

Jadidism: ideology, conceptual approaches and practice

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Abstract. *The article is devoted to the analysis of the ideology of Jadidism. Jadidism is a movement that played a certain role in the enlightenment of the Turkic peoples that were part of the Russian Empire. At the same time, it is important to note that at the initial stage, this movement advocated the reform of school education, cultural modernization in general, and at the last stage put forward the idea of national independence. The author concludes that Jadidism had a socio-cultural, political role in the life of the Turkic peoples, in the formation of national self-consciousness, in the formulation of the idea of national independence based on studying the works of researchers on this issue. When analyzing the movement, the researcher emphasizes the role of Islam in the ideology of Jadidism as one of the decisive factors in the formation of the movement and an important consolidating aspect, which was the foundation of the spiritual life of the Turkic peoples and permeated all areas of public life. Also, the author in the article consolidates the thesis of Jadidism as a movement that has gone through several stages in its development, showing the evolution of ideology, the transformation of the cultural and educational nature of the movement into a political one. Thus, the author considers it necessary to reveal the features of such a movement as Jadidism, that is, a social movement and force that acted on the eve of the October Revolution from positions that were alternative to the communist perspective. Jadidism was that powerful factor that contributed to the reform and modernization of society in the context of the widespread suppression of the freedom-loving aspirations of indigenous peoples, stagnation in the spiritual sphere. Therefore, initially, the Jadids sought, first, to modernize the spiritual sphere by creating new method schools, organizing the publication of newspapers, etc., thereby paving the way for the emergence of national secular education, renewal of spiritual life, and, ultimately, the rise of national self-consciousness.*

Keywords: *Jadidism; enlightenment; Islam; national; self-consciousness; modernization; colonial; empire; progress; culture; education; reform.*

1. Introduction

The end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries were marked by the emergence of a new movement for the renewal and reform of society, which became one of the prominent socio-political movements of the past, contributed to the growth of national self-consciousness and played a significant role in the formation and development of the national liberation ideology.

2. Formulation of the problem

Jadidism is a movement based on universal humanistic and national values that met the pressing needs of social development and the interests of the indigenous population. Jadidism personified the movement of the Muslim intelligentsia, was a bright product of the Central Asian society of that period. The movement of national progressives laid the foundation for the

ideology of independence, it prompted society to remember freedom, national pride, rich culture. The teaching of this movement corresponded to the realities of this historical stage, and therefore the main segment of the progressive youth of the Turkic Muslims rallied around it [1].

Jadidism arose at a turning point in the social development of the region: when the national awareness of the depth of the crisis in the colonial region, the growing lag global processes, the constant and widespread suppression of any manifestations of free-thinking and aspirations of the indigenous population, stagnation in spiritual life, all this prompted them to the idea of reforming society. Their activities were directed against inertia, dogmatism, fanaticism, anti-intellectualism.

At the same time, it is important to emphasize the following: this movement has become a sphere of collision of different philosophies and ideological approaches to the possibilities of social development, having internally differentiated on the main issues of social development. The ideological and theoretical basis of the views of the Jadists was Western liberal theories and the experience of the world anti-colonial movement.

3. Methods and methodology

The topic of Jadidism and its role in the formation of the national, religious self-consciousness of the Turkic peoples have recently been devoted to quite a few works. Among those who studied this issue, it is necessary to note the works of D.M. Iskhakov [1], N.D. Nurtazina [2], G.G. Kosach [3], S. Agzamkhodzhaev [4], the author of this article, and others. The purpose of this article is to give a comprehensive analysis of the ideology of Jadidism, to consider the stages of this movement, revealing their essential principles and approaches, to identify the main factors that allowed this movement to gain significant recognition in the public mind.

In their works, many scientists consider Jadidism as a kind of spiritual impulse aimed at reforming society, at its modernization in the European sense [1, 4, p.31]. Others propose to consider Jadidism as an Islamic phenomenon, a

religious-renewal reform movement that arose at the turn of the 19th - early 20th centuries [2, p.73; five].

At the same time, researchers see one of the reasons for the emergence of Jadidism in the loss of dynamism by Muslim culture at the end of the 19th century. And in this regard, the activities of the Jadids were directed against inertia, dogmatism, fanaticism, anti-intellectualism [5].

Most researchers consider Jadidism as a movement consisting of several directions. The same A. Benigsen identifies three stages in the formation of Jadidism: religious (theological), cultural and political reformism [6, p.79]

At the first stage, the Jadids did not seek to change the existing social system. During this period, the main task for them was the task of modernizing the spiritual sphere. Innovative processes in all areas of the life of society were accompanied by the idea of mastering the achievements, values, traditions of world culture and strengthening communications. They become an objective necessity, thereby actualizing the activities of the supporters of Jadidism, aimed at finding new, constructive ways in the interests of social progress. For social mobility, a person was required to have vocational training, therefore, to receive a secular education, enrichment of spiritual life. Thus, at the initial stage, Jadidism was a narrow educational trend that advocated the reform of the Muslim school and the introduction of elements of European education. N. Kazibekova suggested considering this stage in a broader aspect, namely, she believes that the educational and reformist aspirations of Jadidism consisted not only in the reform of school education but also affected the area of national spiritual culture [5]. At this stage, according to S. Agzamkhodzhaev, the movement was aimed at providing the prerequisites for national revival, familiarizing the people with the achievements of world civilization [4, p. 33] The famous Tatar historian, researcher of the national liberation movement of the Tatars D. Iskhakov supports the point of view of Ya. G. Abdullin, who most consistently defended the position that Jadidism should be considered as a stage of enlightenment, on the one hand and

at the same time, later proposed to interpret this social phenomenon as an ideological expression of the bourgeois-democratic movement at the turn of the 19th-20th centuries.[1]

The poverty of the people, who were under the double yoke of imperial and local despotism, economic lagging behind the developed countries, cultural regression, stagnation of thought, prompted the Jadids to look for effective ways to accelerate social development. At the same time, they perfectly understood that one of the main causes of social and colonial oppression, backwardness is the ignorance and lack of enlightenment of the people. Therefore, one of the key ways to solve urgent problems for the Jadids was enlightenment, namely the reform of education. To achieve this goal, the Jadids opened new method schools, libraries, reading rooms, wrote textbooks and teaching aids. As you know, the first new method mekteb in Kazakhstan was opened in Turkistan in 1900, later such institutions appeared in other cities of the region.

In addition, the constructivist paradigm attaches great importance to the dissemination of printed materials and education in the native language for the formation of ethnonation and ethnonational consciousness.

4. Discussion

In general, Jadidism is based on the introduction of several secular subjects and a new method of teaching reading in Muslim schools. The Jadids also advocated teaching in schools in the national language, for reforming Islam and its adaptation to the bourgeois development of the region, for limiting the influence of the clergy on education, for the development of national art and literature, for the equality of women [5]. In this regard, in our opinion, it is appropriate to recall the words of the famous Bolshevik, national communist G. Safarov that “the Muslim intelligentsia represented by the Jadids demand a reform of the school, the introduction of a new spelling, the expulsion of Arabic and ancient Greek scholasticism from teaching and development of national cultures. Gradually, this movement

took shape politically as a progressive-national movement. It grows under the influence of the Tatar and Kirghiz (i.e. Kazakh) intelligentsia, where the “Jadids” have won strong positions even earlier” [5]. The Jadids, according to G. Safarov, essentially modernized the culture of their peoples, opposing the orthodox position. The largest figures of Kazakh culture came out of the new method schools created by the Jadids: A. Kunanbaev, S. Toraigyrov, M. Zhumabaev, B. Maylin and others.

Results (main part of the article)

An important activity of the Jadids is the popularization of the ideas of enlightenment. Moreover, unlike the Russian populists, the Jadids formed their ideology of «enlightenment» on more multifaceted and socially profound factors, such as strengthening the contribution of religion to spiritual perfection, the formation of civilized democratic institutions, and original national development. In their works, they criticized colonial-feudal oppression, the holders of power, lawlessness and bribery, and heavy requisitions.

Another equally important component of the Jadist ideology was the Islamic factor. Unlike other enlighteners in Europe and Russia, the Jadids did not reject religion and were not atheists. On the contrary, they considered Islam the source that would contribute to the unification of Muslims to achieve social progress, as a means of educating peoples in the spirit of high morality, patriotism, solidarity and consolidating their efforts in the struggle to eliminate colonial and other oppression. The statement of Mirsait Sultan-Galiev, who believed that in Islam, unlike other great religions, in which spiritual and ethical motives prevail, civil and political elements, is interesting in this regard. Islam, through a detailed code of laws (Sharia), governs all aspects of Muslim life. The strength of Islam is also greatly facilitated by the performance of public functions by Muslim clerics: he acts as a priest, and as a teacher, and as an administrator, and as a judge, and as a doctor. Sultan-Galiyev sees another factor that strengthens the position of Islam in the fact that Islam “being the religion of the oppressed nurtured a sense of solidarity

among its followers” [7]. with the main idea of modernization, revival and democratization of Islam was the idea of solidarity and spiritual and political unity of the Muslim peoples of the Russian Empire... For most of the Muslim population of the empire, the ideas of Muslim solidarity and Turkic unity were identical and did not contradict each other»[2, p.108- 109].

Much later, the Bolsheviks, perfectly understanding the significance and power of Islam, pursued a flexible national-religious policy during the civil war. So, for the practical guidance of the political and spiritual affairs of the Muslim peoples, a special Muslim Commissariat was created under the People’s Commissariat for National Affairs, under which in April 1918 a department for Turkistan and Transcaucasia was opened [8, p. 18]. In June 1918, Lenin signed a decree of the Council of People’s Commissars « On the organization of Muslim committees in the field. According to Avtorkhanov, Lenin “recommended to begin the siege of the fortress of Islam from afar and act on the sly. Therefore, the Bukhara and Khiva khanates were preserved, they were renamed in 1920 into the Bukhara People’s Soviet Republic and the Khorezm People’s Soviet Republic. In Muslim countries, for the first time, not only were waqf properties returned, new madrasahs were opened, Sharia courts were preserved, but representatives of the Muslim progressive clergy were even accepted into the Communist Party ... [9]

In addition, the Jadids saw in Islam the most important means of spiritual purification, but at the same time they noted that Islam itself must be cleansed of medieval scholasticism. The Jadids saw this purification in mastering the achievements of science and advanced technologies with the precepts of the Muslim religion and considering modern realities. Therefore, at the first stage of the development of their movement, the Jadids advocated the introduction of a new method of education, against the monopoly of confessional education. Remaining Muslim, the new mekteb, according to the idea of the Jadids, was supposed to incorporate a modern component, that is, secular subjects, at the beginning the Russian language,

and in the long term - foreign languages, a new teaching methodology. The Jadids had a strong belief in the priority of the Muslim-Kazakh component in the education and upbringing of children, and the European one was considered by them as auxiliary. There is a certain reason for this, thereby minimizing the risk of acculturation and separation of children from traditions. As Nazira Nurtazina notes, “Jadid reformism is reformism within the framework of Islam, the program of the renaissance of the Muslim school. The constructive program of the Jadids was aimed at ... an evolutionary, stage-by-stage, scientifically based reformation of the mektebs and madrasahs - based on the natural logic of the development of the Islamic civilization itself and global trends (the need for modernization)”[2] Among many researchers involved in the theory of Jadidism, it was N. Nurtazina who especially emphasizes the role of Islam in the Jadid movement. Thus, she argues that the Islamic factor has become the main unifying and integrating feature of the peoples of Central Asia and that it was Islam that became that powerful force in the struggle for cultural and civilizational survival by the beginning of the 20th century. N. Nurtazina goes further in her reasoning, believing that the Muslim religion has become a key source through which a unified system of education and a unified cultural and civilizational image spread [2].

K. Murzakhojaev and Zh. Tulibaeva in their article “On Certain Questions Concerning Education in Jadidist Schools in the Kazakh Steppe” (the late 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries) believe that one of the key tasks of Jadidism was the reform of the school educational system, and not the canons of the Islamic religion [10].

In the Jadid schools, blind dogmatism and mechanical cramming of the Koran were denied in the content of education, some religious postulates were clarified in accordance with the demands of the time, the achievements of science, secular subjects were taught, they changed the teaching methods, thereby democratizing the relationship between teacher and student. Particular attention was paid to the native language, national history, culture, and

traditions. It is no coincidence that in the «Report on the revision of the Turkistan region, produced by the highest order of Senator Chamberlain Count K.K. Palen» in 1910. it is noted that «the Jadid school developed in children a love for their people and their past», which, of course, was extremely unexpected and unpleasant for the colonial authorities. [2, p.94] At the same time, a new type of teacher was formed - a highly educated person, highly moral, a patriot.

In our opinion, S. Kaziev, argued that “Jadidism is a complex socio-political phenomenon, not reducible only to the movement for education and renewal of the school system. In the future, Jadidism represented an attempt to westernize the Turkic-Muslim society and create a Turkic nation, like modern European nations” [11, p.25]. Scientists note the significant role of Tatar educators, teachers, and public figures in the dissemination of educational ideas and enlightenment in Turkistan, the Emirate of Bukhara, the Khiva Khanate, and Kazakhstan. The ease of spreading by the Tatars of their program of unification of the Turkic peoples is explained by the fact that: “Tatars, being one of the most numerous and educated nationalities among the Muslims of Russia and due to the fact that they lived in large numbers in the cities, kishlaks, and auls of Turkistan and Kazakhstan, were often youth mentors in these regions” [11]. According to S.Sh. Kaziev, the Jadids hoped for the consolidation of Russian Muslim Turks through the unification of the language and the rapprochement of cultures based on a renewed Islam, which would eventually lead to the formation of a proto-national regional community of Muslims and the emergence of national states, therefore the main emphasis in their activities is Gasprinsky, as one of the founders of this direction, he did on the revival of interest in the national history of the Turkic peoples who created great empires in the past. By the way, the famous Russian orientalist, teacher missionary N.I. Back in 1884, as soon as the ideas of Jadidism began to spread, Ilminsky was categorically opposed to the teachings of I. Gasprinsky, since he understood that the idea was based on the goal of uniting all Turkic-speaking Muslims of the tsarist empire.

According to N.A. Kazbekova, the essence of Jadidism is a genuine intellectual Islamic response to the challenge of Western civilization, as A. Benigsen wrote, Jadidism is the “diamond” of Islamic civilization. At the same time, the author argues that Jadidism was not a denial of everything secular, including the achievements of Western civilization. In our opinion, it appears as a genuinely creative movement in a dramatic dialogue between East and West. Its ideologists truly understood that spiritual enrichment, creative growth, transformation, and growth of national self-consciousness and culture are impossible without a proper constructive dialogue [5]. N. Nurtazina adheres to the same position, arguing in her work that the reforms proposed by the Jadids essentially boiled down to Europeanization [2, p. 73] - this is a movement that put forward a civilizational initiative. First, this concerned the reform of school education and the borrowing of the achievements of modern science and technology.

The end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries were interesting and at the same time the most difficult historical era, since under the influence of the new values of the industrial-urban civilization of the West, changes occurred in the traditional way of life. An attempt to synthesize the traditional and the modern is now becoming a characteristic feature of the life of Muslim peoples, including the Kazakhs. Now the progressive national elite is faced with the task, on the one hand, of “reorganizing the entire socio-political and cultural (educational) system in accordance with the tasks of modernization, on the other hand, under the conditions of the colonial status of the region, it was forced to simultaneously fight for autonomy and self-determination” [2] . Such a difficult task, of course, made their position difficult.

N. Nurtazina on this issue believes that it is the Eastern Muslim, a national component that occupies a central place in Jadidism, while the Western one is auxiliary. Further, the author concretizes his idea, arguing that the Jadids never wanted to reform Islam, limiting themselves only to purifying the religion from late accretions and superstitions, restoring true monotheism. At the

same time, the following thought of N. Nurtazina is certainly interesting, which unconditionally states that “the movement of the Kazakh intelligentsia “Alash” should be considered the “national variant of Muslim Jadidism” [2, p.74]. We fundamentally disagree with this statement of the researcher, since we believe that the distinguishing features of Kazakh nationalism from Central Asian Jadidism lie in the Western pro-orientation of the Kazakh intelligentsia, in adhering to the political platform, which is undoubtedly cementing in the ideology of Jadidism. The Alash movement, according to E. Sadykov, was not imbued with a pronounced religious spirit. In addition to the fact that the Kazakh environment did not gravitate toward building a purely Islamic state, the Steppe Territory was more than all other Central Asian regions integrated into the system of the Russian Empire, which was largely facilitated by the pro-Russian reformers of the first wave [12, p.45-46]. It was in the Russian-European and Muslim civilizations, and not in the nomadic one, that M.-Ya. Dulatov, one of the famous Kazakh thinkers, saw the ideology of the renewal of the Kazakh society. Thus, believing that by mastering the elements of external civilizations, the Kazakh people renew themselves and strive for the future. The Kazakh leaders of the national movement themselves, headed by A. Bukeikhanov, denied their belonging to the Islamic and pan-Turkist movements, being Westerners and nationalists.

Another important point that I would like to draw attention to is that the Jadids were not pan-Islamists, since they needed the modernization of Islam to maintain religious cultural-differentiating principles that acted as “markers” of Turkic identity [11]. More S.Z. Zimanov noted: “The New Method schools were not an end in themselves for their supporters. They believed that the main cause of evil in society is the illiteracy of the mullahs themselves and the population, because of which there is squandering of the rich, robbery of the population and cruelty of local governors, the spread of «bad customs» among the masses, which in turn lead to ruin and impoverishment» [eleven].

Also, in our opinion, one more fact noted by Kaziev S.Sh. find common grounds for identity [11].

According to most researchers who study the problem of Jadidism, one of the pillars of this reform movement is, along with the idea of modernization, revival and democratization of Islam, the idea of solidarity and spiritual and political unity of the Muslim Turks in Russia. In this regard, I would like to dwell on such important phenomena in the context of the proposed topic as pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism.

Despite the fact that many Russian researchers [7] are still rather cautious and cautious about pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism, which, in the spirit of Soviet historiography, are labeled as chauvinism and Islamic narrow-mindedness, N. Nurtazina and S. Agzamkhodzhaev, on the contrary, believe Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism are constituent elements of Turkic Jadism [2, p.109; 4, p.53]. N. Nurtazina even went further, analyzing and revealing the ambiguity of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism. In her opinion, the pan-Turkism of the new Muslims, for example, Turkistan, was defensive in nature, there was no aggressiveness and offensiveness, xenophobia, and fanaticism in it. As E. Gellner wrote, the indicator of the birth of a nation is the transition from the complete domination of religion to culture and to the combination of the latter with ethnicity [2, p.110]

An interesting idea was expressed by the well-known Azerbaijani politician M. Rasul-zade, who connected pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism with the objective process of the formation of nations (“nation-building”), in line with the theories of European modernization. As Rasul-zade explains, among the Turkic-Muslim peoples, the idea of a nation could not immediately be established, and something transitional from a purely confessional consciousness to a national consciousness was expressed by pan-Turkism, the consciousness of belonging to a common ethnolinguistic family. Further, he emphasizes that pan-Turkism originated as a response to the policy of tsarism, which consisted in artificially separating the subject Turkic ethnic groups and inciting ethnic hatred between them. It

was colonialism that artificially delayed the natural evolution of pan-Turkism, that is, its transformation into nationalism [2, p.110].

S. Agzamkhodzhaev adds an external factor to this internal factor - the influence of the Iranian and Young Turk revolutions, which contributed to the consolidation of the Muslim population of Turkistan under the auspices of Islam in the common struggle against the enslavers [4, p.52-53]. It is the danger from the East that can explain the position of the tsarist autocracy, which obstructed pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism, which were positioned as harmful ideological currents focused on the destruction of Russian statehood and the creation of a common Muslim power under the leadership of Turkey or Iran. The Bolsheviks, who subsequently retained the imperial structure of the state, accepted these "fears" and radically "removed" the threat of pan-Islamism by the national-state delimitation of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in 1924.

As noted above, the Jadist movement has gone through several stages in its development. The second stage began after the Russian Revolution of 1905. At this stage, the Jadids in their ideological views approached the party of constitutional democrats.

Elections to the State Duma became important in the political life of the country, and this short-term experience of parliamentary activity nevertheless contributed to the development of the liberal reform movement and there are supporting materials about close contacts and political ties between the Jadids of Turkistan and the Volga region, Crimea, and the Caucasus, which once again confirms one of the main aspects of Jadidism is the regional community of Turkic-Muslims.

During this period, the Jadids advocated parliamentary and, according to S. Agzamkhojaev, constitutional monarchism was the priority of the democratic thought of the Jadids. Then the Jadids did not call for radical measures, because, as they believed, this could lead to sad and bloody consequences. At that time, their tactics consisted in supporting democratic processes and institutions, in granting certain autonomous

rights in the field of education and religion. Thus, the revolution of 1905 Jadids to the possibility of public political activity. However, these illusions were quickly brought to naught by the Stolypin reform and the thesis of imperial officials about the harmfulness of the ideas of pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism, which, according to the government, pose a threat to the foundations of Russian statehood. Such accusations have become a powerful lever as a political tool and a label in the struggle against the national liberation movement of the Turkic-Muslim peoples.

The changed political situation could not solve the pressing problems of the socio-political system, and as a result, the attitude of the Jadids towards the metropolis, political and legal institutions has changed dramatically. During this period, the politicization of Jadidism takes place: anti-colonial ideas are clearly formed and presented, the program of modernization and democratization of the whole society is concretized. The main factor in the radicalization and politicization of Jadidism, the strengthening of nationalist and revolutionary sentiments, and the idea of Europeanization is the established complex social, cultural, and political situation. In the views of the Jadids, a departure from the former, predominantly liberal, and loyal to the leading political institutions, positions begin.

S. Agzamkhodzhaev believes that the change in the situation contributed to a split in the ranks of the Jadids. "A radical trend of progressives began to emerge, calling for deeper transformations and more decisive political actions, and a moderate one, whose representatives mainly insisted on reforming theological education and put forward moderate political demands, however, all participants in the movement remained unanimous in the main thing - in ensuring the national independence of the Turkic peoples » [4, p.47]. Already by 1917, as the situation in the country changed, the Jadids, having become significantly radicalized, began to sharply criticize the colonial system of the Russian Empire, bringing to the fore the idea of state independence and, according to many researchers, by this year, Jadidism already had an organized character [4, p. 63], and "the idea of a nation becomes a new religion" [2, p.111]

According to many experts on this issue, Islam, as one of the key factors of Jadidism, at this stage becomes a component of the ideology of the national liberation movement. [2, p.112]

This period in the history of Jadidism (1917), according to S. Agzamkhojaev, already had an organized character, and for example, for the Turkistan Jadids, Tashkent, being the administrative and cultural center of the Central Asian region, became the place of localization of the reformers [4, p.40, 63].

In the changed political situation, the Jadids again raised the issue of the need to update the idea of reforming the Muslim society. The problem was not in changing the foundations of Islam, only the need to renew the structure, to revive the former power of religion and peoples through the simplification of rituals and the liberation from everything empty and superficial. The Jadids saw an important aspect in the further modernization of Islam in adapting it to the goals of the national liberation movement as a unifying factor, while the conceptual foundations of religion, in their opinion, are not subject to changes and reforms, since in their content the "idea of democracy" was originally incorporated in the doctrine itself.

Thus, Jadidism as a powerful and influential political trend was formed and strengthened under the influence of socio-economic and cultural events in the life of society.

The overthrow of tsarism in February 1917 caused violent processes of politicization of the Turkistan society. The revolution itself was enthusiastically received by the Jadids and inspired great hopes for a brighter future in their hearts. Spontaneous rallies and demonstrations were held in many cities and villages, at which decisions of a democratic nature were made. The provisional government announced the introduction of political freedoms, granting the people the right to express their political will, the abolition of all classes, religious and national restrictions, etc. But, nevertheless, the democratic potential of the February Revolution was not fully realized. Many promises remained at the level of a declaration, especially regarding issues of national self-determination, the elimination

of colonial oppression, and the right to determine one's own destiny. Although national organizations and movements took an active part in the destruction of the colonial apparatus of the autocracy and the deepening of renovation processes.

In the context of the stated topic, we believe it is necessary to consider the policy documents of the Turkistan Jadids, in which considerable attention was paid to structuring the mechanism for implementing the principles of the national-territorial autonomy of Turkistan. It is important that in the program documents of the Jadids, the republican form was proposed as the basic form of government, one of the main tasks was the formation of a democratic society based on guaranteed democratic rights and freedoms. One of the bold ideas proposed by the Jadids of Turkistan was the idea of equality before the law of all nations and nationalities in economic, socio-political, legal, and cultural life.

The issue of federation and autonomy became an object of heated discussion at the first all-Muslim forums in 1917 - the All-Turkistan Congress of Muslims, convened on the initiative of Shuroi-Islomiya, and the All-Russian Congress of Muslims, held in Moscow and uniting the Muslims of Turkistan, Bukhara, Khiva, the Volga region, Crimea, and the Caucasus. At the All-Russian Congress of Muslims, on the issue of the national-state structure of Russia, the participants of the congress divided into factions of «unitarists», who recognized the extraterritorial cultural autonomy of Muslims as part of the Russian Republic, and «federalists», who stood up for autonomy for Muslim peoples as part of the Russian Federation. The position of the first was stated in the resolution of Akhmed Salikhov, and the second - in the resolution of Muhammad Amin Rasul-zade [4, p.117, 119, 120]. After a stormy and lengthy debate, the majority adopted a resolution of the «federalists»: «a) Recognize that the form of government in Russia, which best ensures the interests of Muslim peoples, is a democratic republic on a national-territorial-federative basis; moreover, nationalities that do not have a definite territory enjoy national-cultural autonomy" [13].

M. Shokai recalled: "Autonomy was presented to us in the following form. Turkistan has its own local legislature and its own autonomous government. The central all-Russian «federal» authorities oversee foreign policy, finance, railways, and the military. Schoolwork, local road construction and zemstvo self-government, the land issue - we emphasized this issue especially, the court - all this belongs to the jurisdiction of the local autonomous government. We wanted to introduce some significant amendments to the field of army formation, namely, we had in mind the creation of a «territorial army», i.e. Turkistanis do military service in Turkistan, remaining under a single all-Russian command ... Thinking and racking our brains about our national structure, we could not discard the fact of our state connection with Russia. And one more important circumstance must be emphasized: at that time Turkistan was not yet psychologically prepared either for the perception or for raising the issue of secession from Russia" [14, p.12-13]. The main part of the wide range of ideas incorporated in this program bore the impact of European liberalism: self-government, democratic rights and freedoms, equality of peoples, regardless of their national and religious affiliation [15, p.156].

Further political events in the region showed that socio-political movements have not lost their mobilizing power and influence on the consciousness of the Muslim population. Thus, on the initiative of the Shuroi-Ulomo and Haloik societies, a congress of Turkistan and Kazakh Muslims was held in Tashkent from September 17 to 20, which was attended by delegates from the Ural and Turgai regions. The congress adopted the following important decisions: 1) the establishment of the Turkistan autonomy (mukhtoriat) with the right to independently decide their internal affairs; 2) the creation of a single party called «Ittifok-i-Muslimin» («Union of Muslims») instead of the organizations «Shuroi-Islomiya», «Turon» and others. The Turkistan nationals put forward a program for the formation of the Turkistan Territorial Federation as part of the democratic Russian Republic, organized on principles of national and

cultural self-determination of all nationalities. The supreme legislative body of Turkiston Mukhtoriyati was the parliament, elected based on universal, direct, equal, and secret suffrage for a period of 5 years with the obligatory proportional representation of all nationalities inhabiting the Turkistan region in it. An obligatory point of the program was the coordination of the legislative functions of the Turkistan parliament with the basic laws of the Russian Republic and with the requirements of Sharia, and to resolve national issues, the Turkistan Parliament must have its representatives under the supreme government of the Russian Republic. Another body closely related to the Parliament, but also having a number of additional functions, the execution of which falls under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, the Constitutional Council and the Prosecutor's Office, was the Senate called «Mahkami-i-Sharia» (House of Laws). He had the right to publish and explain the laws, supervise the exact implementation of national laws and Sharia requirements, control over all government agencies and the correct implementation of court decisions by all judicial institutions and persons. The Senate was the highest judicial institution of the Turkistan Federation [15, p.158]

The October Revolution and the creation of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat prevented the creation of the Turkistan Federation with its center in Tashkent, where power passed to the Soviet of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, consisting mainly of representatives of the Slavic substratum from the Bolshevik, Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties. Mustafa Shokai recalled the turbulent events of the autumn of 1917: "... the Bolshevik power, established by force, killed the Turkistans' faith in revolutionary liberation slogans. Soviet power began in Turkistan with an indiscriminate denial of the right of the indigenous population to participate in power" [14, pp. 17-18]. Such great-power chauvinism "in the Soviet way", a narrow-class approach to solving the national question, the removal of Muslims from power structures led to a response: if, after the victory of October, the nationalists took a wait-and-see

attitude, now they have decided to create an anti-Soviet bloc, break relations with the Soviets and announcement of Turkistan autonomy at the IV Extraordinary Regional Muslim Congress (kurultai) in November 1917 in Kokand.

The resolution of the congress, adopted on November 27, 1917, stated that "... the congress, expressing the will of the nationalities inhabiting Turkistan to self-determination on the principles proclaimed by the Great Russian Revolution, declares Turkistan territorially autonomous in unity with the Federal Russian Republic, giving the right to establish forms of autonomy to Turkistan To the Constituent Assembly... the rights of the national minorities inhabiting Turkistan will be protected in every possible way"[16]. As we can see, the autonomist movement in Kazakhstan and Turkistan had a fundamental similarity in the field of doctrinal principles: firstly, the same type of interpretation of the political structure (national-territorial autonomy within the Russian Federation); secondly, defending the idea of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, on which the hope was laid of legalizing the autonomies established by secret means in the regions; thirdly, the denial for the Alash-Orda and Kokand autonomies of the possibility of sovereign state development outside the union with Russia. This indicates the absence of the threat of "pan-Islamism" in the Central Asian region (in this case, this term means the Soviet interpretation of the term - A.K.), that is, the desire for pan-Islamic unity within the framework of Greater Iran or Greater Turkey.

The Kokand autonomy was the first experience of restoring the ancient statehood of Turkistan in a democratic, non-violent way. Later, M. Shokai, while in exile, wrote the following: "1917 is the date of our political birth, for autonomy was our first timid political step towards democracy" [17, p.21].

The development of political events in Turkistan will lead to a sharp polarization of nationalists and Bolsheviks, the Kokand autonomy and the Tashkent, Kokand Soviets of Workers» and Soldiers» Deputies. The Bolsheviks saw in the Kokand autonomy a dangerous

alliance of the Muslim bourgeoisie and bourgeois bureaucratic elements with the «dark masses of Islam», which created great risks for the new Soviet regime. In addition, the Bolsheviks did not rule out the unification of the Nationals with the «white» movement in the unfolding civil war. The intensity of the political confrontation between the two authorities, the two main political opponents, ended with the catastrophe of the Kokand autonomy in February 1918, which was "drowned" by the Bolsheviks in the blood of the inhabitants of Kokand [18].

5. Conclusion

Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century, the ideology of Jadidism, which included the pressing problems of religion, culture, decolonization, nation-building, and others, became an effective factor in interethnic integration. It is also important that the Jadids were distinguished by their democratic views and tolerance. The progressive significance of the reform movement is unquestionable in the history of the Muslim Turks. But unfortunately, this movement was interrupted and destroyed by the socialist revolution.

In historical science, there is still no consensus on the definition of the final stage of the political activity of the Jadids. For example, Ya.G. Abdullin, who considers Jadidism "an ideological expression of the bourgeois-democratic movement," believes that it had exhausted itself even before 1917 but ceased to exist after October 1917 [1]. However, it seems to us that Ya.G. Abdullin's approach raises serious objections. So, A. Benigsen, for example, emphasized a certain continuity between "national Muslim communism" (1917-1928) and earlier Jadid politicians [6]. The author of this article supports this idea of the researcher, moreover, a similar point of view is reflected in the article "Tatar jadidism", in which Jadidism is brought to the beginning of the 1930s. We see indirect recognition of the same approach in the works of T. Davletshin (especially in the chapter "Some Ideological Aspects of the Tatars' C-Liberation

Movement” in his monograph and A.-A. Rohrllich [1]. This statement is also supported by D. Iskhakov: “s from the point of view of “nation-building”, “Muslim communism” among the Tatars, of course, was in political terms a certain continuation of the Jadid political reformism [1].

As for the opinion of Kazakh authors on this issue, N. Nurtazina definitely believes that “Jadidism as an ideological trend, transforming, changing forms and tactics, persisted until the

30s of the twentieth century, until the last of its representatives were physically exterminated by the Stalinist regime [2, p.108], moreover, reinforcing her idea with the following words, speaking about the activities of the famous Kazakh politician Turar Ryskulov, who, in her opinion, continued only in the new conditions the political line for the modernization, decolonization, and integration of Turkistan, which was previously the core Jadid intelligentsia.

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Жәдидшілдік: идеология, концептуалды тәсілдер және тәжірибе

Андатпа. Мақала Ресей империясына кірген түркі халықтарын ағартуда белгілі бір рөл атқарған жәдидшілдік идеологиясын, қозғалысын талдауға арналған. Осыған орай бастапқы кезеңде бұл қозғалыс мектептегі білім беру реформасын, жалпы мәдени жаңғыртуды жақтап, ал соңғы кезеңде ұлттық тәуелсіздік идеясын ұсынғанын атап өту маңызды. Осы мәселе бойынша зерттеушілердің еңбектерін зерттеу негізінде автор жәдидшілдіктің түркі халықтарының өмірінде, ұлттық сана-сезімді қалыптастыруда, ұлттық тәуелсіздік идеясын рәсімдеуде әлеуметтік-мәдени, саяси рөлі бар деген қорытындыға келеді. Зерттеуші қозғалысты талдау кезінде түркі халықтарының рухани өмірінің іргетасы болып табылған және қоғамдық өмірдің барлық салаларына еніп кеткен қозғалыс пен маңызды біріктіруші аспектіні қалыптастыруда шешуші факторлардың бірі ретінде жәдидшілдік идеологиясындағы исламның рөлін ерекше атап өтті. Сондай-ақ, мақалада автор жәдидшілдік тезисін оның дамуында идеологияның эволюциясын, қозғалыстың мәдени-ағартушылық сипатын саяси сипатқа айналдыруды көрсететін бірнеше кезеңнен өткен қозғалыс ретінде бекітеді. Осылайша, автор жәдидшілдік сияқты қозғалыстың ерекшеліктерін, яғни Қазан төңкерісі қарсаңында балама коммунистік тұрғыдан әрекет еткен қоғамдық қозғалыс пен күшті ашу қажет деп санайды. Жәдидшілдік байырғы халықтардың бостандықты сүйетін ұмтылыстарын кеңінен басу, рухани саладағы тоқырау жағдайында қоғамды реформалауға және модернизациялауға ықпал ететін қуатты фактор болды. Сондықтан, бастапқыда жәдидшілер, ең алдымен, жаңа сәнді мектептер құру, газеттер шығаруды ұйымдастыру және т.б. құру арқылы рухани саланы модернизациялауға ұмтылды, осылайша ұлттық зайырлы білімнің пайда болуына, рухани өмірдің жаңаруына, сайып келгенде, ұлттық сананың өсуіне жол ашты.

Түйін сөздер: жәдидшілік; ағартушылық; ислам; ұлттық; өзіндік сана; жаңғырту; отаршылдық; империализм; прогресс; мәдениет; білім; реформа.

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Джадидизм: идеология, концептуальные подходы и практика

Аннотация. Данная статья посвящена анализу идеологии джадидизма - движения, оказавшего определенную роль в просвещении тюркских народов, входивших в Российскую империю. При этом важно отметить, что на начальном этапе это движение выступало за реформу школьного образования, культурную модернизацию в целом, а на последнем этапе выдвинуло идею национальной независимости. Автор на основе изучения работ исследователей по данной проблеме приходит к выводу, что джадидизм, безусловно, играл социокультурную, политическую роль в жизни тюркских народов, в формировании национального самосознания, в оформлении идеи национальной независимости. Исследователь при анализе движения особо отмечает роль ислама в идеологии джадидизма как одного из решающих факторов при формировании движения и важного консолидирующего аспекта, являвшегося фундаментом духовной жизни тюркских народов и пронизывавшего все области общественной жизни. Также автор в статье закрепляет тезис о джадидизме как движении, прошедшем в своем развитии несколько этапов, показывающих эволюцию идеологии, трансформацию культурно-просветительского характера движения в политический. Тем самым автор считает необходимым раскрыть особенности такого движения как джадидизм, то есть общественного движения и силы, которая выступала в преддверии Октябрьской революции с альтернативных коммунистической перспективе позиций. Джадидизм явился тем мощным фактором, способствовавшим реформированию и модернизации общества в условиях повсеместного подавления свободлюбивых устремлений коренных народов, застоя в духовной сфере. Поэтому изначально джадиды стремились в первую очередь модернизировать духовную сферу созданием новометодных школ, организацией выпуска газет и т.д., тем самым подготовив почву для возникновения

национального светского образования, обновления духовной жизни, а в конечном итоге – подъема национального самосознания.

Ключевые слова: джадидизм; просвещение; ислам; национальное; самосознание; модернизация; колониальный; империя; прогресс; культура; образование; реформа.

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Кульшанова Арман Айыпбекқызы – тарих ғылымдарының докторы, «Қазақстан тарихы және әлеуметтік-гуманитарлық ғылымдар» кафедрасының профессоры, Т.Жүргенов атындағы Қазақ ұлттық өнер академиясының жоғары оқу орнынан кейінгі білім беру ғылыми орталығының жетекшісі, Алматы, Қазақстан.