



**THE JADID ENLIGHTENERS' MOVEMENT TOWARD  
RENEWAL IN THE SYSTEM OF CULTURE AND  
EDUCATION** *(The emergence of the enlighteners' movement and its ideas for  
renewing the sphere of education and upbringing)*

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Xo‘jaev, the manifestos of the Young Bukharans and Young Khivans, and the congresses of 1917. It concludes that, although the Jadids were ultimately defeated, they played a decisive role in the national-liberation and statehood aspirations of the peoples of Turkestan.

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## INTRODUCTION

The enlighteners of Turkestan held distinctive views on the social and economic development of the region and of society. As earlier published articles have noted, the progressives of Central Asia were, throughout their activity, well aware of the social life, way of life, occupations and conditions of the people. They recognised that the condition of the people was growing harder year by year, and that practitioners of various trades, not being skilled masters of their fields, were bringing no benefit to the future of the nation. In their view, without securing the country’s economic independence it was impossible to attain political and legal freedom. To this end they considered it necessary, first of all, to declare the land, its subsoil and surface riches and its water the common wealth of the peoples of Turkestan, to train local cadres capable of developing every sphere, and to build factories and produce goods within the region itself. Such proponents of renewal as Munavvar Qori Abdurashidxonov and Mahmudxo‘ja Behbudiy held that political and legal freedom could not be achieved without first securing economic independence (Qosimov, 2002:33-42; Karimov, 1999:36-38).

The Jadids advanced the idea of sending many young people to study in developed foreign countries, including Germany, so that, having received an education there, they would serve their homeland and nation. Through their efforts, funds were collected from the local population to cover the costs of educating the young abroad. They published many articles – received with great interest – devoted to a comparative analysis of the development of trade, industry and agriculture in the region and abroad, in newspapers such as *Oyina* and *Sadoyi Turkiston*.

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the national awakening that arose in the minds of the most progressive-minded intellectuals of

Turkestan manifested itself first of all in the spheres of education and enlightenment. The Jadids, the first heralds of the new enlightenment, through their wide-ranging practical activity began to create the ground for their ideas to take firm root in the life of society and, ultimately, to grow into struggles for national liberation and political independence. This period was a new stage in the development of socio-political thought in Turkestan; so many changes occurred in the cultural and enlightenment life of the local people that it may, without any exaggeration, be compared only to a Renaissance – an awakening (Rizaev, 1999:118).

## **MAIN PART**

It is known from history that the movements to renew Muslim societies which began in Turkestan, the Ottoman Empire and Russia profoundly influenced not only the local population but also the young and the reform-minded in Iran, Afghanistan and the Arab world. The aspirations of the reform-minded representatives of Central Asia may be expressed in the words of the famous Turkish intellectual and enlightener Ziya Gökalp: “To Europeanise is to make modern weapons and aircraft as they do, to know how to use them, and to open universities and produce scholars – it is not to imitate them in form and way of life.” At the foundation of cultural-educational reform, of course, stand the school and educational affairs. In those years dozens of “usul-i jadid” schools were opened in Tashkent, Samarkand, Bukhara and the cities of the Fergana Valley. Their organisers were, together with the Tatar enlighteners, such eminent local intellectuals as Mahmudxo‘ja Behbudiy (1875–1919), Abduqodir Shakuriy (1875–1944), Siddiqiy Ajziy, Munavvar Qori Abdurashidxonov (1878–1931), Abdulla Avloniy, Ashurali Zohiriy, Abdurauf Fitrat (1886–1938), Sadriddin Ayniy (1878–1954), Fayzulla Xo‘jaev (1896–1938), Abdulvohid Burhonov (Munzim) (1875–1932), Abduvahob Ibodiy and Saidrizo Alizoda (Ahat Andijan, 2003:24-33; Rizaev, 1999:118-119).

The Russian publicists and historians who took direct part in organising public education in Turkestan after its incorporation into the tsarist administration noted that, despite the large number of popular schools in the region, the level and quality of the people’s literacy did not meet requirements. D. M. Gramenitsky, for instance, expressed his astonishment: “In the conditions of the region, alongside the large number of primary schools, one is struck by the scarcity of educated people.” N. S.

Kulchanov assessed the situation thus: “Despite the large number of primary Muslim schools in rural areas outside the towns, this has no relation to the quality of literacy.” V. P. Nalivkin, a specialist in organising public education and one of the tsarist officials in Turkestan, characterised the situation: “...despite the excessive number of schools, we encounter the utterly illiterate among the population.” The Russian observer M. N. Virsky reported on the state of local schools in the districts of the region that, although there were 32 schools in one district, the district administrator could read but not write, the rest of the district staff were illiterate, and only 11 literate persons could be found in the whole district to explain agricultural matters to the population. V. L. Vyatkin likewise described it: “Primary schools, however small, exist in every village. Despite so many people studying, astonishingly there are no literate ones” (Bendrikov, 1961:45).

In one of the first issues of the newspaper *Sadoyi Turkiston*, Cho‘lpon’s poem “To our Turkestani brethren” was published, in which the condition of the education of the Turkestan people is portrayed thus:

“Our people are deprived of learning, enlightenment and craft;  
our people have fallen victim to the calamity of ignorance.  
If one person is a patriot, they call him a ‘godless one’;  
if one person reviles the nation, our people honour him.”

In the journal *al-Isloh* too, critical views of the existing state of public education were in accord with one another, the main attention being directed at reforming the people’s lack of enlightenment. In contributions on education and upbringing, wide attention was given to the condition of the maktab and madrasas, their failure to meet the demands of the age, the curricula, the financial situation, the level of teaching, and questions of linguistic and orthographic unity. From the examples cited above one may conclude that, by the second half of the nineteenth century, there was no correspondence in the public-education process of the Turkestan khanates between the number of schools and the quality of the education given there or the number of literate persons. For these reasons, the opening of Jadid schools was the very problem of that period (Pardaev, 2008:30).

Having set themselves a task of crucial importance for the fate of the peoples of Turkestan, the Jadids sent their delegates to the All-Russia Muslim Congress held in St Petersburg in January 1906 and established ties with other Muslim peoples living

under Russian rule and with their leading figures. The great organisational ability of Abduvohidqori Abduraufqoriev of Tashkent, the first deputy elected from Turkestan to the Russian State Duma, is especially noteworthy in this field; he later established the “Shuroi Islom” society together with Munavvar Qori Abdurashidxonov. The Russian secret police in Turkestan, alarmed that the Jadids were supported by the Uzbek trade and industrial class and were exerting a bad influence on the emerging generation, called for serious reckoning with the central Jadids. The national-liberation uprising of 1916 and the February Revolution of 1917 in Russia played a great role in the further broad upsurge of the Jadid movement in the region and in a sharp qualitative change in the Jadids’ activity: their struggle on the enlightenment-ideological front took on the character of a clearly expressed political struggle, and as a movement it rose to a new stage.

The Jadid movement in Bukhara arose in far harder socio-political conditions than in the Turkestan region. Its membership consisted mainly of the progressive part of the city population – intellectuals, madrasa students, small shopkeepers and administrators, craftsmen and merchants. The Jadids’ prestige among the peasants and soldiers was at first low. They came forward with a number of demands in the economic and administrative spheres, such as the reduction of taxes, and at first sought to introduce reforms within the framework of the emirate order. In 1900 the Vobkent peasant Jo‘raboy opened the first new-method school in Bukhara. The Jadid movement in Bukhara was opposed by the current of the “qadimiy” (old-method) – certain ignorant mullahs, enemies of any innovation and reform. According to Sadriddin Ayniy, at the beginning of the twentieth century Bukharan society was divided into two groups: the progressives led by Ikrom domla and the qadimiy led by Mulla Abdurazzoq. In 1908 the “Buxoroi sharif” company was formed and began to publish textbooks and engage in the book trade; Ahmadjon Hamdiy (Abusaidov), Usmon Xo‘ja, Hamidxo‘ja Mehriy, Abdulvohid Burhonov, Abdulqodir Muhitdinov, Sadriddin Ayniy and Abdurahmon Sa‘diy were its organisers. In December 1909 the Jadids formed the secret society “Tarbiyai atfol” (Upbringing of children) in Bukhara, founded by such famous Jadids as Abdulvohid Burhonov, Hamidxo‘ja Mehriy, Ahmadjon Hamdiy, Mukammil Burhonov and Xoji Rafe. This society sent young people of Bukhara and Turkestan to study in the Istanbul branch of the “Bukhara Educational Society.” From 1910 the Jadid movement in Bukhara took

on an organisational character, and on the basis of the “Tarbiyai atfol” secret society a party was formed.

An important place in the Bukharan Jadid movement was held by the progressive scholar, mufti and mudarris Ikrom domla (famous as “Ikromcha”). Having travelled in the countries of the Near and Middle East, in his treatise “The awakening of the sleepers and the alerting of the ignorant” (1910) he openly expressed sentiments of dissatisfaction with the emirate order in Bukhara. This treatise became very famous among the Bukharans, after which Ikrom domla was exiled from Bukhara and sent as qazi to the Peshku district (1912–1914).

At the gathering of scholars held in the city of Bukhara on 25–26 January 1914, the mufti Ikrom domla made known the programme he himself had prepared concerning permission to open new-method (Jadid) schools. The most influential scholars of Bukhara – the shaykh al-Islam, the a‘lam, the rais, the qazi-kalon, the akhund, the army mufti and others – took part in this assembly. By that time Ikrom domla had united around himself nearly a thousand madrasa students who favoured the restoration of new-method schools.

At this time, besides Fitrat, S. Ayniy, Usmon Xo‘ja and A. Burhonov, one of those who enjoyed great respect among the Bukharan Jadids was the famous physician, traveller and public figure Mirza Siroj, renowned for his work “A gift to the people of Bukhara,” in which he gives extensive information about his journeys to the continents of America, Europe and Asia. According to some sources, Mirza Siroj received higher education in Switzerland at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Russian secret police – the Turkestan District Security Department – gathered extensive information about the activity of the powerful group of Uzbek enlighteners operating in the Bukharan Emirate and Turkestan, fearing the Turkestan youth’s connection with Turkey and seeking means to eliminate the influence of the Young Turks. Of note in this respect is the memorandum of Mirza Ahmad qushbegi entitled “An outline of the ideas of the progressives’ society,” preserved in the okhrana funds, which stated, among other things, that the chief idea of the progressives’ society was to threaten with Young-Turk progress, that their plan was to give the people political and internal freedom, and that the youth who had mastered the Russian language and moved within Russian circles largely sympathised with them and closely assisted in spreading these ideas.

The number of students sent from Bukhara to study in Turkey gradually increased – 15 persons to Istanbul in 1911 and 20 in 1912 – the most prominent of them being Fitrat; but in connection with the strengthening of anti-Turkish sentiment in Russia, the students studying in Turkey and in Orenburg were recalled to Bukhara. Fayzulla Xo‘jaev assessed this situation with the words, “The Jadids’ former idealism no longer suited the circumstances” (Xotunog‘li, 2010:11-20).

Thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century the Jadids and other progressive forces in the Bukharan Emirate, approaching the situation critically, began to grasp deeply that the state’s internal administrative system did not meet the demands of the age, that the standard of living of the labouring people was extremely low, and that the political-administrative order had to be changed. On this ground, political parties and national organisations grew out of the Jadid movement.

The Jadid movement that formed in the Khivan Khanate at the beginning of the twentieth century arose in somewhat different historical conditions. Here it consisted mainly of two currents. Its right current united the owners of the developing trade and industrial enterprises in the khanate and the representatives of the large bays; this current was led by Islomxo‘ja, the chief minister of Khan Asfandiyorxon, and aimed to open a wide path for the development of free-market relations through socio-economic reforms while preserving the khan’s power. The other current of Jadidism in the Khivan Khanate united small capitalists, craftsmen and representatives of various strata of the people; its leader was the qazi-kalon Boboohun Salimov, and they aimed to raise the political activism of the masses through establishing new-method schools. In 1904 a “Charitable society” was formed, with whose support the first new-method school in the city of Khiva was opened on 10 November of that year. The Khivan Jadids also conducted an enlightenment struggle. Until the First World War the Khivan Jadids had no single centre or programmatic documents; nevertheless the movement became a great socio-political force in the khanate, and in August 1914 it took the form of a party. The movement united officials who favoured innovation, local bays and merchants, progressive Muslim clerics, madrasa mudarrises and students, and enlighteners – figures who came forward with reformist enlightenment ideas such as reforming the schools and madrasas, introducing secular sciences, simplifying literacy methods, teaching pupils more in their mother tongue and studying foreign languages. Among its figures were the chief minister Islomxo‘ja, the qazi-kalon Boboohun Salimov, the poet Avaz O‘tar,

the devonbegi Husaynbek Matmurodov, the merchant Polvonniyoz Hoji Yusupov, the industrialist bay Nazar Sholikorov, the printer-craftsman Otajon Abdalov, the first Uzbek cinematographer Xudoybergan Devonov and others, numbering more than forty. Every Thursday evening they held gatherings – sometimes in the qalandarxona, sometimes in the Qorako‘z mosque, and often in the home of Husaynbek Matmurod devonbegi’s son – where they sang songs, recited poetry and held conversations on freedom, justice, culture and reform; they were occupied not only with creating Jadid literature and art but also with establishing cultural and educational institutions – new-method schools, a hospital, a post-and-telegraph office – and with writing and publishing textbooks.

Together with giving instructions in 11 articles to the governors, Islomxo‘ja also worked out a programme of reforms in 10 articles, which consisted of the following:

1. Establishing monthly salaries for the khanate’s officials and servants according to their posts;
2. Regulating the collection of taxes from the peasants and dividing tax-collectors into three categories;
3. Regulating the zakat, customs duties, the kharaj and the like;
4. Regulating the taxes levied on the population for trade;
5. Regulating the irrigation of the land;
6. Building roads and iron bridges and organising a post-and-telegraph service;
7. Building hospitals in the cities, opening feldsher services in the villages and inviting medical personnel;
8. Centralising all waqf lands and spending their revenues on educational affairs;
9. Transferring all schools to the new method of teaching and making Russian, geography and history compulsory subjects in the school curricula;
10. Keeping the accounts of the khan’s treasury and maintaining ledgers of income and expenditure.

This programme soon began to be put into practice; but, as noted above, with the death of Islomxo‘ja the reform programme too came to a halt.

### **Toward political struggle: congresses and the National Centre**

In this period the Jadids appeared as a socio-political force, and the people sensed in them their defenders. Abduvohidqori Abduraufqoriev, elected from the Syr Darya province to the State Duma in St Petersburg, was entrusted with submitting to the Duma a petition in 12 articles from the population of Tashkent, Chimkent and other

places, in which many social demands were set out. On 20 February – 3 June 1907 in St Petersburg, A. Abduraufqoriev became acquainted with such Muslim intellectuals as Sadri Maqsudiy, Muso Jorulloh and Alimardon To'Ichiboshev, and conveyed the grievances of the Turkestan people to Biglov, chairman of the Muslim faction; but he was soon arrested and exiled to Tula.

The Jadid press, in publishing the views of its representatives, showed itself to be “the key of the nation’s consciousness, which always awakens the people from the sleep of heedlessness,” and was able to prepare the Turkestan people for free thinking and for a great political struggle. In this period associations such as “Erk,” “Turon” and the “Teachers’ Society” appeared. As the Jadids’ representatives said, their whole hope was directed at liberating the local population, in the course of the revolution in Russia, from national and religious restriction and oppression, equalising their rights with those of Europeans, and creating wide opportunity for varied school and press affairs and for organising diverse societies.

The Jadids worked in this period under the banner of “Freedom, equality and justice.” Their attitude to the 1916 labour-conscription (mardikorlik) affair is highly noteworthy. The conscription of Turkestanis for rear works in the theatres of the First World War was carried out in accordance with the tsar’s decree of 25 June 1916. This unexpected measure was, firstly, contrary to the treaty of 1865, and, secondly – according to General Kuropatkin’s conclusion – “the population and administration were utterly unprepared for works outside their place of residence, and such a hastily executed measure provoked grave disorders.” At such a calamitous time, prominent representatives of the Jadids – U. Asadullaxo‘jaev (chairman of the “Turkestan labour-conscription committee”) and the patriotic bay Mirkomilboy Mirmuminboev – set out for St Petersburg to draw the attention of Russian public opinion to this matter and to have the decree annulled. At the sessions of the State Duma on 13 and 15 December 1916 it was acknowledged that Nicholas II’s decree of 25 June 1916 had been adopted contrary to the provisions of the legislation of the Russian Empire. Before the decree was discussed in the Duma, in June–August several echelons of labour conscripts were stopped on the road through the Jadids’ action; the Jadids’ efforts to return the conscripts were fully realised with the beginning of the February Revolution of 1917. This raised their prestige among the people and showed that the Jadids had already passed from enlightenment to political struggle.

In short, at the beginning of the twentieth century the Jadids played an important role in the socio-political processes in Turkestan, with enlightenment questions occupying the central place in their attention. Analysing the life of the region, the Jadids understood that Turkestan was in essence a colony and that the administrative system of the Russian administration did not meet the national needs; these questions were posed especially sharply on the eve of the February Revolution. In those years the movement for new-style secular education, for strengthening the best sides of national identity and for introducing culture proceeded together with the ideas of struggle for political independence and democratic forms of governance that lay at the foundation of Jadidism.

In realising their idea of creating a developed society, the Jadids attached particular importance to the struggle against fanaticism, indifference and backwardness, relying on progressive, educated youth. In their works they cited historical examples reflecting the paths by which the states of Europe had attained development. Giving special attention to the importance of language study and of scientific-technical progress, and taking into account the distinctive features of Turkestan's past and present condition, they envisaged its future thus: a strong secular authority and the inviolability of private property. The state they wished to build was to be benevolent toward the free development of cultures of every direction while preserving respect for Islam. The Jadids dreamed of raising the people's cultural level to the international standard, considering for this that the youth must be educated in the best educational institutions of Europe; they understood very well that the future of the state lay in the hands of the youth.

At the same time, the participants in the events and processes of that period, who clearly grasped the impossibility of carrying out renewal without political change, became active in the political arena.

Under the influence of the events that took place in Petrograd at the beginning of 1917, a movement began in Turkestan to form the seeds of a new society. March–April 1917 became a turning point in the region's political awakening. The Turkestan Jadids, national intellectuals and leaders of the scholars – Mahmudxo'ja Behbudiy, Munavvar Qori, Ubaydullaxo'ja Asadullaxo'jaev, Abdurauf Fitrat, Fayzulla Xo'jaev, Sadriddin Ayniy, Usmon Xo'ja, Mustafo Cho'qay, Muhammadjon Tanishboev, Sherali Lapin, Ahmad Zaki Validiy, Obidjon Mahmudov and Polvonniyoz Hoji Yusupov – played an important role in the formation of the newly created societies and political parties: the

Young Bukharans (1910), the Young Khivans (1917), “Shuroi Islom” (March 1917), “Shuroi Ulamo” (June 1917), the “Turon” societies, the “Turkic Decentralist (Federalist) Party” (July 1917) and “Ittifoqi muslimin” (September 1917).

By 1917 Jadidism had already risen from an enlightenment movement to the level of a political movement. In 1917 alone, four All-Turkestan Muslim congresses were held. At the First Congress, held in Tashkent on 16–23 April 1917, the idea of establishing the Turkestan Autonomy within a democratic Russia was advanced – the first step of the peoples of Turkestan toward restoring their own national statehood (A‘zamxo‘jaev, 1999:152-174).

The idea of uniting the Turkic peoples took a firm place on the agenda. The question of uniting peoples of a single origin – Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Karakalpaks, Bashkirs, Tatars and Turkmens – and, on that basis, building a federative or autonomous state began to take shape. But, in Munavvar Qori’s words, many people did not understand the difference between a republic and an autonomy; in particular, the Turkestan representatives were not fully prepared to establish a republic in the true sense and to form its state structure. When the representatives of the Kazakh and Bashkir peoples – Mustafo Cho‘qay and Validiy – sensed that St Petersburg would never grant them either independence or autonomy, they came to Turkestan and began work together with the local Jadids.

On the initiative of “Shuroi Islom,” the First Congress of the Muslims was convened; its participants discussed, among a number of questions, the matter of the state status of the Turkestan region. At the First Congress it was resolved to establish the Council of the Muslims of the Turkestan Region (Kraymussovet) – the National Centre. Mustafo Cho‘qay was elected chairman of the National Centre, with Validiy and U. Asadullaxo‘jaev as his deputies. This, together with uniting the organisations, set the national-liberation movement on its course and centralised it organisationally.

At the meeting of the National Centre on 12 May 1917, a statute was adopted on the subordination of all societies and associations to the Central Council of Muslim Deputies. The Centre’s aim was to grant full rights to the lowest strata of the people – the labour conscripts and peasants – and to educate the Muslims of Turkestan culturally, scientifically, economically and ideologically. As a result of the impulse given by the First All-Russia Muslim Congress held in Moscow on 1–11 May 1917, the question of autonomy grew still more serious. At the congress of Muslim organisations held

in Fergana on 12–14 July 1917, programmatic questions were considered, and the programme and a statute in 22 articles of the “Turkic Decentralist (Federalist) Party” were adopted. At the congress of the Muslims of Turkestan and Kazakhstan held in Tashkent on 17–20 September 1917, it was agreed to form the “Ittifoqi muslimin” political party by uniting “Shuroi Islom,” “Shuroi Ulamo,” “Turon” and other political organisations.

As is known, the Jadid movement in the Turkestan region was many-sided, and one of its principal directions was Jadidism in Bukhara. As already noted, the Young Bukharans party grew out of the Bukharan Jadid movement. In the historical literature published in the Soviet period there was a mistaken view that the Young Bukharans party appeared at the beginning of 1917; the historian Q. Rajabov, relying on the works of Fayzulla Xo‘jaev and on archival documents, stresses that the process of its formation was complex.

The February Revolution of 1917 accelerated the regrouping of forces within the Young Bukharans. The Jadids who favoured gradual reform were led by Abdulvohid Burhonov, and the relatively small number of young Jadids who supported active reform were led by Fitrat. The Young Bukharans twice sent telegrams to the Provisional Government in Petrograd requesting democratic reforms in the emirate, and Fitrat and Usmon Xo‘ja were dispatched to Petrograd. The Young Bukharans put forward demands to open new-method schools, grant freedom to the press and form a people’s government. On 7 April 1917 the Bukharan Emir Said Olimxon, with certain amendments, proclaimed as a supreme decree the text of a manifesto drawn up by Miller and his assistant Shulga; the emir’s decree mentioned an assembly of influential persons, the establishment of a state treasury and the determination of the country’s budget, the opening of a printing house in the capital, the development of industry and trade, the regulation of taxes, the establishment of control over officials and the payment of salaries to them. The very next day after the decree was proclaimed, the left wing of the Young Bukharans led by Fitrat, Fayzulla Xo‘jaev and Usmon Xo‘ja organised a large demonstration in the city of Bukhara and held a meeting on the Registan.

On 14 April the emir annulled his decree. The Young Bukharans now passed to a path of secret struggle against the emir’s power. They were compelled to leave the city of Bukhara and settled in the city of New Bukhara (present-day Kogon). According to the “National Encyclopaedia of Uzbekistan,” in Kogon they were joined by the sons

of the major merchant Muhiddin Mansurov (Abduqodir, Amin and Isom), who had earlier left Bukhara, and by others. In the April 1917 events the right wing temporarily prevailed in the split within the Young Bukharans party. Later a group led by Ikrom domla, the Jadids connected with the scholars who favoured partial reforms, broke away from the Young Bukharans party; the large capitalists left the ranks of the Young Bukharans, and more of the urban poor joined it.

At that time, as the other major figure of this movement, S. Ayniy, testifies, they called their organisations “the young,” “the reformers,” “the progressives” and also “the Young Bukharans,” and some historians have shown this correctly in their works. As history shows, there was no turning back in the Jadid movement: beginning from enlightenment and cultural work in a narrow circle, it turned into a political movement and set itself the tasks of reconstructing society and its governance. Jadidism, for example, brought into being the “Muslim Union” in Tatarstan, “Shuroi Islomiya” and other parties in Tashkent, the “Young Bukharans” in Bukhara and the “Young Khivans” in Khiva. It would be a mistake to suppose that political demands began to be made only after these parties appeared. After the Jadid movement took on an organisational character from 1910, “the idea that occupied the principal place among the Jadids, as an unattained dream, was the development of capitalism and democracy on the European model in Bukhara,” and Fayzulla Xo‘jaev himself sympathised with these ideas (Baldauf, 2001:72-88).

The task of preparing the programme of the Young Bukharans party was entrusted to Fitrat by the Central Committee in November 1917. At the end of January 1918 Fitrat wrote the draft of this programme and submitted it to the Central Committee, which adopted it with slight changes and resolved to make it public; for this purpose the experienced worker Rahmat Rafiq, who knew publishing well, was sent to Samarkand.

Unfortunately, the programme prepared by Fitrat was made public only two years later, at the beginning of 1920, in the name of the Turkestan Bureau of the Young Bukharans. In the reform project prepared by Fitrat domla and adopted by the Central Committee – which Fayzulla Xo‘jaev in his book called “the reform project worked out by Fitrat and ratified by the Central Committee of the Young Bukharans” – great attention was given to the land-and-water question, and wide place was given to military matters, financial affairs, internal affairs and the organs of state governance. In the project all arable land was divided into three parts:

- 1) Waqf lands (lands belonging to the mosques and madrasas);
- 2) Lands exempt from tax (mulk-i hurr);
- 3) Taxable lands (mulk-i kharaj).

With the aim of compelling everyone to sow crops, it was envisaged to tax all cultivated and cultivable but uncultivated lands, while reducing the tax on “mulk-i kharaj” lands and abolishing the “kafsan,” the “uchkuna” fee (for various trees), the “steppe” fee (for pasture) and other surplus charges. The Young Bukharans party gave great attention to a national army, the project setting its strength at 12,000 men in accordance with the treaty concluded between the old Russian government and the Bukharan emir; military service was to be compulsory for all who reached the age of 22, the term of service being set at two years, with military schools to be opened and at least a small monthly salary paid to the soldiers. Serious reform was also to be carried out in finance: the emir’s funds were to be precisely fixed and allocated from the general state fund, and the state budget was to be announced yearly.

In the sphere of education, the programme reflected the opening of schools and higher educational institutions at the expense of the state, their provision with modern curricula, textbooks and teachers, and the opening of private schools in addition to state and waqf schools; it also clearly provided for the issuing of diplomas by the education ministry to those who completed the educational institutions. The reform embraced the state administrative system and questions of socio-economic and cultural-enlightenment life, reflected in the following 10 commissariats (nozirlik): land affairs, waqf, military affairs, internal affairs, finance, justice, militia, roads and industry, education, and foreign affairs. The council composed of these 10 commissariats was named the “Council of Commissars.”

In a word, the aim expected of the reform was to replace the emir’s absolute rule (monarchy) with a European-style constitutional monarchy, to develop education and culture, production and industry, and to advance science and technology. The greatest shortcoming of the project prepared by Fitrat, however, was that it did not openly demand a republic; Fayzulla Xo‘jaev later pointed to this as “our mistake of that time,” while at the same time being the first to stress that this reform project was an event of great significance that brought benefit in many respects.

In the spring of 1920 Fayzulla Xo‘jaev prepared a new programme of the Young Bukharans party, entitled “The programme of the Turkestan Bureau of the Revolutionary

Young Bukharans Party,” which was adopted at the conference of the Young Bukharans on 14 June 1920. The programme of the Turkestan Bureau begins after the slogan “Unite against oppression!” Its introductory part sets out the general condition of Bukhara and the main aims of the Young Bukharans, while its second part consists of the Young Bukharans’ practical proposals and their plans for reform and for administrative governance.

The programme demanded the overthrow of the emirate by force of arms and the proclamation of Bukhara as a People’s Democratic Republic. This demand itself was a great step forward in relation to the idea of a constitutional monarchy demanded in the project drawn up by Fitrat in 1918. According to the Young Bukharans’ new programme, after the revolution demanded it, power in Bukhara was to pass to a provisional government, which was to govern the country on a democratic basis; the programme states that “the principle of observing the interests of the middle and poor classes” was to be the fundamental principle and priority direction of governing the country.

The Young Bukharans demanded the introduction of universal free primary education, as well as the taking of practical measures to improve the condition of agriculture, small handicraft enterprises and internal and external trade. The Young Bukharans party took the words “Form a union against oppression!” as its militant slogan.

The programme recognised the sharia as the basis for determining the structure of society and state and for conducting judicial affairs; in the Young Bukharans’ view, “the sharia is the interpreter of justice and the protector of the poor.” This programme text is cited in Fayzulla Xo‘jaev’s work “Materials for the history of the Bukharan revolution.” Great attention was given in the programme to the national question, the relevant part of which reads:

1. The party recognises the labouring masses of every nation as equal in political rights and does not permit national and religious enmity to arise among them; with all its strength it strives to prevent quarrels and spectacles between nations and exerts every effort so that every citizen of the Bukharan People’s Republic shall be equal in rights with all and shall enjoy all granted rights equally.

2. The party renounces any cooperation with the European capitalists, but, for the liberation of the labouring people, conducts a struggle together with the European workers and peasants.

3. The party struggles with all its forces and by all means to be freed from the government of European imperialism.

4. The party opposes the oppression of one Eastern people by another and the coercion of the weak by the strong.

The Young Bukharans party proposed a programme very radical for the Jadids in the sphere of distributing the two foundations of Central Asian peasant farming – land and water. According to it, the lands of the emir and the beks, including all lands unjustly taken from the peasants, were to be confiscated and distributed to the labourers. The party also promised to issue laws on waqf lands, to ease taxes and even to grant interest-free credit from the government to poor peasants in order to develop peasant farming and improve the life of the poor peasants, and to pass a law on the distribution of lands at a congress of all the peasants of Bukhara. The carrying out of irrigation works at the government's expense to extend the irrigation network, and the issuing of a law on the distribution of water, were not forgotten in the programme either. The programme gave great attention to easing the condition of the workers alongside the peasants: the introduction of an eight-hour working day, the organisation of trade unions, the formation of cooperatives and the allocation of state credit to them were specially stressed.

The programme of the Young Bukharans party concluded with the following three articles on the judiciary:

Article 1: It demands that the courts be subject only to the law, that they be free, and that they be guarded against any interference or influence in their affairs by various outside persons.

Article 2: The courts issue their judgements and decisions in accordance with the laws ratified and published by the constituent assembly.

Article 3: The criminal courts are divided into courts of the first instance and courts of the second instance; the former are elected by the people, and the latter make known their opinions on the cases examined by the courts of the first instance.

Thus, in the programmes worked out by Fitrat and Fayzulla Xo'jaev, the idea of establishing a democratic republic in place of the emirate order in Bukhara was advanced. To carry out this momentous task, from April 1920 the newspaper *Uchqun*, edited by Fayzulla Xo'jaev, was published and distributed secretly in the territory of the Bukharan Emirate.

The Young Khivans party was founded in August 1914 by Polvonniyoz Hoji Yusupov. Jumaniyoz Boboniyozov, Bobojon Yoqubov, Jumaniyoz Sultonmurodov, Nazir Shoshkorov, Sultonqori Jumaniyozov, Xudoybergan Devonov, Husaynbek devonbegi Matmurodov and Muhammadyorxo‘ja Abdullaev were the party’s activists. The published programme of the Young Khivans envisaged carrying out reforms to limit the khan’s power, establishing a constitutional monarchy in the country and enlightening the people.

The February Revolution of 1917 exerted a strong influence on the activity of the Young Khivans, as it did on the Young Bukharans, and they passed to a path of open struggle. On 5 April 1917 the Khivan Khan Asfandiyorxon was compelled to sign the manifesto presented by the Young Khivans. We give the content of the manifesto in full below:

On the 25th of Jumada al-Thani 1335 AH, or 5 April 1917 CE, I, the Khan of Khiva, Said Asfandiyar Bahodirxon, proclaim the following will:

1. I have given my subjects constitutional governance so that, by their own will and in accordance with the holy sharia laws and the demands of the age, they may govern the state together with just and worthy persons elected through the popular council and appointed to administer state affairs.

2. My subjects must act justly in governing the state, in agreement with the holy sharia.

3. I have given my subjects unity, peace and freedom so that they may live peacefully, as brothers with one another.

4. In the Khivan state, the duties of ministers and officials are to be performed by conscientious and just persons elected and appointed by the population.

5. Ministers, officials and governors whom the people do not want are to be removed from office and, if their crime is proven, punished on the basis of the holy sharia laws.

6. Salaries are to be allocated from the state treasury to all officials, ministers and state servants according to their duties.

7. A treasurer is to be instituted for the financial affairs of the Khivan state, and the supervision of income and expenditure entrusted to him.

8. To supervise the ministers and officials and to carry out my above order, a temporary committee of 30 persons is to be appointed until the population elects its

representatives. Let the citizens of Khiva preserve the peace, carry out their affairs and exert all their strength to take their place among the other cultured peoples.

As is evident, this manifesto at first sight appears to be a part of Islomxo‘ja’s reform plan, and many writers interpret these documents as the programme of the Young Khivans.

The Young Khivans were among the first to invite Boboohun – always a supporter of freedom and progress – to the assembly convened on the basis of the manifesto: “... we sent our brother Boboohun, son of qazi Salimoxun, long famous and from the class of freedom-loving scholars. He went and, on behalf of the qazi and the scholars, was made their representative and brought back.”

As a scholar, Boboohun Salimov led the work of forming the assembly and the Council of Commissars, organising its activity and ensuring that its documents rested on the foundations of the Islamic sharia. Of this Polvonniyoz Hoji Yusupov writes in his “Memoirs”: “After that, having taken counsel with Boboohun eshon, letters were sent to elect representatives from all the fortresses of Khorezm and from the Turkmen, Kazakh and Karakalpak stations.” When the persons sent to the localities had elected and brought the people’s representatives, Boboohun Salimov was elected chairman of the assembly.

In July 1918 the Young Khivans worked out a new programme, in which they called themselves the Khiva Revolutionary Party. It contained the following demands:

1. To abolish completely the country’s one-man rule by the khan and his government;
2. To join the territory of Khiva to Turkestan and incorporate it into the RSFSR;
3. To declare the moneys and property of every kind of the Khivan khan, the to‘ras, the beks and the ministers the wealth of the people;
4. To use the property of the large landowners to improve the life of the poor;
5. By decree of the sharia, to spend all the revenue of the waqfs only on public education;
6. To dig canals from the Amu Darya to bring new lands in Khiva into cultivation;
7. To open schools in Khiva for the free education of children;
8. To open free hospitals and treatment institutions in the cities and villages of Khiva;
9. To return to their owners the land and other wealth forcibly seized from the poor population by the Khivan khan;

10. To clarify on what the wealth of the people that entered the treasury during Asfandiyorxon's rule had been spent;
11. To set about improving bridges and communication routes;
12. To return to their owners the land and property forcibly seized from the poor population by the beks;
13. To abolish completely free, forced labour;
14. To abolish the khan and his government, establish a people's authority and set about realising the above programme without delay, conducting a relentless struggle against the khan's supporters, the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionaries who oppose the people's authority.

A 12-point variant of this programme, clarified and with the article on joining the RSFSR removed, was published under the title "The immediate tasks of the Khiva Revolutionary Party" in the newspaper *Izvestiya* (Tashkent) on 8 January 1920.

## **CONCLUSION**

In sum, in 1918–1920 the Bolsheviks supported the Young Bukharans and Young Khivans, who stood in opposition. The Jadids found it necessary to overthrow the existing order by force of arms in order to establish democratic reforms, and so, pursuing tactical aims, drew closer to the Bolsheviks. In 1920 the Red Army invaded the territory of the Khivan Khanate and the Bukharan Emirate; the Bukharan People's Soviet Republic and the Khorezm People's Soviet Republic were formed, and the Jadids remained at the head of power. Thus, from 1920 the Jadid movement entered a new stage of its development – the path of compromise with the Soviets.

The Turkestan Jadids formed groups such as "Turon Kuchi," "Turk kuchi," "Temur," "Izchilar" and "Lochin" – covering the whole region and working on a programme close to the English scouting-school programme – which, besides secondary education, crafts and art, engaged in military exercises and began to appear as a force capable of striking a principal blow at the Soviets. In 1920 the Soviet regime ended the activity of these groups. Yet the outcome of the events in the Fergana Valley and Tashkent could not extinguish the Jadids' hopes. They set to work in unity with the leaders of the Bukharan republic, where supporters of the Jadid progressive direction were formed – a direction whose programme envisaged the state being governed by a republican president and a parliament.

At the constituent congress held in Bukhara on 2–5 August 1921, the Turkestan National Unity Organisation was formed under the leadership of Zaki Validiy. This organisation was first established under the name “Federation of the Central Asian National Muslim Society,” its main aim being to bring the Turkestan region to full independence and to build a single national state.

This movement played an important role in history in consolidating the independence struggle. The main aim of the Turkestan National Unity Organisation and of the “Milliy Ittihad” organisation (founded in 1919) under Munavvar Qori’s leadership was to preserve the Bukharan republic and the Turkestan region as a whole from the influence of sovietisation and russification and to attain Turkestan’s independence; later, on the basis of “Milliy Ittihad,” the “Milliy Istiqlol” organisation was formed. Thus, the Jadid parties struggled consistently for the independence of Turkestan in 1917–1924. Although they were defeated in this struggle, they left an indelible mark in history as self-sacrificing people who fought for the independence of their homeland, cherished in the memory of the grateful generations of the twentieth century, and their names remained forever on the pages of history (Qosimov & Ergashev, 1989; Alimova, 1996; Agzakhojaev, 1996; Abdullaev, 1992; Ergashev, 1991).

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