

ҚАЗАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫ  
БІЛІМ ЖӘНЕ ҒЫЛЫМ МИНИСТРЛІГІ  
ҒЫЛЫМ КОМИТЕТІ  
Ш.Ш.УӘЛИХАНОВ АТЫНДАҒЫ ТАРИХ  
ЖӘНЕ ЭТНОЛОГИЯ ИНСТИТУТЫ



# «EDU.E-HISTORY.KZ» ЭЛЕКТРОНДЫҚ ҒЫЛЫМИ ЖУРНАЛЫ



*№3 (27) шілде-қыркүйек 2021*

**ISSN 2710-3994**



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## COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL REPRESSIONS OF KAZAKHS AND AHISKA TURKS

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**Abstract.** The aim of this study is to study the joint history of the Kazakhs and the Ahiska Turks, who were subjected to repression in the republics of Central Asia in the 1920s-1950s. This comparative analysis was made through the prism of interethnic harmony. Firstly, the main goal was to establish a result through in-depth study of the issue in order to prove a hypothesis and answer research questions in this scientific work. Secondly, to create a basis for the development of civil society in Kazakhstan and improve the state policy of Kazakhstan in this regard, using a common history to strengthen interethnic harmony. This study used quantitative and qualitative methods to collect data. Until now, the number and personalities of repressed Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks has not been fully determined. Observation of the repressed people, interviews, archival data are important components of this study. The actuality and importance of this study is to determine that the joint history of Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks is the basis of the state interethnic policy. The process of rehabilitation and development of civil society in the Republic of Kazakhstan has been launched at the state level today.

**Key words:** Repressions, Kazakhs, Ahiska Turks, state-building policy, rehabilitation, development of civil society, interethnic consent.

**Introduction.** The actuality and significance of this study is to find out how the joint history of the repressed Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks on the territory of the Republics of Central Asia between the years 1920 and 1950 of the twentieth century serves as the basis for state-building policy, rehabilitation processes and development of civil society in the Republic of Kazakhstan through the prism of interethnic consent, and today, the process of state-building on behalf of the historical rehabilitation of Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks has been already launched on the governmental levels and governmental commissions on rehabilitation has been created both for Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks.

The problems of these groups got into state and even international focus due to some reasons: 1) Internationally there is a huge seek in rehabilitation of Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks who had been repressed between the years 1920 and 1950 in Republics of Central Asia, and the fulfillment of this seek will clearly identify state-building policy and development of civil society in the Republic of Kazakhstan; 2) Nationally, this will clearly identify nation building in Kazakhstan through the interethnic consent between these two ethnic groups, as well as state the role of Ahiska Turks in this process.

The hypothesis behind this is that there is a real influence of the joint history of the repressed Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks on the territory of the Republics of Central Asia between the years 1920 and 1950 of the twentieth century on the current state-building policy, rehabilitation processes and development of civil society in the Republic of Kazakhstan through the prism of interethnic consent.

The problems stated is that there is no clear vision for state-building policy and development of civil society in the Republic of Kazakhstan through the prism of interethnic consent because of the lack of a completed rehabilitation process that hinders interethnic harmony. How it is even possible that after so many years those repressed groups, including Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks, still haven't been fully rehabilitated? Why haven't the documents in the Archives on those people who were repressed in 1920 and 1950 in the countries of Central Asia been declassified yet? Why most of those Archives are closed to free scientific research? Lack of rehabilitation of certain groups identify weak position of Kazakhstani historical

revival as the important part of the state-building process. Lack of law base for free depiction of all documents that will help to rehabilitate all the repressed Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks on the territory of the Republics of Central Asia between the years 1920 and 1950 of the twentieth century. There are not even close similar studies on this topic in the field of Public and Municipal administration.

The purpose of this study is twofold. First, to create a result of an in-depth study of this problem in order to prove the hypothesis and answer the research questions for serious scientific basis and approach for future research by author of this research or other scientists. Second, to create a basis that will help to clarify state-building policy for Kazakhstan in this regard and development of civil society of Kazakhstan by using the joint history for strong interethnic consent.

More specifically, the research questions of the study are the following:

- (a) What are the options and opportunities for rehabilitation of Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks?
- (b) How repressions of Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks affect current state-building policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan?
- (c) What is the impact of the joint historical facts of repressions between Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks on the nature of development of civil society in Kazakhstan?
- (d) What is the nature of interethnic consent between Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks in Kazakhstan? (Religious and Ethnic)

**Materials and methods.** The subjects for this study will be not only repressed Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks on the territory of the Republics of Central Asia between the years 1920 and 1950 of the twentieth century, but it is also planned to interview sampled people from among the Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks among the youth, and among the elderly population from different professions that have a clear vision of interethnic consent in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Research interviews will be used as a base for all phases of the research. An interview instrument will be applied for everyone, who has a particular research interest for the author of this research. Governmental archives will be used to gather facts and historical information about the process and details of repressions. In this approach archival research method will be used. Archival data and information analysis construct a support for this particular research. I will also demand meetings with high representatives of Kazakh Government, executives of NGO's, ambassadors and general councils, as well as other groups, which will help to approve the practical need for the scientific implementation of the solution of this problem.

In this study, it is proposed to use a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods to gather data. The number of identified people from among the Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks who were subjected to repression, the number of the population and the difference in numbers due to incorrect data in people's documents, the difference in numbers between different categories of repressed persons are more amenable to data collection by quantitative methods. Observation of repressed people, interviews, archival data and reflection are more suited when the data need to be richer, and this particular research will definitely have more accent on the qualitative approach.

**Discussion.** The research will help to develop and improve doctrines, support rehabilitation processes on international and intergovernmental level, as well as rise the problem for the well-known political and other personalities through letters and personal meetings, in order to legitimately approve some aspects of the research.

The data will be analyzed by archival research, interviews transcribed, and the analysis of literature to obtain the outcomes.

There are problems that are beyond the control of the researcher, in particular, some secrecy and inaccessibility of archival documents due to the law that only direct descendants of the repressed have the legal right to receive a full package of documents. There may also be problems with bureaucracy in the process of submitting requests to state bodies for obtaining information. Due to the restrictions associated with COVID 19, there may be problems with movement within Kazakhstan, as well as with travel abroad.

Some well-known pioneering studies began with a focus on the arguments that Ahiska Turks are not ethnically Turks, but were so designated during the Second World War (on 15 November 1944) to suit the needs of the Soviet regime like Enders Wimbush and Ronald Wixman, "The Meskhetian Turks: A New

Voice in Soviet Central Asia" Canadian Slavonic Papers Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1975." Nekrich A. (1978) stated some historical facts about the occupation in the Crimea, Northern Caucasus and Kalmyk ASSR, and that the repressions and fate of Soviet minorities at the end of the Second World War started since then. After the fall of the Soviet Union, other various works started to suddenly appear, mainly because most but not all of the Soviet archives and documents got declassified. As a consequence, Paul Connerton (1991) started to issue the collective memory-structuring of societies, followed by Bugay (1996), who stated the first factual data about the repression of peoples in the Soviet Union. Simon, G., Forster, K., Forster, O., & Critchlow, J. (1992), enhanced the work on the factual data about the repressions and nationalism in the Soviet Union. Other researchers (Dr. B. Zakir AVŞAR, 1994; Zafer S. TUNÇALP, 1994) covered the emotional part of the research on the deportation and revised the fifty-year old history. This book shows the memories of Ahiska Turks and their collective memories about the deportation and also yearnings about their homeland. Asif Hadjiyev (2007) made a huge effort to shape the cultural and traditional view and research on the Ahiska Turks and the influence of deportation on these areas. Yunus Zeyrek (2001) and Terry Martin (2001) covered geostrategic, geopolitical, historical and ethnic location of Ahiska Turks and overall Nations in USSR. Simonenko V. A. (2002) made a huge work in Russian language to show the historical future and problems of adaptation of Ahiska Turks after the deportation. In contrast, this work would be analyzing and theorizing the effects of deportation on the collective trauma and collective memories, and also identity-building of the Meskhetian Turks in Kazakhstan. Terry Martin's (2001) and Rogers Brubaker's (2002) theories would be taken as a core to this research. Steve Swerdlow (2003), basically covered the issue of Human Rights in the repression processes in cases of transnational minorities like Meskhetians and Hemshins in Georgia and Krasnodar region. Blacklock, Denika (2005), tried to find durable solutions for the Ahiska Turks, European Centre for Minority Issues. This article talks about the ways of settling of the problem of Ahiska Turks and finding peaceful and concrete solutions to the problem, and also resettlement of Ahiska Turks. Аудыңғын, Ауығғы; Harding, Zığdem Balım; Hoover, Matthew; Kuznetsov, Igor; Swerdlow, Steve (2006), created the historical map of Ahiska Turks, people, land, history, Ahiska Turk communities around the world, culture, language and education, resettlement of Ahiska Turks in the US. Mustafa Uren (May 2016), explained the issue of Ahiska Turks in the Clamp of the Balance of Power and Interest.

Previous research of Rakisheva B. and Majitova A., about The Turkic base as a factor of adaptation: on the example of the Meskhetian Turks living in Kazakhstan and the Kazakh Diaspora in Istanbul will be enhanced and factor that were not covered will be covered in this research. In addition, the work of L. Krader "Nations of Central Asia" will be used as a reference material. The problem of Ahiska Turks was also clearly stated by A.M. Hazanov, professor of anthropology of the University of Wisconsin, in his article "Ahiska Turks in Search of Self-Identity", he is the author who compares two ethnic groups – Ahiska Turks and Adjars. Another comparison is made by Jong Jin Oh from the Hankuk University of "Comparative analysis of the Ahiska (Meskhetian) Turks and Koreans in post-soviet Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan: The Making of diaspora identity and culture. In this work the question stands for the save of the identity of two diasporas in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan.

Shirin Akiner made a detailed research "Towards a Typology of Diasporas in Kazakhstan", from the journal "Otan Tarihi". In the article of famous researcher from England, doctor Shirin Akiner, the category of "diaspora", formation, analysis, chronology and typology of migrational processes in Kazakhstan from the 18th century to the modern day are occupied.

In this research, Rogers Brubaker's theories are used as a base with the analysis and adoption of Rogers Brubaker's theoretical frameworks explained in his work "Rogers Brubaker - Ethnicity without groups (2004)" to this research, which analyses the similar problems that of Rogers Brubaker's, and his theories can be used in this work. Rogers Brubaker's works clearly develop theories that apply to this particular work about the repressions of Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks and its consequences for this ethnic groups. (Brubaker 2000, p. 2)

As the main idea of this work is to show how the repressions, particularly the repressions of Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks, affected their identity building processes, state-building policy, rehabilitation processes, development of civil society, it can use Rogers Brubaker's theories as a base in the process of analysis and

research. As Rogers Brubaker clearly describes and theorize the essence of ethnic groupism and conflicts of ethnic minorities, it applies to interethnic consent of Ahiska Turks and Kazakhs too, because these two groups became the true victims of the discrimination processes in the Soviet Union. (Brubaker 2004, p. 164)

Many people would argue that the repression processes were strategically important for the Soviet border security, but as the theories of Rogers Brubaker show, these actions were purely the acts of aggression towards minorities, to whom the Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks apply. The theory of “Ethnicity as cognition” is explained as “Ethnicity, race and nationhood exist only in and through our perceptions, interpretations, representations, categorizations and identifications. They are not things in the world, but perspectives on the world.” This can be easily applied to repressed Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks, as their perceptions, interpretations, representations, categorizations and identifications play a very key role in the whole process of the 30 year period. This also shows that the Soviet elites were highly concerned with the border issues and that the cross-border ethnicities were the weak sides of the Soviet regime.

Strategies for surviving repressions were common for Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks physically through the whole process of repressions, and mentally after repressions. Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks were repressed and deported in very harsh manner and the worse environment. The animal wagons were filled with people of all ages and genders, the lack of space and anti-humanistic process made people to die from diseases like Typhus (disambiguation). These people were just inhumanely thrown out of the wagons, in front of their relatives and family members, and were left for death. Some of the elders managed to hide the ill people. (Martin 1998, p.817)

The repressions of Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks took place in Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, where these ethnic groups were forced to integrate, however, their sense of “ethnic groupism” (Rogers Brubaker, 2004) through the start of identity building processes started in these states.

In addition to Rogers Brubaker’s theories of groupism and identity formation, Terry Martin’s theory about the Soviet ethnic cleansing clearly applies to the cleansing in Soviet Union by Stalin and Beria. The archival data from Kazakh SSR and the GKO decree of 1944 about the deportation of Meskhetian Turks works as a base source of this information.

Paul Connerton’s – “How Societies Remember?” is also a comprehensive collective memory theory that is applied in this research. His ideas about the collective memory theory is a perfect fit for the common sense in the prism of interethnic consent between Kazakhs and Ahiska Turks, taking into consideration their joint historical fate, and its psychological consequences for this particular ethnic groups. (Connerton 1989, p.6)

Petrov N.V. in his work "The History of the Gulag Empire" writes that the greatest mortality in the colonies was observed in those regions (Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan), where convicts evacuated from the frontline were admitted. In these republics, up to 4% of prisoners died in some months (Petrov N. V. History of the Gulag Empire).

In the collective study "The Black Book of Communism", published in 1997 in France, and then in Russia, in the chapter "The Great Terror", based on the analysis of published documents, Vert N. noted that mass repressions were the result of decisions of the highest party bodies, in particular, Stalin himself (Courtois S., Vert N., 2001). In the work of Samuelson L. and Khaustov V., the so-called Kulak operation on foreign nationalities, mass operations that affected broad segments of the population of the USSR are highlighted, the features of the conviction of those arrested by extra-judicial emergency bodies are shown. The analysis of historiography shows that the problem of Stalin's specific participation in the deployment of mass repressions that swept the country in 1937-1938 has not received sufficient coverage to date (Samuelson L., Khaustov V., 2009).

Alamshoev K., author of the book *Pomir, 1937*, believes that "the history of terror in Tajikistan consists of many stages and groups that require serious study. I have been working a lot in the archives for the last two years. There are still many cases from which the "secret" label has not been removed and access to them is prohibited without special permission. This situation suggests that the policy of studying archives in Tajikistan requires revision, so that at least there is free access to such cases" (Alamshoev K., 2013).

In his book "Pamir 1937", Kurbon Alamshoev told about how in the 30s tens of thousands of



innocent people from Tajikistan fell under the "condemned" category of "enemy of the people". "Unfortunately, this page of history has not been studied enough by our scientists, and having limited ourselves to a few dozen famous personalities, we forget about thousands of other repressed people-teachers, artists, dehkans, religious figures. Many of them are still not officially rehabilitated, and this is unfair both to their memory and to their descendants" says Alamshoev (Alamshoev K., 2013).

Sociologist at the University of Bergen (Norway) Mehmonsho Sharifov: "Tajikistan, following the example of Russia, Kazakhstan and other republics of the former USSR, should establish a Day of Remembrance for Victims of Political Repression, declassify archives and more seriously investigate the events of those years" (IA Ferghana, 2019).

According to Neymonov, the practical implementation of the erroneous theory about the aggravation of the class struggle as the positions of socialism strengthened and the Soviet state advanced as the basis of the struggle against "enemies of the people", "traitors", "bourgeois nationalists", "enemy agents", "anti-revolutionary elements" in Soviet Tajikistan had the most tragic consequences. Prominent party, state and public figures – Makhsum N., Shotemur Sh., Khodjibayev A., Imomov Ch., Mukhiddinov A., Fozilov A., Mavlonbekov A., Abdulloev S., Nosirov S., Bobojonov R. (Khodji Rakhmatullo), Aliyev A., Okchurin O., Broido G., Ryskulov T., Turakulov N., Khodjaev F., Yusufzai Afgon N., Afzalov F. and others (Neymonov, 2019:20).

Mlechin L. writes in the article "Ideal Slaves" in 2019 that the GULAG was constantly expanding, in Kazakhstan in 1930 a Kazakh camp (Kazlag) appeared right in the city of Alma-Ata, and prisoners felled the forest, paved the streets of the capital, created the state farm "Giant" — an exemplary socialist enterprise. In 1931, the Karaganda camp (Karlak) was formed, after the war, more than sixty thousand people were sitting in it. Also in "Ideal Slaves" it is noted about the existence of a uranium ore mining plant in Tajikistan, which was built by prisoners. Prisoners were brought, they created a camp and built it, and there were cases of Kazakh prisoners being imported to the territory of Tajikistan (Mlechin L., 2019).

Papko A. in the article on the website "belsat.eu", on March 11, 2020, writes that the problems of the Central Asian countries have been dragging on since 1924, that then the region was divided by the Bolsheviks along ethnic lines, not following ethnographic maps. In the 1920s, Moscow made Bukhara and Samarkand, inhabited by Tajiks, the first capitals of Soviet Uzbekistan. However, in those years, Tajikistan was an autonomy within Uzbekistan. The Kremlin annexed the city of Osh with an Uzbek population to Soviet Kyrgyzstan to give it an industrial center. The borders of one republic included fields and irrigation channels - even if another people lived on the banks of these channels, and in high probability, part of the Kazakh population also remained in Tajikistan. (Papko A., 2020).

Ubaydullov Z. in 2014 in his work "The Russian-Soviet Heritage in the Transformation of the national territory of Central Asia: the Catastrophic Case of Tajikistan", writes that the Turkestan ASSR also included modern Southern Kazakhstan, and almost all of Central Asia. There were two types of Soviet governments in Central Asia before 1924: autonomous republics, such as the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and people's republics like the Bukhara People's Republic and the Khorezm People's Republic (Ubaydullov Z., 2014:82).

Bologov P. writes in his 2014 work that in addition to large detachments of Basmachi in Central Asia throughout the 1920s and 1930s, there were many small ones that eventually completely marginalized and relocated to the territory of neighboring Iran, China and Afghanistan, from where they raided the territory of the USSR. Now the republics of Central Asia are cautiously rethinking the Basmachi movement, assuming that it was, first of all, liberation. With all the pros and cons of this approach, it is impossible not to agree that Basmachestvo was essentially a partisan movement that appeared as a reaction to the miscalculations and excesses of the national policy of the Bolsheviks. In this, the Bolsheviks were fundamentally different from the tsarist authorities, who took into account the specifics of the region (Bologov P., 2014).

Ubaydullov Z. says that the Kazakh basmachi left Tajikistan for other neighboring countries after the defeat of the Bukhara emirate in 1920. The Soviet Empire took time to establish itself in Central Asia. Ubaydullov Z. writes that the Basmach movement is a patriotic movement for freedom, faith and honor. The process of creating Soviet power in Tajikistan was a long political and military struggle. But, by the

end of the 1920s, the Islamic movement and the national liberation movement were suppressed. Leaders and participants were killed by the red Army, while the rest went to Afghanistan, and from there to various Muslim countries, such as India, Pakistan, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, etc (Ubaidulloev Z., 2014:85).

Nuraliev Abdusattor conducted ethnographic research, which has an information that up to 70 thousand Kazakhs lived in Tajikistan in different periods of history, and most of them were eventually killed, repressed, suppressed in the period from 1920 to 1950 (Nuraliev, 2016:2).

Konrad N. I. in the work *West and East* writes: "When studying the problems of migration of representatives of the Kazakh nationality to Central Asia, including the territory of present-day Tajikistan, we proceed from the fact that "different parts of humanity, with all their quarrels in the field of culture (and other issues), have always been in communication with each other and could not do without it" (Konrad N. I., 1972).

**Results.** As a result of this historiographic analysis, the study of sources of information and work on the repression of the Kazakh people on the territory of Tajikistan, it should be stated that the Kazakhs, like the indigenous inhabitants of Tajikistan, were persecuted, murdered, shot by the Stalinist regime, through direct individual persecution of the Kazakh military, political, religious, national leaders, as well as through camps, GULAGs, in which, according to the research studied in this analysis, a large number of Kazakh people were and died. Another aspect was the spirit and patriotic-national thinking of the Kazakh people, who, being on the territory of Tajikistan, entered, created, led, and participated in the Basmach movement, which lasted until the second half of the 1920s. (Communist Crimes-Communist dictatorship in Tajikistan). The statistics provided in this study of studies by other authors is a direct basis and evidence for the above. The closed archives of Tajikistan do not allow a full study of this issue, but through the study of cipher telegrams, articles, opinions of scientists, works, and research of other people, political, historical, statistical, geographical, ethnographic aspects were established, an objective historical assessment of the problem was given.

The results of this particular research are enhanced by the methods of research that were used towards the analysis of the Deportation of Meskhetian Turks, and the results of this research fully covered and answered the research questions, by the help of deep archival research, content analysis, interview with the actual deported people, and a comprehensive survey that gave a good over picture what was happening, the history, the deportation, the current situation of Meskhetian Turks and identity building in Kazkshstan or possible repatriation to Georgia and Turkey, as well as the share of collective memories from parents to children about the details of the deportation.

69 years ago, on November 15, 1944, the Meskhetian Turks were deported from the places of residence of the southern and southwestern regions of Georgia: Akhaltsikhe, Adigen, Aspindz, Akhalkalaki and Bogdanov, to Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. Massive forced eviction of more than 120,000 people was conducted by the Soviet military in less than an hour. Old men, women and children, in the cold, loaded into cattle cars and sent from their native land for thousands of miles. About 17 thousand people died from diseases and cold along the way of railway trains. In 1956 the Meskhetians received the right to rehabilitation, but most of them did not have the opportunity to return to their homeland. In May 1989, there were tragic events in Uzbekistan. The Union leadership organized and massacred the Meskhetian Turks by the hands of the Uzbeks. In the cities of Ferghana and Andijan, bloody events took place in May-June of the 89th, and in February, March and June 1990, they were repeated in Buka and Parkent of the Tashkent region of the Uzbek SSR. The actions of the national pogromists, supported by local bodies of the KGB of the USSR, were characterized by unparalleled cruelty. As a result of the terrible tragedy, according to international observers, about 1,000 Meskhetian Turks were killed, several hundred people were missing, 3,500 people were injured. The data of Uzbek official bodies are understated almost 10 times. A huge diaspora of almost 160 thousand people lost their homes, property, and was forced to leave their habitable places.

Expelled from the so-called Ferghana Valley of Uzbekistan, the Meskhetian Turks were settled in abandoned villages of Russia. The hard-working people actually raised these settlements. Settled in the Krasnodar Territory, the Stavropol Territory, the North Caucasus regions were not registered for a long time, depriving them of the opportunity to obtain Russian citizenship. Local authorities orally refused

people registration. About 5,000 Meskhetian Turks were forced to leave for permanent residence in the United States, as part of a joint Russian-American program. On June 22, 2007, the Georgian parliament adopted a bill on the repatriation of Meskhetian Turks living in the south of Georgia and forcibly relocated in 1944. But there were not enough people, because people who survived deportation, genocide, a sea of injustice on the part of the authorities, are afraid of uncertainty. As a result, after many decades, the Meskhetian Turks can not return to their homeland. Moreover, the Soviet government has done everything to ensure that people are deprived of their historical documents. Today, the Meskhetian Turks remain scattered throughout Eurasia. Large diasporas live in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan, the United States and regions of the North Caucasus, including Ingushetia. Despite progress, the people who performed the feat, survived in inhuman conditions, continue to suffer from discrimination and social exclusion in many places of residence.

The issue of Ahiska Turks has very ancient roots in historical perspective although it started with their deportation on 14 November 1944. The linkage with the Russian interest is one of the most important aspects of the issue, which still remains unsolved. Ahiska Turks, who started the repatriation campaigns in 1956, have yet to accomplish many tasks. The issue, together with the collapse of the Soviet Union, gained an international status. Georgia opposes the repatriation of Ahiska Turks. But it was forced to accept the condition of the repatriation for achieving the membership of the Council of Europe in 1999. Accordingly, Georgia, which was to complete the process of the repatriation in 2011, has deliberately tended to leave the process unsolved although it approved the law of the repatriation in this context on 11 July 2007. The parties to the issue are Georgia, Russian Federation, Turkey, as well as Meskhetian Turks. Interest is the essential factor to shape the policies for each side of the issue. However, the geostrategic position and identity of Ahiska Turks are also important in shaping the aforementioned policy. As a matter of fact, two factors in question, effective in the decision of Ahiska Turks's deportation, are enabling linkage with Russian interests. Additionally, the balance of power constituted in Caucasus in the era of post-Cold War also had an adverse impact on the solution of the issue. There can be no result of any peace initiative started by regional and global organizations just because of this absolute relation.

Collective memories on Deportation of 1944 influenced the identity building of Meskhetian Turks in post-soviet Kazakhstan. Collective memories on Deportation of 1944-rather damaged Meskhetian Turks mentally because of trauma, but not influenced actual identity building of Meskhetian Turks in post-soviet Kazakhstan. What really influenced identity building of Meskhetian Turks in post-soviet Kazakhstan are religious, cultural, ethnic behavior and specific language, search for repatriation, "Turkish Dream", ethnic but not civic formation.

**Conclusion.** Kazakhstan became a multinational state as a result of historical events that took place in 1920-1950 of the last century. Both Kazakhs and representatives of other ethnic groups were subjected to political repressions, in particular, in this work, an analysis of the repressions of the Ahiska Turks was carried out. Thus, it is very important to approach the study of the peculiarities of the repressions of the Soviet period from the perspective of a comparative analysis of the repression of several ethnic groups in order to obtain results that will lead to an understanding of the true motives of the Soviet regime for the repression of peoples in the USSR. It is necessary to approach this study from this perspective, since the conjuncture of the strategic and geopolitical positioning of Kazakhstan in the international arena also depends on such studies, which can fully help in this.

*This scientific article was prepared within the framework of the project AP08856670 «Political repressions among Kazakhs on the territory of the republics of Central Asia in the 20-50s of the XX century (in the light of new archival sources)», as well as the project: "Development of a scientifically grounded concept of the formation of modern historical science in Kazakhstan".*

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FTAMP 03.20.00

## ҚАЗАҚТАР МЕН АХЫСКА ТҮРІКТЕРДІҢ САЯСИ ҚУҒЫН-СҮРГІНІН САЛЫСТЫРМАЛЫ ТАЛДАУ

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**Аңдатпа.** Бұл зерттеудің мақсаты 1920-1950 жылдары Орта Азия республикаларында қуғын-сүргінге ұшыраған қазақтар мен Ахыска түріктерінің бірлескен тарихын зерттеу болып табылады. Бұл салыстырмалы талдау ұлтаралық келісім призмасы арқылы жасалды. Біріншіден, басты мақсат гипотезаны дәлелдеу және осы ғылыми жұмыста зерттеу сұрақтарына жауап беру үшін сұрақты терең зерттеу арқылы нәтижені анықтау болды. Екіншіден, этносаралық келісімді нығайту үшін ортақ тарихты пайдалана отырып, Қазақстанда азаматтық қоғамды дамыту және Қазақстанның осыған қатысты мемлекеттік саясатын жетілдіру үшін негіз жасау. Бұл зерттеу деректерді жинау үшін сандық және сапалық әдістерді қолданды. Қуғын-сүргін құрбаны болған қазақтар мен Ахыска түріктерінің саны мен тұлғалары әлі толық анықталған жоқ. Қуғын-сүргінге ұшыраған адамдарды бақылау, сұхбаттар, мұрағаттық деректер және қуғын-сүргінге ұшырағандардың ақпараты осы зерттеудің маңызды құрамдас бөлігі болып табылады. Бұл зерттеудің өзектілігі мен маңыздылығы 1920-1950 жылдары Орта Азия республикаларында қуғын-сүргінге ұшыраған қазақтар мен Ахыска түріктерінің бірлескен тарихы Мемлекеттік ұлтаралық саясаттың негізі болып табылатындығын анықтау. Қазақстан Республикасында азаматтық қоғамды оңалту және дамыту үдерісі бүгінде мемлекеттік деңгейде іске қосылған.

**Түйін сөздер:** Репрессиялар, қазақтар, Ахыска түріктері, мемлекеттік құрылыс саясаты, оңалту, азаматтық қоғамның дамуы, ұлтаралық келісім.

МРНТИ 03.20.00

## СРАВНИТЕЛЬНЫЙ АНАЛИЗ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ РЕПРЕССИЙ КАЗАХОВ И ТУРОК-АХЫСКА

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**Аннотация.** Целью данного исследования является изучение совместной истории казахов и турок-Ахыска, которые были подвергнуты репрессиям в республиках Средней Азии в 1920-1950-х годах. Данный сравнительный анализ был сделан через призму межнационального согласия. Во-первых, главной целью было установить результат посредством глубокого изучения вопроса, чтобы доказать гипотезу и ответить на вопросы исследования в этой научной работе. Во-вторых, создать основу для развития гражданского общества в Казахстане и совершенствования государственной политики Казахстана в этом отношении, используя общую историю для укрепления межэтнического согласия. В этом исследовании были использованы количественные и качественные методы для сбора данных. До сих пор полноценно не определено количество и персоналии казахов и турок-Ахыска которые оказались жертвами репрессий. Наблюдение за репрессированными людьми, интервью, архивные данные и информация репрессированных является важной составляющей данного исследования. Актуальность и важность данного исследования заключаются в том, чтобы определить, что совместная история репрессированных казахов и турок-Ахыска является основой государственной межнациональной политики. Процесс реабилитации и развития гражданского общества в Республике Казахстан сегодня запущен на государственном уровне.

**Ключевые слова:** Репрессии, казахи, турки-Ахыска, политика государственного строительства, реабилитация, развитие гражданского общества, межнациональное согласие.

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**Редакцияның мекен-жайы:**

050010, Қазақстан Республикасы  
Алматы қ., Шевченко көш., 28,  
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Журнал 2013 жылдан бастап шығады.

Қазақстан Республикасы Инвестициялар және даму министрлігінің  
Байланыс ақпараттандыру және ақпарат комитетінде 2014 ж. 29 қазанында тіркеліп,  
№ 14602-ИА куәлігіне ие болды.