

## The influence of the jadidic ideals of the Turkic intelligentsia on the Alash movement: historical-retrospective analysis

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**Abstract.** At the beginning of the 20th century, the Alash movement, which united the political forces of the Kazakh people, not only developed a program for modernizing the country, but also proposed the idea of autonomy as a first step to future independence. Representatives of Alash teamed up with the intelligentsia of the Turkic-Muslim peoples, established cooperation and supported the idea of Jadidism. In the conditions of a revolutionary coup and civil war, the leaders of the Alash party politically, economically and culturally supported the idea of autonomy in the Volga-Urals, the Caucasus and Turkestan and fought against the colonial policies of tsarist Russia and Soviet power. The idea of S. Maksudi about «Turkism» based on Islam, the demand of Zaki Validi Togan about the «loyalty of the federation», «Autonomy of Turkestan» M. Chokai, the movement «Alash Orda» A. Bokeikhan had Jadid principles and were aimed at national independence. Initially, the goal of jadidism was to reform the public education, but at the beginning of the twentieth century, it is a political movement. In this article, on the basis of scientific and methodological analysis and a comparative approach, the problem of the idea of Jadidism, which influenced the struggle for independence of the Alash intelligentsia, is considered.

**Keywords:** jadidism, public education, Turkic intelligentsia, Alash movement, national liberation struggle.

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### Түркі зиялылары жәдидтік идеяларының Алаш қозғалысына әсері: тарихи-ретроспективті талдау

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**Аннотация.** XX ғасырдың басында қазақ халқының саяси күшін біріктірген Алаш қозғалысы елді жаңғырту бағдарламасын жасап қана қоймай, автономия идеясын болашақ тәуелсіздікке алғашқы қадам ретінде ұсынды. Алаш өкілдері түркі-мұсылман халықтарының зиялыларымен бірігіп, ынтымақтастық орнатты және жадидизм идеясын қолдады. Революциялық төңкеріс пен азаматтық соғыс жағдайында Алаш партиясының басшылары Еділ-Орал, Кавказ және Түркістандағы автономия идеясын саяси, экономикалық және мәдени жағынан қолдады, патшалық Ресей мен Кеңес өкіметінің отарлау саясатына қарсы күресті. С.Максудидің исламға негізделген «түрікшілдік» идеясы, Заки Валиди Тоғанның «федерация адалдығы» туралы талабы, М.Шоқайдың «Түркістан автономиясы», Ә.Бөкейханның «Алаш Орда» қозғалысының негізінде жәдидтік ұстанымдары болған және ұлттық тәуелсіздікке бағытталған. Жәдидизмнің бастапқы

мақсаты - халық ағарту жүйесін реформалау болса, ал XX ғасырдың басында ол толықтай саяси қозғалысқа айналды. Осыған орай, бұл мақалада ғылыми-әдістемелік талдау және салыстырмалы көзқарас негізінде Алаш зиялыларының тәуелсіздік үшін күресуіне әсер еткен жәдиттік идеясының мәселесі қарастырылады.

**Кілт сөздер:** жәдидизм, халық ағарту, түркі зиялылары, Алаш қозғалысы, ұлт-азаттық күрес.

### **Влияние джадидских идей тюркской интеллигенции на Алашское движение: историко-ретроспективный анализ**

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**Аннотация.** В начале XX века движение Алаш, которое объединило политические силы казахского народа, не только разработало программу модернизации страны, но и предложило идею автономии как первого шага к будущей независимости. Представители Алаш объединились с интеллигенцией тюрко-мусульманских народов, наладили сотрудничество и поддержали идею джадидизма. В условиях революционного переворота и гражданской войны лидеры партии Алаш политически, экономически и культурно поддерживали идею автономии на Волге-Урале, Кавказе и в Туркестане и боролись против колониальной политики царской России и Советской власти. Идея С. Максуди о «тюркизме» основанная на исламе, требование Заки Валиди Тогана о «лояльности федерации», «Автономия Туркестана» М. Чокая, движение «Алаш Орда» А. Бокейхана – все они имели джадидские основы и были направлены на достижение национальной независимости. Изначально целью джадидизма было реформирование народного просвещения, но уже в начале XX века представляет собой политическое движение. В связи с этим в данной статье на основе научно-методологического анализа и компаративного подхода рассмотрены проблема идеи джадидизма, которая повлияла на борьбу за независимость Алашской интеллигенции.

**Ключевые слова:** джадидизм, народное образование, тюркская интеллигенция, движение Алаш, национально-освободительная борьба.

### **Introduction**

The main directions of Islam and Islamic historiography in the Russian Empire are the study of integration processes, secularism and modernization of Turkic-Muslim peoples and their policies of resistance to imperial rule. Socio-economic and socio-political changes in Russian society in the 19th century affected the Turkic-Muslim peoples of the empire. This is reflected in the ideology of the Jadids, aimed at increasing the cultural level of the Turkic-Muslim peoples in order to enter the main stream of development of world civilization. The events of the early twentieth century influenced the formation of the socio-political movement of the Turkic-Muslim peoples in tsarist Russia, which reflected the policy of liberalization of Russian society. In the field of education, this meant preventing the pressure of the tsarist authorities on the development of educational literature, freedom of speech, schools and madrassas. Jadidism, as a new ideological

tendency of the beginning of the twentieth century, gave an impetus to the consolidation and unification of the Turkic-Muslim peoples within the empire. As a representative of the Muslim faction in the State Duma, Itifak al-Muslimin contributed to the creation of a national information network, the development of a Turkic literary language that is understood by all Muslim Turks. The Muslim movement has become a product and an integral part of society. The political, economic and cultural changes that shocked the Turkic-Muslim peoples of the Russian Empire attracted them to social mobilization, cooperation, mutual integration and a single geopolitical space.

Originally seen as a movement to restructure the Muslim education system, Jadidism was influenced by the revolution of 1905-1907, which became a powerful political force capable of governing society in Russia and seeking to unite and strengthen the Turkic-Muslim peoples. Ismail Gaspirali, Crimean Tatar, is the founder of this Turkic-Muslim movement in tsarist Russia. His lifelong concept, published in the *Tarjiman* newspaper, was that the forcible assimilation of the Turkic-Muslim peoples of Russia was useless and harmful. According to him, «knowledge of Russia, its culture and laws occurs through the broad development of education in the Turkic language, usual for Muslim Turks, which is the basis for rapprochement of moral equality, freedom and knowledge» [1, p. 13]. Thus, the ideology of the Jadids was focused on cultural transformations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in particular on the reform of the Muslim education system. These changes did not last decades, but several years. As a result, there was mutual agreement of the Turkic-Muslim peoples on the basis of equality. The ideology of the Jadids at that time had no political elements, no ideas of pan-Turkism or pan-Islamism.

The first attempts of political self-government of the Turkic-Muslim peoples were associated with the 1905 revolution, the government was forced to modernize some aspects of the political regime. Further revision of the Law «On Other Religions» of December 12, 1904, the publication of the decree «Restriction of the rights of the natives and local residents in certain regions of the empire», February 18, 1905 to obtain permission from the Turkic-Muslim peoples to «improve the state» is the basis for increase their political activity. Jadidic ideas were reflected in the Alash Orda movement. According to the recollections of the leader of the Kazakh national movement, deputy of the First Duma A. Bokeikhanov, during the campaign of Turkic-Muslim demands in the steppe zone, «the Kazakhs are faced with issues of religion and land, political freedom» [2, p. 34].

In this regard, this scientific study sets the goal of a historical and retrospective analysis of the influence of Jadid ideas on the movement of the Alash Horde. In the analysis, materials from the Alash intelligentsia were used, which reflect the relationship of the Turkic-Muslim peoples. In addition, the materials of Turkish historiography were brought into scientific circulation.

### **Materials and Methods**

The first studies appeared in the pre-revolutionary period and belonged mainly to the Jadids themselves. Among the works of that period were the famous Jadids S.Aini, F.Khodjaev [3, p. 78], A.Fitrat, M.Behbudi, as well as Russian missionaries and officials on the main problems of the Jadid movement S.Gramenitsky [4], N.P.Ostroumov [5], A.Alexandrov [6], A.I.Dobromyslov [7], A.Bobrovnikov, G.Andreev, A.Samoilovich. The following issues were studied in these works: the history of the movement of the Jadids; the study of jadidism as a sociocultural phenomenon; the main stages in the development of this phenomenon before the revolution; Jadid schools of new methods; analysis of the activities of Jadid, literature and the press. These scientific works can be considered in different ways, some of them have religious content, others are works of subjective opinion, works of Russian missionaries, written in the administrative-colonial or ideological plan [8, p. 387].

As for the content of Soviet historiography and data, the concept of «Russian Jadids» was used in a number of works. Guided by national differences on a post-Soviet scale, the phrase «Uzbek, Tatar, Bashkir Jadids» is used to describe scientific papers that downplay the general «Jadid movement». In the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, the Jadid

movement initially began with the reorganization of the educational sphere, and in subsequent years continued the struggle for national liberation. In its main content, the only way out of the shackles of the Russian Empire was cooperation with the Turkic peoples, increasing the level of literacy and the formation of national identity in accordance with the times [9, p. 96].

The Jadid movement, starting with education, first introduced a new teaching method in the early 1890s at the Gusmaniya madrasah (Ufa province) and the Husainiya madrasah of the Huseynov brothers (Orenburg province). The first graduates of these new teaching schools, including Tatars, Bashkirs and Kazakhs, worked as teachers in newly created schools in other Muslim regions of the Russian Empire [10, p. 47]. There were other teachers who studied in the «new methods» of Jadid schools in Cairo, Istanbul, Bakshasaray and Kasymov. Since 1895, in the madrassas of Rasulia, Gusmania, Galia, Husseinia and others, professional teachers were trained according to the new method. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a new method of teaching sound was introduced in Bashkortostan, Tatarstan, Crimea, the Orenburg region and a number of cities in Turkestan, in particular, in Verny (Almaty), Shymkent, Tashkent, Samarkand, Fergana and others, and established itself firmly in leading schools and madrassas cities [11, p. 273]. In addition to religious subjects, humanities and natural sciences were taught, the number of which increased every year. Strict annual curricula for new teaching schools have been developed and transferred to the classroom system.

#### **Reference Review**

In the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, Al-Azhar University in Cairo and Istanbul University became increasingly popular. Al-Azhar University has become a true center of Eastern modernism under the influence of Muhammad Abdo. Later, when the crisis of traditional Eastern education intensified, Turkestan Jadids raised the slogan of training clergy in Istanbul and Alexandria [12, p. 211]. So, in Cairo Z. Kadyri, G. Battal, I. Kamalov, M. Bigiev, Z. Kamali, G. Rasuli, K. Mutygi (Tukhvatullin), Sh. Kamal and others received education. Some of them were directly next to Abdo and were associated with Hizb ut-Watani al-Hurri (Free National Party of Egypt). Some Turkic-Muslim Jadids, in particular Z. Ramiev (Derdmend), A. Saidi, Gub. Bubi, F. Karimi, S. Maksudi, Y. Akchura, A. Agaoglu, A. Fitrat, G. Saadi (Sagdi), S. Kamal, G. Shonasi, H. Zaini, M. Satayev went to educational institutions of Istanbul. Among the Jadids, Faizkhanov cited examples of Muslim schools in Russia and Turkey as examples in reform projects, but educational institutions in Istanbul have become an inspiring example of modernization for Muslim reformers [13, p. 4].

Jadid reformers paid particular attention to the issue of territorial community. They proposed accepting the name of the territory inhabited by Turkic-Muslim peoples in 1913-1916, like Turkestan. One of the most important representatives of the Jadid movement was Mahmudhoja Behbudi. In his work, he focused on promoting secular education and culture and strove for the participation of local business representatives in the development of the national economy and culture, the management of the regions in the project of management reform in Turkestan. Along with the Jadid movement among the Turkic-Muslim peoples of the Russian Empire, the directions of ethnic identity were closely associated with religious forms, so it was impossible to immediately form an ethno-national idea. It was necessary to transform Turkism from religious to national consciousness. Some scholars saw Turkism as a response to tsarist politics and the position of a significant part of the Russian elite that supported pan-Slavism [14, p. 272]. Among the Kazakhs in Turkestan and the steppes, followers of Jadid reformist ideas were M. Shokai, J. Seydalin and M. Seralin, who sought to unite the Turkic-Muslim peoples of the region into a Turkestan nation. In general, according to S.D. Asfendiyarov and S.Z. Zimanov, until 1917 in Kazakhstan there were about 100 new methodical schools [15, p. 53].

In September 1917, even before the October Revolution, the Jadids organized their party under the name «Turik Adami Markaziyat» (Turkic federalism). The organizers and ideologists of this party began to appear in different cities, preaching the idea of uniting all Turkic-speaking

peoples and all Muslims into one state on a federal basis [16, p. 8]. The 1917 revolution seemed to allow the Turkic-Muslim peoples of Russia to build a state on the basis of their independence. The Kokand Autonomous Government, formerly known as the Basmachi, then sent a special delegation to Baku for a short time to establish contacts with the Jadids in Azerbaijan. From there, they returned with several Turkish thinkers who called themselves teachers. Since then, an organization has emerged called Ittihat and Tarakki (Unity and Development) [17, p. 80].

### **Results**

The Turkestan delegation of the Party of Unity and Development returned from Turkey in February 1919 during the civil war in Turkestan. Turkish party leaders advised the Jedi in Turkestan to change the name of their organization to “National Union” instead of “Ittihat and Tarakka”. They hoped that the organization would coordinate the activities of all the Jadids in Turkestan, strengthen mutual cooperation and lead to the unity of the Turkic peoples [18, p. 152]. The security guards (observers and scouts) of the Russian Empire, especially in 1905-1917, sought to penetrate deeper into the activities of the Jadids in Turkestan and Alash of the Horde. They carefully and systematically controlled and studied their main goals, ideological and political orientation, aspirations for Russia and Muslim countries (Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan) G. Kariev, K. Muttigi, J. Mamakulizade and others. We studied their interconnections and activities in the national liberation movement. Besides, on October 25, 1915, the chief of the Samarkand police wrote a secret letter to the chief of the security department of the Turkestan district, lieutenant colonel Sizykh, in which he was instructed to send a letter to the editor of the Muslim newspaper in Samarkand [19, p. 4].

Ilminsky called the activity of the Jadids of the Tatars in the Kazakh steppes dangerous. He put forward the idea of combating the Tatars by dividing the Turkic language into national languages based on the Cyrillic alphabet or the Arabic alphabet adapted to the Kazakh language. The development of national literary languages attracted violent linguistic and cultural Russification, and in order to give the Turkic-Muslim peoples the opportunity to integrate peacefully into Russian society, it was necessary to prevent Turkic ideas [20, p. 23]. Orthodox missionaries and scholars called on imperial authorities to actively promote Russian education in order to free Kazakhs from the influence of more developed Muslim peoples. Ilminsky traveled a lot along the Kazakh steppes, noting the natural interest of the Kazakhs, who knew the language and lifestyle of the Kazakh nomads, their desire to learn, which, he believed, would inevitably force them to learn Russian, which opens the door to European civilization. To «natives» Ilminsky suggested teaching in their native language in order to adapt to «Russian language, nationality, education and culture» [21, p. 43].

To keep the Kazakh people from the movement of Jadids and Turkic ideas, many Russian schools were opened in the Kazakh steppes. They competed with Jadid schools and controlled the interest of Kazakhs in Muslim education. In the Kazakh steppes, the Russian administration used the zeal of the Kazakhs for modern achievements in education and science to create Russian-Kazakh mixed secondary schools, district schools and colleges, as well as rural schools. These schools did not differ from elementary schools in Russia and provided general primary education. In the steppes of Kazakhstan, special agricultural schools, craft classes and technical schools were built to train personnel for the Russian administration [22, p. 80]. In this regard, A. Bokeikhanov drew attention to the formation of two socio-political movements in the Kazakh steppes, focusing on different models of the civilized transformation of Kazakh society. The first movement sought to introduce religious principles and revive an ethnic group by updating social and cultural values and Islamic norms. In his work, S. Asfendiyarov notes that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Kazakhstan, Turkism reigned in the Jadid movement, and he felt the strong influence of the Tatar bourgeoisie and the clergy [23, p. 149].

### **Scientific findings**

Many researchers compare the movement of the Jadids of the Turkic peoples in the Kazakh

steppes and the Turkestan region at the beginning of the twentieth century with the national liberation movement led by intellectuals of the Alash party. Among them, a modern researcher N.D. Nurtazina, according to a number of Western scholars, considers the Alash movement to be a national version of the Muslim Jadid movement, but contradicts her opinion even more without attributing the actions of «Jadid thinkers» to the reformist movement [24, p. 74]. The author claims that, despite the fact that the term «jadid» appeared in the Kazakh press at that time, «representatives of the educational movement in the history of Kazakhstan were often not called» jadis, they considered themselves «educated», «innovators», «intellectuals». However, this does not change the essence of the «Jadid movement», since the Muslim world, from Egypt and Turkey to Bukhara and Kazakhstan, should be perceived as a «renewal movement» that is legally directed against colonial policy. The national version of Muslim Jadidism was perceived as a mistake that divided the Kazakh intelligentsia and the Alash movement.

In our opinion, the Kazakh national movement was inspired by the Jadid movement and proposed the concept of self-development. The intelligentsia of the Alash party did not conceal its disagreement with the Turkic Jadids. However, the Kazakh intelligentsia did not hide the cooperation of the common Turkic peoples, linking the future of their people with the liberalization of the political system of the empire, the achievement of civil equality of the Kazakh people, the cessation of the resettlement of Russian peasants, the prevention of Russification, and even unjust colonialism. The Jadid movement had similar demands.

The Kazakh intelligentsia was particularly concerned about the situation in Turkestan, which was under Soviet rule in the south of the future autonomy of Alash. In this regard, the Kazakh leader A. Bokeikhan in the last days of October 1917 quickly gathered his closest allies at his residence in Orenburg, writes Zaki Validi Togan in his memoirs. Then A. Bokeikhan stated that in connection with the transfer of power in Tashkent to the Soviet authorities, M. Chokai decided to stay in Orenburg. During the meeting, A. Bokeikhan decided to go to Tashkent with M. Shokai, after some time of Bashkir affairs of Zaki Validi Togan [25, p. 612]. It should be noted that Zaki Validi Togan in his memoirs recalls that after an emergency meeting at the residence of the Turgai regional commissioner M. Tynyshbaev, A. Orazauli and others went to Tashkent, and then to Kokand with M. Chokai. There is every reason to believe that N. Torekulov, who worked in the office of the Turgai Regional Commissioner in Orenburg before the October Bolshevik Revolution in Petrograd, also took part in this meeting. The discussion of the situation in Turkestan at the residence of A. Bokeikhan lasted two days and largely determined the further course of action of the leaders of Alash. Zaki Validi Togan said the meeting «decided to be loyal to the ideas of democracy and the Constituent Assembly, not recognize the Bolsheviks, draw the attention of Ukraine, pursue a policy of regional autonomy, convene the Kazakh and Bashkir Kurultai in Orenburg in late December».

From this we can conclude that the decision to create «Turkestan Autonomy», known in Soviet historiography as «Kokand Autonomy», was taken at the end of October and early November 1917 at an emergency meeting in Orenburg, chaired by A. Bokeikhan. At that time, A. Bokeikhan continued to carry out the functions of an authorized ousted Provisional Government. Thus, the leaders of the Turkestan Autonomous Movement and the Alash party fought for independence, so «the Turkestan region also began the struggle for sovereignty».

### **Conclusion**

The main activity of the Alash Horde government was determined by the program of the Alash party, published in November 1917 in the Kazakh newspaper, in which the ideas of the Jadid movement were traced. The leaders of the Kazakh national liberation movement raised the issue of declaring Russia a democratic federal republic and, accordingly, granting state autonomy to the Kazakh people within the framework of this federation.

The anti-colonial and anti-aggressive nature of the program was especially evident in the sections «Fundamental Rights», «Science and Education». It says that in the Russian Federation

all citizens have equal rights, regardless of religion, nationality or race. The leaders of the movement seem to have developed imperfect class differentiation in Kazakh society due to certain circumstances, for example, in Russian society. Moreover, Kazakh society, which is in the process of growing the national liberation movement, also paid more attention to the consolidation of national forces than to confrontation based on class differences and interests. Thus, the Alash party's program is aimed at laying the foundations of a new socio-political and economic system in Kazakhstan, the necessary prerequisites for social transformations that will ensure the full participation of all social spheres. The Soviet ideology claimed that the Alash movement was not developed. However, it was based on the problems of self-determination and independence, which were also included in the program of the Jadid movement. This is the national liberation movement of the Kazakh people for their freedom and independence, the Kazakh intelligentsia fought to preserve their identity. Therefore, political and scientific speculation on the topic of Alash must be avoided.

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