

## The politicization of the Jadid movement in Turkestan (Central Asia)

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**Abstract:** The article deals with the history of national-progressive movement of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries which is called “Jadidism”. The history of Jadidism and its evolution from enlightenment to powerful political movement are retraced in the article. Jadidism became an alternative form of the intellectual renewal of Muslim society. The beginning of the movement was connected with the introduction of the phonetics, so called “usul-i jadid”, method of teaching reading and writing instead of letter and syllabic one in makhtabs and madrasas, that is a new method. The Jadids criticized religious fanaticism, required the substitution of obsolete religious schools for national secular ones, advocated the development of science and culture, supported the publishing of newspapers in the native language, the opening of cultural and educational establishments, which favoured the consolidation of the democratic forces of the society. Jadidism is considered as the phenomenal public occurrence in the history. It arose in the depth of the Central Asian society on the basis of a harmonious combination of a rich spiritual heritage and as realization of its place in realities of that time and the necessity of its reforming for successful prosperity in the future.

### 1. Introduction

Jadidism has gone through a difficult way of development in dynamics from enlightenment up to a powerful political movement. A serious economic position of the broad masses caused by an imperial policy and local despotism, precarious lag from economically developed countries of the world, cultural regress, stagnation of thoughts induced Jadids to seek for effective means for crisis overcoming.

The Turkestan krai of that time represented the Russian Empire’ colony which has become its raw appendage, gratuitously supplying a mother country with its natural resources, particularly with cotton and silk. Later, an extraction program of other natural resources and their driving to the Center has been worked out and only sectors serving these purposes were developed. The Russian capital’s appearance in Turkestan provided a stimulus to banks development, railways constructions etc. But the development of the usurious capital appreciably increased the number of broken peasants. By November ‘12 the indebtedness of the population to the credit unions had amounted to 157 million roubles that led to the increase of landless peasants. By 1917 the number of landless peasants accounts for 30 percent in some districts of Fergana region, 40-50 percent in Tashkent and Andizhan regions of all sectors.

During the First World War over 59 million poods of cotton, 8,5 million poods of cottonseed oil, 950 thousand poods of silk cocoons, 2925 thousand poods of wool were exported from Turkestan kray (National Economy of Turkestan, 1918) and 70 thousand horses, over 12 thousand camels etc. were sent to Russia (Red Archive, Moscow, 1929, p. 54).

On the other hand, the new European culture with a sufficient experience and technological innovations, developed education system which is connected with the European world entered here. And, of course, it could not help influencing on progressively thinking intellects of the kray. At this juncture it was obvious that a major cause of social and colonial oppression, backwardness of the country in ignorance and the illiteracy of nation supported by ruling circles. Therefore problem solving was seen only through enlightenment.

This, Jadid movement was formed on educational ideas of the national-progressive intellectuals of Central Asia which had a wide spectrum of problems directed to the development of society.

It is possible to consider Jadidism as one of the branches and variants of reformatory movement of the national-progressive intellectuals in Central Asia which had arisen and has been developing in many countries of the East in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The term “Jadid” came into existence from the concept “*usul-i-dzhadid*” (“a new method”) which also included new methods of training per European samples.

Later, as the extension of Jadid movement’s tasks, the content of the term has also been extended. Along with enlightenment Jadids aspired to change the old system of social and political statuses to progressive forms of development.

### 2. Cultural and educational activities Jadids in Turkestan

An extensive system of traditional educational establishments and the Jadid schools, opened at the turn of the century, influenced the level of the education and awareness of the local population. For example, there were 5892 schools and 353 madrasas in the country in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. (TSGARUz. F.47, Opis’ 1, delo 979, list-81(F.47, Inventory 1, file 979. Sheet-81)). Even the tsarist government recognized the fact that the local population

had a high level of literacy. On March 14<sup>th</sup>, 1909 governor-general of Turkestan P.I Mischenko wrote to the Minister of Public Education of Russia: “The literacy of the natives of Turkestan, especially in its main regions such as Syrdarya, Ferghana and Samarkand, is at a very high level, which is much higher than that of European Russia. A well-developed system of primary schools (schools), secondary and higher education institutions (madrasas) tightly covered most of the territory”.

This traditional educational system, possessing its ideological influence, from the very beginning was tightly controlled by the colonial administration. The decree of the Russian emperor, issued on May 17 1875, was the ground for the foundation of Turkestan department of educational establishments, which was granted a power to exercise control over the activity of Russian educational establishments, as well as over the national ones. And on March 14 1894, governor-general Vrevsky approved the post of the third inspector of Turkestan public schools, who had the direct oversight of the traditional institutions of the settled and nomadic population. This inspector served as the governing body in madrasas and schools, so Muslim schools completely passed under the control of the department of public education.

Under those circumstances, the educational activities of the Jadids of Turkestan, becoming an alternative to the activity of the colonial administration in the renewal of education in the territory, acquired a reformative character and had a direct influence on the process of the education of the people. Instead of the traditional education, inseparable in its essence from the medieval scholasticism, they proposed a system of schools, where new methods were used in teaching (“Usul-i sovtiya”). Soon the schools became new-method ones (“Usul-i jadid maktablari”). Besides religion, they were teaching science, the Russian, Arabic and Persian languages, and the genesis of the future intelligentsia was formed. At first, the Jadid schools used textbooks written by Tatar and Azerbaijani enlighteners, but later Turkestan Jadids started to publish textbooks and tutorials themselves. In 1903 and 1904, the books “Kitabul-atfol” (“A book for children”), “Muhtasiri zhugrofiya Rusiya” (“Short geography of Russia”) by Mahmudkhoja Behbudi, in the following years, the books “Muallem Awwal” (“First Teacher”), “Muallem soniy” (“Second teacher”) and others were published, and in 1905, the number of the Jadid schools in the country reached (Tabyshalieva, 1993).

The main advantage of the Jadid schools was that their students mastered literacy in a few months, besides that, the schools were equipped with modern facilities and teaching aids, namely maps, globes, abacus, blackboards, etc. In 1903 and 1904, Mahmudkhoja Behbudi visited St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kazan, Orenburg, and the Crimea, where he met Ismail Gasprinski who made some changes in his projects to reform the society through a humanitarian way and thoroughly fortified him on that way. Adhering to that path of enlightenment, in 1905 he organized a school with new methods of teaching in the village of Kaftarkhona of Samarkand region and began to teach more than forty students for free [“Samarkand”. 1906. May 20].

The colonial authorities feared national schools, including the Jadid ones, believing that they and their activities reinforced the anti-colonial struggle. The measures, taken by the official authorities in relation to these concerns and the limitation of the activities of these schools caused discontent of the national elite. As a result, the imperial government was forced to change the policy of public education, undertaken in the territory. The tsarist government, examining the issue very carefully, created special commissions within the department of local educational establishments. The commissions were aimed to support tight control over national schools, and, basing on the information, provided by these commissions; it developed and adopted common rules for the management of new-method schools. On January 25, 1912 governor-general A.I. Semenov approved the rules, where the requirement was stated: “Secondary new-method schools are opened with the permission of the inspection of public schools. It should be offered to urban and rural communities, which are the founders of the schools, to adopt the nationwide Russian language for children's education”(TSGARUz. F. 47, Opis' 1, delo 149, list-10(Inventory 1, File 149. Sheet-10)).

Progressive youth, feeling the breath of a new historical time, took up the study of the Russian language. In her recollections, Kholida Ayni (Ayni, 1982), the daughter of the famous Jadid writer Sadridin Ayni, gives a conspicuous fact about her father. In August 1915, the kushbegi summoned 50 Bukharan Jadids and made each of them write a note saying that they would not read the above-mentioned newspaper. These facts indicate that not only colonial authorities, but also the conservative forces of the country fought against the Jadids' ideas.

The Interior Ministry, which gave a special importance to the Jadid schools as a strategic object, on September 22, 1913 sent Turkestan governor-general a special letter that read: “New-method schools by teaching in one (the Turkic language) are campaigning for Muslims' rallying, and their school reformers have the purpose to harm the interests of the Russian statehood and, basing on the religious and national isolation, to unite all Muslims”. These two documents became the base for the local colonial power to create obstacles to the movement, supported the interests of the local people in the field of public education.

Publishing activities were widespread along with the educational activities of the Jadids. Many books and periodicals were published in Turkestan. At the beginning of the century, the number of newspapers and magazines was 15. Over the years, Abdollah Avloniy was the editor of the periodicals such as “Khurshid”, “Turon”, Mahmudkhoja Behbudi edited “Samarkand”, “Oyna” (“Mirror”), Munawar Qari Abdurashidkhanov and Mustafa

Shokai edited the newspapers “Kengash” and “Birlik tuy”, respectively. The latter was published in the indigenous language. Soviet historians one-sidedly characterized these periodicals as reactionary, pan-Islamic, pan-Turkic ones, but the periodicals played a cultural, educational and politically organizational role in the political and moral life of the people.

In their political positions, the Jadids did not expect Russia to be divided; the matter was the co-operation of Muslims, aimed at the destruction of the colonial chains. The Islamic factor became an indicator of the political self-consciousness for the Muslims of Central Asia in their sense of spiritual and cultural solidarity with the Muslims of the other regions of Russia and all the world (Azamkhujayev, 2000).

Gasprinsky’s idea of “unity in language, thoughts and work” continued its life among the representatives of Turkestan society as the idea of national renewal, designed to conform the peoples of Central Asia to the world civilization. The system of their beliefs focused on the global human values and was closely linked to the national interests. We see that this movement was not only of local significance, it became a phenomenon, that obtained an extension of human civilization, and enlightenment, the main idea of their programme developed into the idea of political independence of the nation. The main characteristic of the Jadid movement was its Eurasian character, where the struggle for a democratic society, against the colonial government merged with the struggle against the feudal despotism and religious fanaticism. In their program, they considered the escape from colonialism alongside with the elimination of the feudal order.

Thus, the programme of the Jadids, the main bearers of the ideas of enlightenment in Turkestan in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, was as follows: first, to reform Muslim public education and prepare highly qualified specialists in the essential sectors of culture, science and technology; secondly, with the help of trained professionals to develop the economy, industry and agriculture of Turkestan, making it one of the highly developed cultural, scientific and technical territories of Russia; thirdly, to raise the living standards of the people, to improve their well-being; fourthly, to form the national capital, to promote the increase of the number of rich and wealthy people, and, fifthly, with the help of qualified local professionals to change the infrastructure of the society, that is, to conduct the indigenization of the state apparatus, which was a necessary step in the formation of independent states in Turkestan.

The Jadids’ programme of this type could satisfy neither tsarist regime nor Soviet power. They both did everything to prevent and prohibit the activities of the Jadids’ and destroy them physically. Soviet authorities, with the help of the writers and journalists who were loyal to them declared the Jadids to be nationalists, ideologues of bourgeoisie and “expose” their actions in the press. The terms “pan-Turkist” and “pan-Islamist” were invented to label them.

Despite such aggressive attacks of the totalitarian regime, the Jadids did not only express the interests “of the local bourgeoisie”, but demanded from it, primarily, to care about the quality of their goods, their competitiveness, they advocated the need for purchase of modern equipment and technology from the developed European countries. Consequently, the educational activities of the Jadids may be said to cover not only the sphere of education and culture, but also the economic modernization of the country.

In a number of reasons that hindered the advancement towards progress, Jadids have noticed unnecessary and useless traditions (excessive ceremonies, magnificent weddings and funerals) spread in everyday life of people of Turkestan, which had nothing to do with Muslim canons, burdening the life of people which was hard. One of urgent topics to which lots of articles and reports had been devoted was the the Muslim’s ethics. Jadids tried to give answers to such questions as how, what kind of way of life the Moslem should conduct, how to treat people around and other nations and religions, women and children.

Ethics questions were always typical for east philosophy. Within the bounds of Jadidism in the most developed form they found their reflection in Abdulla Avloni's (1878-1934) creativity and first of all in his work “Turki Guliston yohud akhlok” (it is literally “the Turkic flower bed or moral”) (Avloni, 1998).

According to Avloni ethics means first of all, a practical-pedagogical orientation. It is “a science calling people to good achievements and warning them from bad actions”, on the basis of proofs and examples it should display what is good and bad and describe good and bad tempers.

Avloni did not see a moral person without education and the prospering future. Therefore he considered various kinds of human activity and human character traits through a prism of ethical categories. So, for him the knowledge and lack of knowledge are not just phenomena of informative activity and the concept of gnoseology. Knowledge “allows us to distinguish unmistakably good from bad, kind from unkind, permitted from prohibited, pure from dirty”, while ignorance means “the beginning of bad temper”, “egoism and evil”. According to Avloni, moral for the Moslem should be based on universal human values, to have a practical orientation and rationally serve to progress. Jadids considered that the people of Turkestan should possess such qualities as tolerance, devotion, bravery, composure, discipline, conscientiousness, justice and to try to overcome such shortcomings as laziness, idleness, egoism etc. The analysis of these categories was carried out by A. Avloni through the questions of education of young generation to meet the society requirements.

So speaking about discipline, A. Avloni considered it not as quality of a certain person, but much wider i.e.

from the position of a posture in society. He considered that “the nation development, its spiritual growth, perfection depend mostly on timely and qualitative performance of pursuits and duties confronting people”.

The leading part in formation of individual A. Avloni gave to education. From his point of view an individual was created as talented and gifted, capable of distinguishing good and bad, but these qualities were developed in the course of education in which the important role is played by ethics.

Thus, ethics and moral questions were one of the parts of educational work and were in the spotlight of Jadids. They represented and at the same time were the representatives of “new Muslim ethics” taking the elements of world experience in this field. Trips and dialogues with educators from other regions of the Russian Empire helped them to develop it and many other aspects of progressionists’ educational program.

In 1905, Abdurashid Ibragimov, a member of bureau of the Central committee of the Russian Moslems worked in this direction in Tashkent. In 1908 before travelling to Cairo a founder of Jadidism, friend and teacher of M.Bekhbudi Ismail Gasprinskiy visited Turkestan again where he familiarized with the work of Samarkand new method schools. In 1910 a well-known Tatar Jadid Sadri Maksudi travelled all around Turkestan kray (Azamhodjaev, 2006). Tashkent Tashkent, being an administrative and cultural center of Central Asian region, became the office for meetings of representatives of reformatory movements.

Jadids understood that the colonial system of board of the Russian administration in Turkestan not only fail to meet the national needs, but also causes enormous social and economic harms to the country. Therefore their struggle for new method secular education, strengthening the best parts of national identity, intensive development of culture spilled over into a struggle for political independence and democratic government.

However, educational activity of Jadid movements of initial period was not a campaign of purely cultural enlightenment as the Russian populism’s educational activity, it also embraced the issues of raising national consciousness. Educating, Jadids made reference to history of Turan which was a great country in the old days and called to know the European history to emphasize that their country as the part of East had made much for the West.

Jadids were convinced that Turkestan kray, being a part of the Muslim world, but representing an independent unique phenomenon in the world history, was obliged to make good its position in the difficult and contradictory future which was opened in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

At this stage they considered education as the most paramount issue and would make decisions furiously which was inherent only in young and hotheads.

Analyzing the age of Jadids, we were convinced that their program aimed at organizing the future of Turkestan reflected youth outlook. By 1910 the age structure of movement participants was from 13 to 36 years and above. The head of Jadidism M.Bekhbudi was 36 and A.Chulpan who subsequently became a favourite poet of youth, was 13, F. Khodjajev was 14 at this time. However, none of them made old bones.

### **3. Socio-political views Jadids in Turkestan**

Founded after the February Revolution of 1917, the regional representative body “Shuroi Islamia”, the Organization of the Muslim Council was created under the influence of All-Russian Muslim movement at the suggestion of the Jadids of Turkestan. This name was chosen to highlight this political organization among the other organizations, established on the European model. The political activities of the Muslim Council in Turkestan were so intensive and influential, that the Bolsheviks, who came to power, had to abide by it.

Therefore, Soviet historians accused the Jadids of being nationalists, of fostering feelings of hostility towards the Russian people, of being isolated from the people, of the striving to please the national bourgeoisie. If it were true, there would have been neither a Russian nor a Jewish, nor a Polish, nor a Kazakh in the Turkestan Autonomous Government and Munawwar Qari Abdurashidkhanov, Salimkhan Tillyakhanov, Fitrat, Chulpan, Batu and others would not have married Russian women, M.Bekhbudi would not have advanced the slogan “Speak not only two, but four languages!”, meaning the Russian and one of the European languages besides the Uzbek and Persian ones.

M.Bekhbudi, who traveled a lot about the countries of the world, studied the structure of the state not only in eastern countries, but also in European ones, gave brief information about them in his textbooks and, based on their political system, specified three groups: 1) monarchical, 2) constitutional and parliamentary, and 3) republican. He being a citizen of the Emirate of Bukhara, knew perfectly that a monarchical state cannot give people happiness and freedom, therefore he wholeheartedly supported his colleagues in their aspiration to see Turkestan as a constitutional and parliamentary state (Behbudy, 1999).

A policy of violence, pursued by the colonial administration in the territory, faced to the strong pioneering movement of the Jadids of Turkestan that had intellectual, cultural and humane nature. A new, educated generation of Turkestan merchants, intellectuals and religious figures looked at the colonial power with doubt of its “legitimacy” for the first time. Mahmudkhoja Behbudi volunteered to arouse the hidden forces of the people in order to restore the national statehood and achieve freedom, and his multilateral social and political activities resulted in his becoming a real “father” of the Jadids of Turkestan.

The question: “What was Behbudi’s view of the political situation in Turkestan?” can be answered the

following words. He linked the progress of the people with enlightenment, with a radical change in its political status and gaining independence. In his numerous articles, he denounced the colonial policy of the tsarist government and mercilessly criticized the Russian Provisional Government and its laws. He knew that the people would not be able to achieve independence without fight. In the article “The presentation of the truth”, he said that in history there were many examples of winning of own rights, that is to say: “The rights have to be won, no one will give them to anyone, peoples and nations can achieve their rights only united around a political movement ... We, Muslims, especially Turkestan Muslims do not want anyone or anything to restrict or put pressure on our religion and nation, we have neither a desire nor an aspiration to threaten someone's independence.”. In this regard, he supports Munawwar Qari's idea: “Freedom is not given, it has to be taken” (Munawwar, 1917). However, he does not support Munawwar Qari's thought that freedom can be won with blood and sacrifice. Behbudi, like most of the Jadids, was on the side of bloodless fight against colonialism, so he was against the revolution. He thought that it was possible to achieve much, carefully following the activities of the State Duma and carrying on parliamentary struggle. Despite the fact that he was a supporter of the movement for autonomy, he thought the way of evolution to be the best in order to make progress. He believed that if Turkestan was a part of Russia, it would achieve independence.

On the debate over the state system at the congress, held in Turkestan after the February Revolution, Behbudi proposed that Turkestan take a special place in the structure of federal Russia: “In Tashkent there will be Centres and Medjlises consisting of a few people from each city and county of five provinces of Turkestan. They will engage in the legislative and executive activities, and tax collection. The Medjlis will mediate between Russian government and Muslims ... Naturally, it is necessary that the most of the representatives were Muslims, and least of them were Russians, the work should be carried out not by fiat or by force, but on the basis of compromise” (Behbudi, 1917). These ideas were reinforced by a policy document “The Project of Autonomy” adopted by the party of “Turk Adami markaziyati” (Turkic Federalists), founded in Skobelev city on July 12-14, 1917. M.Shokay writes about the preparation of this document: “National Center” prepared and entrusted to Shaislam Shaahmetbek to provide the documents necessary for the autonomy of Turkestan. He received all possible assistance in it from Mahmudkozha Behbudi, Ubaidullah Koja and me” (Shokai, 1999).

The Jadids, who wholeheartedly supported the ideas of the All-Russian Muslim movement, emphasized the autonomous self-dependency in the federal state structure of Russia, stated in this document. Behbudi advocates unity in the struggle for national liberation with his words: “We must make possible the creation of Russian Muslim federation without breaking ties with Russia, moreover, we, Turkestan Muslims must reject the positions of “old method adherents” and “the Jadids” and create a united alliance”. Of course, Behbudi understood that the division of the national liberation movement into the groups, based on religion or ethnicity, weakens the struggle against the colonial system, and he believed that it was necessary to prevent bloodshed, the division of land and wealth on the way of the consolidation of Turkestan, because only a peaceful, bloodless way could bring to social and economic progress. Behbudi participated actively in the establishment of Turkestan mukhtariat, was the ideological inspirer of this process, and was elected a member of the Provisional Government of Turkestan muhtariat. In the early years, speaking about autonomy in his speeches and articles he meant a federation. Later, the concept of “mukhtariat” was processed politically, and in accordance with the Congress's decision got a new concept, “autonomy”.

The declaration of the autonomy of Turkestan, which became the first victory of the national-democratic forces in the region, was not supported by “Shuroi Ulema”. This movement united by the struggle against the colonial government, divided into groups, as the “father” of the Jadids, Behbudi said with regret: “Our differences in beliefs have destroyed the unity, these troubles are our misfortune. If Turkestan joined, it would be the owner of the power of 15 million people that would be capable of shaking the earth” (Behbudi, 1917).

The hostility within the national liberation movement of Turkestan, due to differences in religious beliefs, was particularly noticeable in the solution of many matters arisen. For example, although the equality of women found support among “Shuroi Islamia”, Muslim ulema held the opposite view in this matter. According to Behbudi, despite the fact that the ulema of Tashkent were asked to settle the matter of participation “of women in elections to the women's commission in yashmak, without men” many times, all these requests were not honored. National interests occupied a priority position in Behbudi's activity, that is, he supported the unification of all political forces, which were the supporters of the ideas of the national movement. According to Zaki Ahmed Wali, he did not like the Bolsheviks. Munawwar Qari, Behbudi and the rest of the Jadids spoke out against the Cadets and the socialists. The article “The best in any business is the golden mean” written by Behbudi in 1906, provided an appraisal of the four parties that had a wide spread occurrence in the metropolis. He called the first party a bureaucratic-despotic one, and the order, which it established, totally unfit for the free development of Turkestan. In his opinion, the program of the Social-Democratic Party would be harmful to the Muslims, the financial paragraphs of the programme were invariable, and the human's views on the family were not harmonious and “absolutely unsuited” for the rules of sharia. He did not find warm words about the Cadet party either, and in 1917 at the April congress, being disillusioned with the party because of its great-power ideas, subjected its positions to

harsh criticism. The programme of the “Union of Russian Muslims” was similar to the one of the Cadets’, but the party united Muslims with the religious, economic, and ideological points of view, so it was considered to be the most acceptable for the conditions of Turkestan (Behbudi, 1906). The elite, supported the Jadids’ views, took these ideas of Behbudi as policy tasks for the political unification and created the ideological foundation for the establishment of the “Shuroi Islamia” party in the territory after the February Revolution.

Beginning with 1918-1919, the Bolshevik cadres were constantly sent to Turkestan from central Russia, in the mid 20s they flooded all the governmental agencies. Turkestan, in the full sense of the word, became a colony of the Soviet empire. The Jadids didn’t want to put up with this situation. It was the time when a few of the former Jadids, who held high positions at top echelons of Soviet power, raised the issue of indigenization of the state apparatus. The Bolsheviks, stroke a blow on this few of the ex-Jadids, declared them nationalists and isolated from the society.

The Bolshevik leaders tightened the supervision of the activities of the ex-Jadids. For example, in 1919 Mahmudkhodja Behbudi with his friend Mardonkuli went abroad to participate

in the peace conference in Paris. However, in the territory of the Emirate of Bukhara they were captured and brutally killed by the emir’s executioners, and according to contemporaries, it was done with the help of the Bolshevik agents. The other members of the autonomy Ubaidullah Khodjaev, Saidnasyr Mirdjalilov and the leader of the underground organization “Milly ittihad” Munavvar Qari Abdurashidkhanov, and the others were subjected to repression since 1923. Ubaidullah Khodjaev languished in a cell of Butyrskaya prison with a Tatar politician Ilias Alkyn more than a year. At the end of 1929, Munavvar Qari Abdurashidkhanov was charged as one of the leaders of the counterrevolutionary organization “Milly ittihad”, in 1930 he was shot and secretly buried in Vagankovskoye Cemetery with his comrades-in-arms Salimkhan Tillyakhanov, Said Ahrori from Uzbekistan, as well as the fighters for independence Zhusubek Aymautov, Abdurahman Baydildin from Kazakhstan and others. At the end of 1937, all the former prominent Uzbek, Kazakh, Tatar scientists and writers such as Abdurauf Fitrat, Gazi Alim Yunusov, Abdullah Qadiri, Chulpan, Bulat Saliev, as well as the state leaders of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan Faizullo Khodjaev, Turar Ryskulov, Alikhon Buklikhanov and others were shot as the agents of foreign intelligence services, ardent nationalists, Pan-Turkists, fighting against the policy of the Soviet power. Thus, by the end of the thirties no figure of Turkestan Jadid movement escaped his life of execution by a firing squad. In 1937, all the former Jadids were destroyed. And even after their killing, until the mid-80s Jadidism was a taboo subject, and the names of the great representatives of this movement, such as Behbudi, Chulpan, Fitrat and others were impossible to mention without the label of “the enemy of the people” or “a nationalist”.

The political and ethnic processes, occurred in the first quarter of the twentieth century in Turkestan, determined the areas of socio-political development. If the Jadids had not had the ideas to substantiate the nature and content of this development, as well as the political movement of the masses that had realized these ideas, the totalitarian power would not have met with strong resistance and it would not have reckoned with the national interests of the local people, and as a result, today’s independent Central Asian states would get a completely different look.

#### **4. Jadids idea of religious tolerance**

The Russian Empire invasion into Central Asia and its colonization inconsistently had an influence on life, a mode of life, culture and mentality of its people. Collision of two cultures gave rise to new problems, revealing advantages of European civilizations where bearers were dominating structures and its values was rejected by local people. Economy transformation, pouring of the Russian capital into the region, intensive transformation of Turkestan into raw-materials base inevitably required changes of the conditions of life and legal norms. It was difficult process. B. Babadzhonov said: “such situation caused different (mainly negative) reaction to innovations as the dogmatic and legal system of Islam is constructed in that way that its bearers should give an appropriate assessment to any innovations (bid’a). This innovation can be identified as acceptable i.e. “good” (bid’atun khasanaton) and as unacceptable or doubtful.

Also it can be accepted under certain conditions and with reservations” (Babadzhonov,200). Speaking more clearly, theological assessment of innovations gained currency which would allow justifying the participation of Moslems in new processes and giving them blessing. For its realization, first of all, formation of the tolerant attitude to other religions was required so long as all innovations were meant, first of all, as introduced by bearers of other religions such as the Christians and the Hebrew.

National progressionists of Turkestan were real mouthpiece of religious tolerance ideas. They had a general authority on it owing to their religious education, outlook and aspirations. The most outstanding representatives graduated not only madrasahs, but also were in holy orders. For example, Makhmudkhodja Bekhbudi was a hereditary mufti and at his time held this position in Samarkand region. Munavvar kary also worked as an imam of Darkhon mosque in Tashkent after graduation from madrasah and Ishak-khan Ibrat carried out duties of kazy

in Tura-Kurgan.

Jadids, owning cultural capital of the past, having the possibility to travel, see industrial and cultural achievements of Europe and developed Muslim countries, get acquainted with intellectual people and representatives of various social movements, realized perfectly how much Turkestan had lagged behind and they commenced to support a modernization of Muslim cultural traditions of Central Asia. They began the reforms with understanding of the Islamic doctrine.

The American historian A. Halid considers that “Central Asian Jadidism was directly localized by the limits of Muslim modernism... Its rhetorical structure originated in Muslim tradition of Central Asia and consequently in their own traditions Jadids relied on Islam... Modernity “is attached” to “true” meaning of Islam and only Islam cleared from all amendments, appeared for centuries, could provide well-being of Moslems. Coming to new vision of the world, Jadids came to new realization of Islam i.e. to realize what is to be the Moslem” (Adeeb, 1998).

In their theory of society updating the important question was to become close friends with Europe which has made great strides in development and borrowing their great achievements. The way out of the crisis caused by colonial position of Turkestan was found, first of all, in cultural reforms with European experience application. To achieve the goal, firstly, the working out of the legitimization theory of progress by Islam was required and the concepts about the attitude of Islam to the problem of harmonious development of man and society. Jadids tried to realize this idea through literary and journalistic creativity. The important place in this concept was the theme of tolerance: religious and national. These points were seen in the works of Jadids. In the books of Abdurauf Fitrat (Fitrat, 2000). “Munozara” and “Indian traveler’s stories” two foreigners introduced themselves as competent experts of the Koran and in the name of two foreigners the author appraises the situation concerning education, management, army, social and economic life of Turkestan and Bukhara. There is a supposition that A. Fitrat chose knowingly Frenchman in his first work and Hindu in the second i.e. one European and one Moslem, but not Central Asian, speaking in the name of foreigners about the objective reasons of progress and ayahs of the Koran, calling to it.

A Frenchman marks the universal importance of the Koran and hadis with the following words: “We are people of other religion, but we haven’t burned the Koran, we have used it at our interests, have studied to satisfy the thirst for knowledge. We read it which was specified in it and quickly achieved progress. And you, being unable to use its precepts, have come to the crisis”. Thereby A. Fitrat points out that Moslems should learn to respect other religions as European progressionists do in relation to Islam.

In opinion of Jadids, religious conservatism prevents from using innovations resulting in crafts and enterprises lag, failing to withstand the competition with the Russian developed industry.

Thus progressionists successfully combined “traditional (theological) mentality with the ideas of having technical and scientific revolution in Muslim societies of the East with appeals to be more open and tolerant” (Babadzhanov, ).

However, it did not have them see and scrutinize a national and religious policy of tsarism in Turkestan infringing upon indigenous population’s interests, hindering to develop the culture and education adequately (the authorities’ encouragement of the Christian-missionary activities, interdictions of Jadid schools and newspapers can be an example). Jadids understood perfectly that the tsarist administration wasn't interested in activation of Moslems and growth of their political consciousness.

But the efforts of the tsarist administration directed to isolation of Turkestan from the influence of political processes, befalling in Russia, Asian and European countries were unsuccessful. Tolerance of national progressionists had strongly developed thanks to their cooperation and relations with like-minded persons from other Muslim regions of Russia, which, in its turn, had been closely connected with the Russian democratic movement. Ideological views of Turkestan Jadids were in many respects modified under the influence of ideological and political currents penetrating into the kray from neighboring countries, because of democratic movement integration” (Abdullayev, 1999).

Jadids took a sober view of the future of Turkestan and did not define the global goal to be independent of Russia, realizing inequality of power and situations, but at the same time they asserted Moslems rights to participate in government management. Especially this situation was displayed after the February Revolution when they believed that Turkestan could possess the equal rights in Federal Russia. However, in their opinion, an essential condition for that was mutual respect, religious and national tolerance of both parties. Mahmudkhodja Bekhbudi, who was a main ideologist of Jadidism, at the time of sharp debate concerning the public management form in Turkestan and indigenous population’s participation in elected bodies in April, 1917, said: “It is incorrect to say that Moslems are backward and fanatical. We have known little about each other and have lived together little and only freedom will unite us. The unification of this kind is in Moslems’ interests, who wish to study from elder Russian brothers. We are children of Russia and should go ahead together, previous inconveniences are to be forgotten”.

If at the first stage of movement development progressionists' main purpose was to unite Moslems embodying democratic forces then by 1917 these ideas went beyond the scope of internal unity. The sovereignty

condition of Turkestan as a part of Russia was to unite all forces regardless of religious and national identity. M.Bekhbudi wrote that the laws are to be issued in the new state that would protect the rights of all Turkestan population, irrespective of religious and racial identity (Bekhbudi, 1917).

The ethnic issue in Jadids's program was solved within the unification of all ethnoses. May be it was rather primitive. But their nationalism was closely connected with ethnic concepts. They expressed ethnic feeling with such terms as "Millat" (Nation), "Musulmonlar" (Moslems), "Turkistonliklar" (Turkestan population) and "Turonliklar" (Turan followers). "Millat" by their understanding means Turkic speaking and Iran speaking people inhabited Turkestan, Bukhara and Khiva khanates. "Moslem" is used for all coreligionists and it has not only a religious shade but it reflects the concept of Turkic speaking and Persian speaking population of Turkestan. When Jadids spoke about association of Moslems, of course, they meant not religious consolidation but ethnic. As is obvious from the passage of M.Bekhbudi's article called "Bayoni Haqiqat" where along with ethnic terms as "Russian" and "Jews" the term "Moslems" is used.

At the same time the word "Moslems" is applied as a religious characteristic together with the term "Christians". We can say that because of Jadidism the transformation of a religious concept of Moslem was befallen into ethnic. Political ideas and consolidation of progressive forces, being a key condition of successful struggle against colonialism, led to ethnic consolidation.

### 5. Conclusion

Jadidism was destroyed by Bolsheviks because the concept of national-state formation and society's breaking of colonialism deadlocks was serious alternative to the totalitarian Soviet system and threatened its downfall. But, despite the sad end, a national-progressive movement founded by Jadids, favoured the development of national self-consciousness, has played an essential role in formation and development of national liberation ideology. Its enduring value is that it had forced to wake up and rouse the fallen asleep East, to remember freedom, national pride, great ancestors, rich culture and others that were consigned to oblivion by colonialism. Their doctrine was true because it carried away all progressive and thinking youth and not only youth. Their actions program became a model for the future generations. A doubtless historical merit of Jadids was their attempts to reform a society starting from the smallest i.e. education and its development was considered the most important thing for progress. Their attempt of political reforms was a striking illustration of conceptual development of their ideas and as for failures as a result of cataclysms in the world to which Turkestan was involved in the XX-th century. Despite the fact that the Jadids and colonial authorities had the similar goals of education, from an ideological point of view they were antithetical, so the Jadid educational system was not supported by the colonial power. Yet, with the support of masses the new-method schools were widespread in the territory and made certain progress in the improvement of literacy. Along with this, the educational activities of the Jadids also covered the economic modernization of the territory.

The Jadids' ideas about the social and cultural modernization of the society were not accepted by the Soviet government, but it had to give class nature to some provisions and use them in the program of reforms. It was related to the granting of autonomy to the local population and the renewal of the education and culture. The social and cultural development of the newly independent Central Asian republics have formed in the same direction, which demonstrates the vitality of the Jadids' ideas, risen in the early twentieth century. The political colour of the Jadid movement strengthened the ideology of the national liberation movement in the territory. Their evidence negated the "legitimacy" of the colonial power and the increased the opposition to colonial oppression of Russia. In addition, in its initial stage, the Soviet government was forced to reckon with the ideas of Jadidism. Thus, the political and ethnic processes in the first quarter of the twentieth century in Turkistan determined the directions of the socio-political development of the region. If the Jadids had not had the ideas to substantiate the nature and content of this development and the political movement of the masses to bring the ideas to fruition, the totalitarian power would not have met with strong resistance and it would not have reckoned with the national interests of the local people, and as a result, today's independent Central Asian states would get a completely different look.

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