SYMPOSIA

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LETTERS

TO THE EDITOR:

With regard to Isabelle Kreindler's article about the relationship between II'minskii and Lenin's nationality policy (*Slavic Review*, March 1977), I should like to draw attention to a similar language policy practiced before II'minskii by American Presbyterian and British Anglican missionaries in Persia and the Ottoman Empire.

During the nineteenth century, these two missions made attempts to gain converts from among local people living in northwestern Persia (Azerbaidzhan) and eastern Ottoman lands (northern Iraq and eastern Turkey). Very quickly these missions saw the necessity of working among local Eastern Christians (Nestorian Assyrians) with the hope of eventually using them as a spearhead for penetrating the resistant Muslim populations. Mission work among the Assyrians was not only conducted in the Assyrian language, but one of the American missionaries, Justin Perkins, was responsible for creating for this community its first alphabet for writing the vernacular language, the first books printed in this language, the first schools to teach the vernacular, and the first Assyrian newspaper (which was the first public newspaper ever published in Iran). Mission pastors, teachers, and physicians spoke and often read and wrote Assyrian. This language policy began to be practiced in the 1830s, preceding the work of V. I. Il'minskii. The American mission continues to conduct all its religious work, on the literary and spoken levels, in the local languages, then Assyrian and now Persian.

American missionaries, like Il'minskii, held the local (Christian and Muslim) religions in contempt and in concert with the French Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox missions practically eradicated the Church of the East (Nestorian) in Iran. (See articles on this subject in *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, 16, nos. 3-4 [1975] and *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 8 [1977].) The British attitude, on the other hand, differed considerably. Again using the local Assyrian language, the British attempted and succeeded in reforming the old church but retained its hierarchical structure, its liturgy, and its unique concepts. All these missions, directly or otherwise, served the political goals of their respective Western countries, a widespread and accepted practice during this period of Christian missions.

I am not arguing that the language and culture component of Lenin's nationality policy owes its impetus to influences other than those of Il'minskii. Nevertheless, I do take issue with Dr. Kreindler's assertion to the effect that Il'minskii's policies were unique among nineteenth-century Christian missionaries (p. 89). When missionaries