

THE FIGHT FOR MULTICULTURALISM IN ANCIENT CENTRAL ASIAN TURKIC STATES AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES (FROM HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE)

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ABSTRACT

Multiculturalism is the central concern of almost all social, political and cultural theorists. The common harmony of them is that thinking, perception, action and adjudication differs from culture to culture and society to society. This paper examines the formation of long-lasting group identities in Ancient Central Asia . Many of these identities had a number of the markers with which we are familiar in the modern world –common history, language and perceived affinities. Multiculturalism in the Ottoman Empire was also embodied within society; there were many different languages being spoken, religions being practiced, and schools that taught those languages and religions. Ottoman Empire never forced Christians or Jews to convert to Islam, nor enslaved them. When creating a nation out of the ruins of the multicultural Ottoman Empire, given the worldwide rise of the nationalist ideology, it was essential to formulate an attitude that would assure national pride and identity. It is difficult to classify Turkey as a ‘multiculturalist society’ as its government policies are not very effective on managing the ‘problem’ of the existence of a number of different ethnic or religious groups within a single nation. However, when we look at the depths of history, it is seen that this issue has been handled since the beginning of Islam and developed within the framework of respect and that the Ottoman Empire reached the highest civilization point with the Nation (Millet) Policy in the following periods. In short, there is a peaceful solution and it is hidden within the policies implemented for centuries in the Eastern world.

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Introduction

In Eurasian geography, Turkic identity has always been remembered together with civilization centers that shaped the world. In parallel with this situation, they were perceived as the primary target that should be wiped off by

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other states in every period of history. So, the Turkic leaders, being aware of the current potential threat, did not hesitate to make necessary warnings to their people in order to prevent the disruption of Turkic unity and solidarity.

The warnings made by Bilgä Qağan in the Orkhon inscriptions on the banks of the Orkhon River are the oldest and the most important examples of this issue. As Bilgä Qağan stated like "O Turkic Oghuz Beys, give ear to the nation, unless the sky at the top is lowered and the ground below is bored, O Turkic nation, who can ruin your country, your tradition?" (Orkhon inscriptions, www.dilimiz.com/dil/orhun-abideleri.htm, 23 December 2005) it is the clearest expression of how strong the unity and solidarity of the Turkic nation was.

Throughout the history, there have been very brutal and long-term struggles between the states that have achieved the national identity much earlier, and the minorities within their borders or so-called "sub-identities" as a modern definition. States had never welcomed minorities that lived on their territory. On the contrary, they had created an effective identity and cultural erosion by ceaselessly applying "assimilation" policies, which are the most effective method for wiping out minority identities. In this context, it is very important to examine the assimilation policies that started in the middle of the 16th century and aimed for the splitting and extinguishing of the Turkic nation by China in East Turkistan (in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region) and by Russians in Western Turkistan (in Central Asia) and the changes that these policies have undergone in time, and to reveal the games played on the basis of lower and upper identities (ATASE Atatürk, T.R. Genkur Atase, 1980).

Today, important efforts are being carried out in Eurasia in order to eradicate the Turkic national identity. In Central Asia, as the policy, which was created by Ilyich Lenin and applied by Joseph Stalin, of forming national identities such as artificial Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Uzbek instead of Turkic national identity is a fact of Soviet Russia; comprehensive activities are being carried out by the Russian Federation still today for adoption of the upper identity of "Eurasianism". Moreover, forcing the Turkic people, who had not distinguished themselves from others in terms of ethnic origin or as a minority for centuries, to gain new identities within the scope of EU adjustment laws through bringing the differences into the forefront and therefore bringing the Turkic identity up for discussion is the biggest indicator that Turkey is hanged by a thread.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk also stated that "*The Turkic nation lives in a world-renowned large homeland, which is distinguished by land and sea borders, in the west of Asia and the east of Europe. It is called Turkic Country. Considering the near and past times, there is no continent that had not ever become a homeland for Turks. Across the world; Asia, Europe, and Africa had become a homeland to Turkic ancestors.*" So he emphasized how important it is to protect the unity and solidarity of the Turkish state established in Anatolia (Ercan Karakoç, 2004).

Among the five Turkic republics that gained their independence after the dissolution of the USSR, the approach of Azerbaijani President Heydar Aliyev about the issue of Turkic identity conforms to Atatürk's thoughts.

The statement of great leader Heydar Aliyev, during a visit to Turkey, that *"We are one nation, two states. Unfortunately, these mistakes are made very often. We insulate the Turkic identity and denominate Azeri to Azerbaijan Turks, Turkmen to Turkmenistan Turks, Kyrgyz to Kyrgyzstan Turks, Uzbek to Uzbekistan Turks and we talk about them as if they are a separate nation. Whereas; the official name of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Kyrgyzstan was Turkistan until 1926. After 1926, Turkistan was divided, Turkic tribes were torn apart and forced to become separate nations. The Russians first divided us and then tried to eradicate."* had very clearly pointed up the game played upon Turkic nation and Turkic identity (Namık Kemal Zeybek, 1997). The eradication of Turkic identity, which had spread its civilization and established its existence on three continents by founding empires in every period of history, was perceived as a national purpose by many countries. Even if time, conditions and clauses have changed; these projects, which have been left unfinished for various reasons in the past, are tried to be put into practice today.

Therefore, it is very important for the Turkic nation to deliberately protect the Turkic identity against the efforts to strengthen the so-called ethnic identities that will cause breakup by evaluating past events very well.

Russia's Assimilation Policy on Turkic National Identity

The homeland of the Turks, which were born in the center of the old world, developed and spread over three continents, came under occupation in the middle of the 16th century following the capture of Kazan by Russians. The Russian occupation continued rapidly and they captured the Central Asian Turks (Oliver Roy, 2000). From the beginning of the 17th century, the Russians started to implement assimilation programs to eliminate the threat posed by the large Turkic population in the vast geography they occupied. The assimilation policy that was applied in the first place was in the form of Christianizing the Turkic population living in the occupied lands to establish their adaptation to the Russian culture. The opening of many Russian schools in this region and thus the transformation of culture and languages of Turks, who are the principal owners of these lands, had formed the beginning of Russian assimilation policies (Oliver Roy, 2000). However, Russian rulers could not obtain the efficiency they desired from the Russification and Christianization policies due to such reasons that Turkic families showed no interest in Russian schools and assimilation policies were not effective at all. According to Olivier Roy, Turks were either forced to convert to Christianity or degraded to a second class community (through policies of confiscation of foundation properties, the extermination of Muslim nobles, prohibition of being a property owner in the cities, etc.). Russian rulers had set off on a quest for new

assimilation policies since Christianization and Russification policies applied by the Russians were alone insufficient and did not give the desired results on the Turkic population (Mehmet Aça , 2003).

As part of objectives for getting rid of the Turkic threat to Russians by eradicating the Turkic identity, the Russians have succeeded thanks to the opinions of Nikolay Ilminskiy, who was a university teacher in Kazan, and to the assimilation policy that implemented based on his opinions. Ilminsky's project to split Turkic society into different nations had unfortunately been the basis of artificial Turkic identities, who are continuing today, and who think they are different from each other and living under separate identities. For this reason, the opinions of Ilminskiy, which succeeded in Russian assimilation, should be examined.

In short; the Turkic national identity was divided at first and then the cooperation between each other was damaged and cut, and later they were prevented from the collaboration with the Turks in the West within the frame of the Ilminskiy policy, which can be summarized as an education program that will bring the Turkic society separate national identities primarily and the effective applications of Russians. The assimilation policy designed by Ilminskiy has been called the "Science of Russian Turkicness". This policy is based on three pillars. The first of these: the adoption of the Russian alphabet by changing the alphabet used by Turks in Turkistan; the second one: the adoption of Russian language instead of Chagatai language used by the Turks for centuries; and the third one: the cutting off of all kinds of contacts between Turks living in Turkistan and Ottoman Turks. Taking action to divide the Turkic identity, the Russians had managed to create new Turkic identities, that have completely different languages, cultures, and pasts, based on small nuances among different tribes within the Turkic population (Ertan Efegil-Pınar Akçalı, 2003). As a result of fiddling with the identity of the Turkic nation and the introduction of artificial inputs, ethnic nationalism was created and ethnic Turkic elements with artificial language and culture were emanated.

Nevertheless, the first reaction to the effect that emerged with the assimilation of Ilminskiy came in this period, when Turkic elements were gathered under two systems of thought known as Jadidism and Archaism. The Russians stood by the Jadidism, who argued that two different races could melt in a pot and that there was nothing more natural than the fusion of the two cultures, against the Archaism, who did not accept integration under Russian culture and had a radical attitude.

Again in this period, the dissolution of Turkic national identity was retarded at some point by the struggle started by Ismail Gaspirali, who is a Tatar Turk, with the motto of "*Unity of Language, Idea and Work*" against the language-oriented assimilation policy of Ilminskiy aimed at creating different Turkic nations. During this period, Ismail Gaspirali tried to spread his ideas and create a general Turkic awareness by publishing a newspaper called "Tercüman". He also carried out these activities in order to

eliminate the effects of Russian assimilation policies and to restore Turkic unity and solidarity.

Imperial period of Tsarist Russia had ended with the assimilation policy that Ilminskiy put forward under the guise of education and the Ismail Gaspirali's struggle based on Jadidisim. With the "Bolshevik Revolution" that took place in 1917, the foundation of the USSR revealed the pressure of a new Communism centered Russian-Slavic domination over the Turkic nation in Eurasia. Turkic elements responded to this strong assimilation with a new reaction. This reaction is the "Basmachi movement" (Andican, 2003), which had taken its place as an important resistance in history. The Basmachi Revolt continued between 1918 and 1923, and Enver Pasha was also involved in the movement in the last period (Purtaş, 2005). Following 1923, the last warriors of the Central Asian steppes, which could not resist the Russian forces anymore, were dispersed, and after 1930, the Turks were exposed to the vulnerable effects of Russian assimilation (Ahmed Raşid, 1996).

About The Soviet Policy of Nationalities

Following the revolt, a new era had started in the USSR. The Stalin era is the period when the assimilation policies applied to the Turkic nation reach the highest levels. Re-evaluating İlminskiy's education policy, Stalin reapplied the previous century's project under the name of "Nationalities Policy". The Soviet Policy of Nationalities has three features. First; to give the Turkic nation different qualities in terms of artificial differences, language, culture, and history. Second; to draw the geographical boundaries in such a way that the elements rub against each other while dividing them. Third; to create differences in terms of language and alphabet so as not to make contact both with each other and with Anatolia. As a result, Stalin's Policy of Nationalities had worked and the Central Asian Turkic homeland, which was accepted as the Turkistan Soviet Republic under the USSR's Constitution of December 5, 1936, was divided into five different Soviet Republics, namely Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan.

Stalin first created artificial ethnic structures in the Turkic nation and used it as a weapon. In order to achieve its undisputed superiority in Turkistan, to prevent the region from forming Turkic integrity and to contribute to the project of creating a "Soviet citizen", he channeled the Turkic tribes to become separate nations and channeled the republics in the region to gather around different national identities. In addition, after the division took place, he moved large numbers of German, Russian, Ukrainian Soviet citizens into these republics and had ensured that the population would be both Slavic and more heterogeneous (Mehmet Aça-Hüseyin Durgut, 2004). Assimilation policies continued to be implemented after the division according to the principles of Policy of Nationalities: While the Turkic population living in the republics was prohibited from using their language, the official and mandatory language became Russian and the alphabet was completely converted

into Cyrillic alphabet. The Turkic people were deprived of the military, economic and technical job opportunities that were deemed critical and important, and such critical tasks were assigned only to the Russians and Slavs. While all possibilities of Turks for religious matters were taken away, almost all mosques and masjids were either closed or used for different purposes. Although the existing pressure policy was loosened in order to meet the soldiers needed in the Second World War from Turkic elements, the assimilation policies remained in effect until the dissolution of the USSR in 1991.

With the dissolution of the USSR, five Turkic republics declared their independence by claiming that they were ethnically different from each other. In other words, the new Republics also carried a problematic legacy left by the former USSR's Nationalities Policy with them. The confusion of the ethnic structure, the frictions caused by the geographical boundaries consciously created by the USSR, and the problems arising from the artificial ethnic communities that negatively affect bilateral and tripartite relations are the cornerstones of this heritage (Güngörmüş Kona , 2004). The emergence of the new Republics as independent states led to the struggle of establishing themselves both within their borders and against neighboring states. As a natural result of this, the authoritarian leaders of these republics had tended towards performing Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, and Turkmen nationalism. Heads of these states placed importance on strengthening their sub-identities (Stalin's artificial identities) while leaving Turkic identity aside. Besides that, problems had also continued in the republics' populations. Kazakh and Russian populations in Kyrgyzstan are almost fifty-fifty. Uzbekistan, on the other hand, has an effective position with its large population, with the Uzbek majority reaching up to 96 percent, and also with the Uzbek population in neighboring countries. The continuation of the policies of the Turkic republics to subordinate the sub-identities instead of Turkic nationalism causes them not to form a political and economic unity and solidarity, and not to try to singly resist against the regional imperial based policies of the Russian Federation (Güngörmüş Kona ,2004).

In the process following the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, the crisis period was overcome with the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States, which included the Turkic republics. After 1993, the Russian Federation made a definite return from Atlanticism to Eurasianism with the introduction of the Near Abroad Doctrine(Efegil, Kılıçbeyli and Akçalı, 2004). On the other hand, the policy of Eurasianism gained a definite momentum with the arrival of Vladimir Putin until 2000 and has been put into force as an assimilation policy together with the discourse of "Meeting of the people of all CIS countries at the upper identity of Eurasianism by leaving aside their own ethnic structures" voiced by the trio of Putin, Dugin, and Primikov. This project is thought to be a project that Turkic identity is replaced by Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, etc. and these identities would disappear within the Eurasian identity in the second stage.

In the event of the realization of Eurasianism upper identity, the existence of the Turks in their homelands, where the Turks have ruled empires and civilizations for thousands of years, will be compromised. For this reason, it is considered that the development of policies to unite under the Turkic identity and to provide unity and solidarity together by seeing the red light ahead of time has a vital value for the continuation of the Turkic existence.

Assimilation Implemented by China in East Turkistan

The East Turkistan, which has rich mineral deposits and oil reserves, 150 thousand square kilometers of agricultural lands, 12 thousand square kilometers of forest area, 1,828,418 square kilometers of total acreage located in the east of Central Asia or with its name, the Sincan-Uyghur Autonomous Region after it is subdued by China, is considered to be the region where the world's biggest assimilation policy was applied after the invasion of China in 1949 as Stalin overlooked it. The population of East Turkistan, which has long borders with Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, is approximately 30.000.000. More than half of this population (20,000,000) is of Turkic origin. (Uyghur, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Tatar) (17,2005).

After East Turkistan fell into Chinese control, an autonomous administration was established as ten separate prefectures. However, due to the fact that the majority of the population of the region is Turkic and that it has borders with the neighboring relative states is seen as a reason for revolt, and also due to rich oil, natural gas, gold mines, etc., the Chinese administration has never set this autonomous administration free. While the administrators here were constantly selected among Chinese managers, pressure on the Turkic population always continued. Throughout history, there has been always a struggle against the Chinese in this region. East Turkistan tasted independence three times in various periods. In 1949, when the Chinese administration took over the administration for the last time in the region, it carried out two main practices. The first is to take drastic measures that will deprive the Turks, the indigenous people of the region, of their cultural rights. The other is to bring Chinese immigrants here to change the population structure in favor of China in order to break the impact of the Turkic population in the region.

After all, over time, the Chinese and Turkic populations have become balanced. Although its name is "autonomous government", the political, economic and military decision-making powers of the ethnic elements in the prefectures are entirely in the hands of the Chinese Communist Party. The main elements of the assimilation policy implemented by the Chinese administration were in the form of compulsory integration of the Turkic population into Chinese culture and the prohibition of the use of lingual, religious and cultural features with various limitations. In this context, while the Turks could not use their language, the alphabet was also changed and the Latin alphabet suitable for Chinese phonetics was started to be used. Thus, considering the use of the Cyrillic alphabet in the

relative states, the aim here is to disconnect them with the region. In addition, 86 percent of the publications are in Chinese, almost everyone is forced to have education in Chinese language. In addition, the people of the region cannot dress their local clothes, they are forced to dress like Chinese, and the Muslim people are constantly prevented from performing their worship freely (18,2005).

China atrociously practiced the assimilation policies towards Turks in East Turkistan in cooperation with the USSR until 1991. But after the dissolution of the USSR, as a result of the birth of five Turkic republics bordered to East Turkistan, China had to suspend its existing policies. Because now, there was a possibility for newly established republics to cooperate with Turks living in the East Turkistan in the medium term. In addition, while China met its energy needs easily during the USSR period, the emergence of new republics as independent states with a rich oil and natural gas resources forced China to develop good relations with these republics, and this led China to review its policies on East Turkistan. However, there are some practices still being implemented, such as; having only two children (abortion is mandatory for the third child), the use of Mandarin Chinese as the official language, the ban on travel abroad, visa applications for travels within the country, banning of Uyghur Turks for traveling to cities, continuation of expedition of all kinds of materials produced in the region to China at a cheap price, and deliberate performing of unsolved murders against Uighur Turks.

As a result, advanced assimilation continues in East Turkistan which is under China's control. As a result of economic, social, military and political cooperation following the establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in 1996 and within the context of the integration of China-CIS, the indigenous people of East Turkistan, Uyghur Turks, were forgotten and the planned assimilation of China was tolerated. The leaders of the member states are constantly meeting under the umbrella of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. The meetings are generally about how and when the US presence in Central Asia will end. However, due to the fact that East Turkistan is the soft spot of China and that the Russian Federation considered the Turkic assimilation beneficial for Russia's survival, the issue of East Turkistan is never brought up in the aforementioned organization meetings.

However, the most critical countries of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization are Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan due to their geopolitical location and critical energy resources. The Turkic people of East Turkistan remain unclaimed and are being dissolved although they have five relative states because of the fact that these relative countries seemed they are looking after their sub-identities rather than gathering under the umbrella of Turkic identity, that they cannot form a common Turkic policy and they see the indigenous people in East Turkistan not as Turks but as Uighurs.

The report, published by the delegation of UN Human Rights as a conclusion to researches conducted by observers in East Turkistan in the last months of 2005, documented the assimilation against the Uighur Turks. The observers, who particularly noted that all Turks living in East Turkistan are perceived by Chinese administrators as potential terrorists in relation with the radical terrorist groups active in Central Asia, stated that thousands of arrests were carried out for no reason and those who were arrested were subjected to torture and that the people living in the rural areas of East Turkistan were left to their fate by not providing healthcare facilities for them (Dunya gundemi, 2005).

Conclusion

The identity crisis that has been going on in Turkistan lands for more than three centuries is tried to be presented in a general framework in this article. Today, it is seen that the processes experienced by societies, which have a late decolonization period and transformed into independent modern nation-states after the Second World War, are being experienced in the ancient Turkic states of Eurasia and significant problems have been encountered in this regard.

However, attention should be paid to the fact that there are important differences between the ethnic and demographic structures of other nations. While the demographic structures of other nations are generally composed of two generations, namely, nation-state identities and sub-identities, there are three generations in the ancient Turkic states. Because here; there are Turkic identity, that has its deep roots in thousands of years of past, state and nation identities, and ethnic sub-identities that live within each nation. Also, as mentioned above, this identity problem has become an impasse by Russian assimilation policies. Therefore, efforts for finding a solution to the pain point here is not possible within the scope of multiculturalism theories created in Western criteria.

Considering the multicultural theories, it is seen that they have evolved over time and they have starting points based on oppression, tolerance, and indulgence. Today, this problem is tried to be overcome by giving negative rights only for the different groups, namely legal rights directed only to different groups, in the world.

Policies, that are centralizing citizenship and nation-state identity and placing Turkic identity at the top as a root identity, showing respect to different identities, and seeing and supporting ethnic structures emerging with these identities as cultural wealth, will be the most remarkable principles for solving this problem.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest were reported by the authors.

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- Atatürk was the first Turkic leader to show us Central Asia, namely Turkistan, as motherland, to tell that all Turks are spread from here, and to pioneer this issue by saying "There is no Oghuz, Kyrgyz, Tatar, or Kazakh; there is only Turk,". Ercan Karakoç; 2004. *"Atatürk'ün Dış Türkler Politikası"*, IQ Kültür Sanat Publications, İstanbul, .38.
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- Kazan is a city in Tatarstan. Haktan Birsell; 2005. *"Gizli Çember ve Özbekistan"*, IQ Kültür Sanat Publications, İstanbul.38.
- Ivan the Terrible took the lands of Golden Horde (Kazan in 1552, Astragon in 1556), and arrived at the banks of the Terek River, which today forms the military border with Chechnya, reached the Caspian Sea and opened the door that would allow him to expand towards east. Oliver Roy; Yeni Orta Asya ya da Ulusların İmal Edilişi, Metis Publications, İstanbul, 2000, p.58.
- Oliver Roy.2000. *Yeni Orta Asya ya da Ulusların İmal Edilişi*, Metis Publications, İstanbul.58.
- The fact that Turks showed no interest in Russian schools and the more tolerant attitude of II. Katerina's rule caused Russianization policies to be ineffective. Mehmet Aça; "Orta Asya'da Uluslaşma Süreci ve Türkiyat Araştırmalarında Rus İlminsky ve Ardıllarının Rolü", Orta Asya'nın Sosyo-Kültürel Sorunları, Compiled by: Ertan Efegil-Pınar Akçalı, Gündoğan Publications, İstanbul, 2003, p.27.
- The Jadid movement was started in 1883 by İsmail Gaspirali from Crimea. İsmail is the real father of religious reforms. He also pioneered the Panturkism movement in Russia. He explained his ideas in the "Tercuman Newspaper" founded by him. Archaism represents traditionalism. "Religion and Life" magazine, published in Orenburg between 1907 and 1917 and distributed all over Russia, stated that the Archaism movement was supported by traders and artisans. Ali Faik Demir; "Orta Asya Cumhuriyetleri'nde İslâm ve Etnisite", Compiled by: Ertan Efegil-Pınar Akçalı.2003. Orta Asya'nın Sosyo-Kültürel Sorunları..., p.116.
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- When the Emirate of Bukhara was destroyed and the Soviet administration was established in September 1920, Emir Amin Said Alim Khan fled to Afghanistan and later started the Basmachi Movement in East Bukhara. Later, Enver Pasha assumed the leadership of the Basmachi Movement, and the Basmachi Movement reached its peak in 1922 with Enver Pasha and its 28,000 mujahedin. In the summer of 1922, after the great defeat in 1926 following the martyrdom of Enver Pasha in the summer of 1922, the last Basmachi leader Ibrahim Bey was drawn back to Afghanistan and the clashes continued until 1930. Fırat Purtaş.2005. *Rusya Federasyonu Ekseninde Bağımsız Devletler Topluluğu*, Platin Publications, Ankara.25.
- The Basmachi Movement started because the Bolsheviks did not want to understand and accept the features of the Muslim tribal system in the region. The rebels, named by Russians as "Basmachi", which means "rogue" or "robber" in Turkic dialect, were locally known as "bek" or the movement of the free people. Later, the rebels themselves adopted the term Basmachi, which evokes nationalism and Islam. Ahmed Raşid.1996. *Orta Asya'nın Dirilişi, İslâm mı, Milliyetçilik mi?*, Cep Publications, İstanbul.97.
- Some Russian statesmen, especially İlminsky, were trying to erase and destroy common grounds that could lead to the unity of Turkic noble communities threatening Panslavism. To this end, they first used subtle tactics such as making the Turkic forgotten and replacing it with the tribe and clan names such as Tatar, Kyrgyz, Kazakh, turning every dialect and accent into a different language, and creating artificial hostilities and separations among Turkic

communities by overlooking clan nationalism. Necip Hablemitoğlu; "Gaspıralı İsmail Bey: Dilde Birlik ve Türklük Bilinci", Küreselleşen Dünya ve Türk Kimliği, Compiled by: Mehmet Aça-Hüseyin Durgut, Toplumsal Dönüşüm Publications, İstanbul, 2004, p.22.

First of all, despite the common language, religion and cultural elements, ethnic definitions that came down from the USSR era and us-other discrimination caused by these ethnic definitions brought along a regional-scale geo-cultural fragmentation. The separation of the areas where Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Turkmen, and Tajiks live together are separated by political borders, and the efforts of each nation-state remaining within these political borders for establishing their own territorial national identity and sovereignty areas are the source of mutual concerns and unrests. Gamze Güngörmüş Kona; "Ortadoğu, Orta Asya ve Kesişen Yollar", IQ Kültür Sanat Publications, İstanbul, 2004, p.93.

In fact, all these Soviet policies are essentially policies aimed at reducing communication between the Turkic nations and aimed mainly at creating a common Soviet identity. In other words, these policies are examples of the principle of "divide and rule". G. Güngörmüş Kona; op. cit., p.90.

Erol Mütercimler's view on Eurasianism is as follows: "After the fragmentation, Russian foreign policy was caught between two views in conflict with each other. The Atlanticism, who advocate integration with the West, and the Eurasians who advocate that the Russian people were forced to move away from the correct Slavic line due to the reforms made during the reign of Peter the Great and traditional values must be recovered by ending those reforms. According to Eurasians, Russia and the Russians will not have a chance to live as a nation and state if they become a part of the Western world. Nikolay Kırıyev-Elif Hatun Kılıçbeyli; "Avrasyacılık, Türkiye ve Rusya'da Yaklaşım Farklılığı", Yakın Dönem Güç Mücadeleleri Işığında Orta Asya Gerçeği, Compiled by: Ertan Efegil, E. Hatun Kılıçbeyli, Pınar Akçalı, Gündoğan Publications, İstanbul, 2004, p.103.

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