

## Participation of Turkestan Representatives in the State Duma of Russia

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**Annotation:** In this article, the first convocation of the State Duma of Russia, the second convocation of the State Duma, the delay of elections in Turkestan and its causes, the elected representatives of the region, the formation and purpose of the Muslim faction, the faction's activities in the legislative process, the attitude of representatives of the region to discussing and passing bills in the Duma, the content of the speeches of the representatives of the country who spoke from the rostrum of the Duma, the attitude of our Muslim representatives to agriculture, public education, drumhead court-martial and other issues.

**Keywords:** State Duma, parliament, election, deputy, faction, Muslim faction, law, Duma commission, agrarian issue, resettlement policy.

### INTRODUCTION

The first convocation of the State Duma began on April 27, 1906. However, no representatives from Turkestan were elected in the Duma's convocation. The reason for this was to prevent the representation of people other than Russians in the parliament to be formed in Russia. A large number of national representatives in the new parliament was believed to be the reason for the intensification of the national liberation struggle in the colonies. In this regard, separate constituencies have been established in the country for the local and European populations. At the same time, there were disparities in the number of voters. In the Russian provinces, 250,000 voters are usually assigned to one deputy, while in the Fergana region, 786,000 voters are expected to elect one deputy for the local population [24. 25.]. Along with Turkestan, no elections were held for Muslims living in Siberia, the steppes, and the deserts. In the first convocation, Muslim deputies acted in conjunction with the cadet faction. This was due to cadets' initiatives such as the introduction of universal, correct, equal, and secret suffrage for cadets, the allocation of land to landless and low-income farmers through the confiscation of state, church lands, and private lands at the expense of the state [3. 450.], unicameral parliamentarism, the election of the government by parliament, general, free and compulsory primary education, the introduction of an electoral system at the lower levels of the judiciary [6. 89.]. Nevertheless, on June 21, 1906, Muslim deputies decided to form an independent "Muslim faction" and announce its goals and objectives at a meeting on July 14 [7. 33-34]. However, due to the dissolution of the Duma, the formation of the faction would not be formalized.

### MATERIALS AND METHODS

In the second convocation of the Duma, Muslim representatives also decided to continue cooperation with the cadets. This political cooperation was further strengthened on the eve of the Duma elections [25. 139-145]. However, the cadets used the votes of the Muslim representatives and did not fulfill their promises [8. 128], their program was not in accordance with the rules of Islam [16. 31], and that led to the formation of Muslim representatives as a separate, independent faction.

On agronomic, economic, and social problems, ideological disagreements among Muslim representatives emerged only at the end of February (the issue of the role of women in society - A.R.). As a result, K. Hasanov led a group of six deputies to form a separate "Muslim service category" [26. 41]. Despite this, the dispute was resolved in a liberal spirit [23. 21], and all Muslim deputies stayed united on religious and national matters [16. 40].

On March 17, 1907, the Muslim faction was officially formed [30. 619]. M.A. Biglov was elected chairman of the faction, and S. Jonturin was elected official secretary. Two secretaries were later elected, one in Russian and the other in Tatar (a medium Turkish language that everyone could understand - A.R.) [8. 60-65]. The first task was to create a political platform focused on economic, national, and religious issues [13. 83]. For this purpose, a special commission consisting of 11 members of the faction was formed [13. 175].

On March 20, 1907, an 8-member bureau was elected to implement the decisions of the Muslim faction and to consider the appeal of the Muslims to the deputy or faction [13. 18]. However, the bureau was unable to carry out its work successfully. Therefore, instead of a bureau, a Temporary Commission was established in cooperation with the Muslim Faction and the Central Committee of the All-Russian Union of Muslims. The commission consisted mainly of Tatar and Azerbaijani representatives, and its task was to serve the interests of Muslims in Russia (to organize the activities of the "Union", to publish a newspaper for Muslims in the capital, to support the legislative activities of the Muslim faction, etc.) [13]. 39].

On March 25, 1907, a program of the faction consisting of 68 articles was prepared [26. 49-58]. The program is intended to be announced from the rostrum of the Duma as a political platform of the faction.

On March 28, 1907, a regular meeting of the faction was attended by 24 Muslim representatives. The main issue at the meeting was the establishment of a newspaper with the Central Union of All-Russian Muslims. The meeting decided to wait for all the Muslim representatives elected to formally form the faction [16. 23]. Because the Duma elections in Turkestan were not held at the same time, the deputies came to the capital at different times. For example, A. Qoriev and V. Nalivkin February 24 [10. 25], T.Olloberganov, K.M.Aframovich, A.P.Drukar, I.L.Kolendzian, I.E.Mironov, L.I.Egoshkin in early April 1907 [2. 20-21], T.Abdukhalilov, M.Nurberdikhonov, S.Muhammadjanov for the first time took part in the session of the State Duma on April 9 [10. 1754], M. Gavrilov and M. Tinishpaev, elected from Ettisuv region, were registered in the Duma on April 30, 1907 [17. 54].

Except M.Tinishpaev from Turkestan [2. 30-31] all other representatives joined the Muslim faction [12]. Elected representatives of the European population in the country M. Gavrilov and I.L. Kolendzian joined the faction of workers, A.P. Drukar of social-revolutionaries, L.I. Egoshkin of the Cossack group, K.M. Aframovich and V. Nalivkin [2. 20-21], I.E.Mironovs [15. 61] of the Social Democrats.

The Muslim faction tried to be as active as possible in the Duma. The initial success of the faction was the demand that Friday meetings be held in the afternoon, and from March 16, 1907, the Friday meetings of the Duma were held after 14:00 [10. 1570, 346, 630].

By the end of March, the number of members of the faction, including elected representatives from Turkestan, reached 28 [16. 29-30]. It was noted that all other members of the faction could speak Russian except Makhtumkulihon [9] and Abduvahid Qori Abdurauf Qoriev [10. 783]. However, this view was not so accurate, and some of the elected representatives from Central Asia were

unable to express their views freely in Russian. Therefore, members of the faction sometimes had to communicate through an interpreter [19. 179].

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The procedure for the adoption of laws in the State Duma was as follows: draft laws were prepared by the Ministers (heads of departments), the State Council, and the commissions of the State Duma [27. 80]. Bills submitted by the government could be withdrawn after approval by the Duma [27. 81]. In addition to the basic laws, deputies could make changes to existing laws or submit a written application to the chairman of the Duma to develop new bills. Amendments to the application or a new bill had to be attached, and if the application was signed by 30 people, it would be submitted to the Duma for consideration by the chairman. In the event that the draft law was rejected by the Ministers or the Heads of Departments, the draft was submitted to a special parliamentary commission for revision [27. 81]. According to the system of legislative activity, the submission of bills belonged to government agencies (ministers and departments), and members of the Duma were engaged in the consideration of proposed bills. In this case, the legislative initiative of the Duma is not denied [22. 65].

Among other representatives, some Turkestan representatives were involved in various commissions set up in the State Duma. However, the representatives elected from Turkestan were not elected to the main commission of the Duma, but mainly to the temporary commissions. For example, V. Nalivkin – to the Commission for the discussion of the draft law on drumhead court-martial, to the Commission on Local and Self-Government, to the Commission on Inquiries [2. 37-42], to the Budget Commission [10. 987], I.L. Kolendzyan – to the Commission on Public Education [10. 90], KM Aframovich – elected to the State Duma Admission Commission, Agrarian Commission, T. Abdukhalilov, M. Tinishpaev - Agrarian Commission [2. 39].

On April 2, 1907, in the Central Bureau of the headquarters of the Muslim faction, the deputies got acquainted with each other [16. 34] The issue of publishing an independent newspaper was discussed at this meeting. At the meeting, S. Muhammadjanov promised to pay 3,000 rubles for the newspaper and the rent of an apartment for faction meetings [16. 26-28].

At the next meeting of the faction on April 7, the issue of conducting meetings in Turkish for the first time was considered. However, deputies from the Caucasus protested. In the end, it was decided that the meetings would be held mainly in Russian, and those who did not speak Russian could use Turkish (mainly Tatar - A.R.) in the negotiations. At the meeting, 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 were elected [16. 41-43]. The commission was further divided into three sub-commissions: religious, economic, and legal. K. Tevkelev was elected chairman of the religious commission, F. Khan-Khoysky chairman of the economic commission, and A. Topchiboshev chairman of the legal commission. The commission, which began its work on April 13, has been tasked with drafting laws on the socio-political, economic, and public education of Muslims, abolishing restrictions on Muslims and conducting various surveys [14. 29], and A.Koriev (religious and legal commission) and S.Muhammadjanov (legal commission) from Turkestan were included in the composition [11]. A Turkestan representative was not elected to the factional commission on economic issues.

Of these, the activities of the religious commission were more lively. After the commissions began their work, a bill on freedom of conscience was discussed by the Muslim faction. At the same time, draft laws on local courts, self-government, elections, and the reorganization of Muslim religious administrations have begun to be drafted [14. 31]. The main goal in this regard is to reorganize the

religious administration of the empire in the Muslim-populated areas. By mid-May, the commission would be tasked with drafting a resolution on the reorganization of the local Muslim religious administration. Deputies B.Sultanov, T.Eldorkhanov, A.Kardashev were commissioned to draft a project on religious administration in the North Caucasus, Abdurashid Ibragimov in Turkestan, B.Karataev in the desert, former MP A.Topchiboshev in the Transcaucasia, G.Belyaev in Orenburg, and R.Mediev in the Crimea [14. 37]. It is obvious that members of the All-Russian Central Committee took an active part in the work of the Muslim faction. Apparently, the Muslim faction was going to put the law on freedom of conscience firmly on the agenda through this move.

Representatives of Turkestan, elected to the legal and religious commissions set up under the Muslim faction, have made some proposals in this regard. For example, on April 21, at the invitation of S. Muhammadjanov from Fergana, members of the faction and the committee gathered at his apartment. At this meeting, Article 40 of the program of the faction of Turkestan representatives was amended on the proposal that "... disputes are resolved in accordance with local customs and Sharia" [16. 65-66]. The Duma considered the demand of the Muslim faction on the legal issue to replace the local courts with Sharia and custom. A special commission set up by the faction to collect materials on this issue was commissioned to draft a bill abolishing judicial restrictions [16. 22].

As noted above, not all Muslims living in the Russian Empire, and even Muslim representatives, were fluent in Russian. Therefore, the Muslim faction proposed to the Duma the issue of hiring translators in order to translate the drafted bills into local languages. The purpose of this was to acquaint citizens with the bills developed by the Muslim faction. Several rich people in Turkestan promise to pay 2-3 thousand rubles a year for this purpose [16. 60].

As in other areas, the issue of public education in Turkestan was far behind. According to 1897 data, there was only one school for every 10 villages in the Syrdarya region [16. 81]. Not only in Turkestan, but also in many regions of Russia, there were not enough primary schools. For example, in 1907, there were not enough schools for 7 million children in the empire. At the 33rd session of the Duma on May 4, 1907, the draft law "On Public Education" was discussed [2. 142]. The discussion noted that in addition to the existing 90,000 schools in the country, an additional 60,000 schools should be opened. Speaking on this issue, K. Hasanov on behalf of the Muslims introduced the draft law "On Amendments to the Rules of March 31, 1906, on educational institutions in remote areas" [14. 31], and demanded to transfer the control over public education from the Ministry of the Interior to the Ministry of Public Education [28. 9], the abolition of compulsory teaching of Russian in Muslim primary schools [2. 186]. This is because the Law "On educational institutions in remote areas" further limited the upbringing of Muslim children in the spirit of Islam and national traditions [28. 7]. The Muslim faction did apply to the Duma on May 24 to change the law [22. 40].

The application was signed by Turkestan deputies T.Abdukhalilov, A.Qoriev, M.Nurberdikhonov, M.Tinishpaev, T.Allaberganov [23. 81-86]. This issue was discussed many times in the next convocation of the Duma. For example, the issue of teaching the national language in primary schools was also discussed in the third convocation of the Duma, and on March 29, 1908, the draft law "On the teaching language in local primary schools" was submitted to the Duma. Although this project stipulates that teaching in the mother tongue in primary schools is mandatory [3. 113], the law on the opening of primary schools in the local language was not adopted. Because the imperial government was well aware that the opening of schools in the national language would lead to the strengthening of the national liberation movement.

As in the first Duma, the agrarian issue remained a key issue in the next convocation. The issue also sparked heated debate among deputies at the Duma's March-May sessions. The agrarian question was first discussed at the March 7 meeting with a report by Prime Minister P.A. Stolypin. The position of the Muslim faction in this regard was announced by F. Khan-Khoisky at the 20th session of the Duma II on April 2, 1907. According to him, resettlement policies in the Caucasus and Turkestan have aimed at Russifying the local population who speak languages other than local and Russian. Lands to be confiscated in the future should be concentrated in the regional land fund, not in the state fund, and distributed according to the needs of farmers. Irrigated lands in Muslim livestock areas should not be increased, as such a policy would break centuries-old traditions and deprive herders of a source of livelihood [10. 1499-1504].

Along with the agrarian issue, one of the issues that needed to be solved for Muslims was the resettlement policy. At the end of the 19th century, the Russian government focused its main migration policy on Siberia, and from the beginning of the 20th century on Turkestan. This was because relocating the population to Siberia was more costly for the government [18. 179-180]. In Siberia, 70 percent of the lands intended for resettlement require additional inspections, agronomic and hydrotechnical preparations. Without such large-scale preparations, relocation was useless, and in 1906, 30 percent of the population, relocated to such areas, returned to their homeland [2. 1124]. Moving people to Turkestan has become much cheaper. However, there was confusion over the provision of land to the displaced population and the rule that they should be relocated to vacant lands was not explained. As a result, arable land for the displaced population began to be separated directly from the land used by the local population. In fact, the lack of vacant land in the resettled area, especially in Central Asia, and the fact that the resettlement policy disrupts the long-established traditions of life of the local population were loudly uttered by Muslim representatives from the Duma rostrum [26. 79].

For example, Muslim representatives A. Qoriev, A. Beremjanov, M. Tukaev and Sh. Koshegulov have applied to suspend the resettlement of people on Kyrgyz lands until the Duma considers the land issue. It said that if the policy of unauthorized resettlement was not stopped, hostility between Kyrgyz and Russians would escalate to the point of armed conflict. P.A. Stolypin considered the complaint and set up a commission headed by Interior Minister N. Likoshin. The Commission was informed that the applicants would be notified of the response to the application [16. 14-15].

According to deputies, since 1894, Kyrgyz lands have been ruthlessly expropriated. The nomads were left with sandy, salty, waterless lands. To solve this problem, it was first necessary to determine how much vacant land was in the hands of the settlers and how much land could be given to the displaced [3. 725].

Thus, on April 2, 1907, the agrarian question was first discussed in the Duma. On April 17, the Ministry of Finance did make a special report on this issue [2. 160].

On May 3, 1907, for the first time in the Duma, a bill on the regulation of taxation of rainfed and unclaimed lands directly related to Turkestan was discussed. The attitude of the Muslim faction to the project was as follows: the abolition of all forms of private ownership of land, the equality of all citizens in the use of land, the confiscation of all lands by the state, the distribution of land according to the needs of farmers, the prohibition of sales, pledges, donations of land, the members of the commission regulating the use of land resources were to be formed on the basis of fair, general, equal and secret ballot [3. 673-680].

On May 11, IL Kolendzian delivered a speech on the draft law on the regulation of taxation of rainfed and unclaimed lands in Turkestan [2. 90].

The main discussion on this issue in the Duma was held on May 22. On the same day, T. Abdukhalilov, a deputy from Samarkand, spoke on behalf of the Muslim faction. According to him, in Turkestan it is incorrect to charge 90 kopecks to 1 ruble for 1st-grade land, 60-80 kopecks for 2nd-grade land, and 40-70 kopecks for 3rd-grade land. Under local conditions, rainfed lands are divided into three parts, one part of which is planted, and the rest is plowed. Such a system is designed to maintain the condition of the land. According to the tax system, this type of rainfed land in Turkestan is also taxed. If we add to this the 25 percent local tax, it becomes clear that this type of land is taxed at 3 rubles 75 kopecks per 1 tithe, 2nd-grade lands at 3 rubles per tithe, and 3rd-grade lands at 2 rubles 70 kopecks. On top of that, the 50 percent tax on agricultural profits is even heavier. In addition, the difficult natural conditions in our country, garmzil and often locust plagues, and the occasional drought aggravate the situation of farmers. In view of this, the tax regime was proposed that for rainfed lands in Turkestan 50 kopecks for each tithe of 1st-grade land, 40 kopecks for 2nd-grade land, and 25 kopecks for 3rd-grade land. At the same time, T. Abdukhalilov suggests opening a Russian-native school in Samarkand [2. 1037-1038]. In addition to the agrarian issue, the lecturer submitted to the Duma a 75-point petition against the restriction of the rights of local Jews in Samarkand and Bukhara [20. 40].

The inquiry of the State Duma to the evening session of May 24, 1907, proposed by the Ministry of Finance on March 29, 1907, to maintain the tax system for rainfed and unclaimed lands in Turkestan for 1907 (after the 2nd discussion) was set to be approved [2. 1164].

The draft law "On rainfed and unassigned lands in Turkestan" was discussed again at the 48th session on May 26. Kolendzyan, elected from the Syrdarya region, did speak at the discussion of the bill. He noted that the population of Turkestan has so far been excluded from administrative conditions, the resettlement policy has not been satisfactorily organized, no clear rules have been developed to abolish the excess tax paid by the local population, and the military system in the country needs to be abolished immediately. If the system of governance had been handed over to the local people, the amount of taxable land would have been determined more quickly, and the resettlement of the displaced population to Turkestan would have been resolved more quickly [2. 1251-1252].

The fact that two Turkestan deputies had spoken with concrete evidence on the same issue forced the Duma to consider the case. On the evening of May 29, 1907, the 51st session resolved the issue of extending the state land tax system for rainfed and unclaimed lands in Turkestan for 1907, and for 1907 the following amounts of taxes were imposed on the provinces:

Samarkand	25,500 rubles
Yettisuv	9,000 rubles
Sirdaryo	61,500 rubles
Fergana	53,000 rubles

Although the Duma did not pass the draft law "On rainfed and unclaimed lands in Turkestan", the amount of tax on these lands was partially reduced. Because, until 1907, the amount of tax levied on such lands in the country was 155,000 rubles per year [2. 1030].

Reasonable proposals of the representatives of the region were not accepted by the Duma. The reason was, firstly, that the Duma had been dissolved soon, and secondly, that the government did not have enough clear information about the rainfed lands in the region. The bill was debated for a

second time on May 26 and submitted to the editors on May 29 [2. 1060]. Although the bill was submitted to the Duma commission on June 3, 1907, it was not accepted [3. 673-680].

Of the local Turkestan deputies in the State Duma, only T. Abdukhalilov was active, while the Russian representatives were more active in legal and national issues. The first speaker from the Duma from Turkestan belongs to V. Nalivkin. He spoke on behalf of the Social Democratic faction at the 19th session on March 30, 1907, emphasizing that, as the Minister of Justice had pointed out, the Russian judiciary was not a measure of justice but a weapon of punishment in 1905-1906 [10. 1463, 1754]. He likens the Russian judiciary to "... the goddess of the blindfolded Femida." His analogy leads to him being summoned to a duel by a St. Petersburg city judge.

I.E.Mironov spoke on April 17 on the relationship between the chairman and deputies, and on June 1 on the judicial investigation of important cases by the Ministry of Justice [2. 106]. K.M.Aframovich, a deputy from Samarkand, spoke at the 21st session of the Duma on April 3 about the strikes in the Caucasus, while on April 6 he criticized the government's position on these strikes [10. 1570, 1694-1698].

In addition, Turkestan deputies as part of the Muslim faction took part in the discussion of the bill on the abolition of the law "On drumhead court-martial", adopted by the emperor on August 19, 1906. If we take into account that 32 members of the Muslim faction signed, we can know that Turkestan representatives also joined it [2. 163, 218]. The bill on the abolition of drumhead court-martial was adopted by the Duma on April 20, 1907. However, it was later rejected by the Council of State [4. 215].

The following can be said about the Turkestan representatives elected to the State Duma: S.Muhammadjanov, an elected representative from Fergana region, was a trader, although he was fluent in Russian and French [5. 79], but was a man far removed from politics [29. 38]. This can be seen in his signature on the issues discussed in the Duma. For example, he signed petitions in the Duma in April 1907 on issues not at the level of state policy [26. 71-72]. However, it did not sign the petitions of May 1907 by Muslim representatives on agriculture and education at the level of state policy [26. 86]. From the above facts we can draw the following conclusion on the activity of S.Muhammadjanov as a deputy: 1) It is possible that he did not take part in the sessions of the Duma in May 1907; 2) He might not want to be with forces that are in opposition to the government.

In fact, if we take into consideration that a separate apartment was given to the Muslim representatives by him, the second assumption is closer to the truth. At the same time, the majority of elected representatives from Turkestan could not express themselves freely in Russian. For example, Abdurauf Qoriev, a deputy from Tashkent, cannot speak Russian fluently [13. 180], and Makhtumkulihon did not speak Russian at all, so he hired an interpreter when he went to St. Petersburg. T.Allaberganov studied in a Russian-language school, although he was fluent in Russian [21. 150], he was also far from politics. As for the Russian representatives elected from the country, they were all from opposition parties to the government.

## CONCLUSION

The following conclusions can be drawn about the activities of European and local deputies elected from Turkestan:

- First, not all elected representatives of the local population of the region were able to fully function in the parliament (it is meant to be able to express themselves freely in Russian and their territorial problems from the rostrum of the Duma - A. R.), even deputies from Muslim

faction were not elected to internal commissions (except for Salijon Muhammadjanov and Abdurauf Qoriev);

- Secondly, the issues raised by the deputies elected from the European population and local deputies also differed from each other. Representatives elected by the Russian-speaking population have spoken out more on political issues, believing that governance in Turkestan should be largely their own. Although I.L. Kolendzyan's report was on the issue of rainfed lands in Turkestan, in fact, its main purpose was only a means to achieve a political goal in the country. Although T.Abdukhalilov, a local deputy from Turkestan, spoke twice from the rostrum of the Duma, his speeches were mainly limited to economic and social issues.

Thus, it can be said that the activity of Turkestan deputies was unsatisfactory. The reason for this was, firstly, that the first was an experiment and, secondly, that no suitable candidates had been selected. According to the law of June 3, 1907, the election of deputies to the Duma from Turkestan, along with some regions of Russia, had been canceled.

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