

# THE ROLE OF THE JADID PRESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF ESTABLISHING "TURKISTAN AUTONOMY"

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**Abstract.** *The history of the Uzbek press naturally connects with the name of the jadidist movement and the Jadid intellectuals. Jadidism is a socio-political, literary-educational movement, much deeper, complex, contradictory, at the same time full of news, noble aspirations, practical activities. In this article, from a scientific and practical point of view, the role of the modern press in the development of the ideas of establishing the "autonomy of Turkestan" is analyzed.*

**Keywords:** *ideology of independence, jadidism movement, history of Uzbek press, jadid press, ideas of Independence, National Interest, information, spiritual and moral views.*

More than hundred years ago in Turkestan, Jadids developed the idea and ideology of struggle for national interest. From February 1917, the idea of "autonomy" appeared in the colonial lands of Russia, including Turkestan. The emergence of this expression was attributed to the announcement of "Hurriyat" in national press materials of that time. The publication of "Hurriyat" in national press materials [1,3] and articles of national intellectuals [2,15] refers to the "February Revolution" and the changes introduced by it.

Hurriyat opens the eyes of the people of the national lands. The peoples who had no choice but to bow to the Russian government and leave it to their fate, now decided to get their own autonomy.

Among the Muslims of Turkestan, Russia and the Caucasus, different opinions and orientations about autonomy began to appear. For example, if the Muslims of Russia were promised national-cultural autonomy, there were discussions about the national-territorial autonomy of the Muslims of Turkestan. In this regard, it is necessary to answer the question "Do Muslims of Turkestan demand full independence from Russia or not?"

In order to get answers to these questions, the congresses of Muslims of Turkestan, which took place in the pages of the national press of that time, were published. We refer to the articles of national democratic intellectuals.

"As the highest goal of Turkestan jadids is to lead the people and society towards independence and development, they can be divided into different groups because they chose different ways to achieve it. For example, one of them advocated the idea of remaining as an autonomous country (Mukhtariyat) within Russia, while another supported the creation of a completely independent state. In addition, enlighteners understood and interpreted this word "Autonomy" in different ways. Some understood it as "federation", while others understood it as "autonomy". However, it can be seen from articles published in periodical newspapers of that time such as "Kengash", "Hurriyat" and "Najot" that the word "Autonomy" covers such a wide meaning

that it includes both federation, autonomy, and national-democratic issues of state formation are included" [3,22].

The idea of autonomy in Turkestan was first raised at the First Congress of Muslims of Turkestan. Its occurrence is connected with the initiative of progressive democratic intellectuals in Turkestan and at the same time with the activity of Tashkent "Shuroi Islamiya" society. In this regard, the opinions of Tatar intellectuals Nushirvan Yovushev about the independence of Turkestan are very valuable. He writes: "There are 30 million Turko-Tatar peoples in Russia. They are culturally very close to each other. Turkestan is the original homeland of Turks. For this reason, in the event that Turkestan is granted autonomy, other Turks in Russia will help their Turkestan brothers" [4,17]. In the article, the author also exposes various opposing forces. He said: "After gaining autonomy, the question of its management also arises. This requires material and spiritual strength. Some people are against it because the people are helpless. Right now there are some shortcomings. But if you start working with young progressives, wide paths will open. After that, we will soon reach the level where we can manage the country", he supports the independence of Turkestan [4,20].

The "Federation of Turkestan" project prepared by Islam Shoahmedov for discussion at the II Congress of Muslims of Turkestan is also of great importance for answering the above question. The project was published in the September 7-10, 1917 issues of "Ulug Turkistan" newspaper. The project was discussed as the sixth issue in the work of the congress, and it was decided that this law should be sent to all regions of Turkestan to familiarize the people of Turkestan with it, and only after that, it should be approved by all Muslims of Turkestan at the congress.

The 3rd Congress of Muslims of Turkestan held by "Ulama" society on September 17-20 is also of great importance. "Ulama" society also decided to declare a state under the name of "federal-democratic republic" at this congress. According to this decision, Turkestan was supposed to form its own independent national army and militia [5,3].

Comparing the decisions of the two Muslim congresses, we can see that their attitudes towards autonomy are close to each other. Important decisions were also made at the IV Congress of Muslims of Turkestan. This is reported in the December 8 edition of "Ulug Turkistan" newspaper as follows: The IV congress held on November 25-30 announced the national autonomy of Turkestan. However, many could not be invited to the congress due to the fact that the post and telegraph did not work. Although many community representatives did not participate in the congress, they sent a letter and expressed their agreement with the decisions of the congress. 250 representatives from Fergana, Samarkand, Ettisuv and Zakazpi regions took part in the conference.

The congress was held in a fully democratic manner, and one third of the members of the People's Assembly were Europeans. They were representatives from the following societies: "Railway Union", "Post-Telegraph Union", "Social Revolutionaries", "Social Democrats", "Peasants' Council", "Soviet of Soldiers and Workers", Poles, Ukrainians, juhuds, local Jews, doshnoks, trade and industry members, cooperatives union, government institutions, Cossack soldiers public representatives [6, 11].

The list of Turkestan Provisional People's Council and government members elected by the congress was given in the issues of "Ulug Turkistan" newspaper dated December 8, 13, 1917 and "El Bayroghi" newspaper dated December 9, 1917.

54 seats were allocated to the People's Assembly. The 32 members elected by Muslim societies were as follows: Ubaydulla Khojaev, Mustafa Chokai, Tashpolatbek Norbotabekov, Sadriddinkhan Sharifhojaev, Konhirkhoja Khojakulov, Ismatulla Ubaydullin, Saidnosir Mirjalilov, Sherali Lapin, Said Jafarboy Saidov, Islam Shoahmedov, Abdurakhmonbek Orazaev, Hidoyatbek Yuraly Agaev, Nasirkhontora Komilkhontoraev, Mirodil Mirzaahmedov, Tashkhoja Ashurkhojaev, Abdulkadirbek Koshbekov, Obidjon Mahmudov, Jamshidboy Karabekov, Gersfeld Salomon Abramovich, Abdusamad Abdusalomov, Abaydulla Darbisalin, Musa Akchurin, Mustafa Mansurov, Mahmudhoja Behbudi, Ibrahim Davlatshin, Muhammadjon Tanishpaev, Khalil Shirinsky, Talibjon Musaboev, Alikhontora Shokirkhontoraev, Sobirjon Yusupov, Kamil Rahmonberdiev, Odiljon Umarov.

At the session of the Kurultoy on November 27, an executive committee was formed and tasked with convening the Constituent Assembly of Turkestan soon. The main directions of autonomy and its laws should be decided at the Constituent Assembly, which is expected to be called by Muslims of Turkestan [6,12].

In those days, the news that various gatherings dedicated to supporting the autonomy of Turkestan in various cities of Turkestan became more widespread appeared in the press pages.

The "Ulug Turkistan" newspaper comments on the demonstration in Tashkent as follows: "On December 6, a large demonstration was held in Tashkent in connection with the declaration of autonomy in the Jome Mosque and the dissolution of the Tashkent City Duma by the Bolsheviks and the Bolsheviks' search in the city. 60,000 people, including the city's clerics, owners, poor and workers, took part in the demonstration. At this meeting, Saidgani Makhdum was elected as the chairman, Munavvar Qori Abdurashidkhanov and Sherali Lapin were elected as assistants, and Pirmuhammad Olim was elected as secretary. Saidgani Makhdum, Miyon Buzruk, Sherali Lapin, Songar Munavvar Qori, Mulla Adil and Nizamkhoja, among the members of the "Ulama" society, as well as several others, stated that the search and raid organized by the Bolsheviks was causing great suffering to Muslims. Also, the soldiers and the workers' soviet report that they forcibly converted 40 Muslim workers and masters to their side.

After that, a decision was made on behalf of the 60,000 protesting people that they would not recognize any authority other than the Provisional Government of Turkestan and protested against the violence of the Bolsheviks.

On this day, a meeting will be held in the Duma of Tashkent. From the "Ulama" society to the social-revolutionaries, they unanimously congratulated the declaration of independence and commented that they would certainly help if needed. But there was a dispute between the social revolutionaries and the social democrats regarding the declaration of autonomy.

Social-democrats say that the October changes, that is, the revolution carried out by the Bolsheviks, caused the independence of the nations, while the social-revolutionaries pretended to be the cause. Against the opinion of the social democrats, they say, "If this is true, the Bolsheviks of Tashkent should hand over the administration to the completely autonomous government and recognize this authority themselves."

On the pages of the national press, it was announced that another big demonstration will be held in Tashkent on December 13. Along with Muslims, Russians, Jews and Armenians also participated in this demonstration. 100,000 people on horseback and on foot from the provinces came to the demonstration. Demonstrators gathered in front of the Sheikhotohur mosque in the old city. 200,000 residents raised about a hundred red, blue and green banners. First, Munavvar

Qori congratulated the people on the Independence Day. Then Tashpolatbek Norbotabekov, a member of the national assembly of the government of Turkestan, gave a speech in Russian to the gathered Europeans and congratulated them on behalf of the government. Among the Russians, Shors was elected to the presidium of the rally. Tashpolatbek Norbotabekov and Sadriddinkhan Makhdum became secretaries. Members of the Tashkent "Ulamo" society also joined the demonstration. In addition to the Muslim communities, lectures were given by other European community members, who also complained about the violence of the Bolsheviks, who called themselves people's commissars, and requested to move the joint demonstration to a new city [7,13].

If the above information is analyzed, several points will become clear. In this information, there is information in the national press that although the Bolsheviks did not recognize the Fourth Congress of the Muslims of Turkestan, which declared autonomy, and its laws, they later realized that they were being isolated.

At this conference, various slanders and incitements spread by the Bolsheviks were put an end to, and the Muslim government was morally strengthened in the political sphere.

It can be seen from Arif Klevleev's telegram to Petrograd that the Turkestan autonomous government, compared to the conditions that occurred after the declaration of autonomy of the Muslims in general, had a position. It contains the following lines: "The people of Turkestan unanimously declared the autonomy of Turkestan and suggested that the country's governance method be developed by the Constituent Assembly of Turkestan." Russians and Europeans make up 2% of the country, but 33% of the people elected to the People's Council. Russian commissars are taking measures to end the autonomy of Turkestan. Notifying the decisions of the 1st Congress of Muslim Workers and Soldiers, I request you, as the supreme authority of the Russian Democratic Republic, to order the transfer of control from the Soviet of Commissars in Tashkent to the government of Turkestan autonomy. So that the conflict does not start and the country of Turkestan does not fall into ruin. Chairman of the Military Council Arif Klevleev, Kokan, December 26, 1917" [8,6].

The articles of national democratic intellectuals on autonomy are also valuable for us. Islam Shoahmedov's article entitled "Autonomy and Economic Autonomy of Turkistan"[9,11] was published in "Ulug Turkistan" newspaper. In this article, 10 days before the 4th Congress of Muslims of Turkestan, where autonomy was declared, it is justified that there are all conditions in Turkestan for the establishment of an autonomous government.

Abdurauf Fitrat wrote in his article, "We have been oppressed for fifty years. Our language, religion, and human qualities have been trampled upon. Our minds have been poisoned. But we kept our faith. Autonomy was also announced. But autonomy cannot be preserved with one congress. It should be supported materially, morally and politically (military). It certainly depends on mutual alliance," says [11,6].

One of the intellectuals, Mukhtar Bakirov, published two articles on autonomy in "Ulug Turkistan" newspaper. The first one is called "Autonomy of Turkestan and Turkestans". [10,4] In it, the author said: "Declaration of autonomy has put Turkestans in front of them to solve great and responsible tasks. These are financial reform, regulation of laws, solving land and water issues, religious, social, educational issues, organizing food control, military courts and organizations, and creating a basic law for the autonomous government. "The members of the Kurultay

announced this autonomy, realizing these problems and believing in the courage of the Muslims of Turkestan," he says.

One of the intellectuals, Ghulam Zafari, also says, "We need strength to maintain our autonomy, and this strength is soldiers." [10.5]

Based on the articles of national intellectuals and other materials related to the autonomy of Turkestan, it should be said that when the autonomy was announced, all Muslims were called to be ready to preserve it. The analysis of national press materials of the events of July-December 1917 shows that it was the highest peak of the movement of Muslims of Turkestan to achieve independence. The decisions of the two Muslim congresses in September and the Fourth Congress of Muslims of Turkestan in November ended with the declaration of autonomy. All Muslim and political communities expressed their positive attitude towards him. The Bolsheviks, who at first did not recognize autonomy, were forced to agree with the majority after being isolated at this congress. In practice, however, they were trying to strangle this new Muslim government. For this purpose, we will get acquainted with the latest political processes in Turkestan, in particular, the overthrow of the autonomy of Turkestan and the sources showing the invasion policy of the Bolsheviks in Turkestan. "While the people of Turkestan are Muslims, the Bolsheviks took control of the country by force of arms and started handing all the work over to the soldiers and workers. He changed all national courts in Turkestan. The City Duma was terminated, court proceedings were suspended. Instead of these, new courts called "community judgment" were invented from ordinary Russian soldiers and workers. They began to seize Muslim lands by force of arms.

"Soldiers and workers went to the old city with weapons and searched for food and grain several times. As soon as they ran out of food in the New City (the Russian part - A.E.), they began to look at the Old City (the Muslim part - A.E.). The Muslims said that this point was not made for the sake of justice" [12,4].

Our ancestors, national intellectuals and rich people, did such noble deeds in order to prevent the extermination of our people in a situation where the Bolsheviks were abusing, looting, and invading. The sources cited in the periodical press, which try to cover the events in Turkestan as much as possible, show this more clearly. For example, "The issue of food", "Terrible hunger", "The scourge of hunger", "Those who died of hunger", "Let's help the hungry", "For the benefit of the hungry", "Attention of the starving and unemployed" published in the newspaper "Ulug' Turkistan". Theater for the benefit of the hungry", "Help for the hungry", "Help for the hungry", "Help for the hungry", "And again community charity", "Community charity", "Community charity", "Help for the hungry" etc.

Based on the above-mentioned articles and notices, it can be said that the threat of hunger is emerging and the national progressive intellectuals have done a lot of practical work to prevent it.

Now we will turn to the sources related to the tragic fate of Turkestan autonomy. These articles include: "Fergana region is under siege", "Tragedy of Muslims of Turkestan", "School from Kokodan" in "Ulug' Turkiston" newspaper. Articles "Kokan Tragedy", "Kokan Tragedies", "Kokan Halalati", "Kokan Tragedies", "Judges felt in Kokan", "Ergash Movement in Fergana" in "Hurriyat" newspaper etc.

These articles help to clarify a number of events. For example, the fact that the Bolsheviks robbed the people of the city, that several mosques, madrassas and residential areas were destroyed



due to the bombardment of the city, as well as other information can be obtained. As a result, it is reported that the Muslims declared aggression against the Russians.

From the above-mentioned sources, it can be concluded that after the Bolsheviks came to power through invasion, from the very first day of their activity, they were engaged in invasion and robbery, along with conducting an extremely unjust policy. As a result, the people's living conditions became worse day by day, and their anger towards the Russians increased.

Finally, our people started a new independence movement to liberate the country from the oppressors. The Jadids did not stop calling for unity and cohesion of the people with articles and poems calling for the independence of the country, even for a while. In 1917, the 4th extraordinary congress of Muslims of Turkestan legally announced the movement for national statehood. There is information in the national press that the autonomous government has been recognized by all the Muslim political forces in Turkestan and Europeans.

The declaration of an autonomous government by the national intelligentsia does not mean that Muslims have been completely freed, but rather that it is necessary to strengthen it economically and politically and protect it from the aggression of the Bolsheviks. According to the sources, the Bolsheviks of Turkestan did not gain significant decisive power until November 1917. They only followed the path of agreement.

After the coup d'état in Russia on October 25, 1917, it can be seen that the Bolsheviks achieved their goals by force of arms in Turkestan as well. After the events in Russia, the actions of the Bolsheviks accelerated. Looting and raiding escalated. The autonomy of Turkestan was overthrown. The standard of living of Muslims has reached a critical state. He increased the anger of the people against the Russians. If the materials of the national press of 1917-1918 are analyzed, it is possible to fully study the political processes in Turkestan during these years. In particular, various injustices committed by the Bolsheviks against Muslims will become known. This gives information that may have caused the independence movement of our ancestors against the Bolsheviks.

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