

THE ROLE OF JADIDS IN AWAKENING THE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG THE CENTRAL ASIAN PEOPLE

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Abstract. The paper examines the national press activities of Jadids that marked a turning point in the enlightenment process. Then, the role of printing culture and press in raising awareness and national consciousness among the Central Asian people is analysed. Following this, the political movement of Jadidism is examined, and concludes by arguing that Jadidism was formed not only as a cultural and political movement, but also as a religious-cultural and anti-colonial movement resisting against the Soviet regime. Furthermore, this research argues that if the Jadids had not awoken the mass people by enlightenment, reform and national press, independence or national identity would not have been attained. This thesis argues that Jadidism emerged as a reactionary movement against Soviet exploitation, freedom from which, Jadids believed, could be achieved via education and national consciousness. Throughout the research, the considerable efforts of Jadids in enlightening the people through new-method learning, press activities, and a political liberation movement will be demonstrated. Then this research will conclude by reviewing the main arguments of the work conducted, emphasising the limitations and presenting some recommendations for future research.

Keywords: Jadidism, Press, Nationalism, Printing, Independence, Islam, Muslim

Introduction

Although numerous investigations have been conducted on this topic, since the collapse of the USSR, many Western scholars have shown a deep interest in studying Jadidism [1, p. 330]. However, despite a plethora of ar-

chives and historical narrative materials being available, due to strict Soviet control, many scientific articles and studies on the Jadid movement are biased and fail to remain impartial. Even though many studies have been carried out in this area, views about the movement are particularly divergent. The scholarly overview suggests that there is a need to explore the intellectual history of Central Asia from its religious, sociocultural, and political perspectives. Therefore, in order to achieve this objective, this paper intends to critically analyse the role of the modernist movement in reforming the region through ‘new-method’ schooling, publishing activities, and stirring national consciousness among Muslims in Central Asia using strategies of reform. This study asserts that Jadidism emerged as a reactionary movement against Soviet exploitation, freedom from which, Jadids believed, could be achieved via education and national consciousness. Throughout the research, the considerable efforts of Jadids in enlightening the people through new-method learning, press activities, and a political liberation movement will be demonstrated.

Methodology

Regarding the methods applied in this research, the theoretical and methodological basis of this thesis relies upon the work of history scholars and their achievements to date. During the research, a comparative historical-interpretive and explanatory approach is applied in order to classify the content and nature of the Jadid movement as a socio-historical phenomenon. In the assessment of the socio-political history of Jadidism, the author will adhere to the principle of objectivity. This research utilises comparative historical and chronological methods when examining the documents and materials related to the Jadids given in Kydyraliyev’s [2] dissertation, along with the research of Western scholar Khalid [3] and these will be synthesised.

The Role of Jadidism in Forming the National Press

Printing revolutionised the intellectual viewpoint of individuals and cultures with which it came into contact [3, p. 235]. Europe was able to transmit modernity through printing, suggesting that the ‘printing revolution’ enabled the rapid propagation of the technology of fifteenth century Europe [3, p. 240]. As a fleeting mass-produced product, a ‘one-day best seller’ – Benedict Anderson’s expression – the newspaper is designed to be read quickly, comparatively negligently, and only as a source of information, in stark dissimilarity to the rigorous, deferential reading of a limited amount of scripts that had dominated pre-modern usages of the written word [4, p. 9]. The first indigenous newspaper in Central Asia was the official *Turkistan WilayatiningGazeti*[3, p. 245]. According to Khalid, the paper was aimed at local bureaucrats of the regime, and it sought to keep them abreast of the procedures of the government. Although, Khalid cites archival sources regarding the emer-

gence of the first official vernacular newspaper in Central Asia, he does not discuss the purpose of that newspaper. However, Kydyraliyev [2, p. 55] contends that the newspaper *Turkistan Wilayati* was initially established by the Soviet regime at the proposal of Von Kaufmann to Russify and convert Central Asian Muslims into Christians. This is supported by Bennigsen and Lemerrier-Quelquejay [5, p. 79], who note that despite the main role played by Muslims in its publishing, it [TWG] was conventional, and very antagonistic to all expressions of Jadids. As Russians edited this, it cannot be recognised as a genuine ‘Muslim’ newspaper; on closer review, the role of the newspaper appears to have been far more equivocal [2, p. 45]. Despite its continuous operation of publishing from 1870 till 1917, totalling 47 ceaseless years, it was unable to attract many subscribers. While Turkic-language newspapers from the Ottoman Empire entered Central Asia, it was not until after the 1905 revolution that private provincial newspapers were permitted to be published locally [6, p. 185]. When press became possible, the Jadids embraced this new approach, seeking to use newspapers as a tool for spreading information and advocating reform. In 1914, Behbudi described newspapers to the public in order to familiarise them with their purpose, explaining that as newspapers discuss matters of society – and often condemning it – they take on the role of a ‘spiritual leader’. Thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century, a Muslim periodical press and a national independent press emerged in the region [6, p. 187]. Owing to high illiteracy among the native people, authors, readers and the distributors of this periodical were the Jadids themselves [7, p. 51]. Despite their press being short-lived, it was extremely influential in countering the conservative elite. For instance, Khalid [3, p. 260] argues that Jadidism as a reformist movement would have been implausible without the printing press, for the printed word enabled the Jadids to protest the moral monopoly of the conservative cultural elite, the *ulema*. As an illustration, Numandjon [6, p. 188] provides evidence in his research that the *Tarakki* newspaper sometimes sharply criticised the government and *ulema* for misusing the collected taxes from ordinary citizens, using them not for the needs of the people but to oppress the masses. This led to the paper being branded a ‘rebel newspaper’, and after the twentieth issue was published on nineteenth August 1906, it was shut down at the request of Tashkent’s conservative clerics. This evidence regarding the criticism of the government and traditional clerics, and the shutting down of the press, indicates that the Soviet government and traditional clerics were fearful of the press activities of the Jadid networks. This is because the newspaper enlightened the indigenous people about the government’s backward system of administration and its oppressive character, with which the Islamic clerics had a tight cooperation and kept abreast of the updates of events. While Numandjon [6, p. 190] claims that the success of this newspaper was due to the substantial contribution of Jadids such as Munavvar-Kara Abdurashidkhanov, ShokirMukhtori, and IsmoilAliyev, and was designed to awaken nationalism, Bennigsen and Lemerrier-Quelquejay [5, p. 85], French experts on the Muslim press of the early twentieth century, argue that the

Tarakki newspaper was prepared by one Tatar and several Russian socialists and this newspaper belonged to socialists. However, the issue of the newspaper denouncing the unworthy clerics by saying “It’s time to free yourself from these germs in turbans!” suggests that the newspaper did belong to Jadids rather than to the Soviet regime. One can easily see from the provided example that the “germs in turbans” that *Tarakki* was referring to were the conservative *ulema*, whom the Jadids criticised for causing the degradation of Muslim society. However, the spread of the written word in the form of print began a significant shift in the way knowledge was perceived and acquired, as well as its role in society. Khalid [3, p. 189] posits that the typical functions of writing were clouded by the previously reverential and sacramental uses of it. Moreover, traditionally in Islamic teaching, the ability of the written word to impart the actual intended meaning of the writer has been in doubt. Understanding of the written word was generally thought to be achieved only by personal contact with a master, someone in authority who could explain the text in more detail; this typically took place in a *madrasa* [8, p. 101]. This also served to reinforce the idea of the academic elite being at the top of the cultural and social hierarchy. The printing revolution led to the written word becoming available to everyone and thus the intermediary role of academics became somewhat obsolete, resulting in two related outcomes: firstly, the Jadids were able to use print to question the authority of those who were typically traditionally educated on matters of scholarly discourse. The Jadids also wanted social order to be completely reconsidered; when Behbudi [9, p. 201] asserted that newspapers became ‘spiritual leaders’ of society or that the theatre became a ‘house of admonition’ (*ibratkhona*) in which society could scrutinise its illnesses, he was directly challenging the monopoly of the conventional cultural establishment. The knowledge of the traditional masters was not able to meet the requirements of that time to cure the ills of society. The press reconsidered the borders of the public space within which debate was organised. The formation of a print-based community resulted in a new cultural politic to emerge in Central Asia. Alternatively, the writing itself reached the point of desacralisation due to the ubiquity of print. This ubiquity, meshed with the dissemination of functional literacy, seemed to shift the focus towards the text and away from the master – and everyone who could read knew the secret. The functional uses of writing were made much more obvious with the increasing use of printing and newspapers. According to Fitrat [10, p. 11], the Jadids were disparaging of the medieval commentaries used in the *madrasa* and they sought to go back to the scriptural sources of Islam, and these ideas were built into the new approach to writing. However, these ideas appeared to be in direct opposition to the *ulema’s* authority. Printing now enabled the Jadids to change the way society dealt with cultural dispute and allowed the movement to initiate cultural reform in ways that the older, traditional elite had no control over. Following *Tarakki*, a newspaper called *Khurshed* (The Sun), whose editor and publisher was the renowned Jadid and reformist figure of Tashkent Munavvar-Kara Abdurashidkhanov, and whose secretaries were Abdusal

and Utaba preached the idea of unity among Muslims. In the leading programmatic article, in particular, it was said that the newspaper pursued the goal of proving incorrect the assertion that there was no unity among Muslims. Apart from this, the newspaper paid a lot of attention to school reforms, everyday traditions, and acted as an exposé of drunkenness and unjustified expenses on rituals. However, animosity from the *ulema* and the Soviet regime towards the Jadids meant that their usage of print declined significantly. The Soviets imposed restrictions and censorship on books and newspapers, while the *ulema* opposed every single new *bidat* that the Jadids proposed. For instance, the *ulema* were incensed when an article was printed in the *Taraqqi* newspaper in Tashkent that denounced the traditional *maktab*; the upshot of this was that the *ulema* asked the city administrator to shut the paper down Utaba. This was by no means an isolated event, and the increasing interference from the Soviet government in the affairs of the newspapers meant that the press's influence was significantly curbed. Despite the short-term existence of the Jadid press, it still contributed to the overall development of Turkestan society. The Jadids, through newspapers and magazines published at their own expense, expressed their thoughts, ideas, and worldview, awakened the national-patriotic spirit of the people, promoted new-method schools, advocated secular life, and condemned the backwardness of the peoples of the region.

The Press and the Rise of Nationalism

One of the important roles in shaping nationalism among the Central Asian people belongs to the Jadids as the nation (*millat*) was the focus of Jadid reform. With regards to the question of national identity among Central Asians, Khalid [3, p. 201] claims that Central Asians did not have any specific type of identity, excluding the religious, until 1917. This is supported by the eminent Russian orientalist Bartold [11, p. 1935] who noted in 1926: "The settled peoples of central Asia are in the first place Muslims and think of themselves only secondarily as living in a particular town or district; to them the idea of belonging to a particular stock is of no significance." This suggests that the indigenous population of Central Asia were Muslims and were not aware of what was happening around them and the world, meaning that national identity or nationality were not perceived due to the high level of illiteracy and the lack of press that would enable communication. However, Bennigsen and Lemerrier-Quellejay [5, p. 90], whose work has been immensely important, assert that the national movement was instigated in Central Asia, after the defeat of Russia by Japan in 1905, suggesting that the Jadids probably set in motion the beginnings of national identity and nationalist sentiments among the native people through the press. Press and printing off not only facilitated this communication, but also allowed ordinary people recognise their identity through the means of textbooks and newspapers which were written and printed by Jadids. For example, according to Sarsembayev [12, p. 340], the Kazak-language

journal *Qazaq*, founded in 1912 by a group of Kazakh intellectuals, presented discussion on the promotion of education and national sentiments. Moreover, numerous students, young people, and intelligentsia took part in a campaign to promote the cultural and national ambitions of the population. This indicates that the print culture helped develop a culture of discourse among people where ideas of social and cultural reform could be disseminated in an effective way. For example, Anderson [4, p. 45] highlights how novel methods of communication, coupled with new power systems, helps to drive fresh ways to imagine communities. Print, the statistics, and the globe allowed the Jadids to enable the indigenous people of Central Asia to observe themselves as inhabitants of a modern, interrelated world, and the integration of a Turkish community within the Muslim world. For instance, maps and images related to the Ottoman Empire began appearing on postcards, globes and atlases which, for the first time, led to the Muslim *umma* being perceived as a geopolitical object. A geography textbook by Munawwar Qari [13] gave explanations about each of the main countries around the world, as well as presenting a census that gave the number of Muslim people in those countries. This abovementioned account seems to indicate that the Jadids, seeing their nation so deeply asleep and unaware of culture and civilization, realised that they needed to be awoken gradually – initially through education, by introducing them to secular subjects such as history, mathematics, and geography so that they could imagine and understand when discussing other culturally developed countries. Therefore, the printing press that played such a major role in inculcating national identity and paved the way for recognising and understanding other countries by looking at them comparatively. In this sense, Anderson [4, p. 47] points to the significance of ‘print capitalism’ in forming a sense of collective community in the nineteenth century that facilitated the growth of nationalism in many parts of the world. Thus, it can be assumed that print culture possibly helped to increase nationalist sentiments and loyalties in Central Asia in the following ways. Numerous vernacular newspapers that started to be published in Central Asia held nationalist feelings, and the reporting of colonial misrule encouraged nationalist activities by assisting in the dissemination of the message of nationalism to the majority of the native Muslim population. For example, the gathering in the congresses of Muslim representatives who held the same views and ideologies about the creation of an autonomous state suggests that print culture played an indispensable role in delivering nationalistic sentiments and raising the cultural level and patriotism among the indigenous population in the early twentieth century. In the same vein, Gellner [3, p. 122] claims nationalism and national identity is established when the high culture among the masses is attained. High culture, he argues, can be achieved only through knowledge. His analysis suggests that national identity is achieved when the people are aware and consciously recognise their identity. Therefore, it could be concluded that in order to raise awareness of national identity and allegiance, Jadids exerted a significant amount of effort in awakening nationalism among the

populace through the national press, which proved highly efficient in disseminating the information rapidly. According to the assertion of Khalid [3, p. 129], the Jadids intended to establish or prepare an elite group of people consisting of intelligent and at the same time true Muslims who would lead the nation. Jadids wanted to build a different Muslim community that retained the Islamic religion along with national identity as well. As print capitalism is crucial, according to Anderson [4, p. 139], the press seems to have played a key role in raising the national consciousness among the Central Asian indigenous population. For example, since 1905 when Soviet authorities allowed the publication of newspapers and books, it helped the integration of Central Asian Muslim communities as an ‘imagined community’, allowing native populations throughout the Russian Empire to read the same articles and views of Jadid enlighteners and to disseminate and share this information. Therefore, Anderson’s theory and his model worked in the formation of national identity in Central Asian states. Print capitalism in the sense of investment in materials, communication technology in the sense of printed word and limitations in terms of language variety, as most people had no command of Russian. With the help of vernacular languages, through the press, people with low literacy were able to become aware of the politics and activities of the Soviet state. Thus, the connection between educated and less educated was realised via the press. However, this caused disturbances among the Soviet regime and they took immediate measures to intervene into press affairs. For example, Khalid [14, p. 5] states that the government maintained strict control over vernacular newspapers. Prior to 1917, there were nine newspapers in print in Turkistan and all of them closed within just a few months of beginning operations. The poetry books of Abdulhamid Sulayman Yunus Cholpan (1897-1938), Uyganiş (The Awakening), and *Bilim Ochagi* magazine, which were part of the output of the Turkistan Joint State Publishing House, caused political disturbances. The patriotic tone and nationalistic slant of publications quickly attracted Party criticism and prompted the Soviet authorities to establish presses and editorial boards in Moscow, such as the Central Oriental Publishing House. Despite their success in raising awareness among Central Asians, the Soviet administration [15, p. 150] viewed nationalism negatively, especially in the Central Asian region, and after 1925, Soviet officials became suspicious of the local nationality editorial board and began monitoring their publishing activities. According to Allworth [7, p. 42], Central Asian publishers did not show an allegiance to the policy of the Soviet party where the Russian Marxist doctrine was emphasised, and therefore the Soviet administration took measures to make them turn away from endeavours to request Central Asians with notions of national independence for their commitment to the new regime. The organised pressure on the national press resulted in the replacement of some editors by new publishers in Central Asia’s press network, and these new staff members carried out a decisive struggle against the national press and nationalistic ideology. Thus, the dispute over the thought-control between the Soviet regime and local press began to erupt,

battling for nationalistic ideology. While the Soviets claimed one Soviet nation ideology based on the concept of Marxism, the local publishers claimed the nationalistic ideology pertinent to their beliefs and ethos. The Soviet regime, therefore, nervously intensified their siege on the indigenous press in a struggle against them, as Soviet Union aspired to conquer and control Central Asian publishing activities and restrain the nationalism of the native elites.

The National Political Movement for Liberation and Independence

Notwithstanding the contribution of the Jadids to cultural education and publishing development, they also took part in the construction and propagation of secular nationalism by turning to politics, particularly after the Revolution in 1905, when publication of newspapers and journals was permitted by the Soviet administration. Although the Jadids' objective was to modernise schools with the new method by adhering to Islam, the achievement of national liberation from the Soviet state was an aspiration as well. For example, MunawwarQary, a leading Jadid of Central Asia, asserted that "the conviction of reform is not limited to a resurgence of spiritual life, but to acquire national freedom". The revival of the nation [16, p. 1196] was also an aim, in which the new way of reasoning was used in conjunction with the previous spiritual life and a deep national consciousness ought to reign, suggesting that, being under Soviet authority, not only did the Central Asian population lose their freedom, but also their cultural identity [17, p. 155]. This suggests that the Jadid movement or cohort of intellectuals seem to have been formed in resistance to the Soviet regime that had seized the Central Asian land and thus impacting on the cultural life of the indigenous people. For example, the Russification of the people and amalgamation into one Soviet nation Khalid [14, p. 5] indicates that this Soviet policy pushed the educated and intelligent groups of people to unite and organise the institution so that educating the illiterate native population through new-method schooling [18, p. 3] would gradually shift to a national awakening movement and, eventually, liberation. Elaborating further, Khalid [19, p. 154] provides evidence that the cultural reform movement of Jadidism was the sole precursor to a secular political movement that Jadidism eventually had to become. Thus, cultural reform movement of Jadidism seem to suggest that the eminent Jadids such as Kursavi, Marjani, and Donish were forced into service as precursors to a great national movement whose life work has been a stepping stone to a higher aim, for which they provided the preconditions for the later movement. Thus, the Jadid movement, represented by the writings and opinions of Ismail Bey Gasprinskii, Abdul Rauf Fitrat, and Mirsaid Sultan-Galiev, looked to find leadership in a range of parties so that they would be in a better position to disseminate their views [20, p. 112]. Several of their newspapers were read widely and held considerable influence, including *Qazaq*, *Vakht*, and *Kenegash*. As a direct result of this increased political awareness among the Muslim

population, people began demanding independence and there were increased attempts to politically cooperate with others. In 1905, the Jadids convened a Pan-Islamic assembly, headed by Abdur Rashid Ibrahimov, and founded the 'Alliance of Muslims' [21, p. 47]. This historical evidence indicates that the Jadid movement was an anti-colonial organisation that was formed to achieve independence from the Soviet state as an oppressive policy, pursued by the colonial government, and encountered strong oppositional movement of the Jadids of Turkestan in the intellectual and cultural manner. For the first time, fully educated Turkic intellectuals, merchants, and clergymen questioned the legality of the Soviet regime. Behbudi used this to mobilise people to achieve freedom, and his actions – across many disparate political and social dimensions – resulted in him becoming a true 'father' of the Jadid movement in Turkestan. Behbudi, according to Khalid [3, p. 289], associated the progress of the people with education, with a fundamental change in its political system and achievement of independence. Behbudi, in several articles, criticises the colonial policy of the tsarist government and its rulings. Bazarbayev [17, p. 230] maintains that independence would not be possible without contest, suggesting that freedom or independence must be achieved and it is historically known that any nations, in order to become independent, had to struggle and that liberty is achieved through unity. Behbudi [22, p. 7] states that "Muslims, especially Central Asian Muslims, do not want anyone or anything to constrain or exert pressure on their religion and nation, and do not have any intention to threaten someone's independence". In this regard, he buttresses the idea of Munawwar Qari: "Freedom is not granted, it must be achieved" [13, p. 9]. However, it should be noted that he does support the idea of Munawwar Qari in the sense that freedom can be achieved without blood and sacrifice. Behbudi, akin to many Jadids, wanted bloodless battle against colonialism, and thus he was against the revolution. He believed that autonomy could be achieved by following the rules of the State Duma. Despite him being a supporter of the movement for autonomy, he wanted to attain autonomy in a peaceful manner through negotiation not violating the rules and shedding blood. The divergence of views within the movement paved the way for the emergence of two groups within the Jadids: namely, the nationalists and the pro-revolutionists [23, p. 113]. While nationalists were willing to pursue the enlightenment of Central Asian society without the support of Soviet authorities and wanted complete freedom from Soviet authority, pro-revolutionaries wanted the Soviet patronage – in other words, they wanted to be under the Soviet state, meanwhile attaining autonomy in cultural, educational, and financial domains [23, p. 230]. On the dispute over the state structure system, Behbudi [9, p. 202] suggested that Turkestan should take a special place in the structure of federal Russia and the majority of the members of the Duma should be Muslims and least be Russians. These notions were strengthened by the 'Project of Autonomy' document, which was accepted by the Turkic Federalists in July of 1917. This document contained information that the Jadids, who enthusiastically supported the ideas of the All-Rus-

sian Muslim movement, underscored the autonomous self-dependency in the federal state structure of Russia meaning that the Russian Muslim federation had to be created without cutting off connections with Russia. By supporting the assertion of Kydyraliyev, Khalid [3, p. 287] maintains that the archived evidence regarding Muslims joining the Party is still impossible to determine to some extent; yet, he asserts that the evidence indicates that a growing number of Jadids were recruited into the party implying that the Jadids to some extent were successful in achieving their aim at attaining independence not through war or revolution, but through peaceful means by joining the Soviet party and acting on behalf of the Muslim people from there. Thus, Jadids rapidly changed themselves into Muslim Communists and again claimed to speak on behalf of the Muslims of Turkestan. Although the majority of Muslims who signed up to the Party during or after 1917 were not previously Jadids as such, a considerable increase in numbers of Muslims entering political life was witnessed during the revolution, thus extending the base of the politically active elite in Central Asia. Although the pro-revolution Jadids who supported the Soviet policy were recruited to the Communist Party, their increase in numbers and influence in the administration made the Soviet authorities uneasy. For example, Khalid [3, p. 289] claims that the political activity of the Muslim Board in Turkestan was so powerful that the Bolsheviks, who came to reign, had to obey it. With regards to the function of Jadids within the Communist Party, Sabol [24, p. 229] claims that despite the fact that many Jadids joined the Communist party they remained patriotic and loyal to their own nations and still claimed national autonomy. As an example, he states that Sultan Galiyev, a leading Jadid, had called for the formation of a Soviet Turkic Republic. He goes on to explain that what the Soviet authorities could not understand was that the allegiance and loyalty to Marxism was secondary only to his commitment to nationalist objectives. This probably made Stalin accuse Sultan-Galiyev of conspiring with Muslim Turkish nationalists to establish a Pan-Turanian Eastern International. The Soviet suspicion of Pan-Turkism might have had some truth behind it; this is because many Jadids kept close contact with the Ottoman authorities in Transcaucasia and in Istanbul, as well entertaining the hope of attracting military interference [25, p. 32]. This assumption makes one consider that the Jadids' aim could possibly have been to establish a government based on the notion of Pan-Turkism. This is backed by Saud [26, p. 36]., who states that Osman Khoja made secret negotiations with Enver Pasha that led to a treaty between them, entailing the cooperation of Pasha and Khoja against the Red Army. The threat of a nationalist movement possibly prompted the Soviet regime to decide to expeditiously delimitate Central Asia in 1925. Being faced with this potential internal danger, the Soviet authority seemed to accelerate the delimitation and under the 'divide and rule' policy the Soviet authority possibly primarily aimed at preventing a Turkic federation of the Central Asian peoples. This is supported by Bazarbayev et. al. [27, p. 87] who claim that regarding the autonomy of Central Asian states, divergent opinions appeared between the

members of the same community and were demonstrated in the press. While some of them upheld the idea of Turkic unity, or Pan-Turkism, others, although not explicitly contradicting this idea, chose to resolve the issue of their national identities first. Thus, Pan-Turkism was put in contrast to Tatarism (*tatarchiliq*), Kazakhism (*Qazaqchilik*) and Pan-Islamism. The dream of Mustafa Chokayev – that is, ‘a people of one soul, one tongue, one body’ – was not accepted either by the Soviet regime or by the majority of others in Central Asia as they were afraid of domination by the Tartars, even though Chokayev was himself a Kazakh. He felt that the separation of the region into tribal states aimed only to hinder Pan-Turanism. This historical evidence suggests that the disunity among the Central Asian Muslims was planned to prevent the formation of a Muslim Federation based upon the idea of Pan-Turanism or Turkism. Once the Soviet administration strengthened their power in Central Asia, it began persecuting the Jadids and cleansing them from the administration by accusing them of being nationalists. This is because, according to Khalid [3, p. 312], the Soviet authority perceived the Jadids as a potential threat to their administration and policy in the region, therefore they made the decision to eliminate them on the grounds that Jadids might have demanded sovereignty for Central Asia. Due to internal separation and the treacherous Soviet policy the Jadid movement was weakened which led to the decline of the Jadids. Almost all of the Jadid leaders met with violent deaths except Ayni, who died in his bed. For example, in 1919 Behbudi was captured in the Bukhara and brutally murdered by the Emir of Bukhara with the help of Bolshevik agents. Even some leading representatives of Pan-Turkism, such as Ahmed Agaoglu (1869-1939), Ali Husainzade (1864-1941), and Yusuf Akchura (1879-1935), had to flee to Turkey. The other leading Jadids, Ubaidullah Khodjayev, Saidnasyr Mirdjalilov, and Munawwar Qari, became subject to repression in 1923 and during the latter part of 1929, Munawwar Qari became a leader of the counterrevolutionary campaign. Qari was shot and killed in 1930, and was buried secretly at a cemetery in Vaganovkoye with other senior Jadids such as Said Ahrori and Salimkhan Tillykhanov from Uzbekistan, and Abdurahman Baydildin and Zhusubek Aymautov from Kazakhstan. Almost every famous and respected writer and scientist from Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan was shot in 1937, including Gazi Alim Yunusov, Abdurauf Fitrat, Bulat Saliev, and Abdullah Qadiri, along with the Kazakh and Uzbek leaders Turar Ryskulov, Faizullo Khodjaev and Alikhon Buklikhanov on suspicion of working for foreign intelligence, being Pan-Turkists, being fervent nationalists, and resisting the Soviet regime. According to some estimate, thousands of intellectuals were purged suggesting that the Jadid movement was a coherently structured movement of which the Soviet regime was fearful. Thus, almost all the Jadids were murdered and between the executions and the 1980s, it was forbidden to study Jadidism and the names of representatives of the Jadid movement, such as Behbudi, Fitrat, and Munawwar, were not to be mentioned for fear of being labelled an enemy of the nation or a nationalist. The sociocultural and political areas of Central Asia in the

first quarter of the twentieth century have since seen substantial improvement and progress. If the Jadids had not initiated the enlightenment of society through new-method education, press, and political activity, the totalitarian Soviet authority would not have emphasised the national interests of the indigenous people and eventually, the contemporary independent states of Central Asia such as Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan would have turned out entirely differently. Thanks in part to their courageous contributions and vigorous efforts, the Central Asian states have achieved independence today.

Conclusion

The research has proposed that the rise of nationalism and the awakening of the national sentiment inculcated by Jadids would not have been possible without the printing press [3, p. 289]. As the Jadids were renowned for their ability to publish newspapers and print publications, the research has displayed that printing press was of tremendous help in facilitating the implementation of the Jadids strategy by disseminating the information and imparting knowledge, educate the indigenous people, consequently, raise the awareness of the national identity among the Central Asian Muslims. Therefore, the printing of books and newspapers was an important branch of the Jadids' activity. This personified a sharp contrast to the situation before the conquest of Russia, when the production and transmission of knowledge in Central Asia existed among scribes, mostly orally. While before the advent of printing, the knowledge was transmitted through personal communication between people and the possession of knowledge provided moral and cultural authority in society, which determined the status and prestige of a person, the advent of the printing press allowed the Jadids to determine the direction of cultural development in their society. Thus, innovations made it possible to provide an unprecedented flow of information, as a result of which the intelligentsia from Central Asia has been in closer contact with the outside world. As has been demonstrated in the research, at the turn of the twentieth century, Central Asians could read books and, increasingly, periodicals created in the Russian Empire, as well as imported from the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, while, in contrast to the ten-year madrasah study, which was given to the cultural elite, access to the new public space required only basic literacy, in the new public, the older cultural elite was increasingly marginalized. This rapid flow of information, combined with new means of communication, led to major changes in the worldview of the intelligentsia of Central Asia. It has been clearly demonstrated that Jadids played a central role in awakening the national sentiment of Central Asian Muslims, and thus they have been represented as those who enabled the establishment of national identities in Central Asia. Indeed, the notion of a Turkestani Muslim nation was a well-known matter among the Central Asian Muslims and in this regard the Jadids have contributed substantially to the establishment of the Muslim national identity.

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Жәдидшілердің Орта Азия халықтарының ұлттық санасын оятудағы рөлі

Аңдатпа. Бұл мақалада ағартушылық үдерісінде бетбұрыс орын алған жәдидшілердің ұлттық баспасөз қызметі қарастырылып, Орталық Азия халықтарының ұлттық санасын арттырудағы баспа мәдениеті мен баспасөздің рөлі талданады. Сонымен қатар жәдидшіліктің саяси қозғалысы зерттеліп, жәдидшілік тек мәдени-саяси қозғалыс ретінде ғана емес, сонымен бірге кеңестік билікке қарсы тұрған діни-мәдени және отаршылдыққа қарсы қозғалыс ретінде қалыптастасуы туралы тұжырым жасалады. Бұл зерттеуде жәдидшілер халықты ағартушылық, реформалау және ұлттық баспасөз арқылы оятпағанда, тәуелсіздік пен ұлттық бірегейлікке қол жеткізе алмас еді деген көзқарастарына негіздемелер жасалады. Бұл жұмыста жәдидшілік кеңестік режимге қарсы реакциялық қозғалыс ретінде пайда болғандығы, тәуелсіздікке білім мен ұлттық сана арқылы жетуге болатындығы тілге тиек етіледі. Зерттеу барысында жәдидшілердің баспасөз қызметі және саяси-азаттық қозғалыс арқылы халықты ағартудағы елеулі қызметтері зерделенеді.

Түйін сөздер: жәдидшілік, баспасөз, ұлтшылдық, полиграфия, тәуелсіздік, ислам, мұсылман

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Роль джадидов в пробуждении национального сознания народов Центральной Азии

Аннотация. В статье исследуется деятельность джадидов в национальной прессе, ставшая поворотным моментом в процессе просвещения. Затем анализируется роль полиграфической культуры и прессы в повышении национального самосознания народов Центральной Азии. Кроме того исследуется политическое движение джадидизма и делается вывод, что джадидизм сформировался не только как культурное и политическое движение, но и как религиозно-культурное и антиколониальное движение, противостоящее советскому режиму. Это исследование утверждает, что, если бы джадиды не пробудили массы людей посредством просвещения, реформ и национальной прессы, независимость или национальная идентичность не были бы достигнуты. Этот тезис утверждает, что джадидизм возник как реакционное движение против советской эксплуатации, свободы от которой, по мнению джадидов, можно было достичь с помощью образования и национального самосознания. На протяжении всего исследования будут продемонстрированы значительные усилия джадидов по просвещению людей посредством деятельности в прессе и политического освободительного движения.

Ключевые слова: джадидизм, пресса, национализм, печать, независимость, ислам, мұсылман.