



## MOVEMENTS TO ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT PARLIAMENT

Akbarov Ravshan Halimovich

Senior lecturer of Fergana State University, Ph.D

[akbarovravshan1233@gmail.ru](mailto:akbarovravshan1233@gmail.ru)

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**Abstract:** The article discusses the impact of the February Revolution in Russia on the political revival of national territories, the emergence of national political organizations, the emergence of ideas about autonomy and parliamentarism, the propaganda of these ideas among the population of the country, for the establishment of the National Assembly in the Turkestan movements, the views of enlighteners on how it should be arranged.

**Key words:** revolution, congress, education, national political organizations, autonomy, Constituent Assembly, parliament, legislation, senate, political pluralism, republic, deputy, faction.

The first step towards independence was the idea of establishing an independent parliament in the newspapers published by Turkestan Jadids in 1906-1910. That's why he was brave without exaggeration in the conditions of the autocratic Russian Empire. The tsar's government could not allow this. As a result, activists of the Enlightenment movement, that is, Jadids, were persecuted. Therefore, in the years of political reaction after the first Russian revolution, the development of the idea of parliament in Turkestan temporarily stopped.

The revival of the idea of parliamentarism in Turkestan is connected with the February revolution of 1917 in Russia. The provision of political freedoms to national peoples by the Provisional Government established after the overthrow of the monarchy led to political revival in the regions. In March 1917, the first All-Kazakh Congress was convened in Orenburg. In the conference program, the idea of creating a national management system - autonomy for Kazakhs, together with such issues as stopping the resettlement of Russian immigrants to Kazakh lands and returning the lands that had been distributed to Russians until that time to their previous owners [3. 14-15]. On March 20, 1917, the Provisional Government announced the decision "Abolition of religious and national restrictions" [8. 5]. The participation of Turkestan representatives in the congress and this decision of the Provisional Government started the stage of the struggle for autonomy among the local intellectuals.

On April 7-15, 1917, a meeting of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet of Turkestan was convened in Tashkent. The session was held in the spirit of great state chauvinism. Among the delegates, Nekora, a teacher from Kogan, suggested that the power in the country should belong to the Russians, and Mallisky suggested that the city administration in Tashkent should be divided into European and local authorities. The chauvinistic mood of European representatives hastened the task of establishing a national political center. As a result, the "Central Muslim Council of the Turkistan Region" will be established before the All-Turkistan Muslim Congress [3. 24-25]. This organization later became popularly known as "Central Council".

The following demands were put forward at the 1st All-Turkistan Muslim Congress convened on April 16-25, 1917 with the efforts of the Central Council: 1. Unite in Russia on the basis of a federal democratic republic and give autonomy to remote areas; 2. Granting the right to vote to all citizens, regardless of gender, on a general, equal, correct and secret basis; 3. If the All-Russian Constituent Assembly chooses a federal system of governance in Russia, Turkestan will be granted the status of autonomy, and if a decision is made on the Democratic Republic system of governance, Turkestan will be granted the status of an autonomous region. At the Syezd, it was decided that it is still too early to call an independent parliament - Constituent Assembly in Turkestan [9. 4-5]. Thus, the question of granting national-territorial autonomy to Turkestan was initially put forward at the first congress of the country's Muslims. Progressive intellectuals and "Shurai Islam" organization had a great influence on the creation of this idea. It should be noted that Tatars and Bashkirs were at the forefront of political struggles with local intellectuals on the issue of autonomy for Turkestan and were among the first initiators of this idea [5. 39].

Turkestans hoped that the Constituent Assembly, which would be organized on the basis of democratic principles, would establish a form of government in Russia and develop a constitution that would give the country the right to autonomy. Therefore, it was appropriate to choose candidates who knew Russian legislation well, who could speak Russian fluently and who were able to fulfill the demands of Turkestans. At the same time, the issue of voters has caused a lot of controversy. M. Behbudi discussed about this and demanded that the age of the voters be set at 18, that the candidates should be chosen mainly from among the scholars, that it is not mandatory for them to know the Russian language and that it is not necessary to belong to any party, that it is important that the elected representatives from the country join the Muslim faction. threw in the middle. Kabir Bakir objected to this and stated that it is necessary for the candidate to know the Russian language, and the activity of the Muslim faction in the II State Duma is a clear example of this [14]. The participation of Tatar representatives in the congress caused the local representatives to change some of their opinions on political issues.

The struggle to obtain the status of autonomy for Turkestan includes two stages. At the first stage, the idea of autonomy was widely promoted among the population, and in this way the political consciousness of the local people was increased. In the second stage, active efforts were made to obtain the right to autonomy.

The first period included the spring and summer season of 1917, during which the ideas about modern democratic state management, the place and role of the parliament, and autonomy were promoted among the people through the pages of the press. For example, in the article published in the newspaper "Turon" in connection with the preparation for the Constituent Assembly, preliminary views on this matter were published. According to him, a democratic republic system will be introduced in the country in the future. The parliament will consist of one chamber, because the establishment of a two-chamber parliament, as in European countries, can sometimes lead to disagreements in the process of discussion and adoption of bills. The government is formed by deputies and is responsible to the parliament. It is not necessary to create a standing army, it is enough to create militia units instead. The election must be held on the basis of general, equal, secret and direct principles. Citizens who have reached the age of 20 have the right to vote and be elected. The people will be given

freedom of conscience, speech, assembly and personal freedom. It is impossible to build a democratic republic without them [15].

The reason why the Jadids did not favor a bicameral parliament was that in most cases the upper chamber was formed not by election, but by appointment. In this case, the principle of equality would be violated. As for the idea of not creating a standing army, it should be noted that at first Turkestan national enlighteners imagined the country as a large component of the Russian Empire, so instead of a national army, they had militia units in Turkestan. Those who believe that it is enough.

Opinions about parliamentarianism were also given in other newspapers. The article published by Tatar enlighteners N. Sayfulmalik and A. Tahir in "Uluḡ Turkistan" newspaper is a clear example of this article. This article discusses the role of the parliament in the republican form of government. According to them, the government of the country should be in the hands of the people, the republic called "republic" should be led by a "president" elected by the people instead of the ruler and elected for a certain period (two or seven years). Information is given that he is answerable before the law, and that he will not have any influence on the adoption of the law. Creation of a draft law is the competence of the people and deputies. The head of state can amend the draft law, but it is the power of the parliament to accept it or not. The power of the president before the parliament is to announce the laws adopted by the deputies. Parliament's task does not end with the adoption of the law, it is also responsible for monitoring the implementation of the adopted laws, which it supervises through ministers and state officials. Any official who violates the law must answer before the parliament. Freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, universal, compulsory and free primary education are ensured for people. In short, it is emphasized that everyone should be equal before the law in a democratic system.

The article also provides information about parliamentary elections in Europe. In particular, the principle of election is general, equal, direct and secret, and all citizens who have reached the age of 20, regardless of gender and place of residence, have the right to vote. European parliaments are mainly bicameral, and the upper chamber is called the "Senate". Its members are over 45 years old and are elected for 9 years. The fact that the members of the Senate consist mainly of representatives of the upper class may oppose the laws developed by the lower house of the parliament for the common people. Therefore, a bicameral parliament is not acceptable for republican governance [18]. According to the opinions given in the article, in the democratic way of management, the activities of all government bodies in the country are under the control of the parliament, and nothing related to the life of the country is carried out without the consent of the parliament. This factor was approved by the authors of the article and the appropriateness of choosing a republican method of management in the All-Russian Constituent Assembly was emphasized [18].

Although the information given in the article seems simple for today, it was very important for that time, because the political literacy of the population of Turkestan was not up to the required level. Therefore, it was very important to explain the meaning of the concept of parliament to the general public in the pages of the periodical press.

After the First All-Russian Muslim Congress, which took place in Moscow on May 1-11, 1917, the issue of autonomy among Muslims began to be actively raised, because the congress demanded national-territorial autonomy for Muslim peoples [19]. Syezd discussed a wide range of issues related to the life of the Muslim population. Organizationally, the All-Russian

Council of Muslims (Central Council) was elected to coordinate the activities of regional parties and movements. The executive committee of this Council included the members of the Central Council of Turkestan Muslims, U. Khojayev and I. Shoahmedov [2. 68]. After this reality, the idea of creating an independent parliament and developing laws that take into account the interests of the local population living in the country began to rise among national politicians. This was caused by the struggle for autonomy of the nations living in the territory of the empire and their successes. For example, it was reported that Lithuanians, Finns, and Ukrainians gained autonomy, established their own parliament and government [11], Belarusians and Georgians began to fight for autonomy, Crimean Tatars formed national military units and began to work for national autonomy, as well as in Turkestan. It was emphasized that national-cultural autonomy should be established without waiting for the decisions of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly [20].

For this, first of all, it is necessary to organize local administration, public education, land and water affairs, and national finance in the cities of Turkestan [11]. It was not enough to carry out propaganda among the people, it was necessary to create political and social organizations that would unite the population. The first step in this regard was the Shuroi Islam society, the first political organization established by the Jadids in March 1917. From the first days, the "Shurai Islam" society showed itself to be an influential political body capable of following the people. Soon, its branches began to be established in different cities of the country. For example, "Marvaj ul-Islam" in Samarkand, "Free People", "Miftah ul Maarif", "Sana ul Islam" in Andijan, "Union of Muslim Workers" in Kokand, "Ravnak ul Islam" in Kattakurgan, Branches such as "Muayyan al-Talibin" were formed in Jand [2. 38]. In addition, in April, "Ittifaq" was formed, and on May 15, "Ehtiyot" union was formed. It set itself the task of uniting the Muslims of the whole of Turkestan, explaining the concept of democracy to them, helping them in cultural and national affairs, preparing the population for the Constituent Assembly, and organizing the people in various ways. had set the goals of protection against violence [16]. Although not all of the listed organizations are considered political organizations, they have had a positive effect on the revitalization of the political activities of the country's population.

The issue of autonomy in Turkestan became the main point that united the interests of all the driving forces of the national liberation movement. The summer of 1917 in Turkestan, on the one hand, was a period of consolidation of political forces. On the other hand, the process of natural division in the national movement continued. The reason for the split was that the conservative forces had different positions on issues such as religious reforms, women's emancipation, attitude to the war, future state building in Russia and Turkestan, attitude to the national policy conducted by the Provisional Government [1. 101].

In the summer of 1917, on the eve of the elections to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, Turkestan progressives realized the need to form their own political party. The progressives put forward the idea of turning the educational society "Turon" into a party based on democratic principles. As a result of the joint efforts of Turkestan and Azerbaijani reformers, the "Turk Adami Centralization Party" was formed at the congress of Muslim organizations held in Skobelev on July 12-14, 1917 [2. 103]. At the same time, the program of the party was drawn up. The protocol consists of 10 sections, the first section, Article 7, is devoted to the issue of parliamentarianism. According to it, in each country that has achieved autonomy, a



legislative body - Millat Majlis and a government that executes the laws will be established [27].

The formation of the "Turk Adami Markaziyati Firkasi" party was a major impetus for the emergence of the Central Muslim Firka in Turkestan. August-September 1917 was a period of integration of Muslims of Turkestan into a single party. "Turk Adami Centralization Party" played an important role in this process. It was during this period that branches of the party were established in the large cities of Fergana Valley, such as Skobelev, Andijan, Margilon, and Namangan [17].

By the summer of 1917, various organizations were operating in Turkestan. For example, more than 20 organizations were operating in the city of Tashkent at that time. But not all of these organizations were mature political organizations. It was natural that there would be efforts to organize the activities of these organizations formed as a result of political changes. This time, Tatar and Bashkir progressives took the lead. For example, Ahmad Zaki Walidy publishes an article entitled "Organization in Turkestan", which is in the form of instructions on the issue of creating a political organization in the country. In this article, the types of political organizations, the methods of their creation, in summary, what is necessary to do to create a political organization (form a program or statute, have a central management system, have financial resources for the organization to operate, etc.) guidelines are given [12].

Later, in the autumn of 1917, the issue of independence for Turkestan was firmly put on the agenda again. I. Shoahmedov prepared a draft law on the Duma of Turkestan based on the program of the "Turkish People's Central Party" [7. 133]. Unfortunately, only a short version of this project has survived. Even in the current version of the project, the idea of establishing an independent parliament in Turkestan is clearly visible. Article 1 of this project demanded local (territorial) and national autonomy for Turkestan. Turkestan deputies elected to the Constituent Assembly of Russia had to demand this issue from the Assembly. In Article 2, all issues related to Turkestan should be resolved on the basis of the laws adopted by Majlisi Ma'buson - Constituent Assembly, which is composed of representatives of the country. In the project, the following issues are not within the jurisdiction of the Turkestan Majlis Ma'busoni: criminal and civil cases for Russians living in the country, post, telegraph, educational and cultural institutions, political and military relations between the country of Russia and foreign countries. works [Article 3]. Article 4 is devoted to the issue of elections to the Constituent Assembly of Turkestan, and it is noted that the election to the Constituent Assembly of Russia will be held one month after the election to the Constituent Assembly of Russia. The law on elections to the Majlis should be harmonized with the law on elections to the Russian Constituent Assembly. In the appendix of this article, in order to organize election laws for the Constituent Assembly of Turkestan, one member should be elected from each district and a commission consisting of these members should be formed. It is decided that the work of this commission will be managed by the Tashkent Chamber of Justice. Article 5 states that all issues related to the administration and internal affairs of Turkestan come under the authority of the Turkestan Majlis Ma'busoni. In Article 6, the number of Turkestan Constituent Assembly members should be three times more than the number of Turkestan members elected to the Russian Constituent Assembly. Article 7 stipulates the presence of representatives of Europeans living in 10 countries in the Parliament of Turkestan [21].

In the draft, special attention is paid to the freedom of every citizen, according to the draft, it is emphasized that every citizen living in Turkestan is equal before the law, regardless of

nationality, gender and other aspects [Article 8]. In addition, the project focused on the issue of Turkestan being completely independent in internal and external affairs [Article 21] [22].

As can be seen from the text of the project, a draft law was prepared in the autumn of 1917, which provided for the establishment of an independent parliament in Turkestan. It is noteworthy that even the number of members to be elected to the Turkestan Majlis Ma'buson is clearly indicated in the project. At the end of the II congress of Muslims of Turkestan, it was decided that the project of I. Shoahmedov and the ceremony of Turk Adami centralism faction will be multiplied and distributed to each region, and after the two projects will be discussed in the regions, they will be presented to the IV congress [13]. After long discussions, according to the decision of Turkestan Autonomous People's Council in January 1918, it was decided that the number of members of the Constituent Assembly of Turkestan will be 234 [26].

September 1917 was a period of intensified political struggle among Turkestan national educators. "Ulama" and "Khaloiq" society, which did not officially recognize the Second Congress of Muslims of Turkestan, will convene their congress in Tashkent on September 17-20, with the participation of 500 representatives. Representatives from the Ural and Torgai regions took part in the congress together with different regions of the country [23]. In this session, it was decided that the issue of land and water of Turkestan will be handed over to the Constituent Assembly of Turkestan [24].

A decision on the future political system of the country consisting of 14 articles will be adopted at the Syezd. The content of this decision regarding the issue of parliament was as follows: Syrdarya, Samarkand, Fergana, Caspian regions received territorial autonomy within the Russian republic, all peoples living in the country were considered nationally and territorially independent in the initial period, and the name of the political union was "Federal Republic of Turkistan". is called [Article 1]. The issue of legislation and self-governance in the Turkestan Federation concerns the Parliament of Turkestan. The parliament is elected for a period of 5 years by universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage by all peoples living in the country [Article 2]; The legislative function of the Parliament of Turkestan must be in accordance with the basic laws of the Russian Republic and Sharia [Article 3]. The Parliament of Turkestan sends its representatives to the Supreme Government of the Russian Republic for permission to discuss national issues [Article 4]. The federal parliament of Turkestan operates in session form. The time of convocation and dissolution of the session is carried out directly by the parliament. The Presidium of the Parliament shall function without a break, and its powers shall be preserved during this period [Article 5]. All sectors of the national economy of the Turkestan Federation are managed by a special secretariat elected by the parliament and approved by the government of the republic [Article 6]. The Secretariat is responsible to the Federal Parliament of Turkestan [Article 7]. The Senate of the Federation of Turkestan, called "Mahkamai Sha'riya" (Legislative Chamber), is located in Tashkent. The Senate develops laws and comments on them, supervises the correct implementation of laws in all organizations in the country based on Sharia [Article 8]. The chairman of the Senate is called "shaykhulislam" (prosecutor general) and is the guardian of the laws of the Turkestan Federation [Article 9]. Members of the Senate (senators) are elected by the people for a period of 5 years by general, correct, equal and secret voting [Article 10] [4. 562-563]. At the congress, the issue of obtaining autonomy for the country was firmly placed on the agenda. The autonomy will be named "Federal Republic of Turkistan" and will consist of Syrdarya,

Samarkand, Fergana and Kaspiyorti regions. In the future, the state will be governed on the basis of the parliamentary republic method. The main authorities of the republic are the legislative body (Parliament of Turkestan), the executive power (Secretariat and the government of the republic), and the Senate, which controls the compliance of adopted laws with Sharia and the implementation of laws [6. 63-64].

Syezda also called to stop the creation of land committees and to socialize the land. None of this was radically different from the form of autonomy in the Congress of Jadids. The decisive difference was the attitude of the clerics to the bicameral nature of the future parliament and to the issues of religion and women. Kurultoi "must not be separated from this world with religious matters, that is, everything from schools to land and justice issues should be decided on the basis of Sharia." At the congress, a party called "Ittifaqi Muslimin" was formed, uniting all Muslim organizations. The principles of the party are in accordance with Sharia [6. 65], proposed to take the place of all existing organizations such as "Shurai Islamiya". This was nothing more than a call to destroy the future organizational infrastructure intended to be established by the modernist-enlightened people in Turkestan, and an aggressive assertion of the ulema's power [10. 69]. Now each party considered itself to be the sole legal representative of society and acted on its behalf.

Until October 1917, the question of establishing a unicameral parliament was put forward in Turkestan. At the end of September, the issue of a two-chamber parliament was raised for the first time at the congress, which was called by the initiative of the clerics. On October 8-11 of this year, a congress of Muslims of the Syrdarya region, consisting mainly of their supporters, was held in Tashkent. At the congress, the decision on parliamentarianism adopted in September was once again reinforced [25].

This means that the representatives of the Shura Ulema insist on the supremacy of Sharia laws in the socio-political life of the region. Until today, "Ittifoqi Muslimin" has been characterized as a party uniting Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. However, the fact that the party is based on Sharia in political management caused the intellectuals to distance themselves from the power structures and take an opposing position. As a result, the ideological conflict that began in May 1917 has now led to an official split. This ideological conflict later had a negative impact on the activities of Turkestan Autonomy

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