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Tezleri

NATIONALITY IDENTITY IN KAZAKH SOVIET LYRIC POETRY OF THE 1960s AND 1970s

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PREFACE

The broader academic motivations which have led to this study include deep long-term interest in Central Asian intellectual and cultural history, particularly modern Central Asian literature. The Soviet nationality question is also a closely related part of these subjects.

The underlying pre-occupation behind this study is the discovery of cultural change patterns in Central Asia. In this essay the lyric poetry published by young Kazakh poets since 1960 is analyzed in order to help find and understand the attitudes of the younger generation of Kazakh intellectuals toward Soviet nationality policy. That policy favors drastic changes in the cultural life of Kazakhs and other Central Asian nationalities. In the West there are a few new, important works concentrated on the cultural change question in Soviet Asian areas. However, the modern period of Kazakh or other Central Asian literatures has not been studied sufficiently yet. This essay should contribute to an understanding of the new Central Asian intelligentsia, emerging since 1960, as well as of the recent trends in Central Asian literature.

The first two chapters of this paper were completed in the Seminar in Central Asian studies, Columbia University, in Autumn 1972, Spring 1973 and Autumn 1973 semesters. I would like to thank

my advisor, Professor Edward Allworth, who spent many hours helping me formulate my ideas and who helped bring perspective to the task I had at hand. His open and straight-forward approach, critical advice and goal orientation have been great sources of support throughout.

Because there is no data available for the birth dates of young Kazakh poets, their birth dates are estimated from the publication dates of their first poems in Kazakh literary journals or newspapers. If a young poet's first poem was published in the 1960s, his birth date is given as (b. 194?); but if his first poem was published in the 1970s, his birth date is given as (b. 195?) in the text.

Throughout this paper The MLA Style Sheet Second Edition. (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1970) and the transliteration system published in Edward Allworth's Nationalities of the Soviet East; Publications and and Writing Systems. A Bibliographical Directory and Transliteration Tables for Iranian- and Turkic-Language Publications, 1818-1945, located in U. S. Libraries (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), will be followed (see Appendix). For Kazakh literary terminology the following literary dictionary was used: Ghali Äbetov, Ädebiet tanu terminderiniŋ qïsqasha orïssha-qazaqsha sözdigi (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR Ghïlïm Akademiyasïnïŋ Baspasï, 1962).

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CHAPTER I

LYRIC POETRY IN KAZAKH SOVIET LITERATURE

Ancient Greek writers defined the lyric as a song to be sung to the accompaniment of a lyre. Today one can collect more than a hundred different definitions of lyric poetry. Although the definitions of lyric verse may vary according to each individual definer and for different nationalities' literature and literary periods, the term is basically used for any poem presenting a single speaker (not necessarily the poet himself) who expresses a state of mind involving thought and feeling.[1] Many lyric definers insist that the length of a poem be standard for lyrics. They argue that the lyric must be a short poem. Generally, this measurement is acceptable; however, in the most common application, the term also includes poems more or less lengthened in form. Moreover, some authorities include under "lyric" extended poetic expressions, such as the elegy and ode, conveying a complex state of mind. In Islamic literature and its traditional Central Asian component the lyric can be as short as a couplet (beyt); quatrains (rubaiy or tuyug); a little bit extended in length, from five to eleven couplets like

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[1] M. H. Abrams, A Glossary of Literary Terms (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957), pp. 46-47.

the true lyric (ghazal); and as long as a eulogy or commemorative poem (qasida) which has no fewer than fifteen couplets. Lyrics are mainly distinguished from other types of poetic forms by not having a narrative plot like the ballad, epic, long poem in rhymed couplets (masnaviy), or epic poem (dastan), and also by not presenting the actions and dialogues found in poetic drama or dialogue verse (munazara).

For centuries before 1900 poetry had been the dominant genre in Central Asian literature; therefore, in the past "literature" and "poetry" were synonymous in that area.[2] Within poetry, the lyric has a remarkably long tradition and has been the favorite of both poets and readers in both the northern and southern parts of Central Asia; moreover, in that area, lyric poems have always exceeded other poetic forms in quantity. During the Islamic literary period in a collection of poems (divan) arranged in the traditional order and composed by a single poet the largest section used to be devoted to the true lyrics (ghazals), in which poets universally expressed their personal, passionate feelings with melancholy or fantasy in the most melodic rhythms of arabic prosody (aruz), adapted to both Iranian and Turkic literary languages.

In Central Asia through the centuries various kinds of identities were expressed in poetry, particularly in its lyric form. Central Asian poets gave preference to lyric poetry whenever they

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2 Edward Allworth, "The Focus of Literature," Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 397.

intended to express their identities, because this type of poetry seemed to provide more freedom for the poet to express his own feelings. The lyric poems of earlier Central Asian poets like Ahmad Yassaviy (d. 1166), Abdurrahman Jamiy (1414-1492), and Sufi Allah Yar (d. 1723) reflect a Muslim mystic (sufi) identity. Zahiriddin Muhammad Babur's (1483-1530) lyric poems, though written by that Timurid prince outside what is now Soviet Central Asia, in Northern India, contain expressions of a strong Central Asian identity. Shaybaniy Khan (d. 1510), the founder of the Shaybanid dynasty in Transoxiana, expresses in his lyric poems both a Muslim Sunnite and Central Asian identity. Shaybaniy Khan's lyric poems especially are remarkable from the standpoint of his attachment to the cities, rivers, mountains, beautiful girls, and saints of Central Asia. He refers to the famous Central Asian mystic leader and poet, Ahmad Yassaviy, in the following couplet:

Ävliyalar särväri ol shah-i Turkistan ämish,
Yer yuzini nuri tutqan mah-i Turkistan ämish.[3]

That king of Turkistan was the chief of saints, it seems;
That moon of Turkistan was the light of the world, it seems.

Much later, when the other literary genres such as modern prose and drama had finally been introduced in Central Asian writing (after 1900), lyric poetry still remained a most favored genre for the expression of various personal feelings and identities.

Although the entire area of Central Asia shares somewhat in a common traditional folk literature, certain parts of Central Asia

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[3] From leaf 68b of the manuscript of Shaybaniy Khan's Divan in Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Library, Section: Ahmed III, No. 2436.

differ from each other in the written form of literature, owing to the distinctive political-social situation and the cultural life of the people of specific areas. Excluding two or three Turkmen poets, the Turkmens of the Transcaspian area and the Kazakhs of northern Central Asia for centuries made little contribution to the traditional written Islamic literature of all Central Asia. In the main, the Kazakhs and Turkmens provided folk literature until the second half of the nineteenth century, when several of their enlightened writers and poets introduced written literature in modern forms.

To a significant extent the nomadic Kazakhs have been culturally isolated from settled southern Central Asians for hundreds of years. Because of that nomadic way of life and the ethnic-linguistic homogeneity of the Kazakh group, as well as the colonial administrative policy followed by the Czarist Russian government--which managed to separate Kazakhs from settled Central Asians starting from the beginning of the nineteenth century--the cosmopolitan Islamic culture of the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual states of southern Central Asia did not greatly influence the Kazakhs. When the Reformists (Jadids) among both the Kazakhs and the southern Central Asians, prior to the 1917 November revolution, faced the matter of self-awareness, they felt they had to develop nationality identities different from each other. This resulted partly from the absence of an active intellectual and cultural link between them.[4]

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[4] Edward Allworth, "The 'Nationality' Idea in Czarist Central Asia," Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union, ed. by Erich Goldhagen (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1968), p. 230.

Today, most of the Kazakh literary critics agree on tracing back Kazakh lyric poetry in their traditional oral literature. They argue that some parts of a Kazakh epic poem (dastan) are fine examples of pure lyric poetry.[5] Before 1917, many Kazakh poets contributed to this genre. Ibrahim (Abay) Qunanbay-uli (1845-1904), who is regarded as the father of modern Kazakh poetry, composed with great versatility in both didactic and lyric styles. Some Kazakh literary critics claim that today's young Kazakh poets have been inspired by Ibrahim Qunanbay-uli's lyric poetry.[6] One Kazakh critic remarks that Qunanbay-uli successfully combined the national character (ŭlttïq qasiet) of Kazakh poetry with the spirit of Kazakh people (khalq rukhï).[7] The reformist Kazakh poets such as Mirjaqib Dulat-uli (1885-1937) and Maghjan Jumabay-uli (1896-1938) wrote many lyric poems in the 1910s and 1920s. Because Kazakhs generally lacked a Kazakh national concept before the 1920s, the reformist poets emphasized Kazakh nationality identity by using words like Kazakh (qazaq), people (khalq) and nation (millat) in the nationality manner. According to Kazakh Soviet critics, the nationalist /reformist/ and Muslim Kazakh poets developed a kind of reactionary lyric romanticism which was full of decadent

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5 Esmaghambet Ïsmaylov, "Shaghïn da ïqsham," Jŭldïz, No. 2 (1965), p. 138.

6 Äbdĭlda Täjĭbayev, "Qazaq lirikasï: 1964 jïl," Jŭldïz, No. 7 (1966), p. 135.

7 Ibid.

(dekadandïq) and symbolist images.[8] One Kazakh Soviet critic warns that their nationalist and religious-mystic lyric poems continued to be circulated and read among the Kazakh people until the late 1930s.[9]

Because official literary proletarianism was introduced around the end of the 1920s and socialist realism after the early 1930s, lyric poetry was deemphasized in Kazakh Soviet literature as well as the other literature of Central Asia. Anti-lyric attitudes persisted among the ideological leaders until the late 1950s, on the ground that lyric poetry leads to "bourgeois ideas" (nationality awareness). Starting from 1960, with the quiet rehabilitation of this poetic genre, a considerable amount of new lyric verse has been published in Kazakh. It appears that a lyric movement is being advanced by younger Kazakh poets, mainly born between 1940 and 1950. In addition, some poets from an older generation, mainly born between 1910 and 1930, have begun to participate in activating this newly-revived genre.

For its concentration on the problem of Kazakh identity, this essay focuses upon the lyric poetry of young Kazakh poets of the 1960s and 1970s. Because the self-identity of the Kazakhs was developed fairly independently from other Central Asians, the examination of the lyrics of the young Kazakh poets from a rather

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8 Tŭrsïnbek Käkïshev, "Qazaq sovet poëziyasïnïng qalïptasu jïldarï," Jŭldïz, No. 3 (1960), p. 130.

9 Ibid., p. 131

recent period may give some idea about stability and continuity, among both Kazakh intellectuals and the ordinary people, of a view of their self-identity under the current Sovietization.

It seems likely that the choice of lyric poetry, along with themes related to nationality identity employed by young poets, provides effective insurance against the de-personalization as well as de-nationalization of Kazakh literature. The main purpose of this study will be, therefore, to show to what degree and how, in today's Kazakh literature, lyric poetry, which relates largely to personal and group identities, has a strong political potential, even if indirectly expressed.

Research for this study is based primarily on original Kazakh lyric poems as well as Kazakh Soviet critical essays about lyric poetry. Many young Kazakh poets' first poetry collections, called "first-born books" (tŭnghïsh kĭtabtar), were published in the 1960s and early 1970s by either the writers' union or youth organizations. The Kazakhstan Writers' Union (Qazaqstan Jazushïlar Odaghï) issues two literary periodicals. One of them is the weekly literary newspaper Kazakh Literature (Qazaq ädebietĭ), published since 1934. But, a larger amount of lyric poetry has appeared in the monthly literary journal now called Star (Jŭldïz), which in 1977 reached its forty-ninth year of publication under the present and former title (New Literature, Janga ädebiet). Research for this study covers a period of about fifteen years of Jŭldïz and Qazaq ädebietĭ, starting from 1960. Young poets take their place in the literary journal Jŭldïz as a group separated from more well-known Kazakh

poets, appearing under headings such as Young Pen (Jas qalam), Youths' Voice (Jastar dausï), Youths Sing Their Present Day (Jïrlaydï jastar zamanïn), Sara's Sisters (Sïnglïlerï Saranïng), and the like. Holdings for many years of both these periodicals as well as numerous separate poetry collections in Kazakh are available in the Columbia University and New York Public libraries as well as the Library of Congress.

CHAPTER II

MAIN THEMES IN KAZAKH LYRIC POETRY

Today some young Kazakh poets in the USSR occasionally follow their elders in contributing ideological verse with officially acceptable Soviet themes. A survey of young Kazakhs' recent poetry reveals many titles which offer themes such as: "International,"[10] "To Lenin's Monument,"[11] "Communism's Spring,"[12] "My Sovkhoz"[13] and "To Pravda."[14]

The main aim in this chapter is to search for certain themes in the lyric poems of contemporary Kazakh Soviet poets around which their poetry is unified. These poems, examined by applying an analytical approach, show a unity of subject matter and theme in Kazakh lyric poetry of the 1960s and 1970s which goes much beyond

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10 Äubekir Nïlïbayev, "Internatsional," Jŭldïz, No. 1 (1963), p. 46.

11 Sabïrkhan Asanov, "Lenin eskertkïshïne," Jŭldïz, No. 1 (1960), p. 83.

12 Tökish Täkejanova, "Kommunizm köktemi," Jŭldïz, No. 8 (1960), p. 49.

13 Bayandilla Tŭrghanbayev, "Sovkhozïm," Jŭldïz, No. 1 (1962), p. 64.

14 Dulat Shalqarbayev, "Pravdaga," Jŭldïz, No. 5 (1961), p. 19.

the standard Soviet themes. Moreover, the study will examine many of those themes which young Kazakh poets treat over and over again in different forms in lyric poetry. Their themes are related to local objects, older people and their view of the past. Daily life in the plains and village, love of village and other local objects such as mountains, rivers, Kazakh tents, swans, camels or a shepherd's stick, seem to complete the obvious national scenery in lyric poems. Their poems about local objects and national scenery are more than mere descriptions of the vast plains, high mountains or joyful villages of Kazakhstan. Behind them there is usually a unity of idea or feeling from the poet's nationality identity. Thus, Kazakh poets show an affinity between themselves and their ethnic geography in the imagery of the plain, mountain, river, camel, and nomad's tent. Such poets develop not only their regional identity, but also group and past identities by portraying local objects. Their view of the past and group concept are connected with locality; furthermore, there is a strong interrelation between these three subjects. This triangle, shaped by local, group and past identities, appears as a single unit in most of the poems.

In order to understand young Kazakh poets' attachment to local objects, older people as well as their view of the past, it will be useful to discuss the psychology of identity briefly. To a psychologist, personality identity is an area of study that deals with complex human behavior, including the emotions, actions and cognitive (thought) processes of an individual in his search for a self-identity. Personality psychologists study the enduring

patterns of behavior that not only make individuals different from each other, but also help them to identify themselves with a social or cultural group, such as a family, a tribe, or a nationality. Psychologists try to learn how these patterns develop, how they are organized, and how they change. According to one psychoanalyst and social philosopher, man is the only animal who seeks his self-awareness.[15] Gifted with self-awareness and reason, man questions his existence. Self-awareness, reason and imagination have disrupted the "harmony" that characterizes animal existence. While he is aware of himself as being separate from nature and from others, he tries to find a "home" in a social group. Therefore, his existence depends on the development of his group identity with a certain social or cultural society. Man's existential conflict produces certain psychic needs common to all men. He is forced to overcome the horror of separateness, of powerlessness, and of desperateness, and find new forms of relating himself to the world to enable him to feel at home. There is a need to transcend one's self-centered, narcissistic, isolated position to one of being related to others. Social psychologists suggest that a social or cultural group's existence also depends on its group-identity. Without the development of a certain identity, a social group cannot survive. Thus, it is possible to say that self-identity plays a cohesive role in man in establishing a sense of unity within himself and

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15 Erich Fromm, The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973), pp. 225-226.

with his social or cultural group.

As Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961) used myths, rituals and symbols as a key for the understanding of the human unconscious, this chapter will try to interpret Kazakh lyric poems using such an analytical approach, and focus on the use of images and symbols in lyric poetry as a key to the understanding of a poet's and his nationality's self-identity.

When Kazakh poets write about the world and life around them, especially when they use local objects, they obviously feel close to nature. Nature becomes a member of their immediate family. We see a certain gentle touch when a young Kazakh poet converses with a village, saying:

> Men qashan qŭshaghïnda jaltangdagham
> Auïlïm, alaqanïng darqan maghan. [16]
>
> Whenever I look back timidly in your lap
> Your palm is friendly to me my village.

Evidently this young Kazakh poet has a "maternal" figure in his mind, when he feels himself resting in the lap of his village. In the next couplet of the same quatrain the poet points to the blood relationship between him and his village:

> Bĭr tamshï kĭndĭgĭmnen tamghan qanmen,
> Jüregĭm mängĭ özĭnge arqandalghan.
>
> With a drop of blood from my navel,
> My heart is tied to your eternal self.

The vast plains of Kazakhstan often become the image of a mother,

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[16] Mŭrat Berdikenov, "Auïlïm, tughan auïlïm," Jŭldïz, No. 9 (1965), p. 106.

too. The quietness, generosity and gentleness of a mother often is attributed to plains. The youthful poets personify local objects in order to establish an intimate relationship with the world around them. It seems that an intimate relationship between a poet and his local environment provides the main basis for the development of a local identity. Speaking of the "maternal" figure, which has been treated by young Kazakh poets over and over again in their lyric poems, it is possible to say that this figure suggests the universal concept of "motherland."

In the following examples some young Kazakh poets reveal sincere love and respect for their native land and villages:

Keng dala, jalpaq dala, jayang dala,
Özïng ghoy jangha jaylï baysaldï ana.[17]

Wide plain, flat plain, brave plain,
You, are a tender, gentle mother to a soul.

Qŭshaghï qutqa tolï dala--meken
Qolï ashïq, keng peyildi ana ma eken?
Men onïng qasietti kelbetïne
Künïne mïng märtebe qarab ötem.[18]

The plain which is an abode, its lap full of happiness,
Is a generous and gentle mother?
Let me look at her dignified face,
A thousand times a day.

The maternal figure conveyed by a plain or a village contrasts with the image of a "father" mountain. Apparently, young poet, Adilbek Abaydildanov (b. 195?), visualizes a masculine →

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[17] Qayïrdï Nazïrbayev, "Dala," Jŭldïz, No. 9 (1965), p. 107.

[18] Ghŭsman Jandïbayev, "Dala," Jŭldïz, No. 6 (1970), p. 124.

appearance in the snowy Ala Tau mountains, when he says: "Alatau--panam, qart atam!" (Ala Tau mountain--my shelter, my old father!).[19] It is very interesting that the young poet refers to the mountain as his shelter. The inclination of young Kazakh poets to envision their plains and villages as their mother or their mountains as their father is connected with the development of their group identity. It seems that they try to find a "home" in their ethnic geography. When young Kazakh poets regard their plains or villages as the "lap" of their mother and the mountains as a "shelter" and a "protector" like their father, they seem to feel secure and at home. Ethnic geography gives inner strength to the young generation, for another young poet, Nusïpbek Isakhmetov (b. 194?), claims in the following lines that mountains are the ideal of young men:

> Bïzdïng yerdïng taularï da qarlarï--
> Ot jürektï jïgïtterdïng armanï.[20]
>
> The mountains and snows of our land--
> Are the ideal of bold young fellows.

This father-son relationship between certain mountains and a young Kazakh generation, gives Kazakh poets a sense of continuity between the generations. Youthful poet Baqïtkerey Ïsqaqov (b. 195?) in his lyric entitled "On the Outskirts of Mount Kokshe (Kökshe bauïrïnda)," desires to be the continuation of the mountain which

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[19] Ädïlbek Abaydïldanov, "Alatau qoynï, aylï tün," Jüldïz, No. 11 (1973), p. 163.

[20] Nusïpbek Isakhmetov, Tughan taular. (Alma Ata: Jazushï baspasï, 1968), p. 5.

symbolizes his father and an older generation:

Ayälaydï babam bolïp osï jer
Men olardïng jalghasï bop jolïgham.[21]

That place cherishes me as my father,
Let me be their inheritor.

In the following lyric poem of Tumanbay Moldaghaliyev (b. 194?), we see that ethnic history and nationality coheres with geography--in this case it is the Ala Tau mountains:

ALA-TAU

Eternal lies the snow on Ala-Tau.
Majestic like a man
of noble brow,
it stands to witness Time's eternal run
ever since the count of Time
has begun.

In passing ages rest upon its breast,
depositing wisdom,
their bequest.

And from its summit far are seen and wide
our future years that come
in rolling tide.

It greets the sun and confers with the stars.
Its virgin peaks
no dust or grime mars;
to brooks and freshets they give generous birth
and then great rivers hurl
down to the earth....

Oh Ala-Tau, never can we part.
You are my country's soul,
her ever-beating heart![22]

The poet, with the use of personal pronouns in the eleventh and the

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[21] Baqïtkerey Ïsqaqov, "Kökshe bauïrïnda," Jŭldïz, No. 6 (1971), p. 109.

[22] Tumanbay Moldaghaliyev, "Ala-Tau," translated into English by Valentina Jacque, Soviet Literature, No. 8 (1963), p. 109.

twentieth lines, states his attachment, through historical linkage, to a particular locality. The above lyric poem suggests that a particular local terrain feature (object), like the stately Ala Tau mountains, reinforces the poet's identification, not with an abstract supra-nationality (Soviet people), but with a Kazakh nationality.

The limits of the homeland's identity are broad (the whole Soviet Union) in ideological, non-lyric Kazakh poetry, whereas that identity is limited to cover only Kazakhstan in in Kazakh lyric poetry. In ideological poems, such phrases as "Our Kremlin (Moscow)," "My Soviet people," and "Our Fatherland" bring our attention to an official Soviet identity:

> Khalqïmnïng aq niettï tïlegïmen
> Jarq ettï janga baqït Kreml'den [23]
>
> By my people's honest intention
> New happiness began to shine from the Kremlin.
>
> Ata jŭrt, jasïrmaymïn maqtanïmdï,
> Alınbas aspan sïrï aqtarïldï!
> Atïngnan aynalayïn sovyet khalqïm [24]
>
> Fatherland, I won't hide my being proud,
> The unsolved mystery of space revealed!
> Let me sacrifice myself to your name, my Soviet people.

In contrast, in Kazakh lyric poetry, the concept of fatherland is defined as a land where the ancestors of the same nationality were buried. Young poet Tursïn Sïdïqov (b. 1950) in the following lyric

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[23] Dikhan Abĭlev, "Altïn kĭtap," Jŭldïz, No. 11 (1961), p. 3.

[24] Dikhan Abĭlev, "Maqtanamïn," Jŭldïz, No. 11 (1961), p. 4.

poem, entitled "Fatherland" (Otan), defines clearly what he understands by a native country:

Otanïm özï shayqap keng besïgïn,
Ottïz jïl ör qïp tughan kenjesïmïn.
Bolsa eger ata-babam jermen qŭrdas,
Men özïm jer men kökting tengdesïmïn.[25]

I am that youth who was born in the broad cradle
Of my fatherland, and which has swung by itself
thirty years with pride.
If my ancestors are coeval with earth,
Then, I am the same age as earth and sky.

In the second line of the above quatrain, the young Kazakh poet refers to the thirtieth anniversary of the Kazakhstan of the Soviet era, in 1950, when he was born. The Kirgizistan ASSR, forerunner of the Kazakhstan SSR, was founded in 1918, but reconstituted on August 26, 1925, including areas inhabited by the Kazakh-Kirgiz tribes, and coinciding largely with the pre-1917 Steppe General Gubernïia and the Uralsk and Turgai provinces. On December 3, 1936, the Kazakhstan ASSR and the Kirgizstan ASSR--founded on February 1, 1926--were transformed to the Kazakhstan SSR and Kirgizstan SSR.[26] However, the poet speaks about the eternal past of his country in the last two lines. The above lyric quatrain is an interesting example which gives us an idea about how young Kazakh poets seek their identity in the triangle of geography, history and nationality.

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25 Türsïn Sïdïqov, "Otan," Jŭldïz, No. 5 (1961), p. 78.

26 "Stanovlenie i razvitie sovetskogo soiuza," Kommunist (Vilnius), No. 12 (1972), pp. 15-16; Richard Pipes, The Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism, 1917-1923 (New York: Atheneum, 1968), pp. 172-174; Edward Allworth (ed.), Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 236-241.

It seems that young Kazakh poets avoid writing lyric poems about the cities of Kazakhstan and the life-pattern in those cities. Do they find a change, regarding the Kazakh people's unique life-pattern, in the cities? Because of industrialization and the Russian way of life in the cities, dominated by Russians, Kazakhs confront these outsiders in the cities more often than in most villages. Thus, the impact of foreign culture on Kazakh nationality is felt more by individual Kazakhs in the cities. In the following lines, a young Kazakh poet takes refuge in a shady spot on a mountain:

Jas jigitpin kädimgi üstiq qandi,
Köz aldimnan ushiram qus qip tangdi.
Qatar-qatar üyde emes, kölengkeli
Tau ishinde tatamin tüstik dämdi.[27]

I am a young man of ancient, fiery blood,
I make the dawn to fly before my eyes.
I enjoy lunchtime, not in houses all in a row,
But in a shady part of a mountain.

In the above quatrain, the poet refers with irony to the city where houses and buildings are arranged in a row. Unlike the cities where traditional Kazakh culture is disappearing day by day, young Kazakh poets discover the stability and continuity of their nationality identity in the various local objects of the villages and the countryside:

O, pang tüye, shejiresi dalamning,
Körgen sayin közderingnen alam mung.[28]

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[27] Iskhan Dosmaghanbetov, "Jürgen jerim osi jer," Jüldiz, No. 10 (1962), p. 84.

[28] Dükenbay Dosjanov, "Tüye," Jüldiz, No. 11 (1963), p. 39.

Oh! Haughty camel, the genealogy of my plain,
I feel the sorrow in each of your eyes.

From immemorial time down to the present day, camels have been means of trade and communication in the daily life of Kazakhs. Therefore, the poet symbolizes his plain's genealogy as a camel. He seems to mean that the camel is inseparable from his country's identity.

An examination of Kazakh lyric poetry since 1960 makes it possible to say that young Kazakh poets have created an ideal poetical world in their lyric poems. Although their poems are not exact copies of each other, they share somewhat similar themes and images. In such a short period of time they have managed to develop a literary method new in Soviet Kazakhstan which could be called "Kazakh lyricism." The main characteristic of this Kazakh lyricism is the inclination of young Kazakh poets to envision an intimate environment in their lyric poems. They reconstruct this intimate environment on the basis of personal observations of their local, group and past identities. They seem to discover these identities not in big cities, but in villages, where Kazakhs are predominant and where Kazakhs' traditions are being preserved well. The vast plains and high mountains of Kazakhstan give young Kazakh poets a physical sense of deepness, both in nature and in their past. They find their main source of lyric poetry in the Kazakh village and its surroundings. This is remarked by young poet Ospanäli Imanaliyev: "Auïldïng tangï jïr tolï" (The dawn of a village is full of songs).[29] Nature's true lyric song expresses an intimate relationship between

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[29] Ospanäli Imanaliyev, "Auïl tangï," Jŭldïz, No. 4 (1964), p. 118.

a poet and his village. His village pours songs into the young poet's heart:

Janïma jïr qŭyadï jomarttïghïng
O, menïng qŭdiretti, bay auïlïm![30]

Your generosity pours a song into my soul
O! my mighty, rich village!

These lyric songs of nature and Kazakh villages give a sense of freedom to the young poets. Young poetess Külän Shïldebayeva (b. 194?) feels that her heart becomes as free as a leaf in the wind through these songs:

Jayqalsa japïraq jelmenen,
Jüregïm terbeldï jïrmenen.[31]

Like a leaf trembles with the wind,
My heart rocked with song.

In these songs, young poets find happiness:

Baqïtïm ghoy jïr menïng
Jïrlay bergïm keledï.[32]

My happiness is a song!
Suddenly I want to sing.

Young Kazakh poets search for that pure lyric poetry which they feel is hidden in nature. In order to discover this lyric poetry, they make themselves an inseparable part of nature and particularly of their local environment. Thus, the young poets often identify themselves with a mountain spring, a river, or rain,

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30 Qŭdash Mŭqashev, "Menïng auïlïm," Jŭldïz, No. 8 (1960), p. 50.

31 Külän Shïldebayeva, "Oy," Jŭldïz, No. 3 (1961), p. 68.

32 Maghirash Särrïkova, "Jïrlay bergïm keledï," Jŭldïz, No. 3 (1961), p. 67.

as they have in the following examples:

Taudïn aqqan bŭlaqpïn.
.....
Äkem--bŭlt ta, anam--qar,
Tau basïnda tuïppïn. [33]

I am a spring that flowed down the mountain.
.....
My father is a cloud, my mother snow,
I was born on the mountain peak.

Men jangbïrmïn,
Mĭnezĭm bar bĭr qatal.
Kenet jasïl terekterdĭ shulatam.
Men jangbïrmïn, qŭyïp-qŭyïp ötetĭn,
Ol qasiet ömĭrge tän, jïrgha tän.

Men jangbïrmïn,
Dala kütken nŭrlï ümĭt. [34]

I am rain,
I have a cruel temperament.
Suddenly I force the green poplars to sound.
I am rain, I pass by pouring and pouring,
This essence is sustenance for life, for a song.

I am rain,
The radiant hope that the plain awaits.

In the last of the above lyric pieces, the young poet refers to the abundance of rain which cultivates the plains and tells us that this quality of rain sustains both life and song. Because the poet identifies himself with the rain, he feels the joy of giving life to his native land. By identifying themselves with the physical objects from their local environment and the world around it, young Kazakh poets reach a point of self-awareness in which they see

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[33] Ötejan Nŭrghalĭyev, "Bŭlaq," Aq nöser (Alma Ata: Jazushï baspasï, 1968), p. 22.

[34] Marat Otaralĭyev, "Men jangbïrmïn...," Jŭldïz, No. 4 (1966), p. 90.

themselves a necessary presence in their native land, like the stones, mountains, and rivers:

Bŭl Jerge tas ta kerek, tau da kerek,
Bŭl Jerge qar da kerek, mal da kerek.
Bŭl Jerge qŭm da kerek jel suïrghan,
Dalanï josïp jürgen ang da kerek...
.....
Ot ta kerek, su kerek...
Biraq özim
Bärïnen de bŭl Jerge kerek ekem.[35]

This Land must have both stone and mountain
This Land must have both snow and cattle
This Land must have both the sand winnowed by the wind
And the wild animals roaming the plain.
.....
This Land must have grass and water...
But above all,
This Land must have me.

By capitalizing the word Land (Jer) in the above lyric piece, the poet singles out his native land.

The young Kazakh poets' attachment to the environment not only develops their local identity, but also strengthens in them a sense of group identity. A shepherd's staff or a broad plain seems to reinforce the group identity of Kazakh poets:

Soldat bop sapqa turdïm, mïltïq emes,
Jarmasïp qoyshï atamnïng tayäghïna.[36]

Being a soldier, I stood in ranks holding, not a rifle
But the staff of my shepherd father.

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[35] Jüsip Qïdïrov, "Bŭl Jerge maujïraghan tün de kerek," Jŭldïz, No. 6 (1963), p. 27.

[36] Säken Imanasov, "Sïr," Jŭldïz, No. 8 (1960), p. 49.

Dala degen--
Qazaqtardïng erlïgï,
Dala degen--
Qazaqtardïng eldïgï.[37]

What they call "plain"
Is the Kazakhs' manhood,
What they call "plain"
Is the Kazakhs' nationhood.

In order to understand the political orientation of these young Kazakh poets, any analyst of recent Kazakh lyric poetry must deal with the following question: Whom do these young Kazakh poets represent? In many Kazakh lyric poems, there is a close tie between the poet and his people. They seem to assert a kinship between the entire Kazakh nationality and themselves:

Bükïl qazaq baytaq el tuïs maghan.
Tuïs maghan aq shashtï äjeler men
Aqsaqalï aulïmnïng tu ŭstaghan.[38]

The entire, numerous, Kazakh nationality is kin to me.
Also, kin to me, the white-haired grandmothers,
And the standard-bearing elders of my village.

It should be noted that the term "standard-bearing elders," in the above lyric, has a significant meaning in Kazakh culture. As it was in former times (the pre-Soviet period), elders still occupy a very important social position in Kazakh villages. Of cource, elders used to have stronger political power than today, within the Kazakh tribal organization. By forming a chamber of judges, they used to select a new leader for the tribe or punish who ever acted against

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[37] Käkïmbek Salïkov, "Dala," cited by Sütemgen Bükirov in "Jezkïïk--jezgazghan dalasï," Qazaq ädebietï, No. 8 (February 22, 1974), p. 3.

[38] Zeynolla Shïrayev, "Aqsaqaldar," Jŭldïz, No. 6 (1970), p. 123.

tribal law and traditions. In the above citation, the expression "standard-bearing elders" also symbolizes the importance of older people in representing Kazakh nationality identity.

A survey of Kazakh lyric poetry published since 1960 reveals that young poets are concerned deeply with the nationality question. Through their search in local, group and past identities, they are seeking their nationality identity. This fact brings up another question: Do they feel a lack of or dissatisfaction with their group identity now? Although they have not said anything openly to answer this question simply "yes," they do respond implicitly to it by urging their generation to continue Kazakh customs and traditions:

> Bir iz bar kele jatqan babamyzdan
> Sol izben jürsek närli tabamyz dän.[39]
>
> There is a trace coming from our ancestors;
> We will find a nourishing seed if we follow this trace.

The young poet's intention to follow the trace of his ancestors, evidently, contradicts the directives and policies of Soviet authorities. These goals and related policies will be discussed in Chapter III of this essay.

Sometimes a local object like Kazakh musical instrument "dombyra" (a two-stringed, long-necked lute) can express the poet's feeling when the poet himself is not able to do it. Young poet Qudash Muqashev (b. 194?) tells another Kazakh youth that he should listen carefully to "dombyra" and feel the message from it,

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[39] Tutqabay Imanbekov, "Räsim izderi," Juldyz, No. 6 (1970), p. 119.

because this instrument transmits words which the people cannot express openly:

"Dombïra"

Üyïnde talaydïng tangï bar,
Ghashïktïng ghajayïp janï bar.
Qasïma otïr da, jïgïtïm,
Oyïngmen keregïn tanïp al.
.....
Ekeumiz ayta almas sözderdï, [40]
Tïngdashï, dombïra aytadï.

"Dombïra"

It has the dawn of the prairie
And the wonderful soul of a lover in itself,
Sit before me, my lad,
And feel its meaning for yourself.
.....
The words which neither of us can express,
Listen, the dombïra speaks.

From this analysis of recent Kazakh poetry, it is apparent that young Kazakh poets not only seek their nationality identity, but give advice to their generation about how to look for such identity. This shows that young poets are now trying to reach the large young generation of Kazakhs. This trend, therefore, has political significance today in both Kazakh literature and Kazakhs' social life. Because this trend contrasts with the goals of the Soviet authorities, who are trying to advance a Soviet identity based on the brotherhood of a social class, there is an ideological conflict in today's Kazakh literature as well as in Kazakhstan. This ideological conflict occurs mainly between the young generation of Kazakhs and the Soviet authorities. This question

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[40] Qŭdash Mŭqashev, "Dombïra," Jŭldïz, No. 8 (1960), p. 51.

will be discussed further in Chapter IV, "Tension and Continuity in Kazakh Soviet Literature," of this essay.

CHAPTER III

SOVIET CRITICISM OF KAZAKH LYRIC POETRY

In the Soviet Union, literature has always been considered a very influential instrument of propaganda used for publicizing orders issued by the communist party. In congresses of the communist party and the writer's union of both the USSR and Kazakhstan, the educational significance of literature has been stated again and again. Because of this, the interference of politics can be sensed in every phase of Kazakh literature. Decrees issued by the Central Committee of the CPSU and official statements from Soviet leaders always find their way onto the first pages of Kazakh literary journals and newspapers. Kazakh literary critics start their articles with quotations from such official statements. The July 1959 issue of the Kazakh literary journal Star (Jŭldïz) devoted its first three pages to the CPSU Central Committee's official statement which was read at the opening session of the Third Congress of Soviet Writers in May 1959. This statement emphasizes the significant role of the Soviet writer as a propagandist for Soviet goals. Here is a short passage from this official statement which has been quoted again and again by many Kazakh literary critics:

". . .The sacred obligation before Soviet writers is

> to join, with their all power, in the work of forming the psychic structure of the future man. They /Soviet writers/ are obligated to encourage people in the struggle on the path to communism, educating them /the people/ with the communist ideology and teaching them how to resist bourgeois ideology and morality." 41

The statement goes on, indicating that the socialist and capitalist systems are in an economic race on a grand scale. Therefore, the great task of Soviet writers is to participate in this race in order to beat the capitalist system.

In the same issue of Jŭldïz, Kazakh critic Esmaghambet Ïsmaylov in his 12-page long article entitled "The fundamental Questions of Literary Criticism" tries to shape the previous fifty years of Kazakh literature to fit the new government plan set at the XXIst Congress of the CPSU in 1959. He starts his article as follows: "The XXIst Congress of the CPSU has prepared the magnificent program for the transition from socialism to communism. It is important to carry out the new seven-year plan, accepted by this congress, without any shortcoming." Critic Ïsmaylov emphasizes that literature plays one of the most important roles in developing the Soviet economy as well as in indoctrinating the younger generation with Marxist-Leninist principles. He argues that in the history of Kazakh literature Soviet Kazakh writers committed themselves to the development of socialism in "Our Great Socialist Fatherland," that is, the USSR. He acknowledges that nationalist and "bourgeois ideologist" Kazakh writers such as Maghjan Jumabay-uli (1896-c.1938)

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41 "SSSR jazushïlarïnïng III s"ezïne," signed by Sovyet Odaghï Kommunistik partiyasïnïng Ortalïq Komiteti, Jŭldïz, No. 7 (June 1959), p. 3.

and Mirjaqib Dulat-uli (1885-1937) opposed the Soviet regime.[42]

Following the appearance of this article, a considerable amount of critical work concerning lyric poetry has been published in the Kazakh language since 1960. Jŭldïz and the weekly literary newspaper, Kazakh Literature (Qazaq ädebietï), have opened their pages to critical articles by both established and young Kazakh critics writing about lyric poetry. Toward the very end of the 1960s some critical works devoted entirely to Kazakh lyric poetry appeared in separate volumes.[43] Among many others, widely published Kazakh critics Esmaghambet Ïsmaylov, Äbdïlda Täjïbayev, Mukhamedjan Qaratayev, Mïrzabek Duysenov, as well as young Kazakh critics such as Äbïrash Jämïshev and Äbish Kekïlbayev have frequently written about the question of Kazakh lyric verse. In the 1920s and 1930s there had been much debate among poets and critics about the functions and future of lyric poetry. The argument against the lyric at that time was based largely on the assumption that "it reflected a subjective world which had been expressed in the lyric poems by nationalist Kazakh poets such as Maghjan Jumabay-uli and Mirjaqib Dulat-uli, whose poetry leads toward bourgeois and nationalist ideas."[44] Today, Kazakh critics are rather sympathetic

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[42] Esmaghambet Ïsmaylov, "Ädebiettanudïng negïzgï mäseleleri," Jŭldïz, No. 7 (1959), p. 104.

[43] Äbirash Jämïshev, Jïr janarï (Alma Ata: "Jazushï" Baspasï, 1970); Mukhamedjan Q. Qaratayev (ed.), Janr sipatï (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR-ning "Ghïlïm" Baspasï, 1971); see Bibliography, section B.

[44] Türsïnbek Käkïshev, "Qazaq sovet poëziyasïnïng qalïptasu jïldarï," Jŭldïz, No. 3 (1960), p. 130.

to young Kazakh poets' personal feelings. They seem to give credit to young poets for originality in the writing of lyric poems. Such tolerance shows that Soviet criticism has softened its attitude toward lyric poetry to a considerable degree, compared with the practice followed during the period before the 1960s. However, a close examination of Kazakh critical essays about lyric poetry reveals the fact that Kazakh critics now face the very difficult problem of redefining this rehabilitated poetic genre. Many Kazakh critics have taken on the task of redefining lyric poetry, not only because of its popularity among young Kazakh poets, but because of an urgent need to fit this genre into the communist party's doctrine. In this way, lyric poetry is rehabilitated but is at the same time redefined.

In a survey of the articles and essays by Kazakh Soviet critics devoted to Kazakh lyric poetry since 1960, it is not difficult to notice that Kazakh critics expend much of their effort to explain the revival of lyric poetry in Kazakh literature by linking it with the economic development of their socialist country. An example of this argument can be found in Serik Qirabayev's article "Some Problems of Lyric Poetry," where he says:

> ". . .Kazakh lyric poetry has flourished since 1960 as a result of great progress made in agriculture in the recent years. The revival of the socialist village (sotsialistik auïl) and its romanticism as well as the spirit of the new men in the socialist village have been reflected in the lyrics of young Kazakh poets. . . Of course, these themes are connected with great historical events such as the 40th anniversary of the Republic of Kazakhstan in 1960, the 90th birthday of the great Lenin and the Soviet space-rockets which have

> been sent one after another into space /from Kazakhstan/." 45

Critic Qirabayev in his article points out that in order to celebrate the above historical events, Kazakh poets visited the countryside of Kazakhstan, having formed many field-trip groups among themselves. Kazakh poets have gone as far as Qaraghanda and Temirtau, paid visits to the harvest fields of Aqmola, Qostanay, north Kazakhstan and Kokshetau, and lived among the shepherds of Qizilorda and south Kazakhstan. According to this critic, a huge amount of material is collected by Kazakh poets for the creation of lyric poetry on the basis of those colorful trips. However, it seems that critic Qirabayev is not content with the themes developed in the lyric poems of young Kazakh poets. He reminds young poets of the goals set at the XXIst Congress of the CPSU, when he says:

> "Our lyric poetry should advance and praise the socialist essence by loving the progressing country (ölke) and singing of her beautiful scenes. Each poem should reflect its own present time. But, in some lyric poems, written by young poets, the characteristic of our time is unclear. In such lyric poems when a village is praised, it is impossible to figure out whether that village is situated in our present-day socialist country or in the remote past." 46

Critic Qirabayev mentions the lyric poem of a young Kazakh poet, Omarbay Malqarov (b. 194?), entitled "To the Kumiss Maker" (Qïmïzshïga), in his above article. Unfortunately, the critic does not

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45 Serïk Qirabayev, "Lirikalïq poëziyanïng keybïr mäseleleri," Jŭldïz, No. 5 (1961), p. 134.

46 Ibid., p. 137.

give any lines from the poem. There is only a brief description of this poem offered by the critic. Apparently, having entered a tent and sat down, the young poet drinks kumiss (fermented mare's milk) from a silver bowl offered by a fairylike girl. The critic claims that there is not one single connection between the time described in the poem and present-day reality. This critic evidently doubts that drinking kumiss from a "silver bowl" offered by a "fairylike girl" could take place in today's socialist village.*

One of the most important questions Serik Qirabayev deals with in his article is the inclination displayed by some young Kazakh poets toward sentimentalism and pessimism. He opposes these kinds of feelings, saying: "There is no room in our society for sentimentality (Sentimental"dïq sezïm) and pessimism (küyrektik). However, in the pages of newspapers and journals here and there can be read some young poets' lyrics which are dominated heavily with pessimistic feelings." In order to prove his argument, he gives the following two quatrains from young Kazakh poet Jümeken Najïmedenov's (b. 194?) lyric verse "The Heart's Melody" (Köngïl küyï):

Keyde ayäqtï nïqtap kelïp tïreymïn,
Keyde alïsqa üreyïmdï ap jan ushïp,
Sudïng betïn alaqanmen küreymïn,
Qart tolqïnnïng saqalïna jabïsïp.

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* Kumiss drinking is a national tradition of Kazakhs and other Central Asians. This tradition goes back to the early inhabitants of Central Asia like the Scythians in the seventh century B. C. Thus, kumiss drinking has an importance as a symbol of Kazakh tradition.

Tolqïnmen de, jelmen de oynap jür edim
Ne istesem de bärine özim ayïptï.
Bar ghoy mŭnda balapanday jüregim, [47]
Laqtïrmashï, qiratpashï qayïqtï,--

Sometimes I try to hold on tight,
Sometimes I am struck with great fear,
With my palm I row the surface of the water,
Grasping the beard of the old waves.

I used to play with both wave and wind,
But nevertheless, I am guilty of whatever I have done.
Look! Here is my poor heart,
Please, don't overturn the kayak.

Critic Qirabayev analyzes the above poem in the following words:

> "The poem entitled 'The Heart's Melody' shows that the young poet inclines toward pessimistic feelings. This poem mirrors the poet's misfortune. The lyrical hero of the poem is a man who happens to be in the middle of the life's sea in a kayak without a paddle. When a storm blows up, the waves rock the kayak this way and that way. The kayak floats, falling and rising. When he realizes that his life is in danger, he starts to beg. Näjimedenov is a gifted poet. His images and comparisons are elegant; however, the weakness of his ideas wipes out the beautiful images of his poems." [48]

In the closing remarks in his criticism of the above poem, critic Qirabayev makes it clear that such poems, full of pessimism, cannot suit the needs of the psychological state of Soviet people. They are said to have been working to raise the edifice of communist construction (kommunistik qurïlïstïng qabïrghasï).

A survey of Kazakh Soviet criticism since 1960 reveals the fact that pure lyric poetry, advanced mostly by young poets, continues to be regarded as unacceptable by communist party

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[47] Jŭmeken Najimedenov, "Köngil küyi," Leninshil jas (May 12, 1960), p. 3.

[48] Serik Qirabayev, p. 140.

functionaries. This rejection is based mainly on the hypothesis that the inclination of young Kazakh poets to portray the inner world of the soul, its feelings and apprehensions, joys and sufferings leads that young generation of poets toward an awareness of Kazakh nationality identity which counters Soviet identity.*

An important outgrowth of the communist party's negative attitude toward real lyric poetry, that might promote genuine nationality identity, is another kind of "lyric" poetry, called "political lyric," proposed by Soviet critics. The purpose behind the inauguration of the "political lyric," which is said to echo the "socialist lyricism" of the 1930s, is to promote a Soviet identity based on the friendship among all Soviet ethnic groups. Kazakh critics, who succeeded in establishing themselves as policy executors of the CPSU, insist that political lyrics are the only kind of lyric poetry acceptable in socialist society. Kazakh critic, Tŭrsïnbek Käkĭshev, in his article "The Formative Years of Kazakh Soviet Poetry," defines political lyric as follows: "The political lyric, which is the most impressive kind of poetry, advocates and explains the ideas of the great socialist aims to the people in elegant words."[49] This critic has devoted a long section, entitled "The Place of the Political Lyric in Kazakh Soviet Poetry," on this question in his article. He emphasizes the point that political lyrics assume a new function--that of affirming

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[49] Tŭrsïnbek Käkĭshev, "Qazaq sovet poëziyasïnïng qalïptasu jïldarï," Jŭldïz, No. 3 (1960), p. 131.

* Moreover, young Kazakh poets' inclination toward individualism contrasts with the Soviet Marxist belief in the external, class and social conditioning of society and its members.

socialist society and revealing the positive aspects of the "new socialist man." Note that there is a fundamental difference between the proposed political lyric and the lyrics of young Kazakh poets regarding the inner world of a person. Political lyrics have a kind of prescribed world which focuses on the poet's identity with Soviet society.[50] Youthful Kazakh poets' lyrics reflect the complexity of the inner world of a person who expresses his identity mainly within his nationality group.

The analysis of young Kazakh poets' lyric poems given in Chapter II of this essay shows that the lyric poems of young Kazakh poets are composed with expressions related to a Kazakh's local, group and past identities. These identities, which reinforce Kazakh nationality identity, appear as a single unit in most of those poems. Furthermore, the examination of Kazakh critical work about lyric poetry allows us to propose that lyric poetry has rather a political significance in today's Kazakh Soviet literature. The choice of lyric poetry with themes related to nationality identity provides protection against the de-personalization as well as

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[50] Critic Töleujan İsmayïlov in his article entitled "Time and a Poem" ["Zaman men öleng," Jüldïz, No. 7 (1963), pp. 144-151.] gives the following lines from poet O. Imanäliyev's poem, entitled "Time's Truth" (Zaman shïndïghï), as a fine example of the political lyric poetry:

Pravda--zamanning shïndïghï,
Leninning qolïmen
Jüregïme ŭran bop
Jazïlghan...

Pravda--Time's truth,
By Lenin's hand has been
Written on my heart
As a slogan...

See examples given in section A, subdivision 2 of bibliography.

de-nationalization of Kazakh literature. As it has been in the period before 1960, the pressure of Soviet nationality policies in shaping today's Kazakh literary affairs continues to be extensive. Some of the goals set by communist party leaders regarding the de-nationalization of Soviet nationalities' literature can be found in Kazakh critic Ötesh Qarashin's article, "The Internationalism of a Nationality Literature."[51] He proposes taking the following steps in order to promote a Soviet literature based on what he calls the common international civilization of communism: First of all, he says, each nationality literature should be directed to the method of socialist realism. Secondly, the effect and role of Russian literature, as an intermediary culture, on the literature of other nationalities should be increased immediately. Then, the classics of world literature should be translated only from their Russian translations into Soviet nationality languages; moreover, the fine examples of Soviet nationalities' literature should be also translated only from their Russian translations, not from original texts. This will help to generalize the Russian literary language in the Soviet Union. By adopting the above measures, this critic hints, the proposed, overall Soviet literature will be based entirely on the Russian language. Thus, it is evident that the Soviet nationality policy of "Sovietizing" the literature of all Soviet nationalities--excluding Russians--is identical with "Russianizing"

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[51] Ötesh Qarashin, "Ŭlt ädebietiniŋ internatsionaldïghï," Jŭldïz, No. 9 (1966), p. 148.

these literatures. Russianizing in literature constitutes not merely the borrowing of Russian words, but imitating its literary traditions, themes, styles and particularly its literary character. Soviet policy makers are aware of the fact that having a native literature of its own is vital for the survival of a nationality group.[52]

The examination of Kazakh criticism since 1960 shows that Kazakh critics, under communist party pressure, act to de-emphasize the lyric poetry of youthful Kazakh poets, because their true lyric poetry advances Kazakh identity which in turn lessens Soviet identity. Because party officials control the Kazakh press, young Kazakh poets lacked a chance to respond directly in a article with their views about Soviet criticism of their lyric poetry. Although some younger Kazakh critics did contribute writings about lyric poetry, they have never argued openly with the views of well-established Kazakh critics. These younger Kazakh critics point out that young poets' present lyric inclination is not acceptable in Soviet society. They side with other and older critics in urging young poets to promote a wider Soviet identity.

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[52] In the Conference on "The Heart of the Nationality Question," held at Columbia University on April 25, 1974 Professor Edward Allworth proposed that "Possession of a body of its own imaginative literature is crucial to the survival of a nationality in its chosen identity."

CHAPTER IV

TENSION AND CONTINUITY IN KAZAKH SOVIET LITERATURE

The emergence of new Kazakh lyric poetry since 1960 has produced two rival factions in today's Soviet Kazakh literature. One group of mostly older Kazakh poets contributes by writing ideological, non-lyric poetry with officially-acceptable Soviet themes, and another group of Kazakh poets, composed mostly of young men and women, writes pure lyric verse distinct from the standard Soviet themes. Furthermore, the apparent intervention of the communist party between these two literary camps, with its disapproval of present Kazakh lyric poetry and its praise of an abstract political lyric poetry, points to an existing conflict of an ideological nature. Because literature is the only field of Soviet cultural or social activity in which overt differences of an ideological nature seem to manifest themselves, it is possible to propose that the present conflict in literature is closely related to a greater social tension in today's Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.

The present dichotomy in Kazakhstan arises from a disturbance in its ethnic composition. The roots of the present social tension go back to Czarist Russian occupation of the northern Central Asian

plains--today's Kazakhstan--in the nineteenth century, and the migration, and finally the settlement of large numbers of Russians and other Slavic people in this area. Kazakhs have been pushed away from their best land whenever a new wave of Russian settlers arrived there. Kazakhs have survived as a nationality group under the dominance of foreigners in their own homeland more than a hundred years. Because of great loss of life during the agricultural collectivization campaign, the Kazakh population in Kazakhstan dropped drastically between 1926 and 1939. In 1939 about 42 percent of the Kazakh SSR's population was thus Russian, compared with 35 percent in 1926. The Kazakh population formed only 46 percent of the total population of its own republic in 1939 as compared with 59 percent in 1926. Industrial development in Central Asia following World War II and particularly the almost explosive growth of heavy and extractive industry in Kazakhstan has attracted the second major wave of outsiders, particularly Russians, to Central Asia. In Kazakhstan the 1959 census reported about 4 million Russians and some 762 thousand Ukrainians, who together made up 51 percent of the total population of the union republic as compared with the 2,787,309 Kazakhs comprising about 30 percent of the total population. If the figure for Russians and Ukrainians is added to the totals given for all outside nationalities in Kazakhstan--Belorussians, Germans, Koreans, and others--who have come from beyond the Central Asian area, it is clear that no less than 64 percent of

the population was alien to this region.[53] According to the 1970 census, the rate of Russian increase in Kazakhstan was almost equal to that of the total population (40.38 percent) but still significantly below the growth of the Kazakhs themselves (52.281 percent) who even managed to regain some lost demographic ground.[54] Kazakhs are still a minority in their own union republic but their percentage has grown from 30 (in 1959) to 32.6 (in 1970) while Russians dropped from 42.7 (in 1959) to 42.4 (in 1970) percent.[55]

The existence of a predominant Russian group in Kazakhstan has contributed directly to the disruption in the union republic's ethnic harmony. Both the colonial administrative policy of the Czarist Russian government and the nationality policy of the Soviet government managed to separate Kazakhs from southern Central Asians starting from the beginning of the nineteenth century, although Kazakhs long regarded Tashkent--now the capital of the Uzbek SSR--as their main urban center. It is interesting that the 1970 census reports only 88,237 Kazakhs living in Alma Ata--the capital of the Kazakh SSR--as compared with 512,900 Russians and 30,878 Ukrainians in this city. The total population of Alma Ata is 729,637.[56] In

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53 Ian Murray Matley, "The Population and the Land," Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule, ed. by Edward Allworth, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 108-110.

54 Roman Szporluk, "The Nations of the USSR in 1970," Survey: A Journal of East and West Studies, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Autumn 1971), p. 79.

55 Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1970 goda. Tom IV (Moscow: "Statistika," 1973), p. 13.

56 Ibid., p. 233.

this cultural isolation Kazakhs have been faced with both physical and cultural assimilation since the establishment of Soviet control in Kazakhstan in 1920. Despite the heavy Soviet Russian impact on Kazakh life, Kazakhs have successfully striven to preserve their nationality identity in the last 57 years.

Kazakh lyric poetry elaborating themes related to nationality identity shows that young Kazakh poets are concerned deeply with the nationality question in their union republic. Moreover, this lyric temperament among young Kazakh poets has a political significance today in both social and cultural Kazakh life. According to both 1959 and 1970 census reports, the majority of the Kazakh population in the USSR continues to belong to a younger generation: In 1959 the young Kazakh generation up to the age of 29 included 2,229,300 persons (61.6 percent) of the total 3,621,610 Kazakhs in the USSR, as compared with the 1970 census which showed that the young Kazakh generation up to the age of 29 reached 3,589,567 individuals (67.6 percent) of the total 5,298,818 Kazakhs in the USSR.[57] Soviet officials are particularly interested in this large young Kazakh generation of the 1960s and 1970s. The CPSU is concerned about their indoctrination with communist ideology in order to create a

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[57] According to 1970 census reports, the young Kazakh generation up to the age of 29 includes 2,904,161 persons (68.5 percent) of the total 4,234,166 Kazakhs in the Kazakh SSR. See: Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1959 goda. Svodnyi tom. (Moscow: Gosstatizdat. TsSU SSSR, 1962), p. 215; Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1970 goda. Tom IV. (Moscow: "Statistika," 1973), p. 378; Edward Allworth, "Regeneration in Central Asia," The Nationality Question in Soviet Central Asia, ed. by Edward Allworth, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), p. 11, (Table 1.1).

new self-identity (Soviet identity) for these Kazakh youths.

Because literature is a very influential instrument of propaganda in the Soviet Union, Soviet officials consider the de-nationalization of Kazakh literature to be a basic step in the process of replacing Kazakh nationality identity with a broader Soviet identity. This change in nationality identity will enable the Soviet government to take the final step of assimilating the Kazakh nationality into a proposed Soviet, supraethnic nationality under a predominant Russian culture.

The emergence of new Kazakh lyric poetry itself in this case seems to be partly a response to increased Russification of Kazakh literature. Besides, it shows a tendency to return to the personal and artistic creativity which had been de-emphasized there for decades. Soviet policy seems to aim to deprive all branches of non-Russian literature in the Soviet Union of their distinction as nationality literature and reduce them to the status of provincial literature. This would perhaps help Russian literature play a stronger centralizing position in the creation of one overall Soviet literature.[58] The most important immediate consequence of the emergence of Kazakh lyric poetry since 1960, therefore, has been its establishment as a starting point for the further individual development of Kazakh literature and the preservation of its national character.

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58 Anthony Adamovich, "The Non-Russians," Soviet Literature in the Sixties, ed. by Max Hayward and Edward L. Crowley, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1964), pp. 100-129.

The popularity of lyric poetry among the younger generation of Kazakh poets indicates that these new Kazakh poets are not quite conforming to the directives of communist party officials. Young Kazakh poets are being inspired by another lyrical trend which has a remarkably long tradition and has been the favorite of poets and readers in both the northern--that is Kazakhstan--and southern parts of Central Asia. This lyrical movement was also once advanced by young Kazakh poets of 1910s and 1920s such as Mirjaqib Dulat-uli (b. 1885) and Maghjan Jumabay-uli (b. 1896). Their names have frequently been mentioned by Soviet Kazakh critics in connection with Kazakh lyric poetry and "anti-Soviet" or Kazakh nationalist trends in Kazakh literature (see Chapter III, above). The link, drawn by Soviet Kazakh critics, between the Kazakh lyric poetry of the 1910-1920s and 1960s is interesting for the fact that it proves the stability and continuity of Kazakh nationality identity among the intellectuals of two distant generations, despite the Russification policy of the Soviet government. This poetic revival also shows that the strong expression of an earlier circle of a group's poets, not necessarily immediately preceding the present, can give a foundation for later renewal. Today's young Kazakh poets' disagreement with party doctrines introduces the potential for raising major political tension in Kazakh literary activity. The question of whether Soviet identity or Kazakh identity will dominate the Kazakh literary scene in the future depends again in good part upon the stability and continuity of self-identity,

NATIONALITY IDENTITY IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIAN LITERATURE: KAZAKH AND UZBEK PROSE FICTION OF THE POST-STALIN PERIOD

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ABSTRACT

NATIONALITY IDENTITY IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIAN LITERATURE: KAZAKH AND UZBEK PROSE FICTION OF THE POST-STALIN PERIOD

TIMUR KOCAOĞLU

Modern prose fiction made headway in Central Asian literature long before the Soviet era. Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction continued to develop in both literary quality and quantity in the 1910s and 1920s, while drastic changes were taking place in Central Asian political life. Young Kazakh and Uzbek prose writers became the targets of intensive Soviet criticism in the late 1920s, because they refused to follow a Party-line orientation and exhibited a strong tendency toward expressing nationality identity in their prose fiction. From the 1930s to the mid-1950s relatively few novels and stories appeared in Central Asian languages due to heavy censorship by the Communist Party. When, in the second half of the 1950s, the post-Stalin leadership showed more tolerance toward the nationalities, the prose fiction genre, like other cultural expressions, started to flourish once again in Kazakh and Uzbek literature.

In the post-Stalin period, many older Kazakh and Uzbek writers wrote novels and stories that conform to Soviet themes. However, most young Kazakh and Uzbek writers focus on problems of contemporary Kazakh and Uzbek societies, instead of describing the positive achievements claimed for the Soviet system as the older writers have. Young writers show

an interest in their ethnic groups' cultural history, its native land, and customs. Young Kazakh and Uzbek writers seem to aim at drawing the attention of their readers to certain periods of their ethnic group's "national" history, at analyzing the causes and effects of certain historical events, at portraying the makers and victims of those events. The treatment of these themes, along with others, in both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction published between 1960s and 1980s indicates that the attachment of an older generation of writers to the ideological orientation no longer satisfies young authors.

The concentration on certain historical periods, historical events and historical personalities in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction also helps to inform Central Asian readers about the nationality boundaries within their homogeneous society. In historical prose fiction, Kazakh and Uzbek writers not only seem to reflect, but also try to reinforce and develop the nationality consciousness and identity of their ethnic groups. The current trend in both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction in searching out the present ethnic roots in ancient Central Asian history greatly differs from Soviet nationality policy favoring the drawing together and finally the merging of all Soviet nationalities into a non-ethnic Soviet community. In Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction the use of more native words, instead of their Russian and international equivalents that are currently being used in the Kazakh

and Uzbek Soviet press seems to disclose a tendency on the part of authors to maintain and develop a distinct literary language of their own nationality.

Beginning from about the 1960s, both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction have started to gain a more distinct nationality character which differs significantly from that in the prose fiction of the Russians or from other, non-Central Asian, nationalities. Both Kazakh and Uzbek contemporary prose fiction are moving away from becoming simply a version of Soviet prose fiction. Although the Communist Party is advocating a literature "national in form and socialist in content," today's Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction represents a literature which is national in both form and content.

C O N T E N T S

PREFACE

The academic motivations which have led to this study include a deep, long-term interest in the intellectual and cultural history of Central Asia, particularly the developments in modern Central Asian literature. The Soviet nationality question serves as a closely related topic.

The underlying pre-occupation behind this study is the discovery of the patterns of cultural change in Central Asia. In this thesis Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction of the post-Stalin period is analyzed in order to discover and understand the attitudes of Kazakh and Uzbek intellectuals toward Soviet nationality policy; a policy which seems to favor drastic changes in the cultural life of Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and other Central Asian nationalities. In the West there are some recent and important works which have concentrated on the cultural change question in Soviet Asian areas. However, the modern period of Kazakh, Uzbek or other Central Asian literature has not been studied sufficiently yet. It is hoped that this study will contribute to an understanding of the new Central Asian intelligentsia, which has emerged in the pos-Stalin period, and provide a broader perspective for recent trends in Central Asian literature.

Among the few Western libraries which continuously

receive some of the books printed in Soviet Central Asian languages, I have consulted the collections at Columbia University, the New York Public Library, the United States Library of Congress, the Türkiyat Enstitüsü in Istanbul, and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Some prose fiction and literary criticism have also been published in Kazakh and Uzbek literary journals before appearing in separate volumes. Consequently, the Kazakh-language monthly literary journal Jŭldïz and the Uzbek-language monthly literary journal Shärq yulduzi were reviewed from 1953 to 1982. Other periodicals surveyed for this purpose are listed in the bibliography.

Throughout this study the rules of The MLA Style Sheet, A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, and the transliteration system published by Edward Allworth will be followed, except those which are in conflict with regulations given in the General Instructions for the preparation of Dissertations by the Dissertation Secretary of Columbia University.[1] Titles of all materials, other than periodical titles,

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[1] The MLA Style Sheet, 2nd ed. (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1970); Kate L. Turabian, A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, 4th ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973); Edward Allworth, Nationalities of the Soviet East: Publications and Writing Systems. A Bibliographical Directory and Transliteration Tables for Iranian- and Turkic- Language Publications, 1818-1945, located in U.S. Libraries (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971); General Instructions for the Preparation of Dissertations, revised June 1980 (Columbia University).

are followed by the English translation when the work is first referred to in the text. After that, only English titles appear. The diacritical (transliteration) marks in personal names are omitted in the text (when not in a quotation, the footnotes, or in the bibliography).

When there are no data available for the birth dates of young Kazakh and Uzbek writers, they are estimated from the publication dates of their first novels or stories. Thus, if a young author's first novel or story was published in the 1970s, his birth date is given as (b. 195?). If his prose fiction appeared in the 1980s, his birth date is given as (b. 196?) in the text.

I would like to thank my advisor, Professor Edward Allworth, who spent many hours helping me formulate my ideas and who helped bring perspective to my task. His open and straight-forward approach, critical advice, and goal orientation have been great sources of support throughout. Professor Kathleen R. F. Burrill went over the whole manuscript, suggesting a number of improvements in style and expression. Azamat Altay, James Brumbaugh, Leonard Fox, Machmud Maksud-Bek, Hasan Oraltay, and John Soper have provided me with helpful advice at many crucial stages in the project. I am grateful to all of them. Last, but not least, my sincere gratitute goes to my wife, Nigar Kocaoğlu, who has shown a great deal of patience for the last five years while this dissertation was being prepared.

CHAPTER I

PROSE FICTION IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIAN LITERATURE

Soviet Central Asian literature comprises the literature of the following nationalities in their own ethnic languages: Karakalpak, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Tajik, Turkmen, Uyghur, and Uzbek. Excluding Tajiks who speak an Iranian language, the six Turkic nationalities of Central Asia share a common written literary heritage which dates back to the eighth century Kök-Turkic inscriptions. Central Asian Turkic literature can be divided into the following periods: Old Turkic (eighth century), Old Uyghur (eighth to eleventh centuries), Qarluq or Karakhanid (eleventh to thirteenth centuries), Khorazmian Turkic (fourteenth century), Chaghatay (fifteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century).[1] Regarding the verbal literary heritage, however, each of the Turkic nationalities of Central Asia has a rich

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[1] Fuad Köprülü,"Çağatay Edebiyatı," İslam Ansiklopedisi, vol. 3 (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1963), p. 270; János Eckmann, Chagatay Manual (Bloomington: Indiana University Publications, 1966), pp. 7-9; Alessio Bombaci, "The Turkic Literatures. Introductory Notes on the History and Style," Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1965), pp. XI-LXXI.

and distinct store of its own oral literature.

Although poetry had long been the dominant genre in Central Asian literature, making "literature" and "poetry" synonymous in that area, the share of prose in both oral and written literature of Central Asia is considerable. The Kök-Turkic inscriptions of the eighth century--regarded as the first recorded Turkic literary pieces--were not written in poetry, but prose. Old Uyghur and Chaghatay literature had many religious stories in prose. Excluding epics, legends, folk-tales, heroic and love stories in both prose and poetry, in which Central Asian literature is very rich,[1] the development of modern prose fiction as an independent literary genre in Central Asian literature starts only in the 1910s, but well before the Soviet era began. The terms "modern prose fiction" or simply "prose fiction" in this study are meant to embrace those genres of artistic literature which are written by educated persons, composed in prose, created as a result of one individual author's interpretation of events and characters, and bound by the facts of the actual world and laws of probability (except science fiction). Modern

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[1] Nora K. Chadwick and Victor Zhirmunsky, Oral Epics of Central Asia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); G. M. H. Schoolbraid, The Oral Epic of Siberia and Central Asia (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1975); Thomas G. Winner, The Oral Art and Literature of the Kazakhs of Russian Central Asia (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1958); Edward Allworth, Uzbek Literary Politics (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1964), pp. 197-200 (Chapter XX: The Oral Tradition).

Central Asian prose fiction differs from various kinds of traditional narrative, used in Islamic Central Asian literature, which indicates the epic, romantic or allegorical tale in verse in particular such as dastan, masnavi, qissa, and hikaya. The term "modern prose fiction" throughout this study includes only those prose works which are written specifically to be read and not staged.

Because modern prose fiction was at first purely a European literary creation, this literary genre traveled to Central Asia from Europe. However, modern prose fiction was introduced into Central Asian literature not under direct Russian influence, but rather under the influence of other modern Muslim Turkic literature, especially its Ottoman Turkic, Azerbaijan, and Volga Tatar branches.[1] Most of the leading prose fiction of eighteenth and nineteenth-century European writers such as Daniel Defoe (1660-1731), Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), Antoine François Prévost d'Exiles (1697-1763), Vicomte François René de Châteaubriand (1768-1848), Victor Marie Hugo (1802-1885), Alexandre Dumas père (1802-1870), Alexandre Dumas fils (1824-1895), Émile Zola (1840 -1902), Guy de Maupassant (1850-1893), and others had been translated into Turkish and been published between 1860 and 1880 in Istanbul,

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[1] Edward Allworth, Uzbek Literary Politics, p. 208.

capital of the Ottoman Empire.[1] Taking into account the cultural links maintained over the centuries between Central Asians, Azerbaijanis, Ottoman Turks, and Volga Tatars,[2] Central Asian intellectuals could have read many French and English novels through their Turkish translations. Moreover, original novels and stories by Turkish and Tatar prose writers--like Ahmet Mithat (1844-1912), Namık Kemal (1840-1888), and Halit Ziya (1866-1945) of Ottoman Turkey and Musa Akyighitzade (1865-1923), Zahir Bigi (1870-1902), and Ayaz Ishaqiy (1878-1954) of Qazan--could have been read by literate Central Asians. Study of the migration of the prose fiction genre from Europe to Central Asia through Ottoman Turkey, Azerbaijan, Arab countries, Persia, and India in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would be an interesting topic for further research. There have been some Soviet acknowledgements of Tatar influence in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction. A young Kazakh literary historian has recently written a thick volume entitled "The Kazakh-Tatar Literary

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[1] Kenan Akyüz, "La littérature moderne de Turquie," Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, vol. 2, p. 494; Cevdet Kudret, Türk Edebiyatında Hikâye ve Roman, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 1965), pp. 11-13; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Istanbul: İbrahim Horoz Basımevi, 1956; reprint ed., Istanbul: Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1967), p. 262.

[2] Sadriddin Ayniy, "Bukhara inqilabi tärikhi uchun materiallär," Äsärlär, vol. 1 (Tashkent: OzSSR Dävlät Bädiiy Ädäbiyat Näsriyati, 1963), pp. 183-184.

Connection." He attributes the development of prose fiction in Kazakh literature to Tatar influences:

> Thus, Tatar literature of the early twentieth century not only has enriched the neighboring related Turkic-language literatures in theme, idea, and content, but has influenced those literatures to a great extent in the rise of new genres such as prose fiction [proza] and drama in them.[1]

One of the early Uzbek prose writers, Abdullah Qadiriy (1894-1940), had mentioned in his autobiography that he was influenced by Tatar prose fiction:

> Imitating the stories and novels published by Tatars, I wrote a story entitled "Juvanbaz" [Pederast], and had to publish it by myself in 1915, because I could not find another publisher.[2]

A number of Central Asian writers wrote modern prose fiction in Kazakh and Turki (later to be called Uzbek) before 1917 such as Ibray Altinsarin, Mir Jaqib Duwlat-uli, Abdulhamid Sulayman Cholpan, and Hamza Hakimzada Niyaziy.[3] In the Kirghiz, Turkmen, Karakalpak, and Uyghur Turkic literary languages, however, this genre appeared only after the mid-1920s. The modern prose fiction genre was developing very fast in the 1910s and 1920s, thanks to the activity of the young Central

[1] Bürkĭt Ïsqaqov, Qazaq-Tatar ädebi baylanïsï (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR-ning "Ghïlïm" Baspasï, 1976), p. 82.

[2] Cited in the following work: Ähmäd Äliyev, "20-yillär Ozbek sovet prozasi haqidä," Ozbek sovet ädäbiyati mäsäläläri, vol. 1 (Tashkent: Ozbekistan SSR Fänlär Akademiyasi Näshriyati, 1959), p. 32.

[3] Eden Naby, Transitional Central Asian Literature: Tajik and Uzbek Prose Fiction From 1909 to 1932. Ph.D dissertation (New York: Columbia University, 1975).

1910s and 1920s, thanks to the activity of the young Central Asian writers. These young prose fiction writers became the targets of intensive Soviet criticism in the late 1920s, because they exhibited a strong tendency toward expressing nationality identity in their prose fiction. They were constrained not to publish and participate in literary activities in the early 1930s. From the 1930s to the mid-1950s relatively few novels and stories appeared in Central Asian languages due to heavy censorship by the Communist Party. When, in the second half of the 1950s, the post-Stalin leadership exhibited more tolerance toward the nationalities, the prose fiction genre, like other cultural expressions, started to flourish once again in Central Asian literature. Beginning from the late 1960s, however, the present Soviet leadership has been trying to place firmer control on the literature and literary activities of the Soviet nationalities. Soviet literary policy urges the writers of the various Soviet nationalities to advance a common Soviet identity instead of their own nationality identities in their literary works:

> As our Party [CPSU] clearly points out, the writers of all Soviet nationalities should work together in creating a common Soviet literature based on the following principle: national in form, but Socialist in content. Thus, the writers of each Soviet nationality must try to avoid the appearance of national characteristics [milliy khususiyätlär] in the content of their literary work.[1]

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[1] M. M. Khäyrulläyev, Mazmun vä shäkl (Tashkent: OzSSR Dävlät Bädiiy Ädäbiyat Näshriyati, 1966), p. 76.

In the Soviet Union, literature has always been considered a very influential instrument of propaganda to be used for publicizing orders issued by the Communist Party. In Congresses of the Communist Party and the writer's union of both the USSR and each union republic, the educational significance of literature has been stated again and again. Because of this, the interference of politics can be sensed in every phase of Soviet Central Asian literature. Decrees issued by the Central Committee of the CPSU and official statements from Soviet leaders always find their way onto the first pages of the literary journals and newspapers published in Kazakh, Uzbek, and other Central Asian languages. For example, the June 1959 issue of the Kazakh literary journal Jŭldïz devoted its first three pages to the CPSU Central Committee's official statement which was read at the opening session of the Third Congress of Soviet Writers in May 1959. This statement emphasizes the significant role of the Soviet writer as a propagandist for Soviet goals:

> The sacred obligation before Soviet writers is to join, with all their power, in the work of forming the psychic structure of the future man. They [Soviet writers] are obligated to encourage people in the struggle on the path to communism, educating them [the people] with communist ideology and teaching them how to resist bourgeois ideology and morality.[1]

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[1] "SSSR jazushïlarïnïng III S"ezĭne," Jŭldïz, No. 6 (1959), p. 3. The same statement in Uzbek is published in Shärq yulduzi, No. 6 (1959), p. 3.

Underlying the present study is a preoccupation with discovering patterns of both cultural change and continuity related to the nationality question in Soviet Central Asian prose fiction. This inquiry will examine to what degree the prose fiction writers of the Soviet Central Asian nationalities are l o y a l l y participating in the efforts to promote a common supra-nationality Soviet literature instead of their own nationality literature. A comparative analysis of all six Central Asian Turkic and one Iranian nationalities' prose fiction would require a study of impractical size, so that for depth and comprehensiveness, only Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction will be analyzed in this study.

According to the 1979 Soviet census, there were 5,289,000 Kazakhs, comprising about 36 percent of the total population in Kazakhstan, compared with 10,569,000 Uzbeks comprising about 68.7 percent of the total population in Uzbekistan. These figures show that Uzbeks are in the majority in their union republic, in contrast to Kazakhs who are still a minority in their own union republic.[1] Because Kazakhs and Uzbeks, living within all Soviet Central Asia, together number 18,381,000 and make up about 72 percent of the native Central Asian population, a comparison of Kazakhs and Uzbek prose fiction of the post-Stalin period, will be basic

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[1] Naselenie SSSR: Po dannym vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1979 goda (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi literatury, 1980), p. 28.

not only in learning the most recent trends in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction, but in making some generalizations for the entire Central Asian literature.

This inquiry, however, does not claim to cover all the novels and stories that have been published since 1953, the year of Stalin's death. In contrast to Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction during the Stalin period, the number of Kazakh and Uzbek novels and stories has been increased consistently each year since the 1960s. For example, compared to 8 volumes consisting of novels and stories published in the Kazakh language in 1968, 79 volumes of novels and stories were published in Kazakh in 1978.[1] Regarding Uzbek language novels and stories, there were reportedly 86 volumes in 1978.[2] Translations from Russian or other languages are not counted in the above numbers. The present study will be mainly based upon an analysis of some of the prose fiction--novels and stories--published in the Kazakh and Uzbek languages in the post-Stalin period. Certain selected works of prose fiction will be closely analyzed, while others will be mentioned as illustrations of the

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[1] Qazaq SSR kĭtaptarïnïng jïlnamasï: jüyelengen körsetkĭsh 1978 (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR Memlekettĭk Kĭtap Palatasï, 1980), pp. 71-92; Sovettĭk qazaqstan kĭtaptarï: jïnaqtalghan bibliografiialïq körsetkĭsh 1966-1970 (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR Memlekettĭk Kĭtap Palatasï, 1974), pp. 174-212, 639.

[2] Ozbek SSR kitablärining bibliografiyasi: 1978 (Tashkent: Ozbekistan Dävlät Näshriyati, 1980), pp. 112-135.

same type, indicating similar trends in the expression of nationality identity. It has been felt that an analysis of each each work mentioned would be too repetitive and would not contribute in a substantive manner to the theses under consideration.

Before proceeding to the analysis and evaluation of contemporary Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction, the main trends in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction up to 1953 will first be sketched. This will help in understanding the contemporary trends in both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction of the post-Stalin period. Since this study concentrates on nationality identity, Soviet critical essays about Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction will be reviewed, too, in order to help identify and understand the attitudes as well as policies of Communist Party officials toward Kazakh and Uzbek literature. After a general description of Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction during the post-Stalin period (1953-1982), the following chapters will deal with the analysis of Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction according to their attentiveness to the nationality identity question. The analysis of novels and stories will be divided into three major parts: The first part (Chapter V) will explore some of the main themes which seem to dominate today's Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction. Comparison of several themes will be illustrated by direct quotations from or references to Kazakh and Uzbek novels and stories. The second part (Chapter VI) will analyze fictional characters with several examples

from Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction. The third part (Chapter VII) will deal with the literary language of prose fiction. The analysis in each part will include an opening discussion of the relevant argument and theses of this dissertation mentioned below. As stated above, this study does not claim to analyze all Kazakh and Uzbek novels and stories published between 1953 and 1982. The main purpose of this inquiry is, however, to test the validity of the several theses and hypothesis raised in the dissertation by the use of evidence from Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction. Also, the following chapters dealing with Soviet critical essays on Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction (Chapter VIII) and the bases for literary evaluation of prose fiction, as well as with the personal views of authors about their works (Chapter IX) will follow the same methodology used in the previous chapters.

Many details in current Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction seem to play a small but cumulatively important part in building up a truthful impression of nationality identity. Because of this, those small details connected with main themes, fictional characters, plots, and conflicts of the novels and stories will be scanned throughout this study. Not only those writers who seem to be attentive to the question of nationality identity in their prose fiction, but even those Kazakh and Uzbek authors who follow acceptable Soviet themes--such as the portrayal of hard-working kolkhoz workers, the success of socialist industrialization, and women's eman-

cipation--in their novels and stories, will be mentioned, and their prose fiction will be analyzed to make comparisons. However, special attention will be given to the prose fiction of the younger generation of Kazakh and Uzbek writers. It appears that younger writers, whose first novels and stories were published in the late 1960s and 1970s, are more attentive than the older Kazakh and Uzbek prose writers to the question of group awareness and identity in their literary works. Thus, a comparison between older and younger Kazakh and Uzbek prose writers will not only be helpful in understanding the new trends advanced mostly by younger writers in the post-Stalin period, but will show the objectivity of the present study in treating the prose fiction of various writers regardless of their affinity with Party-line doctrines.

In the analysis of novels and stories, some of the main questions which will be answered are: How strong is the awareness of literary heroes and characters of their nationality identity? Is the prose fiction writer inclined to reveal the characters' inner thoughts and dreams, their emotional and spiritual world? What are the moral or ethical qualities of a hero? Do they differ from the moral qualities of present-day Soviet society? If there is a contrast between the hero of a novel and the officially-desired hero of Soviet society, what implications has it for the question of nationality identity? What is the nature of conflict(s) between the hero (protagonist) and his opponent (antagonist) in the

prose fiction? Does the conflict between the characters extend to a broader conflict within Soviet society? Why is that particular event chosen by the writer? Has the plot of a novel or story any significant clue to the ethnic traits and group identity in the broader sense? Why is that specific historical period chosen? Its significance to an author's group awareness? In most cases there seems to be a strong correlation between the choice of a particular plot, historical period, place, and fictional characters of a novel or story and its main theme. The examination of this intentional choice will help to understand an author's attitude to the several theses of this study.

In the body of this inquiry the following preliminary theses will be proposed, among others:

1. A concentration on Central Asian history in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction seems to suggest the sensitiveness of authors to the question of nationality identity.

2. The current trend in both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction in searching out the present ethnic roots in ancient Central Asian history perhaps may be connected with authors' attitudes to Soviet nationality policy favoring the drawing together and finally the merging of all Soviet nationalities.

3. Kazakh and Uzbek writers' inclination to draw the attention of readers to Central Asia's local environment

instead of the entire Soviet Union seems to reveal their attitude toward the concept of "homeland."

4. The rarity of appearances by Russian and other non-Cenral Asian personages in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction may suggest an intention to avoid cosmopolitanism and all it implies for group identity.

5. In Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction the use of more native words, instead of Russian or international equivalents that are currently being used in the Kazakh and Uzbek Soviet press seems to disclose a tendency on the part of Central Asian authors to discipline their own literary language.

6. The utilization of archaic, ethical, and religious words and terms in novels and stories seems to go beyond merely informing Kazakh and Uzbek readers about both the Turkic and Islamic past of their ethnic groups.

7. The emphasis put upon the nationality identity in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction can be intentional rather than incidental.

8. If Kazakh and Uzbek authors persistently and deliberately seem to emphasize nationality identity in their prose fiction, this trend may help to define their position regarding the current official Russification campaign in social and cultural affairs of Central Asian nationalities.

The above preliminary theses, along with others, appear to lead to a hypothesis that Kazakh and Uzbek writers

are seriously searching for more satisfactory sorts of ethnic or group identities. That search should be evident in the sources.

The sources used for this study are more than merely sufficient. Most of the important sources mentioned in works about Kazakh and Uzbek literature and literary history were directly consulted. A comlete list of the main materials used in the preparation of this study--including those cited in the footnotes, as well as a number which have not been specifically mentioned in the text--is given in the bibliographical section.

Throughout the dissertation "Central Asia" applies to territory approximately coextensive with the old "western Turkistan" or the area currently designated in the USSR as "Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan."[1]

The terms "modern prose fiction" and "prose fiction" have been used interchangeably for the imaginative writing, in prose form, of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The term "Jadidism" designates the ideology of late nineteenth-century modernists and reformers (Jadids) who opposed conservatives (Qadimists) and who were open to innovations and new ideas in both social and cultural fields.

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[1] Edward Allworth, "Encounter," in Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule, ed. Edward Allworth (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 1.

The term "Jadid" is an Arabic loanword in Central Asian Turkic and Persian languages which means "new."[1] In the development of modern Central Asian literature, these jadids were preceded by at least one generation of older intellectuals.

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[1] Ozbek tilining izahli lughäti, vol. 1 (Moscow: "Rus Tili" Näshriyati, 1981), p. 270.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN CENTRAL ASIAN PROSE FICTION (1910s)

Modern prose fiction made headway in Central Asian literature long before the Soviet era. The first Central Asian story writer of modern times was a Kazakh poet and educator Ibray Altinsarin (1841-1899). Like some other nineteenth century Kazakh intellectuals, Altinsarin had taken an interest in Kazakh oral literature.[1] His interest in Kazakh folk tales also led him to write short and long stories. His prose fiction based on folk tales includes the following stories, among others: "Bay men jarlï balasï" (The Rich and the Poor Man's Son), "Kiĭz üy men agash üy" (The Wood-house and the tent), "Kïpshaq Seyitqŭl" (The Kipchak, Seyit-qul), "Nadandïq" (Ignorance), and "Lŭqpan Khakim."[2] Altin-sarin's stories are mentioned here only for the chronological purpose. Otherwise, his stories lack genuine elements of

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[1] His collection of Kazakh folk tales and proverbs are reportedly printed in the following anthology: I. Altynsarin", Kirgiziskaia khrestomatĭia, Kniga Pervaia (Orenburg': n.p., 1879); cited in Qazaq ädebietĭnĭng tarikhï, vol. 2, bk. 1 (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR Ghïlïm Akademiyäsïnïng Baspasï, 1961), p. 284.

[2] Ï. Ältïnsarïn, Mektubat (Qazan: Chirkof tab'khanasï, 1899); Ï. Ältïnsarïn, Tangdamalï shïgharmalar (Alma Ata: Qazaq-tïng Memlekettĭk Körkem Ädebiet Baspasï, 1943); and later editions in 1949 and 1955.

modern prose fiction such as deep characterization of fictional heroes and events. Altinsarin's stories do not constitute more than mere re-tellings of Kazakh folk tales. Aside from Arip Tangirbergenov's (1856-1924) Ziyäda-Shamŭrat (1890)[1] and Mukhamedjan Seralin's (1872-1929) Gülkhasima (1903)[2] long stories in verse, another prose work that was published prior to 1910 is A. A. Jandibayev's Jas ömĭrĭm yaki jastïqtaghï ökĭnĭsh (1910; My Youthful Age or Repentance in Youth).[3] Since the sources do not give more information about this ten-page prose work, which is called by its author a "novel" (roman), it is not possible to comment on it.

The event that led prose fiction to become a popular genre in Kazakh literature was the publication of Bakhtsïz Jämal (1910; Unlucky Jamal)[4] by the Kazakh Reformist (Jadid) writer Mir Jaqib Duwlat-uli (1885-ca. 1938). On the title-page Duwlat-uli has designated his 92-page prose fiction as "a novel in the Kazakh language." It seems that it was

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[1] This work by Tangirbergenov was published in Qazan under his penname "Bĭjĭgĭtulï Yaqub," cited in Qazaq ädebietĭnĭng tarikhï, vol. 2, bk. 1, pp. 146-150.

[2] Mukhamedjan Serälin, Gülkhasima (Orenburg: Kärimov Baspakhanasï, 1903), 97 pp.

[3] A. A. Jandïbayev, Jas ömĭrĭm yaki jastïqtaghï ökĭnĭsh (Qazan: Shärïp Baspakhanasï, 1907); cited in B. Kenjebayev, Qazaq khalqïnïng XX ghasïr basïndaghï demokrat jazushïlarï (Alma Ata: Qazaq Memleket Baspasï, 1958), p. 34.

[4] Mir Yaqub Dulatof, Bakhtsïz Jämal (Qazan: Matba'yi Kärimiya, 1910), 94 pp.

entirely the success and popularity of this first Kazakh novel that encouraged other Kazakh writers to contribute to this new genre. It is not surprising, therefore, to see the appearance of many long stories and novelettes in the Kazakh language starting from 1911: Qïz körelik (1912; Let's See Girl)[1] a novel by Tayir Jomartbayev (1884-1937); "Beyshara qïz" (1912; Miserable Girl)[2] a story by Akiram Ghalimov (1891-1913); Oqugha makhabbat (1912; Love for Reading)[3] a story by B. Erjanov (?-?); Qalïng mal (1913; Bride-Price)[4] a novel by Spandiyar Kobeyev (1878-1956); Mŭnglï Mariyäm (1914; Sad Mariyam)[5] a novel by Mukhamedsalim Kashimov (1884-1935); Qamar Sŭlu (1914) and Kim jazïqtï (1915; Who Is Guilty?) novels by Sultanmakhmut Torayghirov (1893-1920)[6]; "Shughanïng belgisi" (1914; The Character of Shugha), "Bolghan is" (1915; What's Done Is Done), "Qandï kek" (1916; Bloody Revenge), and "Seksen

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[1] Published in Semipalatinsk (Semey in Kazakh); cited in Qazaq ädebietïnïng tarikhï, vol. 2, bk. 2 (Alma Ata: "Ghïlïm" Baspasï, 1965), p. 35.

[2] Published in the Kazakh-language journal Ayqap, No. 11 (1912); cited in Qazaq ädebietïnïng tarikhï, vol. 2, bk. 2, p. 36.

[3] No publication data available for this story, only cited in Bürkït Ïsqaqov, Qazaq-Tatar adebi baylanïsï (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR-nïng "Ghïlïm" Baspasï, 1976), p. 82.

[4] Spandiyar Köbeyev, Qalïng mal, roman (Qazan: Kärimover Baspakhanasï, 1914), 83 pp.

[5] Cited in Bürkït Ïsqaqov, p. 82.

[6] Cited in Qazaq adebietïnïng tarikhï, vol. 2, bk. 2, pp. 402-408, 515-516.

som" (1918; Eighty Roubles) by Beyimbet Maylin (1894-1939)[1]; and "Jŭbatu" (1917; Comfort)[2] by Saken Seyfullin (1894-1938).

The common point uniting all the Kazakh stories and long stories (they are called "novels" by their authors) of the 1910s is their central theme: the value of education. It is evident that all the other early Kazakh prose writers have followed Mir Jaqib Duwlat-uli's first Kazakh novel Unlucky Jamal in warning their nationality group of the dangers awaiting the Kazakhs because of their illiteracy and ignorance. All the heroines of those stories and novels such as Jamal in Unlucky Jamal, Qamar in Qamar Sulu, and Ghaysha in Bride-Price are captives of the existing marriage customs of the Kazakh society of that times. The heroines--in some cases together with their lovers--die tragically or commit suicide at the end because they were forced to marry someone whom they do not love. It seems that Mir Jaqib Duwlat-uli and other early Kazakh prose writers have intentionally chosen sad love stories as plots for their prose fiction both to be read widely and have a stronger effect on readers already familiar with the popular tragical "Romeo and Juliet" love stories of an Eastern-type such as "Leyla and Majnun," "Farhad and Shirin," and "Tahir and Zuhra."

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[1] cited in Qazaq ädebietĭnĭng tarikhï, vol. 3, bk. 1 (Alma Ata: Qazar SSR-nĭng "Ghïlïm" Baspasï, 1967), pp. 334-354.

[2] Ibid, p. 314.

Apart from this common theme, the most striking feature of the Kazakh prose fiction of the 1910s is its strong emphasis on Kazakh nationality identity. Early Kazakh prose writers, especially Duwlat-uli and Kopeyev, try to give a detailed picture of the nomadic way of life as well as the national landscape of the Kazakh plains. For example, in Duwlat-uli's Unlucky Jamal the arrival of a Russian causes panic in a Kazakh nomadic village "awul." Kazakh children who were playing peacefully among themselves rush back to their tents when they see a Russian approaching. The word spread quickly in the awul that a certain Russian had arrived for an unknown reason. The uneasy Kazakhs finally relax when they learn that that Russian intends just to stay overnight at the tent of his Kazakh friend before proceeding further on his voyage.[1] This incident not only demonstrates the attitudes of Kazakhs toward Russians, but gives clues to how conservative the Kazakh awul is in preserving its culture and integrity.

In strong contrast to this Kazakh prose fiction of the 1910s, which expresses a strong nationality identity based on the homogeneity of the Kazakhs, the prose fiction of southern Central Asia displays rather a supra-nationality identity such as "musulman" (Muslim) and "Türkistanli" (Turkistanian)

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[1] Bakhtsïz Jämal, pp. 7-9.

based on a common religion, Islam, and homeland.

A measure of this difference between northern and southern Central Asia at the time can be found in the phrase "a novel in the Kazakh language" (Qazaq tilinde roman) and a quatrain addressing to "Kazakh readers" printed on the title-page of the first Kazakh novel, Unlucky Jamal. The title-page of the Uzbek (Turki)* novel Yängi säadät: milliy roman (1915) does not carry any clear identification regarding the language of the work or the nationality of its author. The title indicates that it is considered a "national novel." Only from the introduction by its author, Hamza Hakimzada Niyaziy (1889-1929), is it possible to determine for whom this prose work is written: "In our Turkistan, our Muslim men and women of over 20 years of age..." (Bizim Türkistandä müsülman er vä khatunlarïmïznï 20 yashdan yuqarıda...).[1]

Soviet literary historians and critics give little detailed information about the Uzbek (Turki) prose fiction of the 1910s. A search of literary journals like Ayinä (52 issues between 1913 and 1915) and leading newspapers published prior

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* Until the mid-1920s, when the Soviet government started to introduce a distinct Uzbek nationality identity, the word Turki was used instead of "Uzbek" to identify both the spoken and written literary language of the cosmopolitan cities in southern Central Asia.

[1] Hamza Hakimzada Niyaziy, Yängi säadät: milliy roman (Khokand: Madara kutubkhanäsi, March 5, 1915), p. 2.

to 1920 might uncover many short and long stories . So far, however, Mirmuhsin Shermukhammedov (1895-1929), Abdulhamid Sulayman Cholpan (1893-1937), Hamza Hakimzada Niyaziy, and Abdullah Qadiriy (1894-1940) are the only Uzbek writers known to have written prose fiction in the 1910s. Study of the Uzbek (Turki) prose fiction of the 1910s, produced in southern Central Asia, requires further research. Mirmuhsin Shermukhammedov's long story (He calls it a "novel") "Befärzänd Achildibay" (Childless Achildibay)[1] and Abdulhamid Sulayman Cholpan's story (He calls it an "imaginary story") "Dokhtor Mukhämmädyar" (Doctor Mukhammadyar)[2] were published in 1914. Hamza Hakimzada Niyaziy published his long story, entitled Yängi säadät: milliy roman (New Happiness: A National Novel), in 1915. Abdullah Qadiriy's story "Juvanbaz" (Pederast) was published in 1915.[3] Hamza Hakimzada Niyaziy is reported to have written a novel (or long story) entitled "Kim äybdar?" (Who Is Guilty?) in 1908, but no information regarding its text and publication data seems available so far.[3]

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[1] This work was printed in the government newspaper Turkistan vilayätining gazeti, Nos. 75, 76, 77, 78, and 79 (1914); cited in E. Karimov, Razvitie realizma v uzbekskoi literature (Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo "Fan" Uzbekskoi SSR, 1955), pp. 55-74.

[2] Abdulhamid Sulayman, "Dokhtor Mukhämmädyar, khayaliy hikayä" printed in Säda-i Turkistan, No. 24 (July 4, 1914); cited in E. Karimov, p. 50.

[3] cited in Ähmad Äliyev, "20-yillär ozbek sovet prozasi haqidä," Ozbek sovet ädäbiyati mäsäläläri, vol. 1 (Tashkent: Ozbekistan SSR Fänlär Akademiyasi Näshriyati, 1959), pp. 31-32.

[4] E. Karimov, p. 152.

Like Kazakh prose fiction of the 1910s, the Uzbek (Turki) prose fiction of the 1910s advocated gaining education. For example, the hero of Abdulhamid Sulayman Cholpan's story "Doctor Mukhammadyar" is an orphan named Mukhammadyar. One day Mukhammadyar finds the killers of his murdered father; however, he realizes that the real killers of his father are ignorance and illiteracy. He remembers his father's words that the best weapon--cannon, rifle, pistol, dagger, and bullet--against ignorance is learning, and learning, and learning: "Jähalät bilän alishmaqning quralini esä, atäsi äytub ketgän edi. Yä'ni jähalätgä qarshi top, miltiq, toppanchä, khanjär, oq, daru--yalghiz oquv, oquv, oquv edi."[1] Accepting this, Mukhammadyar studies medicine and becomes a doctor. The same kind of happy ending can be found in Mirmuhsin Shermukhamedov's, Hamza Hakimzada Niyaziy's, and Abdullah Qadiriy's stories or "novels," when their heroes recognize the value of education at last and reach for happiness by studying.

The common themes in the Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction of the 1910s reveal that both Kazakh and Uzbek writers were under reformist (Jadid) influence. In their early works, the young Kazakh and Uzbek prose writers were warning their own ethnic groups of the dangers awaiting them under the captivity of two deadly evils: their own ignorance and Czarist Russian rule. Their message was plain: liberation from both evils

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[1] E. Karimov, p. 50.

depends on educating themselves, their sons, and daughters. Despite their didacticism, however, these early Kazakh and Uzbek prose works display artistic and personal styles. Young Kazakh and Uzbek writers such as Duwlat-uli, Kopeyev, Cholpan, and Qadiriy seemed to incline toward a more individualistic and artistic literary style of their own. This inclination differentiates Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction of the 1910s from prose fiction developed after 1932 under increasing Russian tutelage. Young Kazakh and Uzbek writers of the 1910s tried to improve their prose fiction both in quality and quantity in the 1920s. Because the 1910s differ strongly from the period starting with the 1920s (when political changes took place in Central Asia), Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction of the 1920s and the years up to the death of Stalin in 1953 will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

KAZAKH AND UZBEK PROSE FICTION UP TO STALIN'S DEATH (1920-1953)

Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction continued to develop in both literary quality and quantity in the 1920s, while drastic changes were taking place in Central Asian political life. After the Russian Red Army troops in Central Asia abolished by force the independent governments of Khokand in 1918 and Alash-Orda in 1920, the Soviet government put an end to the multi-national republics of Bukhara, Khwarazm, and Turkistan ASSR in 1924. As a result of the delimitation of national boundaries in Central Asia in 1925, new Soviet republics were created based on the basis of ethnic homogeneity of different Central Asian Turkic and Iranian-speaking people. Thus, after the foundation of the ethnic Central Asian republics, the literature in each Central Asian republic is identified with the ethnic name of the republic either Kazakh, Uzbek, Turkmen, Tajik or Kirghiz.

In the first half of the 1920s the Reformist (Jadid) writers dominated both Kazakh and Uzbek literature. In the Uzbek case, reformist writers were able to found an independent literary society called "Chaghatay Gurungi" in 1918 under Abdulrauf Fitrat's (1886-1937) leadership. This literary

society, which gathered a considerable number of young Uzbek writers within its organization, was aiming to "Utilize the historical and literary heritage" of Central Asia, as its slogan was claiming.[1] Because of this literary society's independent views, more personal and local orientation, Soviet officials banned "Chaghatay Gurungi" in 1922. There is no data available as to whether or not Kazakh reformist writers were also able to establish a literary society parallel to "Chaghatay Gurungi" before 1925. The Reformist Kazakh writers, who did not join the "Kazakh Association of Proletarian Writers" (KazAPP)[2], formed an independent writers' association called "Alqa" (The Circle) in ca. 1925.[3] Both Kazakh and Uzbek reformist writers were able to express their own thoughts in their prose works until the end of 1920s. Partly because reformist writers dominated cultural affairs, especially literature, and partly because of the Soviet government's inability to exercise its controls completely over Kazakh and Uzbek literary activities, there was considerable freedom of expression in Kazakh and Uzbek literature in

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[1] Edward Allworth, Uzbek Literary Politics (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964), p. 110.

[2] In Kazakh: Qazaqtïng Proletar Jazushïlarïnïng Assotsiatsiyasï. KazAPP was founded on June 12, 1925 and was abolished in 1932; see Qazaq sovet entsiklopediyasï, vol. 6 (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR Ghïlïm Akademiyasï, 1977), p. 369.

[3] Thomas G. Winner, The Oral Art and Literature of the Kazakhs of Russian Central Asia (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1958), p. 189; Edward Allworth, Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 373.

the 1920s. The novels and short stories published between 1920 and 1928 in both Kazakh and Uzbek literature presented a great deal of variety and contained many independent opinions and even criticism of current conditions. Kazakh and Uzbek writers were never allowed to display such views later on, especially after 1932, with the possible exception of short periods during World War II and the post-Stalin thaw. In the 1930s, Kazakh and Uzbek literature became disciplined, planned, and closely controlled by the Party officials. There are big differences between Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction produced in the 1910s and 1920s and that published after the mid-1930s. These differences are not only related to the quantity of prose fiction produced before 1930 and afterwards, but also concern the style, contents, themes, fictional heroes, and language of prose works. In contrast to the abundance of novels and stories in both Kazakh and Uzbek literature in the 1920s, there is almost a twenty-year gap between the mid-1930s and the mid-1950s in Kazakh and Uzbek literature in terms of the quantity of prose fiction produced. This twenty-year gap can be explained by the death of the leading Kazakh and Uzbek prose writers, most of whom perished during the Stalinist purges between 1937 and 1940, and partly by the political-ideological climate of the time. Before the Party officials established their firm control on Kazakh and Uzbek literary activities through the foundation of proletarian and other official literary societies and censorship rules, Kazakh and Uzbek writers were independent in choosing themes, fictional

characters, and appropriate styles and expressions for their novels and stories.

Many Kazakh and Uzbek writers turned to Central Asian history to find themes and characters for their prose fiction. This interest in history led to the birth of historical prose fiction in the 1920s. Although some Kazakh and Uzbek historical novels and stories produced in the 1920s have a critical approach to the Central Asian past, they are quite different from Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction which views the pre-1917 Central Asian past as backward and bad according to official standards prevalent in the 1930s. Like the 1910s, the dominant fictional hero of the 1920s was an intelligent, wise, educated young man who had reformist aims of educating the young men and women of his own nationality. This kind of reformist fictional hero in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction contrasts sharply with the fictional heroes introduced in the 1930s who display primary loyalty both to the Soviet government and its policies. Kazakh and Uzbek writers of the 1910s and 1920s were concentrating more on the personal feelings, sufferings, and joys of their fictional characters, whereas pro-Soviet Kazakh and Uzbek writers of the late 1920s and 1930s treated their fictional characters simply as means of advocating Party-line doctrines.

The proletarian Kazakh and Uzbek writers followed their Russian counterparts who argued that they did not need to fill the gap between the past and the present. Some prole-

tarian writers suggested: "Let us simply reject the past."[1] This led, of course, to the abandoning of the historical genre in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction in the 1930s. Otherwise, it could be expected that this genre would be more developed both in quantity and in quality in the 1930s, in view of its abundance in the 1920s. But, this historical genre in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction revived only during World War II after the loosening of Party controls on literature.

The main arguments about the differences between Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction in the 1920s and afterwards discussed above can be illustrated by a description of both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction between 1920 and the death of Stalin in 1953. This will help in understanding what went out of Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction writing when Stalinist pressures became their strongest in the 1930s and 1940s, with the exception of a short period during World War II. Because of their independent developments, Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction between 1920 and 1953 will be discussed in separate paragraphs in this chapter. The review of both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction includes the

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[1] Qazaq ädebietïnïng tarikhï, vol. 3, bk. 1 (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR-nïng "Ghïlïm" Baspasï, 1967), pp. 122-123; Edward Allworth, Uzbek Literary Politics, pp. 52-54; Marc Slonim, Soviet Russian Literature: Writers & Problems 1917-1977, rev. 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 34; Gleb Struve, Russian Literature Under Lenin and Stalin: 1917-1953 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), pp. 27-30, 90; for a detailed analysis of this literary period in Russian literature see: Edward J. Brown, The Proletarian Episode in Russian Literature: 1928-1932 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953).

mentioning of only important writers and the discussion of their significant prose works. Many short stories intentionally will not be mentioned in this chapter, or the next, for both practical reasons and the main purpose of concentrating on major trends within Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction.

Kazakh prose fiction of the 1920s was dominated by a group of young writers such as Saken Seyfullin (1894-1938), Beyimbet Maylin (1894-1938), Mukhtar Auezov (1897-1961), Jienghali Tilepbergenov (1895-1933), Eljas Bekenov (1892-1938), Ghabit Musirepov (b. 1909), Sabit Muqanov (1900-1973), Smaghul Saduaqasov (d. 1938), J. Aymauitov (d. 1938?), and İliyas Jansugirov (1894-1938). During the 1920s, these young writers enriched the Kazakh prose fiction by publishing volumes of both short and long stories, as well as novels. Regardless of their contributions, however, local Communist Party officials and pro-communist literary critics started to attack them by the late 1920s. Soviet critics discovered that these young Kazakh writers--along with other Kazakh poets and dramatists--were far from creating the proletarian Kazakh literature desired by the authorities.

Saken Seyfullin--now considered to have been a leading Kazakh proletarian poet and writer of the 1920s--was criticized in the late 1920s, because of his novel Tar jol, tayghaq keshu (1923-1927; Narrow Road, Slippery Pas-

sage).[1] Kazakh proletarian critics argued that this novel about the 1917 revolution failed to depict realistically the events that had taken place in Kazakh villages.[2] Some designated this novel as "social romanticism" (sotsial'naia romantika), while others argued that it was an example of realism. After long political debates over this novel, Saken Seyfullin--being a member of the "Kazakh Association of Proletarian Writers" (KazAPP) by then--had to defend himself in public. He wrote: "the only cause which pushed me to write this novel was the working people and their zeal."[3]

Saken Seyfullin's novel Narrow Road, Slippery Passage can be regarded as an early example of historical prose fiction in Kazakh literature, although it dealt with the events that had taken place only in the previous decade. Seyfullin's idealization of the Kazakh way of life in villages and his portrayal of people and events, however, makes it very difficult for Soviet critics to regard this novel as a product of Kazakh proletarian literature. His other long stories

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[1] First parts of this novel were published in Qïzïl qazaqstan, Nos. 8-10 (July-September, 1923); cited in Qazaq ädebietïnïng tarikhï, vol. 3, bk. 1, p. 561; in 1927 this novel was published in a separate volume. See "Seyfullin, Säken." Qazaq sovet ėntsiklopediyasï, vol. 10 (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR Ghïlïm Akademiyasï, 1977), p. 104.

[2] Qazaq ädebietïnïng tarikhï, vol. 3, bk. 1, pp. 62-64.

[3] E. Aldanggharov's article in Engbekshi qazaq (December 3, 1926); cited in Qazaq ädebietïnïng tarikhï, vol. 3, bk. 1, p. 63.

(povestter) like Aysha (1922-1935), Jer qazghandar (1927; Earth Diggers), Bĭzdĭng tŭrmïs (1932-34; Our Life), Sol jïldarda (1935; In Those Years), and Jemister (1935; Fruit) came under heavy criticism because of their individualistic style as well as non-Soviet nature.

Saken Seyfullin was not the only Kazakh prose fiction writer who came under strong criticism. Beyimbet Maylin, who spoke favorably of the revolution in October 1917 and its impact on Kazakh village life in his stories like "Estay aulï," (1922; Etay Village), "Gülshara jengey" (1923; Aunt Gulshara), and "Raushan-Kommunist" (1929; The Communist Ravshan), was criticized for trying to give more attention to the inner world of his fictional characters rather than to the revolutionary forces in Kazakh villages.[1] His anti-religious stories such as "Talaq" (1926; Divorce), "Sarighat bŭyrïghï" (1928; A Decree of Muslim Religious Law), however, made critics reduce the heavy attacks on him and his prose works.

Another young Kazakh writer, Mukhtar Auezov, whose stories--published in the 1920s--were sharply criticized, was said to be failing in describing revolutionary Kazakh life realistically. Mukhtar Auezov was blamed for his favorable portrayal of Kazakh life before the October 1917, revolution. Because of continued attacks, Mukhtar Auezov had to rewrite and make many changes in his stories which

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[1] Qazaq ädebietĭnĭng tarikhï, vol. 3, bk. 1, pp. 64-65.

were published in the 1920s.[1] In the 1920s and 1930s the attacks on Mukhtar Auezov were so harsh that today's Soviet Kazakh literary historians admit that criticism of him in those days was not always justified:

> It is true that it took Mukhtar Auezov a long time to correct his faults and enter into the literary current of Socialist realism. The bitter criticism of his works in those years, however, was not just. 2

Sabit Muqanov is another of the young Kazakh writers in the 1920s who had to rewrite his stories and novels under heavy criticism by the local Communist Party. When his novel Adasqandar (1931; Those Who Went Astray) appeared in Russian translation in 1935 in Moscow, Komsomol'skaia pravda sharply attacked Sabit Muqanov. The paper criticized his describing romantic feelings between young lovers instead of detailing what they considered the positive new changes in the Kazakh villages owing to the advent of the Soviet Regime.[3] He had to rewrite his first novel, Those Who Went Astray, and it was published under a new title Möldĭr makhabbat (1959; Pure Love).[4]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 65-66.

[2] Ibid., p. 66.

[3] Ibid., p. 72.

[4] "Mŭqanov, Säbit Mŭqan ŭlï," Qazaq sovet ėntsiklopediyasï, vol. 8 (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR Ghïlïm Akademiyasï, 1976), p. 204.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930, Kazakh prose fiction writers, as well as Kazakh poets and dramatists, failed to create the proletarian Kazakh literature required by the Communist Party. Some Kazakh historians argue that this failure is a result of the Soviet government's inability to establish its power in the Kazakh villages until 1925.[1] Ghabbas Toghjanov (1900-1938)--a young Kazakh critic of the 1920s--admitted that the desired Kazakh proletarian literature had not yet been established:

> Our contemporary literature is merely a village literature. It describes only the life of Kazakh villagers. Thus, we do not yet posses proletarian literature. Even Saken Seyfullin cannot be regarded as a proletarian prose writer or poet. 2

Kazakh prose writers were criticized for not portraying "the positive impact" of the October, 1917, revolution on Kazakh villages and for not creating revolutionary fictional characters. After harsh Party criticism, some Kazakh prose fiction writers like Saken Seyfullin, Sabit Muqanov, and Beyimbet Maylin started to comply with the Party directives. In the 1930s they turned to writing more critical articles instead of prose fiction.[3] After long debates, in 1929 at the Vth Plenum of the Kazakhstan CP, a resolution was

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[1] Qazaq ädebietïnïng tarikhï, vol. 3, bk. 1, p. 101.

[2] Ädebiet jäne sïn mäseleleri (Kizil Orda: n.p., 1929); cited in Qazaq ädebietïnïng tarikhï, vol. 3, bk. 1, p. 102.

[3] Ibid., p. 103.

approved to encourage Kazakh writers and poets to create proletarian literature.[1] Because of Kazakh prose writers' failure to write stories and novels acceptable to the Communist Party, in the 1930s and 1940s more attention was given to translating Russian prose fiction into the Kazakh language.[2]

The dominant theme in Kazakh prose fiction during the 1930s was the October, 1917, revolution and what was called its positive impact on the Kazakh people, because this was the only theme that was required in stories and novels for them to be published by the state. Output was limited therefore, and Saken Seyfullin's Fruit (1935), Beyimbet Maylin's Azamat Azamatich (1934), Sattar Erubayev's (1914-1937) Meniŋ qŭrdastarïm (1939; My Coevals), Majit Dauletbayev's (1898-1938) Qïziljar (1935), Sabit Muqanov's Temirtas (1935) and Jŭmbaq jalau (1938; rewritten under a new title, Botaköz, in 1948), and Mukhtar Auezov's stories were the only important Kazakh prose fiction issued in the mid-1930s.

Many Kazakh writers who dominated Kazakh literature in the 1920s and 1930s, including prose writers such as Saken Seyfullin, Mir Jaqib Duwlat-uli, Beyimbet Maylin, Jienghali Tilepbergenov, Eljas Bekenov, Smaghul Saduaqasov, J. Aymauitov, and Iliyas Jansugirov, perished during the Stalinist purges

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[1] Qazaq ädebietïniŋ tarikhï, vol. 3, bk. 1, p. 105.

[2] Ibid., pp. 120-121.

between 1937 and 1940. When Party controls on literature were loosened during the World War II, there was a temporary relaxation in regard to choice of themes in Kazakh prose fiction. For example, Mukhtar Auezov did gain from this relaxation by publishing a two-volume historical novel based on the life of Abay Qunanbay-uli (1835-1865), regarded as "father" of modern Kazakh poetry. Although Auezov was reportedly working on this two-volume novel Abay during the mid-1920s, he seems to have received permission from the Soviet authorities for its publication only during World War II. Because the Soviet government and the Party were trying to get the support of the Soviet nationalities, including Kazakhs, against the Nazi forces of Germany, Soviet nationality policy at that time allowed more freedom of expression in the literature of the nationalities. Auezov's novel Abay idealizes the life and career of the poet Abay Qunanbay-uli. The first volume of the novel was published in 1942, and the second volume in 1947.[1] Two more volumes were added to this novel in 1952 and 1956 under the title of Abay jolï (Abay's Way). In this four-volume novel Auezov tries to draw the attention of Kazakh readers to the values of Kazakh life in the nineteenth century and to the ideals of his hero Abay as an intellectual of the Kazakh awakening long before the Soviet era. Auezov's emphasis on the individuality

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[1] There is an English translation of this first two volumes: Abai (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d.).

of the poet, Abay, of course, contrasts with those pro-Soviet Kazakh writers who were rejecting their pre-revolutionary past. In this case the publication of Auezov's novel about Abay seems to achieve two major goals. One, a big blow to the official argument that everything before the revolution of October 1917 was bad and backward. And secondly, this novel paved the way for the revival of the historical genre once again in Kazakh prose fiction after mid-1950s.

The development of Uzbek prose fiction from the 1920s up to the death of Stalin in 1953 follows paths somewhat similar to Kazakh prose fiction of the same period. Those who had survived Stalin's purges between 1937 and 1939 had to rewrite their previously published prose fiction in the 1940s according to Soviet standards set by Party officials.

Sadriddin Ayniy (1878-1954) is a typical example of a writer who had no choice other than to follow the instructions of the Party for his personal survival. Although Ayniy is regarded as "the father" of Soviet Tajik literature, he has also contributed to Uzbek prose fiction in the 1920s. In contrast to other Uzbek prose writers of the 1920s who were still quite young, Ayniy was already 42 years old when he wrote his first Uzbek-language long story, Bukhara jälladläri (The Executioners of Bukhara), in 1920. The story behind the publication of this, Ayniy's first prose fiction, is worth mentioning. According to Ayniy's own account, he started to write the story in 1920 and finished it in September of the

same year.[1] After the Young Bukharan revolution in 1920, Ayniy gave the original text to the State Publishing House of the newly-founded Bukharan People's Conciliar Republic. Later, however, he decided to send it to the editors of the journal Inqilab in Tashkent because the Bukharan State Publishing House did not seem to be willing to publish this prose work. Ayniy's The Executioners of Bukhara did appear in Inqilab in 1922 but only in abridged form.[2] He then rewrote this story in 1936, but the editors of the State Publishing House of Uzbekistan refused to publish it. Only after Stalin's purges did the new editors of the State Publishing House of Uzbekistan agree to publish the story, which was rewritten by Ayniy a second time in 1940. Ayniy admits that he made many changes in the text of this long story and added new materials to the latest edition. Judging from the 1940 edition (reprinted in 1963),[3] The Executioners of Bukhara is based on the personal accounts of the court executioners of the last Bukharan Amir. At the end of a busy and really bloody day on which hundreds of Young Bukharan revolutionaries (Yash Bukhara inqilabchiläri) and others had been executed, the court executioners sit

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[1] Sädriddin Äyniy, Äsärlär, vol. 1 (Tashkent: OzSSR Dävlät Bädiiy Näshriyati, 1963), p. 108.

[2] Inqilab, Nos. 3-8 (1922); cited in Sädriddin Äyniy, Äsärlär, vol. 1, p. 354.

[3] Sädriddin Äyniy, "Bukhara jälladläri," Äsärlär, vol. 1, pp. 105-180.

down together and, while drinking the favorite green Central Asian tea, start to exchange true stories based on their personal accounts. Within each story there are other stories which all display the tyranny of the Bukharan Amir and his men. Sadriddin Ayniy's other long stories (or short novels) written first in Uzbek, such as Qul baba yaki ikki azad (1928; Slave Father or Two Free Persons),[1] Eski mäktäb (1935; Old School), and Sodkhorning olimi (1939; The Death of Usurer) describe the bad situation of people in the Bukharan Amirate. Ayniy's prose works are still being criticized for their non-Soviet and non-proletarian nature:

> Disregarding its shortcomings and faults, Bukhara jälladläri is the first prose work that discloses the tyrannical system of the Bukharan Amir.... Ayniy in his long stories like Adinä fails to describe the sincere friendly relations that existed between Russian and native [Central Asian] workers. 2

Ayniy was an independent writer in the 1920s, but before the Bukharan revolution in 1920, had collaborated with the Young Bukharans for some time. However, he did not entirely sympathize with the Reformist (Jadid) literary circles such as Abdulrauf Fitrat's "Chaghatay Gurungi."[3] After the

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[1] "Äyniy," Ozbek sovet ėntsiklopediyäsi, vol. 1 (Tashkent: Ozbekistan SSR Fänlär Äkädemiyäsi, 1971), pp. 195-196.

[2] Ähmäd Äliyev, "20-yillär ozbek sovet prozäsi häqidä," Ozbek sovet ädäbiyati mäsäläläri, vol. 1 (Tashkent: Ozbekistan SSR Fänlär Äkädemiyäsi Näshriyati, 1959), pp. 39-40.

[3] For literary circles among the Uzbeks see: Edward Allworth, Uzbek Literary Politics, pp. 109-149.

establishment of the Tajik ASSR in 1925, Ayniy was preoccupied with creating a new Tajik literature, although he wrote the above-mentioned prose works in Uzbek. Abdulrauf Fitrat did the reverse. Having published his early prose works only in Persian in the first decades of the twentieth century,[1] he wrote several stories in Uzbek in the 1920s. Although he was being sharply criticized for the nationalistic ideology of his dramatic works, he wrote stories which temporarily earned the approval of Bolshevik critics.[2] His anti-clerical stories such as Qiyamät (1923; Resurrection), "Zähraning imani" (1928; Zahra's Faith), and "Qiyshiq eshan" (1930; Crooked Muslim Priest) were regarded by Uzbek Communists as contributions to anti-religious propaganda.[3]

In another vein Hamza Hakimzada Niyaziy was an Uzbek writer who contributed to Soviet propaganda prose. Before he was stoned to death in 1929 by Uzbek villagers furious because of his participation in anti-religious activities, Niyaziy

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[1] Fitrat-i Bukhārāyī, Munāzara (Istanbul: Matba'ā-yi Islāmiya Hikmat, 1327/1909); His second prose work in Persian Bayyanāt-i seyyāh-i hindi (Tales of a Hindu Traveler), probably published in 1911 or 1912 in Istanbul, is mentioned in Edward Allworth's Uzbek Literary Politics, p. 33.

[2] Edward Allworth, Uzbek Literary Politics, p. 62.

[3] Qiyamät, khayali hikayä (Moscow: Millät Ishläri Komisärligi Qashidä "Märkäziy Shärq Näshriyati," 1923). Also "rehabilitated" recently in Yengämiz khurafatni bid'atni (Tashkent: OzSSR Dävlät Bädiiy Ädäbiyat Näshriyati, 1961). Appeared in Russian translation: Den' strashnogo suda (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury, 1965); "Fiträt," Ozbek sovet ėntsiklopediyäsi, vol. 12 (Tashkent: OzSSR Fänlär Äkädemiyäsi, 1979), p. 119.

wrote several propaganda stories such as Yer islahati (1926; Land Reform), and Säylav aldidä (1926; On the Eve of the election).[1]

Abdullah Qadiriy and Abdulhamid Sulayman Cholpan were the two dominant figures in Uzbek prose fiction of the 1920s. Abdullah Qadiriy's main contribution to Uzbek prose fiction comprises his two controversial historical novels, Otkän kunlär (1926; Days Gone By), and Mehrabdän chäyan (1929; Scorpion From the Pulpit).[2] These two novels, along with his stories such as "Ulaqdä" (1923; In the Horsemen's Contest),[3] and novelette, Abid Ketman (1934) were attacked by Uzbek Communist critics for ostensibly glorifying the pre-revolutionary past of the Uzbeks and for not creating proletarian fictional characters.[4] Since his posthumous rehabilitation in 1956, Abdullah Qadiriy has been regarded as one of the founders of Uzbek Soviet literature and "father" of the historical novel genre in Uzbek prose fiction.[5]

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[1] Ähmäd Äliyev, p. 50.

[2] Otkän kunlär (Tashkent: Ozbekistan Dävlät Näshriyati, 1926; new ed., Tashkent: Ghäfur Ghulam Namidägi Ädäbiyat vä Sän'ät Näshriyati, 1974); Mehrabdän chäyan (Samarkand-Tashkent: Oznäshr, 1929; 6th ed., Tashkent: Ghäfur Ghulam Namidägi Ädäbiyat vä Sän'ät Näshriyati, 1974).

[3] Abdullah Qadiriy has said it was written in 1916, but published only in 1923 in the journal Bilim ochaghi (Tashkent), No. 2-3 (September 1, 1923), pp. 19-27.

[4] His other stories written in the 1920s and 1930s are collected in: Äbdullä Qadiriy, Kichik äsärlär (Tashkent: Ghäfur Ghulam Bädiiy Ädäbiyat Näshriyati, 1969).

[5] "Äbdullä Qadiriy," Ozbek sovet ėntsiklopediyäsi, vol. 1, pp. 19-20.

His prose fiction, however, is still being criticized for its non-Soviet nature.[1]

Cholpan wrote short stories in the 1920s. His short stories have an exceptional place not only in Uzbek literature, but in the entire literature of Central Asia. Unlike other Kazakh and Uzbek prose works of the 1920s and 1930s, Cholpan's stories do not narrate an event or focus on a single character. His stories--some of them as short as three pages--are written in an expressionist style in both form and content. They portray the outside world or an event as the writer (or his character) passionately feels it to be. This kind of literary style, of course, came under heavy Soviet criticism. Cholpan's expressionist prose style is still regarded as a dangerous bourgeois, individualist tendency:

> In Cholpan's story "Aydin kechälärdä" [On Bright Nights] we see that nature's quiet scenery creates a negative impression on the writer's soul and gives him a melancholy spirit....In Cholpan's stories the heroines do not struggle for their rights, although in that period Soviet laws protected women. The heroines in his [Cholpan's] stories about new Soviet society are portrayed as passive, oppressed, and helpless persons. Cholpan is seduced by dangerous bourgeois individualism [zärärli burjuä individuälizmi], in his stories like "Yoldä bir kechä" [A Night On the Road]... 2

Some of Cholpan's stories were collected in an anthol-

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[1] Ähmäd Äliyev, pp. 34-35; H. Yaqubov, "Yirik sän'ätkarning tonghich romäni," printed in Äbdullä Qadiriy, Otkän kunlär, new ed. (Tashkent: Ghäfur Ghulam Namidägi Ädäbiyat vä Sän'ät Näshriyati, 1974), pp. 387-397.

[2] Ähmäd Aliyev, p. 47.

ogy co-edited by Cholpan himself in 1926.[1] In the 1930s he was reportedly working on a major novel, entitled Kechä vä kunduz (Night and Day), about the Central Asians' 1916 revolt against Czarist Russian rule. Only the first volume appeared in 1936.[2] Cholpan was arrested in the same year and was killed in 1937 during Stalin's purges.

Musa Tashmuhammad-oghli Aybek (1905-1968), one of Cholpan's young pupils, was also working on a novel about the 1916 Central Asian revolt during the mid-1930s. Aybek's first novel Qutlugh qan (1940; Sacred Blood) idealizes an unknown patriot named Yolchi who sacrificed his life for his native country during the 1916 revolt. In his second novel, Nävaiy (1944), Aybek portrays the inner world of the famous Central Asian Chaghatay poet, Mir Alisher Navaiy (1441-1501), while drawing the attention of his readers to the glorious cultural heritage of Uzbeks and other Central Asians in the fifteenth century. Like Kazakh writer Mukhtar Auezov's novel on Abay, Uzbek writer Aybek's novels Sacred Blood and Navaiy were published in 1940 and 1944 due to the loosening of the Party controls on literature during the World War II.[3]

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[1] Ä. Suläyman vä Ä. Zahiriy, Ädäbiyat parchaläri (Tashkent: Ozbekistan Davlat Nashriyati, 1926).

[2] "Cholpan," Ozbek sovet ėntsiklopediyäsi, vol. 12, p. 601.

[3] His complete works were published in: Aybek, Mukämmäl äsärlär toplami, 19 volumes (Tashkent: "Fän" Näshriyati, 1975-1980).

Aybek's choice of the Chaghatay poet Navaiy as a hero for his novel is clearly a reaction to those pro-Soviet writers who attacked Navaiy and other Chaghatay poets as "feudal," "aristocratic," "mystic," "religious," "reactionary," as well as ideologically harmful in the 1920s and 1930s.[1] Because of the death of other established Uzbek writers such as Abdulhamid Cholpan, Abdulrauf Fitrat and Abdullah Qadiriy in 1937 and 1940 during the Stalinist purges, Aybek was the only Uzbek writer who could both transmit the values of past Uzbek life to the younger generation and influence young writers. He did this by his two successful historical novels and another one, on the life of the Uzbek villagers, entitled Altin vadidän shäbädälär (1949; Breezes From the Golden Valley). Aybek's prose fiction published after 1953 will be mentioned in the next chapter.

The proletarian interpretation of literature (1929-1933), Stalinist purges (1937-1940), World War II (1939-1945), and Stalin's post-World War II censorship (1945-1953) interrupted what might have been normal development of both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction. Under the "Proletarianism" and "Socialist realism" slogans, Party officials had tried to curb individual and artistic styles, moods, and tendencies in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction. Those writers who resisted

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[1] Edward Allworth, Uzbek Literary Politics, p. 82.

the Party-line orientation in literature were silenced. It was only after the efforts of the younger generation of Kazakh and Uzbek writers that new individual tendencies, styles, themes, and genres began to be revived once again in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction in the post-Stalin situation.

CHAPTER IV

KAZAKH AND UZBEK PROSE FICTION OF THE POST-STALIN PERIOD (1953-1982)

Stalin's death on March 5, 1953 marks a turning point in both the political and cultural life of the Soviet Union. Western scholars refer to the first few years following Stalin's death as "de-Stalinization."[1] Following the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, de-Stalinization was intensified, especially after 1958, when Nikita S. Khrushchev (1894-1971) consolidated his position as the head of the government and the Party (1958-1964). The development of Soviet social, economic, political, and cultural life during the period of de-Stalinization, however, was far from smooth. An interminable series of moves and countermoves, of compromises, victories, and defeats accounts for the alternation of progress and reaction in all areas of Soviet life and particularly in literature. Literature mirrored the general situation, offering a picture of thaw and freeze, as it was usually referred to in Western

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[1] Marc Slonim, Soviet Russian Literature: Writers & Problems 1917-1977, rev. 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 320.

scholarship.[1] A gradual relaxation occurred in Russian literary circles after Stalin's death in 1953. It did not immediately bring about important changes in Kazakh and Uzbek literary activity. Instead, a time of relative uncertainty followed while new political alignments were being formed in Moscow.[2]

Rehabilitation of a few Kazakh and Uzbek writers, along with political figures, who had been purged between 1937 and 1940, brought a sense of relaxation to some extent in Kazakh and Uzbek literature. Rehabilitation, however, was a limited action that included certain poets and prose writers. For example, Uzbek prose fiction writers such as Abdullah Qadiriy, Abdulrauf Fitrat, and Abdulhamid Cholpan were rehabilitated by 1956, whereas only Abdullah Qadiriy's prose fiction was allowed to be reprinted. Most prose works of other Reformist (Jadid) writers such as Fitrat and Cholpan have not been republished yet. In Kazakh literature, Saken Seyfullin, Beyimbet Maylin, Jienghali Tilepbergenov, Eljas Bekenov, and İliyas Jansugirov were rehabilitated by 1956, whereas Mir Jaqib Duwlat-uli, Smaghul Saduaqasov, J. Aymauitov, and their prose fiction still wait for rehabilitation. The

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[1] Max Hayward and Edward L. Crowley, eds., Soviet Literature in the Sixties (New York: Praeger Paperbacks, 1964), pp. 19, 21, 110.

[2] Edward Allworth, Uzbek Literary Politics (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964), p. 101.

cases of Kazakh prose writers such as Duwlat-uli and Smaghul Saduaqasov and Uzbek prose writers such as Fitrat and Cholpan can be explained by the fact that they were the leading figures of the influential reformist circles of Central Asian intellectuals who are still being blamed for having demonstrated nationalistic (Pan-Turkist) aims and tendencies in their writings.

The two outstanding prose fiction writers who influenced other Kazakh and Uzbek prose writers in the post-Stalin period are Mukhtar Auezov in Kazakh literature and Musa Tashmuhammad-oghli Aybek in Uzbek literature. In their prose fiction, these authors, gifted with exceptional literary talent, tried to draw the attention of other Kazakh and Uzbek writers to their people's cultural heritage rather than to the officially accepted themes.

Auezov, who before Stalin's death already had published three parts of a four-volume novel on Abay, worked on the fourth one during the early years of the de-Stalinization period. The fourth volume, entitled Abay jolï (Abay's Way), was published in 1956.[1] The impact of Auezov's novel Abay on Kazakh readers was so great that some other Kazakh writers also attempted to write biographical novels based on certain Kazakh figures of the past. For example, Sabit Muqanov (1900-

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[1] For his complete works see: Mŭkhtar Äuezov, Shïghармalar, 12 volumes (Alma Ata: "Jazushï" Baspasï, 1967-1969).

1973) tried to write a four-volume novel on the life and activities of the nineteenth century Kazakh geographer, ethnographer, linguist, and historian Shoqan Shinghis-uli Valikhanov (1835-1865). After conducting a great deal of research on Valikhanov in the mid-1950s and 1960s, Muqanov was able to publish the first two volumes of his novel entitled Aqqan jŭldïz (The Shooting Star) in 1967 and 1970 respectively.* His death, in 1973, prevented Muqanov from completing the last two volumes in which he was supposed to describe the later years of Valikhanov. Another Kazakh writer, Dikhan Abilev (b. 1907), wrote two novels entitled Aqïn armanï (1965; Poet's Expectation), and Arman jolïnda (1969; For the Sake of Expectations) based on the life of Kazakh modernist poet Sultanmakhmut Torayghirov (1893-1920).

Like Auezov, Muqanov and Abilev in their historical novels mentioned above concentrated on late nineteenth-century personalities who are more or less acceptable to Soviet authorities. Some other Kazakh writers, especially young ones, have shown an interest in much older periods of Kazakh history and historical personalities. For example, Iliyas Esenberlin (b. 1915) wrote a historical trilogy encompassing a period of Kazakh history from the fifteenth century down to the nineteenth century. The events in his trilogy start from the time

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* The publication data of these and other Kazakh and Uzbek prose works mentioned further on (pp. 50-60) are given in the bibliography section under the name of the appropriate authors.

of the Shaybanid ruler Abu'l-Khayr Khan (1412-1468) who succeeded in uniting all the nomadic tribes, including Kazakhs and Kipchak Uzbeks, between the Ural river, the Sir Darya, Moghulistan, and the Tobol river.[1] Toward the end of his rule a considerable number of clans broke loose from his Shaybanid Dynasty--also known as "The Uzbek Khanate"--and sought refuge with Esen-buqa the Chaghatay Khan of Moghulistan. These dissident clans received the name of "Kazakhs."[2] The last volume of Esenberlin's trilogy ends with the struggle of Kazakhs, under the rule of Sultan Kenisari Qasim-uli (Kasimov) (1802-1847), against Czarist Russian armies. Esenberlin's historical trilogy consists of the following three volumes: Almas qïlïsh (1971; Diamond Sword), Jantalas (1973; Agony), and Qahar (1969; Fury). As can be seen, the publication dates of the three volumes do not correspond to their chronological order, showing that initially Esenberlin had not thought of writing a trilogy comprising a historical period of almost five centuries of his ethnic group "the Kazakhs." Moreover, a Kazakh critic in his review, published in 1969, about Esenberlin's novel, Fury, does not mention that this novel is a part of a historical trilogy which will

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[1] Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, "The Kazakhs and the Kirghiz," in Central Asia, ed. by Gavin Hambly (New York: Delacorte Press, 1966), p. 140.

[2] A. Zeki Velidi Togan, Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve Yakın Tarihi, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Arkadaş, İbrahim Horoz ve Güven Basımevleri, 1942-1947; reprint ed., Istanbul: Enderun Yayınları, 1981), p. 37.

be completed later.[1] Because Esenberlin's own explanation has not appeared so far in Kazakh literature, it is possible that the writer wanted to search for the roots of some questions, dealt with in Fury, further back in the fifteenth century when the formation of the Kazakhs as an independent tribal group took place. Whatever the explanations are, the one thing apparent in Kazakh prose fiction of the 1960s was the trend of writing historical novels and trilogies based on different periods of Kazakh history.

Khamza Esenjanov's (b. 1908) trilogy Aq Jayïq, two volumes (1957, 1959; The White Volga), and Tar kezeng (1965; Difficult Period) describes the life of Kazakhs during the struggles between Communist Red forces and pro-Czarist generals in 1918 and 1920. The Kazakh writer Abdijamil Nurpeyisov (b. 1920) in his trilogy entitled Kan men ter (blood and Sweat)--consisting of Ïmïrt (1961; Evening), Sergeldeng (1964; Upheaval), and Küyreu (1970; Annihilation)--narrates the survival of Kazakh fishermen during the pre-Soviet period. Another young Kazakh writer, Dukenbay Dosjanov (b. 1942), has displayed an interest in both Islamic and pre-Islamic periods of Central Asian history in his long stories and novels. Dosjanov identifies the pre-Islamic, Central Asian tribal peoples such as Scythians (Saqadar in Kazakh), Massagetae, Huns (Hsiung-nu in Chinese and Qundar in Kazakh) as Turkic people in his

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[1] Mïrzabek Düysenov, "Qahar romanï jayïnda," Jŭldïz, No. 9 (1969), pp. 155-159.

long stories Jŭsan men gülder (1966; Wormwood and Roses), Tŭlpardïng ïzïmen (1967; In the Tracks of the Warhorse), and novel Jïbek jolï (1973; The Silk Road). His novel Zaual (1970; Catastrophe) describes the suffering of Central Asian Turkic peoples during the invasion of the Mongols under Chingiz Khan (1155-1227). Dosjanov's other novels, such as Otïrar (1973; the name of an ancient city in Central Asia), Farabi (1975), and Tabaldïrïnga tabïn (1980; Homage to Your Own Threshold) concentrate on the early Islamic period in Central Asian history and historical personalities such as the famous Central Asian philosopher al-Farabiy (A.D. 873-950). Some other young Kazakh writers such as Abish Kekilbayev (b. 1939) in his novel Ürker (1980; The Pleiades), and Jumabek Edilbayev (b. 194?) in his novel Türkïstan (1976; Turkistan) deal with the events of pre-Soviet Central Asian history.

The interest among Kazakh writers, mostly young ones, in historical prose fiction can be witnessed in Uzbek literature too. Thanks to the posthumous rehabilitation of Abdullah Qadiriy, his two historical novels Days Gone By (1926) and Scorpion From the Pulpit (1929) were reprinted many times after 1956.[1] Several reprints of Qadiriy's, Ayniy's, and

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[1] For example, Scorpion From the Pulpit was printed six times between 1958 and 1974. The 1974 edition reportedly ran to 150,000 copies. See: Äbdullä Qadiriy, Mehrabdän Chäyan, 6th ed. (Tashkent: Ghäfur Ghulam Namidägi Ädäbiyat vä Sän'ät Näshriyati, 1974). The 1974 edition of Days Gone By also totalled 150,000 copies.

Aybek's historical novels and long stories challenged other Uzbek writers to contribute to this literary genre. Aybek himself concentrated on the events of pre-Soviet Central Asia in his novels Balälik (1963; Childhood) and Ulugh yol (1967; The Great Path). His Childhood narrates the experience of a young boy named Musa between the years 1909 and 1918, and The Great Path describes the situation in southern Central Asia on the eve of the February 1917 Russian revolution. Another of his novels, Quyash qaräymäs, (1959; The Sun Won't Grow Dark) is based on the experience of Uzbeks serving in the Soviet army during World War II.

Two Uzbek writers, Mirzakalan Ismailiy (b. 1908), in his two-volume novel Färghanä tang atgunchä (1958, 1968; Farghana 'Til the Dawn) and Jumaniyaz Sharipov (b. 1911) in his four-volume novel Khoräzm (1960, 1970, 1974, and 1979) also deal with events occurring in Central Asia on the eve of the February 1917 revolution. Some Uzbek writers of the younger generation such as Adil Yaqubov (b. 1926) and Pirimqul Qadirov (b. 1928) have followed Aybek in writing novels based on figures in the Timurid dynasty. As mentioned earlier, Aybek wrote a historical novel describing the life of fifteenth-century Central Asian Chaghatay poet, Mir Alisher Navaiy (1441-1501) in 1944. Pirimqul Qadirov in his historical novel Yulduzli tunlär, (1978; Starry Nights), narrates the struggles of the Timurid prince Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur (1483-1530) against the Uzbek forces led by Shaybanid ruler Muhammad Shaybaniy Khan (1451-

1510). It also describes the establishment of the Moghul empire in India by Babur after his defeat by Shaybaniy Khan in Central Asia. The author portrays Babur as a ruler unhappy at being away from his native land in Central Asia, although he finds tremendous wealth in India. The choice of this crucial period in Central Asian history gives Qadirov an opportunity to deal with the terms related to nationality identity such as "Uzbek," "Turk," and "Turkistan" in his novel Starry Nights. His introduction of new arguments and perspectives on the concept of Uzbek identity will be discussed in the next chapters. Adil Yaqubov wrote a novel entitled Ulughbek khäzinäsi (1973; Ulughbek's Treasure) based on both historical and fictitious events and personalities during the last years of the Timurid prince and scholar Ulughbek (1394-1449). This novel describes the struggle of Ulughbek's pupils to save the valuable Central Asian manuscripts from Ulughbek's library before they were burned by Ulughbek's own son who succeeds to the throne and kills his father.

Some other Uzbek writers, such as Mirkarim Asim (b. 1907), have displayed an interest in pre-Islamic Central Asian history. Asim does this in his stories collected in Elchilär (1964; The Envoys), Äjdadlärimiz qissäsi (1965; Tales of Our Ancestors), Jäyhun ustidä bulutlär (1975; Clouds Over the River Amu Darya). Like Kazakh writer Dukenbay Dosjanov, Uzbek writer Mirkarim Asim also identifies the pre-Islamic

Central Asian tribal people as Turkic and Uzbek. In the footnotes of his stories, Asim mentions that those customs of Scythians, Massagetae, Huns, and other pre-Islamic tribal people he describes are still being preserved among Uzbeks. Another Uzbek writer, Mirmuhsin (b. 1921), wrote a novel entitled Me'mar (1974; The Architect) based on the creative activities of Timurid architects during the fourteenth century.

In all this Kazakh and Uzbek historical prose fiction the attention of readers was drawn to positive aspects and achievements in the pre-Soviet Central Asian cultural heritage. The concentration on certain crucial historical periods of Central Asian history such as the formation of the Kazakhs as a separate tribal unity in the fifteenth century and the struggle of Kazakh tribes against Czarist Russian forces in the eighteenth century in Kazakh prose fiction, and the Timurid dynasty in Uzbek prose fiction, reinforces the nationality consciousness of present-day Kazakh and Uzbek readers. In the meantime, the current trend in both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction in searching out the ethnic roots of Kazakhs and Uzbeks present in ancient Central Asian history greatly differs from Soviet nationality policy favoring the drawing together and finally the merging of all Soviet nationalities into a non-ethnic Soviet community. Because of this, Kazakh and Uzbek historical prose fiction of the post-Stalin period appears to be more than mere discovery and populari-

zation of a knowledge of Central Asian past. In taking into consideration these implications of historical prose fiction, Soviet authorities continue to urge both Kazakh and Uzbek writers to write novels and stories based on events reflecting what they consider to be the positive impact of the November 1917 revolution and the founding of kolkhozes on Kazakhs' and Uzbeks' social life.

Many Kazakh and Uzbek writers, mostly older ones, wrote novels and stories based on themes that were promoted by the Party in the 1950s and 1960s. The following Kazakh prose fiction can be seen to fit in this category: Ghabiden Mustafin's (b. 1902) novel Dauïldan keyĭn (1960; After the Storm), Abu Sarsenbayev's (b. 1905) novel Tolqïnda tughandar (1953; Born Among Waves), Asqar Toqmaghambetov's (b. 1905) novel Äke men bala (1961; Father and Son),[1] Aytbay Khangeldin's (b. 1906) long stories collected in Bĭzdĭng ottarïmïz (1954; Our Grasslands), Tabïsqan taqdïr (1965; Facing Fate), Seyitjan Omarov's (b. 1907) long stories collected in Qayïrlï jaz (1959; Beneficial Summer), Ghabdol Slanov's (1911-1969) novel Asau arna (1963; Wild River) and others.

World War II is another major theme in Kazakh prose fiction of the post-Stalin period. The authorities urged Kazakh writers to describe the heroism and patriotism of Soviet

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[1] This novel was rewritten by its author and published in 1975 under a new title, Qarbalasta (In Upheaval). See: "Toqmaghambetov, Ghanibek Asqar ŭlï," Qazaq sovet ėntsiklopediyasï, vol. 11 (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR Ghïlïm Akademiyäsï, 1977), p. 85.

soldiers during World War II. Ghabiden Mustafin, Asqar Toqmaghambetov, Aytbay Khangeldin, and other members of the older generation of Kazakh writers contributed to this genre. In the late 1960s some younger Kazakh writers also showed an interest in the World War II theme. However, the young Kazakh writers' treatment of this theme differed considerably from the way the older generation of Kazakh writers' prose fiction dealt with World War II. For example, Otebay Qanakhin's (b. 1923) novel Dämeli (1962; Hopeful), Sauirbek Baqbergenov's (b. 1920) novels Qargha tamghan qan (1967; Blood On the Snow), and Altïn kürek (1968; Golden Shovel), Amantay Baytanayev's (b. 1922) novel Tang sarĭ (1969; Toward Daybreak), among others, concentrate more on the sufferings of Kazakh villagers, especially the wives and sons of Kazakh soldiers, during World War II. These young Kazakh writers do not display simply a standard patriotism, as some older generation of Kazakh writers did, but describe some vital human problems that existed in Kazakh villages during World War II.

In the treatment of other themes related to present-day Kazakh society, there is a big difference between older and younger generations of Kazakh writers. While the older generation of Kazakh writers was preoccupied with describing the positive achievements in Kazakh villages during the Soviet period in their prose fiction in the mid-1950s and 1960s, many young Kazakh writers attempted to analyze the individual

world of Kazakh villagers in their prose fiction. Takhaui Akhtanov's (b. 1923) long stories Makhabbat mŭngï (1960; Love's Sorrow) and Dala sïrï (1963; Plain's Mystery)[1], Sabit Dosanov's (b. 194?) Tau jolï (1978; Mountain Road), Azilkhan Nurshayikov's (b. 1922) novel Makhabbat, qïzïq mol Jïldar (1970; Love and the Years of Great Joy) and other young Kazakh writers' stories and novels based on life in the Kazakh villages demonstrate individual and artistic tendencies rather than official Soviet themes and topics.

The same kind of difference between older and younger writers as is witnessed in Kazakh prose fiction, can be found in Uzbek prose fiction of the post-Stalin period. Many older Uzbek writers wrote novels and stories that conform to Soviet themes such as the ostensibly positive impact of the February 1917 revolution and establishing of kolkhozes on Uzbek's social life. Such works are Abdullah Qahhar's (1907-1968) rewritten novel Särab (1957; Mirage)[1], Hamid Ghulam's (b. 1919) novel Mäsh'äl (1958; Torch), Jumaniyaz Sharipov's (b. 1911) long story Säadät (1958; Happiness), Ibrahim Rahim's (b. 1916) novels Ikhlas (1958; Sincerity), and Taqdir (1964; Fate), and Sharaf Rashidov's (b. 1917) novel Borandän kuchli (1958; Mightier Than A Storm). In the following Uzbek-language novels the

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[1] This novel was first published in 1934, but reportedly underwent a complete revision in 1957. For this novel Qahhar won the literary State Prize of Uzbekistan in 1935; Ozbek sovet ėntsiklopediyasi, vol. 1 (Tashkent: Ozbekistan SSR Fänlär Äkädemiyäsi, 1971), pp. 17-18.

heroism and patriotism of Soviet soldiers were described: Shuhrat's (b. 1918) novel Shinelli yillär (1958; The Years in Uniform), Ibrahim Rahim's novel Fidayilär (1971; Volunteers), and others.

However, most young Uzbek writers focus on problems of contemporary Uzbek society, instead of describing the positive achievements claimed for the Soviet system as the older Uzbek writers have. Many young Uzbek writers have tried to depict the vital human problems and sufferings of Uzbeks in the different periods of Soviet rule in Uzbekistan. For example, Said Ahmad (b. 1920) wrote a trilogy entitled Ufq (1964-1974; Horizon) to describe both the physical and mental sufferings of Uzbeks during the construction of the Great Farghana Canal in 1939. The author's interest in this novel is not to describe this great effort made in the Stalinist era, but rather to focus on the individual feelings and thoughts of Uzbeks who were forced to dig the 168 mile-long canal using only primitive tools. Asqad Mukhtar's (b. 1920) novel Chinar (1969; Plain Tree), Mirmuhsin's (b. 1921) novel Umid (1969; the name of the hero), Adil Yaqubov's novel Diyanät (1975; Honesty), Saida Zunnunova's (b. 1926), Olmas Umarbekov's (b. 1934), Sayyar's (b. 1934), Nurali Qabul's (b. 1950) short and long stories demonstrate individual and artistic tendencies rather than conforming to officially approved themes and topics.

It thus appears that there are two distinct generations

of prose fiction writers in both Kazakh and Uzbek literature: One is a group of older Kazakh and Uzbek writers born between 1902 and 1918. The second one is composed of rather younger Kazakh and Uzbek writers born after 1920. The writers of these two groups (or generations) differ from each other not only because of their age, but by their visible attitude toward official themes and topics as demonstrated in their prose fiction. The older Kazakh and Uzbek writers can be called "conservatives," because they favor writing according to the directives of Soviet officials. Young Kazakh and Uzbek writers can be regarded as "innovators," because they seem to be open to new ideas, individual tendencies, and personal identity in their prose fiction. Thus, both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction of the post-Stalin period display two major, rival literary trends: a conservative and an innovative one. The existence of these two rival literary trends points to a broader social conflict, within Kazakh and Uzbek societies, related to the question of nationality identity in Soviet Central Asia. These two literary trends will be taken into consideration during the analysis of Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction in the next chapters. In the concluding chapter the broader implications of the relationship between these two distinct literary trends and a broader social conflict will be explained.

In the review of Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction of the post-Stalin period several prose genres such as humor-satire,

prose fiction for children, science fiction, and mystery (detective) stories and novels are excluded from the discussions. There are two main reasons for this. First of all, each of the above-mentioned literary genres requires extensive research to locate its genesis and development in both Kazakh and Uzbek literature. There have been not many serious studies into these genres in Kazakh and Uzbek languages. The second main reason is connected with the theses and hyphothesis of this study. Because of its concentration on nationality identity, throughout this study more attention is given to prose fiction written for adult readers, especially historical novels and stories. It appears that both Kazakh and Uzbek writers are more attentive to the subjects of several theses proposed in the first chapter of this study, subjects in historical novels and stories rather than in other prose genres. Therefore, Kazakh and Uzbek historical prose fiction published since 1953 will receive more consideration than any other prose genre during the analysis of novels and stories in the next chapters.

CHAPTER V

THE MAIN THEMES

Theme is the central and unifying concept of a story or a novel.[1] By analyzing the theme of a story or novel, the attitude or the position of its author toward life in general can be revealed. Many themes used in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction of the post-Stalin period have been either purely political or non-political in nature. As it was in the Stalin period, in the post-Stalin period, too, Kazakh and Uzbek writers seem to be plagued with the problem of trying to please official censors and at the same time retain their artistic integrity. This can explain why most Kazakh and Uzbek writers have been continuing to write stories and novels based on both the themes promoted by Party officials and those themes which appear to be chosen independently. To recount in detail the themes of all Kazakh and Uzbek stories and novels, published since 1953, would be an impractical as well as a dreary task. The main aim in this chapter therefore is to display certain themes, in the prose fiction of contemporary

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[1] Laurence Perrine, Story and Structure (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1959), p. 143; C. Hugh Holman, A Handbook to Literature, 3d ed., rev. and enl. (Indianapolis: The Odyssey Press, 1976), 528.

Kazakh and Uzbek writers, which go much beyond the standard Soviet themes. Most of the older Kazakh and Uzbek writers had dealt with the officially promoted themes in the mid-1950s and 1960s, but there is a group of young writers, in both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction, who show an interest in their ethnic groups' cultural history, its native land, and customs. A good many themes in young Kazakh and Uzbek prose writers' stories and novels are related to the preservation of the cultural heritage and native land. Young Kazakh and Uzbek writers seem to aim at drawing the attention of their readers to certain periods of their ethnic group's "national" history, at analyzing the causes and effects of certain historical events, at portraying the makers and victims of those events. Young Central Asian writers' treatment of these themes in their prose fiction published in the late 1960s and 1970s indicates that the attachment of their older generation of writers to the ideological orientation no longer satisfies young writers.

During the analysis of certain themes related to nationality identity in this chapter, the following theses will be tested: The concentration on certain historical period(s) and historical event(s) chosen from Central Asian history in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction not only seems to reflect, but also to reinforce and develop the nationality consciousness and identity of Kazakhs and Uzbek readers. Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction appears to draw the attention of readers to Central Asia's

local environment instead of the entire Soviet Union. This inclination may demonstrate that young writers apparently try to sustain their group's homeland concept and avoid the enlarging and dissolving of this concept to fit the multi-national boundaries of the entire Soviet Union. These theses among others will be tested in this chapter by citing a few quotations and references from some Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction published in the post-Stalin period. The selection of several examples in this chapter is based upon the following criteria: To illustrate further and support the theses mentioned above; a few other examples from the prose fiction of older Kazakh and Uzbek writers will be cited also to show the ideological orientation in prose fiction as required by Party officials.

In the historical novels and stories of young Kazakh and Uzbek writers, preserving the cultural heritage is a major theme. It is especially visible in the Kazakh writer Iliyas Esenberlin's (b. 1915) historical trilogy and Uzbek writer Adil Yaqubov's (b. 1926) historical novel Ulughbek's Treasure (1973). For example, in Fury (1969)--the third volume of his trilogy--Esenberlin portrays Kenesari (1802-1847) not only as a tribal leader who led Kazakhs to resist Russian expansion, but as a national hero who tried to unify the Kazakhs in one nationality group. Esenberlin's portrayal of Kenesari as a positive hero contradicts the Soviet view of Kenesari. In the Kazakh Encyclopedia, Sultan Kenesari is described as a

brutal, unjust feudal despot.[1] He is blamed for strengthening both "feudalistic rule" and Islamic law (Sharighat in Kazakh) among Kazakhs. According to the same source, Kenesari's real goal was to separate Kazakh lands from Czarist Russia and establish an independent Kazakh khanate.[2] In contrast to this former official view of Kenesari as a negative person--a view that continues to the present day--Esenberlin demonstrates Kenesari's justness and other virtues in Fury. The fictional Sultan Kenesari's decision over the fate of a Kazakh traitor shows his justness and consciousness of Kazakh ethnic identity. One day his men bring a captured and badly wounded man to the front of Kenesari's tent.[3] That captured men--whose face and beard have become red because of the sword-wound on his forehead--is a well-known Kazakh folk-poet, Aristan, from the Atighay Kazakh clan. Aristan or Aristanbay (1811-1880)[4] is described as an esteemed poet who knows thousands of Kazakh folk-songs, epics, and folk-tales. Aristan, however, is a greedy person who has taken money for helping Russian official explorers to prepare a map of the Kazakh plains and to register the location and move-

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[1] "Kenesarï Qasïmov," Qazaq sovet ėntsiklopediyasï, vol. 5 (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR Ghïlïm Akademiyäsï, 1974), p. 367.

[2] Ibid., p. 368.

[3] Ïliyäs Esenberlin, Qahar, tarikhi roman (Alma Ata: "Jazushï" Baspasï, 1969), p. 152.

[4] "Arïstanbay (Arïstan)," Qazaq sovet ėntsiklopediyasï, vol. 1 (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR Ghïlïm Akademiyäsï, 1972), p. 499.

ments of Kazakh tribes. Because of his service to Russian officials, Aristan collects a considerable amount of wealth, until Kenesari's men follow and capture him. Wounded, Aristan kisses Sultan Kenesari's boots and begs him not to kill him:

> --"I was mistaken and went astray, Kenesari. It's true that for my personal benefit I have helped the Russian cartographers. Please forgive me this one time. I shall be your slave the rest of my life."
>
> Kenesari didn't change his position, but continued to stand quiet and still. He tried to hold back his anger and turned paler. Without looking at Aristan, who was lying down on his boots, [he said]:
>
> --"The man who sells his nation is equal to [the contagious] glanders in a horse. In order to save the other horses, there shouldn't be any mercy on that horse. There is only one sentence--death!"
>
> Jusip [one of Kenesari's men] said to himself: "If you care for your people's grief and sorrows, think first of its unity [bĭrlĭk]. Kenesari gave the correct sentence to the unfaithful [opasïz]."
>
> "Although it sounds cruel, [the sentence] is just."[1]

Through the character, Jusip, the writer explains that it was customary whenever Kenesari gave an order, that his men would loudly approve his decisions. But this time every one stays quiet. They do not show any reaction to Kenesari's decision. The poet, Aristan, once more begs Kenesari: "Mercy, Sir! As the saying goes: When the head will be cut, the tongue must not be cut!"[2] Aristan means that Kenesari should allow him to speak for the last time. When Kenesari lets the poet say

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[1] Ĭliyäs Esenberlin, Qahar, p. 153.

[2] Ibid., p. 154.

his last words, Aristan sings the following song:

> Keneke, jaqsï körseng qarashïngmïn,
> Jek körseng de özïngnïng alashïngmïn,
> Atanga altï qatïn alïp bergen
> Atïghay Qarauïldïng balasïmïn.[1]
>
> O brother Kene, if you like me, I'm your dear pal,
> Even if you hate me, I'm one of your Alash. [2]
> I'm the son of Atighay Qarauil,
> Who gave your father six wives.

Hearing these lines, Kenesari forgives the poet. This time his men immediately applaud Kenesari for making a correct decision about Aristan. The real reason why Kenesari forgives the poet is neither because Aristan reminds him that he is an old friend, nor that the poet is his kinsman. Aristan is an esteemed poet who knows thousands of Kazakh folk-tales, epics, and songs. Killing him would be equivalent to destroying a rich source of Kazakh culture and identity. Therefore, Kenesari's men keep silent when he sentences the poet to die, but applaud his decision to free him from the death sentence.

Passages similar to the one above in Esenberlin's historical trilogy remind readers of the wisdom,justness, and other merits of Kazakhs and their leaders in pre-Soviet past.

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[1] Ibid., p. 154.

[2] Alash, which is the name of the mythical ancestor of the Kazakhs, is also their war cry (uran). In this poem Alash means "the Kazakh nation." See: "Alash, alash mïngï," Qazaq sovet ėntsiklopediyäsï, vol. 1, pp. 247-248; Hasan Oraltay, Alaş: Türkistan Türklerinin Millî İstiklâl Parolası (Istanbul: Büyük Türkeli Yayınları, 1973), pp. 17-23.

Furthermore, they draw the attention of readers to the preservation of the cultural heritage of Kazakhs while emphasizing group consciousness.

The relation between the preservation of a cultural heritage and nationality identity is expressed in other Kazakh and Uzbek historical novels, too. The Uzbek writer Adil Yaqubov's historical novel Ulughbek's Treasure (1973) is interesting in this respect. The novel is set during the events of the last years of the Timurid prince Ulughbek (1394-1449). Before going on a campaign against his rebellious son, Ulughbek calls his former student and current director of his astronomical observatory in Samarkand, Ali Qushchi (1403-1474), to his palace. He entrusts his entire library to Ali Qushchi for safeguarding. Ulughbek says that he may be killed in the war against his son and is afraid that if this happens, his son will destroy his astronomical observatory and the rich library. Ulughbek says that there is no one else besides his faithful student, Ali Qushchi, to whom his library can be entrusted:

> --"I told you all of my wishes. I don't regard this crown and throne as my real treasure. My service to science and culture, my written works, and that library which I collected are my real treasure. Ali!, the fate of this priceless treasure is in your hand. This treasure is the wealth of all Transoxiana [Maväraunnähr] and perhaps of the whole of humanity. If I, the humble servant of God, have to depart from the throne according to God's will, and superstition dominates the country, the responsibility of safeguarding this treasure for future genera-

tions is on your shoulders. Perhaps you should try to hide this treasure somewhere in the mountains..." 1

Ulughbek gives Ali Qushchi a bag full of precious stones from his treasure which he inherited from his grandfather, Tamerlane (1336-1405), and advises Ali Qushchi to spend these precious stones for the expenses of safeguarding his library. The spies of Ulughbek's son Mirza Abdullatif kill Ulughbek while he is going on a pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving his throne to his son. As soon as Mirza Abdullatif sits on his father's throne, he orders the astronomical observatory and the library to be destroyed. Ali Qushchi, with the help of his two trusted pupils, however, manages to take most of the important handwritten manuscripts from Ulughbek's library in the astronomical observatory and hides them in the mountains before the other books are piled on the ground and burned by soldiers and mullas. After many events Ali Qushchi is forced to leave his native country. He takes some of the most important books from the library which was hidden in the mountains and departs from Samarkand for Persia in 1472. It is known from historical sources that Ali Qushchi first goes to Persia and then to Istanbul, where he works and teaches at the court of Ottoman Emperor Fatih Sultan Mehmed Bayezid II (1451-1481). Those books that Ali Qushchi brought from Central Asia to Ottoman Turkey are still preserved in the Topkapi court

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1 Adil Yaqubov, Ulughbek khäzinäsi, roman (Tashkent: Ghäfur Ghulam Namidägi Ädäbiyat vä Sän'ät Näshriyati, 1974), p. 19.

library in Istanbul.[1] Yaqubov in his novel doesn't say anything about the fate of those books that were hidden in an unknown mountain in Central Asia. He simply relates that Ali Qushchi entrusted the safeguarding of the hidden library to his close associates and pupils before departing from his native country. It is hinted in the novel that Ali Qushchi's faithful pupils in turn have entrusted this obligation to their own pupils. So, generation after generation, the library of Ulughbek is supposed to have survived up to the present day. However, no one knows yet where the library was hidden.

Throughout the novel special emphasis is given to the struggle of a few Central Asian intellectuals to preserve this cultural heritage--Ulughbek's library--for future generations of Central Asians. Ali Qushchi's last words to his two trusted pupils, Miram Chalabiy and Mansur Kashiy, reveal the author's main emphasis on preserving the cultural heritage as a source of nationality identity.*

Ulughbek's library becomes a symbol of nationality identity in Yaqubov's novel Ulughbek's Treasure. The author shows that the Timurid prince Ulughbek has two treasures: One is Tamerlane's treasure which was full of precious stones

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[1] Abdülhak Adnan-Adıvar, Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim, new ed. (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1970), pp. 15, 40-46; I. M. Muminov, ed. Istoriia samarkanda, vol. 1 (Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo "Fan" Uzbekskoi SSR, 1969), p. 223.

* See Appendix A, pp. 201-202.

collected from the treasures of Baghdad, Cairo, and the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I by Tamerlane himself. The second is a a big library collected by Ulughbek. This library has books in many languages from around the world, as well as the original works of Central Asian scholars, writers, philosophers, and of Ulughbek himself. The richness of this library is described in six full pages in the novel.[1] And yet, Ulughbek wants Ali Qushchi to save only the library, not his treasure which he inherited from his grandfather, Tamerlane. According to Ulughbek, his library is more valuable than precious stones, and it must be saved for future generations of Central Asians. The choice of preserving some important Central Asian manuscripts becomes a major theme in this novel. It clearly displays the author's attitude to his ethnic group's past.

In contrast to Sadriddin Ayniy's and Abdullah Qadiriy's historical novels, written in the 1920s, in which the pre-Soviet past of Central Asia is criticized and blamed for backwardness and tyranny, Adil Yaqubov in this novel tries to draw the attention of readers to certain good aspects of the Central Asian past which he thinks should be preserved today. The effort of Ulughbek's pupils to preserve valuable books for the future generations is the main moral value that is suggested in the novel. Thus, Yaqubov portrays Ulughbek and his

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[1] Adil Yaqubov, Ulughbek khäzinäsi, pp. 26-31.

pupils as "national" leaders who are aware of their group's cultural heritage and want to transmit this cultural heritage to yet future generations. Here, in this novel, valuable books are described as an important instrument in maintaining cultural links between one generation and the next. Why has Yaqubov chosen this period of Central Asian history for his novel? In order to answer this question, some other details from this novel should be mentioned. The writer tells that the clergymen extend their power toward the end of Ulughbek's rule. According to the writer's description, the religious leaders are not true believers. They seek wealth and power, not morals and ethics. Because of their envy of influential scholars under Ulughbek's protection, they side with Ulughbek's son Abdullatif and urge him to rebel against his own father. After many intrigues in the court, Ulughbek is forced to let his son succeed to the throne. After the murder of Ulughbek, those books which were not taken away by Ali Qushchi and his pupils were burnt by clergymen. Of course, Yaqubov's negative portrayal of clergymen has helped this novel to be well received by anti-religious Soviet censorship and critics. However, the author's description of the religious figures clearly shows that the author is not against them because of their representation of religion, but for their efforts to destroy the science and cultural heritage of Central Asia. On the other hand, in the various scenes of the novel the writer

describes Ulughbek and his pupils as true Muslims.[1] After Ulughbek's murder in 1449, science starts to decline in Central Asia. In his novel, Yaqubov makes clear that the religious leaders and Ulughbek's other opponents were equally Central Asian, but very conservative, whereas Ulughbek, Ali Qushchi, and his pupils were liberal for their time. By the choice of this crucial period of Central Asian history for his novel, the writer seems to hint that the decline in Central Asia started when conservative forces came to power and turned away from the cultural heritage of Central Asia. Throughout Yaqubov's novel, the detailed description of a few Central Asian intellectuals' struggle to preserve Central Asian cultural heritage for future generations is the principal message for today's Uzbek readers.

The contribution of several learned people to Central Asian cultural history and science appears as a major theme in young Kazakh writer Dukenbay Dosjanov's (b. 1942) novels Otirar (1973) and Farabi (1975). There are many parallels between Yaqubov's Ulughbek's Treasure and Dosjanov's Farabi. Like Ulughbek's pupils, Farabi and his pupils are also described, in Dosjanov's novel, as attempting to preserve the cultural heritage of Central Asia for future generations.[2]

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[1] Adil Yaqubov, Ulughbek khäzinäsi, pp. 36, 47, 58, 120, 255.

[2] Dükenbay Dosjanov, Farabi, roman (Alma Ata: "Jazushï" Baspasï, 1975), pp. 67-75.

Thinking of future generations appears as a leitmotif in the prose works of other Kazakh and Uzbek writers. For example, Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur (1483-1530), the Timurid prince who founded the Moghul empire in India, is shown in the Uzbek writer Pirimqul Qadirov's novel Starry Nights to devote himself to writing books. In one episode of the novel, Babur explains to his historian Khwandamir (1475-1535)* the real reason why he devotes himself to writing:

> --"You have done me a favor, mävlana.** Now creative work attracts me, just like this pure fountain. The blood-baths of wars and the continuous turmoils of statecraft [sältänät], like an overflowing river, have become intolerable to me. I have been feeling the untrustworthiness [beväfalik] of the crown and the throne for a long time. Only the works that I have written can be true to me. Even if I can't return to my native land [vätän], my works, perhaps, may go there. Now my wish is this: if only my works can render the service, which I couldn't have performed to my homeland [yurt] where I was born...O, master! if you knew just how much I miss Andijan, Samarkand, and the regions [olkalar] that reared me as a poet." 1

It seems that this leitmotif of thinking about future generations which appears in several Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction has a clear message to present day Central Asians. Young Kazakh and Uzbek writers appear to draw their readers' attention to their ethnic group's fate and future by giving crucial

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* His full name is Ghiyasuddin ibn Humamuddin al-Husayniy. See: "Khandämir," Ozbek sovet ėntsiklopediyäsi, vol. 12 (Tashkent: Ozbekistan SSR Fänlär Akademiyäsi, 1979), p. 356.

** Mävlana means "master." It is a title of respect applied to great learned and religious personages.

1 Pirimqul Qadirov, "Yulduzli tunlär," Shärq yulduzi, vol. 7 (1978), p. 202.

examples from their own nationality history. This shows that Kazakh and Uzbek historical novels and stories are more than mere discovery and popularization of knowledge about the Central Asian past. The writing of histo ical prose fiction in this case becomes a form of developing group consciousness and identity.

Central Asian writers seem to emphasize their cultural heritage as a means of nourishing nationality identity. The closing remarks by Pirimqul Qadirov in his novel Starry Nights is very interesting because it shows that the writer believes a cultural heritage (mädäniy meras) strengthens group consciousness.* The lack of knowledge about someone's own cultural heritage can make a person identity. In Kazakh writer, Abdijamil Nurpeyisov's (b. 1920) Blood and Sweat, there are several episodes which deal with this question. In the second volume of this trilogy, Upheaval (1964), one of the main heroes, a young Kazakh fisherman named Elaman, gets tired of the monotonous life in his village (auïl) and decides to go to a Russian city to work with his friend Myulgauzen.** The events in this trilogy take place on the eve of the revolution in February 1917. Ela-

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* See Appendix B, p. 203.

** This appears to be a German. Myulgauzen (Mulhausen) could be Russian who adopted a German name or a Russified German. It is possible that the author has chosen a German name for the negative character of his novel, because the censorship in the Soviet Union does not allow the negative portrayal of a Russian in Central Asian prose fiction.

man's father does not oppose his son's decision, and lets him seek his bread in a Russian town. In the previous pages the writer tells how Elaman had received only a Russian education designed for Central Asian "natives," and lacks education in his own Kazakh language and culture. After several months, however, Elaman finds out that he cannot live among Russians. His friend, Myulgauzen's sister, Masha, likes Elaman and wants to be intimate with him. One day Masha brings a book written in Arabic script to Elaman and tells him that this book is written in Kazakh. Although Elaman can't read the book written in his mother tongue, he always carries it with him. After a serious fight between Myulgauzen and himself, Elaman decides to go back to his village. Masha begs him to stay, but he does not change his mind and leaves that Russian city. Before approaching his village, Elaman takes the Arabic script book from his breast pocket and glances through its pages. There was a picture of an old man on the first page of the book:

> Elaman sadly smiled. This book was a present from Masha. And yet, the old man in the picture, who had a turban, big nose, and long white beard, was not a Russian priest, but a Kazakh. The book was in his mother-tongue, though he could not read it. His eyes followed the lines which were illegible for him. He felt grief and longing in those lines. He immediately put the book back in his breast and galloped his horse toward his village. 1

The Kazakh writer, Nurpeyisov, does not elucidate the content

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1 Äbdĭjämĭl Nŭrpeyĭsov, Sergeldeng, new. ed. (Alma Ata: "Jazushï" Baspasï, 1970), p. 171.

of that book. But from the description, it appears that the book contains the religious lyric poems of the Central Asian mystic, Ahmad Yassaviy (d. 1166). Toward the end of the novel Elaman decides to study the Arabic script and learn literature in his Kazakh mother tongue. The writer seems to hint in episodes like this one that many Kazakhs were unaware of their own cultural heritage because they lacked education in their own language on the eve of the revolution in 1917. This is connected with the other episodes in the trilogy, Blood and Sweat, where physical and mental sufferings of Kazakhs were described.

The emphasis on preserving the cultural heritage can be found not only in historical novels, but in novels dealing with different themes relating to contemporary Kazakh and Uzbek societies. The preservation of soil, air, and other natural resources of the homeland is another major theme in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction. One such example is Adil Yaqubov's novel Honesty (1977).* The chief hero of the novel is an irrigation specialist, Narmurad Shamuradov. One of Shamuradov's main worries throughout Honesty is the potentially irreparable damage to the soil if the waters from the Siberian river Ob are diverted to Uzbekistan. He is particularly dis-

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* The Uzbek title of this novel Diyanät itself has a double meaning. It can be understood as "honesty" or "with good conscience," but it also can mean "religiousness" or "piety." Diyānat is an Arabic word derived from din (religion).

tressed that many of the younger generation of Uzbeks are not interested in the problems of conservation. Shamuradov is not unequivocally opposed to diverting water from Siberian rivers, but he feels that not nearly enough research has been done on the subject to conclude that this project is safe. In one of his unpublished books Shamuradov proposes not to allow rainwater to run off and evaporate, but rather to redirect it and keep it in the "natural ravines, river-beds, dried ancient lakes, and reservoirs built by the ancestors" of the Uzbeks.[1] Shamuradov thinks that he should publish his work on the question of diverting water from Siberian rivers to Central Asia and its potentially dangerous effects on the nature of his native land. He says: "Isn't it an unforgivable crime to take this valuable treasure [his unpublished book] with him to the next world." The emphasis of the author here is clear: Shamuradov should publish his book and warn the younger generations of the possible damage to soil, air and other natural resources if the waters of Siberian rivers are diverted to Central Asia without sufficient attention to problems of conservation.

Narmurad Shamuradov, protagonist in the novel Honesty, is a well-established scholar who studied in the madrasah (Islamic higher school) before the October 1917 revolution and

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[1] Adil Yaqubov, "Diyanät," Shärq yulduzi, vol. 5 (1977), p. 143.

is well versed in Arabic and Persian. Besides his professional field of study, he is said to have a knowledge of Central Asian history, philosophy, and literature. The main conflicts in the novel result from the ignorance of some Uzbek scholars and Party officials about their native country and its cultural heritage. Shamuradov wants to educate young Uzbek girls and boys in the need for preserving the natural resources and beauties of their native land, Uzbekistan.

It is evident from the above analysis that some Uzbek and Kazakh prose writers wish to draw the attention of younger generations of Uzbeks and Kazakhs to the cultural heritage of their nationalities, as well as to the problems of preservation and conservation of their cultural heritage and the natural resources of their native land.

The emphasis on preserving the native land and cultural heritage can be found also in stories written for Kazakh or Uzbek children. Sovetkhan Ghabbasov (b. 194?) is a young Kazakh prose writer who is known for his short stories written for elementary school-aged children (7 and 12 ages). The main themes in his short stories deal with the relation between nature and children. For example, in his short story entitled "Qïsqï kanikul" (The Winter Holiday), Ghabbasov describes the excursion of a boy named Adil and his uncle in the woods during a winter holiday. They find a wounded golden eagle (bürkit) in the woods. Adil asks his uncle if he can take this golden eagle with him to the city where he lives. His uncle objects to

Adil's request saying:

> ...This golden eagle is an inseparable part of these woods and nature. We should not part it from its natural habitat [meken]. The ancestors of this golden eagle have lived here. Therefore, taking this creature to a city and keeping it in a cage would be a crime. 1

Adil and his uncle take the wounded golden eagle to the nearest fire-guard tower in the woods and hand it over to the watchmen.

Of course, not every Kazakh and Uzbek writer is concerned with the problems of preserving the cultural heritage and natural resources of their native land. As has been mentioned above, some older generation of Kazakh and Uzbek writers conform to Party-line themes in their prose fiction. For example, Sharaf Rashidov (b. 1917), in his novel Ghaliblär (1972; The Victors)[2] takes a position contrary to other Uzbek writers regarding nature. His main theme in this novel is concentrated on man's capacity to overcome nature. His fictional characters struggle against nature in order to depend no longer on "nature's mercies." The main heroine in this novel, Ayqiz, is not concerned with the preservation of nature or cultural heritage when she delivers speeches such as:

> --"My friends! You believed so strongly in what you were doing that the result could be nothing but victori-

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1 Sovetkhan Ghabbasov, "Qïsqï kanikul," Ösken Ŭyä (Alma Ata: "Jalïn" Baspasï, 1976), p. 27.

2 Ghaliblär was published in 1951 as a long story, rewritten in 1972 as a novel: Shäraf Räshidov, Ghaliblär, roman (Tashkent: Ghäfur Ghulam Namidägi Bädiiy Ädäbiyat Näshriyati, 1972).

> ous. Our kolkhozes have their own irrigated fields for the first time in history. We shall no longer look at the sky apprehensively wondering if it will give us rain or not. We are no longer dependent on nature's mercies. The dry wind is no longer a menace to us. Forward, friends, forward along the road shown us by our beloved Party! Forward, with the help of our brothers--the great Russian people! We shall defeat the blind forces of nature and make them serve us." 1

Passages like the above remind Soviet readers of their duties and obligations to fulfill the Five-Year Plan. This kind of official statement can be found in the novels and stories of the Kazakh and Uzbek writers who display the ideological orientation in their writings. For example, the Kazakh poet and prose writer, Saghinghali Seyitov (b. 1917), tells the heroic activities of three Soviet soldiers during the World War II in his long story entitled Ush batır (1978; Three Heroes). The three fictional heroes are a Russian general, Aleksey Nikitovich Asmolov, and two captains, David Il'ich Bakaradze, a Georgian, and Orazimbet Noserop, a Kazakh. After the war, Bakaradze and Noserop meet at the grave of the Russian general Asmolov in Moscow. Noserop says:

> --"Dear Aleksey! Look, we met again here, in the capital of our Great Fatherland [Ulï Otan, written with capital letters] as we had promised each other during the war. Although your bones lay silent under the earth, your memories are alive in the heart of your nation, the Soviet people!" 2

Examples like above set out the official notion of Union-wide

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1 This passage is taken from the following English-language translation: Sharaf Rashidov, The Victors (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d.), p. 191. English translation comes from the first version of the novel in 1951.

2 Saghïnghali Seyïtov, "Ush batïr," Köp jïl ötken song (Alma Ata: "Jazushï" Baspasï, 1978), p. 106.

merging and unity instead of local or Central Asian identity.

On the other hand, admiration for the natural beauty of Central Asia and identification of Kazakhstan or Uzbekistan as one's homeland has been another often expressed theme in both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction written by young writers. These feelings are most frequently found in poetry,[1] although they also occur in prose. Many descriptions of the local environment in Kazakh and Uzbek novels and stories focus on a "homeland" which does not appear to be the USSR as a whole, but either the northern Kazakh plains or southern parts of Central Asia. In some prose fiction the boundaries of the homeland occasionally seem to encompass the entire Central Asia or "(Western) Turkistan," as it is often called. This is especially true for Uzbek writers who seem to feel that the history of their ethnic group is not restricted to the boundaries of present-day Uzbekistan. Therefore, Uzbek historical novels and stories do include parts of Central Asia which today lie outside of the Uzbek SSR's boundaries. Young Kazakh and Uzbek writers portray fictional heroes who express a strong sense of attachment to their native Central

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[1] Robert J. Barrett, "Convergence and the Nationality Literature of Central Asia," in The Nationality Question in Soviet Central Asia., ed. by Edward Allworth (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 19-34; Timur Kocaoglu, Nationality Identity in Kazakh Soviet Lyric Poetry of the 1960s and 1970s (M.A. Essay, Columbia University, 1977).

Asia. This also indicates that young writers are not interested in encouraging Central Asians to out-migrate to the other regions of the Soviet Union, despite encouragement by Party officials. Some western scholars do suggest that the Soviet government may attempt to encourage out-migration of the surplus labor force from Central Asia.[1] To the extent that the sentiment about natural beauty, love for homeland, and preservation of native land and cultural heritage are widely shared in the novels and stories of many Kazakh and Uzbek writers, they hint that Central Asian writers are even encouraging their ethnic group not to leave Central Asia for the other parts of the Soviet Union. Kazakh and Uzbek writers' attempts to draw the attention of readers to the environment of Central Asia instead of the entire Soviet Union, demonstrate that young Central Asian writers apparently try to sustain their group's homeland concept and to present the dissolving of this concept within the wider multi-national boundries of the Soviet Union.

A review of the main themes in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction of the post-Stalin period, especially the 1960s, shows that many Central Asian writers, mostly young ones, are concentrating more and more with finding the boundaries of their present nationality identity. They seem to try to search out the

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[1] Michael Rywkin, "Central Asia and Soviet Manpower," Problems of Communism, January-February (1979), pp. 16-24.

roots of their nationality identity in different periods of Central Asian history. Many episodes portrayed in both Kazakh and Uzbek historical prose fiction suggest that some writers try to test the validity of present day "Kazakh" or "Uzbek" identity. Young Uzbek novelist Pirimqul Qadirov in his historical novel Starry Nights (1978) explores the meaning of "Uzbek" and Central Asian "Turkic" corporate identities through his sixteenth-century historical personages. According to the historical sources, the Kipchak-Uzbek tribes formed a large tribal confederation together with Kazakh tribes before the sixteenth century in the northern parts of Central Asia.[1] In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries Uzbek tribes were separated from Kazakh tribes and started to move against the cosmopolitan towns of southern Central Asia ruled by Timurids. Under the leadership of Shaybaniy Khan (1451-1510), Kipchak-Uzbek tribes defeated the armies of Babur, a Timurid ruler, among others and by capturing the big cities and centers of southern Central Asia such as Samarkand and Bukhara, forced Babur to leave Central Asia for northern India. In one episode of the novel, Starry

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[1] A. Zeki Velidi Togan, Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve Yakın Tarihi, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Arkadaş, İbrahim Horoz ve Güven Basımevleri, 1942-1947; reprint ed., Istanbul: Enderun Yayınları, 1981), p. 37; Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, "The Kazakhs and the Kirghiz," in Central Asia, ed. by Gavin Hambly (New York: Delacorte Press, 1968), p. 140-144; K. Sh. Shaniyazov, K etnicheskoi istorii uzbekskogo naroda (istoriko-etnograficheskoe issledovanie na materialakh kipchakskogo komponenta) (Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo "Fan" Uzbekskoi SSR, 1974), pp. 77-81.

Nights, the author points to the differences between a "tribal" and a "non-tribal" nationality identity by citing the fictionalized conversations between a Timurid poet, Muhammad Salih (1455-1535),* and leaders of the Nayman Uzbek tribe, Qambarbiy and Kopakbiy.** Qambarbiy argues that "Uzbeks" and "Turks" are different people. However, the learned poet, Muhammad Salih, tries to explain that actually both Uzbeks and Timurid Turks are the same people. The poet says that "The Mavaraunnahr [Transoxiana] Turks made these valleys flourish several centuries before the Turks of Rum." He quotes an Uzbek proverb to the effect that "my fatherland is Turkistan," and then goes on to suggest that "the Uzbek, Turkmen, Kazakh, Kirghiz...don't you know that all these are Turkic people? Like the children of one father, our land is one, our religion is one, our history is one..." The author hints in the novel that Muhammad Salih's poetic explanations puzzle the tribal leaders, Qambarbiy and Kopakbiy, because they are not aware of their Central Asian cultural past and heritage. However, this episode of the novel, especially the conversation between the poet and tribal leaders, is very likely to puzzle even present-day young

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* Muhammad Salih was among the court-poets of Babur. But when Shaybaniy Khan captured Samarkand in 1501, Muhammad Salih entered into the service of Shaybaniy Khan. He wrote a history in verse describing the military campaigns of Shaybaniy Khan.

** For the English translation of this conversation, see Appendix C, pp. 204-206.

Uzbek readers. This episode urges readers to think deeply once more about the roots of their contemporary nationality identity and reminds them of cultural links between many Turkic nationalities of Central Asia. The same kind of thought based on a Central Asian (or Turkistanian) identity can be found in other young Kazakh and Uzbek writers' novels and stories, too. For example, the Kazakh writers, Dukenbay Dosjanov's novels, The Silk Road (1973), Homage to Your Own Threshold (1980), Jumabek Edilbayev's novel Turkistan (1976), the Uzbek writer, Mamadali Mahmudov's (195?) novel Olmäs qayälär (1981; The Immortal Rocks),[1] and others, concentrate on a Central Asian (Turkistanian) identity and cultural history. The reemergence of this kind of identity in the prose fiction of young Kazakh and Uzbek writers is a very interesting phenomenon, because a Turkistanian identity was deemphasized by Party officials during the Stalin period. Kazakh writers such as Mirjaqib Duwlat-uli (1885-1938), and Uzbek writers such as Abdulrauf Fitrat (1886-1937) are still being blamed for expressing "Pan-Turkist" or "Pan-Turanist" identity in their writings published in the 1910s and 1920s.[2] Young Kazakh and

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[1] The title of this novel has a double meaning. By this title, the writer seems to make an allegorical statement to show the eternity and strength of a Central Asian identity. See: Mämädäli Mähmudov, "Olmäs qayälär," Shärq yulduzi, No. 10 (1981), pp. 32-87; No. 11 (1981), pp. 60-124.

[2] Serĭk Qirabayev, Öner örĭsĭ: maqalalar men zertteuler (Alma Ata: "Jazushï" Baspasï, 1971), p. 18; "Fiträt," Ozbek sovet entsiklopediyäsi, vol. 12, p. 119.

Uzbek writers' concentration on Central Asia and its cultural heritage in their prose fiction shows that officially-promoted inter-nationality relations within the Soviet Union are uninteresting to them. Young writers, instead, are searching out their identity and group consciousness in their own native land and in pre-Soviet periods of Central Asian history. Young Kazakh and Uzbek writers are consciously and intentionally avoiding attempts to develop or express a multi-nationality or a Soviet identity in their prose fiction. This trend in Central Asian prose fiction contradicts Soviet nationality policy favoring the drawing together and finally merging of all Soviet nationalities into a single non-ethnic (international and socio-political) Soviet community.

CHAPTER VI

FICTIONAL CHARACTERS

Character is one of the essential elements of most prose fiction. The analysis of personages in prose fiction offers an unparalleled opportunity not only to observe human nature in all its complexity and multiplicity, but to understand the way, how, and why the writer identifies the heroes of his novel or story. A review of Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction since Stalin reveals that most prose fiction by young writers concentrates on showing indigenous characters who interact within their own ethnic group. The ethnic factor receives much attention in the novels and stories written by young Central Asian authors. The choice of certain historical persons from Central Asian history in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction seems to be intentional rather than incidental. Therefore, the concentration on certain historical persons chosen from Central Asian history in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction not only seems to reflect but also to reinforce and develop the nationality consciousness of Kazakh and Uzbek readers. Not only in historical prose fiction, but in novels and stories based on current events, when Russian and other non-Central Asian personages rarely appear, this helps Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction to maintain a distinct nationality identity, instead

of a multi-nationality disposition. On the other hand, Soviet nationality policy favors the creation of fictional heroes and characters who are free of ethnic coloring and identity. Soviet critics urge writers to demonstrate the multi-nationality composition of the Soviet community in their prose fiction by creating fictional heroes from different nationalities, including especially Russians. Those Party-line critics stress the need for mentioning close inter-nationality relations in prose fiction. In the meantime, they also promote the introduction of generalized "positive heroes" who would be good models for the formation of the new men in the Soviet society. Thus, there seems to be a contradiction between the characters created in most Kazakh and Uzbek prose works and the officially desired fictional hero. In this chapter first the nature of the officially desired fictional characters, the "positive heroes," will be illustrated by several critical writings and those novels which are written in accordance with the Party directives. And then, many examples directly from the prose fiction of mostly young Kazakh and Uzbek writers will be given to describe the close relationship between fictional characters and nationality identity. A comparison between fictional characters, whether they demonstrate an ethnic (Kazakh or Uzbek) or a cosmopolitan (Soviet) identity, will help to discover the literary-ethnic identity of the work itself. There seems to be a close relevance between the leading characters' identity and the literary-ethnic identity of the

prose fiction. The emphasis put upon the nationality identity of the leading characters in a novel or story, in turn, displays the attitude of that work's author toward the nationality question.

The examples from the prose fiction written by Kazakh and Uzbek authors--mostly younger ones--will be selected from materials published in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Special attention is given to those writers whose names and works are mentioned in the previous chapters, such as Iliyas Esenberlin, Abdijemil Nurpeyisov, and Dukenbay Dosjanov in Kazakh prose fiction, and Adil Yaqubov, Pirimqul Qadirov, and Said Ahmad in Uzbek prose fiction. In this and other chapters, continuing to focus upon the same writers' prose fiction will strengthen the main argument of this study: that the intentional emphasis put upon the nationality identity in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction is perceptible not only in one element, but all elements of prose fiction, such as in themes, in fictional characters, and in language and style.

It is often said in official statements that the essential role of the Soviet writer is to be a propagandist for Soviet goals. Writers are urged to join "in the work of forming the moral character of the man of the future."[1] In order to understand the Soviet terms "the man of the future" and "the new man," one has to consult Soviet literary criticism relating

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[1] "SSSR jazushïlarïnïng III s"ezĭne," Jŭldïz, No. 6 (1959), p. 3.

to this topic. An Uzbek critic in her article entitled "In praise Of the Man Who Builds," tries to define the new man as follows (italics added here):

> The Soviet people will celebrate the 60th anniversary of the October socialist revolution this year [1977]. The creation of the new man--that is the person of the Communist epoch,--One who has a new point of view and a new morality, is one of the most important and essential successes of Great October, which has opened a brilliant page in the history of humanity. Because of this, the Communist Party, which is the espouser and leader of the laboring people's desires, has been giving special attention throughout its activities to the development of this new man's personality in all directions and in harmony. This significant question, especially, was stated in the documents of the CPSU's XXVth Congress. The role of Socialist realism in literature and art is very important in fulfilling the [Communist] Party's tasks in the field of the formation and education of the new man. 1

She gives examples of the desired "positive hero" in Uzbek and other nationalities' prose fiction in her article. She and other Soviet critics argue that a positive hero in a long story or novel would be a good model for shaping the new man in Soviet society.[2] The essential peculiarities of the positive hero are described as follows: The positive hero 1. exposes the most modern tendencies, advanced thoughts and progressive esthetic ideals of his (her) epoch; 2. reflects the most important

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[1] Muhäbbät Shäräfiddinovä, "Bunyadkar insan mädhiyäsi," Shärq yulduzi, No. 10 (1977), p. 109.

[2] Ibid., p. 201; Mekeriyä Atïmov, "Janr jäne kompozitsiyä," in Janr jäne sheberlïk, ed. by Musilim Bazarbayev (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR-ning "Ghïlïm" Baspasï, 1968), p. 340; Grigorii Abramovich Brovman, Problemy i geroi sovremennoi prozy (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Khudozhestvennaia Literatura," 1966), p. 46.

aspects of human character that are necessary for social life; 3. represents to some extent the best qualities of a tribe [qäbilä], a nationality [millät], or an ethnic group [khälq]; 4. struggles against the ill-fated things in life; 5. fights for the future; 6. serves as a positive model for the reader.[1] The Uzbek Soviet Encyclopedia cites the fictional characters Davidov in Russian writer Mikhail Sholokhov's two-volume novel The Virgin Soil Upturned (1932-1959) and Ayqiz (Aikiz in English version) in Sharaf Rashidov's Uzbek novels Ghaliblär (The Victors) and Borandän kuchli (Mightier Than the Storm) as the perfect models for a positive hero.[2] It would be useful to analyze Rashidov's fictional heroine Ayqiz, because she is one of the fictional characters most commented upon as a model for the positive hero in Uzbek literature. Rashidov introduces his heroine in The Victors as follows:

> She saw the village square and the white school-house she had gone to for eight years, the statue of Lenin and the red flag on the club house; this was the club where as a long-legged first-former, she had once recited poetry, more dead than alive with stage fright, and later had made reports and presided at meetings...
>
> This could hardly be called Aikiz's permanent home for she was away most of the time, either at her job or on lengthy business trips. Never before in this submontane region had a young girl, a freshly graduated agronomist, been elected chairman of the village Soviet in preference

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[1] "Ijabiy qähräman," in Ozbek sovet ėntsiklopediyäsi, vol. 4 (Tashkent: Ozbekistan SSR Fänlär Äkädemiyäsi, 1973), p. 542. The following source is given for the question of the positive hero: L. I Timofeev, Problemy teorii literatury (Moscow: n.p., 1955).

[2] Ozbek sovet ėntsiklopediyäsi, vol. 4, p. 542.

to some man of experience and prestige.[1]

In the next few pages she goes on horseback near the Kizil-kum desert. This desert is described as the enemy of the farmers: "Aikiz thought apprehensively of the enemy lying low there in the west, crouching before its ominous leap."[2] Throughout the novel, Ayqiz is described as always worrying about how to turn this desert land into an irrigated expanse. Very little attention is given to her personal feelings and emotions in the novel. From the way she talks to other people and the way she thinks, it is hard to tell whether the fictional heroine Ayqiz is a female character or even an individual having a distinct character of her own. She is more a flat-character than a round one. The love affair between Ayqiz and Alimjan is described very weakly. Even when Ayqiz is alone with her lover, Alimjan, her mind is busy with other things and the orders given her by the local Party officials instead of affection toward Alimjan:

> Aikiz's eyes were on the tree, watching the chain of ants running up the rough bark.
> --"Aikiz"--Alimjan called tenderly.
> --"Yes, Alimjan?"
> --"When will our wedding be?"
> Aikiz touched the tree and instantly two ants climbed on to her finger; flustered and confused they hurried up her arm.
> She looked at Alimjan with a cunning twinkle in her eyes.

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[1] Sharaf Rashidov, The Victors (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d.), p. 8.

[2] Ibid., 10.

> --"Imagine talking about it in the middle of the street!"--she said.--"Don't you know it isn't done? And then look, see all those people waiting for me at the village Soviet?" 1

Throughout the novel she talks and delivers speechs just like the Party officials' speeches that were being published daily in the Kazakh or Uzbek Soviet press. Ayqiz is not concerned with feelings and emotions such as love, affection for the homeland or the beauty of nature but with a struggle against nature, and Party discipline, it seems. The closing passage of the novel is interesting in demonstrating Ayqiz's attitude toward nature. She belittles the moon beams while praising electricity:

> Aikiz and Alimjan walked arm in arm. They came out on the highroad and turned towards the village. There was Altyn-Sai before them, flooded with electricity against which the pale beams of the moon were impotent. The lights radiated in straight, slender lines towards the centre of the village where they became intricately interwoven.
> --"Look at all those lights!"--Aikiz said.--"How bright they are! It's the light of communism shining on us from tomorrow. Oh, Alimjan-aka, all this happiness is ours!" 2

It is true that some Uzbek critics have found fault with the portrayal of Ayqiz in the novel, calling it very artificial: "By the way, it should be noted that there are certain artificial elements in the characterization of Ayqiz."[3] Yet the

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[1] Ibid., p. 34.

[2] Ibid., p. 201.

[3] F. Eshimov, "Romändä konflikt vä khäräkter," Ozbek tili vä ädäbiyati, No. 1 (1968), p. 32.

very same critic who made this remark also praises Rashidov for his success in creating a positive heroine like Ayqiz and advises other Uzbek writers to take Ayqiz as a model for their own positive heroes (or heroines).[1] It is clear from Kazakh and Uzbek critical works that the desired positive heroes in long stories and novels should be portrayed as those responsible persons whose main tasks are to fulfill the orders of the Communist Party and act as models for faithful Soviet citizens who are in harmony with the present Soviet system.[2]

Many Kazakh and Uzbek writers occasionally follow their older generation of writers in creating "positive heroes" in their prose fiction according to the official standards. A survey of Central Asian prose fiction of the post-Stalin period reveals many positive heroes and heroines who are nothing less than models of virtue, loyalty, devotion, self-sacrifice, and patriotism in the Soviet sense. Positive heroes--whether they are industrial and kolkhoz workers or local Communist Party officials--work hard to fulfill the Five-Year Plan and struggle against the lazy and negative fictional characters in present-day Soviet society. Such positive heroes in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction demonstrate

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[1] Ibid., p. 33.

[2] Mekeriyä Atïmov, Ideyä jäne kompozitsiyä (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR-nïng "Ghïlïm" Baspasï, 1970), p. 111.

more of a Soviet identity than a Kazakh or an Uzbek nationality identity. For example, Karim, in the Kazakh writer Abjan Omarbayev's (b. 1921) long story "Kĭm deyĭn senĭ?" (What Should I Call You?) tries to persuade his friend Bates to work hard to fulfill the year's Plan. But Bates, who works in the same kolkhoz as Karim, is described as a pessimistic person. Bates argues that for many years he has worked for others and gained nothing personal in return. Karim accuses Bates of not being a good Soviet citizen:

> ...You cannot separate a soldier from the Fatherland [Otan, written with a capital letter]. I'm that soldier. If it is necessary, we can shed our blood. We are--Soviet citizens. We defend and safeguard our Great Fatherland which is called the USSR. Know this! Bates, let me ask you: who are you?.. 1

Examples like the above set out the official notion of Union-wide merging and unity instead of local or Central Asian identity. Some other Kazakh and Uzbek writers--especially young ones--however, seem to create fictional heroes and characters which go far beyond the standard positive heroes and characters. This is especially evident in the historical prose fiction. The contribution of historical novels and stories in giving writers an opportunity to choose heroes from Central Asian history is quite significant. Of course, Mukhtar Auezov's contribution in Kazakh historical prose fiction and Abdullah Qadiriy's and Aybek's contribution in Uzbek historical prose

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[1] Abjan Omarbayev, Kärlen kese (Alma Ata: "Jazushï" Baspasï, 1968), pp. 141-142.

fiction proved to be very influential among the younger generation of both Kazakh and Uzbek writers.

A review of Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction of the post-Stalin period (1953-1982) shows that many Central Asian historical rulers, tribal leaders, philosophers, writers, poets, and other "national" figures appeared as the main heroes in historical novels and stories written mainly by young authors. The portrayal of historical personalities in both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction draws the attention of readers to group consciousness and identity. Historical personages in those novels and stories are depicted as indigenous characters who interact within their own ethnic group. In the narration of historical personalities' life and activities, the ethnic factor receives much attention. The strong attachment of historical heroes to their native land and ethnic community is repeated in several episodes of a historical novel. The frequent occurrence of such scenes throughout a novel suggests that the writer intends to draw the attention of his readers to the ethnic identity of their own nationality. This can be illustrated by several examples from Kazakh and Uzbek historical novels.

Sultan Kenesari (1802-1847) in the Kazakh writer Iliyas Esenberlin's novel Fury, the third volume of a trilogy, is portrayed as a "national" hero who tried to unify the Kazakhs within a nationality group. As was mentioned in Chapter V, Esenberlin's portrayal of Kenesari contradicts the official

Soviet view which treats Kenesari as a brutal and unjust feudal despot. Esenberlin portrays Kenesari as a Kazakh leader who had a very strong consciousness of Kazakh nationality identity. After severe battles with Czarist Russian armies, the Kazakhs under Sultan Kenesari's leadership become exhausted. When the Kazakhs find out that they have been encircled by the armies of Czarist Russia in the west and north, and the Bukharan Amirate in the south, they urge their leader Kenesari to go southeastward to the Kirghiz. Kenesari opposes the advice of his men saying: "How can I leave my native land, where the blood of my navel was dropped? Last night I had a dream. In my dream I was in the middle of a Russian troop. I saw my own death. My blood was being shed on my native land."[1] Two years after that day Kenesari was killed by Kirghiz tribesmen.

Being away from their native land is considered a great calamity by fictional heroes in Kazakh and Uzbek fiction. In the Uzbek writer Adil Yaqubov's novel Ulughbek's Treasure, Ulughbek's trusted pupil and well-known scholar Ali Qushchi prays to God before leaving his native land, Mawaraunnahr (Transoxiana):

> He knelt down and prostrated himself in the direction of Mecca:
> --"O protector of the universe! I shall accept whatever calamities you give me in exile. But do not let the dust of my body be deprived of this native land." 2

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[1] Ilĭyas Esenberlin, Qahar, tarikhi roman (Alma Ata: "Jazushï" Baspasï, 1969), p. 328.

[2] Adil Yaqubov, Ulughbek khäzinäsi, roman (Tashkent: Ghäfur Ghulam Namidägi Ädäbiyat vä Sän'ät Näshriyati, 1974), p. 318.

Another Uzbek writer, Pirimqul Qadirov, in his novel Starry Nights, portrays Babur Padishah (1483-1530) as a man who suffers in exile. Although Babur finds tremendous wealth in India, he is described in the novel as always longing for his native land. There are many scenes throughout the novel demonstrating Babur's grief and longing. In one scene, when Babur walks along a river he sees the cranes flying over his head from the north. Seeing those cranes, Babur feels homesickness:

> Maybe they [the cranes] have flown over Andijan? Or they might have stopped and rested for a while by the quiet waters around Tashkent and Samarkand?..By this thought, the heart of Babur was struck with a sorrowful yearning. He realized that now he could no longer visit the places from where these cranes had come. 1

Examples like above appear to draw the attention of readers to Central Asia's local environment. Although Qadirov's emphasis on Babur's grief and longing for his native land, Central Asia, is strong in the novel, but it is not fiction only. Babur himself has expressed a strong sense of grief and longing for his native land in his literary writings--both poetry and prose.[2]

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[1] Pirimqul Qadirov, "Yulduzli tunlär," Shärq yulduzi, No. 7 (1978), p. 140.

[2] For Babur's poetry see: János Eckmann, Chagatay Manual (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1966), pp. 270-271; Zähiriddin Muhämmäd Babir, Tänlängän äsärlär (Tashkent: OzSSR Fänlär Äkädemiyäsi Näshriyati, 1958); For Babur's memoirs see: Annette S. Beveridge, The Bābar-Nāma, English translation (London: "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, 1905); Reşit Rahmeti Arat, Vekayi: Babur'un Hâtıratı, Turkish translation in two volumes (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1943-1946); Zähiriddin Muhämmäd Babir, "Babirnamä," Äsärlär, vols. 2-3 (Tashkent: "Tashkent" Bädiiy Ädäbiyat Näshriyati, 1966).

The glorification of historical figures such as Navaiy , Ulughbek, Babur Padishah in Uzbek prose and al-Farabi, Kenesari, Abay in Kazakh fiction not only draws the attention of Central Asian readers to the cultural heritage of their ethnic groups, but also reinforces their consciousness of nationality identity. The portrayal of Central Asian rulers, scholars, and poets in both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction contrasts with the Soviet view that before the revolution in February, 1917, Central Asian nationalities were backward and did not possess a high cultural heritage.[1] For example, the Kazakh writer Audanbek Kobesov (b. 195?) in his long story, entitled Baghdat shaharïnda (1975; In the City of Baghdad) narrates the adventures of the tenth century Central Asian philosopher al-Farabiy (873-950) in Baghdad. In this novel the great scholar Farabiy is portrayed as a man conscious of his native land (Turkistan) and its people:

> The desire of Abunasir Farabiy and his pupils was to make Turkistan the center of world science and in the meantime to collect and preserve the rich literary heritage of the Turkic peoples [Türkï taypalar]...While sitting quiet and thoughtful, the scholar [Farabiy] envisaged the situation of Turkistan: Turkistan is populous and has an ancient history; it stretches from the frozen lands in the north to the Caucasus Mountains, the country of the Slavs, Khwarazm, and Khorasan..."If God permits", said Farabiy to his pupil, "we shall return to our native land one day. When we are back in Turkistan, we should try to increase the number of educated youths among the native people. God gave us a rich country. There is no other place in the

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[1] Ozbekistan SSR tärikhi, vol. 2 (Tashkent: Ozbekistan Fänlär Äkädemiyäsi Näshriyati, 1958), pp. 3-4.

> world that can match cities like our Sighinak, Otrar, Taraz, Shash, and Isfijab." Then he prayed to God. 1

As was mentioned in Chapter V, the reappearance of the name "Turkistan," comprising all Soviet Central Asia, is a very interesting phenomenon. The term itself has a very symbolic as well as historical meaning for central Asians.[2]

American scholars have noticed the reawakened interest in the past and genuine concern for the restoration and preservation of the national heritage of their ethnic groups in Kazakh, Uzbek, and other nationality literature of Central Asia. For example, an American scholar commenting on the fictional hero, Batirov, in the Kazakh writer, Anaur Alimjanov's (b. 1930) novel, "A Souvenir From Otrar"[3] writes:

> What is interesting for us in this story is that even the pragmatic Kazakh archeologist, Batyrov, and his assistants idealize and revere the past. They explore history not only to learn a lesson but also to discover the hidden spiritual and material wealth of their people. 4

Prose fiction based on historical figures gives Central

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[1] Audanbek Köbesov, "Baghdat shaharïnda," Jŭldïz, No. 9 (1975), p. 45.

[2] The Communist Party officials regard the term "Turkistan" as a dangerous ideology that could lead to "Pan-Turkist" or "Pan-Turanist" identity. See: R. O. Kurbanov, A. Iu. Mamedov, "Rastsvet kul'tury narodov sovetskogo vostoka i izmyshleniia ideologov antikommunizma," Filosofskie nauki, No. 6 (1977), p. 31-39.

[3] Anaur Alimzhanov, Suvenir iz Otrara (Moscow: "Molodaia Gvardia," 1970).

[4] Anna Procyk, "The Search For a Heritage and the Nationality Question in Central Asia," The Nationality Question in Soviet Central Asia, ed. by Edward Allworth (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 127.

Asian writers an opportunity to express their own thoughts and feelings about many complex problems, including the naionality question, in the past and the present-day. In both Kazakh and Uzbek novels many conversations which are attributed to historical personages are fictitious. However, they were incorporated into prose fiction purposefully by the writers. There are, still, certain Central Asian historical personalities and periods which are taboo in Kazakh and Uzbek Soviet literature. The Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction surveyed for this study contained no long story or novel in which historical personalities such as Ahmad Yassaviy (d. 1166), Tamerlane (1336-1405), Ahmad Baytursun-uli (1873-1937), Fayzullah Khoja-oghli (1896-1938) were portrayed as heroes.* Two Turkistanian emigrant leaders, Mustafa Choqay-uli (1890-1941) and Vali Kajum-Khan (b. 1904), appeared as negative characters in two Central Asian novels: the Kazakh writer Serik Shakibayev's (b. 192?) Ülken Türkstanniŋ küyreuĭ (The Collapse of Great Turkistan),[1] and the Uzbek writer Yoldash Sulayman's (b. 193?) Väfa (Faithfulness).[2] In these novels Choqay-uli and Kajum-Khan are por-

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* Ahmad Yassaviy is a great Central Asian mystic poet and the founder of the Yassaviya tariqat (a religious order of dervishes). He and Tamerlane, founder of the Timurid dynasty, are not favored by Party officials. Baytursun-uli and Khoja-oghli were killed during the Stalinist purges.

[1] Serĭk Shäkĭbayev, Ülken Türkistanniŋ küyreuĭ, dokumental'dï povest' (Alma Ata: "Jazushï" Baspasï, 1968).

[2] Yoldash Suläyman, "Väfa," Shärq yulduzi, Nos. 2, 3, 4 (1978).

trayed as traitors who collaborate with the Nazis against the Soviet Union. Although these two novels were written to show the nationalist emigrant leaders as evil, the events and personalities described in them could be of some interest for those Kazakh and Uzbek readers who wonder about the life and activities of Central Asian emigrants in foreign countries.

The conditions in which certain Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction writers once again began to express nationality identity in their prose fiction were created, of course, by Stalin's death and the rehabilitation of certain Kazakh and Uzbek literary and political figures. The rehabilitation movement is yet far from complete, and it is still a very sensitive issue in both Kazakh and Uzbek social and cultural life. The great terror of Stalin's purges, which destroyed so many lives, seems to be still alive in the minds and memories of many Kazakhs and Uzbeks. For example, the Uzbek writer, Adil Yaqubov, in his novel Er bashigä ish tushsä (If It Should Befall a Man)[1] questions the fate of a father through the recollections of the son. The question "What really happened to my father?" puzzles a boy whose father was unjustly expelled from the Communist Party of Uzbekistan and subsequently died shortly before the outbreak of World War II. The setting of most of the novel is the war period in Uzbekistan. In one scene the boy's mother is forced to explain to her son

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[1] This novel was reportedly published in 1966 and reprinted in: Adil Yaqubov, Tänlängän äsärlär, vol. 2 (Tashkent: Ghäfur Ghulam Namidägi Ädäbiyat vä Sän'ät Näshriyati, 1977).

that his father was a good man and not a scoundrel as the local Party secretary claims. This same secretary--who at the time the action takes place still wields much power in the village--was the same man who demanded that the boy's father turn in his Party card. Nearing the end of the story, as she is telling her son about his father, the mother says, "So you see, my child, your father never was a traitor. He was a faithful soldier of the revolution...The truth is that he was removed from the Party by the slander of provocateurs."[1]

Yaqubov does not directly accuse the selfish and opportunistic local secretary of the death of the boy's father. An American scholar reviewing this novel comments on this topic as follows:

> Perhaps the present controls on literature in Uzbekistan would not allow such a portrayal even if Yaqubov had wanted to place the blame on this character more immediately. Nevertheless, the blame is indirectly put on the shoulders of "provocateurs. 2

Compared to the posthumous rehabilitation of those political leaders and prominent writers who were killed during Stalin's purges, the rehabilitation of those who survived the 1930s and are or were still alive in the 1960s and 1970s is in some ways

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[1] Ibid., p. 64.

[2] William Fierman, (unpublished paper) "Uzbek Feelings of Ethnicity: A Study of Attitudes Expressed in Recent Uzbek Literature," p. 14. This paper was prepared and submitted to the Department of State, Washington, D.C. in 1978.

more sensitive and therefore an even more difficult problem to approach. This is because those opportunistic Uzbeks or Kazakhs who rose to the higher positions in the local Communist Party and government organizations after Stalin's purges still retain their positions. Because of this, Kazakh and Uzbek writers--who in their prose fiction deal with the question of how some opportunists in various organizations, ministries, educational and research institutions gained their position--are very careful in treating the rehabilitation issue. Uzbek writer Adil Yaqubov indirectly brings up the rehabilitation question once more in his novel Honesty (1975). Throughout the novel the character of Narmurad Shamuradov, one of the major figures, is contrasted to the opportunism of his long-time enemy and rival, Vahid Mirabidov. The reader is told that just prior to World War II, Shamuradov had been denounced as an enemy of the people. His crime had been proposing to bring the desert of Mirzachol (the Hungry Steppe) in Uzbekistan under cultivation. Mirabidov, a student at the time, took advantage of the political climate and wrote an article accusing Shamuradov of this offense. Following the war, despite Shamuradov's vindication through cultivation of land in Mirzachol, Mirabidov becomes a powerful professor with good personal connections in the republican ministries. Shamuradov, his reputation somewhat restored, was never allowed to regain his former position in the university. That a serious, well-qualified, specialist like Shamuradov would lose professional status and almost his

life, to be replaced by a sycophant like Mirabidov in the 1930 and 1940s was a common phenomenon throughout the Soviet Union. The basic components of the Shamuradov-Mirabidov confrontation, however, have an unmistakable relation to the nationality identity question. This point is made clear by Yaqubov's portrayal of Shamuradov and Mirabidov. Shamuradov is an Uzbek who has never turned his back on his own people. He is neither ignorant of the Islamic past of Central Asia nor ashamad of it. He studied in a madrasa (Islamic higher institute) and is well versed in Arabic and Persian. His extensive library includes many volumes about history and philosophy, written in Uzbek in the Arabic script. Even the way in which Shamuradov arranges the books in his library is important; he places the classics of "Western and world literature" in one place, "Russian classics" in another, and "the Uzbek and Eastern classical works" still another.[1] Shamuradov is portrayed as intolerant of those who preach religion, yet he is not an unbeliever or anti-religious. In accordance with religious customs, he visits his wife's graveyard on the fortieth day after her death and prays on her grave. In one scene, his nephew Ataqozi asks Shamuradov whether he should wait for him at the cemetery. Shamuradov tells his nephew go on home. Apparently wondering why the old man should need to stay at the cemetery for more than a brief

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[1] Adil Yaqubov, "Diyanät," Shärq yulduzi, No. 4 (1977), p. 73.

visit, Ataqozi sarcastically asks, "Are you going to read the Qur'an?" The uncle responds, beating on his chest: "My Qur'an, and my faith, too, are right here! Go, do your own work."[1] On another occasion, shortly before his death, Shamuradov asks that 1000 rubles be used for his funeral.[2]

Shamuradov argues with the character, Qudratkhoja, about religion and scolds his nephew Ataqozi, a kolkhoz chairman, for ignoring the activity of old semi-literate qaris (readers-reciters of the Qur'an) in the village. And on another level Shamuradov displays an inner piety. In several places Yaqubov reminds the reader that Shamuradov at one time studied religion and is aware of the essence of Islam. In his criticism of his nephew concerning the qaris, Shamuradov claims that he is not opposed to qaris in general, but just to semi-literate ones. Moreover, Qudratkhoja, who is religious, is not portrayed as dangerous. Rather, he is a pitiful old alcoholic who has already paid for his being a landlord by spending years in Siberia. In a dispute, Qudratkhoja tests the strength of Shamuradov's faith:

> --"Wait a minute! Don't try to draw me out, professor!"--said Qudratkhoja trying to put the wine-bottle into his mouth with his trembling hands. But seeing it empty, he tossed the wine-bottle toward the bushes--"What was I saying? O, Yes! I see that you have reached the highest position in this world! However, professor, don't forget that at the end we will go to the same place! Al qasasil minalhaq! [in Arabic].

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[1] Ibid., p. 6.

[2] Ibid., p. 200.

> I was like you, and you will be like me! We will meet each other on the day of the last judgement. We will pass together on the bridge Sirat from this world to paradise. Don't forget, Narmurad!" 1

In response to Qudratkhoja's accusations, Shamuradov says to him that he has never betrayed his faith and great ideals. The writer, Yaqubov, does not explain whether Shamuradov's faith and great ideals are connected with the present Communist ideology in the Soviet Union or with Islam and Uzbek identity. Only from Shamuradov's actions throughout the novel is it possible to understand that he is a Muslim in faith and his great ideals are concerned with the fate of his ethnic group: the Uzbeks.

Shamuradov's main opponent in the novel, Mirabidov, is depicted as a man who is willing to sacrifice his homeland for personal gain and expediency. Unlike Shamuradov, Mirabidov apparently knows little about the Islamic past of his ethnic group. Shamuradov feels uncomfortable in the city and goes to spend his last days in the village, while Mirabidov hates the village and villagers and is most at home in the cosmopolitan environment of Tashkent. In many Kazakh and Uzbek stories and novels, there are conflicts not only between characters, but between city and village. Characters like Shamuradov find villages a rich source of their group's identity, whereas they see a loss of nationality identity in multi-ethnic cities like Tashkent and Alma Ata. The young Kazakh writer, Sabit Dosanov's

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1 Ibid., p. 43.

(b. 194?), novel Tau jolï (The Road to the Mountains)[1] is interesting in this respect. After graduating from the secondary school in his village, a young village boy, Qumarbek, goes to Alma Ata to study at the university there. He had fallen in love with Qupiya, a simple village girl. Although Qupiya also is accepted by the State university in Alma Ata, at the last minute she decides to stay in her village. She thinks that she should stay there and help her poor parents and the villagers. This is because in the past many young people who went to cities for higher education never came back to their village. While studying at the university, Qumarbek falls in love with a city girl and finally marries her. However, Qumarbek finds out that her customs are very different from his. Nurjan, his wife, likes dancing parties, alcohol and gambling. When their only child dies in an accident because of Nurjan's carelessness, Qumarbek divorces his wife and returns to his village after almost seven years. He finds his first love, Qupiya, still waiting for him. There are many scenes and descriptions in the novel that make comparisons between city and village as well as conflicts between villagers and the city people. In describing the natural beauty of the village, the writer's style becomes poetic, as opposed to his critical comments about Alma Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan, and its inhabitants. The plot and characters in this novel demonstrate that the writer,

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[1] Sabit Dosanov, Tau jolï (Alma Ata: "Jazushï" Baspasï, 1978), 326 pp.

Sabit Dosanov, regards villages as a pure source of Kazakh identity and feels that this nationality identity is being lost in the cosmopolitan cities.

The conflict between city and village plainly draws attention to the nationality question within the Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan Soviet Socialist Republics. Demographic data show that cities such as Tashkent and Alma Ata are ethnically cosmopolitan. Because of the great numbers of Russians and other non-Central Asians living in these big cities, Tashkent and Alma Ata have more of a Russian character than a Central Asian identity. The unhomogeneous character of cities, of course, may raise the following question: How do Kazakh and Uzbek writers feel about relations between the Russians and Kazakhs (or Uzbeks) living in the same cities? At first this is a very difficult question to approach. Both Kazakh and Uzbek literary criticism suggests that it is officially not permissible to write about conflicts between Russian and Kazakh characters in Kazakh fiction or Russian and Uzbek characters in Uzbek fiction.[1] Does this mean that Kazakh and Uzbek writers can describe only the friendly relations between Russians and Central Asians in their prose fiction? A survey of Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction after Stalin reveals that Russians and

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[1] Mekeriyä Atïmov, "Russkiy obraz v Kazakhskoi proze," in the bi-lingual (Kazakh and Russian) volume: Qazaq ädebietïnïng ŭlt aralïq baylanïstarï/Mezhnatsional'nye svyazi kazakhskoi literatury (Alma Ata: "Ghïlïm" Baspasï, 1970), pp. 151-170; Änvär Äbdurähmanov, "Ozbek ädäbiyatidä rus kishisi obräzining ėvolyutsiyäsi," Ozbek tili vä ädäbiyati, No. 3 (1977), pp. 7-11.

other non-Central Asian nationalities appear very rarely and play unimportant roles in Kazakh and Uzbek novels and stories. Even in the novels of those Kazakh and Uzbek writers who use Party-line themes, such as the Kazakh writer Ghabiden Mustafin and the Uzbek writer Sharaf Rashidov, Russian characters appear merely in one or two scenes. It is true, Kazakh and Uzbek writers seem to be very careful in portraying the Russian characters in their prose fiction. Russian characters are always portrayed as positive and appear as head-engineer, directors, and respected personages. Sometimes a Russian plays the role of judge between two opposing Kazakh (or Uzbek) characters. For example, in Adil Yaqubov's novel, Honesty, when former professor Shamuradov participates as an examiner in a dissertation defense, other Uzbek professors who oppose him do not show respect toward him and try to ignore him. Only the director of the institute, Artem Prozorovich Polikarpov, a Russian born in Central Asia, invites Shamuradov to sit together with the presidium members of the institute. Only after this Russian director shows despect toward Shamuradov do other Uzbek professors start to esteem Shamuradov. It seems that with this incident the writer wants to remind his readers that there are some Uzbeks who pay more respect to a Russian than they show to a person from their own nationality.

There are no major love affairs or other intimate relations portrayed between a Russian and a Central Asian character in either Kazakh or Uzbek prose fiction. The infrequent occur-

rence of Russian and other outsiders in Kazakh and Uzbek novels and stories may also reflect the Central Asian writers' disbelief in drawing-together or merging, in the Soviet meaning of the term, between Central Asians and outsiders (including Russians). In a positive sense, perhaps the fact that the majority of the Central Asian writers is not describing the friendly and intimate relations--especially love affairs--between Russians and Central Asians in their prose fiction is the principal message: both Kazakh and Uzbek writers ignore the official notion of promoting close relationships--drawing-together--between various nationalities and Russians in the Soviet Union.

A review of recent Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction shows that especially young writers intentionally create fictional heroes and characters who have a strong attachment to their own nationality. They shun officially accepted "positive heroes" who demonstrate a more cosmopolitan "Soviet" identity. Historical prose fiction seems to give emphasis more strongly to group awareness. Some historical novels even remind Central Asian readers of the cultural links that existed between various Turkic people of Central Asia in the past. This in turn demonstrates that there is usually a unity of idea, behind both the theme and fictional characters, originating from the writers' own nationality identity in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction.

CHAPTER VII

LITERARY LANGUAGE

Language is ordinarily one of the essential elements of both a distinct literature and a nationality identity. Usually, the literature of different nationality groups or countries are identified by the language in which it is written. There are certain exceptional cases: single countries whose literature is written in more than one language (as in Canada where there is literature in both English and French), or various individual countries that use the same language in their literature (the American, English, and Australian literatures, for instance, all being in English). These exceptions, however, do not disprove the general rule that a literature is usually identified with a certain language. Because of this, it is possible to suggest that the existence of a literary language is crucial for the survival of a distinct literature. The future of a branch of literature is, therefore, dependent on the further development of its literary language.

The changes in literary language could effect the literature too. As mentioned earlier in this study, the Reformist (Jadid) writers of southern Central Asia such as Behbudiy, Fitrat, or Ayniy were identifying the literary languages which they used in their literary works in the 1910s and early 1920s

as Turki (Turkic) and Farsi (Persian). However, when the Soviet policy led to changing the identity of these languages from Turki to Uzbek, and Farsi to Tajik after 1924, the literature produced in these languages also started to be identified as "Uzbek literature" and "Tajik literature," instead of a Turki literature or a Farsi literature. Turki and Farsi were the two main literary languages of Central Asian classical literature from the early ninth century up to the twentieth century. If Soviet policy had not altered the concept of a Turki literary language into Uzbek--by narrowing it to a language which is spoken only by Uzbeks--and had left Central Asian writers free to develop a modern standarized Turkic literary language, instead of promoting separate Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmen, and Uzbek literary languages, a distinct Central Asian Turkic literature might have been developed in the Soviet period. But, the birth of a Turkic (or Turkistanian) literary language and literature in turn, of course, would have provided the necessary conditions for the development of a Turkic or Turkistanian group awareness and identity all over Soviet Central Asia. Soviet criticism of the Reformist (Jadid) writers such as Fitrat and Duwlat-uli points to the fact that such corporate nationality identity (Turkistanian) was evident in Central Asian literature in the 1910s and 1920s.[1] The devel-

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[1] Serĭk Qirabayev, Öner örĭsĭ: maqalalar men zertteuler (Alma Ata: "Jazushï" Baspasï, 1971), p. 18; "Fiträt," Ozbek sovet ėntsiklopediyäsi, vol. 12 (Tashkent: Ozbekistan SSR Fänlär Äkädemiyäsi, 1979), p. 119.

opment of such nationality identity would have posed a greater threat to Soviet nationality policy than a separate Kazakh, Uzbek, and other nationality identities. In accordance with the "divide and rule" principal, the Soviet government in the mid-1920s acted quickly to abolish Central Asian multi-national states such as the Bukharan People's Conciliar Republic and Turkistan ASSR. It then established separate Soviet republics for different ethnic groups of Central Asia. It did so because the existence of those multi-national states in Central Asia was providing bases for the development of a Turkistanian identity.[1] These examples from the recent history of Central Asia demonstrate that literary language is a very essential element for the development of both a literature and a nationality identity.* Drastic changes in literary language would also cause certain changes within a literature and a nationality identity. Therefore, in order to understand the question of nationality identity in today's Central Asian literature, the literary language of Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction should also be studied carefully.

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[1] Timur Kocaoglu, "The Existence of A Bukharan Nationality in the Recent Past," in The Nationality Question in Soviet Central Asia, ed. by Edward Allworth (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), p. 158.

* In the Conference on "The Heart of the Nationality Question," held at Columbia University on April 25, 1974 Professor Jonathan Pool proposed that "Language has often been perceived as the primary basis of nationality, both by scholars and by masses."

After the consolidation of Soviet power in Central Asia, Russian was introduced to Central Asians as a second native language to be used in every sphere of communications in daily life. Apart from Russian as an "international" language linking all the nationalities of the Soviet Union, Russian words and Russianized international terms were forcibly introduced in the languages of different nationalities. Today, both the Kazakh and Uzbek press demonstrate the usage of Russian words in their literary languages. This can be seen also in the prose fiction produced in Kazakh and Uzbek in the 1950s. However, the Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction produced by young writers after the 1960s shows that in the literary language of novels and stories there is a trend toward using more native words, instead of their Russian and international equivalents currently being used in Kazakh and Uzbek Soviet press. This trend discloses that younger generation of Kazakh and Uzbek writers are inclined to maintain the integrity of their own literary language. This is because they seem to feel that the use of more Russian words and terms may distort the identity of their literary language. The utilization of archaic, ethical or religious terms, words which were unused during the Soviet period in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction, especially in historical novels, not only reflects the cultural past. It also revives the consciousness of Kazakh and Uzbek readers about both the Turkic and Islamic past of their ethnic groups. Thus, the literary language of Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction plays a

significant role in the development of Kazakh and Uzbek identity. These propositions will be illustrated by discussions of the terms used for different genres in prose fiction and remarks about the literary language of several novels written by Kazakh and Uzbek writers. Finally, a Kazakh writer's own thoughts about the literary vocabulary of historical novels will be considered as evidence to be used to test the pertinent propositions.

Both Kazakh and Uzbek writers seem to attempt to restrict the usage of Russian terms such as povest' (long story), and proza (prose) for different genres of fiction and reintroduce the old Central Asian terms such as qissä (long story), änggĭme (story), and näsr (prose). Because of this, discussion of such terms for different genres of prose fiction is important in understanding the position of young Kazakh and Uzbek writers in regard to current Russification policy promoted by Party officials.

The different genres of modern prose fiction came from Western Europe to Central Asia through Ottoman Turkish, Azerbaijanian, Tatar, Arabic, and other Middle Eastern literature. The French word roman is used for "novel" in both Kazakh and Uzbek literature as well as in the literature of other Muslim countries of the Middle East.[1] Thus, though the term roman is

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[1] Eden Naby, Transitional Central Asian Literature: Tajik and Uzbek Prose Fiction From 1909 to 1932. Ph.D dissertation (New York: Columbia University, 1975), pp. 215-217.

used in Russian, it is not necessarily a Russian borrowing in Kazakh and Uzbek. Before the word for Russian short story, rasskaz, was introduced in Kazakh and Uzbek literature, Kazakh writers of the 1920s used the words änggïme and khikayä, and Uzbek writers of the 1910s and 1920s employed the word hikayä for a "short story." The Kazakh term änggïme is a Turkic word originally used for a "folktale." Both khikayä (Kazakh form) and hikayä (Uzbek form) are the same Arabic word meaning "tale" and "story" in the literature of many Muslim countries of the Middle East. In Kazakh literature the Russian term povest' for a "long story" and Italian novella for a "short novel" are being used. Some young Kazakh writers seem to prefer the term ŭzaq änggïme instead of the Russian word povest' for a "long story."[1] In Uzbek literature, however, the Arabic word qissä is found instead of the Russian term povest' for a "long story," and the term kichkinä qissä is being used instead of the Italian word novella for a "short novel." The Latin term proza, via Russian, appears widely for "prose" and also for "prose fiction" in both Kazakh and Uzbek literature. However, some Uzbek writers and critics still insist on using the old Central Asian term näsr, from Arabic, for both "prose" and "prose fiction."[2]

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[1] Ghali Äbetov, Ädebiet tanu terminderïnïng qïsqasha orïssha-qazaqsha sözdïgï (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR Ghïlïm Akademiyäsïnïng Baspasï, 1962), p. 81.

[2] Narqul Bekmirzayev, "Näsriy jängnamä talqini," Shärq yulduzi, No. 10 (1977), p. 213; Umäräli Narmätov, Näsrimiz än'änäläri (Tashkent: Ghäfur Ghulam Namidägi Ädäbiyat vä Sän'ät Näshriyati, 1979).

After the establishment of the Soviet republics of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, hundreds of Russian terms (or Russian forms of foreign words) were introduced into the Kazakh and Uzbek languages as a part of the Communist terminology. Russian forms of foreign words such as revolutsiia (revolution), kul'tura (culture), and proletariat (proletariat), show up everywhere. In the early days of the Soviet rule in Central Asia, the Kazakh and Uzbek intellectuals tried to meet these terms with the existing old Central Asian vocabulary such as inqilab instead of "revolutsiia," mädäniyät instead of "kultura," and mehnätkäshlär instead of "proletariat." When the leading Kazakh and Uzbek intellectuals were silenced and disappeared from the literary scene, many Russian words started to dominate both Kazakh and Uzbek press and literature. After the death of Stalin, the long-ignored Central Asian words again started to appear in both Kazakh and Uzbek press and literature.[1]

In accordance with the recent purification trend of dropping Russian words out of the Kazakh and Uzbek languages, both in the daily press and in belles-lettres, Central Asian writers of the post-Stalin period are using less and less Russian vocabulary in their prose fiction. Especially in historical novels and long stories, many words from the long-ignored

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[1] Edward Allworth, Uzbek Literary Politics (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964), pp. 179-187.

Central Asian (Chaghatay) vocabulary are making headway once again in the Kazakh and Uzbek literary languages. For example, the Kazakh writer Iliyas Esenberlin in his historical novel Almas qïlïsh (1971; Diamond Sword) uses much old vocabulary of Turkic, Arabic, and Persian origin appropriate to fifteenth century events. In footnotes, the writer explains to his readers that ĭrbĭz means "leopard," erat means "soldier," and pandnama means "book of advice for rulers."[1] Esenberlin classifies all these words as part of the old Turkic language (eskĭ türkĭ tĭlĭ). However, linguists familiar with Turkic and Oriental languages will disagree that all the above words belonged originally to Turkic languages. Only the word ĭrbĭz can be claimed as pure Turkic vocabulary. On the other hand, the word erat is derived from a Turkic word er (man), with the Arabic plural "-at," together literal meaning "men," but used for "soldier." The word pandnama is a Persian borrowing in old Central Asian literary language (both in Karakhanid and Chaghatay periods).[2] What is interesting in Esenberlin's explanation is that he does not intend to separate Turkic words from the Arabic and Persian borrowings, but regards all the above mentioned words as belonging to the old Turkic literary language of Central Asia.

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[1] Ĭliyäs Esenberlin, Almas qïlïsh (Alma Ata: "Jazushï" Baspasï, 1971), pp. 10-11.

[2] János Eckmann, Chaghatay Manual (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1966), p. 308.

The introduction of old vocabulary, especially the former names of today's Central Asian cities and rivers, not only broadens the historical perspective of the younger generation of Kazakh and Uzbek readers, but gives them a sense of pride in their native land. The tenth-century Central Asian philosopher, al-Farabiy, is portrayed as speaking to today's generation of Kazakhs as follows in a long historical story by Audanbek Kobesov, a Kazakh writer:

> ...God gave us a rich country. There is no other place in the world that can match cities like our Sighnak, Otrar, Taraz, Shash, and Isfijab. 1

The impact of the above place names on a Kazakh or Uzbek reader will be, of course, great. Remembering the fame of those cultural centers of Central Asia, today's Kazakh and Uzbek readers will feel pride in their nationality group and its past achievements.

The old vocabulary also seems to inform today's Kazakh and Uzbek readers about the Islamic past of their groups. The Kazakh writer, Anaur Alimjanov, in the footnotes to his historical novel, explains to his readers that "hegira" is the basis for calculating Muslim dating (mŭsïlmansha jïl sanau) used for a long time by Central Asian Muslims.[2]

More than Kazakh writers, Uzbek authors use the old

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[1] Audanbek Köbesov, "Baghdat shaharïnda," Jŭldïz, No. 9 (1975), p. 45.

[2] Änaur Alimjanov, "Jaushï," Jŭldïz, No. 7 (1975), p. 73.

Central Asian vocabulary in their prose fiction. This can be explained only by the fact that today's Uzbeks inherit more of the Chaghatay literary language and culture in their Uzbek language and culture than do the Kazakhs. For example, the following passage from Adil Yaqubov's Uzbek historical novel is interesting in this respect. (Both in the original text and its translation, italics have been added to old Central Asian vocabulary not presently in the Uzbek literary language):

> Ėshik shäräqläb achilib, mäsh'äl kotärgän ikki *näväkär* korindi, nimqaranghi *räsädkhanädä* yoghan vä oktäm avaz yängrädi:
>
> --"*Mävlana* Ali *ibn* Muhämmäd Qushchi *häzrätläri*! *Shähriyari fäläk-iqtidar* Mirza Ulughbek *Koräganiy a'lahäzrätläri* Koksäraygä täshrif buyurmaghingizni ämr qildilär!" [1]
>
> (The door whished opened and two *soldiers* carrying torches appeared. A deep and noble voice echoed in the half-dark *observatory*:
>
> --"Your *holiness* *Master* Ali *son* of Muhammad Qushchi! *His excellency* Mirza Ulughbek Koraganiy, *the Shah capable of ruling the skies*, ordered that you favor the [palace] Koksaray with a visit!").

In the footnotes for the same page and the next, the writer explains several old Central Asian terms which are not currently in use in Uzbek such as *alät* (tool), *sudsi fäkhri* (sextant), *Mushtäriy* (Jupiter), *Jäyhun* (older name of the river Amu Darya or Oxus), *Kesh* (ancient name of the city Shahrisabz), *riyaziyat* (mathematics), *mudärrä dästari* (the turban of teachers), and *qushchi* (hunter). This old Central Asian vocabulary, together

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[1] Adil Yaqubov, *Ulughbek khäzinäsi* (Tashkent: Ghäfur Ghulam Namidägi Ädäbiyat vä Sän'ät Näshriyati, 1974), p. 3.

with Yaqubov's colorful expressions, seems to renew the cultural past of Central Asia. His work gives evidence that younger generation of Kazakh and Uzbek writers are intentionally and consciously using old Central Asian terms in their prose fiction, especially in historical novels and stories. Kazakh writer, Dukenbay Dosjanov, also demonstrates this intention in one of his articles about the language of historical prose fiction:

> In recent years Kazakh literature has been filled with historical novels and stories. Historical prose fiction reveals our people's rich history. Most of those historical novels and stories have high artistic quality and value. But, beauty requires an elegant word and style. Therefore, I would like to comment on the literary language of historical novels and stories. Writing a historical novel or a story requires two things from the author. First of all, the writer should be a good historian. That is, he should study the historical period on which his novel is based very carefully. Secondly, the writer should be a good linguist. This means that the writer also has to study the literary language of that historical period very carefully. 1

Dosjanov suggests that a writer should use certain words and phrases appropriate to the historical period of his novel or story. He gives the following examples in his article: "In historical novels and stories, if we use the word khuqïq (law) instead of erĭk, zäruat (necessity) instead of qajet, and millät (nation, nationality) instead of el it would be more appropriate."[2] He also reminds readers that many words that are current-

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[1] Dükenbay Dosjanov, "Körkemdĭk--körĭktĭ söz tĭleydĭ," Jŭldïz, No. 5 (1972), p. 204.

[2] Ibid., p. 205.

ly in use were pronounced differently in the past. Today's word äuĭz (pool, artificial lake) used to be pronounced as khauïz, another word ghïmarat (building, edifice) used to be pronounced as ïmarat. He advises historical fiction writers to follow these kinds of linguistic changes that had occurred in Kazakh language and study the literary language of past centuries. The words mentioned in Dukenbay Dosjanov's article are very interesting, because words such as khuqïq, millät, and ïmarat are not presently in use in Kazakh. Dosjanov also remarks that "Unfortunately, these words are not included in the Kazakh language dictionary (Qazaq Tĭlĭ Sözdĭgĭ) prepared by the Language Institute of Kazakhstan in 1965." Therefore, he says, the writers themselves should search out and review the literary monuments of Central Asia, in order to find the correct forms of words and terms used in the past. The usage of such historical words and terms, he argues, "will certainly enrich our literary language (ädebi tĭlĭmĭzdĭ bayïtadï)."[1] Many words that Dosjanov cites in his article, of Arabic origin, were long ignored in the Soviet period. He also criticizes some authors who use Russian words in historical novels and stories:

> Some authors are negligent [ŭqïpsïz] in using Russian words in historical prose. Seeing such Russian words in historical novels will puzzle readers. Today's young generation yearns for the great achievements and cultural heritage of

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[1] Ibid., p. 205.

> our ancestors. Therefore, writers have to be very careful in trying to describe the past of our people. They should first pay respect to our literary language. 1

Dosjanov's remarks are very pointed in demonstrating his intention to use archaic, ethical, and long-ignored words and terms in historical prose fiction. As he points out, the Kazakh-language dictionaries published in the Soviet period do not include such archaic Central Asian words used in the past. The same thing is true with Uzbek dictionaries. A Western Turcologist who conducted research in finding old and archaic words and terms in the standard Uzbek-Russian Dictionary,[2] concludes as follows:

> The above analysis demonstrates that Uzbek speakers will experience considerable difficulty in understanding Eastern Middle Turkic (Old Uzbek) classical literature, especially religious-mystical and court literature, directly through their literary language because its lexicon, as recorded by Borovkov and his group, is very poor in Islamic terms and its lexical system lacks Islamic content. 3

This also explains why Kazakh and Uzbek writers are adding footnotes in their historical novels to explain for their readers the meaning of the old and archaic words and terms used in the text.

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[1] Ibid., p. 207.

[2] Uzbeksko-Russkii slovar', A. K. Borovkov (chief-editor), S. F. Äkabirov, Z. M. Mä'rufov, Ä. T. Khojäkhanov, eds. (Tashkent: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Inostrannykh I Natsional'nykh Slovarei, 1959).

[3] A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, "The Classical Islamic Heritage of Eastern Middle Turkic as Reflected in the Lexicon of Modern Literary Uzbek," Canadian Slavonic Papers, vol. 27, Nos. 2 & 3 (1975), p. 491.

Both Kazakh and Uzbek writers are consciously trying to restore old words and terms from classical Central Asian literary language to their present-day literary language. They seem to feel that officially introduced Russian terms pose a real threat to the purity of their literary languages and serve to undermine their sense of ethnic identity. Therefore, the purification trend, reintroducing as it does old or archaic words instead of their Russian equivalents in the literary prose language of both Uzbek and Kazakh literature, places an emphasis upon nationality identity. On the other hand, the replacement of borrowed Russian (or other foreign) words with Central Asian (Turkic, Arabic, and Persian) vocabulary makes Uzbek and Kazakh literary vocabulary less European or Russian, but it does not necessarily become uncosmopolitan by this process. Reintroducing old Central Asian vocabulary of Turkic, Arabic, and Persian origin into Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction, in turn, reinforces the consciousness of Central Asian readers about both Turkic and Islamic past of their ethnic groups.

CHAPTER VIII

SOVIET CRITICISM OF KAZAKH AND UZBEK PROSE FICTION

Literary criticism is considered by Party officials to be a significant tool to guide literature according to the Party directives in the Soviet Union. Therefore, the main policies of the Party for literature are reflected in Soviet literary critical essays. Literary critics in the USSR are themselves strictly censored; often are merely Communist Party spokesmen, and always are limited to dealing only with approved subjects. They do not have anything like the latitude allowed literary critics in the West. Many critical writings, surveyed for this study, discuss the officially-promoted themes about literature in general and especially concerning prose fiction. Some critical essays concentrate on "international" elements in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction, others deemphasize local elements. Some urge writers to choose their fictional heroes and characters from the working class, some others suggest idealizing Russian characters in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction. However, despite strictures, some Central Asian critical essays seem to support freedom of artistic creativity and expression of thought in prose fiction to some extent. Through analyzing several examples of Kazakh and Uzbek literary

criticism an attempt will be made here to demonstrate that both Communist Party officials and literary critics are aware of the tendencies and inclinations toward expressing nationality identity in recent Central Asian prose fiction. Their interpretation of these tendencies and inclinations in nationality awareness of Kazakhs and Uzbeks is very interesting, because it shows that the emphasis put upon nationality identity in contemporary Central Asian prose fiction represents a major problem for Kazakh and Uzbek literary criticism. It seems that the concentration on nationality identity in contemporary Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction is viewed by the Party as signaling a divergence from its main policy of promoting a drawing-together (jaqïndasu in Kazakh and yaqinlashuv in Uzbek) among all Soviet nationalities. Because of this--with prodding directly from the Communist Party--literary critics are deeply concerned to control this divergence and try to fit it into the official policy. In order to demonstrate these points, several examples are provided from an extensive survey of both Kazakh and Uzbek critical writings between 1953 and 1982. Only those critical writings that seem to be closely related to the above points and arguments were selected. All others were rejected.

One of the leading Kazakh literary critics who has written many essays about the question of "national literature" or "multi-ethnic Soviet literature" is Serik Smayil Uli Qirabayev (b. 1927). Qirabayev has been a member of the Communist

Party since 1948.[1] In one of his essays, entitled "Lenin and the Nationality Literature of the Kazakhs," he deals with the development of Kazakh literature as an distinct "nationality literature" (ŭlttïq ädebiet) and tries to fit this diverging development within the proposed "multi-ethnic socialist Soviet literature" (köp ŭlttïq sotsialistïk sovet ädebietï).[2] He argues that before the October 1917 revolution, the literary works of Abay Qunanbay-uli and Ibray Altinsarin were unknown to the world, whereas this situation was completely changed after that:

> During its fifty years of social development, today's Kazakh literature became known as a distinct literature of a people [el] who have joined the culture of free nationalities. [Kazakh literature] today has more than three hundred writers and the same number of young authors. The entire world has been reading the works of Kazakh writers. After having read Auezov's Abay's Way, Muqanov's Botaköz, Musirepov's Kazakh Soldier, Mustafin's Qaraganda novels, the freedom-minded people of the world were acquainted with Kazakh literature and they are now reading Akhtanov's Terrible Years, Nurpeyisov's Evening and Upheaval novels. 3

According to Qirabayev, Kazakh writers have studied the Leninist principles of literature and have been mastering the literary dogma of socialist realism. Socialist realism, he says, is an essential element in helping Kazakh literature join with other

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[1] "Serïk Qirabayev," in Qazaq sovet ėntsiklopediyäsï, vol. 6 (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR Ghïlïm Akademiyäsï, 1975), p. 560.

[2] "V. I. Lenin jäne qazaqtïng ŭlttïq ädebietï," in Serïk Qirabayev's Öner örïsï: maqalalar men zertteular (Alma Ata: "Jazushï" Baspasï, 1971), pp. 3-19.

[3] Ibid., p. 7.

nationality literature of the Soviet Union. He claims to observe a two-way development within the different nationality branches of Soviet literature: Each Soviet nationality is developing its own nationality literature in accordance with Leninist principles. But meantime, all Soviet nationalities are said to be contributing to the process of creating a multi-ethnic Soviet literature.[1] Qirabayev sees no contradiction between these two different literary processes, saying that the development of every Soviet nationality literature as "national in form, but socialist in content," in fact, helps to speed the development of a multi-ethnic Soviet literature. From this critic's essay it is clear that literary policy of the Communist Party allows very limited development for any Soviet nationality literature. Each Soviet nationality literature is permitted to develop in expectation that it will contribute to the creation of a multi-ethnic Soviet literature in the long run. Any diverging elements within a nationality literature which may follow an independent course different from other branches of Soviet nationality literature are forbidden by the Communist Party. This can be seen clearly from Qirabayev's attack on "nationalist" (ŭltshïl) and "bourgeois nationalist" (burjuaziyäshïl ŭltshïl) Kazakh writers who were reportedly trying to develop a Kazakh nationality literature

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[1] Ibid., p. 19.

independent from Russian Soviet literature:

> The development path of Soviet Kazakh literature illustrates the struggle and victory of policy for the nationality question [ŭlt mäselesĭ jönĭngdagĭ osï sayäset]. [This policy] came into being during the struggle against Kazakh nationalists and bourgeois nationalism. Those nationalists who were opposing Soviet plans and economic reforms for Kazakhstan's territory, strove to separate the nationality culture of Kazakhs from progressive Great Russian culture by developing [Kazakh culture] as an independent culture of its own in accordance with a very narrow-minded nationalist circle and even in the direction of Panturkism [pantyurkistĭk] and Panislamism [panislamistĭk]. 1

Although Qirabayev does not mention the names of those Kazakh nationalist writers, it is clear that he refers to Mirjaqib Duwlat-uli, Maghjan Jumabay-uli, Ahmad Baytursun-uli and others of the 1920s and 1930s who were subsequently killed during the Stalinist purges of the 1937-1938. Nationalism, says Qirabayev, regardless of its form and degree, is the greatest enemy of the "people's friendship" [khalïqtar dostïghï] and the international union of workers in the Soviet sense.[2]

The same kind of thinking is expressed in much of the other Kazakh and Uzbek literary criticism. For instance, an Uzbek critic, Azim Rahimov (b. 194?), comments on the delicate relationship between "nationality literature" and Soviet literature in his essay entitled: "Mysteries of Literary Development." Soviet literary critics in their essays had to mention

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[1] Ibid., p. 18.

[2] Ibid., p. 19.

Joseph V. Stalin before 1954, Nikita S. Khrushchev in the late 1950s, and have to mention Leonid I. Brezhnev since 1964, besides Vladimir I. Lenin. Note that reference to Karl Marx and his writing is very scanty in both Kazakh and Uzbek critical articles in the post-Stalin period. Characteristic of this officially-required rhetoric of many Kazakh and Uzbek literary critics is the technique of Rahimov who opens his essay by quoting a passage from the speech of Brezhnev, general secretary of the Communist Party:

> The Communist Party continues to concern itself with the rapid development of nationality cultures and strengthening of the general socialist aspects in them. It has been stated in the speech of comrade L. I. Brezhnev, who spoke at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, that "together with the flourishing of each socialist nationality [sotsiälistik millät] and the strengthening of the socialist state, the ties within each nationality also strengthen. Moreover, the common elements in their policy, economy and social life increase gradually. The degree of development among [socialist nationalities] little by little becomes equal. Today, the tendency of drawing together [yäqinlashish järäyani] among socialist countries is clearly visible and very definite in the process of development. 1

Like Qazaq critic Qirabayev, Uzbek critic Rahimov argues that the development of a nationality literature does not go contrary to the process of creating a multi-ethnic Soviet literature or vice-versa. He, however, warns that in order to sustain the process of different Soviet nationality literature's drawing together, the literary works of each Soviet nationality literature must contain "international elements" of Union-wide

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[1] Äzim Rähimov, "Ädäbiy täräqqiyat muämmaläri," Ozbekistan mädäniyäti (September 22, 1978), p. 2

interest besides their own nationality characteristics [milliy khususiyätlär]. Rahimov castigates those literary critics who pay more attention to nationality characteristics than to "international elements" in a literary work:

> At present, the literary works regarded as the cornerstones of a nationality artistic culture [milliy bädiiy mädäniyät] should also contribute to the Union-wide [USSR] literary field. By failing to recognize these characteristics of Soviet literature, sometimes the value of the literary works of a nationality literature is overesteemed. Some critics do not pay attention to the Union-wide demands and requirements for a literary work. They fail to analyze the literary works with the Union-wide criterion. It is true that the value of a literary work is judged according to its ideological content. But this can not free a writer from his responsibilities to use the international elements of Union-wide interest in his work. 1

In his long article, critic Rahimov argues that a literary work of Soviet nationality literature should contain Union-wide, that is, Soviet characteristics both in form and content. Thus, when that literary work is translated from its original language into Russian, everyone in the USSR can read it with great interest. He says that translating the literary works of different nationalities into Russian plays an important role in the development of Soviet literature. Rahimov suggests that a Soviet nationality writer must not only think of his own nationality readers, but the readers of all Soviet nationalities while writing his literary work. Thus, it is plain from the above arguments that those Kazakh and Uzbek critics such as

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1 Ibid.

Qirabayev and Rahimov who defend Party policies regarding literature place more importance on the general characteristics than the nationality characteristics of a literary work. They regard the exploration of nationality qualities and identities by a Soviet nationality writer as a danger to the cause of creating a single multi-ethnic Soviet literature.

What are the "international elements" of Union-wide interest that the Communist Party and its faithful literary critics want to see in literary works? One of the proposed "international elements" is the portrayal of an ordinary worker as a hero in prose fiction. Soviet critics urge writers to choose their fictional heroes and characters from the working class instead of intellectuals or historical personalities who may display more ethnic characteristics than a worker. Another well-known Kazakh literary critic is Zeynolla Qabdolov (b. 1927). He is professor of Kazakh literature and has been a member of the Communist Party since 1947.[1] He comments on this question of characterization in his article entitled "About the Literary Hero."[2] He says that each era has its own heroes. According to him, workers are the heroes of the Soviet era. Qabdolov explains the "international" characteristics of workers as fol-

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[1] "Qabdolov, Zeynolla," in Qazaq sovet ėntsiklopediyäsï, vol. 6 (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR Ghïlïm Akademiyäsï, 1975), pp. 207-208.

[2] Zeynolla Qabdolov, "Ädebi qaharman khaqïnda," Jŭldïz, No. 12 (1969), pp. 142-151.

lows:

> Workers of every nationality have two universal characteristics: labor and struggle. These two characteristics also include moral qualities which are very important in socializing the young generations into Communist ideology. Therefore, like the writers of the other nationalities, Kazakh writers, too, should portray workers as the heroes of their novels and stories. 1

He mentions some novels and stories of Russian Soviet writers as examples for the portrayal of universal characteristics in workers, but fails to give examples from Kazakh prose fiction. It is true that in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction there are some heroes who are chosen from among workers. But it seems that this critic does not find the portrayal of workers in Kazakh novels and stories up to Soviet standards. Some other critical critical writings also support this point. For example, another notable Kazakh critic is Eleuken Ghabdirov (b. 1912), who has also been a member of the Communist Party since 1947.[2] He explicitly says in 1972 that Kazakh writers had failed so far to write novels and stories in which the universal (Union-wide) characteristics of workers were portrayed successfully. He criticizes the Kazakh novel, The Mystery of the Plains (1963), by Takhaui Akhtanov for not fully portraying the "international" characteristics of a Kazakh worker within a Union-wide framework:

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[1] Ibid., p. 150.

[2] "Ghabdïrov, Eleuken," in Qazaq sovet ėntsiklopediyäsï, vol. 3 (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR Ghïlïm Akademiyäsï, 1973), p. 445.

> From his portrayal in the novel, it is hard to believe that Kospan [hero of the novel] is a worker. Many pages of the novel are devoted to psychological analysis of him. This analysis is perhaps important for understanding the inner world of the hero, but somehow the writer deemphasizes the qualities and the social morality of a Soviet worker in the portrayal of Kospan. On the contrary, the writer explores the nationality characteristics [ŭlttïq qasietter] of Kospan and his surroundings. He [the hero] yearns for the pre-revolutionary past when his family wandered without a future in the plains. How can a worker idealize the pre-revolutionary past and the backward life-style of Kazakhs? Can this hero [Kospan] be regarded as a model for the Soviet workers who have struggled for the establishment of Communism in our great homeland [the Soviet Union]? 1

Kazakh critic Ghabdırov's concern is shared by Uzbek critics. An Uzbek critic admits that Uzbek prose fiction is weak in the description of the ideal Soviet worker's moral qualities:

> Many Uzbek novelists and story writers are preoccupied with the historical prose genre, others with themes from our era. But so far, very few of them were really interested in the working class. Besides Sharaf Rashidov's memorable novel The Victors, how many novels or long stories can be shown in Uzbek literature as examples of the best prose fiction describing the moral qualities of of the workers' class and idealizing the international characteristics of Uzbek workers? 2

The critic analyzes Asqad Mukhtar's novel Plain Tree and Mirmuhsin's novel The Son of a Kettle-maker from this point of view. Although he praises both well-known Uzbek writers (Asqad Mukhtar and Mirmuhsin) for devoting their novels to the life of the Uzbek working class, the critic expresses disap-

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1 Eleuken Ghabdïrov, "Engbekshĭ pen qaharman obrazï," Qazaq ädebietĭ (November 16, 1972), p. 2.

2 Rähmätulläh Inäghämov, "Prozädä mehnätkäsh täsviri," Ozbekistan mädäniyäti (October 25, 1975), pp. 2-3

pointment over the failure of these writers to describe the aspirations of the working class. He argues that these authors pay more attention to personal and local peculiarities [shäkhsiy vä mähälliy khususiyätlär] than to the "international" characteristics of the working class.

What different qualities should the workers have that contrast them to other people who may belong to different professions? Do the Soviet literary critics see nationality identity as a lack or weakness in workers of different nationalities? A survey of both Kazakh and Uzbek literary critical writings can provide abundant material for answering these questions. One recent example illustrates the aim of Soviet critics in proposing the selection of workers as the heroes of novels and stories. A critic explains very openly how workers as heroes in prose fiction can play an important role in developing the drawing together between different nationalities and their final convergence into one multi-ethnic Soviet people.[1] Among other novels, the critic comments on Uzbek writer Rahmat Fayziy's novel Häzräti insan (1970; The Holy Man) which he regards as the best example of an Uzbek novel that successfully portrays a worker as its hero. The critic especially mentions one episode of this novel in which the hero, Mahkam Aka, a blacksmith, decides to bring up an orphan. When he applies at an orphanage, a governess questions Mahkam Aka

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[1] Häkimjan Kärimov, "Ishchi--bash qähräman," Ozbekistan mädäniyäti (November 28, 1978), p. 4.

about what kind of child is he looking for: boy or girl, younger or older, and from which nationality? The hero, Mahkam Aka, gets angry at the governess' question and says: "The children of all nationalities are same. God has created them all. All of them are human beings! Do you understand?" The interpretation of this episode by the critic is interesting in conveying what the Soviet critics are looking for in the portrayal of a worker as a hero in prose fiction:

> This exclamation of Mahkam Aka is a vital truth which has been proved in practice. In the character [obraz] of Mahkam Aka, in fact, the qualities and morality of the Soviet man and the Soviet worker are described. In recent years this novel was translated into several world languages. The Union-wide Central Trade Union Council and the USSR Writers' Union have given awards to the writer for his novel. 1

From this and other Kazakh and Uzbek critical essays it is obvious that Soviet literary critics, with the Communist Party's urging, are calling on writers to create workers as heroes in their prose fiction and to portray only the qualities and morality of these workers. This can help, they believe, in creating a multi-ethnic identity in Kazakh or Uzbek prose fiction, instead of a particular ethnic identity and awareness. Those Central Asian novels, especially the ones which deal with the pre-Soviet past of the Kazakhs and Uzbeks, cannot fulfill this Soviet goal. Figures of the Central Asian Muslim, Turkic, and Iranian past such as Farabiy, Ulugh Bek, Alisher

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1 Ibid.

Navaiy, Kenesari, Baburshah, Abay, and others who have appeared as heroes in the prose fiction of Kazakh and Uzbek writers, of course, have nothing to offer in terms of a cosmopolitan Soviet culture. Soviet critics are aware that the heroes chosen for prose fiction from the pre-Soviet past of Central Asia only reinforce the Central Asian awareness of both Kazakhs and Uzbeks. This is one of the main reasons why some Kazakh and Uzbek literary critics who defend the literary policies of the Communist Party emphasize the creation of fictional heroes from the present day "working class" of the Soviet nationalities. In other words, Soviet critics favor those fictional heroes who are stripped of their nationality culture and identity. They seem to believe that the workers as fictional heroes will contribute to the creation of a multi-ethnic Soviet literature.

Besides the portrayal of a worker as a hero in the prose fiction, it is considered another "international element" (Union-wide) to introduce Russian fictional characters. In Chapter VI, it was shown that Russians (and other non-Central Asians) appear very rarely and play unimportant roles in Kazakh and Uzbek stories and novels. Moreover, complex relations--such as love affairs and friendships--between Russians (or non-Central Asians) and Central Asians (Kazakhs and Uzbeks) are usually, and evidently intentionally, avoided in both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction. In contrast to this resistance of Central Asian prose writers to using Russian fictional charac-

ters, many Kazakh and Uzbek literary critics urge writers to create fictional characters and even heroes out of persons from other nationalities and chiefly from the Russians. After reviewing most of the Russian personages appearing in Kazakh fiction from the pre-Soviet period up to 1970, a Kazakh critic stresses the need to improve the portrayal of Russian characters and their more complex relations with Kazakhs:

> The leading role of our great fraternal brothers, the Russians, in our society as well as the historical ties and complex relations between Russians and us [Kazakhs] have yet to be written about in our prose fiction. Russian fictional characters who can be taken from the past or from the present day are awaiting their writers. It should be noted that the Russian fictional heroes and characters and their relations with Kazakhs in prose fiction will contribute to a truthful and realistic description of our present-day society in which the various nationalities are drawing together under the leadership of the great Russians. 1

The critic argues that the Russian characters in Kazakh prose fiction should be portrayed as models of present-day Soviet morals and virtues. This critic's thoughts about the creation of Russian fictional characters and their leading role are shared by other Kazakh and Uzbek literary critics. An essay entitled "The evolution of a Russian Character in Uzbek Literature" explains the importance of Russian fictional characters in various Soviet nationalities' prose fiction for the

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1 Mekeriyä Atïmov, "Russkiy obraz v kazakhskoi proze," in the bi-lingual (Kazakh and Russian) volume: Qazaq ädebietïnïng ült aralïq baylanïstarï/Mezhnatsional'nye svyazi kazakhskoi literatury (Alma Ata: "Ghïlïm" Baspasï, 1970), p. 160.

development of multi-ethnic Soviet literature.[1]

It is evident from the several Kazakh and Uzbek critical essays analyzed above that Soviet critics are trying to influence Central Asian writers to introduce working-cless and Russian fictional heroes and characters into their writing. They seem to believe that including workers and Russians as fictional characters will weaken the expression of distinct nationality identity in both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction and finally will give it more of a cosmopolitan look both in form and content.

Besides those Kazakh and Uzbek literary critics who defend Party-line policies on literature, there are several other literary critics who seem to demonstrate some free thinking and individual points of view in their critical essays. They may differ from the Soviet position on literature. For instance, one of the young Kazakh literary critics who has been publishing essays since the late 1960s is Rimghali Nurghaliyev (b. 1940). He was awarded the Ph.D in 1973 and in 1981 was not yet a member of the Communist Party.[2] In one of his early critical articles about Kazakh prose fiction, Nurghaliyev analyzes some of the Kazakh novels published in the 1960s,

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[1] Änvär Äbdurrähmanov, "Ozbek ädäbiyatidä rus kishisi obrazining évolyutsiyäsi," Ozbek tili vä ädäbiyati, No. 3 (1977), pp. 7-11.

[2] "Nŭrghaliyev, Rïmghali," in Qazaq sovet éntsiklopediyäsï, vol. 8 (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR Ghïlïm Akademiyäsï, 1976), p. 416

examining each novelist's individual style and characteristics. He argues that every literary piece, poem, story or novel, is an independent entity. According to him, each novel should be analyzed through its own characteristics, not outside literary judgments:

> We cannot try to look for the things in a novel that we have in our mind. We should try to catch what the writer is saying in his novel. His [the writer's] original setting of plot, conflict, and choice of particular characters and themes make a novel not only a literary piece worth reading, but an individual and independent entity different from other novels written before it. 1

When he comments on the novel Blood on the Snow (1967) by Suirbek Baqbergenov (b. 1920), critic Nurghaliyev says that the writer intentionally has introduced very few fictional characters in the novel in order to give more space for detailed analysis of the characters. According to this critic's interpretation, the writer is successful in the portrayal of each character. The main plot, as well as other conflicts in the novel, assists readers to understand the individual characteristics of each fictional hero and character. This critic's analysis of novels is, of course, very different from that by many other Kazakh and Uzbek critics. Often, literary critics are trying to look for only the "international elements" in the novels and applying only the socialist realist interpretation in their criticism.

There are many critics who argue that the inner monologue

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1 Rïmghali Nŭrghaliyev, "Tartïs, kharakter, ideyä," Jŭldïz, No. 7 (1968), p. 116.

of fictional characters is useless in novels and stories because these inner monologues divert attention from present day "socialist realities" toward romanticism.[1] In contrast to this point of view, some young Kazakh and Uzbek critics defend the introduction of inner monologue in the prose fiction as an essential element in analyzing the inner world of a fictional character. For instance, there is Sabir Mirvaliyev (b. 1933), a doctor of philological science.[2] In his article, entitled "There is No Shame for the Wish," he analyzes Uzbek writer Adil Yaqubov's novel Honesty (1977) and Hamid Ghulam's (b. 1919) Mängulik (1976; Eternity) by stressing the successful use of inner monologue in these novels:

> Okay, what is new in H. Ghulam's novel Eternity and what is the value of it that is worth mentioning? Its value and its introduction of new literary elements are that the writer interprets the historical events according to the fictional characters' point of view. This is a new "depictive style" [täsviriy uslub] in Uzbek prose fiction. To the present day, and even Hamid Ghulam's Eternity, Uzbek prose works were retelling historical events according to chronological order in a historian's style [vaqeänävislik uslubi]. However, Eternity introduces a new style in which the historical events are interpreted by describing the inner world of the hero. As a result of this, a new style of analyzing the psychology and life of fictional characters emerges in this novel. This style gives a different kind of charm [jazibädarlik] to the novel. 3

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[1] Ne'met Yoldashev, "Prozädä ichki monolog," Ozbekistan mädäniyäti (April 3, 1979), p. 3.

[2] "Mirväliyev, Sabir," in Ozbek sovet ėntsiklopediyäsi, vol. 7 (Tashkent: Ozbekistan Fänlär Äkädemiyäsi, 1976), pp. 261-262.

[3] Sabir Mirväliyev, "Arzugä äyb yoq," Ozbekistan mädäniyäti (March 10, 1978), p. 3.

The critic appeals to other writers and especially to beginners to pay more attention to the psychological analysis of fictional characters and the interpretation of events according to the personal characteristics of each fictional hero.

It appears that a few young Kazakh and Uzbek critics who are sympathetic toward innovations in artistic creativity are emerging among old-style critics who advocate Party-line directives and policies. The emergence of these young critics may signal the beginning of a divergence from absolute Party-line orientation in literary criticism. This emergence shows something else, too: Young Kazakh and Uzbek writers who express group awareness in their prose fiction are certainly starting starting to gain the support of some critics. Thus, the literary trend advanced mainly by young prose fiction writers is being solidified in both Kazakh and Uzbek literature. This will help Kazakh and Uzbek literature to maintain their ethnic identities and provide protection against the de-nationalization of them by Party pressure.

CHAPTER IX

LITERARY EVALUATION AND CREATIVE WRITING

What are the basic values for assessing prose fiction in the Soviet Union? Is a novel or story being evaluated in Kazakh and Uzbek literature according to that work's esthetic values and qualities? Answers to these questions will also explain the relation between official judgment of prose fiction and its expression of personal and group identities. There is a fundamental contradiction, it seems, between the evaluation of prose fiction in the Soviet Union and the real implications of that creative writing itself. For example, many novels and stories are officially praised, used in motion pictures, and widely reviewed on the assumption that they show the great achievements of Soviet practice and describe the morality of the working classes. However, sometimes that kind of prose fiction that is praised and officially accepted actually lacks such Soviet themes in itself. This contradiction can be explained by this argument: Regardless of possessing high quality or not, a novel is praised for its themes and content if they are acceptable to the Party. However, when a novel of high quality lacks such officially accepted themes and content, it too is interpreted by the Party as if it possessed such Soviet

standards. Why is this practice followed in the Soviet Union? It seems that nearly every novel or story is being interpreted to make it fit into Party-line directives. This seems to give Party officials the feeling that no prose fiction written in the Soviet Union is at variance with the Party and its policies. This also suggests that despite the censorship, the Party is not in full control of writers and their creativity. But, the Party evidently is trying to cover this weakness by interpreteting works and labeling them in a way that they may be accommodated to Party policies.

This kind of official literary evaluation, in turn, explains the near lack of interviews with prose writers in both Kazakh and Uzbek literature in the post-Stalin period. However, interviews with writers are one of the essentials of literary inquiry. In these conversations, many small but important details regarding the writers' personality, artistic world, personal views about their works, about their local environment, their people, and country can be found. Unfortunately a survey of Kazakh and Uzbek literary periodicals published between 1953 and 1982 has revealed a surprising lack of interviews with prose writers. In these twenty-nine years only one interview was located in Uzbek literature: an interview between Uzbek critic Umarali Narmatov and Uzbek novelist Said Ahmad, published in 1977.[1] Because of its uniqueness in

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[1] Säid Ähmäd, Umäräli Narmätov, "Yazuvchi bilän tänqidchi suhbäti," Shärq yulduzi, No. 1 (1977), pp. 201-215.

both Kazakh and Uzbek literature, several excerpts from that interview are given in English translation in Appendix D.*

The contradiction between the evaluation of a novel by Soviet critics and the real implications of that creative writing itself can be well illustrated by Adil Yaqubov's (b. 1926) Uzbek novel, Honesty (1977), and Azilkhan Nurshayikov's (b. 1922) Kazakh novel, Soghïstan keyĭn (1975; After the War). After a discussion of both novels in the first part of this chapter, the questions raised and discussed during the interview, between critic Narmatov and writer Said Ahmad, will be analyzed. This is because during the interview the writer reveals his personal point of view about a specific artistic creation and his own nationality.

Adil Yaqubov's Uzbek novel Honesty was translated into other Central Asian languages and Russian.[1] There is a motion picture based on this novel in Uzbekistan.[2] No critical article or work about Uzbek prose fiction of recent years neglects mentioning Adil Yaqubov and his Honesty. On what basis is this novel praised and evaluated in Uzbekistan and in the Soviet Union? Soviet critics claim that Adil Yaqubov describes successfully the great devotion of kolkhoz workers to turning the

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* Appendix D, pp. 207-213.

[1] Taji Qaräyev, "Dostlik bäyraghi," Ozbekistan mädäniyäti (May 25, 1979), p. 3.

[2] Qadir Qäyumov, "Zäman näfäsi," Ozbekistan mädäniyäti (March 12, 1980), p. 2.

desert into a cotton field. Yaqubov reportedly has created fictional heroes who demonstrate the real characteristics of Soviet workers.[1] This novel's assessment and praise in the Soviet Union shows that Honesty is not rated according to esthetic values. A close analysis of this novel can reveal whether or not it justifies the Soviet official arguments that the central purpose of the novel is simply to demonstrate kolkhoz workers' success in turning arid lands into cotton fields.

Every careful reading involves criticism and judgment. Yet for labeling a story as "good" and another one "poor" prose fiction, each element--plot, character, theme, or language--in the story or the novel must be judged by the effectiveness of its contribution to the central purpose. In a good story or novel every element is expected to work with every other element for the accomplishment of the central purpose. Because each first-rate (good) story or novel is an organic whole, all its elements together represent an artistic unity. Yaqubov's novel persuasively demonstrates this artistic unity in itself.

In Honesty, the main action (event) centers around a seventy-year old man, Narmurad Shamuradov, the protagonist of the novel. No definite time is given. The story could be set in the 1960s or 1970s or even in the 1980s. But several refer-

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[1] Narbay Khudäybergänov, Choqqilär charläydi (Tashkent: Ghäfur Ghulam Namidägi Ädäbiyat vä Sän'ät Näshriyati, 1978), pp. 61-65; Batir Narbayev, "Bäkhs fikr uyghatädi," Ozbekistan mädäniyäti (July 29, 1978), p. 3.

ences to events during World War II and Stalin's purges plainly show that the main story of the novel is told in the post-Stalin period (after 1953) in Uzbekistan. Shamuradov lives with his wife in an old-style adobe mud house in the old quarter of Tashkent. After his wife's death, Shamuradov returns to the village where he was born. He does not forget to take his precious library with him. He plans to open a private library in the village where young village boys and girls will read. At the end of the novel, however, he dies without having accomplished his wish. All the other events, episodes, occurrences in flash-back are interwoven successfully with each other and with the main story. The writer seems to be very careful in the organization of a plot in which each incident grows logically out of the preceding incident and leads naturally to the next. The novel is divided into two parts, each of which presents a major conflict. Most of the events in the first part occur in the city, while the second part is devoted entirely to events in the village.

The main conflict in the first part occurs between Shamuradov and professor Vahid Mirabidov. The writer tells that Shamuradov, as mentioned in Chapters V and VI of this study, was a professor of agriculture in Tashkent university in the 1930s.* The present professor Mirabidov was Shamuradov's stu-

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* The characters and events in the novel seem to be fiction. However, some characters and events may represent certain persons or facts in Soviet Uzbekistan.

dent at that time. The conflict between Shamuradov and Mirabidov goes back to the 1930s when Mirabidov writes an article accusing Shamuradov of treason. Partly because of this denouncement, Shamuradov loses his position in the university during Stalin's purges. An argument between Shamuradov and Mirabidov over a dissertation's topic leads naturally to the other major and minor conflicts in the novel, because of the personal relationships between different characters. These conflicts cause a family tragedy and Shamuradov's wife dies of grief at the end of the first part. Ataqozi runs back to Tashkent to see his uncle when he hears about the death of his aunt. Shamuradov and his nephew, Ataqozi, hug each other at the end of the first part. However, this reunion is temporary. In the second part when Shamuradov moves to the village where he was born and also where Ataqozi is the chief of the kolkhoz, more conflicts between Shamuradov and Ataqozi develop. Although Shamuradov never meets with his main opponent, professor Mirabidov, in the second part, the tension between these two characters continues indirectly through the other other conflicts between different characters. The main conflict in both parts is based on the problem of the preservation of the natural beauty of Uzbeks' native land. Other conflicts focus on the bad treatment of kolkhoz workers by the local Communist Party officials. Characters like Shamuradov and Abrar Shukurovich struggle against others such as Vahid Mirabidov, Ataqozi, and local Party officials who do not concern themselves with

their native land and its natural beauty. Shamuradov's struggles, however, always end in failure. He can never accomplish his wishes and goals. The problems and conflicts in the novel are never solved and the contests never permanently won by the chief heroes. The novel Honesty, therefore, has an indeterminate ending, one in which no definitive conclusion is arrived at. The individual conflicts between Shamuradov and Mirabidov or Shamuradov and his nephew, Ataqozi, merely symptomize a larger social conflict within Uzbekistan that has no easy solution. Therefore, the writer's decision to end the novel without a resolution is logically justified.

The larger social conflict is not openly mentioned in the novel. The main conflicts in the novel suggest that the writer seems to refer to the present social conditions in Uzbekistan. According to the events and conflicts that were described in the novel, local Communist Party and government organizations are filled with persons who are willing to sacrifice their homeland for personal gain and expediency. The writer sees a loss of nationality identity in those kinds of people. Persons such as professor Mirabidov and kolkhoz director Ataqozi are described as losing not only their ethnic identity, but also self-identity (individuality). They are depicted as becoming robots under present social conditions in Uzbekistan, and more generally in the USSR. Those robot-like persons only work to fulfill the orders given them from their supervisors. They only worry about feeding their stomachs.

The writer appears distressed about the present social conditions in Uzbekistan which seem to him to be forcing more and more people to lose both their group and personal identities and become mechanical beings. The writer describes Tashkent as a city where Uzbek identity is being lost. Shamuradov's decision to move back to the village, therefore, symbolizes his intention to escape from the cosmopolitan environment of Tashkent. In the second part, however, Shamuradov finds out that the authorities have started to change the natural environment of the villages, too. He tries to stop the building of a factory in the village, but fails in his efforts.

There are many descriptions of the beauties of village life in the novel. The writer seems to point out that the nationality identity of Uzbeks is still being preserved in the villages.[1] Shamuradov's failure in his struggle against the destruction of both the villages' and human beings' "natural identity," points to the existing larger social conflict in present-day Soviet society. This conflict emerges between those individuals who are conscious of their group's identity and the Soviet authorities intent on homogenizing USSR citizens.

The indeterminate ending of the novel Honesty also shows that this novel is not a "thesis novel" (roman à thèse)

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[1] The search for ethnic self-identity in the Russian countryside is also evident among some Russian prose writers. See: John B. Dunlop's and Catharine Theimer Nepomnyashchy's articles in Ethnic Russia in the USSR: The Dilemma of Dominance, ed. by Edward Allworth (New York: Pergamon Press, 1980), pp. 80-87, 88-97.

which is acceptable to the communist Party of the Soviet Union. It differs sharply from conventional works such as the Kazakh writer Abjan Omarbayev's long story What Should I Call You? (1968), and Sharaf Rashidov's Uzbek novel The Victors (1972).* In such thesis novels, the positive heroes are required to find a solution to the social or political problems that are mentioned in them. The positive heroes always achieve their goals and win the contests or struggles.

Azilkhan Nurshayiqov's novel After the War[1] can be another example to show the contradiction between the evaluation of this novel by Soviet critics and the real implications of the novel itself. Several reviews of this novel reveal that it is well received by the Party. A Kazakh critic praises Nurshayiqov for his successful description of the life in Soviet kolkhozes.[2] The same critic claims that the writer has created an ideal "positive hero" in the character of Janibek. Another Kazakh critic comments on the devotion of the hero, Janibek, fulfilling his duties in the kolkhoz.[3] However, the novel is very different from these critics' simple description.

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* These last two prose works are analyzed in Chapter VI.

[1] Äzĭlkhan Nŭrshayïkov, Soghïstan keyĭn (Alma Ata: "Jazushï" Baspasï, 1975).

[2] Bayänghali Älĭmjanov, "Auïl dastanï," Qazaq ädebietĭ (October 6, 1976), p. 3.

[3] Marat Mäjitov, "Qazaq prozasï: 1975," Qazaq ädebietĭ (February 25, 1976), pp. 2-3.

The hero of the novel, Janibek, is a prose writer. He first begins to write when he is at the front during World War II. At the end of the war when he comes back to his village, Janibek finds many changes within the village. During the war the womenfolk were mobilized to do various jobs. He finds out that his parents died because of the mistreatment by Burkitbay, the director of a kolkhoz. His fiancée Gauhar was forced to marry Burkitbay. Janibek finds a job in another kolkhoz near his village and starts to write a novel. Burkitbay, however, never leaves Janibek in peace. One day they accuse Janibek for stealing kolkhoz property. Janibek in vain writes a letter to the Party authorities in Alma Ata about the truth. Before the authorities send an inspector to review the case, a tragedy develops. Gauhar runs away from her husband, Burkitbay, who abuses her. Gauhar persuades Janibek to go to a place where Burkitbay cannot find them. Janibek and Gauhar set off toward the nearest train station which is about a day's journey on horseback. The novel ends with their escape from Burkitbay's pursuit. Janibek does not forget to take his unfinished novel. He plans to finish the novel based on his true life story.

It is interesting that the Soviet critics who have reviewed both novels, Honesty and After the War, have not commented on the main conflicts of these novels mentioned above. Although both writers seem to point to the existing social and moral problems in today's Uzbek and Kazakh villages, literary critics have ignored these points in their essays so far. De-

spite these aspects of the novels, Soviet critics interpret Honesty and After the War as the best examples of a "Soviet novel" demonstrating the devotion of kolkhoz workers to the Party and its directives.[1] This, in turn, shows that Kazakh and Uzbek writers have gained some freedom in creativity and in the expression of certain feelings and thoughts in the post-Stalin period. But, interpretation according to Party directives acts to endorse this freedom by labeling such works with phrases which give them a Soviet appearance.

If prose writers were allowed, they might have revealed many interesting details concerning their works and self-identity. In answering critic Narmatov's question about the writing of his trilogy Horizon (1964-1974), Said Ahmad makes a clear distinction between physical labor and creative writing. His discription of creative writing shows that he places a greater value on creative writing than physical labor.* The writer's personal view about the difference between creative writing and physical labor contrasts with the standard Soviet view, which treats creative writing as a kind of physical labor: "Soviet writers should join the workers who have been laboring to raise the edifice of communist development."[2]

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* See Appendix D, p. 208.

[1] Batir Narbayev, "Bäkhs fikr uyghatädi," Ozbekistan mädäniyäti (July 29, 1978), p. 3; Jüsïp Qïdïrov, "Qalamgerdïng azamattïq parïzï," Qazaq adebieti (April 20, 1977), p. 4.

[3] "SSSR yazuchilärining III S"ezdigä," Shärq yulduzi, No. 6 (1959), p. 3.

Said Ahmad rejects the drawing up of a specific plan in advance of writing of a story or a novel. He objects to forcing heroes or other characters to walk along a preordained path. According to him, the portrayal of a fictional hero or character based on plans drawn up in advance will make that figure an artificial and false creature. He says that a writer who knows his hero's personality clearly should allow the hero to be free after a few chapters of his novel. The writer should only watch and analyze his hero's activities and progress throughout the novel. Ahmad strongly hints that the creative writing (of a story, novel or poem) is a psychological process which totally differs from physical labor. From his examples it is evident that he thinks plans can be drawn up in advance for physical work; however, it is impossible to draw up plans ahead of time for writing a novel. During the writing process, he says, plans made in advance will be changed.

During the interview, Ahmad says nothing openly to criticize those critics who urge writers to write novels based on official themes and to create fictional characters favored by the Party. However, his emphasis on the nature of individual artistic creativity demonstrates his position as one against the absolute control of the Party over literature. Ahmad defends writers' individuality and freedom of expression and thought in creativity. He does not want others (critics and the Party) to interfere in the process of writing a novel or story.

His personal views about some other questions during the interview also reveal Ahmad's strong attachment to his native land and nationality. A discussion about the choice of the digging of the Farghana Canal as a theme for his trilogy, Horizon, is one of them. He says that he has chosen the building of the Great Farghana Canal as a theme for his trilogy, because "it is a huge task on the shoulders of [Uzbek] authors to write about this gigantic event which will be never forgotten in the life of our nationality." The writer does not give further detailed information about why the building of the Great Farghana Canal is a huge, unforgettable event for Uzbeks or about what its significance is in regard to Uzbek nationality. If the data available both in Soviet and Western sources are consulted, it will be seen that the building of the Great Farghana Canal [Kättä Färghanä Känäli] was an extensive project completed during the Stalin era. In order to expand the cultivation of cotton in Soviet Central Asia, especially in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, work began on extending irrigation of such areas as the Farghana Valley and the Mirzachol Sahra, and land along the Zarafshan, Surkhan Darya, Chirchiq, and Ahangaran rivers during the first Five-Year Plan.[1] In 1939, reportedly, forty-five canals were built in the Farghana Valley and around it. The greatest of these

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[1] Ian Murray Matley, "Agricultural Development," in Edward Allworth, ed., Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 294.

was the Great Farghana Canal started on August 1, 1939.[1] This 168-mile (270 kilometer) canal was dug in forty-five days by more than 160,000 Central Asians--mostly Uzbeks--under about 1,000 supervising engineers and technicians, presumably Russians. Soviet sources mention that this great project was fulfilled by "the initiative of kolkhoz workers" (kolkhozchilar tashabbusi bilan).[2] Those 160,000 native Central Asians who dug the Great Farghana Canal with a great deal of suffering and hardship, using only primitive tools, were actually unpaid laborers. An American scholar describes the effects of this construction on the local Central Asian population as follows:

> Although the building of these canals no doubt entailed remarkable feats of speed, forced labor construction brought a great deal of suffering and hardship to the local population, who were obliged to turn out in large numbers and work long hours in shifts for no personal return. Even in the days of the khans and beks it is unlikely that such continuous pressure was ever applied to the local labor force. 3

The mental suffering of those who participated in the canal construction still survives among Uzbeks and other Central Asians in recollections told by one generation to another. Uzbek writer, Said Ahmad, has chosen these themes for his trilogy,

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[1] Baymirza Hayit, Die Wirtschaftsprobleme Turkestans (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1968), p. 93.

[2] "Kättä Färghanä känäli," in Ozbek sovet ėntsiklopediyäsi, vol. 5 (Tashkent: Ozbekistan SSR Fänlär Äkädemiyäsi, 1974), p. 389.

[3] Matley, p. 294.

in order to record the mental anguish, sorrows and human desires of those 160,000 Central Asians. Another reason why Ahmad has chosen this theme may be the fact that Soviet historiography and other sources do not give detailed information about how many people had died, been crippled or become sick during the forty-five days of great hardship. During the interview, Ahmad discloses that one of the reasons why he wanted to write a novel about the people who had participated in the digging of the Great Farghana Canal is because "the persons who participated in the building of this canal are getting fewer with the passing years, and the events are getting erased from the minds" of people. From this remark it is obvious that he intended to write a novel about the accounts of people during the building of this canal before this oral history--which is untold in published Soviet sources--is lost forever. This point is very important, because it shows that some Uzbek and Kazakh prose writers choose themes and topics for their stories and novels not under Party guidance, but under the influence of their own nationality group.

When the Farghana Canal's construction started in 1939, Ahmad was a 19-year old university student in the Language and Literature Faculty of the Tashkent State Pedagogical Institute.[1] The accounts about the physical and mental sufferings of the canal participants must have first reached the ears of young

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[1] "Säid Ähmäd," Ozbek sovet ėntsiklopediyäsi, vol. 9 (Tashkent: Ozbekistan SSR Fänlär Äkädemiyäsi, 1977), p. 430.

Said not through the official press or state-controlled radio, but orally. Ahmad was already a writer when the building of the canal started. He reportedly started to publish his short stories in 1938, and his first collection of short stories, entitled Tartiq (The Gift), was printed in 1940. His longer prose fiction, published before 1960s, does not deal with any themes related to the digging of the Farghana canal, presumably because of the official censorship during that period. Only the conditions of the post-Stalin period led him start to write what has become a long novel about this great event. His two-volume project developed into a trilogy by 1974.

Thanks to critic Narmatov's very interesting question during the interview, Ahmad provides the real reason why he wrote about the people of Farghana:

> I don't know if it is because of the nationality characteristics of the Uzbek nationality, the traditions of the people [Uzbeks], and the nationality spirit in the landscapes are stronger in those parts [the Farghana Valley]. Or, if it is because the scenery is beautiful in Farghana. Whatever the reasons are, I always want to go there [Farghana] even if I don't feel like writing anything.*

The writer's description of the Farghana Valley reveals that besides its natural beauty, the place preserves many traditions and characteristics of the Uzbek nationality. It may be because the Farghana Valley has not become so cosmopolitan as the city of Tashkent. Ahmad himself is a native of Tashkent, where he may have become uncomfortable, because of the weakening of Uzbek

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* See Appendix D, p. 213.

identity there. That would explain why he says that he always senses an urge in himself to go to Farghana, even if he does not want to write anything. It is plain from critic Narmatov's explanation that Ahmad is not alone in falling in love with Farghana. The critic says that Uzbek authors have a tradition of writing about the Farghana Valley. From Abdullah Qadiriy (1894-1940), in the 1920s, to the present day, many Uzbek prose writers have gone to the Farghana Valley in search of topics, materials, and heroes for their stories and novels. The critic fails to mention Abdulhamid Sulayman Cholpan (1893-1937) whose many short stories written in the 1920s were also based on topics and impressions drawn from the Farghana Valley.[1] Because of his independent and nationalistic views Cholpan's name is still being omitted in discussions about the development of Uzbek prose fiction, although he has been partially posthumously "rehabilitated" in Soviet literary history.

Thus, one part of the discussions between the critic and the writer focuses on the traditional attraction of Uzbek prose writers toward the Farghana Valley. In the twentieth century, the Reformist (Jadid) writers started this tradition in Uzbek prose fiction. Sadriddin Ayniy's (1878-1954) Uzbek- and Tajik-language short stories and novels are based on events

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[1] His short stories such as "Shähärdän--qishlaqqä" (From City to Village), "Toy chiqib qaldi" (A Wedding Announced Suddenly), and "Kugärt Vadisi" (The Kugart Valley) are based on events occurring in the Farghana Valley. For these and other stories by him see Ädäbiyat parchalari, ed. by A. Suläyman and A. Zahiriy (Tashkent: Ozbekistan Dävlät Näshriyati, 1926), pp. 82-83, 98-110 f.

which occurred in the pre-revolutionary Bukharan Amirate. The Reformist writers like Cholpan and Qadiriy intentionally chose their themes and topics from places throughout the Farghana Valley and its history. When Cholpan disappeared during the Stalinist purges in 1937-39 and Qadiriy in 1940, it was Musa Tashmuhammad oghli Aybek (1905-1968) who got his early literary education from Cholpan and other Jadid Uzbek writers. He continued this tradition of writing about the Farghana Valley during Stalin's rule. This tradition seems to be continuing in the present day among young writers.

The Farghana Valley--where most of the Uzbek population is concentrated--was the center of the nationalistic Basmachi opposition to Soviet domination of southern Central Asia during the 1920s and 1930s. Unlike centers such as Tashkent, which has been open to Russian influence since its fall to Czarist armies in 1865, Khokand, Margilan and other places in the Farghana Valley still preserve traditional vitality within themselves. This explains why many Uzbek writers have been continuing to choose themes, topics, and heroes for their works from the Farghana Valley. This tendency in Uzbek prose fiction is closely related to the Uzbek writer's awareness of his own nationality identity.

Because of the scarcity of such interviews in both Kazakh and Uzbek literature, it was not possible to explore further the artistic world and group identity of writers through this medium. Literary genres such as memoirs, autobiography,

and interviews are very valuable for giving perspective and understanding of writer's interests and intentions related to both their artistic and social worlds. Both Kazakh and Uzbek critics have admitted that these literary genres had not been fully developed in their literature in the post-Stalin period.[1]

The three examples--Yaqubov's Honesty, Nurshayiqov's After the War, and the interview with Said Ahmad--demonstrate that Central Asian writers have turned from the urban, industrial environment to the countryside in search of both social and moral values rooted in their ethnic group. This search, in both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction, appears to draw the attention of readers to Central Asia's local environment instead of the entire Soviet Union. In their writings, today's Central Asian authors seem to encourage the development of "Kazakh" and "Uzbek" ethnic identities, instead of the officially favored multi-ethnic "Soviet" group awareness.

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[1] Zäki Akhmetov, "Ädebiet kökjiegĭn barlaghanda," Qazaq ädebietĭ (April 6, 1979), p. 3; Sabir Mirväliyev, "Jänr, uslub vä konflikt räng-bärängligi," Shärq yulduzi, No. 10 (1973), p. 185.

CHAPTER X

A COSMOPOLITAN OR A SEGREGATED CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY?

Language, oral and written literature, religion, religious and nationality traditions and customs, the local environment and cultural exchanges with other communities are all essential parts of cultural links which play an important role in maintaining the nationality identity. A general survey of present day Kazakh and Uzbek ethnic communities may reveal many difficulties in the preservation and continuity of Kazakh and Uzbek cultural links. Owing to the restrictions imposed by the Soviet government, cultural relations and exchanges are strained between Central Asians and other Middle Eastern people. Today, like other Soviet Central Asian nationalities, Kazakhs and Uzbeks find themselves isolated from neighboring Muslim countries with whom they traditionally had cultural exchanges which helped sustain their civilization for centuries prior to the 1920s. Now, Russians and Russian culture have assumed the position of the only available source of cultural exchange for Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and other non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union.

Breaking away from their own cultural past and from other Middle Eastern Muslim cultures and drawing closer to the

Russians and Russian culture, may provide the Kazakh and Uzbek cultures with a more cosmopolitan character. The term "cosmopolitan character" refers here to common characteristics to the entire Soviet Union. Different Soviet nationalities are being urged to adapt common characteristics based on Soviet way of life instead of their ethnic peculiarities. The nationality identity weakens when cosmopolitan characteristics increase in an ethnic group.

Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction have flourished in both quantity and quality in the post-Stalin period. It would appear that there are two distinct generation of living prose fiction writers in both Kazakh and Uzbek literature of the post-Stalin period. One is a group of older writers born between 1902 and 1918. The second group is composed of younger writers born after 1920. The second group is increasing in size because many new young writers have joined this group in the late 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. The influence of older writers who favor writing according to the directives of Soviet officials is weakening in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction. Many members of this pro-Soviet literary group are now very old and some of them have already passed away. In contrast, the younger writers have started to dominate Kazakh and Uzbek prose writing.

The biographical data about the younger generation of Kazakh and Uzbek writers whose prose fiction were analyzed in this study is very scanty. The Kazakh and Uzbek Soviet encyclo-

pedias give very little biographical information about only a few well-established writers.* Of course, the biographical data available in such official sources are not helpful in understanding the links between a writer's social background and his writings. This point can be illustrated by giving an example from a Kazakh and an Uzbek prose writer. The Kazakh writer Abdijamil Nurpeyisov was born in 1920 in Qulandı village in Qizilorda oblast. According to the Kazakh Soviet encyclopedia, Nurpeyisov has been a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union since 1943.[1] He served in the Soviet army during the World War II. After the war, Nurpeyisov has studied at the Gorky Institute of Literature in Moscow and graduated from there in 1956. He was the chief editor of the Kazakh-language literary journal Jŭldïz between 1962 and 1964. The Uzbek writer Adil Yaqubov was born in 1926 in Qarnaq village in Chimkent oblast. According to the Uzbek Soviet encyclopedia, Yaqubov served in Soviet army between 1944 and 1950.[2] After having graduated from the Philology Department of the Tashkent State University in 1956, he became a literary consul-

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* For example, there is not an entry for the well-known Uzbek prose fiction writer Pirimqul Qadirov (b. 1928) in the Uzbek Soviet Encyclopedia: Ozbek sovet ėntsiklopediyäsi, Vols. 1-14 (Tashkent: Ozbekistan SSR Fänlär Äkädemiyäsi, 1971-1980).

[1] "Nŭrpeyĭsov, Äbdĭjämĭl Kärim ŭlï," Qazaq sovet ėntsiklopediyäsï, vol. 8 (Alma Ata: Qazaq SSR Ghïlïm Akademiyäsï, 1976), pp. 419-420.

[2] "Yaqubov, Adil," Ozbek sovet ėntsiklopediyäsi, vol. 4 (Tashkent: Ozbekistan SSR Fänlär Äkädemiyäsi, 1973), p. 258.

tant for the Uzbekistan Writers Union (1958-1962) and a special correspondent for the Russian-language all-Union literary newspaper Literaturnaia gazeta between 1966 and 1970. Yaqubov has been the deputy chief editor of the Ghafur Ghulam Literature and Art Publication Center since 1970. There are many similarities between the social background and literary career of these two Central Asian writers. Although both Nurpeyisov and Yaqubov have come from small villages where Kazakh and Uzbek cultural traditions may be well preserved, they had their careers in cosmopolitan centers: Nurpeyisov in Moscow and Yaqubov in Tashkent. In their prose fiction; however, these two Central Asian authors express a strong awareness of ethnic identity. It is not easy to determine the roots of their sensitiveness to nationality awareness from the limited biographical data given above. Is the cultural environment of the villages where they were born influencing them? Or is it their reaction to the cosmopolitan Soviet society that is urging them to stress nationality identity in their writings? It can be both. Because there is a lack of biographical information about Kazakh and Uzbek prose writers, the main emphasis throughout this study is given only to the analysis of prose fiction in order to help identify the attitudes of Central Asian authors toward the nationality question.

In regard to the attitudes of writers toward official policies affecting their ethnic group's cultural life, a drastic change has occurred in the post-Stalin period of Central Asian

literature. As it was during the 1910s and 1920s, Central Asian writers today are also increasingly using prose fiction as a platform on which to manifest their individual thoughts and feelings related to their ethnic groups. Therefore, Central Asian prose fiction, as well as literature in general, are again becoming a medium where unofficial thoughts and feelings may be expressed to some extent.

There appears to be a contradiction between contemporary Central Asian prose fiction and official Soviet policies. Soviet literary policies encourage writers to create an idealistic society where different nationalities of the Soviet Union are in a process of merging in one another and thus forming a cosmopolitan society with apparent Russian characteristics regarding language and culture. Contemporary Central Asian prose fiction has a realistic character which contradicts official literary policies. Many examples of today's Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction show the realities of present-day Central Asian society. Current Kazakh and Uzbek societies have been depicted in contemporary Central Asian literature as segregated communities within the multi-national Soviet state. This is closely related to the realistic description of the present-day conditions of Soviet Central Asia.

In the post-Stalin period, Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction appears to draw the attention of readers to Central Asia's local environment instead of the entire Soviet Union. This inclination demonstrates that both Kazakh and Uzbek

authors apparently try to sustain their group's homeland concept and to avoid dissolving this concept within the multinational boundaries of the Soviet Union. The concentration on certain historical periods, historical events and historical personalities in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction also helps to inform Central Asian readers about the nationality boundaries within their homogeneous society. Rare appearances of Russian and other non-Central Asian personages in both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction seem to contradict present-day reality in Soviet Central Asian republics. Soviet statistical sources show large numbers of Russians and non-Central Asians in both Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. According to the 1979 Soviet census, there were 5.9 million Russians, 898,000 Ukrainians, and 181,000 Belorussians as compared to 5.3 million Kazakhs in the Kazakh SSR. The Kazakhs still form a minority in their own republic, making up only 36 percent of the total population of Kazakhstan in contrast to Russians who have a plurality (40.8 percent). The 1979 Soviet census reports 1.6 million Russians, and 114,000 Ukrainians as compared to 10.5 million Uzbeks in the Uzbek SSR. The Uzbeks continue to hold the majority in their union republic, making up 68.7 percent of the total population of Uzbekistan against Russians who make only 10.8 percent.[1]

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[1] Naselenie SSSR: po dannym vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1979 goda (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury, 1980), p. 28.

With this large number of Russians and other non-Central Asians living in the Kazakh and Uzbek SSRs, one expects that some important proportions of fictional characters in Central Asian prose fiction should represent non-Central Asians, chiefly Russians. However, the reluctance of Central Asian prose writers to create Russian or other non-Central Asian fictional characters who balance off native Central Asian characters in its way points to an unexpected reality within Soviet Central Asia. Although there are large numbers of Russians and other non-Central Asians in both Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, outsiders and Central Asians continue to live in segregated societies in both Soviet republics. An American who recently lived in Tashkent as an exchange student reports that in almost every city in Central Asia "native" cinemas and theaters stand side by side with Russian ones, thus ensuring that every one has access to the cultural messages approved by Moscow in the language he prefers. A Tajik friend of hers explained this to her as follows:

> "In a way, this is a brilliant policy. Movies and plays are excellent ways of spreading ideas, and making them available in the local languages exposes the entire population to socialist propaganda. But it has also helped to keep the cultural lives of Slavs and Asians separate: you hardly ever see an Asian at a Russian-language play." 1

In her article, the American student comments that by the same token, she found that she was usually the only non-Asian at

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1 Nancy Lubin, "Mullah and Commissar," Geo, No. 11 (November, 1980), pp. 25-26.

any "Eastern" production she attended. Other American Sovietologists show that intermarriage between Central Asians and non-Central Asians (chiefly Russians) are not greatly on the increase.[1]

During the Stalin period the idea of inter-relations then shown in literature did not reflect the reality in Soviet Central Asian society. Instead, it idealized a proposed multi-national Soviet community. Today's Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction, however, stands closer to reality by showing the segregated nature of Central Asian society where natives and non-Central Asians live apart in different segregated communities.

The introduction of a "positive hero" in Soviet prose fiction was also related to the creation of an imaginary world composed of the qualities of a Soviet society expected to be formed in the future. The "positive heroes" were thought to be good models for the formation of the new men in Soviet society. Soviet critics urge writers to create "positive heroes" which on the one hand might represent a nationality, but on the other hand had to have the qualities of a Soviet man. Of course, it is officially thought that "positive heroes" demonstrate a cosmopolitan "Soviet" identity. With the exception of few writers who follow a party-line orientation in literature, today's majority of Central Asian writers ignore

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[1] Ethel Dunn and Stephen P. Dunn, "Ethnic Intermarriage As An Indicator of Cultural Convergence in Soviet Central Asia," The Nationality Question in Soviet Central Asia, ed. by Edward Allworth (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 45-58.

the official notion of promoting "positive heroes" together with describing close relations--drawing-together--between various Central Asian nationalities and Russians in their prose fiction. Central Asian writers, instead, intentionally create "real heroes" chosen from their own present-day society or from Central Asian past. Those "real heroes" in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction are depicted as having a strong attachment to their own nationality and homeland.

One of the most interesting aspects of modern Central Asian prose fiction is that depiction of tense ethnic relations between Russians and Central Asians is close to non-existent in novels and stories. This can be explained by the fact that mentioning ethnic tensions between Russians and other nationalities is not allowed in literature by Soviet censorship authorities. However, ethnic tensions and rivalry that existed between Central Asian nationalities for centuries--Kazakhs vis-à-vis Uzbeks or Uzbeks vis-à-vis Tajiks--are also not described in either Kazakh or Uzbek prose fiction. On the contrary, many novels and stories idealize inter-relations between different nationalities of Central Asia. Central Asian writers take advantage of the official "friendship of peoples" policy by favoring a drawing-together among Central Asians themselves.

There is hardly any Kazakh or Uzbek prose writer who writes his original novels or stories in Russian, instead of his mother-tongue. If only few people write in Russian,

they can still preserve their nationality identity. However, if every one starts writing in Russian then this is a different question. The increase in the number of Central Asian writers writing in Russian will show that Central Asian society is being moving toward Russian linguistic assimilation. The post-Stalin period of both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction, however, has managed to stay far from moving toward Russian linguistic assimilation. But that is not ethnic assimilation.

Most of the Kazakh and Uzbek prose writers of the post-Stalin period, especially the entire younger generation of authors who have been writing since 1960s and later years, have received only a Soviet education. Beginning from the elementary school, the Soviet educational system in Central Asia treats Russian language and Russian culture the same as native Central Asian languages and cultures. Close examination of the following tables (1 & 2) suggests that the Soviet education in the first years of elementary school focuses primarily on ethnic Central Asian languages and literature. In the last years of the secondary school, however, the number of Russian language and literature classes increases. Even in the last year of secondary school--at the tenth grade--there are no classes teaching native languages. The figure in the following tables only show the situation in native Central Asian schools where the primary educational language is a native tongue. In Russian schools of Central Asia, native languages are taught only few hours a week as

foreign language courses.

TABLE 1*

WEEKLY LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE COURSES IN UZBEK NATIVE SCHOOLS (1981-1982)

	Grades (The Numbers under each grade show weekly hours):										
Subjects:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total hours:
Uzbek	12	10	9	5	5	2	2	2	1	0	48
Russian	4	5	6	6	3	3	2	2	2	2	35
Uzbek Literature	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
Russian Literature	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	12

TABLE II**

WEEKLY LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE COURSES IN KAZAKH NATIVE SCHOOLS (1981-1982)

	Grades (The numbers under each grade show weekly hours):										
Subjects:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total hours:
Kazakh	10	9	6	6	2	2	2	1	1	0	39
Russian	5	5	6	6	4	4	3	2	2	2	39
Kazakh Literature	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
Russian Literature	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14

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* "Oquv plani (Ozbek tilidä oqitilädigän mäktäblär uchun)," Oqituvchilär gäzetäsi (April 7, 1982), p.3.

** "Qazaq bastauïsh men orta mektebderi programmasï," Sotsialistïk qazaqstan (November 15, 1981), p. 3.

Despite the cosmopolitan orientation of Soviet education in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, Kazakh and Uzbek writers of the post-Stalin period are being inspired by the Central Asian cultural heritage and environment in their writings. The Central Asian countryside is the main setting for most Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction. Writers focus on describing the moral and social values which they find still persist in Central Asian villages despite the changes brought there by Soviet rule. Many authors have pointed to the destructive nature of kolkhozes for traditional Central Asian villages. The social and moral values in the kolkhozes are felt by Central Asian writers to be contradictory to native values retained among Central Asian villagers. Kazakh and Uzbek writers are making a conscious effort to preserve those unique social and moral values of Central Asian village life against the attempts to Sovietize them. Authors observe that the main cities of Central Asia are increasingly losing their nationality identity because of their cosmopolitan nature.

Besides studying the local Central Asian environment, many writers display an interest in both Islamic and pre-Islamic periods of Central Asian history in their prose fiction. In Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction the attention of readers is drawn to positive aspects and achievements in the pre-Soviet Central Asian cultural heritage. The cultural world in Kazakh and Uzbek historical prose fiction has its own values and realities which reminds the present-day Kazakhs

and Uzbeks of the differences existing between them and the Russians. In this sense, Kazakh and Uzbek writers seem to encourage the continuation of the current segregation between native and non-Central Asian communities living in Soviet Central Asia.

There is a noticeable change with respect to how these writers view their pre-Soviet past in the post-Stalin period of Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction. Kazakh and Uzbek writers of the Lenin and Stalin periods had a critical view of Central Asian history. They interpreted their historical past according to Marxist ideology by emphasizing what they called the tyranny of the rulers and the poverty and oppressed state of the common people. However, historical novels and stories written by contemporary Kazakh and Uzbek authors do not portray past Central Asian rulers as despots and tyrants. The interpretation of Central Asian history in contemporary Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction is very different from standard Soviet historiography. Kazakh and Uzbek writers do not follow the official judgment of historical events and personalities. They interpret their own group's history according to their own values and ideals. In this sense they seem to reconstruct that part of their own history and cultural past which they feel is lacking or being distorted in official Soviet historiography. However, the concentration on certain historical periods, personalities, and events in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction appears to be more than mere discovery and popular-

ization of a knowledge of the Central Asian past. In many examples of historical prose fiction, Central Asian history is interpreted in such a way as to reinforce and develop the nationality consciousness of Kazakh and Uzbek readers. In historical prose fiction, the Kazakh and Uzbek historical personalities are depicted as leaders who are conscious of their own ethnic groups. The strong attachment of historical heroes to their native land and ethnic community is repeated in several episodes of a historical novel.

As a social phenomenon, the concentration on nationality identity and group consciousness in both contemporary Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction reveals the reaction of the intelligentsia to official nationality policy. It seems that today's Central Asian authors express a dissatisfaction with the offered group identity. Some writers are concentrating more and more on finding the boundaries of present nationality identity such as their "Kazakh" and "Uzbek" ones. Are they trying to find a more satisfactory form of ethnic identity? This search, in turn, leads Kazakh and Uzbek writers to recognize the cultural links that existed between Central Asian nationalities in the pre-Soviet past. In many historical novels depiction of the emergence of a Central Asian Turkic (Turkistanian) identity is already clearly apparent.

Kazakh and Uzbek prose writers express a similar interest in choosing their themes from the local Central Asian environment or ethnic past. The main themes, fictional

characters, language, and style of both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction give obvious evidence that Central Asian writers have refused to be total propagandists for Soviet goals; goals which favor drastic changes in the cultural life of the Central Asian nationalities. Thus, the nationality identity strongly expressed in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction has profound implications for Soviet nationality policies. This trend in Central Asian literature represents a serious threat to Soviet internationalism as propagated in the form of a multi-ethnic "Soviet identity."[1]

Literary critics in the Soviet Union generally perform Party service by shaping a nationality's literature to fit government programs and Party demands. Literary critics themselves are strictly censored. However, despite severe strictures, young Kazakh and Uzbek critics who are sympathetic toward innovations in artistic creativity are emerging among old-style critics who advocate Party-line directives and policies. Their appearance in Kazakh and Uzbek literary activities seems to strengthen the position of those writers who are open to innovations, new ideas, individual tendencies, and seek personal identities in their prose fiction.

Local, cultural, social or political innovations in

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[1] Rais Tuzhmuhamedov, How the National Question Was Solved in Soviet Central Asia (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973), pp. 198-199; Mikhail Kulichenko, How the USSR Solved the Nationalities Question (Moscow: Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1974), pp. 75-78.

Central Asia during the first half of the twentieth century seem to have been introduced or transmitted mainly by young men.[1] Both Kazakh and Uzbek Reformist (Jadid) intellectuals were young people. In the Soviet period, too, the emergence of young prose fiction writers in both Kazakh and Uzbek literature in the post-Stalin period has cultural and political significance. The most important immediate consequence of prose fiction writing by emerging young Kazakh and Uzbek writers between the 1960s and 1980s has been the establishment of a starting point for further individual development of both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction.

The emergence of young Kazakh and Uzbek writers who are deeply concerned with the nationality question in their union republics relates to a demographic reality in both the Kazakh and Uzbek SSRs. According to 1970 Soviet census reports, the majority of the Kazakh and Uzbek population in their own republics belonged to a younger generation: 68.6 percent of all Kazakhs in the Kazakh SSR and 69 percent of all Uzbeks in the Uzbek SSR belonged to a younger generation between 0 and 29 years of age.[2]

Soviet officials are particularly interested in

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[1] Edward Allworth, "Regeneration in Central Asia," The Nationality Question in Soviet Central Asia, ed. by Edward Allworth (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), p. 3.

[2] Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1970 goda, vol. 4 (Moscow: "Statistika," 1973), p. 378. The 1979 Soviet census data for the different age groups of the population is not available yet.

this large Kazakh and Uzbek younger generation of the 1960s-1980s. The Communist Party is concerned with the level of their indoctrination in communist ideology, which is necessary for the creation of a multi-ethnic group-identity among these young Kazakhs and Uzbeks. Partly because of this demographic situation among the Kazakhs and Uzbeks and partly because today's young writers disagree with communist party doctrines, there is a potential for increasing major political tension in both Kazakh and Uzbek literary activity.

Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction oi the post-Stalin period is strikingly different from the prose fiction produced between 1930s and 1953. In an ominous sense, there is a similarity between contemporary Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction and that of the 1920s. The prose fiction of that earlier period was also dominated by young writers who were open to innovations or new ideas, and who showed individual tendencies and personal identity in their writings. When Party officials failed to draw them into line with the Party, drastic punishment was used. Those Reformist writers were executed during the Stalinist purges between 1937 and 1940. However, less than twenty years after the disappearance of those "innovative" Central Asian writers, a new group of Central Asian writers has appeared in both Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction. The advantage enjoyed by today's writers is that they are far more numerous than that small group of Kazakh and Uzbek writers who fell victim to Stalin's purges.

The Communist Party is aware of this ethnic nationality tendency in Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction, and other genres of literature. How to deal with this new group of Central Asian writers and their literary activities is one crucial question which Party officials face today.

Part of the strength of today's Kazakh and Uzbek prose fiction is that it definitely displays a cultural continuity in Central Asian literature. The majority of Kazakh and Uzbek writers of the post-Stalin period appears to have consciously preserved the cultural values and identities of their respective ethnic groups. The question of whether a cosmopolitan and multi-national (Soviet) identity or a distinct nationality identity (Kazakh and Uzbek) will dominate the Kazakh and Uzbek literary scene in the future depends again in good part upon the stability and continuity of self-identity, ideas, morality, and cultural links between one generation and the next as well as upon the ability of young Kazakh and Uzbek writers (and other intellectuals) to transmit this trend to yet another generation.

This study of selected Central Asian prose fiction of the post-Stalin psriod raises another, broader intellectual question. That is, the importance of literature in maintaining, reinforcing, and developing a distinct nationality identity. Such awareness seems to increase when the writers of a nationality feel that their ethnic group's

survival is endangered by alien pressure. Literature is one of the important means of large-scale communication and one of the few still available to educated people there. Kazakh and Uzbek prose writers have proved that they are determined to maintain this communication with their ethnic group by their distinct nationality literature. If it does not undergo official suppression once again, this literary trend may evidence the beginning of an artistic resurrection in modern Central Asian literature.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following entries represent articles and books, as well as bibliographical works, which have been consulted in the preparation of this thesis. Entries have been selected for inclusion from a larger body of sources on the basis of their particular value for this study.

The entries are divided into two main sections, each of which is further sub-divided. Section A includes original prose fiction in Kazakh and Uzbek, as well as a few examples which have been translated into the Russian and English languages. Section B features main references, grouped into four sub-divisions according to their languages (Kazakh, Uzbek, Russian, and other languages). Two final sub-divisions (8 & 9) in Section B provide both encyclopedias and periodicals consulted for this study. This bibliography includes all of the sources cited in the footnotes, as well as a number which have not been specifically mentioned in the text. Kazakh and Uzbek authors' names in this bibliography appear with the diacritical (transliteration) marks which were omitted in the text of this dissertation.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ALI QUSHCHI'S LAST WORDS TO HIS PUPILS IN ULUGHBEK'S TREASURE (1973) BY ADIL YAQUBOV*

Ali Qushchi sighed and looked at his pupils who were standing in front of him with their heads bowed. Ali Qushchi, as if he were talking to himself, slowly said:

--"I still remember, We and master [Ulughbek] said good-bye to each other right in this very place before that ill-omened night. The deceased master entrusted the preservation of that rare treasure to this humble person. Now, I entrust this to you and both of you to God [allagä tapshirämän]. You must always remember that this unique treasure, composed of the wisdom of Transoxiana's scholars, will serve future generations and our distant descendants. Because regardless of how long this darkness which overwhelms the country of Transoxiana lasts, one day certainly these black clouds will be dispersed and the sun will rise...Only the Devil is hopeless. I, a humble person, hope that I will come back on the day when this darkness leaves Transoxiana. But, yet, if I pass away in exile...you should preserve this treasure like the pupils of your eyes and then entrust it to your faithful students,

---

* This is a translation from the Uzbek novel: Adil Yaqubov, Ulughbek khäzinäsi (Tashkent: Ghäfur Ghulam Namidägi Ädäbiyat vä Sän'ät Näshriyati, 1974), pp. 318-319.

and they should entrust it to their students. And in this way this treasure should be passed from one generation to another until it reaches those lucky descendants of ours who will live when the sun rises above our country's skies. I don't have any other requests to make of you. I am pleased with students like you. If I have hurt you in the past, please forgive me..."

--"We are pleased with you master."

--"We are pleased thousands of times!.."

Ali Qushchi embraced first Mansur Kashiy and then Miram Chalabiy and said good-bye to them. When Ali Qushchi was kissing the forehead of his beloved pupil Miram Chalabiy who was weeping without hiding his tears, he remembered that moment when his master Mirza Ulughbek with tears in his eyes was hugging and saying good-bye to him. Remembering this, Ali Qushchi felt badly.

Miram Chalabiy and Mansur Kashiy saw him off to the great road. Ali Qushchi looked back several times until he climbed to hill. When he reached the top, he looked back for the last time, standing in his stirrups.

His pupils were down the hill waving their hands to him; Samarkand, not only Samarkand, even the nearest gardens were out of sight, as if the entire world [aläm] was submerged in his tears. Ali Qushchi waved his hand for the last time to his pupils, wiped his tears, and turned the head of his horse to the mountain pass...

APPENDIX B

THE CLOSING REMARKS BY PIRIMQUL QADIROV IN STARRY NIGHTS (1978)*

The dynasty which Babur established is known to the world as the empire of Great Moghuls; it survived almost two centuries and passed away in history. Nor could [Babur's] descendants survive until today. In the past centuries, during the period of British colonization, the last descendants [of Babur] were destroyed.

And yet, the best works that were written by Babur's hand are still full of the warmth of a heart alive, and they are still giving people moral nourishment [mä'näviy aziq] and esthetic pleasure [bädiiy zävk]. It is true that his [Babur's] life passed quickly, just like a star that disappears after leaving a flaming trail in the dark sky. However, his second life--which has been going on for almost five centuries in the pages of his immortal works--tells that this star [Babur] flew from night to dawn and directed its light toward the future. As long as the cultural heritage [mädäniy meras] that Babur created in the fire of his heart nourishes today's bright generations, his second life flourishes in our enlightened days after the dark nights of the past.

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* Pirimqul Qädirov, "Yulduzli tunlär," Shärq yulduzi, No. 7 (1978), p. 202.

APPENDIX C

CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN MUHAMMAD SALIH AND TWO TRIBAL LEADERS IN STARRY NIGHTS*

Muhammad Salih pretended to take Qambarbiy's hatred toward him as a joke:

--"My Good Sir, Qambarbiy, I am now an Uzbek Turk."

--"Don't be so smart, an Uzbek is one thing, a Turk is another."

--"Why is it another thing? In Uzbek there is a saying 'my fatherland is Turkistan,' so what do you say to that?"

--"Hoh, boy"--said Kopakbiy--"this here poet wants to give our Turkistan away to the Turks!"

The ignorant Kobakbiy's words made Muhammad Salih almost laugh:

--"My Good Sir, Kopakbiy, just understand the meaning of the word Turkistan. Turkistan means the country [yurt] of Turks."

--"What're ya trying to say? Did we break away from the Turks of Rum?"

--"No, it isn't like that at all! The Mavaraunnahr Turks made these valleys flourish several centuries before the Turks of Rum. Just take a look at the hills around the citadel

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* Pirimqul Qädirov, "Yulduzli tunlär," Shärq yulduzi, No. 5 (1978), pp. 134-135.

of Samarkand. There stood a great city called Afrasiyab a thousand years ago. And Afrasiyab was the legendary hero of the Transoxiana [Maväraunnähr] Turks."

--"This poet eats Uzbek bread and then praises the Turks to the hilt"--[said Qambarbiy].

--"My Good Sir, Qambarbiy, the Uzbek, Turkmen, Kazakh, Kirghiz...don't you know that all of these are Turkic peoples [turkiy khälqlär]. Like the children of one father, our land is one, our religion is one, our history is one..."

--"And what about your Turk"--asked Qambarbiy, trying to draw him out.

Muhammad Salih smiled meaningfully and imitated the phrasing of Qambarbiy:

--"Your Turkistan was acquanted with our Turks even in ancient times. For a thousand years they called the other side of Khorasan Iran, and this side Turan...Even his excellency [Shaybaniy Khan] knows this quite well. The Imami zaman* had been educated in the madrasa** of Bukhara; therefore, he has learned far too many Turkic poems by heart. He himself has written lyric poems [ghäzällär] in Turkic language. Let me recite one couplet from the lyric poems of his excellency:

---

* Imami zaman (the religious leader "Caliph" of the present-day) is one of the titles of Shaybaniy Khan (1451-1510).

** Madrasa is Muslim theological college.

"Firqät atidin yiqildim, yar keldi sorghäli,

Ey Shäybaniy, yar därdinggä däva qildi yänä."*

--"These poems of his excellency are not in Turkic, but Uzbek!," said Qambarbiy.

--"But all Turkic-speaking poets wrote poetry in this very language. If this [poem] is in Uzbek, that means that Navaiy** also wrote in Uzbek. That means that your humble servant also is speaking with you in Uzbek. That means that the language of the Transoxiana Turks and the Uzbek language are in essence one language. My dear Sirs, now our hearts must also be one. The Timurids separated people [ulus] from people and called them "Turk" and "Uzbek," and thereby broke up the people [khälq], and ruined the country by partitioning it..."

---

* "I have fallen from the horse of separation and the beloved one came to inquire / Oh, Shaybaniy, the beloved one cured thy grief again."

** The famous Chaghatay poet Alisher Navaiy (1441-1501).

APPENDIX D

SOME EXCERPTS FROM "INTERVIEW BETWEEN A WRITER AND A CRITIC: SAID AHMAD--UMARALI NARMATOV"*

CRITIC: A perfect artistic trilogy which combines three books in one cover has appeared for the first time in Uzbek literature. The history of the birth of this trilogy is interesting too. The second book, which is the central part of [the trilogy] Horizon was written first, and then the last and the first books...Now, with the publication of the first book, entitled The Days of Separation, interesting discussions have been started. At the Horizon's Threshold and finally the book Forty-Five Days have been published separately, and they caused the opening of serious discussion. The opinions of both your writer-friends and the literary critics about Horizon have been known to the public, and the evaluation of Horizon by readers is known, too. Horizon became known very fast. I have been at conference where Horizon was debated. I have listened to words that came out of reader's hearts.

Right now is the moment to hear your own views of this fifteen years of creative work and of the discussions by others about this trilogy. The details about the course of writing

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* This is a translation from: "Yazuvchi bilän tänqidchi suhbäti: Säid Ähmäd--Umäräli Narmätov," Shärq yulduzi, No. 1 (1977), pp. 201-215.

Horizon from its first inspiration to the final completion of a trilogy will interest everyone. In short, if you would first tell us the history of Horizon's creation.

WRITER: First of all, I should tell how I write stories. This way, I can easily explain how the novel is written.

In a creative debate with a man of letters, once, I explained that a writer should write not until his hand gets tired, but his soul. I tried to explain how creative work differs from physical labor.

They say that a soccer player loses several pounds by the time a game is over. I say a writer loses much of his blood before he finishes a story. I can give my own examples. I have written all of my stories [during the nights] till the dawn. The next day I go around very tired and exhausted. But the enjoyment and the delight of having written a new story stimulates my soul.

Now I shall begin the introductory part of my answer to your question. If a story is written with that much suffering, then how will a novel, which can be equal to forty or fifty stories, be written? I used to think that I might die after writing a novel.

When I describe a man carrying a load, I sweat as if I am lifting it. I almost cry as if I am standing by the corpse of a person most dear to me when I describe a death scene.

In short, whatever I describe, I became a participant in that event. Because of this, I get exhausted when I finish

a chapter.

I relax when I describe funny situations. I don't get tired. Sometimes, I have written two or three stories for Mushtum* or eight to nine sketches for television shows during a single night without getting tired.

My writing of a serious story is as painful as a woman's pains during childbirth.

I never think of the topic [syujet] 'til its end during the writing of a story, a long story [qissä], or a novel. A plan [skhema] which is drawn up in the beginning will lead the hero astray. The hero will resist walking on a line that is drawn in advance.

If the writer knows his hero's personality clearly--his temperament, will, character, his fastness or slowness, his figure, physical superiority or weakness, his talkativeness, timidity...the writer who knows all of these must leave the hero at liberty after the second or third chapter of the novel. The writer must watch him and must analyze his activities, the persons he has met and the stage of his progress. If [the writer] forces him to walk along a road which is drawn in advance, the hero turns into an artificial and false man. Then [the hero] is forced to behave in ways not suitable to his character, to say words that he does not want and to do the things that he cannot do. In this type of story plot, the hero is not believable to the reader.

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* Mushtum is an Uzbek satirical-humor magazine.

Because of these difficulties, I started to write a novel very late.

CRITIC: It appears that artistic reation is a mysterious and magical mental process. In this process it is difficult to plan everything clearly in advance. It is natural that plans drawn in advance be changed during the creation... Even when this is the case, we still want to know the reasons why you have started writing from the very center of Horizon.

WRITER: I had planned this novel in two books. The war period should have been the first book, and the period after the war the second. I wrote in this way.

During the process of writing these two books, the people and landscape of the Farghana Valley enthrolled me very much. Because these two books were written with great excitement, experiments, various mental sorrows, and joys, I couldn't escape from the mental attraction of them even after they had been finished, and reached the hands of readers, and literary criticism had said good and bad things about them. When I write a story, I identify with my heroes even those parts I write and do not include in the story.

We can see this kind of state among theater players too. If an actor works very hard on a role, for a long time he can't escape from that role's effect, and if he plays another role, he will be still under the influence of that first role. After playing the role of Othello, Abrar Hidayatov, the "people's artist" of the USSR, made the heroes of other plays identical with Othello. The famous actor Simenov continued to

be Peter I, Babochkin and Chapayev. Simenov came to himself only after playing the role of Montanello (in the art film "Sona") which is opposite of the role of Peter I.

I didn't try to find a topic which would the opposite of Horizon. A great event--which took place where the other incidents of the novel had occurred--have attracted me to itself. That was the building of the Great Farghana Canal, whose traces will never fade away in the history of the World's irrigation.

CRITIC: In an article published in Ozbekistan mädäniyäti, you have said that the novel devoted to the building [of this canal] is a separate work. How did this work become the first part of Horizon?

WRITER: First I thought to write a separate novel based on this topic. I even wrote one or two chapters of this independent book. The excitement of Horizon, however, was continuing in my soul. It didn't work. I wanted to delay the new novel for one or two years in order to escape from Horizon. I did. But, again it didn't work. Instead of getting rid of Horizon's influence, the new novel started to become close to Horizon.

Some have complained that there are shortcomings in the portrayal of Horizon's fictional characters, Ikramjan and Tursunbay. Suddenly, I thought of making this new novel the first part of Horizon and including those fictional characters which have shortcomings.

The closeness of the epoch and the same place in both these works have helped me.

But the new work was demanding the creation of new fictional characters and new conflicts. Because of this, I have taken on the task of writing a book which can be both independent and the first part of Horizon.

As you know, it is a huge task on the on the shoulders of [Uzbek] authors to to write about this gigantic event which will be never forgotten in the life of our nationality. The persons who participated in the building df this Canal are becoming fewer with the passing years. And events are getting erased from the minds.

It was difficult to write a novel about the people of Farghana while staying in Tashkent. Especially, I went to the "Kuygänyar" dam of the Farghana Canal, and started to write there. My fictional heroes--the retired workers of the Canal--were around me. The places where that great event had taken place were in front of my eyes. As artists call it "painting from life" [s natury], I started to write looking at the Canal and people.

In this way, the two-volume novel became a trilogy.

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CRITIC: Uzbek prose fiction has a characteristic tradition. Many writers of ours go to the Farghana Valley to search for topics, materials, and heroes. Abdullah Qadiriy, in his novels Days Gone By and Scorpion From the Pulpit, Aybek

in his novel Breezes From the Golden Valley, and Ghafur Ghulam in his stories and essays [ocherk] have followed the same path. The most exciting pages in Mirmuhsin's Umid and Otkir Hashimov's There is Shadow, Because There is Light* are related to the colors of Farghana. You, too, write about the people of Farghana, although you are from Tashkent. Most of your stories and now your Horizon are blended with the spirit and colors of Farghana [Färghanä koloriti ruhi bilän yoghrilgän]. Is this a result of your personal inclination or is it related to certain traditions of our prose?

WRITER: I don't know the real reason why I wrote about the people of Farghana, although I am a native of Tashkent. I don't know if it is because of the nationality characteristics [milliy khususiyätlär] of the Uzbek nationality, the traditions of the people [Uzbeks], and the nationality spirit in the landscapes are stronger in those parts. Or, if it is because the scenery is beautiful in Farghana. Whatever are the reasons, I always want to go there [Farghana] even if I don't feel like writing anything.

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* Otkir Hashimov, Nur barki, sayä bar, new ed. (Tashkent: Ghäfur Ghulam Namidägi Ädäbiyat vä Sän'ät Näshriyati, 1976).