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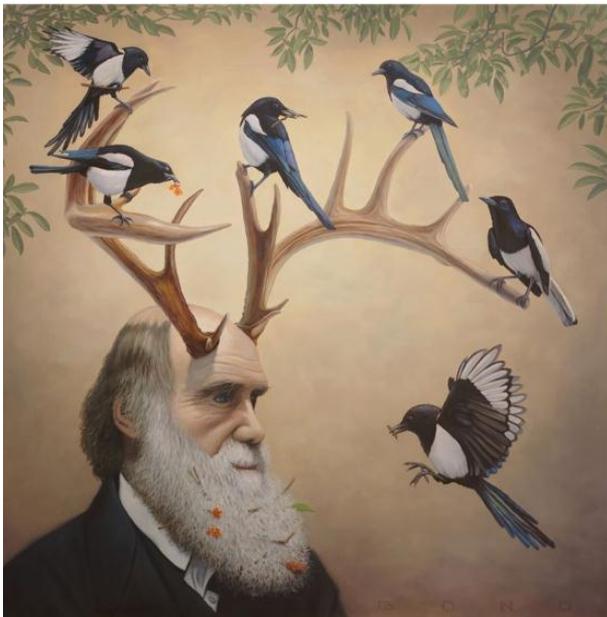
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Projects of state and political development of muslims in Russia

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Abstract

The study aims to investigate projects of state and political development of Muslims in Russia at the outset of the 20th century via methods of the analysis and synthesis. As a result, only in the 1990s the edition of works of Muslims of the Russian Empire movement leaders, the edition of the monographs devoted to projects of state and political development of Muslims of Russia at the outset of the 20th century began. In conclusion, the authors disagree with the opinion that showed the movement of Russian Muslims as irredentist and separatist one.

Keywords: Autonomy, Statehood, Muslims, Mufti, Majlis.

Proyectos de desarrollo estatal y político de musulmanes en Rusia

Resumen

El estudio tiene como objetivo investigar proyectos de desarrollo estatal y político de musulmanes en Rusia a principios del

siglo XX a través de métodos de análisis y síntesis. Como resultado, solo en la década de 1990 comenzó la edición de obras de los líderes del movimiento de los musulmanes del Imperio ruso, la edición de las monografías dedicadas a proyectos de desarrollo estatal y político de los musulmanes de Rusia a principios del siglo XX. En conclusión, los autores no están de acuerdo con la opinión que mostró el movimiento de los musulmanes rusos como irredentistas y separatistas.

Palabras clave: autonomía, estadidad, musulmanes, muftí, majlis.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Relevance of a problem

Studying the history political views formation of Muslims of the Russian Empire at the outset of the 20th century is of great scientific interest today. Disintegration of the Soviet Union led to emergence of the new independent states on the Eurasian space. The status of the sovereign independent states was received by the Central Asian republics and Azerbaijan. Other Muslim people of the former Empire (the Volga-Ural region, the North Caucasus) remained as a part of the Russian Federation. The Crimean Tatars have special position because they de-facto became again a part of Russia in 2014. During the late imperial period Russian Muslims tried to define their state legal status within the Russian statehood. Various projects of autonomy and statehood of Muslims, that were especially necessary in 1917, after falling of the monarchy were offered. The analysis of this historical experience is very important for understanding modern processes of search of national and confessional identity within their states.

1.2. Purpose and research problems

The purpose of article is to give scientific presentation of state and political development projects in interpretation of Muslim politicians of the Russian Empire at the outset of the 20th century using general scientific and special historical methods. Research has been directed to the solution of three interconnected tasks. First, this description and the characteristic of models of spiritual and religious autonomy developed by Muslim leaders during the first Russian revolution in 1905-1907. Secondly, it is the projects of state and political development of Muslims of Russia developed by deputies of Muslim fraction of the State Duma of the Empire. And, the third problem is to characterize the models of autonomy of Muslims offered by various national groups at the First All-Russian Muslim congress in 1917 (KAGEYAMA, 2018: KORD, NOUSHIRAVANI, BAHADORI & JAHANTIGH, 2017: PITEIRA, COSTA & APARICIO, 2018).

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The published sources, including the legislation of the Russian Empire, verbatim records of the State Duma, periodicals materials, analytical works of the Muslim world leaders of the Russian Empire are used in this work. Verbatim records of the Russian Empire State Duma meetings are a unique historical source on studying parliamentary history of pre-revolutionary Russia. The collected volume *Islam in the Russian Empire* written and published by the

classic of the Russian Islamic Studies ARAPOV (2001) is of great importance for this research. The opinions and projects of social movement figures of the Russian Empire Muslims in particular, the works of BIGI (1917), TOPCHIBASHEV (1906), and others are reflected there. A great attention was paid to works of the famous Russian specialists in Islamic studies and researchers of history of the Muslim peoples of the imperial period in this research (UNVER, HIDIROGLU, DEDE & GUZEL, 2018).

When writing work, we used the principles of objectivism and historicism which assume modern assessment of the studied phenomenon. Methods of the analysis and synthesis are used in this work. We have subjected to such analysis and synthesis various projects of state and legal construction of the Muslim peoples of the Russian Empire at the outset of the 20th century and analyzed the process of projects discussion at the First All-Russian Muslim congress in 1917. We also used a comparative-historical method, its main techniques: comparison, description and characteristic. They have allowed to consider all the phenomenon aspects studied comprehensively. That is offered and discussed projects of religious autonomy, broad regional self-government with creation of national and cultural autonomy, and at last, the project of federalization of Russia (BENNIGSEN & LEMERCIER, 1960).

3. RESULTS

3.1. Model of Spiritual government

Process of national autonomies and states creation among the Muslim peoples of the Russian Empire at the beginning of the last century was gradual. It was mentioned about three forms of autonomy: religious, national and cultural and territorial. At the same time expansion of powers till 1917-1918 was considered as a part of the all-Russian political process on expansion of citizens, ethnic groups and regions rights. Originally as model of legal status the Transcaucasian Muslim clergy of the Sunni doctrine was considered. During the Russian revolution of 1905-1907, there was a meeting of Golyama zhemgyate in April, 1905 in Ufa at the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly (OMDS). Ulama and Mudarrises of all OMDS main centers took part in it. Mufti M. Sultanov suggested to consider management provision of the Russian Transcaucasian Muslims, approved on April 5, 1872.

Sultanov recommended to be guided by articles 1558-1672 forming chapter 2 About management of the Transcaucasian Muslim clergy of the Sunni doctrine. OMDS qadi Fakhretdin was the main speaker. He suggested to create the position of Sheikh ul-Islam as the unified leader of the Russian Muslims elected by them in the rank of the imperial minister. The representatives of all mazkhab had to be consultants of Spiritual affairs department of foreign confessions of the internal affairs ministry. There was rather harmonious three-level control system in Transcaucasia under the Imperial Provision of 1872. The Volga-Ural Tatars made a basis of the political movement. After declaration of the Manifesto on October 17, 1905 in St. Petersburg took place the meeting, where it was settled to start the program of

Muslim party creation. The elections to the first State Duma provided absolute majority to supporters of Ittifak, and its leaders formed the core of Muslim deputies. The party leader became the chairman of the faction (ZENKOWSKY, 1960).

3.2. Project of territorial autonomy

During convocation of the first State Azerbaijanian together with Tatar and deputies of the first State Duma from the Ufa province became members of Society of autonomists, that is they acted as supporters of territorial autonomy on a sample of the Grand duchy of Finland. The autonomy issue was discussed at the third All-Russian Muslim congress which took place on August 16-21, 1906 in Nizhny Novgorod. The program of Ittifaq provided the creation of the constitutional state with religions and the nations equality. The muhally mukhtariyat section proposed that the territory of the state was divided into vilayats. Majlises (representative bodies of vilayats) had the right of the legislation within their own powers. Local officials should be elected by the population. The language of majority of the area population was recognized as its official language, however all other peoples could carry on educational and printing activity in their own languages.

Thus, national and cultural autonomy and even recognition of non-Russian language as the official one in the territory where these peoples made the majority was admitted. Muslims acquired the right to

create their religious center (assembly), to elect clergy, to form Muslim parishes. Maktabs, madrasahs, mosques, places of worship, the charitable organizations and waqfs transferred into their hands. So, TOPCHIBASHEV (1906) offered creation not only religious autonomy, but also transferring to wide local government formation which would become a transitional stage to territorial autonomy. The majority of congresses considered it rather a program for the future. I. Gasprinsky and Yu. Akchura called the main reference points the gathering of all Muslims around body of religious autonomy, but not around the party program.

3.3. Waiting for the future era of national revival

Muslim fraction of the State Duma in 1914-1916. After defeat of revolution of 1905-1907 many leaders of the Russian Muslims had to leave the homeland. On June 15-25 the fourth All-Russian Muslim congress took place in St. Petersburg. The congress made the main emphasis on reform of the existing Spiritual Assemblies. On November 3, 1916 on behalf of Muslim faction Azerbaijanian Mamed Yusuf Dzhafarov joined the analysis of the imperial regime stated by the leader of cadets Pavel Milyukov and criticized imperial politics towards Muslims in Kazakh Steppes, Turkestan and Kars region. The declaration to cancel all restrictions on national and religious sign was accepted by Provisional government. Thus, throughout all the convocation the fourth Duma did not recognize equality of Muslims of Russia and did not adopt the laws providing teaching in the native

language at public school. As a result, leaders of the Russian Ummah began to support those forces in the Russian society which sought for overthrow of the monarchy.

3.4. All-Russian Muslim congress of 1917 and model of the state autonomy of Muslims

In April 1917, leaders of Kazan and Ufa Muslims also suggested to hold a congress of Muslims of Internal Russia before convocation of the Constituent Assembly. Such transition to the solution of the all-Russian Muslim problems before discussion of problems of each of the Muslim peoples sparked criticism among many Muslims. The ideas of political, administrative and economic unity of Muslims of Russia developed by RESULZADE (1930) came to an end at First All-Russian Muslim congress in 1917. According to the proposal of the Azerbaijanian RESULZADE (1930), the most of delegates supported territorial autonomy. Thereby, the question of the power was withdrawn from the all-Russian level and moved to the levels of such separate ethnic groups as Muslims of Turkestan, Kazakhs, the Crimean Tatars, Bashkirs, Muslims of the Caucasus and, at last, Tatars of Internal Russia and Siberia. Tatar socialist from Ufa Galimdzhan Ibragimov appealed to create five separate states within Russia: Kazakhstan, Caucasus, Turkestan, Tatarstan and the Crimea.

4. DISCUSSIONS

The first documents and personal memories of the social and political movement and projects of state and political development of Muslims of Russia at the outset of the 20th century was given in BIGI's (1917) work *Islakhat asalary*, published in 1917. These subjects were discussed widely in the 1920-1930th when the leaders of Russian Muslims social movement created the works presenting the idea of options of Russian Muslims' development. The greatest value on the entire period of 1930-1985 was rendered by KLIMOVICH's (1936) works. In the works of Sovietologists Muslim leaders of the former Russian Empire who acted as supporters of Muslim unity were considered positively.

Only in the 1990s the edition of works of Muslims of the Russian Empire movement leaders, the edition of the monographs devoted to projects of state and political development of Muslims of Russia at the outset of the 20th century began. It should be noted the monographs by the doctors of historical sciences ARAPOV (2004), KOSACH (1998), ISKHAKOV (2003), KHABUTDINOV (2010) among the Russian researchers who consider the movement of the Russian Muslims in the all-Russian context. These authors have the same opinion in their patriotism, in aspiration to develop Muslims of Russia as a part of the unified state

5. CONCLUSION

The representatives of the country suburbs supported the federation of the areas at the first All-Russian Muslim congress in May, 1917. Muslims of the Volga-Ural region supported creation of unified religious autonomy, unified representative body of the Russian Muslims, national and cultural autonomy. Leaders of Kazakhs mountaineers of the North Caucasus supported a priority of territorial autonomy for their traditions and lands preservation. Activities of Azerbaijanians for expansion of autonomy from religious autonomy to broad regional self-government, and at last, transformation of Russia into the federal republic developed.

As a result of development of the all-Russian situation the movement of the Muslim peoples of Russia declared of territorial autonomies as a part of Russia in the Volga-Ural region, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, the North Caucasus and the Crimea. The declaration presented unifying statehood for three peoples, and then Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia in Transcaucasia were separated after the convention of Peace of Brest in March, 1918.

It is necessary to agree with opinion of, first of all BIGI (1917), and of the present authors ARAPOV (2001), KOSACH (1998), KHABUTDINOV (2001) who considered projects of state and political development of Muslims of Russia at the outset of the 20th century and the movement of the Muslim peoples of Russia as the patriotic phenomenon aimed at the development of the peoples within

the unified state, resisting separatism and extremism. It is necessary to disagree with the opinion of a number of politicians and scientists of the beginning and the middle of the last century and foreign researchers as well statehood who showed the movement of Russian Muslims as irredentist and separatist one.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

The material of the research can be used in definition of the main directions of development of the state and legal ideas in the most prominent representatives of social movement of Muslims of the Russian Empire at the outset of the 20th century and the influence of these ideas on concepts development, on sovereign and autonomous development of the Muslim peoples of Central Asia, Transcaucasia and the Russian Federation during the Post-Soviet period. Work can be also used when formulating the directions of development of ethno confessional identity at the present stage. The presented materials can become a basis of writing the generalizing works on history of the national and confessional relations of the Russian Empire at the outset of the 20th century. It can be used in educational process, in teaching courses of lectures on history of legal and political doctrines, cultural history and political history of the Muslim peoples.

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