing on the Urungu River, not far from the point where this river flows into Lake Uliungur, in its southern portion. This is near the fortress city of Bulun-Tolchoi. The population consists mostly of Turki, with a Mongol minority.

g. East Asia

1) Mongolia - General

Before discussing the Mongolian states on Chinese soil, and on Russian territory in Siberia, a dev-

elopment must be mentioned for the sake of completeness. This development might be of importance for the future course of events in East Asia.

While in the formula of Pan-Turanism, the Mongol group of peoples is included on the basis of race and language - yardsticks which make these tribes Turanian, and rightly so-the new Russian policy is manifesting itself in a new tendency. This tendency makes impossible collaboration between the adherents of Pan-Turanism and Pan-Mongolian ideas.

Soviet ideas, doubtless of some appeal for Mongolian circles, do not begin with race and language. They begin with religion, which in East Asia has a great appeal, by reason of the mentality of East Asiatics, the more so since these Russian ideas are striving for an all-Mongol federation expanded by the inclusion of Tibet, to be united with the Mongol territories under the vicarious rule of the Lamaist Church, headed by the Dalai-Lama - who is recognized by the Mongols - in the religious capital of Lhasa.

According to newspaper reports, this idea seems to have reached the stage of practical application for it is alleged that the Soviets have instigated the revolt which broke out in September 1948 of Northern Tibetan tribes against the present Tibetan government. Disregarding the present development which has not progressed far enough to permit of accurate conclusions regarding the future, the following is an attempt to describe the over-all situation in these geographic sections, in conformity with the subject matter of this dissertation.

## 2) The Mongol People's Republic

Mongol Olos, as the Mongols also call it, is a large tableland in the eastern part of Central Asia. It covers 625,946 square miles and has an estimated population of 900,000; of which 90,000 are Russians and 7,000 Chinese. The boundless Gobi desert and the encircling steppes are divided into three urban governments with their seat at Ulan Bator Khoto (formerly known as Urga), Bain Tumen and Sukho Bator. In addition, by reason of prevalent nomadism on a traditional tribal

basis, 13 groups with migratory headquarters are recognized as administrative units.

The most important localities are the following.

Ulan Bator Khoto (Urga, Chinese Kulun) is the capital with 85,000 inhabitants. The old name Bator Khoto in 1921, which means Red Knight City. The Russians have attempted to modernize the city, and have reduced lamaism, established schools (high school, military school, medical school), built a theater, and erected a radio station. In addition, a "combine" with Russian machines and engineers, employing 2,000 workers, was established. It comprises an electrotechnical, a technical and some textile and leather plants. Furthermore, there is in Ulan Bator Khoto a repair shop for motor vehicles, a brick kiln, as well as state printing plants.

The following might be stated concerning the historical development of the Mongol People's Republic up to its present stage of progress. Wedged between two enemy nations, Russia and China, it was not able, in the short years of its independence between 1912 and 1924, to consolidate its freedom and receive international recognition as a state. The overthrow of the government was pressed by Communist agents who as early as 1921 were training young Mongolians. Later these young Mongols formed the nucleus of the Young People's Revolutionary Party. When in 1924 the Khutukhtu (living Buddha) died, a revolution broke out almost immediately after his death. Due to the successful course of this revolution, the interests behind the uprising were able to establish the Mongolian People's Republic. As early as November 1924, the first great Huruldan (People's Assembly) convened for the occasion, promulgated a constitution. Government was devolved upon the Mongol People's Revolutionary Party which practically controlled all government along Soviet lines. Officially, supreme power was vested in the Great Huruldan and the government it elected. The election of the Great Huruldan took place through province and urban councils who in turn were elected by smaller councils of the administrative

units. The Great Huruldan, meeting once a year, elected the Small Huruldan, whose members selected from their midst the Executive Committee of 30 members. This committee has the real power in the state and consists practically of nothing but members of the Revolutionary Party (Communists). Within a short space of time the work of these circles led to the breaking of the power of the princes, the tribal leaders, and the Lama priests, in whose hands most of the power and prosperity were formerly concentrated.

Legally this was carried out by the promulgation of the abolition of the theocratic regime, separation of state and church, uniform economic policy under state control, ownership of land and natural resources by the people. Drastic methods employed at the beginning in an effort to achieve these goals met with just as drastic resistance, and many tribes preferred to leave the country and migrate to China rather than acquiesce. This development led to a change in policy, especially towards the Lamaist Church, in that princes and Lamas were again placed in office and monasteries were permitted to continue their work.

The general leftist trend, however, was manifested in the youth program, especially in the Revolutionary Union of Youth (Revsonol) from which came most of the officers and men of the army. It goes without saying that under these circumstances foreign relations of the Mongol People's Republic were limited almost entirely to the USSR. Chinese influence and immigration dropped to zero. This country, which is practically a Soviet protectorate, is developing in the direction of a Soviet SSR.

Similar conditions were revealed in all their lucidity on the occasion of the establishment of Manchukuo by the Japanese in 1932. After the Soviets were able to assess correctly the development with regard to this Japanese puppet state, they concluded a pact two years later with the Mongol People's Republic. After two years, on 12 March 1936, a protocol was published concerning this pact of mutual assistance and friendship. Four days later, on 16 March 1936, the publication of an exchange of notes between the Mongol People's Republic and Manchukuo

concerning border incidents, showed that behind the two states were the two major powers of Russia and Japan. These border operations soon caused major military operations, and from 31 March 1936 to 1 April 1936 Japanese and Manchukuo troops invaded Outer Mongolia. This invasion was repelled by Soviet trained, Soviet armed, and Soviet supported Mongol troops.

On 7 April 1936, the Chinese Government lodged a protest with the USSR against the conclusion of the mutual assistance pact between the USSR and the Mongol People's Republic, as a violation of Chinese sovereignty. This accusation was denied, on the very next day, 8 April 1936, by Litvinov. The denial evoked a renewed protest of China on 14 April. Thereafter not much more was said or heard in international circles about the matter.

Three years later, the same situation developed concerning border incidents at the Manchukuo-Mongol frontier and this time a larger number of troops was involved on both sides. A strong Japanese-Manchukuo force, in a battle lasting from 28 August 1939 to 3 October 1939 was thoroughly beaten by a Russian force, the Japanese-Manchukuo troops losing 18,000 men. The latent tension along this frontier was eased on 9 June 1940 thanks to an agreement between Russia and Japan concerning the demarcation of the Manchukuo-Mongol border in the Homonhan district. The work of the border commission did not terminate until October 1941, when Japan and the Soviet Union respectively agreed to respect each other's respective puppet states.

The second World War brought no changes of importance in these areas and the relationship between Mongolia and Russia remained the same. This was again confirmed by the visit of the Prime Minister of the Mongol People's Republic, Marshal Chaibaisan in Moscow on 14 January 1944.

3) Inner Mongolia

The development of Inner Mongolia was also counter to that for which the Chinese were striving, due to the appearance of the Japanese in China. In 1929 the Chinese had united the districts of Jehol, Chahar, Suiyuan and Sitchuan into the Ninghsia province and placed special emphasis on the colonization of these territories that only one single territory remained which was settled solely by Mongols, namely the territory of Northern Chahar, where the Mongol Silingol League under Prince Teh Wang had an autonomous area. After severing Manchuria (Manchukuo) from China (1931-1932), Manchukuo troops advanced into the Chinese provinces of Ninghsia (106,143 sq.m. and 735,000 population), Suiyuan (134,181 sq.m. and 2,083,000 population) and Chahar (107,700 sq.m. and 2,306,000 population), occupying an area totalling 348,024, sq.m. and 5,123,000 inhabitants, of which only some 300,000 are Mongols and 60,000 Chinese Mohammedans. Both the Chinese and the Japanese worked to gain the favor of the Mongolians, each supporting a group of their own. When clashes occurred in 1936 between a Japanese sponsored group and the "Mongol Autonomous Political Council" founded by the Chinese in 1934, the situation became more precarious, so that in 1937 Japan occupied the provinces of Chahar and Suiyuan with its Kwantung Army, where they established three autonomous governments, namely Chanan (Southern Chahar) with the Capital of Kalgan; Chingpi (Northern Shansi) with the Capital of Taltung; and the "Mongol Federation" (Mongku) on territory of Suiyuan, with the capital of Hoto Hoto (Blue City). During a conference on 22 November 1937 at Kalgan, these three were joined in an "independent" state under the name of "Federated Council of the Mongol Borderland". On 1 September 1939, the "Federated Autonomous Government of Mongolia", known by its abbreviation "Mong Chiang", was formed, headed by Prince Teh Wang, lineal descendant of Genghis Khan, and head of the Young Mongolian Movement as its president, with the capital of Kalgan (85,000 inhabitants). This newly created state of Mong-Chiang was nominally under Chinese sovereignty but the Japanese secured the right to keep troops in the territory for an indefinite period of time through a treaty with the Hanling Government. It must be added, in order to complete the picture,

that this Mongol state did not include the province of Jehol, which was incorporated in Manchukuo by the Japanese, nor did it include, on the other hand, parts of Hinghsia nor West Suriyuan (Ordos).

#### H. Siberia

The Turanian peoples living in Siberia did not stop fighting for cultural and administrative autonomy in the 20th century. Much interest was evoked among interested peoples by the first Congress in the 20th century of representatives of the peoples of Siberia at Yakutsk in the year 1905, after Russia had lost its war against Japan. The Soviets were not visibly impressed by the formation of a Far Eastern Republic in Verkhne-Udinsk (now Ulan-Ude) on 26 April 1920, perhaps because the circles backing this republic came from the Soviet camp. It was not until after the consolidation of the Soviet system that, on 13 November 1922, the National Assembly of the Far Eastern Republic voted to amalgamate with the RSFSR. Thereupon, on 16 November, that is three days later, the Soviet government proclaimed the incorporation of these territories. From these territories, the Buriat-Mongol ASSR was formed on 30 May 1923. Moreover, in 1937, two national districts of the Agin Buriat-Mongols and the Ust Ordin Buriat-Mongols were formed. The Yakuts, living north of these territories received an autonomous region at the time of the establishment of the Far Eastern Republic. Later, on 27 April 1922, the autonomous region was promoted to Yakut ASSR.

There follows a more detailed description of the territories in question.

##### 1) The Buriat Mongol ASSR

Buriato-Mongolia, founded on 30 May 1923, lies touching Lake Baikal in Siberia in the East, and surrounds it in the North and South. It covers an area of 127,020 square miles with a population of 569,700. of these 44% (250,700) are Mongols and 53% Russians. The country is divided into 15 rayons with together 2

cities, 3 worker settlements and 180 village soviets. The capital is Ulan-Ude, formerly known as Verkhne-Udinsk, with 150,000 inhabitants.

a) The Ust Ordin Buriat Mongol ND

North of Irkutsk, the most important city of Siberia, lies the National District of the Ust Ordin Buriat Mongols, isolated west of Lake Baikal. It was established in 1937. It covers 10,923 sq.m. and has 110,000 inhabitants. It is divided into 4 rayons, and numbers 48 village soviets. The administrative center is Ust Orda.

b) The Agin Buriat Mongol ND

The National District of the Agin Buriat Mongols lies south of Chita, close to the northeast corner of Outer Mongolia. It was founded in 1937 and covers 10,730 square miles and only has 32,000 inhabitants. It is one rayon with 24 village soviets. The administrative center is Aginskoe.

2) The Yakut ASSR

Yakutia, which is not to be included in the plans for a Pan-Turanian state, it to be mentioned briefly at this point only as a matter of completely sketching Turkic lands. It covers the enormous area of 1,169,927 square miles in Northeast Siberia, and only has 421,000 inhabitants, of whom about 10% (42,000) are Russians. It is divided into 37 rayons and only has 6 cities, 9 worker settlements and 434 village soviets on an area equal to one-third of Continental USA. The capital is Yakutsk on the Lena with 20,900 inhabitants.

In this country the winter is long and hard, during six to eight months there is frost. The great rivers get ice covers two meters thick. All of Yakutia lies in the zone of eternally frozen soil. The frozen layer of soil is over 200 meters thick. Rain falls seldom, but the thawing of the soil in Summer substitutes for rain and makes possible agriculture (wheat, vegetables), and endless forest of shallow rooted larches. The population living scattered along the rivers and in



flat, large, basin full of lakes in Central Yakutia and along the Vilyui, not only devote themselves to hunting and fishing, but also mine gold and athracite. It is one of the largest gold regions of the world, according to Soviet statements. In traveling to Yakutsk one uses, other than an airplane, a new automobile highway from the Angara (Irkutsk) to Usti-Kut on the Lena. From Yakutsk one can go on to the Northern Arctic Ocean. In 1933, a harbor was built at the mouth of the Lena, and called Tixi. One can also travel north over a new automobile highway from Bolshoi Never east of Chita over passes of the Stanovoi range.

The few Yakuts scattered over the endless wastes could neither establish a state independently, nor would they listen to the call of going south to a Pan-Turanian state. Nevertheless they have been working for half century to attain the same rights as the Russians for all Siberian national minorities and proved to be good collaborators with regard to this matter.

B. Cultural History

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1. Literature

When carefully scrutinized, the history of the culture of the Turanian peoples is very extensive, commensurate with the physical history of these peoples. The apex of the cultural achievements of the Turanians are, a literature covering all spheres, artistic masterpieces, and a superior level in handicrafts. The literature of the Turanian peoples belongs to the group of Oriental literatures a specific species, which have benefitted each other. While Chinese literature has its forte perhaps in the ethics and dramatics, the Indian literature is famous for its myth, the pre-Islam-Persian literature for its sagas and epics, the Hebrew and Arabic especially through the serious religious language of the prophets (Bible and Koran), the Islam-Persian through its outstanding phantasy and poetry, the Turanian literature is the iridescent mirror of all these literatures, with a strictly individual note.

Of the oldest Turanian tribes mentioned in Chinese annals, no literature is available. We find, however, in those texts many words, titles and names of the language of the Hiung-nu (Huns), who established a great Asiatic steppe empire lasting, according to Chinese annotations, for a period of over 2,000 years. The name of this Turanian tribe disappeared completely from history in the confusion of the 6th century. These words, titles and names contain many Old Turki as well as Old Mongolian elements. The same may be said of words handed down to posterity from the language of the To-pa (Tabghach), who ruled Northern China (436 to 557 AD) and established an empire under the name of North Wei. Although no literature is available, these oldest languages show many common roots. Perhaps the modern languages of the Yakuts and the Chuvash were developed from the ancient language of the Huns.

a. Mongolian Literature

The Mongol contributions in literature are subdivided into the literature of the true Mongols of the home country, of the Buriato Mongols and of the Western Mongols (Kalmucks), which however, is small in the framework of the Turanian literature, and also little known.

With reference to the Mongol literature of the home country, there was close kinship with the literature of the third Altaic language branch, the Tungusic, especially Manchu. The script of the latter developed from the Mongolian. Both languages played an important part in the foreign-language education of the upper class in China. In Korea, up to 1469, Mongolian was the second foreign language trailing Chinese, with Japanese ranking third. The native literature is the colloquial and the collection of native songs and folk-tales does not attain to the height of Buddhist and Confucian literature which had developed an excellent style under the Manchus especially. At any rate, the Mongol "Siddhi-kur", a collection of Buddhist tales, reached an extent and level which allowed it to become the source for restoration of lost Indian originals. The available Mongolian imitative copies of Chinese folk-stories and novels show a definite individual note because of a fanciful imagery.

Of religious literature, the greatest part by far is written in the Tibetan language, and the greatest religious opus in the Mongolian language is "Sea of Comparisons" (Uliger un dalai). In addition to a wealth of translations of Buddhist texts there are also some Shamanistic texts. The former reveal the religious system of a Northern Buddhism modified by a Hindu Sivaism and an intermixture of native Shamanistic beliefs and practices.

Epic literature finds its main masterpiece in "Gesser Khan" as well as in the poetic "Jangariad".

Among the works on history, the books on the science of war and government, together with reports on Chinese embassies and representatives at the various Mongol and Tatar tribes are of somewhat outstanding importance. Outstanding is "The Secret History of the Mongols"

(1240, 75 chapters, published in the Mongol language but written with Chinese characters, in accordance with the principles of phonetics). This masterpiece is an example of Old Mongolian. It bore the Chinese title of "Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi", in Mongol "Manghol un niucha tobcha'an".

In addition, there are the historic works of the great Mongol poetic chronicler of the seventeenth century, Sanang Setsen, whose "History of the Eastern Mongols" and the "Altan Tobchi" is greatly and universally esteemed by scholars. In addition there is available the "Essay on the Origin of the Eight Banners", a wonderful recounting of the origin of the eight banners as well as "Mirror of Successive Generations" which offers an interesting political picture of Mongol-Tatar activities. A further book must also be mentioned here, namely "The Banner of the Khalkha Mongols". The dynastic histories of China published in the seventeenth century were translated extensively into the Manchu and Mongol languages. Both the Chinese and the Manchu editions often contained a Mongol translation, a practice which led to numerous bi-lingual collections in all spheres of literature in the eighteenth century. In the year 1732, a "Natural Philosophy" was published in these languages. Ever since 1750, Chinese commissions have currently published editions concerning Chinese classics and heterodox philosophers, translated and annotated. In the course of the nineteenth century, Mongol decreased considerably in importance as a literary language, and a revival of the language was only possible during the past decades, at least with regard to quantity, thanks especially to strong Russian furtherance, and a short-lived Japanese promotion.

In early times Tibetan and Chinese script were used; Genghis Khan still wrote Chinese. He, however, introduced Uiguric script in the year 1204, so that the Mongolian script, as it is still used today, was finally developed from the Uiguric, early in the fourteenth century. A beautiful example of script was found in Nerchinsk, Siberia, on a stone immortalizing the victory of Genghis Khan over the Kara-Kitais.

The successor of Genghis Khan, Kublai Khan, in 1269 officially introduced a square script derived from the Tibetan script, which remained in use for about

one hundred years, only to be replaced by Uiguric. From this script, in the course of time, the national Mongol script, still being used today with minor form modifications, was evolved. It, like the Chinese script, goes from top to bottom, the vertical lines, however, unlike Chinese, from left to right instead of from right to left.

In 1599, the Mongol script was officially accepted for the Manchu language, but in 1632 it was altered by the scholar Dahai into an official Manchu script.

The literature of the Buriato Mongols is very sparse in this language, as mostly religious literature was read at time, which was disseminated in Tibetan. Side by side, there existed some native songs and fairy tales, as well as folk tales. The same is true for the literature of the Kalmucks. Both of them, the Tibetan language having diminished in importance, are developing a literature of their own with Soviet furtherance, a literature true to Soviet principles, i.e., "nationalistic in form and socialistic in content".

In modern times, the script of these people has become cyrillic, the national Mongol script being replaced by Russian script. On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Kalmuck ASSR (1940), the State Literature Publishing House issued a Kalmuck anthology, in Russian translation, under the title "Poets of Kalmuck Land".

b. Literature of the Turki

Just as the literature of the Mongols was the reflex image of their environment on which, in ancient days the Chinese and Tibetans and in modern times the Russians exerted the greatest influence, thus the literature of the Turki, thanks to their greater geographic dispersion, is the image of the entire Eurasian world, from the Chinese, Indians, Tokharians, over Iranians, Arabs to the Europeans. The subdivision of the literature into various epochs has not assumed uniform character as yet and is undertaken by scholars either from the viewpoint of language, culture or history.

With regard to cultural influence, a trisection could be undertaken for the entire period into the period of the pre-Islam from the beginnings until shortly after the birth of Mohammed, the period of Islam rule until the middle of the past century, and the third period, determined by European influence, since then. Considering the problem from a language and history-of-culture standpoint, four periods stand out, namely, the epoch of the Uigur Empires, forming a closed unit and despite its extended duration constituted and existed as a typical period between 700 and 1300; the second epoch includes the literature emanating from the soil of the Jagatai Empire between 900 and 1600; the third epoch includes the epoch of the Ottoman Empire from 1300 to 1860; the fourth epoch unites in its enclosures the modern literature of the Turki (tribes) peoples. The author is inclined to use this grouping, at the same time he completely acknowledges the fact that the terms "Uiguric", "Jagataic" and "Ottoman" are only collective terms for several dialects and forms of literature, and are not unambiguous. On the other hand, these terms are the closest approximation descriptive of the most typical representatives of the respective epochs.

1) The Uiguric Literature (700-1300)

Uiguric literature, evolved in the far reaches between just West of Peking and Lake Balkhash, comprises all writings of Turki tribes of the earliest period which consists of about five dialects. These writings were set down in various scripts. A runic script of unknown origin is used for the extensive lapidary inscriptions and also for many manuscripts. Inscriptions were also found on some artifacts as well as on arches of gates. The lapidary inscriptions were found in the region of the Orkhon River in Northern Mongolia, in the territory of the Upper Yenisei and the Talas. The manuscripts were found in the ruined cities of the oasis of Turfan, in the Fort Miran in Southern Chinese Turkestan and in Tun-huang, the first Chinese city near the eastern frontier of East Turkestan. The inscriptions, mostly on tombstones, are the oldest Turki source of historic content. The manuscripts are preponderantly of a religious character dealing with the Manichean doctrine, while those from Fort Miran are military documents. The most famous examples are the grave inscrip-

tions from Orkhon concerning Kultegin and Bilga Kaghan dating from 731 to 734, at the time of the last period of the first Turki empire which was succeeded in 745 by the Empire of the Uigurs. Others were found at Karabalgasun.

Uiguric script shows the greatest application of all types of letter-characters, having been derived from Sogdian script. An inscription on the arch of a gate in Kiu-yung-kuan, north of Peking, is in this script, as well as inscriptions of all types in Turkestan and North West China. This script was also used for various block prints in the region of Turfan. Books in Uigur, which have been preserved, are of religious content. Most of them are Buddhistic, some Manichean, and a small number Nestorian (a Christian sect). As has been mentioned previously, the scripts of the Mongols and Kalmucks as well as, indirectly, that of the Manchu were derived from Uiguric script.

The other scripts used at that time for the writing of Turki languages were the Sogdian script, the Manichean script allegedly invented by the founder of this sect, as well as an Indian alphabet (Brahmi) used by Buddhist missionaries for the translation of Sanskrit texts into Turki.

In addition to religious texts, we find a rich popular literature of lyric and ethic character, revealing cultural influences of the Chinese, Indians, Tokharians and Iranians. The most famous works are the "Kudatku Bilik", an educative poem concerning wisdom, written in 1069 by Yusuf Hajib of Balasaghun for Boghra Khan, as well as the "Divan Lugat at-Turk" by Mahmud al Kashgari, a Turk textbook for Arabs written in 1073.

Of modern Turki languages, the East Turki dialects still spoken in Sinkiang reveal the greatest similarity with Uiguric. This is especially true for some forms of the dialect spoken by the population of the Yarkand oasis in the southwestern Tarim Basin, and of the Taranchi in the region of the Ili Valley.

## 2) Jagataic Literature (900-1600)

This collective terminology is used for the literatures of the East Turki tribes in Central Asia

and India in the regions of the former empire of the Shahs of Khorezm, Jagatai, Ilkhans, Timurids, Shaibanids and the Great Moguls in India. These languages are for the most part under Persian influence and are written in Arabic script which displaced Uiguric script. They belong to the Islam cultural circle.

The best works of this period were written by Tamerlane (d. 1390), whose "Memorials" comprise valuable descriptions of conditions at that time. Another author of quality was Prince Mir Ali Shir (d. 1500), who composed a series of poems of elegance and an anthology of the biographies of contemporary poets, all under the pseudonym Nevayi. His writing shows much humor and a great power of expression. He was the witty vizier of Sultan Hosain and the patron of numerous Persian poets. It was at the same time that Prince Mohammed Salih (d. 1520) immortalized the deeds of his master Shaibani Khan in his Shaibani-nameh (Shaibani book). The famous enemy of Shaibani Khan, Zahireddin Mohammed (d. 1525) with the cognomen "Baber" (Tiger), scion of Tamerlane, conquerer of India and founder of the empire of the Moguls, wrote a valuable prose autobiography. A century later a genius, Abul Ghazi, wrote a genealogical history of the Mongol-Tatar dynasties under the title of "Turk Family Tree". Subsequent to the establishment of the Uzbek khanates and emirates in Central Asia in the 16th century with its centers of learning at Bokhara and Khiva, there came into being here the literatures of the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz and the Sinkiang Turki.

### 3) The Seljuk Literature (900-1300)

Seljuk literature is extremely sparse as the poets and authors of those days wrote almost exclusively in Arabic or Persian. The few works written in the Turkish of the Seljuk period, were by the following authors: Muhittin-i Arabi, Konyali Sadrettin, Kermanli Evhadi and Mevlana Djelalettin-i Rumi, of whom the last one is the most important. The contents of all of their works is influenced by Islamic mysticism and Persian literature.

The Ottoman-Turkish and Azerbaijan literatures are the spiritual successors of the Seljukian literature, while the language itself was determined by the



Oguzes, a related Turki tribe which had migrated with the Seljuks and were numerically strong in the Seljukian Empire.

4) The Other Ancient Turki Literature

Practically nothing is preserved in the way of literary documents in the languages of the Huns, Volga-Bolgars, Avars, Khazars, Comanes and Pechenegues as well as Tatars who had migrated to Russia and Southeastern Europe and established their khanates on the soil of the Kipchak Empire (Golden and White Horde). The only document, of linguistic but not literary importance, is the "Codex Comanicus", an extensive textbook in Comanic, Latin, Persian, and Turkish, which was written in 1303 and is kept in Venice, Italy. In addition to this document of the language of the Comanes, the Keraites in Southwestern Russia have preserved a sterile religious literature which gives evidence of their Khazar ancestry. In Hungary, at Nagy Saint Miklos, among the so-called treasure of Attila, golden vessels with inscriptions attributed to the Pechenegues have been found.

5) Ottoman Literature (1300-1860)

The extremely extensive and many faceted literature which flourished in the soil of the gigantic Ottoman Empire, is usually divided into several periods either on the basis of culture or history, neither being completely justified, as the limits of cultural influences and inner political development, undoubtedly with some effect upon literature, are not clearly delineated, so that any and all groupings cannot do justice to the actual development. One segment of historians of literature divide Ottoman literature as follows.

The Earliest Period,	from 1300-1500
	under Persian influence
The Middle Period	from 1500-1850
	under Arabian influence
The Modern Period	from 1850-to date
	under European influence

Those who assume another standpoint lean more towards the historical development of the empire, and group the literature as follows.

Old School

Pre-classical Period	from 1300 to 1520 (Osman I to Suleiman I)
Classical Period	from 1520 to 1730 (Suleiman I to Mahmud I)
Post-classical Period	from 1730 to 1861 (Mahmud I to Abdul Aziz)

Modern School

Period of Transformation	from 1861 to 1923 (Abdul Aziz to Mehmet VI) Liberation from Persian and Arabian classics, translation and imitation of European literature,
Period of Nationalization	from 1923 (Era of Turkish Republic) (Kemal Ataturk to Ismet Inonu) National literary creations based on growing self-reliance.

This division only refers to classical poetry and prose, while from the 13th to the 19th century, popular literature with its folksongs, limericks, popular comedies, shadow theater, and legitimate theater, poetry, and humor, and fairy tales in prose has a position of its own. Popular literature is not like classical literature influenced by Arabic and Persian and has maintained the character of original Turkish best. The aversion against everything foreign is expressed in the characteristic proverb: "Whoever learns Persian has half lost the faith".

This attitude, now changing gradually, resulted from the situation that everyone of a necessity had to understand Arabic and Persian in order to be classified as a well-educated person, and in order to understand the literature. Although the popular literature which came into being in the course of time did not attain to the level of good literature, it nevertheless was the more important of the two for millions of Turks, and some single pieces became world famous. The author merely recalls the figure of Karagoz, the hero in the beloved shadow plays; the collection of stories of Nasreddin Hodja, whose life reminds one of Don Quixote; and the popular tales and buffooneries such as "History of the Forty Viziers", and the fairy tales of "Shah Miran". Naturally, in addition to these fairy tales, the internationally famous Arabian fairy tales such as "Thousand and One Nights" or the Persian "Kabus-nameh" (Parrot Book), as well as other translations, were widely disseminated among the Turkish people.

Side by side with these literary achievements there flows a steady stream of the products of empire historiographers --unparalleled by other nations -- who set down the national history, world history, history of literature, as well as biographies of countless court figures and poets with greatest thoroughness. These exhaustive and exhausting, tendencious and extensive works constitute a windfall for historians and literati.

In the following exposition, I limit myself to presenting an over-all picture of the total achievements of Ottoman-Turkish literature without using any of the above-named divisions. I intend doing so by means of short sketches of poets and authors as well as their works, outstanding in importance.

Ottoman literature begins with Ashik Pasha (d.1332) from Kirsehir in Anatolia, who was the richest sheik, the most honorable dervish, and the greatest scholar of his times. His famous work bears the title of "Garib-nameh" and developed a complete system of Persian Sufism 1/ in 10 books with each 10 sections, whose title was always constituted of a verse from the Koran. Ashik's enthusiastic appeal for culture through love of God is one of the most beautiful phases of the entire Ottoman literature.

Further, I should like to mention Burhaneddin (d. 1398), a descendant of Genghis Khan, who composed the most beautiful collection of Turkish poems of his time. Suleiman (1403) who lived at about the same time wrote the famous book "Mewlid-i-Nebi" concerning the birth of the prophet, which is still read after 500 years. At this point I should also like to mention Ahmedi (d.1412), founder of the Turkish epic, who in his "Iskender-nameh" (Alexander Book) not only describes the life of Alexander the Great but includes the history of the entire Orient before and after Alexander together with the entire philosophy and theology of Islam. His contemporary Yusuf Sheikhi (d.1430) wrote the first and most beautiful romantic epic of Turkish literature "Khozrow and Shirin" 2/ which

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1/ The doctrine of the Sufis, a Mohammedan philosophical and devotional mystic, especially in Persia. It has inspired a mass of symbolical religious poetry.

2/ Shah Khozrow, Sassanid ruler of ancient Persia, married his Christian slave Shirin, sweetheart of Ferhad, the poet.

still enjoys great popularity among all Turk peoples.

In the next century the epic poet Hamdi (d.1513) is prominent. He was the youngest son of the great Sheik Akshemseddin, comrade in arms of Sultan Mehmet II during the conquest of Constantinople. Most famous became his romantic epic "Yusuf and Suleika". It was written in 1491 in the garden of Saint Sophia in Constantinople. This romance is worthy of its place next to Sheikhi's "Khozrow and Shirin" and it too is still popular today, and is the best treatment of the biblical episode of Joseph and Potiphar's wife as recounted in the Koran by Mohammed, and variously mentioned in Persian 1/.

Fazli (1563) is another lyrical poet of fame. His "Gul u Bulbul" (Rose and Nightingale) is very beautiful and was translated into other languages.

The greatest poet and lyric genius of the Turkish race, Mahmud Baki (Abdul Baki) (d.1599) deserves a place in world literature, being one of the three greatest in oriental poetry, the other two being the Arab Mutanabbe and the Persian Hafiz. Baki's famous "Divan" a collection of lyric poems, is termed the "pearl of poetry", because of its fluent and flamboyant though blunt, language. Furthermore, his translations from the Arabic became famous. I merely mention his "Life of Mohammed", "History of Mecca, the Holy City of God", and a "Treatise Concerning the Excellence of the Holy War".

One of his contemporaries is the famous Saadeddin (d.1599) whose career in itself is interesting, having begun as a chieftain and becoming Sheikh ul Islam under Mehmet III. His book "Taj-at-Teyarikh" (Crown of Chronicles) is a laudatory history of the Ottoman empire and its conquests from Osman I to Selim I.

At the beginning of the next century, Nefi from Erzurum (d.1635) attained world fame as a laudatory poet and a satirist under Murad IV. He is the only great satirist of the older Ottoman literature. He is the only great satirist of the older Ottoman literature. His

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1/ Potiphar was an officer of Pharaoh, who bought Joseph as as a slave. Bible, Genesis XXXIX.

satires, which he published under the title "Arrows of Fate" have lasting value as political judgments passed on all important personalities of his time. He met a violent death. Due to a satire which was too acid, pertaining to the Vizier Beiram Pasha, he was thrown into prison and killed there.

Following him, I should like to mention Katib Chelebi, also known as Hadji Khalfah (d.1658) who was the first secretary of Sultan Mehmed IV and was the greatest Turkish sage of his time. He was historian, geographer and biographer. His main work "Kesh-ul-funun", written in Arabic, is a bibliographical lexicon, listing more than 25,000 Arabian, Persian and Turkish books, and containing short notes concerning their authors.

Among the authors of the following century I should like to include Yusuf Nabi (d.1912) from Urfa, confidential clerk of Mustafa Pasha under Sultan Mehmet IV in Constantinople. When Nabi died at the age of 80, he was generally lauded as the poet-king of his time. In addition to his wonderful "Divan", he wrote a two-part, valuable training and education opus. Under the impressions gained during a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, he published a study concerning these two cities entitled "Gift of the Two Shrines". His "Divan" contains 96 poems in praise of Allah, the Prophet, the Caliph, Sultan, grand vizier, sheikhs and other dignitaries, as well as profane poems, many riddles and a story in rhyme.

As one of the most important personalities of the 18th century is considered Adeni (d.1963) the last of the important grand viziers of the Ottoman Empire. As poet and author he is no less famous. He wrote a philosophic "Divan", as well as beautiful poems, and caused a large collection of Arabic dogmatic and philosophical texts. Of his two historical prose works, the "Capture of Bagdad" is considered a model of historical presentation, while "The Persian Peace Treaty" is considered the model of diplomatic style.

Also mentioned must be Galib (d.1795), who attained to great fame in his day. Especially his allegorical epic about love "Beauty and Love", as well as his second "Moonshine Casside" to Sultan Selim III were generally much admired. He is considered the most important lyricist of

the Ottoman literature period.

The most important poets and authors of the 19th century already belong to the "European School", receiving its strongest impulse from the movement of Young Turks, whose slogan was "Rejuvenation of Turkey through acceptance of European culture in all spheres". France had the greatest influence. The change took place in three stages.

1. Translation of foreign works.
2. Imitation of foreign themes and methods of presentation.
3. Independent treatment of indigenous themes in free and natural Western form.

Ibrahim Shinasi (d.1871) was known as the father and pioneer of this trend. His excellent tome "Selected Poems" constituted a literary turning point, complemented by his contemporary Abdülhak Hamid, who was also active as diplomat in London. The most beloved and most popular Young-Turk poet of his time, however, was Namik Kemal (d.1888), a friend of Shinasi, who produced good works in almost all spheres of literature, while Mahmut Ekrem, who had studied in Paris and joined the Young Turks, acquired much fame by his patriotic poems and songs filled with elemental passion.

His contemporary, Ahmet Midhat Efendi (d.1905) also deserves to be mentioned. His novels and essays were widely disseminated and much praised. In the course of his life he was successfully active in all fields of literature, and also greatly aided the movement of Young Turks. Most interesting by far are his tales and dramas, rooted in a deep knowledge of his country.

Omer Seyfeddin (d.1920), a Caucasian Turk, is considered the "Christopher Columbus of literary Turkey" because he opened new literary frontiers. He aided language reform and the nationalization of Turkish literature. In excellent historical novels he again and again intones "all Turks are brothers and joined together. Only a Turk can write a Turanian epic. The Turks once ruled Asia. Asia's thrones were founded by the sons of the great Turk race".

The philosophical and sociological bases for the new national life were laid, above all, by Ziya Gokalp (d.1925), who exerted great influence on the entire Turkish people as teacher and orator. After failure of both "Osmanism" and "Pan-Islamism", Gokalp, in his work "Turkculugun Esaslari" (Foundations of Turkish Nationalism) established a new program: "Turkism". The cultural movement of 1908-1920 rested on two buttresses: the Turanian and the national-Turkish movement. Gokalp's Turkism wants to unite them into one.

Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoglu also belongs to the geni among Turkish authors. He is generally known in the intellectual world through his novels and also as a diplomat. During the last 20 years he was envoy in Albania, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands and Switzerland. His novels show him to be an author of nationalist impress with psychological and mystical features. His novel "Nur Baba" published in 1922, the scene of which are Bektashi circles, presents a highly interesting view of the life of dervishes and caused a great sensation both in Turkey and Europe. As national novels of great value are known "Hukun Gecesi" (The Night of Judgment), a modern political picture of the reign of Young Turks from 1908-1918. In "Sodom ve Gomore" (Sodom and Gomorrah) he describes the period of occupation of Istanbul by Allied troops after World War I, and in his novel "Ankara", the Turkish fight for independence.

Halide Edip Adivar (born 1883) is perhaps the greatest poetical talent of modern Turkey. She is an adherent of Pan-Turkism. Prior to the first World War she was already famous through her political partisan novel "Yeni Turan" (The New Turan). She took an active part in the struggle for independence after the first World War, serving as a PFC, equivalent of a WAC. Her novel "Atesten Gomlek" (The Fiery Shirt), of some artistic weight, was translated into English under the title "The Daughter of Smyrna". She lived abroad for 15 years, especially in the United States and England, but also in India. In 1943 she was still serving as professor for English Literature at the University of Istanbul. Her well-known books in English are "Memoirs of Halide Edip" (New York-London, The Century, 1926), "The Turkish Ordeal", (John Murray, London 1928), "Turkey Faces West" (New Haven, 1930), "Conflict of East and West in Turkey", (Delhi, India, 1936), "Inside India", (New York, 1937), as well as "The Clown and his Daughter".

As an interesting phenomena, the writer should here like to mention the fact that a number of Turkey's best authors, for instance Karaosmanoglu, represent Turkey abroad as envoys, or else hold high government offices.

It suffices to mention Hamdullah Suphi Tanriover, who was professor at the University of Istanbul, member of parliament, temporary Minister for Education, and envoy to Romania. His importance as an author lies in the exemplary style of his prose works, collected in two volumes "Dag Yolu" (Mountain Path) published in 1928 and 1931, and "Gunbakan" (Sunflowers) published in 1929.

Brcument Ekrem Talu, another outstanding author was interpreter for the Chief of Protocol of the Turkish government (in addition to Turkish he speaks English, French, German, Italian, Polish, Greek and Persian), press Director in Istanbul, Secretary General of the President of the Republic, Press Director in Ankara, and First Secretary of the Legation in Warsaw, Poland. He became famous through his absolute mastery of the simple language of the people and the classic literary language of his novels.

In this category also belongs Rusen Esref Unaydin, erstwhile member of the National Assembly; Secretary General of the President, envoy in Tirana, in Athens, in Budapest; ambassador in Rome and in London. He is more of an essayist and literary critic. He became famous through his sketches on contemporary Turkish literature, "Memories of St. James", and "Bygone Days". His masterpiece is "Bogazici Yakindan" (On the Bosphorus).

Moreover, Falih Rifki Atay must also be mentioned here. He was deputy from Ankara in the Parliament, and head of the Government newspaper "Ulus". He carries much cultural and political weight in Turkey and is a prominent author of travel books. He described Rome, Albania, South America, the Soviet Union, and the "Banks of the Danube". His masterpiece is "The Banks of the Thames", not only a witty description but a cunning discussion of the history of the Turk and British empires and their relations.

In judging Turkish literature, one cannot use American or European standards, as Turkish literature has been subjected to an entirely different development. The fact



cannot be overlooked, however, that the Turks have made progress in all fields, including the field of literature. The development has not been completed, but a promising start has been made. After the introduction of Latin script in 1928, replacing Arabic, rejuvenation of Turkish literature received a great impetus, without breaking completely with their oriental classic literature.

The introduction of Latin script was not only of great importance for the education of the Turkish people, but it was also of great importance for Turkish literature. Just as national unity had been made of the state, a reform and rationalization of Turkish language took place. The language reformers, especially Omer Seyfeddin and his circle, disseminated language reform plans in their magazine "Genc Kalemler".

The national state having been established, and the necessity of nationalizing the Turkish language being evident, the Turkish vocabulary at that time consisting of about two-thirds words of a foreign extraction, mostly Arabic and Persian, steps were taken to eliminate these "foreign" words and replace them by genuine Turkish words.

Under the patronage of Kemal Ataturk an association for the revision of the Turkish language (Turk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti) was founded on 12 July 1932. This association consisted of six sections: Linguistics and Philology, Etymology, Grammar, Syntax, Dictionary and Professional Terms, Collection and Publication. The words to be created were not only taken from the vernacular and the Anatolian dialects but also from related Turki languages in Russia, and even from the Orkhon inscriptions. Thus, a new language was created which the people did not speak and which the man in the street did not understand.

The First Turkish Language Congress (Dil Kurultayi), under the leadership of Kemal Ataturk, was opened in September 1932, with the following work plan: (1) to collect popular Turkish vocabulary from ancient Turk words, (2) to determine ancient Turkish roots and form new words with these Turkish roots, (3) to create genuine Turkish words to take the place of words of foreign extraction.

The Second Turkish Language Congress was held in 1934. The name of the association was Turki-ized, and

and instead of "Turk Dili Tetkid Cemiyeti" it became "Turk Dili Arasirna Kurumu". Thanks to the work of this Congress, a Pocket Dictionary was published which contained all new words and their definition. As the population showed little inclination to learn and use these new words, the attempt was made, at the Third Turkish Language Congress, to solve this dilemma, by establishing the so-called "Sun Language Theory" (Gunes-dil Teorisi).

Just as had been done in the field of history, the Turks now evolved a theory regarding language that the Turkish language was the oldest language in existence, the universal mother tongue (and dil) from which all other languages were derived. With the help of this theory every word in any language could be traced to a Turkish root. This solved the language problem because it eliminated all words of "foreign" extraction. It left things exactly as they were. This state of affairs was not entirely satisfactory either, and at the close of 1941, the language question was again taken up and pursued with vehemence.

Thus the unfortunate question not only affected poetry but all other fields of literature, and placed a serious obstacle in the path of literary progress. Turks, however, have voiced the hope that in the near future a solution will be found which will make possible a normal evolution of Turkish literature to more than national importance.

#### 6) Modern Literature of Other Turki Peoples

Although it must be admitted that it is difficult to obtain access to Turki literature in other countries, especially in Russia, so that it is very hard to deal with it in the manner it warrants, but every treatise on Turanian literature reveals the spiritual supremacy of the Turks (Ottomans), as compared with Azerbaijan Turks, Tatars, Turkmen, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, and other groups. This means that the 18,000,000 Turks of the Turkish Republic, who have never, as a people, lost their independence, and have been and still are subjected to the strongest of influence from the West, are the natural spiritual leaders in Pan-Turanism in every respect, with the Uzbeks coming second, with a great distance separating them.

The modern literature of the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, and Turkmen, who emerged from the soil of the Jagatai empire, or of the Azerbaijanis, Tatars, as well as of the smaller nationalities began to develop since the 16th century. They, like the Turkish literature, were strongly influenced by Arabic and Persian, and preponderantly of a religious character. That so little is known about these modern literatures in the West today is due to the fact that their study was neglected because they were not permitted to develop freely in contact with the outside world.

In view of the Russification policy of the Czarist government, the languages of the minorities were suppressed, whenever possible. Frequently the printing of books in the national language and the singing of national songs were prohibited. If schools and theaters were permitted to exist, and this was rare, they were often closed soon after they began to function.

This suppression, the general rule in Czarist Russia, was expressed in a poem written by the Ukrainian popular poet Taras G. Shevchenko (1814-1861), entitled "The Caucasus". In the poem, he called upon the peoples to revolt against the "prison of peoples" created by the Czars "where from the Moldavians to the Finns, in all languages, all are mute". It was thus only possible for those literary circles to become prominent who were "champions of friendship with the Russian people".

In the Soviet Union conditions improved in so far as the cultivation of national tongues was encouraged and supported. True literature still cannot flourish, however, for only such literature is accepted as is "national in form and socialist in content".

Thus, only a very few poets and authors of these peoples have become known to literary circles in the West. To these few belong the Kazakh poet, Abay Kunanbayev, founder and classic poet of Kazakh literature. In addition to his own works, he made translations of Russian poets, including A.S. Pushkin and N.Y. Lermontov. Side by side with him, the sage Chokan Valikhanov also became famous. He was a friend of F.M. Dostoyevsky. Valikhanov was the first modern Kazakh scholar. His works concerning the history and geography of the peoples of Central Asia

are of great scientific value, and filled with compassion with the suppressed peoples.

Modern Azerbaijan literature was founded shortly after 1800 by Mirza Akhondov who became famous thanks to his suggestion for the reform of the Arabic alphabet. His poems and comedies are greatly beloved and have earned for him the name of "Meslem Molière".

From the Ural-Volga region have become known the Bashkir popular poet Salavat Yulayev, who at the time of the Bashkir Revolts in the 18th century gained fame far beyond the confines of his homeland through his passionate appeals for the war of liberation.

At the close of the 19th century, the Tatar, Ismail Gasprinsky, earned for himself an enviable reputation by designing and disseminating a unified literary language of Turki people in Russia. The spiritual center of the Ural-Volga region became Kazan on the Volga.

For the peoples mentioned above, there are, in the Azerbaijan SSR, the Kazakh SSR and the Uzbek SSR academies of sciences. The Soviet system in Russia includes compulsory schooling in all republics from the ages of seven to fourteen, and the schooling is in the language of the republic. Those who are talented have the opportunity of continuing with secondary school and even university training. This tolerant policy toward the minorities is said to have come less as a result of their struggle for autonomy than from a special liking of Stalin for minorities, as he himself belongs to one. He is a Georgian and not a Russian.

Concerning the quality of the poets, scholars, authors, composers, actors, and sculptors it is impossible to obtain a genuine picture. At regular intervals so-called Art Festivals of the national republics are held in Moscow. At these festivals it becomes clearly evident that the art and the literature of these peoples are determined by the party line, and that the achievements up to now in no case have reached Turkish not to mention European or American level.

One statement remains to be made, namely that despite Soviet paternalism, the general educational

level of these peoples has been raised steadily. The allegation that 40% of these peoples can read and write seems actually to be true, as the younger generation has 80% and the older generation a smaller percentage of literates.

The number of literate men is larger than that of the women. Thus, the present higher level of education of the Turki peoples may be represented as follows.

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<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Secondary Schooling<sup>1)</sup></u>	<u>University Training<sup>1)</sup></u>
Azerbaijan SSR	78	7
Kazakh SSR	60	5
Kirghiz SSR	32	2
Turkmen SSR	46	3
Uzbek SSR	39	3

<sup>1)</sup> per 1,000 population

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The status of the present achievements of these peoples in the field of literature is indicated chiefly by the publications of the State Publishing Houses. These publish Russian translations of the works of authors of national minorities.

## 2. Architecture

Turanian architecture may be subdivided into two groups and these two groups traced to religious differences, namely a Buddhist-Mongolian and an Islam-Turanian architecture, little being left of the pre-Buddhist and pre-Islam periods.

### a. Mongolian Architecture

The contribution of the Mongolians, within the framework of this cultural sphere is very small, and there are few treatises dealing with Buddhist-Mongolian architecture. Buildings which may be found in Mongolian settlement

areas, that is Buddhist temples, Buddhist monasteries and palaces are greatly influenced by Indo-Tibetan and Chinese cultural and architectural ideas. Following upon the revolution of 1924 the former palace of the Khutukhtu (living Buddha) in Ulan Bator Khoto (Urga) has been converted into a museum. The small number of valuable buildings can be traced to the fact that the Mongolians are nomads, and even priests are living in tents of their own.

b. Turanian Architecture

The architecture of the Turanians, like that of the Arabians was developed from the tent of the nomad, a development which influenced the tectonics. Inner and outer architecture reflect the tendency to decorate the wall surfaces within and without just like the Kirghiz and Kazakhs who spread rugs over the framework of their tents.

The Turk branch of the Islam art developed latest and in its greatest achievements constitutes works of art of imposing quality revealing Arabian, Persian as well as Byzantine influences.

1) The Perso-Turkish Style

The Perso-Turkish style developed in the sphere of the empires of the Khorezmi Shahs, the Jagatais, the Timurids and Uzbeks in Central Asia (west and East Turkestan and Persia). This style has superlative examples of mosques, medresses (Moslem colleges), tombs, palaces and caravanseries with lofty domes, beautiful minarets, magnificent gateways and walls covered with a colored mosaic or dull or glazed bricks or fayence placques in glowing colors which involuntarily recall tapestry.

To the outstanding achievements of this style belong the mausoleum of Sultan Sanjar (1157) in Merv (now Mari) in Turkmenistan, the stately Friday mosque (Djum Mesjid), and the mosque of Mohammed Amin Khan in Khiva (Khorezm), the 15th century buildings in Samarkand on the Reghistan place including the famous Bibi-Khanum with its turquoise cupola, erected by the Chinese wife of Tamerlane, and the medresses of Ulug-beg and Shir-dar. Outside of the city there are the palace of Tamerlane, Hazret Shah Zindeh, and his tomb, Gur Amir. Of the innumerable mosques of Bokhara, the Mesjid-kalyan is superior; and the madresse Shir-arab, which is the largest in Central Asia with the highest

minaret (52 meters) known as the "Tower of Death", should also be mentioned. In the charming city of Kokand stands a beautiful palace of the former khans. In Kashgar, Sinkiang, in addition to the handsome shrine of Hazrat Afak (1693), holy king of East Turkestan, a beautiful medresse and a picturesque monastery have been preserved. In addition to these we find mosques and medresses of great fame in Yarkand, another city and cultural center in Sinkiang surrounded by large walls with towers.

On Persian and Caucasian soil the most famous architectural achievements in the Perso-Turkish style are the beautiful mausoleum of Mumine Khatun (1186) at Nakhichevan (transcaucasia), the stately tomb of Uljaitu Khodabanda at Sultaniye (1316), the Great Mosque of Veramin (1322) and the imposing Blue Mosque at Tabriz, all in Azerbaijan. In addition to these the famous mosques of Isfahan from the 11th to the 14th century must be mentioned, along with the Mesjid-i-Shar and the sepulchral mosque of the Imam Riza (1418) in Meshhed.

## 2) The Mogul Style

The Turki dynasty of the Moguls in India also introduced a new art which flourished between 1494 and 1706. The architecture, also influenced by the Persian style, with Hindu elements added, is however superior to the Persian in scale, dignity and setting. The impressive bulbous domes, round minarets and great niche portals of greatest splendor are the essential hallmarks, complemented by the use of sandstone and marble in contrast to the usual brick tiles. Among the most beautiful buildings of this style are the following: the Mosque of Bijapur, the Pearl Mosque (Muti Mesjid) in Agra, the Friday Mosque (Djuma Mesjid) in Delhi, and the Friday Mosque in Fatehpur-Sikhri. In addition there are large palaces in these cities as well as in Allahabad; also the tomb of the great ruler Akbar at Secunira, the mausoleum of Humayun at Agra, and last but not least the world famous Taj Mahal near Agra, the tomb of Shah Hehan and his queen Mumtaz-i-Mahal.

## 3) The Seljuk Style

There is a considerable number of impressive architectural monuments dating from the time of the Seljukian

Empire including mosques, medresses and mausoleums, fortresses, caravanseries and baths, These architectural monuments clearly reveal that the Seljuks migrated from Central Asia through Persia to Asia Minor, and this is revealed throughout the entire architecture and also by the reliefs of lions, dragons and eagles on the city walls of their successive capitals, especially in Bagdad and Konya. As most important examples must be mentioned the moslem college of Konya dating from 1251 and known as "Ince Minare Medresesi", the college in Sivas from the year 1217 (Sifaiye Medresesi), as well as the Mosque "Cifte Minare" from 1272 in the same city, the Sahibiye Medresse in Kayseri and about 30 miles south thereof the famous caravansery Sultan Hani, together with the 14th century mausoleum Hudavend Hatun in Nigde. The architecture which reached an imposing level during its period of greatest achievement influenced the early style of the Ottoman architecture, e.g., the famous Green Mosque at Bursa.

#### 4) The Ottoman Style

The Ottoman architecture between 1400 and 1800 essentially went beyond the Seljukian style, whereby not only Arabic and Persian influence, but subsequent to the conquest of Constantinople (1453) also Byzantine style elements became visible. The Ottoman style is, of all Islamik styles, the most structural in masses and conception and impressive in its scale. The Byzantine church of St. Sophia in Constantinople became the prototype for the great mosques. White marble was also used. Some of the most famous buildings in this style came into being under the direction of the greatest Turkish architect Sinan (1489-1587). To the best examples of the Ottoman style belong the Green Mosque at Bursa, the Mehmediye Mosque (1460) in Constantinople, the Great Selimiye Mosque in Adrianople (1530) as well as the Suleimaniye Mosque, the Shah Zade Mosque (1556), the Valide Mosque and the Sultan Ahmed I Mosque from the 17th century, together with the Nuri Osmaniye (1756) from the 18th century (all in Constantinople). Also worthy of mention are the pretentious palaces, tombs and fountains. After the capture of Egypt (1517) and Tunisia and Algerian in Northern Africa, buildings on Ottoman models were constructed there too.



5) Modern Developments

Modern architecture in Turkey finds itself in the same situation as Turkish music, oriental tunes competing with European music, and in both spheres German and Austrian influences pre-dominate. While the music of the Berlin composer Paul Hindemith and the Viennese Joseph Marx introduced the new music epoch, the German master builder Hermann Hansen drew up the master plan of Ankara, new capital of the Turkish republic. Most of the buildings housing the ministries were designed by the Viennese Clemens Holzmeister. Nevertheless, the Turks are striving for a style of their own. The State together with the Academy of Fine Arts is striving to awake an understanding for art in all spheres and to make a tradition of the cultivation of the many possible models from the past of the country. Thus not only the many mosques of the greatest Turkish architect Sinan are under the protection of the State, but also all excavation sites from pre-Turkish eras, Hittite lions and reliefs, ancient places like Troy, Pergamon, Pompeiopolis, Ephesus and Sardis, the Forum of Augustus in Ankara and others, while the Byzantine church of St. Sophia in Constantinople which was converted into a mosque by Mehmet II was restored and made into a museum "in the interest of art". It is too early to attempt an overall picture of the modern development of architecture in Turkey.

The modern evolution of the architecture of Turanian peoples in Russia is developing along similar lines. Although the endeavor toward a Soviet or Socialist architecture influenced building activities in Central Asia and the Caucasus, the oriental traditional architecture continues to be in existence there. This development had its inception when a group of Soviet architects were no longer able to push through their opinion that the new Socialist way of life called for a unified architecture, so-called "monumental constructionalism", to be introduced in all Union Republics. This group of architects lost the race to another group, which was intent upon following classic architecture. Thanks to this development buildings were constructed both in the Union Republics of the Caucasus and Central Asia and at the annual expositions in Moscow (for example, pavilions of Union Republics) which were modern and utilitarian but along the classic oriental architectural lines of these areas. It cannot be stated with accuracy where this development is leading and

whether it will be permitted to continue.

### 3. Other Spheres of Art

There was much and extensive activity in these spheres, so that for the purpose of rounding off the picture, merely high lights will be indicated below.

The achievements of the Seljuks with reference to architectural ornament and plastic art have already been mentioned. The Seljuks brought a tradition of plastic art with them when they migrated from Turkestan to Asia Minor. Thus we find in the 11th to 14th century statues, reliefs of lions, double eagles, dragons, and stucco plaques, (square fayence tiles) of excellent workmanship.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, in the Mogul Empire, Indian influences and later Sassanid influences may be clearly traced, the latter especially in the 19th century.

The Turks developed the ornament into an entirely abstract form of art decoration, with the fillet, the arabesque and the palm-leaf as a favorite type of motif.

The Turks also proved themselves artistic artisans in the manufacture of artifacts such as furniture for palaces, ceramics, glass and crystal ware (Ottoman pottery is famous) metal work (buckles, bracelets are outstanding), bronzes (Koran holders and mosque lamps are famous throughout the world), weapons (celebrated Mongol blades, Damascus steel has world renown, Turkish helmets), lacquering and book binding.

In the sphere of painting, splendid achievements were brought forth in frescoes and book illustrations, as well as in exquisite calligraphy, the latter tending toward the abstract.

From Sinkiang to Asia Minor, rug weaving has reached a remarkable state of excellency with conventional patterns, and superb needlework may also be found the length and breadth of these regions.

IV

The Economic Position of the Turco-Mongolian Regions  
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The subsequent expositions in their entirety will give the reader an impressive picture of the actual economic potential of these peoples, given their unity and independence, at the same time revealing what a tremendous importance these areas have for the USSR, as well as the contribution they could make to world trade and the technico-economical process of making Asia accessible for settlement and trade, if the regions were "opened" to the Western world. While such a claim would have sounded phantastic half a century ago because these nationalities were not in a cultural and technical position to master the problems connected with the establishment of a healthy state structure of this size, today it may be said that these peoples, despite all oppression, are in a better position to do so, both as to technology and culture. Merely the question of financial capital would have to be investigated more closely, as per capita tax receipts from a plurality of the population would be very low, but the tremendous resources of most valuable natural resources and agricultural possibilities, as well as cheapest labor would, without a doubt, make these countries into a much sought after field for investment, which would yield rich interest, presupposing stable political conditions. The almost bewildering multiplicity of nationalities and "state areas" might at first glance permit doubts to spring up, but in the course of close contact with members of the various national groups the author realized clearly that not only a feeling of belonging together (group spirit) predominates, but that the extended time period of belonging to one state (USSR) has made it a matter of course for these people to think and plan in terms of vast areas, at the same time relegating local egoistical interests to a secondary position. The "United Turanian States" for which they are striving would form an empire of oil, coal, metals, cotton, and cattle.

The outline for the exposition would be the present state structure of these peoples, disregarding the "islands" (Chuvash, Tatar, Bashkir, Yakut ASSR's) outside of the main settlement area.

A. Asia Minor and Europe

1. The Turkish Republic

Cereals are cultivated for food purposes almost everywhere and do not need to be imported in normal times. Wheat and barley are in the van. The latter is even exported. There follow maize, rye, oats, and rice. In exports, grapes play an important role, together with olives, figs, citrus fruits, and almonds. With reference to sultana raisins, it is in second or third place in the world and ranks with the United States. Figs, which originated here, make Turkey the world's largest exporter. Turkey is the world's leading producer of filbert nuts, supplying half of the world's demand. For industrial purposes, sugar beets, cotton and roses are important. Poppies are also gaining in importance. Turkish tobaccos are also world-famous. Opium is also exported. Arable soil comprises 14% of the country's area.

Meadows comprising 58% of the country's area make cattle breeding possible. Relatively spare steppes have resulted in a preponderance of sheep and goat breeding. The so-called Angora goats, furnishing the highly esteemed Mohair, have become world famous. Turkish mohair is the finest in the world as the wool combines durability with softness. Cattle is in third place. Poultry breeding has made possible egg exports.

With reference to the textile industry, cotton industry is in first place (installations in Bakirkoy, Izmit, Adana, Mersin, Kayseri, Eregli, Nazilli, Malatya). Processing of wool covers indigenous demand. Installations are at Istanbul, Ankara, Izmit, Kutahya and Bursa. Silkwork industry and rayon production from cellulose (Bursa) as well as the manufacture of rugs (Izmir, Kayseri, Isparta, Hereke) are also worthy of mention.

Paper production (Izmit) and glass manufacture (in Pasabahce 50% of indigenous demand for glass and bottles is produced) as well as ceramics at Kutahya have developed rapidly.

Natural resources, formerly scarcely explored, have proved rich and the industrialization of the country has begun. Iron ore is mined at Adapazari (mines of Ferizli

and Akcukur) and refined in Karabük, Mercury, molybdenum, pyrites, and antimony are also found. Sulphur is mined at Keciborlu; manganese at Kepez near Eregli, at Marmaris, Fethiye and Antalya; lead at Hoca, Cermis, Kalya and Bulgar-Maden; zinc at Keban, copper at Erganimaden near Diyarbakir, Murgul and Kuvarshan. Considerable quantities of chromium ore, about 17% of the world's production, are mined in Turkey. The mines are in Guleman in the north-west near Erganimaden, and at Fethiye in the southeast, and produce a total of 195,000 metric tons. This places Turkey in second place in the world. Coal is mined near Eregli and exported via Zonguldak. Cement is manufactured at Arslan, Kartal and Ankara and is enough for the country's needs. Turkey has a monopoly in meerschaum and also emery (aluminum oxid).

## B. The Caucasus

The caucasus has the riches of panorama and natural resources characteristic of a mountainous country. There are deposits of anthracite, salt, iron ore, copper, zinc, and other non-ferrous metals. Gold and silver are also found. The naphta and manganese ore reserves have become of decisive importance for the entire industry of the Soviet Union. The variety in climate and soil makes it possible to develop the most varied of agricultural cultivation. The far reaches of the Northern Caucasus make possible both animal husbandry and grain cultivation on a large scale.

### 1. Transcaucasia

#### a. Azerbaijan SSR

Azerbaijan, this country of steppes and mountains, is one of the richest and most highly developed agricultural and industrial republics of the USSR.

Truck farming, general farming, animal husbandry and fishing are highly developed and many sided. The most important agrarian products are cotton (210,000 hectares, olives, grapes, tea and tobacco. In addition, there is a silk worm culture. Fisheries in rivers and the Caspian Sea are extensive. The major part of animal husbandry consists of sheep and goats.

On the basis of the above-mentioned products, a many-sided industry has developed in the land, increased further by rich natural resources. In the area of the former capital Kirovabad (formerly Gandzha or Yelizvetpol), today comprising 75,000 inhabitants and surrounded by extensive cotton fields, the cotton industry of the land developed. There are also soap factories there. In addition to cotton ginning mills, there are efficient silk weaving mills at various localities, for instance at Ordubat, where there is also a jam factory.

The mineral wealth, however, is most important of all. There is not only iron ore, salt, copper in large quantities but also lead, sulphur, arsenic, pyrites and coal. In Kirovabad and Saglik alunités are mined which are of importance for the production of aluminum. The copper mines are near Kantara. Important iron ore deposits are found near Dashkesan, which, together with the deposits at Malkinski in Kabardino-Balkaria are estimated at 37.2 million tons. In Lungait near Baku, synthetic rubber is produced with the help of petroleum by-products. An entirely new industrial area is being constructed in Mingechaursk (Mingeschauri) approximately at the confluence of the Aras and Kura rivers, where a large hydraulic power plant was constructed.

The most important raw material of the land and of the USSR, however, is oil. Despite the discovery and the development of further oil fields in other parts of the Soviet Union during the years past, oil production in and about the Azerbaijan capital of Baku on the Caspian Sea is still of vital importance for Russia. Of Russia's estimated total production of approximately 47 million tons a year (1942), Azerbaijan near Baku produces about 27 million tons of oil or 57% of total production. As is generally known, the oil is pumped through pipe lines to the Black Sea (Batumi) and other localities. Azerbaijanis from the Apsheron Peninsula told the author, however, about technical difficulties in pumping the oil, and of indications that single fields are being exhausted. They estimated that on the basis of official Soviet statistics, the entire area would be exhausted by about 1975.

It is unfortunately true that in this part of the country, as in all of the Soviet Union, there are concentration camps. At this point I want to point to the

Yuzh Camp (Yuzhlag) in the southeastern part of the country, where slave laborers are working on railroad construction from Baku to the border territory of Lenkoran on the northeastern frontier of Persia. Other laborer groups are working on the construction of airfields. The seat of the administration of the Yuzh camps is Baku.

1) Nakhichevan ASSR

The autonomous republic of Nakhichevan, founded in 1924, is a transportation center of importance for trade between Russia (Baku, Tiflis) and Iran (Tabriz, Teheran). There is an electric plant, several motor-driven flour mills, and a leather factory there. This area is of major economic importance because of the rock salt deposits estimated at 150 million tons.

2) Nagorno Karabagh AR

The economic importance of this small area lies in the fact that it increases the products of Azerbaijan through extensive grain cultivation as well as fruit cultures and vineyards.

Moreover, silver and lead mining has been initiated lately on the basis of available natural resources.

b. Iranian Azerbaijan

This province in Northwest Iran is very fertile and contains orchards, its gardens yielding fruits of every description.

The sparsely developed industry is capable of growth as lead, copper, oil, sulphur and marble have been found.

c. The Armenian SSR

This mountainous tableland is very fertile and thus very suitable for farming and orchards. Potatoes and tobacco play a major role, but also wheat, rye and sugar beets are grown. Extensive meadows form the basis for animal husbandry, cattle, sheep and pigs predominating. Further,

climate conditions permit cotton cultivation (19,000 hectares), especially in the area of Leninakan, the former Alexandropol, a city of 65,000 inhabitants.

Industries are based on deposits of copper, mined in Kafan and Zangezur, which is found together with lead, zinc and silver. Gold is also found. Lime, pumice and marble abound. Molybdenum also plays a role. Industrial installations are for the most part in Yerevan. Synthetic rubber is manufactured there with the help of industrial alcohol (from potatoes) plus acetylen. A glass industry has also developed there. In Kirovakan, formerly Karaklis, a city with about 15,000 inhabitants, there are chemical installations, which allegedly process Armenian alunites. A new industrial center is being developed around a gigantic power plant at Rustavi. Northeast thereof, along the Sevan Lake, there are evidently deposits of alunites and manganites, responsible for the springing up of new industries.

d. The Georgian SSR

The Georgian SSR is mountainous in the West (along Black Sea) and level in the East. The landscape is very manifold and soil and climate conditions are favorable. Truck farming and general farming, combined with sericulture, yield corn (principal crop), wheat, oranges, grapes, tobacco (especially in the Ozurgetti district), tea, as well as vegetables and fruits of all descriptions. Bee keeping and silk-worm breeding (especially around Kutais) are important pursuits. There are also the necessary pre-conditions for cattle raising. In addition, the mountain sides are heavily timbered. The land further has many mineral springs. Especially Tiflis, Abbas-tuman and Borzhom are noted spas.

Industries, based on agriculture, have been established in Tiflis, Kutais and Poti including industries for food processing, wine, marmelade, tobacco, leather and bricks. The remaining industries were based on the considerable and many sided natural resources especially manganese ore, copper ore, anthracite, and naphtha. The chief product, manganese, which is mined in the district of Chiatury, is said to comprise 165 million tons, and is said to be of high quality and to constitute a major part of total production of the USSR. Ore processing installations are at



Dshugeli (Kvirily, Zestafoni) connected with a modern and large hydro-electric power plant on the Rion River. Khram is allegedly scheduled to become the industrial center of this area. Another hydro-electric development, the Zema-Avchalsk station, was built on the Kura River not far from Tiflis. For the processing of copper ores mined at Agarak and Alaverdi, it is said that a further hydro-electric power plant was constructed on the Dshoraget River. Anthracite is mined in the area of Kutais near Tkvartsheli and Tkvibuli; also at Gelati, north of Tiflis. Iron is mined at Chataksk, south of Tiflis. Naphtha is found north of Yorak.

1) The Abkhasian ASSR

This extremely mountainous and densely forested area has a subtropical climate. There is malaria. In the forests, oak and walnut predominate. In the valleys and along the coast of the Black Sea a variety of plants grow: grain, tea, mulberries for silk, citrus fruits (oranges, mandarins, lemons), tobacco, corn, wine grapes, figs and palms.

2) The Adzharian ASSR

The very mild climate and good soil make this land a paradise for gardeners. While the mountain sides are covered with dense forests, everything imaginable grows in the valleys and along the sea. Here is a list: grapes, peaches, pomegranates, figs, olives, chestnuts, apricots, apples, pears, plums, cherries, melons, tea, corn, potatoes, peas, cotton, rice, tobacco, sunflowers, mulberry for silk cultivation, bamboo, palms and beautiful flowers.

3) The South Ossetian AR

The autonomous region of South Ossetia is built up on corn and orchards.

2. Northern Caucasia

a. The Dagestan ASSR

Half of this country consists of steppes and hills, and half of mountains. The plains of the narrow coastal strip offer pasture for sheep and goat herds. The delta of the Terek River contains salt marshes. Otherwise the coun-

try boasts of a good soil for horticulture, fruit and vine culture, rice, almond, peach, apricots and cotton (early cotton near Makhach Kala and late cotton near Derbent). In the foothills there are fertile and cultivated valleys where the peasants harvest good crops of grain, cotton, silk, flax, tobacco, sunflower seeds, and fruits. The forests also begin there. Little grows in the wild and sterile mountain zone, and the population lives by making carpets and traditional silver and gold embroideries. The very severe climate of the high mountain area permits animal husbandry only on a few plateau pastures. Along the coast much fishing is done.

In the cities and villages, a home industry of especially cloth, felt and carpet making, is wide spread. There is also a glass industry. Cotton mills are in Makhach Kala and Tagier. The port of Makhach Kala, where much fishing is done, is a center of fishing industries and has extensive storage facilities. Fishing industries are also in Derbent, a port of 27,000 inhabitants further south. In addition, there are also wool spinning mills. Kizliar on the Terek delta is becoming more and more of a center for vine and fruit. The development in Buinaksk (or Temir Khan Shura) is following a similar course, gaining growing importance through the establishment of fruit preserving factories. Some 600,000 tons a year (1942) of naphtha are being mined, i.e. 1.3% of total production in the USSR. Makhach Kala, is connected with Grozny through an oil pipe line, by means of which additional oil is brought to the coast.

b. The Checheno-Ingush ASSR (The Grozny Oblast

The country consists of steppes and wooded slopes. Winter wheat, oats, millet, barley are grown. In addition the cultivation of grapes flourishes. The forests yield rich crop of timber.

The actual economic importance of this country lies in its naphtha industry. Mining near Grozny is said to have totalled 4.1 million tons in 1942, equal to 8.6% of total production in the USSR. There is a pipe line from Grozny to Makhach Kala, the capital of Daghestan, another one northeast of Grozny to Armavir and Tuapse on the Black Sea as well as a branch from Armavir to Trudovaya. Smaller miscellaneous pursuits include weaving, spinning, and saw milling industries. In home industries, leather goods, as well as traditional daggers and knives are produced.

c. The North Ossetian ASSR

It is predominantly mountain terrain with agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry. The economic importance of the area is in its mineral resources. The most important are silver, lead and zinc. In the mines of Sadon and Alagir some 19,000 tons of lead and 84,000 tons of zinc are said to have been mined in 1938. In Dzaudzhikau there are installations for the production of electrolytic zinc and lead.

d. The Kabardino-Balkarian ASSR

While Kabardinia is a region of plains and foot hills, Balkaria is a region entirely mountainous and includes the highest portion of the Caucasus. In Kabardinia, agriculture produces corn as a main crop, and, in addition, potatoes, millet, sunflower seeds, melons, and cucumbers thrive. Poultry and cattle raising are widespread. Parts of Kabardinia and all of Balkaria are well forested, especially with beech, maple and oak. Raising of goats, sheep and hunting are main pursuits.

The economic backbone of this area, however, are the considerable iron ore deposits near Malkinski, which are processed in Azerbaijan together with the deposits of Dashkesan. (Estimated 37 million tons). Electric power stations were erected on the Malkan and Baksan rivers. Malchik also has an electric power station. There are timber and flour mills there.

This list must be completed by mentioning the concentration camp near this city, the inmates of which are employed in construction work and work in the oil fields.

e. The Stavropol Krai

The Stavropol Krai belongs to the RSFSR, comprises 40,000 square miles and a mixed Russian-Ukrainian-Caucasian population of 1,900,000. The Krai is subdivided into 54 rayons with 12 cities, 1 worker settlement and 488 village soviets. The capital Stavropol (formerly known as Voroshilovsk and Alchevsk) has over 60,000 inhabitants and is a wheat and cattle center (in the Stavropol steppe there were millions of merino sheep), as well as a center of the iron industry.

1) The Karachaian AR

In this area agriculture and stockraising are the main occupations.

2) The Cherkessian AR

The population lives from agriculture, animal husbandry, and river fisheries. South of Yeshevo-Cherkesk, anthracite is mined.

f. The Krasnodar Krai

Like the Stavropol Krai situated east of this territory, it is a rich agrarian area, specializing in wheat and cattle. The capital, Krasnodar, has naphtha installations.

1) The Adygei AR

In agriculture, grains and cattle raising (including working oxen) predominate. For industry, manganese and naphtha are of decisive importance. Manganese ore deposits at Labinskoye are estimated at 34 million tons. Of importance are further the Maikop Taman naphtha beds. The yearly production (1942) is said to have amounted to 3.7 million tons or 7.8% of total USSR production. In Maikop there is a plant for the production of aviation gasoline.

g. The Kalmyck ASSR (Astrakhan Oblast)

The area is completely made up of steppes and desert. There are large areas of moving sands as well as of salty, clayey or sandy soil. Water is obtainable only from wells in certain areas. This makes about half of the steppe unfit for cultivation, while 40% of the area is pasture land. In these areas live the Kalmycks with their herds, mostly Merino sheep. Horses and camels are also raised. In the Ergeni Hills, which once upon a time formed the coast line of the Caspian Sea, they cultivate wheat, rye, barley, millet, oats, sunflowers, and mustard. Along the coast of the Caspian Sea there is much fishing and large fish canneries have sprung up in the small ports.

After the dissolution of the Kalmyck ASSR

After the dissolution of the Kalmuck ASSR by the Soviets, the administrative capital has become Astrakhan. The city, lying on an island in the delta of the Volga, is the largest inland port of the USSR. Its 254,000 inhabitants are composed of Russians, Kalruck, Tatars, and Kazakhs. Its irregular streets and its architecture, including the Kremlin, mosques and a Buddhist temple, give the city of three sectors an oriental stamp. Fisheries, especially sturgeon, anchovy, herring, mackarel, as well as bream and carp (in fresh water), and the industries connected therewith (including the famous caviar industry) control the city. The numerous shallow water arms, with a veritable jungle of reeds, in which the fishes have their spawning grounds, make the city into a malarial area.

h. The Crimean ASSR (Crimea Oblast)

It is a beautiful country, one does not like to surrender. It is often called the Russian Riviera. On the southern coast grow an abundance of fruit, especially cherries, apples and pears, but also peaches, pomegranates, almonds, apricots, figs, olive groves and mulberries. Tatar villages with their mosques are surrounded by cypresses, hazel nuts and walnuts, vineyards, and tobacco plantations. In the gardens grow magnolias, oleander, myrtle, and tulip trees. On the mountain slopes we find forests with pines, oaks, elms and beech. From the Russian bathing resorts, hikes can be made to beautiful palaces, ancient Greek and Genoese ruins and old fortresses. Visitors purchase souvenirs of beautiful metal, leather and wool products, for which the Tatars are famous. There are also wines of excellent quality. North of the mountains, in the wide steppe, large herds graze on pastures with rare flowers. Economy is based on fishing (mullet, mackarel, herring, sturgeon, salmon and eels). There is much ship building. In addition, there are flour mills, jam and pickle factories, as well as soap works. At Lake Sakch, salt is produced and in the extreme east, near Kerch, there are iron mines.

3. Central Asia

a. The Kazakh SSR

The tremendous expanses of dry, treeless steppes, which look like a sea of grass, make extensive stock

raising possible, so that Kazakhstan is the second most important livestock region of Russia. Cattle and sheep predominate, but horses and camels are also bred. Equally important is the cultivation of cereals, of which wheat constitutes 60%, but in addition oats and barley are grown and there are extensive fields of sugar beets. Cotton and rice also thrive in many areas of the south, and rich harvests of dandelions are processed for rubber. In this plain lie the well-known large lakes, the Sea of Aral, Lake Balkash and Lake Nor-Zaissan, all areas for fishery and salt manufacture.

Industries of the most varied types developed rapidly with the opening of the enormous mineral wealth of the country. Kazakhstan, leads in the USSR in the production of copper, lead, zinc, and tungsten, while gold, iron ore, coal, petroleum are in second or an equally important place. They supplement the industrial branches of agriculture for wool and cotton (textile factories), meat packing plants, leather works and flour mills.

Copper mines are located at Kounrad and Bertys along the northern shore of Lake Balkash, at Atbazar, Atlas and Spask, in the area of Karaganda (smelting installations at Riddersk, Kounrad and Spask), as well as at Dzeskazgan in West Kazakhstan and at Almalyk and Bashekulsk. Lead and zinc deposits are to be found in the Altai region at Bashekulsk, Atbazar, Riddersk, Sokolnoye, Siryanovo, Yekibastus with smelting works at Chinkent (South Kazakhstan). These deposits are the only ones in the USSR and of great importance.

Gold is also mined, especially in the Altai area, but also in West and Central Kazakhstan. The total production of this republic is in second place in the USSR (Russia is the second producer after South Africa). Gold is also found in the Dzhetygara region (West Kazakhstan), in Dzhelambet, Maikan and Stepniak (Central Kazakhstan). Kazakhstan is the "Donetz basin of the gold industry". In the Altai area gold is found near Smeinogorsk, Syryanovsk, Riddersk (supplies allegedly of 50,000 kilos) Yekibastus, and in Kuznetski-Alatau, along the rivers Tom, Mraza, Kondoma, Balyk-su, Kiya and Yaya; furthermore in the Southern Altai area in the Kalba mountains, Ak-Ishal, Balandzhal, Alkabek and especially Kulundzhun as well as in the Turgai steppe.

Many of these places could not be located on available inadequate maps, and possibly some of them do not lie in Kazakhstan.

Silver is found in Chinkent (Altai). This is the most important place where it is found in the USSR.

Iron ore is mined in Karkaralin, Atasuisk, Chetsk and Kazakpay.

Chromites are to be found near Aktyubinsk (natural chromenickel ores), phosphorites at Dzharbul (Mirzoyan, Aulie-Ata) and Aktyubinsk. In Aktyubinsk, a dusty city with white houses, there is a gigantic phosphorus fertilizer plant and outside of the city a modern ferrochrome plant. In addition, there are found cadmium, and gallium. Borax is produced along Lake Inder. At Lake Aral there is to be found salt (potash salt).

There are coal deposits in Kazakhstan, which are of great importance. They lie in the area of Karaganda and Spask, southeast of Akmolinsk and Chinkent. These deposits rank third in the USSR. Near Karaganda alone  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million tons are mined every year. Total estimates of the deposits run to 53 billion tons. Further deposits of anthracite in Kazakhstan are to be found in Yekibastus, Kenderlinsk, Lengersk, Baikapursk, Chokopansk and Barchogursk.

Oil is drilled along the northern shore of the Caspian Sea in the area of the Emba River and near Aktyubinsk. Yearly production of this area amounts to 2 million tons (1942) or 4.2% of USSR. Oil fields are at Emba, Dossor, Makat, Neftedag and Bishka. A 435 mile pipe line runs from Emba to Orsk in southern Ural, where there are refineries.

Manganese ores are mined on the peninsula of Mangyshlak.

There is also no lack of concentration camps in Kazakhstan. There is a camp near Aktyubinsk, whose inmates have to work in constructing industries. Another camp lies near Petropavlosk, whose men work on roads and in mines. A number of further camps lie in the area of Karaganda, Dolinskoe and Spask, whose numerous inmates (150,000) are used for the construction of road, and railroads as well as factories.

Others work in coal, copper and silver mines. Still others have to work in stockraising and vegetable gardens. There is also a camp near Semipalatinsk and another one near Leningorsk, whose prisoners are also used for road construction and the mining of light metals.

b. The Uzbek SSR

Uzbekistan is an old, intensively cultivated agrarian country, based on oasis cultivation and artificial irrigation. Production is considerable in cotton, silk, fruit, rice and grain (wheat, maize, sorghum).

It is called the "Land of White Gold", because it is the largest cotton growing area of the USSR. It produces 60%, especially in Ferghana and Andizhan districts. Also in regard to silk and rice it is the largest producer of the Soviet Union. Oil-bearing seeds and rubber cultivation have developed considerably. About 60,000 hectares of irrigated soil are available for fruit plantations and vineyards.

The supply of the population with vegetables and fruit is good. In May strawberries, in June Uryuk (small, very sweet apricots) in July peaches, in August grapes and wonderful honey-dew and watermelons, as well as cucumbers. From April to October fresh vegetables, tomatoes, radishes baklashany (egg plant), onions, sweet peppers and red beets are available continually. In Winter there are large quantities of kishmish (sweet raisins), all sorts of dried fruit, the amber colored stripes of dried honey-dew melons and of nuts and almonds on the market.

But also stock raising is wide spread, especially in the steppe areas. The most important is sheep and cattle raising (the former famed for lamb fleece). There are also, however, camels, horses, mules and goats. In the Termez region, along the Amu-Darya, there are turtles, the meat and eggs of which are relished.

Although of recent date, industry is developing rapidly and is already of importance. Copper, polymetals, sulphur, coal, oil, and ores formed its basis and supplement cotton gins, dried fruit and ham canneries, agricultural machines, as well as dairies, textile, shoe and food industries. A gigantic cotton mill was built in Tashkent as was a large factory manufacturing agricultural machinery, as well as metal



working plants# (dispersed war plants) and fertilizer factories, which are supplied with power by the new hydroelectric plant at Chirchik. Copper is mined in the valley of Angren not far from Tashkent. Coal is to be found there too, so that Uzbekistan has become independent of coal transports. Mining was not begun in earnest until during the war. Coal is also to be found in the Andizhan district, together with ozokerite. Radio active ores are being mined in Ferghana Valley (at Tyuya Muyun). Oil is being pumped not far from the city of Ferghana. A cotton mill, a silk spinning mill, and an oil mill are also there. In the other cities of the valley, in Kokand, Andizhan, Namangan and Kuvasi, industrial centers are also being developed. Of importance for industry and agriculture is the large hydroelectric power plant of Farkhat on the Syr-Darya, where it breaks through the Mogol-Tau range (built in 1943/44 and furnishing power for the Tashkent industrial area) as well as the "Great Ferghana Kanal" (Stalin Canal) one of the largest irrigation installations of the USSR. The first 170-mile stretch of this canal was finished in 6 weeks by 160,000 people (inhabitants of the valley). For the construction of grandiose streets and gigantic buildings, "mass initiative and voluntary participation of thousands of collective farmers" were used. In the historic cities of Samarkand (silk industry) and Bokhara (cotton industry), new factories are springing up. Between these cities, in the district of Katta-Kurgan, a gigantic dam was built for the irrigation of the fields. The lake which was thus formed is called the "Uzbek Ocean". This too was built through "mass initiative".

This mobilization of the masses is supplemented through the use of inmates of concentration camps south of Tashkent, who like the inmates of the nearby camp of Yangi-Yul are used for building roads and factories. In the oil field of this country there also seem to be camps. Fact is that knowledge has been received of a camp in Sukobezwodni.

From an economic and historic administrative point of view the region of Khorezm, belonging administratively to Uzbekistan because of its population, should be mentioned here. It is also known as the Oasis of Khiva, surrounded by hot desert stretches. These furnish rich grazing for nomad flocks only in short annual springs, and only in certain sections. In the fertile oasis cotton, fruits of all sorts, melons, vegetables, as well as wheat, corn, millet, and

lucerne grow luxuriantly. The city of Khiva with its numerous mosques and minarets, mazars (tomb stones), Moslem colleges, and the narrow alleys with potters, rug weavers, blacksmiths, and leather workers is like a museum of the oriental Middle Ages. About 20 miles away Novo-Urgenj has been built, the modern, friendly capital of the area. The oasis is connected with the other parts of the land with air lines and river steamship lines.

1) The Karakalpak ASSR

The land consists principally of desert, the Kizil Kum (red sand) desert with large sand dunes. The center of life lies in the Khiva oasis and along the irrigation canals in the localities of Nukus, Turtkul, Chimbai (6,000 inhabitants), Takhta-Kupyr and Kungrad (4,000 inhabitants). While the major portion of the population subsists on stock raising, especially the world famous Karakul sheep (Astrakhan fleece), major attention was also devolved upon the cultivation of cotton and alfalfa. Furthermore, the best seed lucerne of all Central Asia is grown there, which is also exported under the name of KA-KA-O (Kara-Kalpakian-Oblast). In Muinaka, on the coast of Aral Sea, a large fish processing industry has been established.

c. The Turkmen SSR

Turkmenistan, exactly like Karakalpakia, is predominantly desert (80%). The Kara kum desert (the black sands), which extends from the Persian and Afghan borders up to Lake Aral and the plateau of Ust-Urt, as well of from Amu-Darya to the Caspian Sea, has, in Turkmen regions, sand dunes up to 60 feet high, covered in part with tamarisks and desert grasses, in which wolves and jackals, foxes, hares and marmots live. The life of a majority of the population takes place along the narrow strip of irrigated land along the rivers, especially the Amu Darya. In these areas an increasing amount of cotton plantations (Egyptian types) are being established, as well as silk worm cultures (Mari=Merv and Ashkhabad), and the cultivation of grain and garden products (grapes, fruit, melons, vegetables, roses) is also carried on.

In the sheltered river valley of the Zumbar and Abrek, with its sub-tropic climate, the Mexican rubber plant Guayuly is being cultivated. Even date palms bear

bear fruit there.

Stock raising is also wide spread. The Yomudian and Tekinian racing horses are famous. Sheep raising predominates (wool, meat, Karakul fleece).

All industrial installations are of recent date. In the capital of Ashkhabad there are factories for large-scale silk manufacture, a cotton mill, a large glass factory, a meat combine and a shoe factory. North of the city, in the desert, a sulphur plant was built. The minerals and naphtha found there form the basis for industries, for instance 35,000 tons of salt annually, 700 tons ozokerite. Traditional rug weaving is spread over the entire area. Furthermore, the area on the Caspian Sea is of interest. It includes the harbor of Krasnovodsk (30,000) across from Baku, founded in 1888. The city receives fresh water by means of tankers from the Kura in the Caucasus. The water installations contain de-salting installations as large ocean liners have them. North of the city lies the Kara-Bogaz gulf, where enormous salt deposits are left after dehydration. The greatest importance among salts found there is that of the Mirabilite (sodium sulphate). The city of Kara-Bogaz-Gol was built there. Southeast of Krasnovodsk lies the oil field of Nebit-Dag. Oil is also found on the island of Cheleken.

There is a concentration camp oil field work in Chardzhoui.

d. The Tajik SSR

Tadzhikistan is principally mountainous country, in which it is alleged grow the prototypes of our most important grains (from which in the course of thousands of years, man has developed the present brands of wheat, barley and rye), and where are to be found coal, metals and oil. The difference between day and night temperatures is the greatest in the world.

Agriculture is very diversified in the sheltered valleys. Cultivation of wheat, corn and barley, cotton (Egyptian brand) rice, as well as fruits (apricots, olives, vines, melons) is carried on. In addition, there is stock raising, comprising not only cattle, sheep (famous for gissar sheep), goats and mules, but also

camels. Among horse breeds, the Lokai and Karabair horses are famous in Russia.

The industry of the land is of very recent date, having come into existence after the building of 20 power plants. An important part of industry lies in the valley of Ferghana (silk, fruit canning, oil, and mines). In addition, valuable minerals are found in the Ura-Tyube region, where coal is also being mined, while in the Zarafshan basin, there is iron in addition to coal. In the valley of the Vanch, manganese is also found. Traditional carpentry as well as leather factories and milling industries are available. South of Stalinabad, known for its hot springs, lies the valley of the Vakhsh, through which flows a tributary of the Amu-Darya. Thanks to the building of an extensive system of irrigation, large cotton plantations have been made possible. In the city of Kurgan-Tyube, lying in the valley, the largest cotton gin of Central Asia was built, side by side with a mill combine.

1) The Gorno-Badakhshan AR

Because of the severe climate and the high mountains, only scanty crops thrive in the favorably situated valleys and the stony high desert. There are rye, potatoes, cabbage and beets. In addition, there is stock raising (yaks, horses, mules, asses, sheep and goats) and trapping (fox, marten, and others). In the valleys of East Pamir live 5,500 (13% of the population) stock raising Kirghiz. In an altitude of 4,000 meters, the large State Cattle Experiment Station "Pamir" was established. Near Murgab, coal mining was begun.

e. The Kirghiz SSR

Although the climate is continental (wide variations in temperature), it is favorable for the cultivation of cotton, wheat, sugar beets, poppy, tobacco, fruit, melons, sunflowers, hemp (for sacks) and horticulture. With reference to sugar beets (record crops) and poppy, Kirghizia leads production in the USSR. The abundance of flowers in the gigantic areas of meadows and pastures makes bee keeping an important pursuit.

One of the most important branches of agriculture is stock raising, especially sheep, goats, cattle and horses, as well as camels. The "Kurdyuk-Merino sheep" bred

by the Kirghiz Stock Raising Institute are famous in Russia for their fat tails (fat tail sheep) and their extremely fine fleece. No less successful are the Kirghiz, born riders that they are, as horse breeders. They breed famous English and Don lines (thoroughbreds). The mountain regions are densely wooded with coniferous and frondiferous trees, and in the valleys are extensive forests of nut trees (walnut crop first in USSR) as well as mulberries, apple, cherry, and pistaggio trees. In the mountains and forests there are mountain goats, linx and tigers.

Industries are developing rapidly, thanks to the unusual diversity of mineral wealth. With regard to rare metals, Kirghizistan holds first place in Soviet Russia, as 60% of all known elements are found there. These are: coal, petroleum, iron, copper, lead, tin, zinc, silver, gold, mercury, arsen, molybdenum, wolfram, vanadium, indium, torium, gallium, uran, niobium, radium, asbestos, tungsten, and sulphur. There are more than 300 large industrial undertakings, coal mines and combines for the mining and processing of polymetals and gold and silver. In addition, 130 new power plants have been built. The sugar beet industry has grown rapidly (Chuiskaya plain). The city of Osh is a center for the silk industry. Frunze has cloth, clothing, and tobacco factories, as well as a leather factory. On the edge of the city there is a meat combine. The center of poppy processing industry is Karakol (Przhevalsk). On the eastern edge of Issyk-Kul (translation: Hot Lake, it has hot springs), in the valley of Dzhargalau, anthracite is mined. Soft coal is found at Kzyl-Ky (new mining equipment), Naryn, Shurab, Solyutka, and Issyk-Kul, the deposits being estimated at 3 billion tons. Iron ore deposits are estimated at 12 million tons. Mining has just begun. Lead and mercury have already been produced in considerable quantities.

f. The Krai Altai

The Krai Altai, which is situated along the Chinese border east of Kazakhstan, is an essential part of the early home land of the Turks and gave its name to the "Altaic language" and peoples family". In the southern area between the Irtysh and the Yenisei, there are still tribes of Turks and Mongols living today.

The great economic importance of this area, especially the northern two thirds, has drawn many Russians, especially in recent decades and especially since 1940. The

capital, Barnaul, is a center of coal mining and peat manufacture, with more than 100,000 inhabitants.

1) The Oirot AR

Agriculture, forestry and fur hunting determine the economy of the country, whose climate is Siberian. On the pastures of the valleys, stock raising is predominant with the beginnings of an acillary milk, meat and leather processing industry, especially in the Uimonsk region. The forests, covering more than 50% of the country, contain firs, birches, Siberian cedars, and poplars. Timber is obtained in increasing quantities. Hunting concentrates itself especially on squirrels, ermines, sables, foxes, and bears. Oirotia is transit country for the West Siberian commerce with Mongolia over the road Barnaul-Biisk-Oirot-Tura-Kobdo (Mongolia). In the mountains of Oirotia is the fountainhead of the two rivers, source of the Ob, that is the rivers Katun and Biya. The Biya has its source in the Taletsk Lake known for its beauty, surrounded entirely by mountains. The wild beauty of this area draws tourists from Moscow and other cities, despite the long distances involved.

g. The Krai Krasnovarsk

1) The Khakass AR

The Khakassian autonomous region is a steppe surrounded by mountains. It is predominantly agricultural in character with stock raising and lumbering along the mountain slopes. There are also natural resources; coal, iron, and Baryt, which is used in the manufacture of paints and lacquers. Mining of coal and iron has been started.

The strong infiltration of Russians in this ancient Turkic-Mongolian settlement area, is due to enormous mineral wealth, which has been especially developed by the Soviets north of Oirotia and Khakassia. It is the new great Siberian industrial area, known to the expert through the rapidly growing cities of Barnaul, Biisk, Leninsk-Kuznetsk, Prokopievsk, Stalinsk. This area, to which Kemerovo, Andzhero-Zudzhensk and others also belong, is called Russia's second Donets basin. The numerous coal mines, ore mines, power plants, coke ovens, blast furnaces, worker settlements and

new railroad lines indicate a stormy development. Prior to the second World War, 20% of the entire coal output of the USSR was produced, of highest quality. In addition there chemical plants and a modern aluminum industry.

h. The Tuvianian AR

This basin of the upper Yenisei Valley, surrounded by mountains, belongs as far as climate is concerned, to Siberia, and has therefore, due to its remoteness as concerns transport, a backward form of economy. In the steppes there live nomads through stock raising (cattle and reindeer). Farming and forestry are spreading slowly. Breeding of furred animals has been started. Mineral resources are exploited hardly at all. Gold mining has just begun. The Russians are intent upon developing the country. Russian quarters are to be found in Kyzyl Khoto, Mundi, Synki and Tunka.

4. East Turkestan

a. Sinkiang

Although Sinkiang consists of three natural geographic regions, it is considered an economic entity (Tarin Basin, Tien-Shan, Range, Dzungarian Basin). Sinkiang for a long time was a dependency of China, and as China neglected it, this region was very backward economically. Ever since the Soviets have begun to take an interest in this region the tendency has been more and more for Sinkiang to lean upon Russia, and develop along lines suggested by the Soviets. Sinkiang has been a trading center for three countries, Russia, India and China, and as such it is of major importance.

New farming and mining as well as industrial methods were recently introduced, and the transport system has been extended. Although wide strips of desert curtail the production and cultivation area, where there is water, good crops are grown in the loess. This is especially true of wheat (Kulja), corn, barley (Kulja), rice and millet. Furthermore, cotton fields (Kashgar, Yarkand, Kulja) are being extended more and more. Horticulture is also being practiced successfully, with Sinkiang specializing in melons, peas, peaches, apricots, wine, and tea (Kashgar, Yarkand), as well as lucerne (Khotan) for fodder. Fruits of all sorts (Khotan) and olives grow luxuriantly and form the basis for a dried-fruit industry (Khotan) working mostly for export.

Large mulberry plantations make Sinkiang a silk center of importance. In addition, extensive sheep herds make possible wool exports. In Dzungaria there is an extensive skin and fur trade (Urunchi).

Handicrafts in Sinkiang are on a high level and look back on an old and honorable tradition. The traditional home industry comprises, above all, leather goods, pottery, Kashmir shawls and other silk products, rugs of excellent quality, and felts.

In Khotan, Sinkiang has a famous jewelry manufacturing center known throughout Central Asia. Bracelets set with beautiful stones of jade and nephrite, as well as jewelry cases and pipe stems are manufactured there.

Industry dates back to very recent times, but it seems to have excellent prospects for the future according to available reports on natural resources. In the area of Kashgar, which lies on the oil-bearing strata of the Tien-Shan Range, refineries are being built for the manufacture of grease, gasoline, and kerosene. To the North and Northwest, there are large deposits of three sorts of copper. In the region of Khotan, extensive gold mining has begun to go into operation. In the Tien-Shan Range (Kulja district), leather works have been erected and the industry based on copper, gold and silver mining, appears to have good prospects for the future.

## 5. Mongolia

### a. The Mongol People's Republic

The country consists largely of pasturage and therefore all life is based on grass and stock raising, to an enormous extent. The herds of goats (4,000,000), sheep (14,400,000) and cattle (2,410,000), camels (700,000) and horses (1,900,000) are the riches of the inhabitants: food, clothing, shelter, fuel and transportation. Attempts to erect industries are being pushed (leather processing, meat packing, milk and cheese processing industries). It is reported that gold and coal are found.

About 20 miles from the capital of Ulan Bator Khoto, there is the town of Nalaikha (6,000 inhabitants), where soft coal is found. It is said that several thousand miners are working there already, and are mining over 100,000 metric tons a year. The reserves are estimated at 500 million tons.



In the north of the country, along the railroad to Russia, lies the frontier city of Altan Bulak (formerly Maimachin) with about 8,000 inhabitants. Anthracite has been discovered there, and mining operations have already begun.

The other important frontier city, in the West toward Dzungaria, near Kara-ussu Nor, is Chirgalantu (formerly known as Kobdo), with over 10,000 inhabitants. This is an important market for the nomads of Northwest Mongolia, where cattle, sheep, wool and skins are traded.

About 250 miles east thereof lies the equally important center of Uliassutai with about 7,000 inhabitants. This also is a market place for the nomads, who come there, in part from the central region.

In various parts of the country, furthermore, installations have been erected for the washing of wool and for the processing of further animal products.

Foreign trade of Mongolia is limited almost entirely to the Soviet Union and lies almost exclusively in the hands of the Soviet-Mongol company "Sovmontorg". It is the middle-man for Mongol wool, skins, cattle and other animal products against Russian weaving products, iron ware, petroleum, sugar, matches, flour and other things such as motor vehicles. The transport system, which was limited formerly to the caravan routes, is now being extended by the "Mongoltrans" transportation company. The steppe-like desert regions permit motor vehicle traffic over tremendous distances with almost no roads. In addition to railroad traffic, there is also an air line Ulan Bator Khoto-Ulan Ude (Verkhne Udinsk), capital of the Russian Buriat Mongol ASSR.

b. Inner Mongolia

The Mongols principally live in the steppes and desert regions of the Southern Gobi. The livestock holdings were allegedly 4,300,000 sheep, 640,000 horses, 150,000 camels and 67,000 cattle. The Chinese (including 60,000 Mohammedans) cultivate barley, wheat, millet, peas, potatoes, rapeseed and flax. There are mineral resources in the South (coal and iron). Purely Chinese territory is not taken into consideration in the above merely the steppe country inhabited by the Mongols.

6. Siberia

a. The Buriat Mongol ASSR

This land is one of the most important stock raising regions of the USSR. Collective farms own gigantic herds of cattle, sheep and horses. The large forests permit of extensive forestry and wool industry, as well as fur hunting (Tunkinskaya Taiga) on a major scale. Along the Baikal Lake much fishing is done, and fish canneries are being established.

Mineral resources here again form the basis of industry. In the north of the country, gold is found, especially in the Bagrusin Taiga. There, "combines for the mining of gold" have been established under most difficult climatic conditions, and "Bagrusin gold" and "Baikal gold" are obtained there. In the graphite mines of Botogol graphite is obtained and processed for pencils. Since 1938, coal mines have been in operation near Gusinozersk. In the South, by the Hitasson (Khaltasson) mountain, a wolfram combine has been established since 1940, capable of supplying all of Siberia and the Far East. A large city is in the process of establishment there. In the capital of Ulan-Ude, the largest meat combine of Siberia has been established, as well as the largest locomotive and railroad car factory of the Soviet Union. Here inmates of several concentration camps are working too. In addition there is a food industry in the process of development, together with an airplane industry, and a glass industry.

b. The Ust Ordin Buriat Mongol ND

In this once remote and forgotten corner of the world, where only stock raising and hunting Nomads used to live, day and night especially in the North along the Lena River and in the West on the Angara River and the surrounding Taiga, the noise of motors and factory machines are heard, of sirens and railroad whistles; in the enormous factory groups mushrooming there. Tremendous water potential makes it the land of "white coal", and the first necessary hydroelectric installations made possible the combines of the "bezimyanke", the nameless cities, growing out of "worker cities". It is alleged that such installations are going up at a dozen different places, with hydroelectric plants, machine tools, metals, precision instruments, synthetic

oil, and, rumor has it, uranium production and atomic industries, as well as armament plants of all sorts. This, however, no longer lies on Ust Ordin territory, and the Mongols have nothing to do with it, unless, of course, they have to work there.

c. The Agin Buriat Mongol ND

This is a remote, backward region of Mongol Nomads and hunters.

Economic Survey

Only the important production areas are listed here. The most important are underlined. Production statistics are scarce, as the production figures available to the author on the various areas now belonging to Russia are included in the totals of statistics concerning the USSR, without being broken down into republics or autonomous regions.

1. Agriculture

Alfalfa

Uzbekistan, Karakalpakia (best seed of the USSR), Sinkiang (Tarim Basin, chiefly forage)

Barley

Turkey (2,000,000 hectares, 23,000,000 double cwt), Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Sinkiang

Caoutchouc Cultures

Uzbekistan ("considerable" production), Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan

Citrus

Turkey, Transcaucasia (Georgia, Abkhazia)

Corn

Turkey (470,000 hectares, 6,360,000 double cwt), Transcaucasia (in Georgia principal crop), North Caucasus (Ossetia, Kabardinia)

Cotton

Uzbekistan (largest production area of USSR, 60% of total crop. seed: 11.4 million double cwt; ginned cotton: 5,280,000 double cwt, 7000,000 hectares), Azerbaijan (second largest production area of USSR, 200,000 hectares), Armenia (19,000 hectares), Daghستان (North Caucasus, 250,000 hectares), Karakalpakia-Kazakhstan-Kirghizistan-Turkmenistan (700,000 hectares), Sinkiang, Turkey (640,000 double cwt ginned cotton, 1,700,000 cotton seed)

Figs

Turkey (world's largest export), Georgia

Flax

Daghestan, Turkey (20,000 double cwt)

Fruit (other than citrus)

Uzbekistan, Transcaucasia (Azerbaijan, Georgia)

Garden Produce

Uzbekistan, Transcaucasia (Azerbaijan, Georgia), Kirghizistan

Grapes

Turkey (raisin export second largest in world), Azerbaijan, Georgia, Uzbekistan

Hemp

Kirghizistan, Turkey (76,000 double cwt)

Honey

Kirghizistan, Georgia

Nuts

Turkey (largest producer of world, 50% of world production of filbert nuts), Kirghizistan (largest walnut producer of USSR), Georgia (Abkhazia), Crimea

Olives

Turkey (675,000 double cwt of oil), Azerbaijan

Opium (poppy)

Turkey, Kirghizistan ( in first place in USSR)

Potatoes

Armenia, Kabardinia

Rice

Turkey (22,000 hectares, 740,000 double cwt), Uzbekistan

Rice

(first place in USSR), Azerbaijan (second place in USSR),  
Kazakhstan, Sinkiang (Tarim Basin)

Rubber

see "Caoutchouc"

Silk

Turkey (2,800,000 kg cocoons), Uzbekistan (first place in  
USSR), Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan,  
Sinkiang (Tarim Basin, Khotan)

Sugar beets

Turkey (940,000 double cwt), Kirghizistan (record crops,  
first place in USSR), Kazakhstan, North Caucasus, Trans-  
caucasia

Sunflower seeds

North Caucasus, Kazakhstan

Tea

Azerbaijan-Georgia-Abkhazia (Transcaucasia together 53,000  
hectares)

Timber

Georgia (heavily timbered), Akkhazia (oaks), North Caucasus  
(oak, maple, beech), Kirghizistan (coniferous and foliace-  
ous), Oiretia-Khakassia-Buriato-Mongolia (firs, birches,  
poplars, Siberian cedars)

Tobacco

Turkey (580,000 double cwt), Transcaucasia, Kazakhstan,  
Uzbekistan

Wheat

North Caucasus, Kazakhstan (60% of the entire grain produc-  
tion of the country), Kirghizistan, Sinkiang, Turkey (4,000,  
000 hectares, 42,000,000 double cwt)

2. Livestock

Asses

Turkey-Uzbekistan-Caucasus-Tajikistan-Sinkiang (1,110,000)

Camels

Mongol People's Republic (700,000), Inner Mongolia (150,000) Turkey (114,000), Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan-Turkmenistan-Tajikistan (decreasing rapidly)

Cattle

Turkey (5,900,000 head), North Caucasus, Kazakhstan, Buriato Mongol SSR, Mongol People's Republic (2,400,000 head)

Fish

Azerbaijan (extensive fishing in Black Sea and Caspian Sea: sturgeon, anchovy, herring, mackerel, bream, carp, salmon, eels - North Caucasus, Astrakhan, Volga (see under Azerbaijan), Kazakhstan (Lake Balkash), Karakalpakia (Aral Sea, Nor Saissan), Buriato Mongol SSR (Lake Baikal), Turkey (Black Sea and Mediterranean, Aegean)

Goats

Turkey (15,000,000 Angora goats, Mohair, best of the world, Mohair production 60,000 double cwt yearly), Azerbaijan, Daghestan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizistan, Tajikistan, Mongol People's Republic (4,000,000)

Horses

North Caucasus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan (including racing horses), Tajikistan (lokai, Karabai horses), Kirghizistan (English and Don breeds), Buriato Mongol SSR, Mongol People's Republic (1,900,000), (Inner Mongolia - 630,000), Turkey 651,000

Hunting

Caucasus, Turkmenistan (wolves, jackals, foxes, hares, marmots), Tajikistan-Pamirs, (fox, marten, otter), Kirghizistan (wild goats, lynx, tigers), Orotia (fur-bearing animals: squirrels, ermines, sable, fox, bear), (Tuva), Buriato Mongol SSR (fur-bearing animals), (Yakutia - fur-bearing animals)

Mules

Caucasia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan (Pamir), Turkey (55,000)

Pigs

Armenia (Armenia is Christian, Mohammedans do not breed pigs)

Poultry

Turkey (62,000 double cwt egg export)

Sheep

Turkey (16,500,000 head, 313,000 double cwt wool), Azerbaijan, Armenia, Daghestan, North Caucasus (millions of merino sheep in Kalmuck and Stavropol steppe), Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan (Astrakhan fleece), Karakalpakkia (Karakul sheep), Turkmenistan, Tajikistan (Gissar sheep), Kirghizistan (Kurdyuk-merino, fat-tailed), Sinkiang (Dzungaria), Mongol People's Republic (14,400,000), (Mengchiang-Inner Mongolia: 4,300,000), Buriato Mongol ASSR

3. Mineral Wealth

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Alunites

Armenia (Sevan Lake: deposits, Kirovakan: chemical plants), Azerbaijan SSR (Kirovabad, Saglik)

Anthracite

Georgia (Gelati, Tkvaltsheli, Tkvibuli), Kazakhstan (Baikapursk, Barchogursk, Chokopansk, Lengersk, Kenderlinsk, Yekibastus), Kirghizistan (Dzhargylau), Mongol People's Republic (Altan-Bulak)

Antimony

Azerbaijan, Kirghizistan

Asbestos

Kirghizistan



Baryte

Khakassia (for production of paints and lacquers)

Borax

Kazakhstan (Lake Inder region)

Cadmium

Kazakhstan

Chromium ore (chromites)

Kazakhstan (Aktyubinsk), Turkey (Ergenimaden, Fethiye, Guleman -- Turkey is in second place in world production with 17% of world production, 195,000 metric tons yearly)

Coal

Azerbaijan, Buriat ASSR (Gusinozersk), Kazakhstan (second place in USSR - Akmolinsk, Chimkent, Karaganda, Spask 4.5 million tons yearly, 53 billion tons deposits), Kirghizistan (Issyk-kul, Kzyl-ky, Naryn, Shurab, Solyutka: 3 billion tons deposits), Mongol People's Republic (Nalaikha, 100,000 metric tons yearly, 500 million ton deposits), Tajikistan (Zerafshan), Turkey (Eregli) Uzbekistan (Andizhan)

Copper

Azerbaijan (Kantara), Georgia (Agarak, Alaverdi), Kazakhstan (first place in USSR: Almalyk, A tbazar, Atlas, Bertvs, Bazshekulsk, Dzheskazgan, Karaganda, Kounrad, Riddersk, Spask), Kirghizistan, Turkey (Ergenimaden), Uzbekistan (Angren: near Tashkent)

Emery

Turkey (aluminum oxid)

Gallium

Buriat SSR (Bagrusin-Taiga), Kazakhstan (second place in the USSR - Dzhelambet, Dzhetygara, Maikan, Smeinoyorsk, Syryanovsk, Stepniak, Riddersk: 50,000 kg yearly, Yekibastus), Kirghizistan, Tuvin AR

Graphite

Buriat ASSR (Botogol)

Indium

Kirghizistan

Iron ore

Azerbaijan (Dashkesan), Kabardinia (Malkinski), (Dashkesan and Malkinski together 37,2 million ton deposits), Crimea (Kerch), Georgia (Chataksk), Kazakhstan (in second place in USSR: Atasiusk, Chetsk, Karkaralin, Karzakpay), Kirghizistan (12 million tons deposits), Tajikistan (Zerafshan), Turkey (Adapazari)

Lead

Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabach), Kazakhstan (first place in USSR: Atbazar, Bashekulsk, Chimkent, Riddersk, Siryanovo, Sokolnoye, Yekibastus), Kirghizistan, North Ossetia (Alagir, Sadon 19,000 tons yearly), Turkey (Bulgarmaden, Cermiz, Hoga Kalyar)

Manganese (manganites)

Adygei AR (Labinskoye 34 million tons deposits), Armenia, Georgia (Chiatury 165 million tons deposits - major production in USSR), Kazakhstan (Mangyshlak), Tajikistan (Valley of Vanch), Turkey (Antalya, Fethiye, Kepez, Marmaris)

Mercury

Kirghizistan, Turkey

Mirabilite

Turkmenistan (Kara-Bogaz-Gol: sodium sulfate)

Molybdenum

Armenia, Kirghizistan, Turkey

Niobium

Kirghizistan

Oil

Adygei (Maikop-Taman: 3.7 million tons yearly), Azerbaijan (Baku: - 27 million tons yearly 57% of USSR production), Georgia (Yorak), Kazakhstan (Aktyubinsk, Rishka, Dossor, Emba: 2 million tons yearly 4.2% of USSR, Makat, Neftedag), Kirghizistan, Turkmenistan (Nebit-Dag), Uzbekistan (Ferghana)

Ozokerite

Turkmenistan (700 tons yearly), Uzbekistan (Andizhan)

Phosphorites

Kazakhstan (Aktynbinsk, Dzhambul)

Potash Salt

Kazakhstan (Lake Aral region)

Pyrites

Azerbaijan, Turkey

Radio active ores

Kirghizistan, Uzbekistan (Ferghana: Tyuya-Muyun)

Salt

Azerbaijan (Nakhichevan: 150 million ton deposits), Turkmenistan (35,000 tons yearly)

Silver

Azerbaijan (Najorno-Karabach AR), Kazakhstan (Chimkent), Kirghizistan, North Ossetia

Sulphur

Kirghizistan, Turkey (Keciborlu)

Tin

Kirghizistan

Torium

Kirghizistan

Tungsten

Kazakhstan (first place in USSR), Kirghizistan

Uran

Kirghizistan, Uzbekistan (Ferghana)

Vanadium

Kirghizistan

Wolfram

Buriat ASSR (Hitasson: Khaltasson), Kirghizistan

Zinc

Kazakhstan (first place in USSR: Atbazar, Bashekulsk, Chimkent, Riddersk, Sokolnoye, Yekibastus), North Ossetia (Alagir, Sadon: 84,000 tons yearly), Turkey Keban

Epilogue

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As the author became acquainted with the history, culture, and economy of the Turanian peoples in the course of time, he came to understand their desire for liberty and independence in a state re-uniting them all, the more so since the necessary theoretical preconditions appear to be on hand. These preconditions in their essence seem to consist of two important factors without which no founding of a state is possible.

The first is the will of the peoples themselves to unite and work together, based in this case on mutual ties of race, language, religion, culture and history.

The second equally indispensable precondition consists in the economic possibilities offered by a planned state structure to its inhabitants and to the nations collaborating with it, for without the foundation of a healthy economic development, such an essay would be senseless.

With regard to these two points, the interested parties seemed of one accord. In the course of conversations concerning the scope of the planned state, however, divergence of opinion became evident. The Pan-Turkists were satisfied with a union of all Turki countries, the Pan-Mongolists with a union of all Mongols in one state, <sup>1/</sup> while some Pan-Turanists, reverting to the plans of Enver Pasha, were in favor of trying to induce Persians and Afghans to join such a confederation, in order to improve accessibility to the sea, which otherwise would be limited to the Black Sea (Caucasus) and via Turkey to the Mediterranean.

It was generally agreed that the peoples in question would have to wait for a propitious moment in the world history before they could hope to realize these theories, for liberation from within, under the present distribution of power, was impossible. For this reason there was little alacrity

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<sup>1/</sup> At that time no one spoke about a Pan-Lamaist state, uniting Mongols and Tibetans in one state, as is presently being discussed in the Soviet Union.

to present these ideas to the general public, for this might not only result in international political complications, but might also condemn to extinction within a few years, millions of persons living in the Soviet Union as national minorities 1/. This would mean the end for these peoples and also the end of the possibility of an eventual justifiable division of Russia.

The author should like to point out again that he did not come into contact with the leading circles. His contact was with the rank and file of these peoples. Furthermore, he does not know the numerical strength nor the name of the leaders of the secret societies banned in both Turkey and the Soviet Union. Whatever is contained in this dissertation was gleaned in Germany from sources generally accessible to any person interested in the subject. The rank and file of Turki minorities with whom he came into contact in Germany did not impress him as Fascists. They merely sought aid where such aid might be forthcoming, which does not exclude the possibility that they would probably have been ill used by the National-Socialists. This was said to have been discussed upon one occasion in 1944, as came to the knowledge of the author, when a "Fascist sponsored Pan-Turanian secret Society" in Turkey was suppressed, two retired pro-German Turkish generals being arrested. The Turks in Berlin were of the opinion, that ideologically this movement had nothing to do with Fascism for it was older than Fascism (groups have existed in England, France, Switzerland for several decades) and that if the "plot" had actually been German sponsored at a time when the outcome of the war was beyond all doubt, it could only have been an act of desperation or unscrupulousness on the part of the Fascist circles, and an act of silly ambition without sound judgment on the part of the Turks involved. All rational adherents of this theory refused to consider the idea of a plot against the Turkish Republic, the "fatherland and last refuge of all Turanians and Moslems".

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1/ Evidently the concentration camps for disloyal minorities were being considered in this connection. Crimean Tatars, Karachaians, Balkarians, Chechenes, Ingushes, Nogaians and Kalmucks have been sentenced to such camps lately.

The author of this dissertation is completely aware of its shortcomings, traceable to the insufficiency of material available to him. On the other hand, many facets of the problem have in no wise been satisfactorily covered up to now. Only two examples need be cited.

Insufficient data or no data at all are available with reference to the economic productive potential, especially of the republics in the USSR. These statistics are included in the total figures for the Soviet Union. The same is true for Sinkiang and Iranian Azerbaijan.

On the other hand but of less importance for this dissertation, scientific circles are still uncertain with reference to the early history of these peoples. In order to overcome this confusion, the Chinese, Manchu, Mongol, Tibetan, Uighur, Iranian, Arabic and Byzantine source material (to mention only the most important) would have to be collected and collated, as it is scattered over the entire world in museums, monasteries, libraries and private collections <sup>1/</sup>. As there probably is no scientist possessed of a mastery of all these languages nor of a sufficient knowledge of all these cultures, this source material would have to be made available in an easily accessible manner in trustworthy modern language translations. Not until then will it be possible to extract and compile from the mass of single dissertations, all the data available in these sources. At present there are no means to determine whether some of the historical data have been derived from source material or owe their existence to scholarly conjecture. A systematic collection and reproduction of this highly interesting source material for the history of humanity would greatly accelerate the pace of research. Thus, for instance, it was general knowledge that the original of the "Secret History

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<sup>1/</sup> Thus, for instance, prior to the war, the largest collection of Uighur manuscripts was in the possession of the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin, another collection in the British Museum, still another one in the Musee Guimet in Paris, as well as another one in the Bibliotheque Nationale of the same city. Still another collection was in the Asiatic Museum in Moscow, while Dr. Sven Hedin had a private collection in Stockholm, and other manuscripts were to be found in the National Library in China, the rest of known extant manuscripts being in Japanese possession in Korea.

of the Mongols" was available in a Chinese transcription. It was not until recently that a German Professor, Erich Haenisch 1/, contrived to obtain and translate it.

The author of this dissertation would probably not have taken the pains to collect this material if he had not become acquainted with so many upright characters and valuable human beings among these peoples. The words of a young Tatar, who had fled to Germany from Kazan on the Volga, are still ringing in his ears. This cultured Tatar had to flee when the Soviets began persecuting his family and arrested his father who had supported Moslem priests. He told the author shortly before he departed for Turkey, that his father had said: "Our intellect attempts to convince us, we are lost in Asia, but our heart tells us, we shall be saved."

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1/ Text 1937, Dictionary 1939, Translation 1941, published in Leipzig, Germany.

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Figures also refer to Table on pages 110, 111 and 112.

- 1. Turkey
- 2. Azerbaijan SSR
  - a. Nakhichevan ASSR
  - b. Nagorno Karabagh AR
- 4. Armenian ASSR
- 5. Georgian SSR
  - a. Abkhazian ASSR
  - b. Adjarian ASSR
  - c. South Ossetian AR

- 6. Dagestan ASSR
- 7. Checheno-Ingush ASSR
- 8. North Ossetian ASSR
- 9. Ingush ASSR
- 10. Stavropol Krai
  - a. Karachai AR
  - b. Chekars AR
- 11. Krasnodar Krai
  - a. Adyghe AR

- 12. Kalmuck ASSR
- 13. Crimean ASSR
- 17. Kazakh SSR

- 18. Uzbek SSR
  - a. Karakalpak ASSR
- 19. Turkmen SSR

- 20. Tadzhik SSR
  - a. Gorno-Badakhshan AR
- 21. Kirghiz SSR
- 22. Krai, Altai
  - a. Oirat AR

- CHINA
- 23. Krai Krasnoyarsk
  - a. Khakass AR
- 24. Tuva AR
- 25. Sinkiang
- 26. Outer Mongolia
- 27. Inner Mongolia
- 28. Buriat Mongol ASSR
  - a. Agin Buriat Mongol AR



