



PARTICIPATION OF TURKESTAN REPRESENTATIVES IN THE RUSSIAN STATE DUMA

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Abstract: In this article, the establishment of the State Duma in Russia, the representatives elected from the Turkestan region, their participation in the Duma, the Muslim faction, representatives of the local population, raising the problems of the country: land tenure, dry land, resettlement policy, etc. their results are discussed. The article made appropriate use of periodical press and archival documents related to the problem and presented new information on the issue to historiography.

Key words: State Duma, election, faction, deputy, Duma commission, sub-commissions, poll of deputies, agrarian issue.

Representatives from Turkistan were not elected to the first convocation of the State Duma, because the Regulations on Duma elections provide for the development of special rules in Turkestan. The reason for this was to prevent a large number of representatives of national territories in the parliament. Due to the position of the government in this regard, it is planned to establish separate constituencies for the local population and the European population in the country. At the same time, there were imbalances in the number of voters. In Russian gubernias, 250,000 voters are usually designated for one deputy, while in Fergana region, 786,000 voters are expected to elect one deputy for the local population [25. 25].

It is noted that the election procedure in Turkestan will be developed on the basis of the election law of August 6, 1905 [21. 60]. The rules of elections to the Duma for the population of the country were approved on April 23, 1906 [23. 31-33]. The news about this reached Tashkent on May 2, 1906, and the next day it was published in the newspaper "Turkestanskije vedomosti" [8. 525]. According to the Law on Elections to the State Duma of Russia dated December 11, 1905, 250,000 voters were set for one deputy in the gubernias of the European part of Russia, and 350,000 for the peripheral gubernias [3. 89]. In Turkestan, the number of voters for the State Duma was determined by region. According to the rules, 13 deputies (6 from the local population, 7 from the European population) will be elected to the Duma from the Turkestan region [23. 31]. Although preparations for the elections began in Turkestan, the election campaign was stopped on July 9, 1906 with the publication of the tsar's manifesto on the dissolution of the State Duma [6. 55].

The second call for elections to the Russian State Duma was scheduled for January-February 1907 in the empire [7. 40]. Elections in Turkestan regions are scheduled for February 27 [14. 179], and in Yettisuv region it was set for April 3, 1907 [8. 529]. The holding of the election in the country in different periods was connected with the formation of the voter list.

Thus, at the end of February 1907, elections to the State Duma were held in the regions of Turkestan. As a result of the election, the lieutenant colonel of the tsar's army Makhtumkulikhan from the Kaspiyorti region, Tashpolat Abdukhalilov from the Samarkand

region, Muhammadjon Tinishpayev (cadet) from the Yettisuv region, Tleuli Olloberganov, a large breeder from the Syrdarya region, and Salijon Muhammadjonov, a merchant from the Fergana region, were elected. The following regional deputies are elected from the European population: N.L. Kolendzyan from Syrdarya region, M.A. Gavrilov from Yettisuv region, Ya.I. Yegoshkin from Yettisuv Cossack units [8. 535-536], K.M. Aframovich from Samarkand region, I.Ye. Mironov from Kaspiyorti region [14. 177], and A.P. Drukar [13] from Fergana region (see Table 1).

Faction affiliation of deputies elected to the II State Duma from Turkestan (Table 1) [2. 30-31; 20-21; 16. 61]:

Nº	Deputies	Belonging to which faction
Representatives of the local population		
1	Abdurauf Qoriyev	Muslim faction
2	Tleuli Olloberganov	Muslim faction
3	Toshpo'lat Abduxalilov	Muslim faction
4	Solijon Muhammadjonov	Muslim faction
5	Maxtumquli Nurberdixonov	Muslim faction
6	Muhammadjon Tinishpayev	Cadet faction
Representatives of the European population living in the country		
7	V.Nalivkin	Faction of Social Democrats
8	K.M.Aframovich	Faction of Social Democrats
9	I.Ye.Mironov	Faction of Social Democrats
10	M.Gavrilov	Workers (Trudoviks)
11	I.L.Kolendzyan	Workers (Trudoviks)
12	A.P.Drukar	Social revolutionaries,
13	L.I.Yegoshkin	Kazak group

Since the elections to the State Duma were held in the country for the first time, some shortcomings were noticed. For example, shortcomings in the preparation of the voter list, campaigning and election of representatives, lack of ensuring the proportionality of the population, disregarding the proposals made by citizens, inability to choose suitable candidates due to the lack of parliamentary experience, among them.

During the first and second convocations of the State Duma, Muslim deputies cooperated with the party of cadets. The reason for this is the introduction of general, correct, equal and secret right of cadets to vote for citizens; Allocating land to landless and poor peasants by confiscating church lands and private lands at the expense of the state [4. 450]; unicameral parliamentary system, government elected by parliament; general, free and compulsory primary education; that they were in favor of introducing the electoral system at the lower level of the court [9. 89]. These demands were fully compatible with the demands of the Muslim deputies. But the fact that the cadets used the votes of Muslim representatives and did not fulfill their promises [10. 128], that their program is not compatible with the rules of Islam [17. 31] led to the formation of Muslim representatives as a separate, independent faction.

Among other representatives, some Turkestan representatives were involved in various commissions established in the State Duma. The elected representatives from Turkestan are

mostly elected to temporary commissions. For example, V. Nalivkin - the commission for the discussion of the draft law on military field courts, the Commission for Local and Self-Government, the Commission for Surveys [2. 37-42] to the Budget Commission [12. 987], I.L. Kolendzian - to the Commission of Public Education [12. 90], K.M.Aframovich - elected to the State Duma reception commission, agrarian commission, T.Abdukhalilov, M.Tinishpayev - elected to the agrarian commission [1. 39].

At the meeting on April 7, a commission consisting of 15 deputies from the Muslim faction, 3 from a separate Muslim group, 5 from the Central Committee of the All-Russian Muslim Union, a total of 23 deputies will be elected [17. 41-43]. The commission, in turn, is divided into three sub-commissions: religious, economic and legal. K. Tevkelev was elected chairman of the religious commission, F. Khan-Khoysky of the economic commission, and A. Topchiboshev of the law commission. The commission began work on April 13, and its task is to prepare draft laws on the issues of socio-political, economic and public education of Muslims, to cancel restrictions for Muslims, and to conduct various surveys [15. 29], and A. Qariyev (religious and legal commission) and S. Muhammadjonov (legal commission) from Turkestan were included in the composition [27]. A Turkestan representative was not elected to the intra-faction commission on economic issues.

The agrarian issue was one of the main issues that needed to be resolved in the Russian Empire at the beginning of the 20th century, and it was the reason for the dissolution of the first Duma. This Duma's second convocation caused intense debates among deputies in March-May. The position of the Muslim faction in this regard was announced by F. Khan-Khoysky at the 20th meeting of the Duma II session on April 2, 1907. According to him, the resettlement policy in the Caucasus and Turkestan is being implemented in order to Russify the local and non-Russian speaking population there. In the future, confiscated lands should be concentrated in the regional land fund and not in the state fund, and distributed according to the needs of the farmers. It is not necessary to increase the irrigated land in Muslim pastoral areas, because such a policy violates age-old traditions and deprives pastoralists of their source of livelihood [12. 1499-1504].

On May 3, 1907, for the first time in the Duma, the draft law on the regulation of taxation from dry and undeveloped lands in Turkestan was discussed. The reaction of the Muslim faction to this project was as follows: abolition of any form of private ownership of land, land being the property of the entire nation, equality of all citizens in the use of land, all land being confiscated by the state and distributed according to the needs of farmers, selling land, it was stipulated that it is not possible to pledge, donate, and that the members of the commission regulating the use of land resources should be organized on the basis of correct, general, equal and secret elections [4. 673-680].

On May 11, I.L. Kolendzian will give a speech on the draft law on regulation of tax collection from dry and undeveloped land in Turkestan [1. 90]. The main discussion on this issue in the Duma will be held on May 22. On this day, MP T. Abdukhalilov from Samarkand will give a speech on behalf of the Muslim faction. According to him, it is not correct to tax 90 kopecks to 1 ruble on 1st-class dry lands, 60-80 kopecks on 2nd-class lands, and 40-70 kopecks on third-class lands. In local conditions, dry land is divided into three parts, one part is cultivated, and the rest is plowed. Such a system is implemented to maintain the state of the earth. According to the tax system, it is clear that this type of land in Turkestan pays three times more taxes. If we add the 25 percent zemstvo (local) tax to this, it is clear that 3 rubles 75 kopecks per tenth

of this type of land, 3 rubles per tenth of 2-tier lands, 2 rubles 70 kopecks per tenth of 3-tier lands are paid. In addition, a 50 percent tax on agricultural profits is added. In addition, the difficult natural conditions in our country, plagues of locusts and frequent droughts make the situation of farmers even worse. Taking this into account, it is suggested that the tax procedure for dry land in Turkestan be 50 kopecks per tenth of 1st class land, 40 kopecks from 2nd class land, and 25 kopecks from 3rd class land. At the same time, T. Abdukhalilov also offers to open a Russian-Turk school in Samarkand [1. 1037-1038].

In addition to the agrarian issue, the speaker tried to submit to the Duma a 75-point application on restricting the rights of local Jews, who at the same time collect a large part of trade and manufacture in the Turkestan region [19. 40]. The Russian government saw the local Jews as its support in the colonization of Turkestan. Local Jews soon rose to such an extent that they controlled 100% of the cotton trade and a large part of the manufactured goods trade. This made local Jews the main competitor of Russian capital. By the beginning of the 20th century, the Russian government began to restrict the rights of local Jews [5. 7-8]. It seems that T. Abdukhalilov's preparation of this application and his attempt to submit it to the Duma must have been motivated by the government's policy against local Jews.

On May 26, the 48th Majlis will once again discuss the draft Law "On Dry and Unexploited Lands in Turkestan". Kolendzyan, elected from Syrdarya region, will speak at the discussion of the draft law. He said that Turkestan residents have been kept outside the administrative conditions until now, the resettlement policy has not been satisfactorily organized, the clear rules for canceling the excess of taxes paid by the local population have not been developed, and the immediate cancellation of the military administration system in the country necessary, if the management system was handed over to the local people, the amount of taxable land would have been determined faster, and the resettlement of the population relocated to Turkestan would have been solved faster [1. 1251-1252].

In the evening of May 29, 1907, at the 51st Majlis, the issue of extending the state land tax system for 1907 from dry and undeveloped lands in Turkestan was decided, and for 1907, the country's Samarkand, Yettisuv, Syrdarya, Fergana regions tax amounts were reduced [1. 1478].

At the suggestion and request of T. Abdukhalilov, the amount of tax collected from dry land in Turkestan for 1907 was set as follows: (see table 2)

Table 2 [1. 1041]

Amount of tax collected from dry land in Turkestan

Nº	Provinces	1907 amount of tax for dry land (in ... tithes)
1	Samarkand	25.500 rubl
2	Yettisuv	9.000 rubl
3	Sirdarya	61.500 rubl
4	Fergana	53.000 rubl

Although the Duma did not adopt the draft Law "On Arid and Uncultivated Lands in Turkestan", the amount of tax collected from these lands was partially reduced, because until 1907, the amount of tax collected from such lands in the country was 155,000 rubles [1. 1030].

Reasonable proposals of the country's representatives were not accepted by the Duma. The reason for this was, firstly, that the Duma was soon dissolved, and secondly, that the government did not have accurate information about the arid lands in the country. On May 26, the bill will be discussed for the second time, and on May 29 it will be submitted to the editors [1. 1060]. Although the project was submitted to the Duma commission on June 3, 1907, it was not accepted [4. 673-680].

In the State Duma, T. Abdukhalilov, one of the Turkestan local deputies, spoke about the country's problems from the Duma pulpit. In this regard, European representatives elected from the country were active in legal and national issues. For example, V. Nalivkin was the first among the representatives elected from Turkestan to speak from the pulpit of the Duma. As the Minister of Justice stated on behalf of the Social-Democratic faction at the 19th meeting on March 30, 1907, he noted that the Russian judicial system was not a criterion of justice, but a tool of punishment in 1905-1906 [12. 1754, 1463].

MP from Turkestan I.E. Mironov will speak on April 17 about the relationship of the chairman and deputies, and on June 1 about the judicial investigation of the Ministry of Justice on important cases [2. 106]. MP from Samarkand K. M. Aframovich spoke about the strikes in the Caucasus at the 21st meeting of the Duma on April 3, and criticized the government's attitude towards these strikes on April 6 [12. 1570; 1694-1698].

The following points can be made about the activities of Turkestan representatives elected to the State Duma. S. Muhammadjanov, a representative elected from Fergana region, is a merchant, although he knows Russian and French well [6. 79], but he was far from politics [24. 38]. This can be seen through his signature on the issues discussed in the Duma. For example, he signed petitions in the Duma in April 1907 on issues that were not at the level of state policy [7. 71-72]. However, he did not sign the petitions of May 1907 by Muslim representatives of agrarian and educational affairs at the level of state policy [7. 86]. From the mentioned facts, the following conclusions can be drawn regarding S. Muhammadjonov's deputy activity: 1) He may not have participated in the Duma meetings in May 1907; 2) It is possible that he did not want to be with the forces opposed to the government. But if we take into account the fact that he allocated an apartment to Muslim deputies to organize a meeting, the second assumption is closer to the truth.

As mentioned above, most of the deputies elected from Turkestan could not freely express their opinion in Russian [28]. For example, A. Qoriev, the deputy elected from Tashkent, could not freely express his opinion in Russian [14. 180]. Makhtumquli Khan did not know this language at all. Therefore, when he went to Petersburg, he hired a translator [11]. Although T. Allaberganov can freely express his opinion in Russian [20. 150], was far from politics. As for the Russian representatives elected from the country, it can be concluded from their speeches from the Duma pulpit that they belong to the opposition parties to the government.

Since 1907, applications not in Russian were not accepted in the Duma. This, of course, caused discontent among the local population. For example, in the article published by M. Behbudi on this issue, the consequences of the absence of our representatives from the country in the parliament are not good. states that a request for restoration should be made. The article states that a branch of the "Muslim Union" has been opened in the capital, and that there should be a representative from Turkestan in this body. It is said that the representative must be familiar with modern political science [28]. By this, Behbudi was able to see how important legislation is, that if there is no representative from Turkestan in the Duma, the adopted laws

will not be useful for the country's interest, and after the adoption of the law, it is necessary to obey it. Therefore, M. Behbudi tried to show the need to participate in the Duma in any way.

According to the law of June 3, 1907, not only the local population, but also the Russian-speaking population living in the country were deprived of the right to elect representatives to the State Duma. Although the Tashkent Duma tried to raise this issue, there was no positive result. On December 5, 1909, the mayor of Tashkent met with the Prime Minister and asked to elect at least one representative from the Russians. P.A. Stolypin responded to this request that the deputies elected from remote countries did not show a patriotic spirit in the first convocations, and it is intended to consider this issue in the 5th convocation of the Duma [22. 5].

In this way, along with some remote national territories in the Russian Empire, the inhabitants of Turkestan were also deprived of the right to vote. In fact, the purpose of adopting the law of June 3, 1907 was to russify the State Duma and cover it with supporters of the government [18. 179].

The analysis of the materials on the topic showed that the representatives of the European population were relatively active compared to the local representatives elected from the country. All their speeches from the pulpit of the Duma were critical of the government's policy. The activities of deputies elected from the local population were quite passive. Even the participation of Turkestan deputies was not active in the work of the faction's internal commission. The reasons for this were, firstly, that most of the representatives of the local population could not speak Russian fluently, secondly, due to the lack of parliamentary experience, suitable candidates were not elected, and thirdly, the representatives of the political elite were not sufficiently formed among the local population.

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