

Turkic-Muslim Socio-Political Thought of the Early XX. Century

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Makale Bilgisi	ABSTRACT
Makalenin geliş tarihi: 01.6.2020 Makalenin kabul tarihi: 25. 6.2020	<p>The Turkic-Muslim socio-political thought of the beginning of the XX century had a general tendency to the formation of a national ideology, the definition of the main ideas of the national liberation movement and national identity. The article examines the leading role of the Tatar, Azerbaijani and Crimean Tatar peoples in the formation process of the Muslim movement in the Russian Empire. After the revolution of 1905-1907, the Turkic-Muslim social thought was characterized by bright educational ideas, a new generation of progressive thinkers emerged, a periodical press appeared that promoted the penetration of reform and educational ideas among the Turkic population of Russia, and it became possible to create political parties and organizations. This article is devoted to the history of the nations' formation, the creation of national elite, their dialogue and the organization of public relations with other Turkic nations. Special attention is paid to the Turkic-Muslim figures who tried to unite their efforts in the struggle for the independence of the Turkic peoples.</p> <p>Keywords: Russian Empire, the early 20th century, Turkic-Muslim socio-political thought, Turkic nations, Turkish-Muslim intellectuals, Turkey.</p>

20. Yüzyılın Başlarındaki Türk-Müslüman Sosyo-Politik Düşüncesi

ÖZET

20. yüzyılın başlarındaki Türk-Müslüman sosyo-politik düşüncesi, ulusal ideolojiyi oluşturma ve ulusal kurtuluş hareketi ile ulusal öz farkındalığın temel fikirlerini belirleme eğilimi gösteriyordu. Çalışmamızda Tatar, Azeri ve Kırım Türklerinin Rusya İmparatorluğu'ndaki Müslüman hareketinin oluşumundaki rolü incelenmektedir. 1905-1907 Rus Devriminden sonraki Türk-Müslüman sosyo-politik düşüncesi aydınlatıcı bir nitelik taşımaktadır. Ayrıca o dönemde yeni nesil ilerici aydın grubu ortaya çıkmakta ve basın-yayın organları oluşmaktadır. Bu yayın organları reform ve aydınlanma düşüncelerinin Rusya Türklerinin arasında yayılmasını ve siyasi parti ve kuruluşların oluşmasını sağlamıştır. Araştırmamızda milletlerin oluşum tarihi, milli aydın grubunun ortaya çıkışı ve onların diğer Rusya Türkleriyle sosyo-politik ilişki kurma faaliyetleri üzerinde durulmuştur. Ayrıca Türk halklarının bağımsızlık mücadelesinde güçlerini birleştirmeye çalışan Türk-Müslüman aydınları üzerinde durulmuştur.

Anahtar kelimeler: Rusya İmparatorluğu, 20. yüzyılın başı, Türk-Müslüman sosyo-politik düşüncesi, Türk milletleri, Türk-Müslüman aydınları, Türkiye.

INTRODUCTION

Well-known truth says that without the past there is no present and, accordingly, no future. Today, in the context of rethinking the events of our history, we again turn to the rich heritage of the Turkic peoples, who were in a single geopolitical, economic and spiritual space. Studying the past is necessary for understanding the present and as a lesson for the future, especially when it comes to problems of analyzing

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and assessing the heritage of all the Turkic peoples of the Russian Empire at the beginning of the XX century. Undoubtedly, it is necessary to pay attention to the rich heritage of the Tatar, Azerbaijani and Crimean Tatar peoples, who after the revolution of 1905-1907 began to actively join the world civilization. The intellectuals of the new generation, who entered the creative arena on the crest of events of 1905-1907, was convinced that the creative development of the achievements of world culture is the most important condition for the flourishing of national culture (Amirkhanov, 2001: 124).

According to the Tatar enlightener and thinker Jamal Validi (1887-1932), an appeal to the East is the same request for assistance. What is wrong with this if we redirect the plea for help to the West? Why do we tend to consider Arab-Persian values our own, and turn our backs to Russian and Western reality, although we live completely in this environment? (Validi, 1916: 71). The famous Tatar writer G. Ibragimov wrote that we need translations of such geniuses as Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Schiller, Goethe, Byron ... If we do not want to suffocate in our national shell and wish to join our universal culture, illuminate our minds and thoughts with its unfading light, then we cannot do without these translations (Tormysh, 1915). The same opinion was expressed by the well-known Tatar socio-political figure Sadri Maksudi, in his opinion, with the help of the Russian language, the Turkic peoples have the opportunity to get acquainted with the works of such figures as J.J. Rousseau, C. Darwin and other Western figures. The modern Tatar historian I.K. Zagidullin calls the beginning of the XX century "High Renaissance" (Zagidullin, 2014: 7). This study covers the period from the beginning of the XX century to the October Revolution of 1917. The beginning of the last century is the "golden age" for all Turkic-Muslim peoples living on the territory of the Russian Empire, because it was then that the rapid development of periodicals and publishing began, enlightenment reached a new level, new trends in culture were formed, etc.

Socio-political activity of the Turkic-Muslim peoples of Russia

After the revolution of 1905, the Turkic Muslims of Russia had political organizations, which became an important moment in solving socio-economic and cultural-spiritual problems. A whole galaxy of Tatar, Azerbaijani, Crimean Tatar figures were actively working on projects of "national state existence" and all this was discussed at the congresses of the "Ittifik al-Muslimin" party. According to the Tatar scientist A.Yu. Khabutdinov, Russian Muslims represented by Tatar, Crimean Tatar, and Azerbaijani elites, within the framework of the jadidist movement, began focused activities on "nation-building" (Khabutdinov, 2008: 88). Another researcher, R.F. Mukhametdinov, believes that among the Turkic peoples, the most advanced economically and socially were the Kazan Tatars and Azerbaijanis, especially their bourgeoisie and intellectuals. Their leaders saw that it was impossible to improve the situation of all the Turkic peoples of Russia, to preserve their culture and language by the forces of only these two peoples, therefore they put forward the idea of first cultural and then political unity of the Turks within the framework of federal Russia (Mukhametdinov, 1996: 256). An important role in the socio-political life of nations is played by the activities of the elite, which is aimed at creating national communities and forming educational, political centers.

In addition to the "Ittifik al-Muslimin" party, other cultural and educational societies are emerging. So in the city of Ganja, the "Geyrat" party of social federalists (1905-1906) was formed, which put forward the demand for the separation of the Caucasus from Russia with the granting of autonomy to the Muslim population. The party was headed by prominent public figures A. Rafibeyli, N. Usubbeyov, A. Khasmamedov, A. Kulibekov. Due to the persecution of the authorities, the party did not last long.

In 1905, another national organization, "Difai", appeared in Ganja. In the creation of this party, an aggravation of the Armenian-Azerbaijani contradictions in 1905 played an important role. The party's central committee and its press organ, the "Irshad" newspaper, were located in Baku and were headed by prominent public figure and publicist Ahmed Bey Agayev (Agaoglu). The total number of party members exceeded one thousand people, and "Difai" was the largest Azerbaijani party until 1917. The main goal of the party was to rid its people of the misfortunes of the Armenian-Muslim clashes, as well as to combat the

backwardness of Muslims. To achieve these goals, the party had two means: education and strength. In May 1907, another Azerbaijani organization, “Mudafie”, arose. The main focus of its activity was the creation of public associations among Muslims and concern for their education and culture. The organization existed until 1908.

The culmination of the creation of parties and organizations was the parliamentary activity of the leaders of the Turkic-Muslim peoples in the State Duma of the Russian Empire and this marks a new stage in the development of Muslim peoples.

The printing of Muslim peoples at the beginning of the last century

The beginning of the XX century can be called the period of flourishing of the Azerbaijani, Tatar and Crimean Tatar press. Thanks to the revolution of 1905-1907, an important phenomenon for the Tatar people was the printing in their native language. It is known that starting from the first quarter of the XIX century, representatives of the Tatar intellectuals made attempts to obtain permission to print the newspaper in their native language. Gabdrakhman Ilyasi (1856-1895), Kayum Nasyri (1825-1902), Zagir Bigiyev (1870-1902) were among the first to raise the issue of creating the Tatar periodical press. However, the tsarist government rejected these attempts. So in Azerbaijan, Hasan bey Zardabi went down in history as the editor of the first Azerbaijani newspaper “Əkinçi” (“Akinchi”, 1875-1877), and this newspaper became the first newspaper in the Russian Empire, published in the Turkic language. It is known that the outstanding Crimean Tatar figure Ismail Gaspirali addressed Hasan bey Zardabi in issues of publishing a periodical and consulted on the release of his newspaper “Tercüman” (“The Interpreter”).

Today, the “Tercüman” newspaper (1883-1918) is considered the oldest Turkic-Tatar newspaper in the world. By 1893, Gaspirali managed to secure support among the ulama, the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals of the main economic and cultural centers of Russian Muslims, especially in the Volga-Ural region, Crimea and Azerbaijan.

“Tercüman” was published simultaneously in Russian and “Turki” - the first literary Turkic language of the new time. Among its authors are most known: Yusuf Akcura, Derdmend (Zakir Ramiev), Akhmetkhadi Maksudi, Rizaeddin bin Fakhreddin, Nariman Narimanov, Firdun bey Kocharli, Osman Akchorlakly, Ahmed Ozenbashly, Hasan-Sabri Ayvazov, Ibrahim Fehmi, Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, Ziya Gökalp, Ahmed Muhtar Pasha. The newspaper existed at the expense of Muslim industrialists, primarily the Ramiev brothers from Orenburg, the Akchurins from Simbirsk and a prominent figure, philanthropist Zeynalabdin Taghiyev from Baku. For the Russian Ummah, “Tercüman” was the main source of information and until 1905 was the only real mechanism of communication within Russian society. Thanks to the magazine, members of the Russian Ummah got an idea of the unity of language, history and culture for the vast majority of Russian Muslims (Khabutdinov, 2013: 23-24).

The ideas of Ismail Gaspirali were spread throughout the world through “Tercüman”, there was a rapprochement of the Turkic peoples, since the language of the newspaper was understandable to all Turkic-speaking peoples. Thanks to the activities of Gaspirali, the educated part of the population gets acquainted with the idea of jadidism and it becomes popular not only in Russia, but also abroad. The worldview principles and views of I. Gaspirali on social significance are on a par with the ideas of the outstanding enlighteners and philosophers Jamal al-Din Al-Afghani, Shigabuddin Marjani, Muhammad Abduh, Hasan bey Malikov Zardabi, Mahkmudkhodja Behbudiy, etc. Sadridin Ayni, Hamza Hakimzade Niyazi, Nariman Narimanov and dozens of representatives of the emerging intellectuals in the East considered themselves his students (Osmanov, 2014: 15).

The role of the periodical press in the formation and development of national identity was great. On the pages of newspapers and magazines “Hayat”, “Irshad”, “Baki Hayaty”, “Iqbal”, “Tekamyul”, “Fiyuzat”, “Yeni Fiyuzat”, “Taraggi”, “Shalale”, “Dirilik” and many others, prominent representatives of Azerbaijani journalism and literature expressed their views on all the most difficult issues of the socio-political and

cultural life of Azerbaijan (Ahmed bey Agayev, Ali bey Huseynzade, Alimardan Topchubashov, Sultan Majid Afandiyev, Gusein Minasazov, Einaly Sultanov, Firdun bey Kocharli, Nariman Narimanov, Mammad Amin Rasulzade and others).

One of the most important features of the Tatar press in 1905-1917 is its universality in the full sense of the word. First of all, they wrote about national problems, reflected the social and spiritual interests of their "relatives". Such magazines, newspapers as "Avaz" ("Voice"), "Azat" ("Free"), "Beznen Fiker" ("Our Thought"), "Beznen Yul" ("Our Way"), "Vakyt" ("Time"), "Din ve magyishet" ("Religion and life"), "Ittifak" ("Unity"), "Yoldiz" ("Star"), "Koyash" ("Sun"), "Shura" ("Council"), "Yana Khayat" ("New Life") and other publications covered, as befits a solid, good press, the totality, the palette of human activity at the level of world civilization, especially on the example of the most intellectually developed nations (Amirkhanov, 2001: 124-125).

I. Gaspirali, in addition to the newspaper "Tercüman", publishes the magazines "Alem-i-nisvan" ("The world of women"), "Alem-i-sübyan" ("The world of children), "Ha-ha-ha" ("Ha-ha-ha"), where the main topics and problems of the nation were also presented.

Thus, possessing literacy in their native language, Turkic peoples actively used newspapers and magazines, through them they quickly became involved in public life and progressive trends of the era. The Azerbaijani, Crimean Tatar and Kazan Tatars had a whole layer of European educated, intellectually developed people, who largely determined the cultural present and future of the nation. The activities of the Turkic-Muslim periodical press were aimed at the revival and development of national culture, the coverage of important problems of national life.

The formation of Turkism in Russia at the beginning of the XX century

At the beginning of the XX century, prominent thinkers noted the leading role of Russian Muslim leaders - the Turks. According to the famous Tatar and Turkish public figure of the early XX century, Yusuf Akcura, the Turkic peoples, who were in the greatest interaction with Europe, were the first among the Muslims to accept the new trends of European thought. He quite rightly noted that "among the Turkic peoples, these ideas, especially the national idea, were adopted by Turks, Crimean Tatars, Kazan Tatars and Azerbaijanis" (Akcura, 1990: 12-13). And he also noted: "Kazan Tatars and Azerbaijanis have always been in close contact and worked for the benefit of their nation" (Akcura, 1990: 14).

At the end of the XIX century it was among the Tatars and Azerbaijanis that the ideas of Turkism first appeared and spread. Kazan, Ufa, Baku become the main objects of close attention of the tsarist gendarmerie in order to prevent the spread of these ideas among all Muslims of the empire. The prerequisites for the emergence and formation of Turkism in the Russian Empire were the plays of the Azerbaijani playwright Fatali Akhundov, the first Azerbaijani newspapers, the activities of the journalist and enlightener from the Crimean Tatars Ismail Gasprinsky, the activities and works of the Tatar religious leader, philosopher and historian Shigabutdin Mardzhani, and also an renovation movement called "jadidism" [Mukhametdinov, The evolution of the nation ... p. 43].

Mirza Fatali Akhundov (1812-1878) was the first in the Turkic world to write and publish his works in the spoken Azerbaijani language. I. Gaspirali with his ideas of modernization, his expression "Unity in words, thoughts and deeds!", which becomes a slogan for all Turkic peoples, laid the foundation for the development of Turkism. Among the Kazan Tatars, who created the ground for awakening the national identity of the people, was Sh. Marjani (1818-1889). He was the first to advocate the use of the ethnonym "Tatar" and explained that religious and ethnicity are two different things.

As M.E. Rasulzade notes, the process of the emergence of the ideology of Turkism was motivated, first of all, by the "strong rise of the national spirit" among the Turkic peoples of the former Russian Empire (Balayev, 2012: 221). It can be considered that the prerequisites for the emergence of Turkism were the

acquaintance of the leaders of the Turkic-Muslim society with the ideas of European nationalism, with the works of European philosophers, who subsequently influenced culture, enlightenment, and public life. Among the Turkic peoples, the first to accept the ideas of nationalism and personal freedom were Turks, Crimean Tatars, Kazan Tatars and Azerbaijanis.

Yusuf Akcura and Ahmed Agayev compared the process of formation of a nation of Muslim Turks in Russia with the processes of creating nation states in Europe. The theory of Turkism was formulated by the Tatar Y. Akcura and Azerbaijanian A. Agayev on the basis of French political concepts, and above all the idea of a political nation and race (Khabutdinov, 2008: 11). "In order to live a free, independent and cultural life," concludes Al-Afghani, "all Muslim peoples must have a nationally conscious life" (Mukhametdinov, 1996: 41). Repeating the words of the researcher R. Mukhametdinov, Turkism as "unifying nationalism" found fertile ground also because at the beginning of the XX century the majority of Turkic peoples had not yet formed as a nation. As such, Azerbaijanis and Kazan Tatars were just beginning to form (Mukhametdinov, 1996: 256). It is also necessary to indicate that these peoples were united by one religion - Islam, and this also helped them to get closer.

The Turkish state is an example of the Turkic state

Subsequently, the Young Turk Revolution in 1908 and the Russian Revolution in 1917, the majority of the Turkic-Muslim intellectuals move to Turkey. Since, culturally, spiritually and politically, the Turkic peoples always looked with hope at the Ottoman Empire, and later at Turkey as an example of the world's only independent Turkic state. Tatar, Azerbaijani, Crimean Tatar figures take an active part in the scientific and public life of this state and bring the ideas of Turkic unity (Turkic nationalism) to Turkey. Among famous personalities, it is especially necessary to distinguish the following names: Ali bey Huseynzade (1864-1940), Ahmed bey Agayev (1868-1939), Musa Akegetzade (1864-1923), Yusuf Akcura (1876-1935), Abdurresid Ibrahim (1857- 1944), Sadri Maksudi (1878-1957), etc.

After 1908, the ideas of Turkism were widely spread and popularized in the Ottoman state, which was largely due to the relocation of such famous ideologists of Turkism as Y. Akcura, A. Huseynzade and A. Agaoglu from Russia to Turkey (Balayev, 2012: 233). According to Y. Akcura, the Turkish state was the strongest, most progressive and civilized, and it was it that should become the driving force and leader of the "process of forming a large political nation" and the unification of all Turks, "whose territory of residence covered most of Asia and Eastern Europe" (Akçura, 2019: 36.). According to the Azerbaijani scientist A. Balayev, at the turn of the XIX-XX centuries, The Ottoman Empire was undoubtedly a natural center of attraction for all the other Turkic peoples of the Russian Empire - Azerbaijani Turks, Tatars, Bashkirs, Uzbeks, etc. But this did not mean at all that representatives of these peoples were going to voluntarily abandon their original culture and language for the sake of a complete merge with the Ottoman Turks (Balayev, 2012: 254).

The origin of Turkism was national ideas, which had become widespread in Europe by that time. In this regard, the emergence of Turkism was a manifestation of an awakening national life among the Turkic peoples of the Russian Empire and their desire to go on the very path of economic progress and cultural development along which, based on the ideas of nationalism, Western Europe followed throughout the XIX century. Turkism was based on a common ethnic origin, affinity of languages, the proximity of cultures and historical destinies of the Turkic peoples (Balayev, 2012: 223).

In 1911, the first issue of the magazine "Türk Yurdu" was published in Turkey, inspired by one of the famous Tatar intellectuals from Russia, Yusuf Akcura. Ahmed Agayev, who is next to him, is an equally significant figure. From 1911 to 1918, 14 volumes, 161 issues of this magazine were published. According to Y. Akcura, the main purpose of the publication was to introduce scientists of the Turkic world, their work on common goals and polemics on the pages of the magazine. According to the statistical calculation of the Japanese historian Masami Arai, the section "Turkic World News" of the magazine "Türk Yurdu" was half

devoted to Central Asia and Islam in the Russian Empire, the second half dealt with the internal situation of the Ottoman Empire; 43% of the articles were written by Turks of Russian origin. Thus, Tatar intellectuals bring the Ottomans knowledge about the situation and life of Russian Muslims. The pages of the publication give an idea of education, news regarding the life of Russian Turks. The “Türk Yurdu” magazine, headed by Yusuf Akcura, on its pages promoted the “Tatar model” of modernization. After the Young Turk Revolution, interest in Muslims of Russia, their life and views begins (Georgeon, 1997: 194).

The well-known Tatar writer, politician Ayaz Ishaki, in his report on “The present situation of Turkic-Tatar emigrants in Europe and their views on the future,” read by him in the Muslim Community in 1934, writes that the Turkic-Tatars who arrived in Turkey before the revolution, almost all lived together, organized one large settlement and completely did not lose their national way life, and all of them are Turkish citizens. Our compatriots also had great weight in the cultural world of Turkey. Many Turkic-Tatars professors lectured at Turkish universities, some of them even held rector posts, and all of them were highly respected in the scientific world. Turkic-Tatar journalists also occupied a significant position in the press (National Archives... D. 44).

In particular, the modern Turkish public notes the great importance of Turkic figures in the cultural development of Turkey. Several leaders of the Muslim peoples of the empire - A. Agayev, Y. Akcura, A. Huseynzade and A. Ibrahimov, having appeared abroad after the first Russian revolution, organized in 1915 a special Committee to protect the rights of the Turkic-Tatars in Russia. The purpose of this Committee was to raise the issue of national rights, including the self-determination of Muslim Turks in the Russian Empire, in the international arena (Iskhakov, 2003: 111-112).

It must be admitted that Turkic-Muslim intellectuals who emigrated or lived in Turkey for a certain period influenced the formation of the national identity of the Turks, their formation as a nation, and the formation of Turkey as a secular state. Some of them were even in the close circle of the first president of the Turkish Republic, Atatürk, and worked as his advisers on cultural and political issues. Their weight and influence were significant not only in the political and administrative life of the country, but also in its scientific and educational fields.

CONCLUSION

Thus, based on the analysis of the source material, a general picture of the formation and development of Turkic-Muslim social thought at the beginning of the XX century is presented. Muslim leaders tried to unite their efforts in the struggle for the independence of the Turkic peoples of Russia, to preserve the language and culture. The Tatars in the early XX century did not separate their fate from the fate of their Muslim Turks brothers. They were deeply worried about the events in Transcaucasia, ethnic and confessional oppression directed against the Azerbaijani people.

The intellectuals of the Muslim peoples of the Russian Empire at the turn of the XIX-XX centuries. played a decisive role in the realization of their social, political and national rights. Comparing the position of their people and more developed nations, adopting the European values of democracy and national freedom, the intellectuals developed ideas that became the basis for the formation of the Tatar, Crimean Tatar, Azerbaijani nations.

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