



THE FORMATION OF A PARLIAMENT IN TURKESTAN: ATTEMPTS AND CONSEQUENCES

Ravshan Xalimovich Akbarov

Lecturer at the Department of
History of Uzbekistan, Fergana State University
e-mail: alfargoniy.uz@gmail.com

Article history:	Abstract:
Received: May 11 th 2021 Accepted: May 28 th 2021 Published: June 29 th 2021	The article highlights the emergence of ideas on Parliament in Turkestan and the appearance and struggles for the concept of Turkestan autonomy. The work also considers the views on parliamentary in the programs of political organizations and parties into the state. The article provides the directives of the All-Turkestan Muslim Regional Meetings and more the activities of the Turkestan Constituent Assembly.

Keywords: The All-Turkestan Muslim Regional Meetings, Turkestan Autonomy, Constituent Assembly, elections, Shura-yi Ulamo, Shura-yi Islamiya, Adam Turk Central firqasi (group of Adam Turk Central), Party, Senate (Sharia Court).

INTRODUCTION

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, ideas of parliamentarianism gradually began to appear in Turkestan. Particularly during the revolution of 1905-1907. These views were widespread in the pages of periodical publications. Thus, the article considers the formation of views on parliamentarism in Turkestan, the development of ideas on autonomy and independent Parliament in Turkestan in 1917 and the adoption of legislative acts on it. The historical aspect of the issues of the future independent Parliament of the autonomous region as Constituent Assembly. Akhmad Danish [1], S. Azamkhojaev [2] conducted a series of studies on this issue.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Although these studies consider the formation of views on parliamentarism in the Turkestan region, the work done in this area is considered in broad outlines. Hence, the paper attempts to present information about the formation and development of views on parliamentary in Turkestan.

Akhmad Danish expressed the initial views on parliamentary in Turkestan. According to his work, the establishment of Parliament in the Emirate of Bukhara and all work in the country should be based on the decrees adopted by the parliament [1. 59-60]. However, in Bukhara Emirate, where the dictatorial regime reigned, the implementation of these ideas was nothing more than a fantasy. Furthermore, Akhmad Donish focused on a "just ruler" concept, remaining faithful to the "medieval traditions". He often used the term "just ruler" in governing the country. While Akhmad Donish sought to be ahead of his time, these thoughts suggest that he could not break away from medieval philosophy.

The regeneration of ideas on parliamentary in the country was connected with the Manifesto of October 17, 1905. Mahmudkhodja Behbudiy expressed the first official opinion. In an article published on the occasion of the Manifesto above, he proposed forming a parliament consisting of influential scholars and prominent figures from the five provinces of Turkestan. He called it the "National Assembly of Turkestan". Following Behbudiy, branches of the Milliy Majlis were to be established in each region. The Milliy Majlis was to discuss the issues of socio-political life in Turkestan, develop relevant laws and submit them to the State Duma (through the deputies of Turkestan).

The representatives of Turkestan in the Second State Duma, the faction's involvement in the section's work will further develop the views of parliamentarians among the population of the region. Articles about parliamentarians started to appear in the local press of the state. These articles began to discuss the elections to the State Duma, their essence, the parliaments of European countries [1]. The new election law of June 3, 1907, only deprived the people of Turkestan and the surrounding empire of the right to send their representatives to the State Duma. In response to a request from the Tashkent City Duma to send deputies, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers P.A. Stolypin said that this issue could be considered at the 5th conference of the State Duma [22]. Depriving the people of the country of parliamentary practice would also lead to the fact that opinions on this issue would stall for some time.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The propaganda of an independent parliament in Turkestan in 1906-1910 was only the first step to independence. But this itself was without exaggeration courage in the conditions of dictatorial Russia. History has shown that the tsarist government did not allow it. Even the leaders of the enlightenment movement in Central Asia, the Jadids, were persecuted. Hence in recent years, the development of the idea of parliamentarism in Turkestan was suspended. Except Behbudiy's article published in a Samarkand newspaper in 1913, the development of the concepts of parliamentarism was not covered in the press and studied at all.

As noted above, Turkestan was prohibited from sending representatives to the Third and Fourth State Dumas. The Turkestan Jadids worked hard to recover the right to send representatives to the State Duma, and these matters were widely discussed in the national press they organized. Even when the dictatorial government suppressed the uprising of 1916, some leading representatives of the Turkestan intelligence, including UbaidullaKhodja Asadullakhodjaev, appealed to the State Duma to repeal the labour decree and stop the bloodshed in the country. At the demand of the national intelligence, the State Duma established a special commission to study the situation in the state. Thus, even in the dispossession of the masses, the Turkestan Jadids tried to protect the population's interests but did not achieve any practical results.

The revival of the idea of parliamentarism in Turkestan was related to the February 1917 revolution in Russia. The Protocol issued by the Provisional Government on March 3 and the "Appeal to the Citizens of Russia" on March 6, following the overthrow of the imperial regime, abolished all class, religious, and national restrictions on freedom of speech, press, association, and meeting... do; promise such freedoms as the form of government and the convening of a Constituent Assembly elected on a universal, equal, direct and secret basis, which should adopt the Constitution of the country [2. 30]. Under these conditions, the political activity of the residents intensified. Addressing the founding congress of the *Shura-yi Islamiya* Society in Tashkent in March of this year, the Chairman of the Cadet Committee of Turkestan Nikolai Shchepkin stated that Turkestan might also be granted autonomy. Afterwards, the idea of autonomy for Turkestan was debated and enthusiastically expressed by the public.

In March 1917, the first All-Kazakh Congress was held in Orenburg. The congress program included creating autonomy for the Kazakhs to stop the resettlement of Russian settlers in the Kazakh lands and return the lands transferred to the Russians to their previous owners, including housing and pastures in these territories before their transfer to the Russian settlers. [5. 14-15]. An essential role in forming political views was played by participating in the congress of such representatives of Turkestan as MunawwarQari, Abdulsamig Qari, Olloberganoglu and Yusufbek Basikar.

In April of the same year, a congress of the Council of Workers and Soldiers of Turkestan was convened in Tashkent. The congress would be held in the spirit of great nationalism. Among the participants was Nekora, a teacher from Kokand, who said that "the Russians made the revolution, and therefore power should belong to the Russians". Mallitsky's suggestion of separating the city administration into European and local authorities in Tashkent and the difficulty of the newly formed local organizations posed the challenge of establishing a single national centre. As a result, the "Central Council of Turkestan Muslims" was created before the All-Turkestan *Shura* Muslim Meetings[5. 24-25].

It was convened at the I Congress of the First All-Turkestan Muslim Meetings on April 16-21, 1917. The congress considered 16 issues, the third of which was preparations for the All-Russian Constituent Assembly. At the congress: 1. a) the necessity of training the people for the Constituent Assembly; b) the women's right to vote; c) the right of women to vote within Shariah; d) the number of deputies elected from the country in proportion to the size of the population [21. 3]. 2. Since Turkestan was an integral part of the Russian Empire, Turkestan would remain part of the Federation if the future All-Russian Constituent Assembly would choose the method of the Federal Democratic Republic in public administration. If the Federative Democratic Republic method were chosen for state administration in Russia, Turkestan would decide to become an autonomous region [21. 4]. The ideas of autonomy and an independent parliament were not firmly established at First All-Turkestan Muslim Meetings. In the spring and summer of 1917, views on independence and autonomy began to take shape in other remote regions of Russia. On the contrary, the ideas of national-cultural autonomy and then autonomy started to appear in Turkestan from the summer of 1917.

Hence, in the spring and summer of 1917, articles and ideas about the country's autonomy, the formation of a democratic government, and parliamentarism began to appear in the Uzbek-language press, on May 20, 1917, issue of the newspaper *UlugTurkiston*. N. Sayfulmalik and A. Takhir, in the article "People's Republic", noted two types of government: monarchy and republic. The authors of the article supported the second form of government, i.e. republican style of government. In their opinions, the nation plays a crucial role in governing the country, and the head of state so-called "president", i.e. "president of the republic". The people elect the president for two to seven years. The head of state is accountable to the Parliament.

The article mentioned above contained an overview of parliamentarism in Europe and its structure and elections. For instance, in a republican system of government, elections are held on a universal, equal, fair, and secret basis so that every citizen over the age of 20 can express his or her opinion through parliamentary elections. Throughout the article, European parliaments are mostly two-chambered. The upper house is called the "senate," whose members are elected for at least a 45-year term. Members of the Senate often oppose bills passed by the upper house. This is why the democratic-republican method of governing a bicameral parliament does not work. In

brief, according to the article, under the democratic form of government, all authorities' activities are under parliamentary control, and no work can be accomplished without the consent of Parliament. The authors approved this factor of the article, and, in their opinion, the Constituent Assembly, convened at the end of 1917, should have chosen the republican method of government [10].

While the information given in the article may seem simple today, it was very important for that period. Indeed, at that time, the population of Turkestan was politically illiterate. Consequently, on the pages of periodicals, the concept of Parliament for the people was explained in straightforward words.

Meanwhile, the Central Council of All-Turkestan Muslims instructed by Isлом Shoakhmedov to prepare and provide the necessary materials for Turkestan autonomy. Mahmud Khodja Efendi, Ubaidulla Khodja and Chokayev assisted him in this [5. 47].

Since 1917, the attitude towards parliamentarianism changed, and the problem now turned into autonomy. This was related to the struggle of peoples living in different parts of the empire for independence and their successes. For example, the newspaper "*Ulug' Turkistan*" reports that Finns and Ukrainians received autonomy, Belarusians and Georgians began to fight for independence, and Crimean Tatars have formed national military units. They are fighting for national and cultural independence. To achieve their objectives, Crimean Tatars created "Executive Committee", daily newspaper "*Millat*" and weekly newspaper "Voice of Tatars" and even raised funds for building a university for training specialists in the field of state management. In that university, they wanted to create Bashkir union and Bashkir correspondence and establishing national-cultural autonomy in Turkistan without waiting for the decision of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly [13].

The Central Party of Turkestan and the first political party of All-Turkestan Muslims were formed in 1917. At the same time, the *Маромнома* of the party would be drawn up. The *Маромнома* consisted of 10 sections, and Article 7 of the first section suggests that the legislative body of each autonomous people must have representatives of the Constituent Assembly and the Executive Council [24].

Later, in the autumn of 1917, the issue of Turkestan autonomy returned to the forefront. I. Shoakhmedov, on behalf of the Central Council of All-Turkestan Muslims, drafted his bill on the Turkestan Duma. The draft consisted of 27 articles, which clearly show the idea of an independent parliament. According to Article 1, the law demanded local (territorial) and national autonomy for the Turkestan region. The Turkestan deputies elected to the Russian Constituent Assembly were to request this issue from the assembly. Article 2 required that all questions concerning the territory of Turkestan must be decided by laws passed by the *Majlis Mab'uson* (Constituent Assembly), which included representatives from the province. Matters not within the competence of the *Majlis* of Turkestan had criminal and civil issues concerning Russians residing in the country, postal, telegraph, educational and cultural institutions, political relations between Russia and foreign countries, and military affairs. [Article 3]. Article 4 suggested that elections to the Constituent Assembly of Turkestan be held one month after elections to the Constituent Assembly of Russia. The law on elections to the *Majlis* was based on the law on elections to the Constituent Assembly of Russia. In addition to this article, to draft the law on the elections to the Constituent Assembly in Turkestan, it was necessary to elect one member from each district and form a commission consisting of these members. The commission was to be headed by the Tashkent Judicial Board. Article 5 stated that all matters related to the administration and internal affairs of Turkestan were the responsibility of the *Madjlis* of Turkestan. Article 6 refers to the number of inmates of the Turkestan *Majlis*. According to this article, the number of members of the Constituent Assembly of Turkestan must be three times more than the number of Turkestan deputies elected to the Constituent Assembly of Russia (i.e. if 35 members were elected from Turkestan to the Constituent Assembly of Russia, then the number of members of the Constituent Assembly of Turkestan must be 105). Article 7 referred to the number of Russian representatives in the *Majlis* of Turkestan. It should have been ten without violating the law on elections.

The bill also paid particular attention to the issue of freedom of every citizen. According to the bill's articles, every citizen living in Turkestan was equal before the law, regardless of nationality, gender, and other aspects [Article 8]. In addition, the draft paid particular attention to the issue of Turkestan's complete independence in domestic and foreign affairs [Article 21] [15].

According to the draft law text, I. Shoakhmedov prepared a draft law on establishing an independent parliament in Turkestan in the fall of 1917. It is worth noting that even the draft specified the number of deputies who would be elected to the *Madjlis* of Turkestan. As a result of the II Congress of Turkestan Muslims, it was decided to duplicate Shoakhmedov's draft and the *Маъбусониға* of the Turkestan Central Asian sect, distribute it to each region and submit it to the IV Congress after discussing the two drafts locally [4].

September 1917 was a period of aggravated political struggle between the national leaders of Turkestan. On 7-10 September 1917, the II Congress of Muslims of All-Turkestan adopted the project of I. Shoakhmedov. The clerics, who did not officially recognize the congress, would convene a congress in Tashkent on September 17-20 with the participation of 500 delegates. At this congress, it was decided that the land and water issues of Turkestan would be transferred to the Turkestan *Majlis* of **Mabuson**. [16]

Congress would adopt a 14-point resolution on the future political system of the country. The content of this resolution on parliamentary issues was as follows: The Sirdarya, Samarkand, Fergana, and Caspian provinces were given territorial autonomy within the Russian Federation, and initially, all peoples living in the country were nationally and territorially independent. The name of this political association was the "Federative Republic of Turkestan. [Article 1]. The question of legislation and self-government in the Turkestan Federation belongs to the Turkestan Parliament.

The Parliament is elected for five years by universal, correct, equal, and secret ballot by all peoples living in the country. [Article 2]. The legislative function of the Turkestan Parliament shall be following the basic laws and the Shariah of the Russian Republic [Article 3]. The Turkestan Parliament sends its representatives to the Supreme Government of the Russian Federation to resolve national issues [Article 4]. The Federal Parliament of Turkestan worked in session. The time of convening a session is determined directly by the Parliament. The Parliament's Praesidium operates without a break, during which its powers are preserved [Article 5]. All branches of the national economy of the Turkestan Federation were managed by a special secretariat elected by Parliament and approved by the Government of the Republic [Article 6]. The secretariat was accountable to the Turkestan Federal Parliament [Article 7]. The Senate of the Turkestan Federation, known as the MakhkamaiShariat (Legislative Chamber), was located in Tashkent. The Senate drafts and interprets laws and oversees the proper application of the law in all organizations in the country based on Shariah. At the same time, it supervised the proper functioning of the courts. The powers of the Supreme Court of the Turkestan Federation were also vested in the Senate [Article 8]. The President of the Senate is called "*Shaykh al-Islām*" (Prosecutor General) and was the guardian of the laws of the Turkestan Federation [Article 9]. The people elected the members of the Senate (senators) by universal, direct, equal, and secret ballot for a term of five years [Article 10] [6. 562-563].

Before October 1917, there was the question of creating a unicameral parliament in Turkestan. At the Sirdarya Muslim Congress, convened in Turkestan on 8-11 October at the initiative of the *shura-yi Ulamo*, representatives of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly were elected. At the same time, the idea of an independent bicameral parliament was put forward. According to this idea, the upper chamber of the Parliament was called the "Shariah Court", which consisted mainly of religious scholars and discussed the conformity of decisions of the Constituent Assembly with the Shariah [18].

While the projects put forward by the *Shura-yiUlamo*, had a significant influence on religious views, the projects put forward by the All-Turkestan Central Council, whose leading members were *Shura-yi Islamiya*, offered a modern method of democratic governance.

Under the influence of the growing political struggle in the country, discussions and ideas about the country's future began to grow. For example, an article will be published in the first issue of the newspaper *Türk Eli*. The report focused on an overview of the Constituent Assembly, its founding institution, how the state was governed, the future life of all nations living in the country, and solving problems in society like curing a disease. Thus, it emphasized that the deputies elected to the Constituent Assembly must be people fighting for a promising future for their nation, able to defend their people against any aggression, in short. These patriots are not sold for money [11].

By the end of 1917, Turkestan autonomy and the formation of an independent parliament were firmly on the agenda and was widely covered in the periodical press. For example, the newspaper *Hürriyet* covered this issue. In this regard, Mahmudkhodja Behbudiy's "The Right is Taken, Not Given!" The title of the article had a special meaning. In the article, the author discussed the need for Turkestan to gain autonomy without territorial separation from Russia, establish a National Assembly in the country, and the need for this assembly to resolve all country's internal issues [25].

Following the efforts to establish an independent parliament in the country, the conference of the Constituent Assembly would soon be announced at the Fourth Extraordinary Meeting of All-Turkestan Muslims in November 1917. The congress elected two governing bodies: the Provisional Government of Turkestan, 32 members from the nation, and the People's Council of 54 members [26. 115].

The first meeting of this People's Council opened on December 10, 1917, in Tashkent. From December 1917 to January 1918, the People's Council carried out several works. The first task of the Provisional Government of Turkestan was to convene a Constituent Assembly. The government drafted a law on the elections to the Constituent Assembly, which was called on March 20, 1918, and approved by the People's Council. In December 1917, the People's Council approved the government's 6% loan of 30 million sums.

Turkestan Autonomy convened a meeting of the Council of Tax Experts to develop a law on the new tax system. Under the leadership of the Minister of Public Education Nosirkhan Tora, the preparation of bills on the establishment of elementary school and the use of foundation property would begin. The Food Minister ObidjonMahmudov would be sent to the North Caucasus to improve grain supplies. Minister of Water and Water Resources Khidoyatbek Yurguli Aghaev was instructed to collect materials for the Land Law, which was expected to be adopted at the end of December [26. 115-116].

After lengthy discussions, the People's Council of Turkestan Autonomy adopted a resolution in January 1918, which increased the number of members of the Turkestan Constituent Assembly to 234 people. In February 1918, the People's Council adopted a law on the administrative structure of Turkestan Province, consisting of Section 6 [22. 34-36].

While the Provisional People's Council was to regulate the country's social, political and economic life, the Constituent Assembly was to choose a system of government and develop new laws for Turkestan, reflecting the valid will of all the people. Every citizen should have active and passive rights to participate in the Constituent Assembly, that was, the right to freely elect their representative from among the people.

CONCLUSION

To summarize, whereas the idea of parliamentarism in Turkestan originated in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries, there was a temporary halt in developing thoughts on this issue due to some restrictions of the Russian Empire's government.

After the February Revolution of 1917, views on autonomy and parliamentarianism were revived. At the beginning of 1917, the leaders of Turkestan were not going to secede from the Russian Empire. The reason was that they believed that an independent Turkestan could be achieved by national-cultural means.

In the autumn of 1917, the struggle for autonomy escalated, and Turkestan's independence was proclaimed because the Council of People's Commissars formed in the country did not include local representatives. It was natural to create a legislative body as an integral part of the modern form of government. As a reflection of this, a provisional parliament would be formed, the 54-member People's Council. As mentioned above, several bills were prepared by the People's Council. It was not until February 1918 that the Soviets drenched Turkestan autonomy with blood. The movement to establish an independent parliament in Turkestan remained a dream until the independence of Uzbekistan was proclaimed.

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