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INDEPENDENCE OF KAZAKHSTAN AND THE TURKISH PRESS

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Abstract. *Introduction.* Being under the USSR control for many years Kazakhstan has been exposed to the assimilation policy implemented by the Russians. Many Kazakhs had to migrate from their homeland or died due to various diseases and starvation during this period. This pressure in Kazakhstan reached its peak with the dismissal of the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan D. Kunayev, and his replacement by Kolbin of Russian origin. The people did not remain unresponsive to this event and nationalist protests began. *Goals and Objectives.* Determining that the events that began in December 1986 laid the foundation for the process of independence of Kazakhstan and accelerated it; To study the fact that leading nationalist intellectuals of Kazakhstan founded political organizations such as “Azat”, “Alash”, “Zheltoksan” immediately after these protests, the actions of the established organizations soon gave results and a sense of national unity emerged again in Kazakhstan; An analysis of how Kazakhstan, which declared its independence in 1990, gained its independence on December 16, 1991, and how this event, which attracted the attention of the world media along with the process of the collapse of the USSR, was presented in the Turkish media. *Results.* In our study it was shown that the Turkish media, which believes that they have a common cultural heritage with Kazakhstan and other Turkic states, brought the news of independence to its headlines and gave it different assessments. Moreover, we have analyzed how the news about the independence of Kazakhstan was presented to the Turkish public through selected newspapers and how it was received by the Turkish media. *Conclusions.* In this way, the relations between Turkey and Kazakhstan, the attitude of the two states towards each other, were determined through the Turkish media.

Keywords: Independence of Kazakhstan, Turkish press, Turkey-Kazakhstan relations, Zheltoksan uprising, Almaty events, December 1986, Turkic Republics

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ҚАЗАҚСТАН ТӘУЕЛСІЗДІГІ ЖӘНЕ ТҮРІК МЕДИАСЫ

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Аңдатпа. *Kirişne.* Ұзақ жылдар бойы КСРО-ның құрамында болған Қазақстан орыстар жүргізген ассимиляциялық саясатқа ұшырады. Осы кезеңде көптеген қазақтар атажұртынан кетуге мәжбүр болды немесе түрлі аурулар мен аштықтан қырылды. Қазақстан аумағындағы бұл саяси қысым Қазақстан Компартиясының бірінші хатшысы Қонаевтың қызметінен босатылып, орнына орыс текті Колбиннің келуімен шарықтау шегіне жетті. Бұл оқиғаға халық жауапсыз қалмай, ұлтшылдық сипаттағы наразылықтар басталды. *Зерттеудің мақсаты және міндеттері* — 1986 жылғы желтоқсанда басталған оқиғалардың Қазақстанның тәуелсіздік алу процесінің іргетасын қалап, оны жеделдете түскенін айқындау; Қазақстанның алдыңғы қатарлы ұлтшыл зиялыларының бұл наразылықтардан кейін-ақ «Азат», «Алаш», «Желтоқсан» сияқты саяси ұйымдар құрғанын, құрылған ұйымдардың әрекеті көп ұзамай өз нәтижесін беріп, Қазақстанда қайтадан ұлттық бірлік сезімі пайда болғанын зерттеу; 1990 жылы егемендігі туралы декларация жариялаған Қазақстанның, 1991 жылы 16 желтоқсанда өз тәуелсіздігін алғанын және КСРО-ның ыдырау процесімен бірге әлемдік медианың назарын аударған бұл оқиға түрік медиасында қалай берілгенін талдау. *Нәтижелер.* Қазақстан және басқа да түркі мемлекеттермен мәдени мұрамыз ортақ деп санайтын түрік медиасы тәуелсіздік жаңалықтарын өз айдарына жеткізіп, оған түрлі баға бергені көрсетілді. Зерттеуімізде біз таңдаған белді газеттер арқылы Қазақстанның тәуелсіздігі туралы жаңалықтардың түрік жұртшылығына қалай берілгені және оны түрік медиасы қалай қабылдағаны талданды. *Қорытынды.* Осылайша Түркия мен Қазақстанның қарым-қатынасы, екі мемлекеттің бір-біріне деген көзқарасы Түрік медиасы арқылы анықталды.

Түйін сөздер: Қазақстанның тәуелсіздігі, түрік медиасы, Түркия-Қазақстан қарым-қатынасы, Желтоқсан оқиғасы, Алматы оқиғасы, 1986 жылғы желтоқсан, Түркі мемлекеттері

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НЕЗАВИСИМОСТЬ КАЗАХСТАНА И ТУРЕЦКАЯ ПРЕССА

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Аннотация. *Введение.* В течений многих лет входивший в состав СССР Казахстан, подвергался политике ассимиляции, проводимой русскими коммунистами. В советский период многие казахи были вынуждены покинуть свою родину или умерли от различных болезней и голода. Такое политическое давление на Казахстан достигло апогея во время снятия с поста первого секретаря Коммунистической партии Казахстана казаха Кунаева, и заменой его русским по национальности Колбиным. К такому событию казахский народ не остался безучастным, и начались националистические протесты. *Цель и задачи исследования* — основные цели статьи заключаются в определении декабрьских событий 1986 года, как заложенную основу ускорившее процесс принятия независимости Казахстана; изучить вновь возникшее чувство национального единства у казахов вследствие действий политических организаций созданной националистически настроенной интеллигенцией Казахстана такие как «Азат», «Алаш», «Желтоқсан» сразу после протестов 1986 года; также в статье проанализированы действие турецких медиа как они освещали декабрьские события 1986 года вместе с новостями о провозглашении независимости Казахстана в 1990 году, и о объявлении независимости 16 декабря 1991 году. *Результаты.* В статье указаны реакции и разные оценки турецких СМИ о независимости, считающие, что Казахстан и другие тюркоязычные государства имеют общее культурное наследие. В исследовании также проанализированы как новость о независимости Казахстана была представлена турецкой общественности через выбранные нами авторитетные газеты, и как она была воспринята другими турецкими СМИ. *Выводы.* Таким образом, взаимоотношения между двумя государствами Турцией и Казахстаном, была раскрыта в ходе анализа публикаций представленных в турецких СМИ.

Ключевые слова: независимость Казахстана, турецкие СМИ, турецко-казахстанские отношения, декабрьские события, алматинские события, декабрь 1986 г., тюркские государства

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Introduction

The Kazakh Khanate, which first appeared on the stage of history in the middle of the 15th century, bordered the Russians, who in 1569 conquered the capital of the Nogai Khanate, Sarayshik, and occupied the west of the Nogai horde (Kara, 1997: 7). The Kazakh khanate rapidly weakened beginning in the 17th century, and mutual disputes among Kazakh zhuzes¹ occurred at the same time.

¹At the beginning of the 16th century, the Kazakh Khanate was geographically divided into three as “Great zhuz”, “Middle zhuz” and “Small zhuz”. Although there is a linguistic and cultural unity among the zhuz, there is no political unity.

Finally, the weakening Kazakhs were absorbed into Tsarist Russia one by one, and beginning in the middle of the 18th century, they were subjected to Tsarist Russia's assimilation strategy. Russia gradually strengthened its authority in the region, and the power of the Middle zhuz in 1822, in 1824 the Small zhuz, and in 1848 the Great zhuz was abolished, and respectively, the territory fell under Russian rule.

Tsar Nicholas II was overthrown by the Bolshevik Revolution that occurred in Russia in 1917 during World War I, and Kazakh Turks attempted to establish an independent state. To that end, intellectuals like Alikhan Bukeikhanov, Ahmet Baytursunov, and Mirjaqip Dulatuli founded the Alash Party and the Alash Orda government. (Hayit, 2013: 252). The created government fought the Bolsheviks in attempt to build a national state, however they failed to succeed. This attempt resulted in the occupation of Kazakhstan by the Red Army in 1919, the fall of the Alash Orda government in 1920, and the establishment of the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic on August 20, 1920 (Saray, 2002: 125).

After the USSR regained control of Kazakhstan, the Kazakh people faced famine and illness between 1931 and 1933, as the assimilation strategy was reinstated, and 2–4 million Kazakhs died (Karacagil, 2014: 102). The Kazakh population steadily declined as a result of significant losses and exiles, and the Russian population became dominant. However, when the population shifted back in favor of the Kazakhs after the 1980s, the Kazakhs' influence in the country's governance became more obvious. The election of Dinmuhammed Kunayev, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, as a member of the Soviet Union Communist Party Polit Bureau (CPPP) reinforced this influence, particularly in 1971 (Armaoğlu, 2015: 834).

M. Gorbachev was appointed as the General Secretary of the CPSU in 1985. Gorbachev's program of Glasnost (Openness) and Perestroika (Reconstruction) was implemented in the other direction, causing reactions in Kazakhstan. Gorbachev dismissed Dinmuhammed Kunayev, the first Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, and replaced him with Russian-born Gennady Kolbin. As a result, the events that occurred in Kazakhstan and the ground for the process leading to independence were laid.

Materials and Methods

The purpose of this study is to trace the process known as the Zheltoksan Uprising, which led to the independence Kazakhstan, through the leading newspapers of the Turkish press: Milliyet, Tercüman, Sabah, and Cumhuriyet. In the course of the disintegration process of the USSR, the relations of the Turkish administrators with the Turkic republics and the way their interests were reflected in the Turkish public were discussed from different perspectives.

One of the qualitative research methodologies employed in this study was document analysis. Document analysis is a qualitative research method that analyzes the content of written documents carefully and systematically (Wach et al., 2013: 1).

Discussion

There are almost no previously published articles on this topic in Kazakhstan. Therefore, this study will definitely fill that gap. In our study, the newspapers Milliyet, Tercüman, Sabah, and Cumhuriyet were meticulously scanned as a first source, furthermore articles and news about Kazakhstan's independence were analyzed. While the related newspapers Milliyet, Tercüman, and Sabah were obtained via the Turkish Historical Society's Library in Ankara, Cumhuriyet was accessed from the newspaper's own website.

Results

Zheltoksan Protests. Students in Kazakhstan began to protest Kolbin's appointment as the First

Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan immediately after assigning the position to him, assembling in Brezhnev Square. Kolbin's candidacy matched Gorbachev's choice in one important respect, and that is because he was a Russian. This tumultuous event took place over three days from December 16 to December 18, 1986. According to data, 12 students of the first Institute of Theater and Arts carried out "provocation and incitement" in six higher educational institutions of Almaty and in the dormitories of the factory named after S.M. Kirov on the night of December 16–17, 1986. In the ranks of the demonstrators there were seen slogans as: "Let Lenin's ideas work!", "Each nation has its own leader!", "No nation or language should be given any advantage!", "We are in favor of voluntary rapprochement of peoples, not by force!", "Long live Kazakhstan!". The first groups of young people gathered at the square in front of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on December 17 at 7–8 in the morning. There were 200–300 people holding slogans protesting against the decision of the Central Committee plenum. By order of the leadership, the police and internal troops surrounded the square. Preparations for battle No. 1 have been announced for the Almaty garrison, and railway stations, airports, and intercity highways have been closed. The election of Kolbin to the position of the first leadership of the republic was protested in the demands of the youth. Young people went to the streets of the city. In the afternoon, a much larger crowd of young students and workers gathered in Almaty's Brezhnev Square. Their number varied from 5 thousand to 30 thousand according to various data. Due to this, the number of power structures has also been increased. There was an order from above to surround the square, and not to let anyone in and out. New groups of demonstrators, approaching the heart of the unrest, breached the fence and a clash ensued. People inside the fence helped the newcomers to break through the fence. After that, the soldiers, fully armed with ice guns, began to disperse the demonstrators using force. The operation to expel the demonstrators had reached its end by midnight. Demonstrators and heads of educational institutions were investigated and various punishments were applied to them. Ninety nine of them were convicted and two were sentenced to death (History of Kazakhstan, 2010: 90–94).

In this way, Kazakh youth bravely resisted the totalitarian regime that had been ruling for decades. Thus, they made an immeasurable contribution to the development of the national-democratic movement in the space of the former USSR. The protests were immediately entered the agenda of the Turkish and international press. While the Tercüman newspaper shared the news that, "The Soviets are boiling, hundreds of Turks held demonstrations in Kazakhstan," (Tercüman, 19.12.1986: 1–8) the Milliyet newspaper reported, "Students took to the streets in Alma Ata, the first demonstration in the Soviet Union." (Milliyet, 19.12.1986: 12) The information transferred from the Tass agency is incorporated in the continuation of the news provided by Milliyet. The TASS agency's allegations that the students were being guided by a nationalist group also made news, while students were reported to have set fire to markets and vehicles at the demonstration, turning the incident into an act of violence (Milliyet, 19.12.1986: 12).

Sami Kohen assessed the events in his column in Milliyet on December 20, 1986 as follows:

"Would something like this happen in the Soviet Union? It would not have happened, but it is now. Alma-Ata, the capital of the strategic Republic of Kazakhstan in Central Asia, is located in the core of the country... It is unprecedented in the USSR to oppose changing the party's regional leaders in this way. The second interesting aspect of the event is that the shows were broadcast for the first time by the Soviet agency and television – on the same day... The young people who walked to the streets in Alma Ata started such a resistance, not because they admired Kunaev, but because they were unhappy with the substitution of a Kazakh with a Russian. So, the protest actually stems from an ethnic factor, namely the Kazakh sense of nationalism." (Kohen, 1986: 5) Kohen also identified the Russification policy applied to the Kazakhs for years and the fact that the Kazakhs became a minority in the population as a reason for the uprisings.

On the same day, Ergun Göze wrote in Tercüman the following lines:

“Russia is in the grip of a great depression that is just waiting to burst. In light of this, the Kremlin’s mouthpiece Pravda newspaper is now making “The nationalist movement has taken to the streets. statements. In Russia, nationalism is a serious offense. Of course, Russian communist partisanship is Russian nationalism, but nationalism is a crime when it comes to other religions and nationalities. In fact, Russia encourages the so-called nationalist movement in other countries while ignoring its own citizens’ patriotic feelings. Again, Pravda’s diagnosis is true. Because the taking of Dinmuhammed is an act of Russian nationalism. This is referred to as “Russification” in France’s Figaro newspaper. So, if the Kremlin’s “activities” against Dinmuhammed were Russian nationalism, are the students’ “actions” against this movement Turkic nationalism?” (Göze, 1986: 4) In his article, Göze assessed events on the basis of Turkish nationalism, focusing on the Soviets’ repressive policies and criticizing the Soviet press.

Fahir Armaolu provided another assessment in the Tercüman newspaper. According to Armaolu, the events had become severe, and the government did not dare to conceal the uprising, which had to be announced through the TASS agency. Furthermore, he emphasized that the revolt had a national character and that, over the course of Kunayev’s long tenure, he eventually became Kazakh rather than an administrator who implemented the regime’s ideas. (Armaoğlu, 1986: 4).

While the Turkish press evaluated the events in Almaty through the lens of Turkish nationalism, it continued to comment on the matter throughout the event. Zafer Atay remarked in one of them that the communist regime, which has been in power since 1917, has not been able to eliminate national feelings despite the generations raised (Atay, 1986: 4).

Cumhuriyet newspaper published reports that 15 Kazakh students were killed during the protests on December 23, 1986, under the heading 15 Kazakh Students Allegedly Killed. According to official notifications, two people were killed and about 200 people were hurt in the disproportionate interventions conducted after the disturbances began (Kara, 1997: 73). However, it is known that this figure is not correct; 150 people were killed, 1700 were injured, and 8500 were detained (Saray, 1993: 113).

The Independence of Kazakhstan

The Zheltoksan events rekindled national consciousness in Kazakhstan and provided impetus to strive for independence. On this path, political circles seeking Kazakhstan’s independence came together and formed political organizations such as Azat, Alash, and Zheltoksan. The efforts of these political organisations, which began with the goal of independence, and the growing national solidarity in society eventually yielded results, and Kazakh was designated as an official language in 1989, replacing Russian.

On April 24, 1990, the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan established the “President of the State” office as Kazakhstan’s first serious attempt at independence. Nursultan Nazarbayev, who lobbied for Kazakhstan’s administration to be run from Almaty, was elected as the country’s first president in a vote held after the decision was made (Saray, 2014: 211). Kazakhstan declared its sovereignty in October 1990. The following day, Cumhuriyet published the news, and Anadolu shared the information it obtained from the agency with the public. According to the cited article:

“Kazakhstan, the Soviet Union’s second largest republic in terms of surface area after the Russian Federation, also declared its sovereignty. The Republic of Kazakhstan emphasizes in its declaration of sovereignty that all underground and surface resources can only be exploited with its approval, while prohibiting the use of the republic’s territory in the testing of all mass weapons, including nuclear weapons. With the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan’s acceptance of this declaration of sovereignty, it is also certain that Semipalatinsk, the Soviet Union’s most important nuclear test site since the 1960s, will never be used for this purpose again.” (“Cumhuriyet”, 16.10.1990: 3).

Following Kazakhstan’s declaration of sovereignty, the country moved quickly toward independence. Nazarbayev was elected President of Kazakhstan for a five-year term in the inaugural

elections conducted in Kazakhstan on December 1, 1991. The name of the Kazakhstan Soviet Socialist Republic was altered and the name “Republic of Kazakhstan” was adopted by the Kazakhstan parliament on December 10, 1991, under the leadership of Nazarbayev, who sat in the position of President. Kazakhstan declared independence on December 16, 1991 (Kafkasyalı, 2012: 187). Turkey, along with other Turkic Republics that declared their independence by leaving the USSR, was the first country to recognize the independence of Kazakhstan and the Council of Ministers immediately decided to open an embassy in Almaty, Kazakhstan’s capital (BCA., 30-18-1-2/701/263/3). The Turkish press did not remain indifferent to Kazakhstan’s declaration of independence and it covered the story on its pages. In a report titled “An Important Step in Foreign Policy,” Sabah Newspaper stated, “The government has decided to recognize other republics, namely Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Tajikistan, that left the Soviet Union.” (“Sabah”, 17.12.1991: 19).

Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin, writing in the same day in the daily Cumhuriyet, used the following expressions about all Turkic countries that declared independence in his article titled Cultural Bridge to Central Asia:

“Under present conditions, developing collaboration based on mutual respect and equality of rights with republics of Turkic ancestry that have established as independent countries is both an important effort and a historical obligation.” (Çetin, 1991: 1–6).

In the continuation of his article, Çetin stated that we share common cultural values with the Turkic republics, and that they will enable the training of economic, technical, and cultural staff to assist these republics in developing as independent states, as well as accelerate efforts to reinforce our common cultural values.

Cumhuriyet newspaper published an interview with the President of Kazakhstan Nazarbayev on December 16, 1991, the day Kazakhstan declared independence. When questioned if Kazakhstan could be economically independent, Nazarbayev responded that right after stating that they were seeking for an economic solution and that they wanted to convert to a free market economy:

“Turkey’s model is the only one that can compete. This is something I want to emphasize. Turkey represents an economic hope for us. There is a country nearby like South Korea, but our historical ties and what Turkey has accomplished in a short period of time require that we prioritize the West.” (Yılmaz, 1991: 1–7)

Fahir Armaolu, in his article published in the Tercuman newspaper on December 19, 1991, described it as a fortunate development for Turkish foreign policy that all political parties, without exception, established an agreement on building close connections with the new Turkic Republics (Armaoğlu, 1991: 6). Taylan Sorgun, on the other hand, highlighted the significance of the recognition decision and provided the following assessment: “If the Republic of Turkey, which pioneered the world’s independence movements, was unable to accomplish this, it would be counter to its primary mandate. The development of Turkey’s economic and social relations with these republics was closely monitored by Western countries...” (Sorgun, 1991: 10).

Sami Kohen also wrote a long review in Milliyet on Turkey’s recognition of Kazakhstan, as well as other Turkic republics, following the independence decision. While Kohen emphasized that the recognition of all republics was a daring and appropriate decision in Turkish foreign policy, it was also a response to critiques of a “hasty” decision that might come with this decision. Sami Kohen claimed that the decision to recognize should be viewed as “agitated” rather than hasty, and that Ankara made this decision by keeping up with the pace of developments, relying on objective criteria and principles, as well as prioritizing national interests. Finally, Kohen concludes his article in a nutshell: “Turkey rapidly recognized the new political situation and responded accordingly. Turkey took a national decision regardless of how other countries reacted. Early recognition of the New Republics will usher in a new era of relations.” (Kohen, 1991: 4)

At the same time, Milliyet Newspaper published the statements of Yozgat independent Deputy Alpaslan Türkeş in the General Assembly of Turkey's Grand National Assembly. In his address, Türkeş stressed that the Soviet Union's declaration of independence opened new prospects for Turkey, saying: "Turkey should make good use of these opportunities. Nevertheless, when establishing relations with these republics, the West should not be given the opportunity to propagate on the path of "The Turan Empire is being built". The formation of a relationship with these countries based on mutual respect, peace, and friendship should be explained to the entire world population." ("Milliyet", 18.12.1991: 11).

Conclusion

The Turkish press viewed political and military activity in Central Asia as part of Turkish foreign policy and assessed it accordingly. Zheltoksan, which continued to the independence of Kazakhstan and especially started in December 1986, closely followed the events. The uprisings in Almaty were viewed through the lens of Turkish Nationalism and took place in the Turkish press as a justified movement against the oppression of the USSR. The assimilation and Russification policies of the USSR in Kazakhstan, where we have a common cultural and spiritual heritage, were sharply criticized and the independence movements in Kazakhstan were supported.

On the other hand, in the news reflected in the press, it is seen that a dynamic period has been entered in Turkish politics with the independence decisions in Kazakhstan and Central Asia. While a historical responsibility is attributed to the relations to be established with the Turkic Republics, the politicians in the parliament have agreed to the recognition of the republics in question and to take the relations forward in every respect. One of the reasons for the excitement experienced in the parliament and the public is that ideals such as Turan and the Turkish Union are being expressed frequently. The Turkish press also approached the independence of Kazakhstan on this basis and frequently emphasized our ancestral and cultural bond with Kazakhstan, which was liberated from the yoke of the USSR. At the same time, another noteworthy point is that the entire parliamentary speech of Yozgat Deputy Alparslan Türkesh, one of the leading figures of the Nationalist community, is included. Alparslan Türkesh, who can be seen as one of the people most likely to make a fiery statement on this subject, wanted to prevent from the very beginning the obstacles that could be pulled in front of this Turan consciousness by giving a soothing and cautious speech. As a matter of fact, the Turkish press must have taken this view into account, and included this speech in its pages. Because the events that took place in Kazakhstan, starting from the days when the Almaty events took place on the same days and before, mobilized nationalist feelings in the Turkish press and many writers wrote violent articles based on this.

As a result it seems the other Turkic republics that declared their independence from the USSR along with Kazakhstan were welcomed by the Turkish press with pleasure and a single foreign policy analysis was made on all of them. While it was praised that Turkey recognized the Turkic republics so soon, it was also deemed correct and suitable. In this backdrop, the Turkish press was enthralled by the strengthening of Turkey's links with other republics, particularly Kazakhstan, which declared independence from the USSR, and the new relations to be developed.

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PMRA — Prime Ministry Republic Archive, 30-18-1-2/701/263/3.

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