

INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL FERMENT

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In the 1860s and 1870s the ethnic composition and socio-political structure of Central Asian society were rather complicated. The Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tajik, Turkmen and Uzbek peoples belonged to various states: Turkistan governor-generalship, which was part of the Russian empire, the emirate of Bukhara and the khanate of Khiva. Since ancient times the peoples of the region had lived in close contact and influenced one another, developing many common features in their material and spiritual culture and way of life. An important role in this was played by Islam, which for many centuries had been the region's dominant religion. While emphasizing the common history of the region's peoples we should nevertheless note the nature of the differences between them, in particular their various historical and cultural traditions. Some (the Tajiks, and to a considerable extent the Uzbeks) led a settled way of life, others were in transition to a settled way of life, while still others were nomadic and began the transition to a settled way of life only in the Soviet period (after 1917). These circumstances are important for any analysis and understanding of the problems of their spiritual life. In the region two cultures interacted, and continue to

interact, as components of all human culture – the settled (Iranian) culture and the nomadic (Turkic) culture.

The role of religion

The socio-political thought of the region's peoples at the time of the emirate of Bukhara, the khanate of Khiva and Turkistan cannot be understood without an analysis of religion as a form of social consciousness and its place in society. Religion dominated all spheres of life in the society and determined the nature of education and upbringing, filling people's everyday affairs, their way of life and way of thinking. It is no exaggeration to say that Islam constituted the legal system, the political and moral doctrine and the social philosophy in the emirate of Bukhara and the khanate of Khiva. It synthesized the whole spiritual life of society and subordinated to itself other forms of social consciousness, at least until the mid-nineteenth century, when the reformist movement known as Jadidism¹ first broke through into the ossified life of the antiquated feudal society.

The exceptional position of Islam and the clergy was no coincidence and stemmed from the very nature of feudal society itself, in which religion and the religious nature of social consciousness had become the necessary attribute of society. First of all, the clergy had a monopoly over education. The whole system of education and upbringing, from the lowest level (the *maktab*, religious elementary school) to the highest (the *madrasa*), was concentrated in their hands. Second, the clergy also exercised legal functions, giving their class the highest level of political importance in society. They monopolized the right to interpret the law on the basis of *fiqh* (jurisprudence, understanding) of the *sharī'a* (Islamic law). In the circumstances, any criticism of the existing regime (especially in Bukhara and Khiva) had to be of a religious nature and form.

This dominant position of Islam and the clergy relates to the settled populations of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to a great extent and to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan to a lesser degree. Among the nomads, however, the influence of religion on the way of life and thought both of the individual and of society as a whole was quite superficial. The outstanding Kazakh Jadid, Chokan Valikhanov (Wali Khan, 1835–65), wrote about this in relation to the Kazakhs:

although they are followers of Islam, like their heathen colleagues they are quite different from their settled fellow tribespeople. The Muslim religion, which they acquired only

¹ The Jadids were modernizing social and political reformers who were inspired by the ideals of the European Enlightenment and subsequent European modernization. The word Jadid (*jadīd*) means 'new'. [Eds.]

recently, had no overwhelming influence on them as it did on the Tatars and others . . . [The Kazakhs] are true believers in name [only].²

Elsewhere Valikhanov notes that under the influence of Tatar mullahs, Central Asian *ishāns* (Sufi teachers, headmen) and their proselytes, ‘our nation is developing more and more into one of the general Muslim type’.³

The lack of the necessary socio-political and cultural conditions in society meant that a ‘division of intellectual labour’ (as there was in Russia) could not occur – in other words, it was not possible to deprive the clergy of their monopoly over education and the performance of juridical functions. As a result, the clergy continued to play an important role in the cultural and political life of society. In the second half of the nineteenth century, influenced by changing conditions, the social thought of the region’s peoples also began to change gradually. The result was the rise of the Jadid movement, which changed the very argument of social thought, its direction and development. The writings of the Jadids criticized feudal social relations and institutions, including religion. The fight against ignorance, backwardness and despotism and the criticism of oppression and the feudal powers’ arbitrary rule, the clergy’s hypocrisy and fanaticism, the money-lenders’ grasping nature and greed and so on became the main trend in Jadid literature. The Jadids were advocates of secular education, equality, freedom and human worth.

The Jadid movement in Central Asia and Kazakhstan had its own particular features, which left their mark on the ideological current in general. Primarily, the movement in this region was not only anti-feudal in nature but also anti-colonial. It had much in common with the modernizing movement in the neighbouring countries – Iran, Afghanistan and India. It should be noted that in Soviet times analyses of the movement drew attention to its antifeudal nature alone and did not indicate that Jadidism in Central Asia and Kazakhstan had also conveyed the ideology of the national movement.

Intellectuals and poets among the nomadic peoples

Russia’s influence on Kazakhstan, including education and culture, was much broader and came considerably earlier than its influence on the rest of Central Asia.

Chokan Valikhanov,⁴ an outstanding Kazakh intellectual, was born into the family of a pro-Russian hereditary khan and graduated from the cadet college in Omsk. His short but brilliant life achieved much in the name of science and progress. His work as an enlightener

² Valikhanov, 1984, Vol. 1, p. 302.

³ Valikhanov, 1985, Vol. 4, p. 71.

⁴ His real name was Muhammad Hanafiya, which indicates that his family were Hanafis; Chokan was the nickname given him by his mother. [Trans.]

laid the foundations for the dissemination across the Kazakh steppes of progressive ideas about the benefits of knowledge and the people's need for education. These ideas attracted the Kazakh reformer, Ibray Altynsarin (1841–89), and the founder of Kazakh literature, Abay Kunanbaev (Ibrahim Qunanbayuly) (1845–1904). Valikhanov lived and worked in historically significant times: the process of Russia's annexation of Kazakhstan was completed, the old patriarchal and feudal foundations were crumbling and the outlying steppe was gradually drawn into the orbit of general Russian development.

Russia's annexation of Kazakhstan and then of Central Asia was a complex process. Coming at a crucial moment for the survival of the Kazakh and other peoples of Central Asia and their need to be included in broader social processes, annexation was an acceptable way out of the historical situation which had developed. However, annexation also meant colonization of the region by tsarist Russia, with its tragic moral and social consequences, all of which had a profound influence on Valikhanov. His works are examples of in-depth research into the most varied aspects of the history and culture of the Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Uighurs and other Turkic peoples of the region. His efforts to interpret the phenomena occurring in daily life can be traced in his works. Defending the rights of ordinary people in his *Notes on Legal Reform*, he questioned the essence and nature of the reforms being carried out by the colonial administration. Defining the concept of 'progress' as improvement of the people's material prosperity, Valikhanov considered that the spread of education and 'true knowledge' and the raising of cultural standards were the only way to achieve progress. 'For the normal growth and development of a nation,' he said, 'freedom and knowledge are needed above all else. Evidently the first thing to do is to teach.'⁵

Valikhanov also made a great contribution to the study of the Kyrgyz people's history by opening up to the world their heroic epic, *Manas*. He described this as an encyclopaedic collection of all the Kyrgyz people's myths, tales, stories and legends as well as their geographic, religious and intellectual knowledge and moral concepts. *Manas* is a national epic, a kind of steppe Iliad.⁶

Altynsarin⁷ was a well-known teacher and poet. He tried to deal in practice with the tasks of educating the Kazakh people that Valikhanov had set out in theory. He was a keen supporter of the Kazakh people's acquisition of Russian culture. An inspector of the people's colleges in Steppe region (*kray*) in the 1870s and 1880s, Altynsarin opened a number of schools for Kazakh children. He saw these schools as sources for spreading education and propagating secular science and culture. Altynsarin was opposed to ignorance and

⁵ *Chokan Valikhanov i sovremennost'*, 1988, p. 36.

⁶ Valikhanov, 1984, Vol. 1, p. 42.

⁷ *Istoriya filosofii v SSSR*, 1968, Vol. 3, pp. 583–4. See also Beysembiev, 1976.

critical of religious prejudice; and he defended secular education. Indeed, he devoted his whole life to the cause of popular education.

The most colourful figure among the Kazakhs was Abay Kunanbaev. In the formation of his humanist philosophy, Kunanbaev was much influenced by such prominent Russian writers as Pushkin, Dostoevsky and Nekrasov⁸ and Eastern writers like Ferdowsi, Nizami and Nawa'i.⁹ Kunanbaev hotly defended education and personal freedom and fought ignorance, backwardness and religious fanaticism. At a time when the feudal states were fragmented, he supported the idea of a centralized state to be headed by a strong and enlightened monarch. He saw this as the only way to overcome the feuding between clans and tribes, a topical issue among the Kazakhs at that time.

Kunanbaev considered quite correctly that knowledge is an important aim of human existence and a demand of the human soul: 'If we do not strive for knowledge, our soul will be that of an animal rather than of a human being.'¹⁰ In philosophical terms Kunanbaev was not an atheist but he was sharply opposed to the ethics of Islam. Trying to separate ethics from religion and to liberate people from fanaticism, he claimed that all ideas and concepts of virtue and vice, truth and falsehood had been invented by human beings. Kunanbaev's lofty evaluation of the purpose of humanity is concentrated in the ethical meaning of his formula 'be a human being'. He was convinced that every person should be wise, just, humane, honest and industrious, and that anyone who was ignorant, lazy, cruel, unsociable or dishonest was unworthy of being called a human being.

Kalygul Bay-uulu, Arstanbek Boylosh-uulu, Moldo Niyaz, Toktogul, Moldo Klych and Togolok Moldo were popular Kyrgyz poets who played an important part in the formation of the thinking of the Kyrgyz. Their poems and homilies were devoted to the interpretation of historical events, Russian colonization and the policy of forcing the Kyrgyz off their fertile pastures, the social situation of the nomads and cultural traditions and innovations among the Kyrgyz. The first published works by Kyrgyz poets were printed in Ufa and Kazan.¹¹ The poem *Kysy-i zilzala* [Story of the Earthquake] by Togolok Klych was published in 1911 and the researcher Osmonaaly Sydyk-uulu brought out a short history of the Kyrgyz called *Mukhtassar tarikh-i Kirgiziya* in 1913–14.

⁸ Russia's first national poet Aleksandr Sergeevich Pushkin (1799–1851), the Russian novelist Fedor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky (1821–81) and the Russian poet Nikolai Alekseevich Nekrasov (1821–78). [Trans.]

⁹ The poet Abu'l-Qasim Mansur Ferdowsi (940–1020), the Sufi poet Nizami (1141–1209) and the poet 'alishir Nawa'i (1441–1501). [Trans.]

¹⁰ Kunanbaev, 1961, p. 332. See also *Istoriya filosofii v SSSR*, 1968, Vol. 3, p. 585.

¹¹ Ufa is the capital of the Republic of Bashkortostan (Bashkiria), and Kazan is the capital of the Republic of Tatarstan (Tataria). [Trans.]

Berdimurad Berdakh (1827–1900) was a famous Karakalpak poet.¹² He witnessed several popular uprisings against the khan of Khiva. Some of his poems, particularly *Amangeldy*, were dedicated to this uprising. He devoted a special poem called *Shajara* [Genealogy] to the history of the Karakalpaks. Much of his poetry is concerned with moral issues in social life.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Turkmen intellectual thought faced two important tasks. The first was to overcome clan and tribal feuding and unite the Turkmen in a single nation, and the second concerned relations with Russia. Leading Turkmen thinkers were required to deal with these important issues. The leading Turkmen poets tried as much as they could to provide answers to questions raised in the course of historical development. The writings of the Turkmen Jadid Aveztagan Katibi (1803–81)¹³ centred on the first of the two tasks. He was particularly concerned with the idea of national unity, overcoming clan and tribal feuding and creating one national state as factors promoting social progress.

Miskinklych (1850–1907)¹⁴ was a contemporary of Katibi. After Katibi, the creative works of Miskinklych raised the most acute socio-political questions. Miskinklych spoke with indignation about the coexistence of luxury and idleness with poverty and slavery in the society of his times. He condemned the senseless fratricidal clashes between Turkmen tribes. The Turkmen poets were also critical of Russia: ‘For the most part they saw only one side – invasion and colonization.’¹⁵

Intellectuals and poets among the oasis peoples

In the emirate of Bukhara, as in the Central Asian khanates, the necessary changes and innovations in the spheres of production and social relations took place extremely slowly. One generation of society after the other tended to block the same social structures which were copied and passed on to the next generation. The condition of society was reflected in its spiritual life. Priority was given to traditions and standards which accumulated the experience of the previous generations. However, this canonization of the experience of past generations created favourable conditions for dogmatism to develop in science, culture and the spiritual life of society as a whole.

It was from this kind of society that a great social reformer emerged. Ahmad Donish (1827–97) was one of the reformers of the Jadid movement in Central Asia. Donish was

¹² *Materialy po istorii progressivnoy obshchestvenno-filosofskoy mysli v Uzbekistane*, 1967, pp. 533–41.

¹³ *Ocherki istorii filosofskoy i obshchestvenno-politicheskoy mysli v Turkmenistane*, 1970, pp. 270–80.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 281–5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

a universal figure in the Tajik people's history of social thought in the nineteenth century. Proof of this is to be found not only in his heritage¹⁶ but also in his recognition by his contemporaries and followers. According to the orientalist and Iranist Ye. E. Bertels, one of the first to investigate Donish's heritage:

In approaching nineteenth-century Tajik literature we first come up against the outstanding figure of the 'father' of modern Tajik literature, Ahmad Kalle, whose works have left their imprint on all subsequent literature of the period and even after the [Bolshevik] October [1917] revolution continued to have a certain influence on the formation of Tajik literature.¹⁷

The humanitarian ideas and traditions of the history of philosophy and social thought of the Tajik people provided the theoretical basis for Donish's social philosophy. The formation of his Jadid views was undoubtedly influenced by Russia, which he visited three times, in 1858, 1868 and 1873, to learn about conditions there.

Problems concerning the emirate's political structure occupied an important place in Donish's social philosophy of Jadidism. In his opinion, the state was necessary to ensure the people's interests and the proper running of the country. Donish's concept of the essence and functions of the state was quite progressive for his times. He well understood that the emir's absolute rule was completely unsuited to protecting the interests of his subjects and ensuring the country's prosperity. Donish realized that without well-educated people who were familiar with secular as well as canonical science, it would be impossible to speak of sensible leadership of the state or of the well-being of its subjects, the prosperity of the state or the use of its natural resources to meet the needs of its people. He also well understood that all these tasks could not be resolved on the basis of religion alone. He therefore proposed that, besides the canon, secular thought – mathematics, geometry, astronomy, geography, history, arts and crafts, calligraphy and so on – should be studied in schools and *madrāsas*.

Donish realized that it would be impossible to persuade the emirs of Bukhara to build a just society and that plans for the moral and religious transformation of the emirate were unrealizable. Donish's ideas therefore underwent considerable change and became more radical. They are reflected in his historical work *Risāla* [Treatise], which was written in 1895–7. The most serious and important changes in his position as a Jadid included his rejection of reformism. He called for a bold uprising against the existing regime, considering that such a step was completely in keeping with the rules and aims of the *sharī'a*. He wrote:

¹⁶ Donish, 1988; Donish, 1959a; Donish, 1959b; Donish, 1960.

¹⁷ Bertels, 1936, Vol. 3, p. 19.

These rulers, whom we call His Majesty the Emir and His Excellency the Wazir [the ruler's chief counsellor], are nothing but 'prodigal brutes' or worse. If the *sharī'a* were properly observed, they would be removed from power several times an hour. No one is obliged to subordinate himself to their dictates, and if anyone is insubordinate that does not make him a trouble-maker or a rebel.¹⁸

For Bukhara in the second half of the nineteenth century, the modernizing social philosophy of Donish was a theory of social importance, expressing the thoughts and aspirations of the people and aimed at the reconstruction of the country's social life. His legacy greatly influenced the subsequent development of social thought among the Tajiks, Uzbeks and other Central Asian peoples.

The progressive historian, poet and literary critic Mirza Azimi Sami (1837–1909) was a contemporary of Donish. He was a sharp social critic of the emir, his courtiers and the practices prevailing in Bukhara. His basic work was a history of the rule in Bukhara of the Manghit dynasty.¹⁹ This tract reflected the socio-political and economic backwardness of the emirate of Bukhara at the time of tsarist Russia's conquest of Central Asia and also illustrated the unconstrained arbitrariness of feudal rule and the grave situation of the people.

Mirza Siraj Hakim (1877–1914) was a young contemporary of Sami. Born in Bukhara, he travelled a great deal, visiting the Caucasus, Russia, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, France and Britain. He learned about modern medicine in Europe, graduated from medical college in Tehran and practised medicine in Bukhara and Iran. Mirza Siraj's fundamental work, reflecting his Jadid ideas, was his *Tuyafi ahl-i Bukhārā* [Gift to the Inhabitants of Bukhara]. It was the outcome of his many years of travel in Europe and Asia.

The impressions Mirza Siraj gained on his travels promoted the emergence and development of his modernizing ideas. As a teacher, he particularly admired the state of education, science and culture in European countries, comparing it to that in his homeland and noting with bitterness:

I remembered our schools – the lessons on mats, the dirty blackboards and illiterate teachers who behaved towards the children like angels of vengeance, and I involuntarily wept tears of grief and jealousy and cried out, 'Heavens! How did it come about that we failed to appreciate science and became such contemptible creatures!'²⁰

Meditation on these problems – why things were so different in Europe and Bukhara – led Mirza Siraj to raise an important question: Why is it that the Europeans mastered all

¹⁸ Donish, 1960, p. 121.

¹⁹ Mirza Azimi Sami, 1962.

²⁰ Mirza Siraj Hakim, 1992, p. 66.

the sciences and arts and achieved progress, while we who did not master the sciences and crafts are backward in our development? This question, raised by a Jadid at the beginning of the twentieth century, is all the more topical for Central Asia at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, relations with Russia began to be discussed more frequently and widely in the Tajik and Uzbek Jadid movement. Such matters occupied an important place in the creative work of the Tajik Jadid Asiri and the Uzbek Jadids Mukimi and Furkat. They all knew one another, having studied at the *madrassa* in the town of Kokand, which in the not so distant past had been the centre of the Kokand khanate. It should also be noted that the Tajik Jadids spoke Uzbek well and the Uzbek Jadids knew Tajik, an important factor in their creative cooperation.

Tash Khoja Asiri (1864–1915) was born in the town of Khujand (Leninabad in Soviet times). Asiri was well known in the literary and public circles of Kokand, Samarkand and Bukhara. He was a friend of Aini (see below), who had a high opinion of him. Asiri broached questions of daily life, education, culture and morality. Like Mirza Siraj, he was acutely aware that his people and nation lagged centuries behind the leading countries, in particular Russia. He said in one of his poems:

Now we must show diligence,
Take care to put our affairs in order,
Set up new schools,
Open the way to new knowledge,
Teach our sons the sciences,
And look to future prospects.²¹

Muhammad Amin Khoja (pseudonym Mukimi, 1851–1903) was a popular Uzbek poet and Jadid. The formation of Mukimi's philosophy took place at a complex time in Central Asian history. On the one hand democratic ideas were penetrating the poet's homeland, but on the other hand there was a colonial regime and the first steps were being taken to establish a national bourgeoisie in its ugly usurious form. Mukimi's creative works are full of the spirit of rationalism and the European Enlightenment, as shown in the following example:

We honour ignorance
And have no respect for knowledge,
We have no inclination
Towards wise and worthy actions,

²¹ Asiri, 1960, p. 60.

We have respect for bad deeds
But no approval for good ones.²²

Zakirjan Khalmukhammadov (pseudonym Furkat, 1858–1909) was one of the initiators of the Jadid movement in Uzbekistan. A well-educated man, he had absorbed the humanist ideas not only of Eastern classics like Hafiz, Nawa'i and Bedil²³ but also of Russian literature, including Pushkin and Nekrasov. His wide knowledge promoted the development of his critical realism. Furkat was an active defender of Jadidism and an enemy of archaic feudal tradition and religious fanaticism.

Furkat was in favour of the Central Asian peoples drawing closer to the Russian people and cooperating with them. He emphasized that drawing closer to Russian culture would awaken in his own people aspirations to enlightenment, knowledge and modern culture. He said: 'We must learn the customs of the Russians since we have many trade and other links. It is for our own benefit that we should study in depth what the Russians do.'²⁴

Furkat noted that in Russian gymnasiums (high schools) there were sensible practices and a respectful attitude towards science and scientists. The logic of his reasoning implied that things should be the same in Uzbekistan too. He wrote:

We realized with regret that our former khans had not used a teaching system like this. Of course, if they had, our people would have mastered many sciences by now.²⁵

Furkat noted with satisfaction that the arrival of the Russians had put an end to feudal strife and the people had sighed with relief:

We had seen and heard the period of the past khans, when from month to month the country was ravaged by enemy raids, children were orphaned and wives widowed, and it was only when Russia reached Ferghana that the Muslims were released from this grave fate.²⁶

The inherent contradictions in the outlook of Donish, Mukimi and Furkat were further developed in the philosophy of the following generation of Jadids. If we take the ideas of the above-mentioned Jadids as the sum of particular 'understandings' (education, science, the enlightened monarch, etc.), ignoring the specific historical context, these ideas and theories seem to be the same as those of the European Enlightenment. However, if we take into account – as we must – the conditions of Bukhara, Khiva and the Kazakh countryside at the end of the nineteenth century, then an appeal for reform, culture and equality was,

²² *Materialy po istorii progressivnoy obshchestvenno-filosofskoy mysli v Uzbekistane*, 1967, p. 546. See also Muminov, 1957.

²³ Mirza 'abd al-Kadir Bedil (1644–1721). [Trans.]

²⁴ *Materialy po istorii progressivnoy obshchestvenno-filosofskoy mysli v Uzbekistane*, 1967, p. 556. See also: *Istoriya filosofii v SSSR*, 1968, pp. 581–2.

²⁵ *Materialy po istorii progressivnoy obshchestvenno-filosofskoy mysli v Uzbekistane*, 1967, p. 557.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 555.

both objectively and subjectively, an appeal to master a more developed and advanced culture and to take a historic leap from the medieval past into the twentieth century. This was the real purpose and importance of the Jadids' actions.

The new generation of Jadids

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the revolutions in Russia, Turkey and Iran influenced social consciousness considerably and promoted the region's general awakening. The degree of influence of these revolutions on the subsequent development of Central Asian society was complex and contradictory. Onto the stage of history stepped a new generation of Jadids.

The realities of daily life for the Muslim peoples within the Russian empire were such that the need to reform the education system became the cornerstone of the Jadid movement and an important issue in the socio-political life of these peoples. Without education there can be no social progress. The Jadids had learned this truth well.

The general spiritual condition of Russia's Muslims was correctly described by Isma'il Gasprinsky (Gaspıralı, 1851–1914) as social and intellectual isolation and total immobility in all spheres of activity. Comparing the conditions of Muslims in Russia and in Asian countries, he said:

Is it not strange that Muslim societies in many Asian countries, in Constantinople, Cairo, Damascus, Tunis and elsewhere, have outstripped the Muslim societies of Russia so far in all respects that among these Muslims you sense Europe, the animation of intellectual stimulation and moral life, and you hear ideas and aspirations which are new and far from Asian?²⁷

The problem of educational reform in the *maktabs* and *madrasas* had been raised by the Tatar Jadids Abu Nasr Kursavi (1765–1813) and Shahab al-Din Marjani (1848–89), both of whom had studied in Bukhara. They were opposed to the scholastic system of education and supported the inclusion of secular science in the teaching programme. In the 1880s a new impetus was given to the educational reform movement among the Crimean Tatars by Isma'il Gasprinsky. He wrote:

In 1884 we began to work out a new method of teaching [*usūl-i jadīd*] and founded a school in Bakhchisaray (Crimea) where we introduced the teaching of reading and writing by the new phonetic method.²⁸

This was the first Russian Muslim school to adopt the new method of teaching. (The primary meaning of the concept of Jadid was 'supporter of the new method of teaching'.) The

²⁷ *Ismail bey Gasprinsky...*, 1881, pp. 29–30.

²⁸ Quoted from Vámbéry, 1912, p. 280. [Vámbéry's description of his Central Asian travels was first published in London in 1864. *Trans.*]

Muslim clergy sharply opposed the new method of teaching and the new-method schools. Despite the fierce resistance put up by the traditionalists, or *qadimists* (from *qadim*, old), the number of schools using the new method of teaching increased and, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the first new-method schools were opened in Central Asia. The first such schools in Turkistan and Bukhara (at Kagan, a town near the city of Bukhara) were Tatar ones. The growth of the network of new-method schools for the native population, that is, Uzbeks and Tajiks, began in 1905. By 1916 there were over 5,000 new-method schools in the Russian empire.²⁹ At the initial stage of the new system of teaching, the Crimean and Kazan (Tatar) Jadids set themselves the task of renewing and modernizing the Muslim community by reforming the education system.

With time, as the network of new-method schools expanded and they were opened in Turkistan and Bukhara, the Central Asian Jadids were faced with the same tasks as had faced the Tatar Jadids. As the scale of the Jadid movement grew, its tasks changed accordingly. This is how the change was described by a participant in the movement, the Tajik writer Sadriiddin Aini (1878–1954):

It was generally considered that from 1905 to 1917 the homeland, the nation, religion, science and education, propaganda against the despotic government and also verbal attacks on the clergy were quite definitely the main subject matter of the literature of this period.³⁰

The issues listed here touch not only on the system of education but also on society as a whole. In the conditions of Turkistan and Bukhara, Jadidism was essentially performing the historic function that the Enlightenment had done in other countries. The issues raised by Jadidism touched on very important spheres of the life of society – socio-economic, political, cultural and so on. The Jadids criticized archaic medieval ways and propagated the ideas of progress and renewal which responded to the spirit of the times.

On the eve of the 1917 (Bolshevik) revolution, the transformation of Jadidism led to this concept losing its original meaning and acquiring a broader socio-political and ideological one. The political and social ideals of the Turkistan and Bukhara Jadids did not differ essentially from the ideas of the modernist reformers of neighbouring Eastern countries. In the economic field, the Jadids of Bukhara demanded the abolition of the medieval system of taxation and the introduction of regulations and the precise setting of taxes, sharply criticizing the arbitrary practices in this socially important matter. One significant element was the demand that the state treasury be separated from the emir's private household. All

²⁹ Bennigsen, 1992, p. 119. [Bennigsen is the author of several books about Soviet Islam published in English and French in the 1960s and 1970s. *Trans.*]

³⁰ Aini, 1925, pp. 539–40.

these economic, political and cultural demands of the Jadids were contained in the emir's 'Manifesto' (see below), which was published in April 1917 but not implemented.

The Jadid movement was formed of representatives of various public strata: the intelligentsia (poets and writers), merchants and traders and liberal clergy (as in Bukhara and Samarkand), people employed in the lowest administrative posts (as in Turkistan governor-generalship), and young people who had been educated in Russian schools in the towns of Omsk, Orenburg and Troitsk (typical of Kazakhstan) and the Russian-native schools of Tashkent, Kokand and Samarkand (where local children were taught in Russian). Although the movement was heterogeneous it had its own ideological and spiritual leaders.

The talented commentator, writer and teacher Mahmud Khoja Behbudi (1875–1919) was a progressive and authoritative Jadid leader. He graduated from a *madrassa* and was the *mufti* (jurist, chief law officer) of Samarkand. He travelled the countries of the East and Russia's Muslim regions. He wrote textbooks on geography and history, reading books for children and so on for the new-method schools, one of which operated in his home. He compiled and printed a map of Turkistan, Bukhara and Khiva. He was the editor and publisher of the newspaper *Samarqand* and the journal *Oina* [The Mirror] (1913–15). He wrote a play entitled *Padarkush* [The Patricide], which reflected topical problems of the early twentieth century. A passage in the play reads as follows:

To be educated in the secular way, children must first be taught the mother tongue of the Muslims and religion and then they must go to the state gymnasium. When they finish the gymnasium or town school, they must be sent to universities in St Petersburg or Moscow to train as lawyers, engineers, economists and physicists. They must be real participants in the running of the Russian state.³¹

Another article Behbudi wrote in *The Mirror* said:

We can speak about our needs in the State Duma [Russian parliament] but there is none among us who would defend our interests there. For ten years now I have been campaigning for people not to fear the Russians, to work with them hand in hand, to act like citizens of Russia and be active participants in the running of the country.³²

These extracts clearly illustrate Behbudi's important idea of being 'a participant in the running of the country' and for this it was necessary to have had a modern education. This idea had been expressed in a slightly different form back in the 1880s by Gasprinsky in his newspaper *Tercümān* [The Interpreter]. In the second decade of the twentieth century it won over the minds of the more thoughtful representatives of Turkistan's intelligentsia, in particular Behbudi, Hamza Hakimzoda Niyazi and others. This idea is important in terms

³¹ Quoted in Radzhabov, 1957, pp. 402–3.

³² *Oina*, 1913, No. 9; quoted in Radzhabov, 1957, p. 412.

of law and legal awareness and it means that considerable changes had taken place in the social consciousness of the native inhabitants of Turkistan governor-generalship.

Behbudi was a supporter of reform, particularly in the emirate of Bukhara. His commentaries actively pursued the idea of reform in the emirate. This was known to the emir, Sa'id 'alim Khan, who hated Behbudi with every fibre of his being, as illustrated by the following incident. A ceremony marking the publication of the emir's reform 'Manifesto' for Bukhara was held in a festive atmosphere in the city on 8 April 1917. The ceremony was attended by a delegation from Samarkand headed by Behbudi. When the emir entered the hall he greeted everybody present except Behbudi. Two years later Behbudi was brutally murdered by agents of the emir.

The Tajik Jadid Sa'id Ahmad Siddiki (literary pseudonym Aji, 1865–1927) was a close acquaintance of Behbudi. Although he was very popular in Turkistan and Bukhara, his works, especially *Anjumani arvokh* [Gathering of Spirits, 1914] and *Mir'oti ibrat* [Mirror of Learning, 1914], were officially banned in Bukhara. In his *Mirror of Learning*, Siddiki describes an imaginary country where justice is supreme, science, technology and culture are well developed and, especially important in this imaginary land, religion does not forbid the study of secular science. He represents social utopia as a public ideal, as an expression of dissatisfaction with the existing social order. He calls on his compatriots to wake up from their eternal slumbers and without wasting time to study science as in Russian schools:

In Russian schools children are taught all the sciences: invention, philosophy, agronomy, business and machine operation; they learn how to make clocks, steamboats, telephones, the telegraph and balloons and how to grow cotton and weave silk cloth.³³

Siddiki's progressive ideas played a positive role in the development of sociopolitical thought among the Tajik and Uzbek peoples.

The direct successor and continuer of the reformist ideas of Mukimi and Furkat was their contemporary, 'Ubaydallah Salih (pseudonym Zavki, 1853–1921), who was born in Kokand. Thanks to the intensive development of cotton growing, which produced much-needed raw material for Russian industry, Kokand was fast turning into one of the biggest towns in the region. In his poetry Zavki expresses the interests of the ordinary people, criticizes social injustice and condemns the pharisaical and hypocritical life of the local wealthy elite and the clergy. Criticizing the moral principles of his times, the poet declares with regret that the times of honest, decent and enlightened people have not yet come, when 'the lowest people in society are shown kindness by the law'. In one poem, appealing to the people, he says that times have changed and the world must be looked at anew:

³³ Quoted from the journal *Sadā-i sharq*, 1989, No. 1, pp. 40–3.

Friends, times have changed, it's time to open our eyes!
So that the nation shall be strong, it's time to open our eyes!
So that honour shall be preserved, it's time to open our eyes!
Science should flourish, it's time to open our eyes!
Ignorance should be smashed, it's time to open our eyes!³⁴

The most important figure in the Jadid movement in the 1920s was the talented Uzbek poet, writer and teacher Hamza Hakimzoda Niyazi (1889–1929). He was born in Kokand into the family of a pharmacist, graduated from school and entered a *madrasa*. On leaving the *madrasa* in 1909, he travelled all over the East. One common feature of the biographies of all or nearly all Turkistani and Bukharan Jadids should be emphasized – they travelled extensively throughout the countries of the Middle East. Their travels enriched their experience of life, and allowed them to compare the way of life and thinking of the people and the standard of social progress achieved in the countries they visited with those in their own countries. Mostly their conclusions did not favour Turkistan and Bukhara. This was important from the philosophical point of view. Why in Egypt, Tunisia and Turkey was the electric lighting of mosques considered normal, when in Bukhara a kerosene lamp was considered to be an impermissible novelty and sometimes condemned?

In Tashkent Hamza Hakimzoda came to know the town's intellectuals, the new schools and their teaching methods. On returning to Kokand he opened his own school, wrote textbooks and did some teaching. He was friendly with Kokand's business elite, in particular Abijan Makhmudov, who published the newspaper *Sadoi Farghāna* [Voice of Fergana, 1914]. Hamza Hakimzoda was an active writer for this newspaper. His commentaries sharply criticized the religious theory of predestination. In 1916 Hamza Hakimzoda published his collection of *National Songs*, which provided ample proof of the radicalization of his views. As a Jadid he wrote: 'anyone who stops to think and opens up his mind a bit will understand that all this humiliation and resentment stems from illiteracy and ignorance.'³⁵

Schools with the new method of teaching were quite widespread in Tashkent. Munawwar Qari 'abdurashid Khan (1878–1913) and 'abdallah Avlani (1878–1934) were intellectual figures among the Tashkent Jadids. Munawwar Qari's school was one of the best and most famous schools to adopt the new method of teaching in Turkistan. Munawwar Qari wrote textbooks for schools, was engaged in publishing and had a bookshop. His commentaries

³⁴ *Materialy po istorii progressivnoy obshchestvenno-filosofskoy mysli v Uzbekistane*, 1967, p. 577. See also *Istoriya filosofii v SSSR*, 1971, pp. 729–30.

³⁵ *Materialy po istorii progressivnoy obshchestvenno-filosofskoy mysli v Uzbekistane*, 1967, p. 585. See also *Istoriya filosofii v SSSR*, 1971, pp. 730–1.

were printed in almost all publications in Turkistan. After 1914 he and Avlani devoted themselves to the theatre.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the leading representatives of the Kazakh intelligentsia (Sh. Kudayberdiev, M. Dulatov, A. Bukeykhanov) rallied around the newspaper *Qazāq* (Orenburg, 1912–18) and the journal *Ai qap* (Troitsk, 1911–16). The newspaper expressed the then traditional point of view of Kazakh society, but the journal asserted a more radical path of development. Toraygyrov (1893–1920) was a continuer of the liberal ideas of Altynsarin and Kunanbaev.

The development of Jadidism before the revolution in Bukhara (1920) is connected with the names of the successors of Donish, among whom Aini, ‘abd al-Wahid Munzim (1877–1934) and ‘Abdurrauf Fitrat (1884–1937) occupy a worthy place. The struggle of Aini and Munzim was concentrated on the question of the new-method schools. Together with Munzim, Aini opened in his home a new-method school teaching in Tajik (1908). In his autobiography, Aini says:

I compiled a reading book. The book was of a literary nature, and the children found it interesting to read. Of course, in keeping with the requirements of the times, I included in this book many religious texts. All the same, the book as a whole was something of a novelty. (I published this book in 1909 under the title, *The Upbringing of Young People*.)³⁶

When the time for the school inspection came, however, the mullahs were provocative and hostile and published findings suggesting that the school was ‘putting the children off religion and raising them in unbelief’. They persuaded the emir to close the school.

For the reform of schools and *madrasas*, Aini and his comrades organized a secret society called ‘Upbringing of Children’. With this society’s help schools began to open. The children who had finished their lessons at these schools were sent for further studies to Orenburg, Kazan, Ufa, the Crimea and Turkey. Fitrat was one of those sent to Turkey.

‘Abdurrauf Fitrat was a talented writer, scientist and Jadid. Between 1909 and 1917, he wrote the following works in Tajik: *Munozira* [The Debate, 1909], *Bayonoti saiyo Hindi* [Stories by an Indian Traveller, 1912], *Saykha* [Cry of the Spirit, 1911], *Raybari najot* [Guide to Salvation, 1915], *Oila* [Family, 1916], *Tarikh-i Islām* [History of Islam, 1916] and several others. These works played an important role in awakening the social consciousness of the emirate from its long medieval sleep. Fitrat’s main Jadid idea was that Bukharan society in its development, or rather in its medieval stagnation, had fallen too far behind other countries, including its neighbours, and that reforms were needed in all spheres of social life to turn the country in the direction of progressive development. Aini was a living witness to the ideological influence that Fitrat’s works had on Bukharan

³⁶ Aini, 1971, Vol. 1, p. 83.

society, awaking it from ‘the sleep of complacency’ and ‘stirring social thinking to ferment and movement’. At the same time, Fitrat’s literary and socio-political activity on the eve of the Bukharan revolution, during the revolution and in the 1920s and 1930s was closely linked with Pan-Turkism (see below), of which he was an active ideologist.

The reform of the emirate of Bukhara was the central idea of the Jadid movement in Bukhara and Turkistan headed by Behbudi; it had a broader context and significance than the reform of the education system, although that was of considerable importance for Bukhara. Over the period 1909–14 the Russian authorities discussed the problem of reforming Bukhara four times. A government meeting decided:

We should not force events in Khiva and Bukhara towards the annexation of these countries to Russia at the present difficult time. . . There is no doubt that Bukhara, which is now actually dependent on Russia, will be annexed to it sooner or later.³⁷

The problem of the democratic transformation of Bukhara acquired new urgency after the victory of the February (1917) revolution in Russia, which was greeted with joy by the Jadids of Bukhara and Turkistan, and the question of reforms in Bukhara was raised anew. On the instructions of the Provisional Government, the Russian political agency (diplomatic mission) in Bukhara prepared the text of the reforms and agreed it with the emir, Sa‘id ‘alim Khan, and the Russian government.

This ‘Manifesto’ said that ‘the emir had decided to illuminate Bukhara with the light of progress and knowledge’. The emir considered that ‘all improvements and useful changes can only be based on the Holy *sharī‘a*’. The ‘Manifesto’ raised important issues for the life of society:

improvement of the system for the exercise of justice; placing within a legal framework the levying of taxes such as *kharāj* [for a new ruler] and *zakāt* [for relief of the poor]; establishment of a salaries administration and auditing system; inauguration of the country’s budget and state treasury; encouragement of ‘useful sciences and knowledge in precise accordance with the injunctions of the *sharī‘a*’.

The ‘Manifesto’ also stated that a printing shop would be opened in Bukhara with the aim of publishing a newspaper for disseminating useful information. These matters, which the ‘Manifesto’ promised to deal with, were undoubtedly of importance for the progress of Bukharan society.

In his *History of the Bukharan Revolution*, Aini analysed the situation and put forward these questions: Do the people demand the reform of society and are they ready for it? He answered these questions himself: In reality the people want reform, but they are not ready to carry it out. Unfortunately, in their absolute majority, because of political repression,

³⁷ *Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR*, 1956, Vol. 1, Book 2, p. 315.

their downtrodden situation, illiteracy and ignorance of their own interests, the people are not ready to carry out reform. Moreover, out of ignorance, the people are not only not ready for reform, they are prepared to oppose it.³⁸ Subsequent events, after the proclamation of the 'Manifesto', confirmed Aini's conclusions. The Jadid movement in Bukhara suffered a defeat.

The Jadid movement was not only an ideological, socio-political, literary and religious current in the social thinking of Central Asian society; it was also something special, in a particular sense a single whole. This single whole contained ideas and views which were not of equal value from the point of view of social progress. First, the works of the Jadids generally analysed the social life of Turkistan, the emirate of Bukhara and the khanate of Khiva from the point of view of the reform of the socio-political, cultural and economic situation, with the aim of creating the necessary conditions for society's progress. For the Jadids, the way to change society was simultaneously the answer to the question how to develop the country in accordance with the spirit of the times. This most important aspect of Jadidism was of historically progressive importance.

Second, many active participants in the Jadid movement came from a clerical background and thus, philosophically, they retained the point of view of their class. In other words, the religious context of the movement was quite considerable. Turkistan, Bukhara and Khiva were not untouched by the influence of the Pan-Islamic movement in neighbouring Eastern countries like Turkey, Iran, India, Afghanistan and Egypt. This was all the more so because there were quite favourable conditions for this in the region.

Third, as the movement was established and developed there was a gradual strengthening within it of Pan-Turkic ideas and views, which by the time of the revolution (1917–20) had become quite an aggressive current in the ideology of Jadidism. Fourth, while not a political party, Jadidism was the only opposition force in the emirate of Bukhara and the khanate of Khiva. Subsequently, on the basis of the Jadid movement, there appeared Young Bukharan and Young Khivan activists along the lines of the Young Turks.³⁹

Bukhara was known throughout the Muslim world as a centre of religious knowledge and education. However, at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, during the rule of the last of the Manghit emirs, the situation changed and in reality Bukhara continued to enjoy its previous glory only by inertia. Aini wrote about this in his introduction to the *History of the Bukharan Revolution*. The thinking and behaviour of the clergy were typically dogmatic and conservative. They ruled out new interpretations

³⁸ Aini, 1987, p. 150.

³⁹ The Young Turks were early twentieth-century reformers who carried out the Turkish revolution of 1908 and overthrew the Ottoman sultan 'abd al-Hamid II. [*Trans.*]

of Islamic tenets not only on matters of theology but also on socio-political issues. The Bukharan clergy considered that socio-political, moral and ethical issues had already been defined and elaborated in the *sharī‘a* and that there was no need for new interpretations or approaches. All this had the purpose of guarding society against any external influences or innovations.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the ideas of Jadidism – ideas of innovation and renewal in combination with the slogan of the ‘revival of Islam’ – spread widely throughout Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, India and elsewhere in the Middle East. An important intellectual figure in that movement was Sayyid Jamal al-Din Afghani (1838–97).⁴⁰ He had a profound and shrewd knowledge of the real situation at that time in Muslim society, where Islam as a mass ideology had become a powerful spiritual force. He tried to use this force on the one hand for the region’s revival and on the other against the policy of colonialism. Afghani was free of prejudice and fanaticism. He set out the principle of purifying Islam of secondary archaic elements and stood for its adaptation to the realities of Muslim life.

As a Jadid, Afghani criticized the backward system of education and upbringing and was a conscientious supporter of the system’s reform. He emphasized here the need to study not only social science but also the natural sciences, and this was an important feature of his concept of education. His assertions that science was an important factor for social progress and that ‘the purpose of humanity is for the sake of humanity itself’ resonated in the countries of the region. Afghani’s ideas received wide dissemination in Afghanistan, Iran, India, Egypt and other countries. His concept and understanding of the paths of development of Muslim countries were widely supported by representatives of the intelligentsia from those countries. At the same time, his concept of Jadidism was complex and contradictory. For example, he defended the unity in principle of religion and science.

In Turkey in 1892–7 Afghani and his followers tried to legalize a ‘Muslim Union’. However, he realized that Sultan ‘abd al-Hamid intended to use the idea of a union of Muslim countries to strengthen his own power and political position. What Afghani and his followers had in mind was a union of the region’s Muslim countries aimed at overcoming their socio-political and cultural backwardness and intensifying the anti-colonial struggle. Moreover, the ‘Muslim Union’ embraced the idea of supranational unity, which basically contradicted the concept of the nation-state and was essentially a utopian idea. Osmanism⁴¹ contained two important components. First, it was based on Pan-Islamism and

⁴⁰ See Nazarov, 1993.

⁴¹ The ideology of the Ottomans, named after the Osmanli (Osman dynasty’s) founder (1259–1326). [Trans.]

the unification of all Muslim countries under the aegis of Turkey, for which political borders were of no material importance. Second, it wanted to assimilate non-Turkic peoples. The idea of recognizing the kinship of the Ottoman and Central Asian Turks was contributed by the Russian Turco-Tatars and the Young Turks who had won the revolution.

Pan-Turkism

Turkism, which eclectically contained elements of both Pan-Islamism and Osmanism, was transformed into Pan-Turkism after the victory of the Young Turks in the 1908 revolution and in the euphoria of this victory. 'The chauvinism of the Young Turks was one of the main reasons for the failure of their policy and, finally, the collapse of the Ottoman empire.'⁴²

Pan-Turkism developed ideologically among the Muslim peoples of Russia in the milieu of the Turco-Tatar intelligentsia of the Crimea, the Volga valley and the Caucasus and then began to penetrate Turkistan and Bukhara. Without doubt its ideologically most influential leader was Isma'il Gasprinsky. As noted by Bennigsen:

Gasprinsky fell under the influence of various ideologies, including Russian Populism in its Slavophile form, French liberalism and moderate socialism, the Pan-Turkism of the Young Turks and German Romanticism.⁴³

The unity of Russia's Muslim Turks was formulated in Gasprinsky's thesis, 'Unity of Language, Thought and Action'. He expounded his thesis in his writings and publications. His most important works include *Russian Muslim Society* (1881) and the social utopian novel *Dar al-rahāt musulmanlari* [Muslims in the Land of Prosperity, 1891]. Fitrat translated this novel into Tajik and published it.

By the time of the first Russian revolution (1905–7), the ideas of Pan-Turkism had spread considerably among the Turco-Tatar peoples. Newspapers, journals and the writings of Tatar and Azerbaijani Jadids of the Pan-Turkic tendency were widespread in Turkistan and Bukhara. The importance of the newspaper *Tercümān* has already been mentioned. Published from 1883 to 1914 by Gasprinsky, this newspaper had dozens of subscribers in Central Asia. Gasprinsky visited Turkistan and Bukhara more than once (in 1893 and 1908) with the aim of widening the distribution of Turco-Tatar publications as well as opening new-method schools and expanding their network. Newspapers like *Yıldız* [Star, Kazan], *Vaqt* [Time, Orenburg], *Irshād* [Directions] and *Hayāt* [Life, Baku], as well as *Ulfat* [Friend, St Petersburg], were distributed widely.

⁴² *Sovremennaya filosofskaya i sotsiologicheskaya mysl' stran Vostoka*, 1965, p. 234.

⁴³ Bennigsen, 1992, p. 119.

After the defeat of the first Russian revolution, many leaders of the movement (Yusuf Akchurin, Sadri Maksudi, I. Is‘haki, Ahmad Agaev, ‘Ali Huseinzade and others) emigrated to Turkey. At that time Pan-Turkism in Turkistan and Bukhara was gaining in strength. External influence on the rise and development of Pan-Turkist ideology in Central Asia varied.

First, the ideological influence of the Young Turks increased considerably, particularly after their victory in the 1908 revolution and their coming to power. An important factor was the many Turkish prisoners of war who had fought in the First World War and who had received permission from the Russian authorities to return home through Central Asia but remained in Turkistan and Bukhara, as a rule taking up work in the education system.

Second, dozens of young people from Bukhara and Turkistan who had been educated in Turkey became active propagandists of Pan-Turkist ideas on returning home. The following incident from Fitrat’s autobiography is typical:

With the help of the Jadids I went to study in Turkey. At that time (1909–13) Pan-Islamism was receiving massive dissemination in Turkey. I too was absorbed by it. I was then a supporter of the reform of religion and reconciling it with science and I believed in the idea of purifying religion. However, the fallaciousness of Pan-Islamism was exposed by everyday reality. Having realized the absurdity of Pan-Islamism, I devoted myself to the ideas of Pan-Turkism. Subsequently life stopped me from getting bogged down in Pan-Turkism and I became an Uzbek nationalist. In 1917–18 the Pan-Turkic movement in Central Asia grew stronger. This was especially so in Tashkent, where various groups were set up, feeding on the ideas of Pan-Turkism.⁴⁴

The complex evolution of Fitrat’s philosophy is typical of that of many of his contemporaries.

Third, the new-method schools attended by the local young people also experienced the attention and influence of their times. Most textbooks were written in Tatar and the teaching was also in this language. Aini described the situation in Bukhara as follows:

In Samarkand and Tashkent the new national schools were already operating and the Tatars living in Bukhara also opened a new-type school for their children. Some Bukharans who were suspicious about the old-type schools sent their children to Tatar schools. I visited these schools (in 1907) and saw Bukharan children who did not know Uzbek, let alone Tatar, but who were taught in Tatar at school.⁴⁵

Thus by the time of the revolutions in Turkistan (Tashkent, 1917) and the emirate of Bukhara (Bukhara, 1920), the above-mentioned factors had led to Pan-Turkism becoming the dominant ideological trend in Central Asian social thought.

⁴⁴ See the journal *Dialog*, 1991, No. 7, p. 76.

⁴⁵ Aini, 1971, p. 82.

Impact of the Jadids

The intellectual thought and socio-philosophical outlook of any nation or country develop from age to age, and the new generation takes up the results of the previous generation's activity and develops them further, making allowances for changed conditions and their requirements. This occurs during the more or less normal course of history. History comprehends the past through the present and the present through the past, not as disconnected elements but as a continuous process. The dialectics⁴⁶ of the history of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, however, interrupted this continuous process of intellectual development. As a result of the revolutions in Tashkent (1917), Bukhara (1920) and Khiva (1920), the region's natural historical course of development was altered and the further development of Jadidism was interrupted. A sharp division developed between past and present in the social thought and social consciousness of the region's peoples. Immediately after the revolution, it became obvious that the ideas of social progress and renewal contained in the concepts of the Jadids were no longer needed or demanded by post-revolutionary Central Asian society, in so far as the revolution had brought to Turkistan, Bukhara and Khiva its own concept of building a new society.

Although the social concepts of the Jadids contained undoubted scientific potential, their fate was inevitable. From the end of the 1920s and for decades thereafter they had many labels attached to them, from 'ideologists of bourgeois nationalism and obscurantism' to 'enemies of the building of socialism' in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. An official ideological directive of this kind ensured that for many years the legacy of the Jadids was excluded from the natural development of socio-political thought of the region's peoples. On the other hand, Jadidism itself was studied not as a coherent current of sociopolitical thought but one-sidedly, separated from the context of the historical age of which it was a product. Donish, Abay Kunanbaev, Aini, Hamza Hakimzoda Niyazi, Furkat, Mukimi and others were studied as Jadids and progressive thinkers, but Behbudi, Fitrat, Munawwar Qari, Siddiki, Vasli, 'Abd al-Hamid Sulayman (Cholpon) and many others were mentioned merely as reactionary Jadids and gradually the very concept of Jadid and Jadidism acquired a negative socio-political resonance in the public consciousness.

The ideology of Pan-Turkism was demonstrated most actively in the first post-revolutionary years and on the eve of national-territorial demarcation⁴⁷ and the formation of the Central Asian republics (1924). The Pan-Turks intended to make the Kazakh,

⁴⁶ Dialectics: the testing of truth by discussion; in Marxism, history interpreted as a series of contradictions and their solutions. [*Trans.*]

⁴⁷ National-territorial demarcation (*razmezhevanie*), favoured by Lenin's commissar for nationalities, Stalin, created a federal structure granting 'national statehood' to the most numerous ethnic groups, in

Uzbek, Turkmen and Kyrgyz peoples form a single, but artificial Turkic republic. They emphasized their common ethnic origin and their common religion, Islam. In other words, they were trying to give new impetus to Pan-Islamism on a secular basis in the form of Pan-Turkism. ‘On the Autonomy and Constitution of Turkistan’, a resolution of the Third Regional Muslim Conference (1920), expressed this idea in the following way:

By means of communist agitation [campaigning], implement the idea of destroying the Turkic nationality peoples’ will to divide themselves in name and essence into Tatars, Kyrgyz [meaning Kazakhs at that time], Bashkirs, Uzbeks and so on and establish separate small republics and, for the sake of cohesion and to draw in other Turkic peoples who are not part of the RSFSR [the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic], unite around the Turkic Soviet Republic.⁴⁸

The idea of a ‘single Turkic republic’ was also directed against the Russian central Government.

The concepts of the Turkistani and Bukharan Pan-Turkists contained two ideas they thought important – on the one hand, forming a ‘single Turkic republic’, and on the other preventing the formation of the Republic of Tajikistan. They openly denied the existence of the Tajiks, an ancient Central Asian nation:

The Uzbek, Kazakh and Kyrgyz people inhabiting Turkistan are not separate nationalities, they all belong to one great Turkic nation. As for the Tajiks, they basically originate from the Türks and became Tajik only as a result of Iranian influence. This is why the Tajiks are Türks.⁴⁹

However paradoxical, this fact showed that the Tajiks as a nation were not ready even minimally to recognize themselves and defend their own national interests. In the first years of the revolution, in the 1920s, almost all the intelligentsia of Bukhara, Samarkand and Khujand participated actively in the Turkicization of their people. This position was adopted even by the leaders of the movement who were ethnic Tajiks (Behbudi, Fitrat and others).

Gradually the intervention of the central (Moscow) authorities into the affairs of Turkistan and Bukhara intensified and the situation more or less stabilized. Realizing their defeat, many of the ideologists of Pan-Turkism, especially Mustafa Chokay and Zeki Velidi, emigrated to Turkey.⁵⁰ Many of those who emigrated began to write their memoirs

some cases within redrawn national boundaries, but preserving rigid centralized government from Moscow. [Trans.]

⁴⁸ Quoted in Safarov, 1921, p. 110.

⁴⁹ Dzhaharov, 1929, Nos. 3–4, p. 93.

⁵⁰ Mustafa Chokay was a leader of the Alash-Orda, a nationalistic organization in Kazakhstan from 1917 to 1919, treated by the Bolsheviks as ‘counterrevolutionary’. Alash is the general Turkic name for the Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Tatars, etc. [Trans.]

of the events in which they had actively participated. This literature does not always reflect in a balanced and objective way the events of the first quarter of the twentieth century in Turkistan and Bukhara.

The aims and tasks of the October revolution included the building of a socialist society. However, many leaders of the Marxist movement considered that the historical conditions for the building of the new society were not yet ripe in Central Asia or even in Russia. It is known that Marx and Marxism developed from a particular West European historical, cultural and philosophical tradition. In Russia, however, Marxism found itself in a quite different socio-cultural environment which sometimes transformed it to the point of being unrecognizable. This was quite natural – at the time of the October revolution, Russia and its borderlands, the Central Asian region in particular, were at the capitalist, feudal and pre-feudal levels of development.

Back in the 1880s Marx said in a letter to Vera Zasulich that he had not drawn up any plans or obligatory forms of social development. He said that everything that he had written was based on West European experience and had no broader application outside that region.⁵¹ In another letter Marx warned Mikhailovsky not to turn his theories into a doctrine for ‘a communist path down which all nations, whatever their historical conditions, are fatally condemned to go’.⁵² It follows from Marx’s answers that he did not attach to his theories the importance of a ‘universal master key’ to the history of any country or nation.

One of the best-known Russian revolutionaries, Gueorgui V. Plekhanov, who enjoyed great authority in European Marxist circles, opposed the October revolution. He sharply criticized the Bolsheviks’ seizure of power and expressed regret over the fall of what he called the ‘coalition government of Alexander F. Kerensky’ in the transition to Soviet power. Plekhanov emphasized that the Russian proletariat, having seized political power at the wrong time, would be unable to carry out the social revolution and would only bring about civil war. The seizure of power by a class comprising the majority in society would lead to even worse consequences, dictatorship by one party.⁵³ Plekhanov’s evaluation is striking for its historical far-sightedness. The 75-year history of the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) confirmed his worst predictions.

⁵¹ See Marx and Engels, 1917, Vol. 19, p. 250. [Vera Ivanovna Zasulich (1849–1919), Russian revolutionary and Populist who shot the mayor of St Petersburg in 1878 but was acquitted; she translated Marx into Russian, joined the Mensheviks in 1903 and was hostile to the Bolsheviks. *Trans.*]

⁵² Marx and Engels, 1961, Vol. 19, p. 120. [Nikolai Konstantinovich Mikhailovsky (1842–1904), sociologist, literary critic, ideologist of the Populists; he believed in personality as the key to history and that the masses should be guided by a hero. *Trans.*]

⁵³ Plekhanov, 1989, p. 105.

Marxism was a typical product of Western culture. For this very reason it was unable to spread widely in Russia, a country with its own particular history, not to mention the Central Asian region. Bolshevism was a much more complex political phenomenon, conditioned by its specifically Russian features. It was a product of Russian reality. The philosopher Nikolai A. Berdyaev commented neatly: ‘Marxism was Russified and orientalized.’⁵⁴ This is a correct comment in the sense that nowhere did Marxism turn into Leninism, Trotskyism or Stalinism.

In the second half of the 1920s the building of a new society in the region became a topical issue in the political life of Central Asia. The leaders of the Bolshevik Party, while understanding the complexity of the problem, nevertheless proclaimed the building of socialism in historically unfavourable circumstances. Lenin⁵⁵ was an educated man who understood the problem and set the question on a political plane – ‘how to use communist tactics and politics in pre-capitalist conditions’. In other words, how was Marxism to be translated into the specific conditions of Central Asia?

In the course of the practical implementation of socialist ideas in the 1920s and 1930s, there were many mistakes and distortions of Marxism which were foreseeable and to some extent inevitable. Thus, over a short period of time, the script (alphabet) used in Central Asia was changed twice, which was certainly a mistake. The first error was the adoption of a resolution at the Congress of Peoples of the East (Baku, 1926) under the influence of the Pan-Turkists and imitating Turkey. From the end of the 1920s to the beginning of the 1930s, the script based on the Arabic alphabet was replaced by a Latin one. The second error was a resolution of the USSR Government at the end of the 1930s on the transition from the Latin script to Cyrillic. These errors had negative consequences for the following generations, which were deprived of access to their past culture. They had a particularly negative effect on the general state of mind of the peoples who had a written tradition and literature.⁵⁶

The socio-political thought of the Central Asian peoples, as had happened after the revolution, faced a new and quite difficult dilemma – the choice of a new path of development for their society, a society which could successfully and smoothly join the world community. One thing was obvious: this new society was not to be built on the basis of socialism

⁵⁴ Berdyaev, 1990, p. 89. [Nikolai Aleksandrovich Berdyaev (1874–1948), Russian philosopher and mystic, opponent of revolution, founder of the New Christianity movement, ideologist of the Vekhi [landmarks] movement of Russian intellectuals, who lived in exile in Paris from 1922. *Trans.*]

⁵⁵ Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, pseudonym Nikolai Lenin (1870–1924), ideologist of the Bolshevik movement in Russia, leader of the 25 October (modern calendar 7 November) 1917 revolution which overthrew Aleksandr Kerensky’s Provisional Government and proclaimed Soviet rule. [*Trans.*]

⁵⁶ Several Central Asian states, including Uzbekistan in 1993 and Turkmenistan in 2000, have decided to abandon Cyrillic in favour of new Latin scripts, while Tajikistan is reviving the Arabic script. [*Trans.*]

and its methodology and ideology alone. To overcome the transition period and the general state of crisis within society, the intellectual and political elite must devote themselves to intensive mental and creative effort along the path to development.