TOWARD MODERNITY THROUGH NEWSPAPERS:
A HISTORY OF TURKI-LANGUAGE AND UZBEK-LANGUAGE
CENTRAL ASIAN PRESS FROM 1906 TO 1928

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ABSTRACT

In the midst of 1905 political changes in Russian Empire, proponents of a small Turkestan reformist movement Jadidism, called Jadids, seized the moment to launch independent newspapers. It was the inception of the modern Uzbek press. Jadids used newspapers as venues to discuss and propel their vision of modernizing Muslim society. Through newspapers reformists claimed leadership in society with the goal of leading Turkestanis toward modernity. Most historians of Jadidism and Central Asia, who have previously recorded the development of Jadid press, marked the date of its eclipse as 1918, at the time of the collapse of Kokand Autonomy. This thesis, however, extends the timeline of Jadid press to 1928 by showing how Jadids were involved in constructing the early Soviet press. Moreover, this work describes the functions Jadids ascribed to newspapers and its editors, and studies the use of Jadid hyperbolic rhetoric in the press.
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late grandmother, Doro Azimova.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On March 7, 2020, I received a troubling call from my father, who asked me to come to Samarkand to see my grandmother. Her health was rapidly deteriorating. After traveling 300 kilometers from Tashkent, I rushed to the hospital where my grandmother was receiving her treatment. We talked for about ten minutes, and then I left. She was stoic, even in a most traumatic life situation. Later that day, I sat with my father in the kitchen. He was so devastated that he couldn’t talk about her cancer. Instead, he walked me through her lineage, as he likes to do.

Suddenly, he mentioned Domla Ikromcha (1847-1925), a reformist member of the ulama, the educated clergy of Islam, a mufti from Bukhara, who mentored Jadids such as Sadriddin Ayni and Fayzulla Xo‘jaev. My father referred to him as a Jadid. To my surprise, Ikromcha was my grandmother’s great grandfather. I had heard this story so many times, but I never paid close attention to it. It so happened that around the same time I was reading a novel brought to me by my close friend Davlat Umarov. That novel – rich in its use of Sufi metaphors – relied on the ideas of Jadidism.

My grandmother died seven days later, but that conversation about her lineage persists with me even to this day. There was something about Jadidism I wanted to learn. Like my grandmother and father, I do not claim to be a Jadid. But understanding Jadidism is a way to understand my own identity. It is also a gateway to understanding why modern Uzbekistan has the problems it has today. Shortly after, I devoured every source I could find: from Abdulla
Qodiriy and Cho‘lpn’s novels to the scholarly articles of Adeeb Khalid, a historian of Jadidism and Uzbekistan. And now, I am happy to write a master’s thesis on the Jadid press.

I owe gratitude to many people who helped and supported me down the road. First and foremost, my thesis chair, Dr. Chris Roberts. The University of Alabama does not have a department for Uzbek or Central Asian history, nor historians specializing on Jadidism. Nevertheless, Dr. Roberts has always been supportive of my thesis project. His class Contemporary Issues in Journalism taught me hard work, critical thinking and dedication. Dr. Roberts himself was dedicated to my work. He invested a lot of time and effort to understand historical events of my country, edit the paper and give valuable directions to find crossover between journalism, Jadid press, and the history of Uzbekistan.

I would also like to thank University of Alabama professor Dr. Dianne Bragg, who let me write a history paper on Cho‘lpn’s novel Night and Day for her Media History class. Just like Dr. Roberts, Dr. Bragg was zealous about my project. It was thanks to this experience I made connection with Dr. Christopher Fort, a historian of Uzbek literature and translator of Night and Day into English, who kindly agreed to be in my thesis committee. Dr. Fort’s meticulous comments and corrections were incredibly helpful in interpreting the history of Jadidism. If it were not for him, this body of work would have been a body of shame.

Moreover, prior to agreeing to serve in the committee, Dr. Fort invited me to participate in a Central Asian Studies Institute (CASI) workshop in June 2021 in Nashville. There I met Dr. Alisher Khayliyarov, Dr. Donohon Abdugarufova, Dr. Claire Roosien, and PhD Candidate Zuhra Kasimova. I was the only master’s student there. Looking back, I can firmly say that attending
that workshop was one of the most uplifting and the most embarrassing experiences I have ever had. Seeing professional historians think in multidimensional spaces was inspiring, but my inability to contribute to a conversation was a lesson on humility. I owe many thanks to these historians for setting an example. I would also like to thank Dr. Adeeb Khalid for reading my paper on Night and Day and sharing valuable sources I needed for this thesis.

University of Alabama Assistant Professor, Dr. Shaheen Kanthawala was the third person in my thesis committee. Her feedback on structure and composition of my work was crucial. It is always good to have someone outside your field of expertise to help you see the angles that are out of your reach.

Last but not the least, many thanks to my significant other for sharing nightmares as I was working on my thesis; my friend Davlat Umarov for bringing that consequential book; my parents and siblings for patience as I was pursuing my academic goals; to all the people who subscribed to my blog “Another Day,” where I occasionally posted observations about Jadidism. Thank you for sharing my curiosity for this reformist movement, comments and messages of support.

This work wouldn’t have been possible without the Fulbright program which gave me an opportunity to pursue a master’s degree in the U.S., the University of Alabama who provided a home for my academic endeavors, and the government of Uzbekistan for providing an opportunity to travel to the U.S. in the middle of Covid-19 pandemic.

Finally, it is fair to acknowledge that I am not a historian. I am a journalist pursuing a master’s degree in Journalism. With that being said, this work might not meet the standards of a
history thesis, nor does it position itself to. It is a media history thesis that incorporates studies on history of Central Asia. I come from a journalism background; hence, the influence of journalism research standards heavily influence the way I shape this body of work. But I hope this thesis will contribute both to the field of history of Central Asia and history of media of Uzbekistan.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“When one [correspondent or editor] criticizes something in the newspaper, we feel hurt. When one exposes our vices, wrong thinking, and faulty actions, we get angry. And then we turn this person into an enemy, we express hatred and dissatisfaction with his thinking,” wrote Mahmudxo‘ja Behbudiy, an early 20th-century Jadid reformist from Samarkand, in 1914 in a self-published journal Oyna, pondering on the role journalists and newspapers should play in a society.¹ When Behbudiy wrote these words, he made the case for the principles of a future Central Asian Jadid press: newspapers had the epistemological right to point at societal shortcomings and, moreover, shouldn’t be antagonized for supposedly performing their journalistic duties. In other words, newspapers were not “enemies of the people;” a contemporaneous, not Stalinist, label which they feared, but houses of admonition or spiritual leaders, places where people can cure their sins by seeing them exposed on the pages.²

Behbudiy, who held a notable position in his native city, was born in an affluent family in Samarkand and worked as a mufti (administrative head of Muslim religious figures) all his life. He became aware of the power of the printed word in the late 19th century through reading Terjiman (Interpreter), a Tatar newspaper edited by Ismail bey Gasprinsky, the founder of the

Jadidism. Jadidism was a modernist movement that emerged in the second half of 1800s in the Crimea and the Tatar lands on the Volga, and further spread across Muslim communities in Russian empire, eventually coming to Central Asian region. It strived to reconcile modernity with Islam. Jadidism in Turkestan can be traced back to 1899, when Mahmudxo‘ja Behbudiy took off to Egypt and Turkey on the way to Mecca. On his journey he came across Terjiman and became an advocate of Jadidism in Turkestan.


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3 Terjiman was the only newspaper in Tsarist Empire that circulated in Muslim language, but it did not reach large audience. For more on Terjiman see, Mustafa Tuna, ““Pillars of the Nation”: The Making of a Russian Muslim Intelligentsia and the Origins of Jadidism,” 18, no. 2 (Spring 2017): 257-281, https://doi.org/10.1353/kri.2017.0018

In Central Asia, the proponents of Jadidism, Jadids, as they are referred to in academia, were driven by the idea of creating a nation, Turkestan, for Muslim Turkic people whom they envisioned as *turkistonliklar*. These reformists propelled their ideas through education, theater and newspapers. Hence, impressed by Gasprinsky’s ideas of modernizing the Muslim world, Behbudiy took on a mission to uplift the people of Turkestan from what he argued was ignorance and backwardness. After returning to Samarkand, Behbudiy opened a bookstore in his house, a new-method school and launched a newspaper. Thus, he inspired others in Tashkent, Ferghana Valley and Bukhara to join his mission.

The epistemology of Jadidism derives from adopting new means of teaching the Arabic alphabet (*usul-i jadid*). By teaching the Arabic alphabet via a new means, Jadids believed they could also teach children to advance their civilization rather than just repeat what previous generations had done. This vision of progress clashed with the views of the cultural elite, *ulama*, whom Jadids called *qadimchilar* (old-method, old-fashion or traditional). To achieve their goal, these “proponents of progress” (*taraqqiyyparvarlar*), as Jadids often called themselves, made use of theater, libraries, books, printing presses and new-method schools. New-method schools differed from traditional *maktabs* (school) in number of ways. First, they taught the alphabet by applying a phonetic method instead of the syllabic method used in traditional *maktabs*. The intention behind teaching phonetically was to teach the ability to read and write by memorizing

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7 “Proponents of progress” wasn’t the only term Jadids used in printing press to describe their movement. Other popular term included *ziyolilar* (intellectuals), *taraqqiyyparvarlar* (progressives) and *yoshlar* (youth).
the sounds that the letters represented, whereas teaching syllables required rote memorization of their combinations and led primarily to the rote memorization of canonical texts. Second, along with religious subjects and reciting the Quran, students studied secular sciences such as geography, history, arithmetic, and rhetoric. Last but not the least, Jadid schools were equipped with tables, chairs, boards, and maps as opposed to traditional maktab where students sat on their knees on reed mats. At a time of its emergence, Jadidism in Central Asia was a cultural movement; however, the 1917 Civil War in Russia and the competition with the cultural elite inspired Jadids to take on the political scene of Turkestan. In November 1917, these Jadid modernists established the Kokand Autonomy, which was meant to be an autonomous government under Russian rule; however, they enjoyed little support from the public. Jadids’ lack of governing experience no doubt led to their inability to raise money and army for their new government. Moreover, their reform rhetoric was alien to most ordinary Central Asians.

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8 For more, see Khalid, The Politics.
Newspapers were one of the driving vehicles of the Jadid project, and this thesis analyzes 269 articles written by Jadids to conceptualize their goals and the themes of their writing. To understand the evolution of Central Asian Jadid printing activity, it is important to situate the historical landscape they lived in. The timeline of the Jadid project dates back to the 19th century when the territory of modern Uzbekistan was referred to by the Russian empire as the Turkestan General-Governorship. The territory of Turkestan comprised the lands of modern-day Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Southern Kazakhstan.

Just before the arrival of the Russian Empire, the region was composed primarily of three conflicting polities, though there were de facto independent city-states, namely the Kokand Khanate, the Bukharan Emirate and the Khivan Khanate. Each, governed by a dynastic sovereign, based its rules in Islamic law. In the 1850s, moved by imperial prestige, the Russian
empire began its conquest of Central Asia. Within the next 30 years, the empire either conquered or subjugated Transoxiana.

![Map of Central Asia as of 1873](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdclccn.04024471v1/?sp=13&r=-0.19,-0.054,1.334,0.582,0)

**Figure 1.3.** Map of Central Asia as of 1873 drawn to illustrate American diplomat Eugene Schuyler’s book *Turkistan: Notes of a Journey to Russian Turkestan, Kokand, Bukhara, and Khuldja*. In 1873 while serving as the secretary of the American legation in Saint Petersburg, he was invited by the Russian government to visit Russian Turkestan following its conquest. Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdclccn.04024471v1/?sp=13&r=-0.19,-0.054,1.334,0.582,0

The arrival of the colonizers also marked the start of the printing press in Turkestan, when in 1870 the government launched *Turkiston viloyatining gazeti* (The Gazette of Turkestan region) (*TVG*). It ran governmental proclamations, news from Russia, supplying readers with

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information about history, geography, and the royal family. Although many Central Asian Jadids would appear on its pages,\textsuperscript{11} TVG served the propaganda purposes of officialdom, especially with the appointment of its second editor, Nikolai Ostroumov, in 1883, a missionary by education, who, as historian Adeeb Khalid has argued, kept an eye of debates among local Muslim population.\textsuperscript{12}

The history of the Central Asian Jadid printing press is generally viewed in two eras: from 1906 to 1908, and from 1913 to 1918.\textsuperscript{13} According to this view, the first era is marked by the emergence and development of printing press, reformists’ early experiments in media business, followed by a decline that occurred because of the failure to run successful ventures. The second era continued trends of the preceding era, but the coming of Bolsheviks to power in Russia marked the end of Jadid press. This thesis, however, departs from traditional views and proposes four eras in which Central Asian modernists were able to carry out their nation-building project:

- Era 1 (1906 – 1908): inception of vernacular as well as Jadid press in imperial times and first steps to run independent media;
- Era 2 (1912 – 1914): failed attempt to run successful ventures;

\textsuperscript{11} Behbudiy made the first appearance on TVG in 1902. In the following years Ishoqxon Ibrat, Hoji Muin, Hamza Hakimzoda Niyoziy and others were published on its pages.


• Era 3 (1917 – 1918): reemergence, radicalization and mobilization of newspapers in light of 1917 Civil War in Russia;

• Era 4 (1918 – 1928): construction of and participation in Uzbek Soviet press. This era includes Khalid’s “ideological front,” when the Soviets began striking enemies of socialism—including Jadids—that began in 1925.

This thesis’s appendix includes the names of newspapers that were active during their respective periods. Jadid rhetoric was not static, and as historical events unfolded, it had to display flexibility to achieve reformist goals. Across all eras, the taraqqiyparvarlar regarded newspapers as spiritual leaders and tools for aiding the nation in achieving its goals.\textsuperscript{14} For Jadids, newspapers served as venues for debate. Given life by the political liberalization of Nicholas II’s 1905 October Manifesto, topics started off around cultural problems but eventually stepped into the political realm. Especially, amid the 1917 Russian Revolutions and the establishment of Kokand Autonomy the same year. In her dissertation, Claire Roosien, historian studying the culture of Tsarist and Soviet Uzbekistan, points out that “for Jadids the roots of the Muslim world’s decline were cultural, and it was through culture writ large – everyday life, religion, literature, art, and especially education – that progress would take root.”\textsuperscript{15}

Jadids were neither trained journalists nor had journalistic experience. Hence, much of their printing activities departed from a Western journalistic understanding of objectivity. Adeeb


Khalid has argued that “access to printing allowed the Jadids to reconfigure cultural debate in their society and to lay the foundations for a broad-based movement of cultural reform beyond the control of the older cultural elite.”

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**Figure 1.4.** Jadids of Turkestan and their birthplaces imagined on the map of modern Uzbekistan. I use the map of contemporary Uzbekistan for the ease of visual comprehension. Turkestan Jadids not are not limited to those displayed in this poster. Although two women in this poster, Robiya Nosirova and Sobira Xoldarova, became active in 1920s, they were heavily influenced by Jadid values. Mahmudxo’ja Behbudi, Vadud Mahmud, Hoji Muin and Saidahmadxo’ja Siddiqi - Ajziy come from Samarkand/Samarkand region. Jakhongir Azimov.

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Because Jadids held a different understanding of reform within their movement, their tone and rhetoric noticeably varied depending on their individual background and experience. Behbudiy, for instance, arguably, attempted to take a balanced approach, while the younger generation of Jadids such as Hamza and Cho'lporn, wrote emotionally charged and iconoclastic pieces. However, as historian Shoshana Keller has pointed out, it is oversimplifying to label any segment of Jadids as strictly “conservative” or “reformist.”17

Jadids wrote in various genres. Along with travel notes and news from other Muslim countries, Russia and Europe, Jadid newspapers and journals were mostly comprised of essays, editorial and opinion contributions. Satirical feuilletons were beloved, too. Khalid has explained that newspapers were “a platform from which to broadcast their [Jadids’] exhortations to reform” in a didactic form.18 Edward Allworth, one of the first American scholars focusing on Central Asian history, delineated three spheres that occupied Jadid interests in the press: “purifying religion and self, revolutionizing education, and perfecting reformed social institutions and practices.”19

The time in which these modernists lived is yet another variable to bear in mind while analyzing their journalistic activity. The years 1906 to 1928 marked times of war, political partisanship, the fall of the Russian empire, and the construction of socialism. These events greatly influenced the way Jadids imagined the future for Turkestan, so their views evolved and

17 Keller, Russia and Central Asia.
transformed. For example, the satirist and novelist Abdulla Qodiriy of 1915 is not the same Qodiriy in 1923. However, contemporary Uzbek scholarship tends to read Jadids as exclusively victims of Russian and Soviet politics, overlooking modernists’ involvement in post-1917 Soviet construction. For instance, the Uzbekistani historian Nazira Abduazizova has argued that the “proponents of communist ideology [Russian communists – JA] did their job so well that our ancestors [Jadids] appeared illiterate, backward to the point that Russians bestowed upon them the enlightenment.” Although the historian provided a rich account of the history of newspaper in her book, she narrated through the prism of contemporary Uzbek scholarship which reads Jadids as mostly the victims of Tsarist and Soviet Russia, overlooking modernists’ participation in both, especially, post 1917 Revolution, times. Hence, there is an element of hyperbole in her quote. Early Western scholarship too approached the subject with a binary “collaborator-resister” narrative in which communists asserted their power over the local population. By contrast, the new school of thought places Jadids as direct participants in nation-building ideas. For Khalid, Jadidism “is located at the intersection of Russian cultural policies and the process of social and economic change set in motion by the Russian conquest which put older patterns of cultural production under strain and allowed new voices to emerge.” All schools, however, think of the press as a Jadid tool for calling for change.

21 For example, see Edward Allworth, Uzbek Literary Politics (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964).
22 Khalid, The Politics, 82.
This thesis not only studies the understanding of reform as communicated through the press, but also it attempts to deconstruct the functions Central Asian modernists ascribed to newspapers. First, the thesis walks through each era to have a better understanding of the evolution of the Central Asian Jadid press. Then, it proposes and stipulates two themes carried in Jadid press, namely,

- **Theme 1:** “Not an Enemy: Investigating Epistemological and Technical Functions of Newspapers as imagined by Uzbek modernists” aims to understand what functions Jadids ascribed to newspapers, and what role they believed editors should occupy in society.

- **Theme 2:** “Language of Criticism” draws on so called “archetypal plot” proposed by historian Christopher Fort to explain how the use of Jadid hyperbolic style complimented functions reformists ascribed to newspapers.

The historical study of Central Asian Jadid publishing is important for several reasons. For one, previous Western scholarship documented the history of the Russian imperial conquest and Soviet rule in Central Asia through a Eurocentric “collaborator-resister” binary narrative. As a result, it overlooked the role of Central Asian reformists in formation of modern Uzbekistan. This thesis aims to show that Jadids of Turkestan were active participants in the country’s cultural and political affairs. Secondly, contemporary Uzbek scholarship often excludes Jadids from the early days of the Soviet press because it overlooks Jadids’ impact on the early Soviet Uzbek press. As argued in this work, Jadids of Turkestan gave shape to the Soviet Uzbek press as the government heavily relied on local intellectuals to explain communism to the Muslims of
Turkestan until they were ousted in 1926 from editorial positions and participation in the press. Moreover, what the Bolsheviks described as their policy of liberating nations in the 1920s inspired Jadids to explore new forms of cultural production, from short stories to theater plays to the first novels in Uzbek. The Bolsheviks’ understanding of liberation came down to granting nations a circumscribed cultural autonomy without political autonomy. The Bolsheviks wanted to distance themselves from being perceived as colonial power, yet they reserved the right to intervene in local governments if local cultural practices would go against the principles of socialism.23 Thirdly, to my knowledge, previously scholars did not fully explore specific functions and roles Central Asian Jadids attributed to newspapers. Thus, this thesis is a contribution to existing scholarship of the history of Jadidism and the printing press of Uzbekistan.

A note on terms used in this thesis: Jadids of Turkestan challenged cultural elite, ulama, for power in society. They criticized ulama in their articles, often calling them either qadimchilar (old-method, old-fashioned, traditional) or just ulama. This thesis incorporates the term qadimchilar as a description of Jadids’ opponents, but doesn’t aim to belittle ulama. The Jadid project in Turkestan was by no means the biggest or most popular movement. It was a modernist movement comprised of young intellectuals who evolved from advocating for cultural change from late 19th century up until 1917 to participating in Turkestan’s political affairs after the

23 Keller, Russia and Central Asia.
October Revolution. Noteworthy, many Jadids were *ulama* and most received conventional Islamic education at *maktab* and *madrasa*.

Next, as mentioned earlier, historian Adeeb Khalid proposed the term *Chaghatayist project* to describe Jadid aspirations for making Turkestan a nation of Turkic people, a view of their nation that they took up towards the Russian revolution. *Chaghatayist project* explains the Jadid vision of redefining the Muslim population of Turkestan as a nation united by the Turkic roots, language, and identity. In the mid-1920s, because of this Chaghatayist vision, Jadids were accused of pan-Turkism, but Khalid has argued that pan-Turkism is a misnomer. While many Turkic thinkers of the time made calls for pan-Turkic unity, they were ultimately interested in local Turkic projects to the exclusion of other Turkic groups and heritage. For this reason, he calls the nation-building project of urban Central Asian Jadids *Chaghatayism* because it ultimately traced the region’s Turkic roots to the rule of the Timurids, a view that was exclusive of other Turkic and, of course, Persian heritage.\(^{24}\) The word *chaghatay* derives from the name of the cosmopolitan written Turkic language used in Turkestan prior to the Soviet Union. Jadids like Fitrat, Cho‘lpon, Vadud Mahmud and Botu were instrumental in transforming the language of Chaghatay into standardized written Uzbek language as part of their effort to create a national identity based on Turkic heritage. It was Turkic heritage as opposed to Persian that provided a roadmap to Jadids toward modernity. In this thesis, *Chaghatayism* is used to describe the Jadid vision of Islamic modernity. For instance, Khalid sees Jadids’ efforts in running short-lived

\(^{24}\) For more on *Chaghatayism*, see, Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan*, 15-18, 258-266.
Kokand Autonomy in 1917 as well as Bukharan People’s Soviet Republic in 1920, and formation of Uzbekistan in 1924 as a part of Chaghatayist project. This thesis adopts the term.

With regard to Chaghatayist project, this thesis frequently uses the terms nation, national and nationalist. The latter and its advocacy of the former two should not be misinterpreted as chauvinistic as they often are in Russian and Uzbek-language scholarship today. Soviet scholarship on Jadidism used the term nationalist and pan-Turkism in relation to Jadids to make an argument that Central Asian reformists were chauvinists. This work does not do that. The words national, nationalist and nation-building are used interchangeably to illustrate the Jadid aspirations in creating a nation.

This thesis is based on the analysis of 269 Jadid articles published from 1906 to 1928. International travel restrictions imposed due to the Covid-19 pandemic have hindered me from conducting research at archives in Uzbekistan. Hence, I retrieved all Jadid articles from publications of transliterated and curated collections devoted to various Jadid authors and the online forum “Ziyouz.uz.” With that being said, in performing my analysis I sought to acknowledge the biases that can come with collected editions.
CHAPTER 2

ERAS OF THE JADID PRESS

Before moving to the themes, first and foremost we need to understand the evolution of Jadid press as it developed over four eras. This chapter aims to show its life and explain how historical events between 1906 and 1928 impacted the shape of the Jadid press.

First era: 1906 – 1908

Russia’s defeat in the 1905 war against Japan and the subsequent 1905 Russian Revolution brought a wind of change: a loosened grip on the freedom of expression sparked printing activity in Turkestan. The first progressive newspaper along with *Terjiman* that moved Jadids to pursue their own ventures was *Taraqqiy* (The Progress). It appeared in June 1906 and was edited by Tatar Ismail Obidiy. The paper targeted the Muslim population, printed two or three times a week alternately in Kazan or Crimea, claimed to stand for the rights of poor and oppressed people, and often criticized Russian colonial politics. *Taraqqiy* was shut down in August 1906, after its 19th issue, by a court decision. Munavvar qori Abdurashidxonov, a Jadid from Tashkent, discussed the administration’s hypocrisy: “When a Russian newspaper is arranged before court or prohibited from publication for some reason, it is allowed to publish under a new title so that subscribers keep receiving something. But his system apparently doesn’t apply to Muslims.”

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Central Asian Jadid printing activity, which also started in the first era, should be placed as a different category of the same historical continuum. The early days of Jadid cultural reform started in new-method schools as a response to a perceived need to create a new generation of Turkestanis capable of coping with the challenges presented by modernity. Their program of education reform emerged in large part from engagement with European understandings of pedagogy and childhood. It is for the latter reason that Ishoqxon Ibrat, a Jadid writer from Namangan argued: “It is important to distinguish old method schools from new; we need to reform issues of attendance and child whipping,” in 1907 in government’s Turkiston viloyatining gazeti (TVG) article. Because novel ways of teaching required new studying materials, Jadids, moved by the emergence of the lithographic press, produced their own books on history, geography and fine arts. Consequently, book printing led to newspaper production. Most papers were short-lived: some survived for a month, others for three.

Some of the earliest Jadid newspapers were Xurshid (The Sun) (1906) and Shuhrat (The Fame) (1907) edited by Munavvar qori Abdurashidxonov and Abdulla Avloniy, respectively. Xurshid, a scientific, political, social and literary newspaper, lived for less than two months (from September 6 to November 12, 1906). It positioned itself as apolitical, so most often it printed about education reform and Islamic customs. However, the administration thought it was

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26 Ishoqxon Ibrat, “Eski maktablar xususida,” Turkiston viloyatining gazeti, 1907.
27 Avloniy (1878 – 1934) was born in Tashkent. He received education both at maktab and madrasa, but at the age of 14 embraced reformist ideas through reading Terjiman. Avloniy was the first to establish a dramatic theater in Turkestan, Turon. He also organized reading rooms in Tashkent, wrote textbooks for new-method schools, and edited periodicals.
28 M. Babakhanov, Iz istorii periodicheskoy pechaty Turkestana [From the history of Turkestan’s printing press] (Dushanbe: Donish, 1987), 79.
harmful for society and closed it after 10th issue. *Shuhrat* took a similar path. Like Munavvar qori’s paper, *Shuhrat* ran just 10 issues and critiqued harmful traits of Islamic practice that included wasteful weddings, funerals, and poor elementary education.\(^{29}\) Other newspapers that appeared and died during the first era are *Tujior* (The Merchant) (1907-unknown, survived for 36 issues), and *Osiyo* (Asia) (April 9, 1908 – unknown, printed just five issues).

While the emergence of the printing press was an important progress that changed the way Jadids carried out public debate, it is worth noting that the press was a novel tool in their hands. As expected with the colonial press era, these papers departed from modern understanding of journalistic objectivity. Jadids had to navigate both the business side of media making as well as content production. With their attempt to popularize newspapers as a new medium, Jadids faced several obstacles. For one, there were old reading habits. In traditional *maktabs*, readings were performed out loud by a teacher surrounded by his students. Thus, reading newspapers as an intimate, personal experience was a less-popular way of consuming media.\(^{30}\) Another problem had to do with low literacy levels. People didn’t buy papers because they couldn’t read anything outside the canonical texts they had memorized in primary school. These two problems impacted the marketplace of newspapers. Buying newspapers simply wasn’t a widespread habit. Since Jadids struggled to pursue successful ventures, they appealed to wealthy merchants seeking financial aid, but their appeals were often met with indifference. As a result, it led to the closure of many papers.\(^{31}\)

\(^{29}\) Abduazizova, *Istoriya natsionalnoy jurnalistiki*, 143-144.


\(^{31}\) For more, see Ibid., 119
Jadids were driven by the idea of having a national press for Muslims of Turkestan. That meant writing on and for Muslim Turkestanis. They attempted to appeal to a broader category of people, turkistonlilkar, as opposed to administrative, regional, or local identities, as they had a vision of Turkestan to be a nation of Turkic people united under a single umbrella of Islam. Thus, the world was presented through the prism of Central Asian Jadids’ values. Culture, education, anxiety about the arbitrary rule of Russian monarchs, as well as European influence on the region, occupied newspaper discourse in the first era. And in many ways these topics were intertwined. Jadids insisted that the old methods of education kept Turkestanis ignorant of the wider world around them. Munavvar qori, who ran the largest new-method school in Tashkent, argued that parents placed high hopes in maktabs to educate their children, but instead children experienced whipping and moreover were unable to understand the prescribed readings.\textsuperscript{32} Munavvar qori (1878 – 1931) received his education in a madrasa in Bukhara and held a position of qori (Qur’an reciter). He put effort in reformist society through pedagogy. His school Namuna (Model) was the city’s leading Jadid school. Munavvar qori wrote textbooks for curriculum.

Influenced by their experience, Jadids thought that children raised with cruelty would fail to lead to progress. In their vision the future of the nation was dependent on quality education, and the inability to achieve progress was to make Turkestanis the servants of Russians and other Europeans.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid.
On the other hand, Jadids used the press to challenge dynastic sovereigns and ulama for leadership in society. Jadids presented the former as tyrannical (zolim) and the latter as fanatical (mutaassib ulamoning). If there was someone to blame for dooming society, it was the ulama. For example, while studying in Turkey Abdurauf Fitrat published an open letter to the prime minister of the Bukharan emirate in the Turkish journal Ta’rufi muslimin (Muslim Descriptions). In it he wrote,

It is clear to me that no other nation has seen diseases like ours: a degraded homeland, culturally impoverished people, despicable nobles, chancelleries full of intrigue, bloodsucking tyrants. We are the laughing-stock of foreigners and prepare only hardships for our future! We brought the country and nation to such condition that even people living in the most difficult and troubling situation cry with blood in despair after looking at our condition.

Aniqdirki, hech qaysi millat hech bir zabmona bizda bo’lganidek yurti xaroblik, xalqi falokat, ayonlari pastkashlik, idora ahli fasod, zolimlarning qon so’rish, ajnabiylar kalakalari, istiqbolining mushkulligini kabi illatlarga mubtalo bo’lmagan! Butun mamlat va millatni shu ahvolga keltirib qo’ydikki, dunyodagi eng qiyin va tashvishli kunlarda yashayotgan odamlar ham bizning ahvolimizga ma’yus tortib, qon yig’lamoqdalar.

Fitrat’s words mirror the modernist ideas he reflected in his 1913 fictional story “Hind sayyohining qissasi” which bemoans stagnation in Bukhara. Fitrat (1886 – 1938), born in Bukhara, shaped his worldviews based on education in madrasa and then in Istanbul, where he became fascinated by reformist ideas. Fitrat articulated his vision of modernism throughout his career. After the overthrow of the Bukharan Emirate in 1920 by a coalition of the Young Bukharans, a group of Bukharan Jadids, and the Red Army, Fitrat would go on to take leading

positions in Bukharan People’s Soviet Republic as a Minister of Education and, briefly, as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was monumental in articulating the vision of Chaghatayism years following 1917 Revolutions in Russia through his journalistic and scholarly work. One of his notable achievements was his role as the head of literary society called Chighatoy Gurungi which united prominent Jadids to shape post-revolutionary Uzbek literature, poetry and language. Like Fitrat many Jadids saw Turkey as a model for development and spoke of European development through their knowledge of it from Turkish sources.

Although Jadids could carry out explicit confrontation with qadimchilar on the pages of newspapers, they could not do so with Tsar because doing so would lead to censorship. While Russian censors were permissive with Jadid critiques of ulama, they nevertheless closely supervised the newspaper discussions.36

Critiques of the ulama can also be found in Behbudiy’s works. For instance, in a 1911 TVG article, Behbudiy claimed that ulama wanted neither new-methods schools nor children studying Russian, but they ignored prostitutes, thieves and beggars coming to Bukhara.37 Apparently, Behbudiy’s criticism wasn’t baseless. Historian Yuliya Uryadova, who studied prostitution, alcoholism, and drug use in Turkestan at times of Russian Empire, wrote that conquest exacerbated preexisting problems of prostitution. Moreover, the influx of migrants, mostly male, coming to Turkestan from Caucasus, Qajar Persia, Central Russia and Ottoman Anatolia added to the rise of abuse of drinking and prostitution. Uryadova referenced 1905

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newspaper article that described 50 brothels built in the Russian quarter of Andijan. In the same paper, the historian cited a Russian scholar A.I. Dobrosmyslov, who argued that in 1876 there were 100 registered prostitutes in Tashkent. It is worth noting that many refused to register. According to 1897 census cited by Khalid, most women prostitutes were Central Asian women.

Criticism, however, wasn’t addressed to all ulama. Jadids deliberately used the term “fanatical ulama” to highlight their frustration with a segment of cultural elite who continuously resisted reform. It was a fight against what they viewed as archaic ways of living represented by ulama, not the religious position of ulama. Here it is important to remember that in Jadids’ imagination modernization required reassessing the cultural and Islamic tradition that they viewed as outdated. Hence, they looked for cues in the Quran and hadiths as justifications for the ways in which they wanted their culture to adapt to modernity. Because reassessing canonical texts sparked critique from tradition-minded ulama, Jadid’s aspirations clashed with those ulama who resisted the progress. It is also worth noting that most Jadids received their education in traditional maktabs, which means their worldviews were shaped by the principles of Islam.

Ordinary people also endured criticism of Jadids. The latter complained that people would rather spend their time in bars, wasting money on weddings and kupkari (Central Asian
traditional game), than invest in education. As modernists argued, Turkestanis did not value newspapers, history or geography. Nor were they equipped to participate in world trade.

Jadids saw salvation in education. It was perceived to be the remedy for all kinds of societal ills. Turkestanis had to equip themselves with European education to represent the interests of Muslims in the Russian Empire. Education, however, in Jadid views could be infused through different media: classes, books, literature, poetry, and theater. For Muslim reformists, it was not a sin to open new-method schools, to learn Russian or study in Russo-native schools run by the government. As Behbudi wrote in 1911:

So, just as ulama don’t let children study in new-methods schools, they don’t let them study Russian. Oh, why do students not come to Samarkand, Turkestan, or other parts of Russia?

Xo‘b, Buxoroda usuli jadidani qo‘ymaganlaridek, ruschani-da ulamo qo‘ymadilar deduk. Ey, shogirdlarni Samarqandda, Turkistonda va yo doxiliy Rusiyag‘a na uchun yuborilmaydur? 43

We need to bear in mind that Jadids were a small group of enthusiasts who were denounced by many ulama and disliked by Tsarist officials. As Khalid points out, in “even in the more liberal political atmosphere after 1905, local newspapers were kept on a tight leash, with the state regulating sweeping powers over them.” 44 In other words, they didn’t possess the same recognition as ulama. This is because colonial officials based their policy toward Islam on the assumption that it was dying as a religion. They presumed that locals would be tempted to embrace Russian civilization if the administration simply ignored Islam and let it die. Therefore,

43 Behbudiy, “«Munozara» haqida.”
44 Khalid, Printing, Publishing, and Reform.
Russian officials bestowed favor upon conservative *ulama* instead of on reformers. That explains the lack of support of Jadid reformers.

Unlike *Turkiston viloyatining gazeti*, Jadid newspapers were run independently, though it doesn’t mean they bypassed the licensing of administration. In the Turkestan-governorship, each paper had to be licensed by the general-governor. Additionally, the state relied on the counselling of Orientalists such as Nikolai Ostroumov, who acted as a censor for newspapers and Jadid activity.

Because of all the problems they encountered, as discussed above, Jadid papers were unable to reach a larger audience and generate substantial income, and thus they were forced to shut down. *Taraqqiy*, for instance, within two months of its existence was prosecuted four times. Political police detained *Obidiy* after publishing the third issue. It confiscated unsold copies due to inaccurate translations of two editorial articles which the Tsarist secret police thought favored killings members of educated nationalities. In 1911, three years after the end of the first era, Hoji Muin, a reformist from Samarkand, appeared in *Turkiston viloyatining gazeti*, in which he bemoaned the absence of a national paper.

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Eventually, low readership, low literacy levels and lack of sponsorship led to the decline of printing activity, marking the end of the first era in 1908. Although Jadid papers were shut down, some modernists continued to appear on the pages of TVG.

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**Second era: 1912 – 1914**

The Jadid press revived in 1912. The attempt to launch newspapers came from a group of Bukharan Jadids who secured permission to publish a Persian-language newspaper, *Buxoroyi sharif* (Bukhara the Noble). Sometime in July 1912 *Sharif* launched its Turkic supplement called *Turon. Bukhara-yi sharif* was edited by Azerbaijani editors and published daily until January 1913 when it was shut down by the government at the emir’s request.50

In 1913 Mahmudxo’ja Behbudiy launched *Samargand*, a “cultural, illustrated newspaper covering science, literature, trade, foreign news and Muslim affairs.”51 The second era saw more activity. No structural changes had been made, yet the tone of writing in newspapers became more didactic.

The press continued to see low levels of education as the biggest problem: People had neither professions needed for the new era, nor knew laws. “If only if we had a lawyer among Turkestani Muslims in State Duma who could work for the benefit of religion and nation. But we do not have such person. Put the State Duma aside, we don’t have a person who could walk into the court and government agencies to defend us [our interests],” bemoaned Behbudiy.52 Not only

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50 Khalid, *The Politics*, 123.

were Turkestanis illiterate, Jadids also argued that they were backward. Ibrat described perceived tragedy, saying individual financial debts “are the result of our ignorance, lack of culture, apathy and laziness. They have ruined our property and reputation.”

Hoji Muin argued that while other nations prospered because of their education and skills, Turkestanis didn’t even know Sharia, and if Sharia to them was unattainable, engineering like plane construction didn’t seem possible. Hoji Muin’s (1883 – 1942) career resembles Behbudiy’s path in many ways. Like Behbudiy, Muin edited numerous newspapers and journals: *Hurriyat* (Liberty), *Mehnatkashlar tovushi* (Voice of Workers), *Tayyoq* (Punch), and *Mashrab*. Muin worked alongside Behbudiy on *Samarqand* and *Oyna*, and wrote under pseudonym Boturbek. The Jadid was orphaned at the age of 12 and raised by his grandfather. Other than taking editorial positions, in 1903 Muin ran a new-method school in Samarkand, put his hands into writing plays. In 1929 he found himself exiled to Siberia but returned to Uzbekistan in 1932. Yet, despite working as a translator in Soviet government and newspapers, in 1938 he was sentenced to ten years in prison and died in exile in 1942.

Jadid modernists often referred to the concept of *zamon* (time and modernity) to situate colonization and the need for reform. Behbudiy, for example, said Turkestanis appeared to be pressured by the time: “The modern [zamonaviy] elites spend money on the modern needs of their nation, for example, on cultivating modern people by building modern schools [italics are mine – JA],” he wrote in 1913.

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But colonization had not been exclusively evil. The reformists welcomed Russian contributions related to economic progress, and the fight against ignorance and illiteracy. Ibrat also saw railroads as a sign of economic progress.\textsuperscript{56} Cho’lpon celebrated the construction of railroads in the Ferghana valley with a 1914 article:

Our homeland was not prosperous before. With the arrival of railways, our villages will see civilization... Although these railroads have many disadvantages, such as overrunning crops and destroying mosques, the benefits are greater. They are useful in getting rid of brigands; villages will prosper and get closer, cheap land will become more valuable.

Economic progress, however, did not have to overshadow cultural identity. Modernists persuaded people to learn European skills and languages (including Russian)\textsuperscript{58} to strengthen the nation, and thus, represent interests of Muslims in Russia, not to become Russians. “Times have changed, like other nations we have become mixed, we have to obey the law and European customs on the basis of Sharia and our own traditions,” argued Behbudiy in 1913.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{56} Ishoqxon Ibrat, “Otkritie Kokand-Namanganskoy jeleznoy dorogi,” Turkiston viloyatning gazeti, July 15, 1912.

\textsuperscript{57} Cho’lpon, “Vatanimiz Turkistonda temiryo’llar,” Sadoi Farg’ona, June 6, 1914.


\textsuperscript{59} Mahmudxo’ja Behbudiy, “Ehtiyoji millat,” Samarkand, July 12, 1913.
In their fight for a stronger, more educated nation, Jadid aspirations collided with ulama denouncement of Jadids and citizens’ disinterest in Jadid projects. In 1914 during the Friday prayer in Samarkand’s Ulug‘bek madrasa, a muazzin (a person who makes the Muslim call to prayer) accused Jadids of infidelity to Islam. He called people studying in new-methods schools infidels (kofir) and their wives divorcees (taloq). Behbudiy responded with an article in which he argued that studying Russian should be in the interests of the nation. Getting a modern education didn’t mean abandoning faith. Moreover, to him, the more educated a person, the stronger his religious faith. The nation required learning from other cultures.

But who exactly had to build the nation in the second era? Behbudiy proposed three factors crucial for its construction: the input of progressive ulama, money to educate children from the rich, and parents’ interest in educating children in modern sciences. In Behbudiy’s imagination religious schools, newspapers, journals, clubs and printing house were crucial for reforming the nation. All this required money, which was in the hands of the wealthy class. Affluent people had to put the interests of the nation above their own, while ulama should bring Turkestan to progress. Since Jadids’ worldviews were shaped by the principles of Islam and many of them were esteemed clergy, they affirmed profound respect for the ulama that performed what Jadids believed was their duties to society. And, they also hoped ulama would share Jadids’ reformist agenda. As Khalid stipulated, Jadids strived for cultivating elites among

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63 Behbudiy, “Millatlar qanday.”
Muslims who would represent the interests of Muslims of Turkestan and eventually rise to the ranks of those governing the Russian imperial territory.\textsuperscript{64} This corresponds to the vision of Ismail bey Gasprinsky, the founder of Jadidism, who aspired to cultivate elites as agents of social and cultural progress.\textsuperscript{65}

In the second era, Jadids understood the ulama’s dominant role in society and hoped they would turn to the path of reform. Here is an excerpt from Ibrat’s 1914 article:

Everyone is aware about habits among Turkestani Muslims that go against shari’a. Who will clear out [this misbehavior – JA] and reform this? In our opinion, it is through the strength of esteemed ulama, through their holy sermons delivered from the sacred pulpit, through explanation of Sharia, through injunction day and night in mosques, through counselling and blessings delivered in plain language—if they unabatingly discuss these things from the morning to the evening prayer, there will be a result.

Biz Turkiston musulmonlari orasinda xilofi shariat odatlarini ko’pligi har kimga ma’lumdir. Muning daf’i va islohi kim etar? Bizni fikrimizcha, muning daf’u islohiq’a ulamo hazaroti kamari himmat bog’lab, muqaddas mehrobu minbardan va’z so’ylab, aholig’a ahkomi shariatni bildurub, baytulloh hukmindagi masjid va jome’larida erta-yu kech amri ba ma’ruf va nahy az munkar etib, xaloyiq anglayturgon bir til ilan pandu nasihat etsalar ham muning hech qo’ymasdan har kun ba’d az namozli fajr va ba’d az xufton doim muxtalif mavzu’lardan bahs etsalar, albatta, ta’sirsiz qolmas. \textsuperscript{66}

Despite their attempt to keep newspapers afloat, the Jadid press struggled to support itself. Because of a lack of support and Behbudiy’s deteriorating health, \textit{Samarqand} managed to live for five months (45 issues), and at its peak reached over 200 subscribers.\textsuperscript{67} In a 1913 article

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\textsuperscript{64} Khalid, \textit{The Politics}.  \\
\textsuperscript{65} Duke University historian Mustafa Tuna provided an extensive account on the origin and evolution of the concept of elites among Russia’s Muslims. See, Tuna, ‘‘Pillars of the Nation’’, 257-281.  \\
\textsuperscript{66} Ishoqxon Ibrat, ‘‘Millatni kim isloh etar?’’ \textit{Oyna}, 1914.  \\
\textsuperscript{67} Mahmudxo’ja Behbudiy, ‘‘Bayoni hol,’’ \textit{Oyna}, 1913.
\end{flushright}
explaining the paper’s closure, Behbudiy wrote that low subscription rates forced him to move from printing a twice-a-week newspaper to a journal *Oyna*, which also survived for 68 issues.\(^{68}\)

![Figure 2.1](http://nodir.natlib.uz/Record/Details?id=18987)

**Figure 2.1.** First issue of *Oyna* journal edited by Mahmudxo’ja Behbudiy from 1913 to 1915. National Library of Uzbekistan, http://nodir.natlib.uz/Record/Details?id=18987

One of the longest-living Jadid papers of the second era was *Sadoi Turkiston* (Voice of Turkestan). It was edited by Ubaydullaxo’ja Asadullaxo’jayev, a lawyer who had a great exposure to Russian affairs and pursued nationalist goals. *The Voice* aimed to become a literary, economic, and scientific Turkic paper. It also pondered the role of women in society. “We, women, are talented and skillful. We are knowledgeable and can think critically. We are not only capable of running the home affairs but also country’s that some men can’t handle,” wrote the

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\(^{68}\) Ibid.
Tatar woman Sara Muzaffaria.\textsuperscript{69} Turkestani women, however, didn’t write for newspapers until 1920s, nor were there women journalists in 1913/14.

\textbf{Figure 2.2.} First issues of \textit{Sadoi Turkiston} (left) and \textit{Sadoi Farg‘ona} (right) newspapers. \textit{UzA} (Uzbekistan’s national information agency) and \textit{Tarjimon} online website.

\textit{Sadoi Turkiston}, which managed to print 80 issues\textsuperscript{70}, like other papers saw financial difficulties, despite seeking support from wealthy people: “Are we, a nation of 10 million people, not capable of running three newspapers? Isn’t illiteracy a reason for that? If wealthy people support us, the paper will run daily, not weekly,” read an open letter to wealthy merchants.\textsuperscript{71}

\textsuperscript{70} Abduazizova, \textit{Istoriya natsionalnoy jurnalistiki}, 176.
\textsuperscript{71} \textit{Sadoi Turkiston}, 1914, #44.
Thus, just like in the first era, Jadid newspapers of the second era also ended because of financial collapse.

**Third era: 1917 – 1928**

Political changes in the Russian Empire and Central Asia had an impact on the Jadid press, marking the third era. Social crisis caused by World War I, the 1917 February and October Revolutions in Russia, and famine in Central Asia radicalized the Muslims of Turkestan, including Jadids. As Khalid has argued, the language of admonition in Jadid project transitioned to the language of mobilization.\textsuperscript{72}

On March 8, 1917, thousands went to the main square of Petrograd to protest hunger. It was the first major public event that eventually led to the fall of Russian empire which existed for 300 years. The Provisional Government replaced the Tsar but saw opposition from workers and socialists outside its body. These events had an impact on Jadids. On March 13, Jadids formed their own council, *Shuroi Islomiya*, comprising 48 members. A month later it held its first congress of Muslims in Tashkent. Meanwhile, in Bukhara, the emir, Alim Khan, pressured by the political events in Russia and opposition from Jadids, initiated reforms under sharia. His modest agenda included elimination of unjust taxes, establishment of a state exchequer and a budget. The emir also proclaimed the creation of an elected council in Bukhara that would deal with issues of public health and sanitation. To bring his vision into action, the emir replaced

\textsuperscript{72} Khalid, *The Politics*, 246.
conservative ulama with reformists, but these set of reforms didn’t satisfy Bukharan Jadids. On May 6, ulama formed their own council, the Ulamo jamiyati, and proclaimed Jadids sinners and enemies. These events were reflected in the Jadid press.

In Tashkent, Munavvar qori and Vladimir Nalivkin, a Russian military officer and orientalist who came to Turkestan with the imperial conquests but decided to abandon the service over his anti-imperialistic principles, took charge of Turkiston viloyatining gazeti and renamed it Najot (Hope). In Samarkand, Behbudiy established Hurriyat (Freedom), which became the main venue for Jadid exhortations. Hurriyat was established on April 16, 1917, as a political, economic, science and literary newspaper. It ran twice a week and printed 87 issues. Abdurauf Fitrat edited the paper after its 27th issue.

Revolution in the country sparked a revolution of the mind. After the abdication of the Tsar, the so-called Provisional Government that took leadership in Russia eliminated the imperial distinctions between citizens that held hierarchies based on religious, sex, ethnicity and rank. It gave the people 20 years and older the right to vote. Moreover, it guaranteed the absolute freedom of the press and of assembly. That inspired Jadids to bring their nation-building vision into action.73

Cho’lpon saw these changes as those that would bring the Muslim world in Russian territory to rebirth because the times of oppression were gone with the empire.74 Born to a wealthy Andijani merchant, Cho’lpon’s (1898 – 1938) fate was driven by a passion for aesthetic

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73 Khalid, Making Uzbekistan, 56.
expression. In his early years he ran away from home as a result of conflict with his father to avoid study at a madrasa. It brought him to Tashkent where he stayed for several years. The 1917 revolutions paved the path for his artistic oeuvre. Khalid called him “the main force behind the creation of modern Uzbek poetry.”\(^{75}\) Besides poetry, Cho’lpon shared passion for theater; however, around 1927 tensions with Soviet administration drove him into hiding from which he mostly turned to translation. Even his novel, *Night and Day* (Kecha va Kunduz, 1936) – which some have seen as an attempt at reconciliation with Soviet power – didn’t save him from execution in 1938.\(^{76}\)

Soon after Jadids formed *Shuroi Islomiya*, in March 1917 Qodiriy, who usually wrote under pseudonyms Julqunboy, Kalvak maxzumning jiyani, Ovsar, Dumbul, Ju-boy, published a feuilleton, telling a fictional story of a judge named Mulla Karim Hojja. In it the protagonist appeared as a principled person who was jailed for 15 years for accusing his colleagues of holding unfair elections. After being released he stepped away from politics, but that didn’t stop him from ending up behind bars. He was 70 years of age when found himself released, and right after becoming a free man he learned from his son about revolution and freedom of Muslim people. Then he died of happiness.\(^{77}\) Qodiriy’s (1894 – 1935) worldview was shaped through attending a traditional madrasa and Russo-native school. A son of Tashkent’s modest merchant, he was immersed in storytelling from childhood thanks to his father. Qodiriy’s life journey took

\(^{75}\) Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan*, 52.  
\(^{76}\) For more on Cho’lpon’s attempt to reconcile with Soviet regime, see the Introduction in Cho’lpon, *Night and Day*, trans. Christopher Fort (Brookline: Academic Studies Press, 2020)  
\(^{77}\) Mazlum (Eski shaharlik) [pseud.], “Shodmarg (Felyeton),” *Najot*, March 21, 1917.
him from writing satirical pieces and taking editorial positions to being ousted from Soviet press and moving to literature and translation. In 1926 he published *Bygone Days* (O’tkan Kunlar), what is known as the first Uzbek novel. Qodiriy shared the tragic fate of his fellow Jadids and was shot along with Cho’lpon and Fitrat in 1938.

**Figure 2.3.** Abdulla Qodiriy (center) in a family circle. Year is unknown. Zamin online website. https://zamin.uz/uz/jamiyat/32365-abdulla-qodiriy-nabirasi-bilan-intervyu-yoxud-taqiqlangan-videotopilma.html

Political turmoil changed the coverage of empire as well as the Tsar. Harsh critique replaced ephemeral alertness. Jadids presented Nicholas II as a despotically puppeteer (*Bir*...
odamning go‘li-da taqdiri o‘yunch o‘lib yurg‘an ko‘b milyunlar xalq) and tyrant (zolim) who played with the lives [of people] across all Russia, and empire as a jail (zindon). To Jadids, freedom is not granted but instead had to be taken. In the Jadid imagination, October Revolution released Turkestan from tyranny of Russian empire, and that provided a window of opportunity to bring their nation-building project into action. Although Bolsheviks appeared to them as the initial liberators, it was the Jadids who had to take action once the revolution occurred. Liberty, however, had to be obtained in the name of nation, not class. Hence, in the third wave Bolsheviks were presented as the liberators of a nation. Munavvar qori, for instance, argued that the Muslims of Turkestan were repressed by the Russian politics for 145 years (since 1772, from the rule of Pugachev). To him, across all nations under the rule of Russian empire Muslims received the least help from the government in strengthening their freedom. Fitrat, who encouraged people to be pro-active in the April 1917 elections to the Samarkand Duma, defended the institution of the city council (duma), noting that it was different from Tsarist.

In July 1917 Tashkent held its first Duma elections. The ulama took 62 seats, while the Shuro managed to win only 11. Two months later the Tashkent Soviet took the city by force. Bolsheviks in Petrograd overtook the power of Provisional Government on October 25 (November 7 according to the Gregorian calendar), 1917, an event remembered as the October Revolution. In the midst of these changes, Jadids, joined by the Muslims who studied in the

78 Cho‘lpon, “Ish vaqti.”
80 Ibid.
81 Abdurauf Fitrat, “Musulmonlar, g‘ofil qolmang!,” Hurriyat, August 25, 1917.
Russo-native schools, on November 27, 1917, formed Turkestan Autonomy, also known as Kokand Autonomy. In their vision Turkestan was meant to be autonomous within a democratic Russian federation formed from the territory of the old empire. Autonomy was widely celebrated in Hurriyat. Fitrat called it a phenomenon that boils the blood of a Turkic man, [an event] that empowers a man. Fitrat wrote: “We have been oppressed for 50 years. Our hands were tied, tongue cut off, land enslaved and property plundered. We persevered.”

During the third wave, relations with ulama deteriorated. The tone of Jadid articles reflect overt confrontation. Jadids celebrated the Kokand Autonomy by organizing demonstrations in Andijan, Namangan and Tashkent. A similar event was intended to be held in Samarkand, but the ulama didn’t give their blessing. In response Hoji Muin wrote a fierce article in which he gave three possible reasons for decline: cowardice, incomprehension of autonomy, or disbelief in the future of autonomy. But even a month before this article, Fitrat blamed the Ulamo Jamiyati for manipulating numbers during the Bukhara Duma elections. In Tashkent, on July 30, 1917 Tashkent duma held repeated elections. “Sho’roi islomiya” challenged “Ulamo jamiyati,” but the latter verbally accused their opponents, calling them out “infidels.” Abdulla Qodiriy responded with an article in which he blamed ulama for misbehavior.

Jadids struggled with ulama for leadership in society. As Khalid explains, Jadids thought that, unlike ulama, they were the ones to be equipped with progressive knowledge and Russian

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82 Abdurauf Fitrat, “Muxtoriyat,” Hurriyat, December 5, 1917.
83 Hoji Muin, “Namoyish to’g’risinda,” Hurriyat, December 16, 1917.
84 Abdurauf Fitrat, “«Sho’royi islomiya»ning xatosi,” Hurriyat, September 5, 1917.
85 Mazlum (Eski shaharlik) [pseud.], “Saylovmi, bosqunchilikmi,” Ulug’ Turkiston, August 4, 1917.
language to lead Muslims of Turkestan into future.\textsuperscript{86} Hamza appealed to the youth of Turkestan in April, arguing that political changes unveil new opportunities.\textsuperscript{87} Behbudiy envisioned Jadids in a leadership position in his article “Qozoq qarindoshlarmizga ochiq xat” (An open letter to our Kazakh neighbors). In it, he called for unity of Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, Turkmens and Tatars under the umbrella of a Turkic nation, proposing that new laws of a future autonomy would protect cultural and religious traditions, including those of Jews and Christians in the area.\textsuperscript{88}

The Kokand Autonomy ceased to exist on April 22, 1918 following its destruction by the Tashkent Soviet. Khalid has stipulated that it would have ended even without the Tashkent Soviet’s interference because it suffered from an inability to raise money and an army. Moreover, Jadid’s inexperience in governing would have had an impact on the longevity of autonomy.\textsuperscript{89}

By January 1918, Jadid descriptions of the Bolsheviks vis-a-vis issues of national liberation had started to change. For Hoji Muin Bolsheviks became idle talkers.\textsuperscript{90} These Muslim modernists began to understand that Bolsheviks envisioned liberation through class and socialism, not through nation. Muin disagreed with Bolshevik class politics and called them immoral (buzug). By January 1918 Choʻlpun offered bitter words: he didn’t see the difference

\textsuperscript{86} Khalid, \textit{The Politics}, 254.
\textsuperscript{87} Hamza Hakimzoda Niyoziy, “Bukungi qadrlik kunlar,” \textit{Hurriyat}, April 7, 1917.
\textsuperscript{90} Hoji Muin, “Bolsheviklar va biz,” \textit{Hurriyat}, January 9, 1918.
between Tsarist and Bolshevik Russia. To him, although Bolshevik’s politics were more transparent, it did not meet the vision of Turkism.91

After the autonomy’s collapse, the newspaper Hurriyat lasted for two more months. But even back in January it had problems with procuring paper, as this was a problem throughout the early Soviet Union. In the end, it was shut down by the Bolsheviks.

This ended the third wave of the Jadid press. The press and its discourse underwent marked changes during this time. The hope given to Jadids early by the February Revolution that was extinguished. By the end of the third era, Jadids had become frustrated with the Bolsheviks; however, the latter quickly reemerged as liberators of the nation in the fourth era. Although the Jadid press ceased to exist, many modernists took editorial positions in state-owned papers. Jadids participated firsthand in the formation of the early Soviet Central Asian press.

**Fourth era: 1918 – 1928**

As we have seen from the previous eras, the nation had been the locus of Chaghatayist project, and the fourth era is no exception. From 1918, Bolsheviks began construction of socialism in Central Asia. The language and cultural barriers they faced made them rely on a network of local intellectuals who had similar ideas, a network which often included Jadids. Bolsheviks and Jadids, however, had a different vision of what the nation should look like.

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The socialist understanding of the nation goes back to Stalin’s 1913 essay “Marxism and the National Question.” Stalin defined nations as “historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.” ⁹² However, he also argued that “while combatting the coercion of any nation, [Social Democracy] will uphold only the right of the nation itself to determine its own destiny, at the same time agitating against harmful customs and institutions of that nation in order to enable the toiling strata of the nation to emancipate themselves from them.” ⁹³

In other words, socialists presented themselves as emancipators of the oppressed by the Tsarist empire, thus appearing to grant national intellectuals the freedom to form national, religious and cultural identity. Nations had to embrace communism to free themselves from the oppressors. Jadids celebrated liberation in the name of the nation; however, they did not particularly share the socialist understanding of the nation as divided by oppressor and oppressed classes. In Soviet understanding that meant that nations had the right to limited cultural autonomy within Soviet system but not political self-determination. With regard to this, Khalid has argued that the Kokand Autonomy created in 1917 can be viewed as an attempt for self-determination. So can the Bukharan People’s Soviet Republic (BNSR), formed in 1920 as a result of the Red Army’s overthrow of the Bukharan Emir. For the next three years, the BNSR was led by so-called Young Bukharans—essentially Jadids and local intellectuals influenced by

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⁹² Keller, Russia and Central, 146-147.
⁹³ Ibid.
Jadid views who embraced Soviet rhetoric in the early 1920s. With Fayzulla Xo’jayev as the first head of BNSR and Abdurauf Fitrat as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, briefly, and then Minister of Education, Young Bukharans seized the moment to bring Chaghatayist aspirations to life. But they clashed with the Soviets who ousted many Jadids from power 1923 and then eliminated the limited political autonomy of the BNSR with the 1924 national delimitation that created the Uzbekistan SSR, which was a constituent republic of the newly formed, falsely federative Soviet Union.94

In 1918, after the collapse of Kokand Autonomy, Bolsheviks confiscated all printing presses in Turkestan and made them available only to state-owned newspapers.95 In prerevolutionary times, the general-governor granted the official license for launching newspapers and journals, whereas Soviet papers all belonged to the government. Assigning editors was a political decision made by the Turkestan Executive Committee (TurTSIk) and approved by the Communist Party of Turkestan (KPT)96.

Because newspapers and journals were propaganda tools in the hands of government, they had the didactic goal of explaining to the masses the goals and essence of revolution as well as communism. Government proclamation and decrees were communicated through newspapers. Papers started delivering news but also carried Jadid-styled articles. The first two major papers were Ishtirokiyun (Communist) in Tashkent and Mehnatkashlar tovushi (Voice of Workers) in

96 Khalid, Making Uzbekistan, 190.
Samarkand. *Ishtirokiyun* began printing on June 20, 1918, by decree of the Communist Party of Turkestan and the People’s Commissariat for Nationalities. The party assigned Orif Klebeev, a Moscow native, its editor. In explaining the goals of socialism, *Ishtirokiyun* targeted Turkestan’s Muslim population. The party wanted to convince the local population that Muslims can be liberated through communism only.97 From December 19, 1920, *Ishtirokiyun* published under a new name, *Qizil Bayroq* (Red Flag). It maintained the same ideological lane but, according to Ziyo Said, improved the printed quality of the papers (he does not specify how). Unlike its predecessor, *Qizil Bayroq* delivered local news. In two years, it changed editors five times. Even Akmal Ikramov, who became the first Secretary of Uzbekistan in 1929, edited the paper from March 8 to September 10, 1922. In the beginning it disseminated 5,000 copies. By the time of its renaming in 1922 after 218 editions, circulation had decreased to 2,500. *Qizil Bayroq* had the same fate of *Ishtirokiyun*. On September 13, 1922, the party renamed it *Turkiston* (Turkistan), increased printed copies (at its peak it reached 7,500 copies) and yet again changed its name to *Qizil O’zbekiston* (Red Uzbekistan) in 1925.

On June 11, 1918, Samarkand saw its first Soviet paper, *Mehnatkashlar tovushi*, edited by Hoji Muin until 1922. On one hand, the paper aimed to bring the government closer to the people; on the other, it criticized the government officials who abused their power.98 However, *Mehnatkashlar tovushi* neither delivered news across Uzbekistan nor wrote about peasants until 1921 because it did not have correspondents and the government had cut its funding. The same

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year the regional committee criticized the paper for failing to align its rhetoric with party ideology and assigned a political inspector. After these events it was renamed to Kambag‘allar tovushi (Voice of Poor), as the party thought the word mehnatkash (worker) resembled Mensheviks.\textsuperscript{99} Within a little more than four years of its existence, the two-page paper published 304 issues reaching 500 to 2,000 copies.

The fourth era also saw the blooming of new writing genres for Central Asia, such as satirical illustrations and short story. Mushtum (Fist) was at the forefront of production of satirical journals. Founded by Abdulla Qodiriy, it came to readers on February 18, 1923, as a supplement with Turkiston. Mushtum quickly became renowned among readers, thanks to its stark humorous images and crafted articles that lambasted societal maladies such as bureaucracy, corruption and superstitions. In addition to satire, its authors frequently appealed to public shaming. In his work, Qodiriy, for example, featured names of corrupt bureaucrats, eshons (Sufi masters who taught students known as murids) as well as wealthy merchants refusing philanthropy. In 1926 Qodiriy even chafed at the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Akmal Ikromov, for which he was denounced by the criminal code of Uzbekistan and appeared before a court.\textsuperscript{100}

\textsuperscript{99} Hoji Muin, “Samarqandda matbuot ahvoli,” Zarafshon, October 27, 1923.
\textsuperscript{100} Ovsar [pseud.], “Yig‘indi gaplar,” Mushtum, February 25, 1926; Abdulla Qodiriy, “Suddagi nutq,” Samarqand, June 16, 1926.
Newspapers were the central organs of the government during the first years of building socialism in Central Asia, and their content largely addressed those areas where Jadid and Bolshevik views coincided. Despite the general distrust between the two groups, Jadids and Bolsheviks had a few areas of cooperation, namely emancipation for women (despite having few female writers), education, and the fight against what both sides called fanaticism and decolonization.
Education was infused in nearly every piece. For example, in his feuilleton narrating the theatrical play *Layli va Majnun*, Qodiriy advocated for education in his conversation with a random person who appeared to come from Samarkand to study Tashkent’s education system. In the play’s final scene as the curtains open, the Jadid compared the dead protagonists to the dead old-method schools, an allegory of Bolshevik and Jadid fight against ulama.\(^{101}\) In Qodiriy’s satires not only young people seek education, but even “a hunched, half-blind old man” comes to school for enlightenment.\(^{102}\) Cho’lpon applauded Soviet effort to educate girls in the West. In the issue of girl’s education, the old era was bygone, and October revolution made the U.S. and Japan more accessible.\(^{103}\) In the meantime, although Hoji Muin never fully embraced socialism, he shared Cho’lpon’s enthusiasm for women’s liberation and also coaxed Turkestanis to send their children to Soviet schools.\(^{104}\)

But education blossomed in real life, too. Khalid wrote that Jadids used “revolutionary” methods to confiscate property for educational institutions which led to opening 70 schools in Tashkent between 1917 and 1929. By August 1919, Kokand had 20 elementary schools and ten other institutions for its Muslim population, whereas the Samarkand *uezd* (the territorial and administrative unit used in the Russian Empire and in the 1920s Soviet Union) had nine “Turkic” schools as of March 1919. An additional 35 schools were planned to be opened the same year.\(^{105}\)

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\(^{101}\) Julqunboy [pseud.], “Layli va Majnun,” *Turkiston*, September 17, 1922.

\(^{102}\) Julqunboy [pseud.], “Pastu baland dunyoda,” *Turkiston*, October 5, 1922.

\(^{103}\) Abdulhamid Cho’lpon. “Istiqlol uchun kurash,” *Qizil Bayroq*, September 2, 1922.

\(^{104}\) Hoji Muin, “Xalq dorilfununi,” *Mehnatkashlar tovushi*, July 23, 1918; Muin’s skepticism to Soviet power can be tracked across his articles yet the most vivid of those is Boturbek [pseud.] “Boy bo’limoq yo’llari,” *Zarafshon*, November 3, 1922.

While Jadids held power under the Soviets, their rhetoric became increasingly belligerent. Cho’lpon, for example, insisted that old-method schools had to be eradicated because new era required new spirit. Qodiriy openly called old-method schools “lunatic houses” (dorul-jununlari). The Tashkent Jadid frequently pointed fingers at ulama and had no mercy in doing so. For example, in a fictional biography of two eshons, he wrote that most people think of Sufi masters as holy individuals whose duty is to show the right path, but this view was alien to him. Qodiriy said he imagined a corrupt and devilish man (talbis qalb), adding that either he is blind, or the people are. It wasn’t the only time Qodiriy mocked the clergy. In another piece he satirically asked where an eshon’s profits disappear to, and provided the following response, “To their eight wives.”

In Jadid articles of the fourth era, ulama continued to bear responsibility for what Jadids called the decay in education. In a majority of his articles Vadud Mahmud, a Jadid from Samarkand who pondered on the education and documenting the history of Turkestan, described education as in a state of disaster. Mahmud was born in Samarkand and received traditional madrasa education. He was heavily involved in pedagogy, writing textbooks and doing translation work. But he also edited Maorif va oqituvchi journal from 1926 to 1927. Vadud Mahmud, unlike many other Jadids, became a Baha’i, a faith that takes its roots Iran and spread

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107 Jiyan [pseud.], “Eshonlarimiz,” Mushtum, April 8, 1924.
in Central Asia as an Islamic sect from about 1884.\textsuperscript{109} To him, it wasn’t that Turkestan didn’t have teachers and students it was inefficient system inherited by ulama that placed good teachers in bad positions. As a solution, he had hopes for Soviet schools.\textsuperscript{110}

Early years of Soviet press also carried the Jadid legacy of lambasting wealthy and ordinary people. The most critical of authors was Abdulla Qodiriy, who frequently made use of satire. On the pages of \textit{Mushtum}, the Tashkent Jadid made a roll call of wealthy with a short satirical bio. Moreover, he didn’t refrain from calling the wealthy “thieves” for feeding fellow affluent merchants instead of poor people on Eid.\textsuperscript{111}

This stark criticism should be read as a growth in cultural activity. The fourth era was the most productive for Jadids: They wrote and staged plays, educated, reshaped the national language, situated the history of the nation, introduced new forms of writing, wrote novels, short stories and satire. It was a moment to build a new Uzbek identity, which was possible, as they now argued, thanks to the October Revolution. Russia, hence, became a place of admiration, unlike Europe which began to be despised by Jadids. Fitrat, who in the first era saw Europe as the epitome of development, by the fourth came to detest its colonial politics. He saw no peace or prosperity in Europe.\textsuperscript{112} Qodiriy took it even further, comparing the West with predators (\textit{yirtqich}), swindlers (\textit{muttahamlar}) and octopi (\textit{ro’dap}) stretching their limbs on colonized


\textsuperscript{110} Vadud Mahmud, “Maorif ishlarimiz,” \textit{Turkiston}, March 25, 1923.

\textsuperscript{111} Kalvak maxzunning jiyani [pseud.], “Toshkand boylari,” \textit{Mushtum}, 1924; Julqunboy [pseud.], “Qurbonliq o’g’rilari,” \textit{Qizil Bayroq}, August 4, 1922.

\textsuperscript{112} Abdurauf Fitrat, “Sharq siyosati,” \textit{Ishtirokiyun}, October 23-26, 1919.
nations. In area of education, Jadids thought it was a mistake to measure progress in Turkestan by European standards. Europe to them, however, was limited to England and France. By contrast, Germany continued to be a place of educational prosperity. In fact, in 1921 Jadids established the “Ko’mak” association through which they sent students to Europe. Germany was a favorite destination. 58 students went to this Western European country through “Ko’mak” and another association called “O’zbek bilim hay’ati” from 1923 to 1924. In the 1930s, however, these students, because of their time abroad, became victims of Stalinist purges. In the press you could frequently see the list of donated items and money Jadids further sent to the students of “Ko’mak.”

It is easy, however, to oversimplify Jadids’ enthusiasm for socialism. In their vision, socialism was primarily anti-colonial, not class-based. They supported it so long as it freed local intellectuals and the nation from oppressors but did not turn them into propagandists of socialism. The clues for this come from Hoji Muin’s multiple articles, including “Samarqandda matbuot ahvoli” (The Press Affairs in Samarkand), and “Samarqand matbuotining tarixi” (The History of Press in Samarkand). In both articles he was vocal about Soviet censorship, stipulating that while he held an editorial position at Mehnatkashlar tovushi, the Central government accused him of “nationalism” (millatchilik), a word that implied an anti-Bolshevik chauvinism, as early as the end of 1920. Muin understood that since the newspaper

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113 Julqunboy [pseud.], “Siyosat maydonlarida,” Mushtum, 1923.
115 Dumbul [pseud.], “«Ko’mak» uyushmasiga ionalar,” Mushtum, 1923.
116 Muin, “Samarqandda matbuot ahvoli.”
was owned by the government, it had to run official proclamations, but it had to show the
problems government had to address. Here are two excerpts that illustrate the point:

Bu gazeta, bir yoqdan, xalqni
hukumatga yaqinlashdirish uchun
xidmat qilgonidek, ikkinchi yoqdan,
buzuq niyat bilan hukumat idoralariq’a
kirib olib xalqni talayturg’on unsurlar
bilan muboriza etar, ular haqida doim
rahmsiz suratda tanqid va kulgulik
maqolalar yozar edi.

This newspaper [Mehnatkashlar tovushi –
JA], on one hand, served to bring the
people closer to the government; on the
other, write ruthless critical and humorous
articles about people who entered
government with immoral (or corrupt)
intent.  

1920nchi yilning oxirlaridan boshlab
Samarqand matbuotig’a hukumat
tomonidan senzur (nozir) qoyildi. Va
o’shal kundan e’tiborlan
«Mehnatkashlar tovushi» gazetasi
qisinqiliq ostida qoldi. Bir tomondan,
senzur: «Millatchilikdan, diyonatdan
gapirma! Hukumat tepasidagilarga
tegma!» kabii amr va ta’limotlar berib,
gazetani ma’naviy jihatdan qisaverdi.
Ikkinchi tomondan, oqcha yo’qilgi,t,
kog’oz qahatlig’i va hurufchinlarning
maishati torlig’idan qocharg’a majbur
bo’lishlari gazetaning kundan-kun
tanazzuliga sabab bo’la boshladi.

Starting from the end of 1920, [the
government – JA] assigned a censor for
Samarkand newspapers. From that day on
Mehnatkashlar tovushi has started to
become squeezed [meaning suppressed –
JA]. On one hand, censor squeezed the
newspaper by commanding and
instructing us, “Don’t say nationalistic
and religious things!” On the other hand,
newspaper declined day by day due to the
lack of money, the scarcity of paper, and
the fact that tyrants were forced to flee
from their livelihoods.

The criticism remark in these quotes shouldn’t be taken at face value. On one hand,
criticism to Hoji Muin was to be aimed at imperialistic clerics – not always Bolsheviks – who
supposedly took government positions. On the other hand, Hoji Muin despite working for Soviet

117 Muin, “Samarqand matbuotining tarixi.”
118 Muin, “Samarqandda matbuot ahvoli.”
newspaper and presenting himself as a Bolshevik, arguably, never shared enthusiasm for a new government. We can see this in his 1922 article “Boy bo‘lmoq yo‘llari,” which reflects his vision for the rest of his journalistic work:

It is also important to know this: although by all appearances I am Bolshevik, the feelings I have inherited from my ancestors are engraved me as in stone.

Shuni ham bilmoq kerakkim, men zohiran bolshevik bo‘lgan bo‘lsam ham, otarobomdan meros bo‘lib kelgan ko‘nglimda «kan-naqshi fil-hajar» (toshga o‘yilgan naqsh) kabi o‘ltirib qolg‘on hislarim o‘z joyida barqaror edi. 119

Here, by referring to ancestors, Muin said he did not lose his roots, his worldview, despite appearing Bolshevik (either about dress or behavior) in public. Therefore, Muin didn’t understand why if editors serve the truth, they had to become propagandists of Soviet politics, although did acknowledge that it had to inform about government’s position by printing official proclamations. Moreover, his bemoaning of censorship of his nationalist viewpoints suggests that writing about socialism wasn’t in the interest of Jadids.

For Jadids, Soviet socialism, thus, was an umbrella movement for protecting and freeing the nation. For press it means that the ideology and the tone was different from Soviet imagination of the press: Because papers were Jadid in content, they were to serve the nation, not a class society. It is for this reason, Qodiriy was critical of the government for failing to supply religious schools with reading materials. 120 In Jadids’ vision, liberation of the nation was equal to the liberation of Muslims, hence providing means for practicing Islam. In 1921, Munavvar qori

119 Muin, “Boy bo‘lmoq.”
bemoaned the lack of government support of religious schools in his address during the meeting on education, which he later argued in a newspaper article was denounced in the press. In 1923 the Communist Party launched the policy of korenizatsiia (indigenization), which aimed to nativize the bureaucracies of non-Russian administrative territories such that locals could communicate with the government in their native language in performing their daily affairs. Historian Adrienne Lynn Edgar stipulated that “in political and psychological terms, indigenization sought to distance the Soviet government from tsarist colonialism and convince non-Russian nationalities that it supported their aspirations for self-determination and cultural autonomy.” With regard to religion, we see Cho’ilpon’s support of korenizatsiia, which he referred to as “musimaization,” showing his cultural understanding of the term, when he ridiculed spelling mistakes in new billboards set up by the government. Cho’ilpon thought Muslim affairs of Turkestan had to be communicated to Soviet government as well as through Soviet government in Uzbek.

Religion was not the only area where Jadids collided with the government in the press. Qodiriy frequently ridiculed Soviet bureaucracy. Government workers were depicted as clerics running from one meeting to another, carrying a Soviet-style folder in their hands. Muin bemoaned bureaucracy and corruption in the transportation system, whereas Cho’ilpon argued that the government should give more funds to papers by selling rarely used cars that sat in the

123 Abdulhamid Cho’ilpon. “Musulmonlashdirish,” Darxon, 1923
government’s garages.\textsuperscript{124} Moreover, starting from 1920, Qodiriy and Muin, who edited \textit{Mushtum} and \textit{Mehnatkash tovushlari} respectively, became vocal about censorship and pressure from the government.\textsuperscript{125}

1924 was a banner year for the \textit{Chaghatayist project}, because delimitation led to the creation of the Uzbek SSR. While older generation of historians viewed this event through a Soviet divide and rule narrative, which viewed the 1924 national-territorial delimitation of Central Asia through the prism of a Soviet destruction of the supposed primordial unity of the region,\textsuperscript{126} contemporary schools put local intellectuals at the center of narrative. Khalid argued that creation of Uzbekistan was the apex of the \textit{Chaghatayist project}. To him, Uzbekistan came to life as a result of Jadids’ larger vision for the Kokand Autonomy and the Bukharan People’s Soviet Republic.\textsuperscript{127} It is for that reason that, starting in 1924, in the second half of the fourth era, Jadids began the process of canonizing as Uzbek Turkic intellectuals such as Alisher Navoiy and Ahmad Yassaviy. In 1924 Qodiriy celebrated the sixth anniversary of Soviet press. In so doing,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{124} Hoji Muin, “Kattaqo’rg’on xotiralari,” \textit{Hurriyat}, December 29, 1917; Abdulhamid Cho’lpon, “O’t arava to’g’risida,” \textit{Farg‘ona}, December 7, 1923.
\end{itemize}
he built a list of people who in his opinion had an impact on Uzbek press. Interestingly, it was comprised only of Jadids.  

Seldom in the press did Jadids use class rhetoric or appeal to Russian Soviet minds to make argument for their national project. Although Jadid articles did not adopt the class rhetoric, they infused socialist terms as early as 1918. Take for example, Vadud Mahmud’s 1921 tribute to Shokir Muxtoriy, one of the editors of Taraqqiy newspaper, whom he addressed as “the great worker” (Ay buyuk ischi!). Here is also an excerpt from Hoji Muin’s “Bizga nima kerak” in which he called for formation of local army:

To protect our country from the attack of [these] internal enemies and to protect our sacred power from their oppression, we, the poor workers and peasants of Turkestan, need to form military factions from our population; to stand for the rights and freedoms with our lives and honor.

Mana, ushbu doxiliy dushmanlarimizning hujumindan vatanimizni qutqarmoq va alarni tasallutindan muqaddas hokimiyatimizni muhofaza etmak uchun biz Turkiston faqir ishchi va dehqonlarig’a lozimdurki, o’z oramizdan askariy firqalar tashkil etib, jonimiz va nomusimiz kabi aziz bo’lg’on huquq va hurriyatimiz yo’linda qurbon bo’lurg’a hozir turayluk.

As we can see, Jadids incorporated proletarian language, like “poor workers” and “farmers,” to “speak Bolshevik” with power, but the nation had always been at the forefront of their rhetoric.

The breaking point for Jadid activity came in 1926. The Party took over the cultural scene and opened an “ideological front” against local intellectuals. The ideological front indicates the

130 Boturbek [pseud.], “Bizga nima kerak,” Mehnatkashlar tovushi, August 13, 1918.
transformation of the Central Asian cultural scene such that all public discourse had to be couched in the language of Marxist categories enforced by the state Party. This signaled the passing of times of Behbudiy and Avloniy, as described by members of new class of Soviet writers.\footnote{Khalid, \textit{Making Uzbekistan}, 316-317.} In January party officials came together for first conference of Uzbek cultural workers. Its outcome was a clear division of Uzbek intellectuals into two categories: “national” (\textit{milliy}) and “nationalists” (\textit{millatchi}), the latter of which indicated bigoted chauvinists unamenable to Soviet power. According to this division, the former served workers and peasants, while the latter were bourgeois nationalists. For Jadids, most of whom were now classified as “bourgeois nationalists” and “old intellectuals,” it meant that they would become enemies of socialism and be denounced in the cultural scene and in the Soviet-controlled press. A new cohort of Uzbek Soviet writers went through Jadids’ pre-revolutionary publications to find a reason to accuse them of bourgeois nationalism.\footnote{Adeeb Khalid, \textit{Central Asia: A New History from the Imperial Conquests to the Present} (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2021), 220-221.}

From that point, most Jadids moved to writing public-facing academic pieces for Soviet papers. While Hoji Muin traced the roots of Uzbek language, Vadud Mahmud wrote on the history of Uzbek literature and poetry. So did Fitrat. Abdulla Qodiriy, who was ousted from \textit{Mushtum} in 1926, moved to writing prose, doing translation work and occasionally appearing in \textit{Mushtum} as a freelance later. That same year he published the first Uzbek novel, which quickly became a classic, \textit{O’tkan Kunlar} (Bygone Days). Cho‘lpon shared extensive notes of his time in Moscow with Drama Theater where he stayed until 1927.
Jadids moving out from the press was a sign of the eclipse of Uzbek modernist movement. 22 years (from 1906 to 1928) of Jadid activism saw the birth of media-making in Turkestan, its building, its rise during the early years of Soviet construction, followed by its destruction in 1920s. The press redefined the way Uzbek intellectuals carried out public debates and became a medium for moral and political agency. It was through the press that Jadids channeled their imagination of a nation. The end of Jadidism came in 1936-1938 when the government executed the vast majority of its former proponents—all of whom to that point had, whether sincerely or out of fear, publicly recanted their Jadid views—after accusing them falsely of planning to overthrow the Soviet regime.
CHAPTER 3

THEME 1: NOT AN ENEMY: INVESTIGATING EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND TECHNICAL FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESS AS IMAGINED BY UZBEK MODERNISTS

The opening line of this chapter, “Not an Enemy,” references the founder and editor of Samargand newspaper and Oyna journal Mahmudxo’ja Behbudiy’s vision for Jadid newspapers. As he argued in his 1914 article “Tanqid – saralamoqdur (Criticism is for sorting out),” newspapers had to point at shortcomings, a principle that supposedly irritated some people. Turkestanis castigated editors, calling them “enemies,” wrote Behbudiy. In response, the Jadids argued that criticism is beneficial for society because it has the power to prevent its worst mistakes. In a nutshell, the press saw itself as an enemy neither to the government, nor the people. The press in the Jadid imagination was a pivotal medium through which they could achieve their nation building goals. Hence, with criticism at the core, the press, Behbudiy argued, had to have three technical functions: to point out shortcomings, to spark a response, and to call attention to progress. Although the last of these had not explicitly been outlined by the Jadid, the way he framed the article alludes to the unstated function. But there was one additional function proposed by Hoji Muin but coherent to all modernists: didactic.

These four functions are found in the periodical writings of all Central Asian Jadids, and laid the foundation for the Jadid press. With that being said, this chapter explores the

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133 Behbudiy, “Tanqid.”
134 Ibid.
135 Muin, “G’azeta o’qimoq.”
epistemological and technical functions the modernists designated to the press. While core functions of the press remained unchanged throughout the eras, the rhetoric, style, and criticism Jadids directed at their opponents was not static.

**Function vs. style**

Generally, the Central Asian Jadid papers had a didactic tone. It is most acute in the first three eras; however, the introduction of feuilletons—short stories along with satirical cartoons—in the fourth era saw increased diversity in both writing style and genres. Abdulla Qodiriy was in the vanguard of this new movement. Even Hoji Muin, who wrote in an argumentative manner until the third era, turned to satire with the growth of the novel genre. The change in style can also be explained by Fitrat’s groundbreaking effort in reshaping and simplifying Uzbek language. This chapter, however, delineates the style of the material from the functions, with the latter being the focus of this chapter. It investigates the ways Jadids exercised the above four functions proposed by Behbudiy and Muin, and how they transformed throughout the four eras.

**Function one: To point at shortcomings**

“Criticism is essential for newly written books, journals and newspapers. For example, a critique of an editor and teacher who let mistakes slip due to apathy should be considered a goal of reform,” argued Behbudiy. Universal for all Jadids and eras, pointing out shortcomings was essential for preventing the consequences of societal and educational mistakes. Therefore, people had to be exposed to their own shortcomings to cure themselves, argued Behbudiy many times.

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137 Behbudiy, “Tanqid.”
across his writings. This is what Khalid called “a mirror of admonition.” Admonition presented a way to awake the nation from a state of sleep of ignorance through exhortations by enforcing a sense of impending doom. People could be awakened only through knowledge, and if they fail, decay in morals and destruction of nation lay ahead of them. With all that, Jadids appeared to be best equipped to show a better path for future.\textsuperscript{138}

Jadids wrote that criticism had to be constructive without harming a person’s dignity. In reality, they often used strong language that one can argue goes against their own instruction.

But who did Jadids direct their wrath at? Their opponents are presented in Table 1. Applicable to all four eras are the ulama, affluent merchants refusing philanthropy, people perceived to be backward and ignorant. The Russian empire, colonization, and the tsar are present only in third and fourth eras. Finally, in addition to the latter the last era also includes bureaucrats, bureaucracy (as a practice), and, occasionally, Bolsheviks themselves.

\textsuperscript{138} Khalid, \textit{Making Uzbekistan}, 137.
Table 1. Jadid rivals as they appeared in the press in relation to eras

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<tr>
<td>Ulama</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Affluent merchants refusing philanthropy</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>People who were perceived to be backward and ignorant</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ignorance</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Russian empire, colonization and Tsar Nicolas</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bureaucracy and bureaucrats</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>Bolsheviks</td>
<td>No</td>
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Source: Data developed after analyzing Jadid articles.

Modernists sought to hold ulama accountable for opposing reform, affluent people for wasting money on large weddings, funerals and feasts instead of investing in new-method schools and educating children, and ordinary people for their indifference to the future of the nation. After the February 1917 revolution, the Russian empire was the target of criticism, and, following the October revolution, briefly, Bolsheviks in the midst of attack on Kokand Autonomy. However, as we have seen in the fourth era section, the criticism of Bolsheviks should not be oversimplified. Most Jadids had mixed feelings toward new administration: On the one hand, they celebrated the national liberation granted by Bolsheviks; on the other, they continuously expressed their displeasure with Soviet bureaucracy.

139 For example, see Muin, “Samanqandda matbout ahvoli.”
In the first two eras, Jadids assumed people had to be cured of their sins because they were simply not aware of them. They retained this presumption in the last era too, except they hoped Bolsheviks would aid them if they brought the problems to light. This helps explain why some modernists critiqued bureaucrats. For example, in 1922 Muin insisted that it was necessary to be interested in politics via the press. In his view, newspapers had to show Bolsheviks the problems of Muslims they had to deal with. Noteworthy, Muin thought papers were “the leaders of the people” (xalqning yo‘lboshchisi) and channel for spreading government’s position (hukumatning fikr tarqatuvchisidir): papers had to listen to the government’s opinion, but the government had to monitor public opinion as well.

A year earlier Muin pondered on the art of satire in an article “Anglashilmasliq yoki «Tayoq»ning ta’siri (Misunderstanding or the effect of Tayyoq (Punch, a journal edited by Hoji Muin in 1920)).” In it, he addressed a frequently asked question: Does the government mind you using harsh words? His answer was nothing but bold: The Soviet government gave us freedom of speech (Biz alarg‘a javob beramizkim: Sho‘rolar hukumati xalqga so‘z hurriyati bergandir). Muin’s response points at an interesting observation: Jadids assumed that with national liberation, the Bolsheviks gave them power to criticize both societal problems and power. His remarks help us understand why in 1921 Munavvar qori called the times immoral.

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140 Muin, “Xidmatga.”
141 Ibid.
142 Hoji Muin, “Tugallanish yo‘lida,” Zarafshon, October 27, 1924.
144 Ibid.
145 Ibid.
(buzuq) in response to his denouncement in Qizil Bayroq over his publicly expressed dissatisfaction with the government’s lack of efforts in helping religious education. Abdulla Qodiriy too shared the same vision when he began expressing frustration over censorship as early as 1920. Qodiriy continued bemoaning censorship until he was ousted from the press in 1926. That year he wrote a satirical article that belittled Akmal Ikramov, who at that moment served as the Second Secretary of Uzbekistan. The same year he appeared before the court, apologizing and saying that his article should only be read as a joke.

What is more interesting, however, it appears that in the early fourth era, well before the controls of Stalinism that made secret internal enemies the scapegoat for many a failure, some Jadids had the genuine belief that it wasn’t Bolsheviks who hampered the progress of nation, but the imperialistic lobbyists who presumably took government positions in the Soviet system. Take, for example, Hoji Muin’s explication from 1923:

There are many imperialists (nikolaychilar) who pursue colonial politics by taking advantage of peoples’ ignorance. It is [our] duty to fight back such elements (meaning practices).

Bizning o‘lkada xalqning nodonlig‘idan istifoda etib, mustamlakachilik siyosati bilan ishlayturg‘on nikolaychilar yo‘q emasdir. Mana shunday unsur bilan kurashish har birimizning vazifamizdir.

Another example comes from Vadud Mahmud, who believed that the Soviet acquisition of land from local peasants was done by holdover colonizers, not socialists. In 1924 he wrote:

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146 Abdurashidxonov, “Hujummi?”
148 Ovsar [pseud.], “Yig‘indi.”
149 Qodiriy, “Suddagi nutq,”
150 Muin, “Anglashilmashliq yoki.”
Perhaps, the reason [of land acquisition] is colonizers who stayed in Soviet offices who pursue their immoral goals.

Balki sho’ro mahkamalarida o’z buzuv maqsadlarini yurguzmoq uchun o’rnashib qolg’on mustamlakachilar, teskarichilar sabab bo’lurlar.¹⁵¹

Hence, modernists positioned themselves as “agents of change” within Soviet power through a Jadid understanding of socialism. In other words, criticizing the government meant aiding the government to help achieve its nation-building goals by protecting the nation from former imperialists who had taken Soviet government positions. Nevertheless, the genuine faith in Soviet power as an anti-imperialistic government didn’t stop Central Asian Jadids from expressing explicit dissatisfaction with Soviet bureaucracy. Cho’lpon, despite sharing the Soviet’s zeal for theater, was critical of Soviet reluctance to support newspapers.¹⁵² Qodiriy exposed Soviet bureaucracy, corruption and hesitancy to support religious education. In the first issue of Mushtum (The Fist), he explicitly wrote that his vision on the paper was different than that of the proletariat. He argued that Mushtum was to not be meant to be “the fist of coercion but a fist of truth; not the fists of the oppressors, but the fists of the oppressed.”¹⁵³ For Qodiriy, the journal had to attack by presenting the truth; in other words, to defend the truth. But how did Central Asian Jadids see the truth? Their vision was based on a rather simple explanation: An editor had to be able to discern right from wrong, personal versus societal gain, leading to immoral actions such as corruption, servility, polygamy, and be able to report on it.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Vadud Mahmud, “Mustamlakalichilik o’z yo’lida,” Zarafshon, September 3, 1924.
¹⁵³ Julqunboy [pseud.], “«Mushtum» ta’rifida,” Mushtum, February 18, 1923.
¹⁵⁴ Ibid; Julqunboy [pseud.], “Og’zingga qarab gapir,” Turkiston, December 26, 1922.
**Function two: To spark a response**

On top of criticism, Central Asian Jadids expected papers to serve as venues for responses to events and conflicts affecting the public. In many ways, they set an example. This was a technical function visible across all eras. In 1917 during the election to the Samarkand Duma, ulama accused Jadids of infidelity to Islam. Hoji Muin took this case to *Hurriyat* to show how the Jadid-run “Sho’roi islomia” was attacked in public: “Sho’roi islomia representatives instigated a conspiracy among rich and mullah, poor ignorant people by slandering the Union of Zahmatkashlar. … When they learned that the union had several young people (meaning Jadids), they called everyone *jadidchilar* and infidels …,” reported Muin.⁵⁵ Behbudiy, too, frequently wrote refutations. In 1914 in one of the Friday prayers, a muazzin (a person who performs the Muslim call to prayer) accused people educating their children in new-method schools of infidelity to their spouses. Moreover, in the muazzin’s words, the women of Jadids were equivalent to divorcees. Behbudiy condemned muazzin’s action in *Oyna.*⁵⁶

Jadids continued to use newspapers as venues for refutation in the fourth era, too. It was perhaps the most fruitful time, considering the growth of their cultural activity and, ironically, their denouncements. In many ways, it is possible to suggest that the denouncements of modernists in the lifetime of Jadid press – in all four eras – gave rise to using papers for refutations. In 1922, Qodiriy listed achievements in literature and the media industry that to him were possible thanks to Uzbek intellectuals.⁵⁷ There are more examples from Hoji Muin,

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⁵⁶ Behbudiy, “Favqulodda.”
⁵⁷ Julqunboy [pseud.], “Jasorat.”
Cho‘lpon and Qodiriy; however, the most vivid one comes from Munavvar qori. In 1927, with the ideological front, raging in Soviet Uzbekistan, Munavvar qori decided to stand for Jadids with an article in Qizil O‘zbekiston.\textsuperscript{158} Like Qodiriy in 1922, Qori listed Jadid achievements. He made it clear that Jadids were the allies of Bolsheviks, and thus asked for mercy for the members the movement. He argued that although some members of Jadidism were guilty of mistakes, not all should be repressed.\textsuperscript{159}

**Function three: To call attention to progress**

Just as book editors fix grammar mistakes, newspapers had to become a medium through which shortcomings would be fixed.\textsuperscript{160} In this way Jadids called attention to progress in life of a nation. Remember, Hoji Muin argued that government had to monitor newspapers to be informed about public opinion.\textsuperscript{161} Newspapers took responsibility for calling attention to government shortcomings. This suggests that the Central Asian Jadids expected solutions. Once solutions arrived, Jadids generously commended them in papers. For example, Cho‘lpon viewed train routes as a sign of economic progress, despite the demolition of mosques and houses caused by construction.\textsuperscript{162} Muin acclaimed the Bolshevik’s success of opening schools for girls\textsuperscript{163} as much as kindergartens that to him were places of safety and education.\textsuperscript{164} It was the government that Jadids relied on in the fourth era to supply reading materials for religious schools, unlike

\textsuperscript{158} Abdurashidxonov, “Qoralash.”
\textsuperscript{159} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{160} Behbudiy in his 1914 article compared the work of paper editors to the work of book editors. See, Behbudiy, “Tanqid.”
\textsuperscript{161} Muin, “Tugallanish.”
\textsuperscript{162} Cho‘lpon, “Vatanimiz Turkistonda.”
\textsuperscript{163} Muin, “Xalq doriľfununi.”
\textsuperscript{164} Hoji Muin, “Bolalar bog‘chasi,” Mehnatkashlar tovushi, November 3, 1919.
ulama in the second era. And when wealthy merchants made generous donations, Jadids usually praised that patron in newspapers.

Theater is yet another area where reformists saw much progress in the fourth era. Cho’lpon, who spent four years (1924-1927) in Moscow with Drama Theater, wrote extensively on the blooming of the art form. There were theater reviews, sketches from the daily life in studio, announcement on future plays and more. In his writings, whether they be his actual belief or an effort to appease Bolsheviks, he expressed gratefulness for the October revolution that to him made the changes possible, especially in theater.

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Figure 3.1. Abdulhamid Cho‘lpun (centered in duppi top hat) with Uzbek Drama Theater. This photograph was unveiled on January 18, 2022 during the exhibition devoted to Cho‘lpun’s 125 anniversary. Courtesy of Cho‘lpun’s family personal archive.

**Function four: Didactic**

Since Jadidism in Central Asia started as a cultural and educational project, the educational function of education or enlightenment press migrated to other forms of media including theater and prose. Education and the newspaper industry were cross-over fields for Jadids. Historian Ingeborg Baldauf explains that since learning in Jadid imagination was a
lifelong experience, it had to spread beyond classroom among adult audiences. This mission, according to the historian, required its own medium: newspapers. For Hoji Muin, a person had to possess the knowledge of geography and history to be able to read newspapers. To him, the learning process was the way to be aware of how states reformed and fell into decline. Behbudiy compared the work of editors with teachers who had to revise books for clarity to create valuable content. Central Asian modernists ran papers with purpose of educating the nation and cultivating the Muslim elite.

We can learn much about the Jadid press’s educational function by looking at other forms of media like literature, drama and theater that were akin to newspapers. For Cho’lpon, people had to see both their callous and good actions on the pages of novels in order to learn lessons. Nearly all Jadid short stories and novels epitomize education. The main protagonists in Qodiriy’s Bygone Days (O’tkan kunlar, 1925), Otabek and Kumush, assuaged from pain through reading. They are both literate. It is the same in Cho’lpon’s Night and Day (Kecha va Kunduz, 1936), where a fictional Jadid, Sharafuddin, in a conversation with Miryoqub in the train, was convincing him to become enlightened through reading Jadid newspapers such as Terjiman. Hence, for modernists, education was a remedy which that could be instilled in newspapers to cure people’s sins.

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167 Muin, “G’azeta o’qimoq.”
168 Behbudiy, “Tanqid.”
169 Khalid, The Politics.
171 Abdulla Qodiriy, Bygone Days, trans. Mark Reese (Muloqot Cultural Engagement Program, 2018)
Theater had to serve a similar mission. While delivering the speech on the opening of Turon (theater) in 1914, Munavvar qori referred to the theater as the houses of admonition.\textsuperscript{173} This reflects Behbudiy’s vision, who saw the theater as a form of enlightenment:

\begin{quote}
Theater is exemplary, theater is a house of admonition, theater is a literature of influence. Theater is a mirror through which general situations become visible for visually impaired and audible for deaf, and they become influenced by it.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Teyotr nimadur? Javobig’a teyotr ibratnamodur, teyotr va’zonadur, teyotr ta’zir adabidir. Teyotr oynadurki, umumiy hollarni anda mujassam va namoyon suratda ko‘zliklar ko‘rub kar-quloqsizlar eshitib, asarlanur.\textsuperscript{174}
\end{quote}

The mission: To ensure the nation’s progress

Technical functions of the press could not exist without the ideological mission of aiding the nation, Behbudiy argued in “Millatlar qanday taraqqiy etarlar (How nations achieve progress).” Aiding is present in all eras. When Behbudiy proposed three pillars for the progress of the nation—progressive ulama, money and education—he noted that newspapers needed to ensure the progress of the nation.\textsuperscript{175} The functions of newspapers seemed to be obsolete if they did not serve the interests of the nation. The latter meant raising issues consistent with Jadid values and standing by them. It is for this reason Hoji Muin expressed his deep frustration with Bolsheviks in 1921: “three years have passed since the October Revolution, and what has been done for the progress of the people?” asked the Jadid.\textsuperscript{176} His response was curt: Not a lot. In the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{173} Munavvar qori Abdurashidxonov, “Turon” teatri ochilishida so‘zlagan nutq,” Turkiston viloyatining gazeti, March 2, 1914.
\item \textsuperscript{174} Mahmudxo’ja Behbudiy, “Teyotr nadur?” Oyna, 1914
\item \textsuperscript{175} Behbudiy, “Millatlar qanday.”
\item \textsuperscript{176} Hoji Muin, “So‘z, qaror va ish,” Mehnatkashlar tovushi, May 26, 1921.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
same article he listed three areas Bolsheviks could have done better: army, language and education. These areas display the clash of vision between Jadid and Bolshevik understandings of the nation. But Muin wasn’t the only Central Asian Jadid who lamented the power. We should recall that Qodiriy and Cho‘lpon were vocal about the lack of government financial support of newspapers. Qodiriy even hyperbolically criticized his co-editor G‘ozi Yunus, calling him a clown chewing tasteless paper, to allude to the lack of government’s ideological support.\textsuperscript{177} Also, Hoji Muin was dismissed from \textit{Mehnatkashlar tovushi} editorial position in 1921 following accusation of nationalism (\textit{millatchilik}).\textsuperscript{178} Even writing about Behbudiy in 1920, who died in 1919 under mysterious circumstances, became a sign of nationalism.\textsuperscript{179}

With that, national project had to trace, define and build the nation. Once findings are discovered, it needed media platforms to disseminate them: novels, theater, and newspapers. Consider the second half of 1920s. When ideological front arrived in Soviet Central Asia, Jadids, although they appeared less critical of the government, stayed devoted to their principles – history, language, music, art of Uzbekistan was presented through the prism of \textit{Chaghatayism}, not a class society. In other words, newspapers served the interests of the nation.

\textsuperscript{177} Julqunboy [pseud.], “Kula-kula.”
\textsuperscript{178} Muin, “Samarqandda matbuot ahvoli.”
\textsuperscript{179} Ibid.
CHAPTER 4:

THEME 2: APPLYING HYPERBOLIC LANGUAGE OF CRITICISM TO LEAD TO PROGRESS

Consider these four quotes from Munavvar qori (1906), Ibrat (1914), Cho’lpon (1918), and Abdulla Qodiriy (1920):

1. Va lekin dunyog’a nima uchun kelgonini bilmay, ilm va maorifg’a aslo rag’bat qilmay, jonidin shirin bolalarini ko’cha-bako’cha kezdirib, bechora aziz umrini jaholat otashina yondirg’uvchi behamiyat va bediyonat otalar ham oramizda oz emasdor.

   1. There are many unfaithful (bediyonat) and fathers, whose inattention to their children lays tinder for the fires of ignorance, among us who don’t even know their purpose in coming to this Earth, who do not show enthusiasm for education, and let their dear children wander in the streets.\(^{180}\)

2. Ey, bizni musulmon firqalar, sizlarni bu yillardagi ahvoli a’mollaringiz ichkari shaharlardagi madaniyat topgan xalqg’a kulki bo‘ladurg’on hollardurki, buni oldini hech qaysilarimiz olmaduk.

   2. O our Muslim groups, your situation and work have become so laughable (kulki bo‘ladurg’on hollardurki) in the eyes of cultured people in the city and we did nothing to avert this situation.\(^{181}\)

3. O‘ylamoq kerak: hozir Nikolay vaqti bilan zamonamizning farqi yo‘q! Nikolay vaqtiда gubernaturlar biror kishini hokimlik va boshqa ishga tayinlab qo‘zalar edi. Musulmonlar e’timodsizlik bildursalar, ba’zan boshqani ham qo‘yarlari edi. Bir hokim uchun qon to‘kilganini men eshitganim yo‘q… Shuning uchun hurriyat, adolat va musovot kabi shu’lalar yorqiragan bir zamonda

   3. You need to think about it: There is no difference between the times of [Tsar] Nicholas! In Nicholas’s time, general-governors appointed people to local governments and other positions on their own. If Muslims expressed their distrust, they would be replaced. I don’t remember if anyone bled for a local governor… Therefore, the recent [disastrous - JA] events that have taken place in a time of liberty, justice and

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\(^{181}\) Ibrat, “Pismo iz.”
bo‘lg’an shunday voqeler yana bizning Nikolay asrinda yashadigimizni ko‘rsatadir!
Mana shunday hollarni o‘ylaganda ko‘ngullar umidsizlik daryosiga botub, ko‘ngilsizlik to‘fonlarinda g‘arq etiladir.

peace once again show that we live in times of Nicolas!
When you think about this, your heart sinks in a river of despair, sunken in a storm of hopelessness (umidsizlik daryosiga botub, ko‘ngilsizlik to‘fonlarinda g‘arq etiladir).  182

4. Tilanchilik — ilm-hunarsizlik orqali tarqalaturg‘an bir maraz bo‘lg‘anliqdan tabiiy bu kasal bizim islom olaminda ko‘bdir; shu daraja ko‘bdirki, ba’zi islom mamlakatlarinda, oyniqa, bizim Turkistonda bir kasb tusini olmishdir

4. Begging is a natural disease of our Islamic world spreading as a result of illiteracy and absence of skill. It [this disease – JA] has spread on such a large scale that in some Islamic countries, especially in ours, Turkestan, it has become a profession.  183

These quotes from four eras provide a glimpse of the hyperbolic language used by Uzbek modernists. Drawing from the study of Uzbek literature, including Jadid literature, literary historian Christopher Fort explains the use of hyperbolic language through the prism of what he calls Uzbek literature’s “archetypal plot.” As he puts it, the initial stage of “the archetypal plot manifests [this] sense of decline by depicting the community as on the precipice of metaphorical death, i.e. its death as a cultural entity distinct from others.”  184 For the sake of this research, we are not looking at “archetypal plot” per se, but rather its initial stage, the use of hyperbole and hyperbolic language to describe the moral and cultural decline they saw their community suffering from. The use of hyperbole is not a random one: Because Jadids were involved in the struggle for leadership in society, they used hyperbole to present their views as contrasting with

182 Cho’Ipon. “Umid sizdan!”
those of their rivals, *ulama*. By manifesting the sense of decline, Jadids attempted to present themselves as more equipped to lead their nation in the modern age. Here is an excerpt from Hoji Muin’s 1924 article “To’y-ta’ziya isroflari (Wasteful expenditures of weddings and mourning ceremonies)”:

> Our responsible workers and young people must be leaders and suppliers to the people in every way. The task is to show the people the right path and protect them from harmful actions.

> Mas’ul ischilarimiz va yoshlarimizning har bir to’g’rida xalqqa yo’lboshchi va ta’minotchi bo‘lib turishlari kerakdir. Xalqni to’g’ri yo‘lg’a olib borish va uni har qanday zararlik harakatlardan saqlash ana shularning vazifasidir.  

In this article, Muin first criticized wasteful wedding practices and then claimed that society had to be directed to the right path. Because they were not aware of their sins, they had to be pointed to them in print. Chapter 1 investigated functions that Jadids believed the press should fulfill. The present chapter, Chapter 2, explores the writing styles in Jadid press. By looking at the way Central Asian Jadids framed their articles, the chapter aims to give a closer look at use of hyperbolic language, satire and short stories to illustrate how admonition was used as a vehicle for encouraging national progress.

The previous chapters showed that the Central Asian Jadid press was not in rush to deliver breaking news. Instead, papers were replete with exhortations and admonitions in a common didactic style. However, the use of the didactic style wasn’t static across eras. Their

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185 This corresponds with the idea of “a mirror of admonition,” proposed by historian Adeeb Khalid. He argued that Jadids implied the rhetoric of impending doom to show the consequences of ignorance. To save themselves from destruction, people had to equip themselves with knowledge. Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan*, 137.

rhetoric evolved between 1906 and 1928. While Jadid didacticism was rather paternalistic in the first two eras, the introduction of short stories and satire in the last eras occurred as the Uzbek language also evolved.

It is important to begin by discussing what Central Asian Jadids pondered on the virtue of writing. Modernists unanimously argued that newspapers, editors and correspondents (muxbir) should present their arguments with tact and consideration to the reader, which included rivals. Crossing boundaries and pointing fingers was not appreciated yet frequently practiced. Naming was within the limits of the boundaries. Most importantly, articles were not supposed to affect a person’s dignity. For example, it was permissible to write about polygamy, but not encouraged to name people who had multiple wives, though many did.

Instead of glorifying flamboyant lives of khans, newspapers, as well as theater, drama and novels, had to show the lives of ordinary people. Because the latter were illiterate, newspapers had to simplify their language. Cho‘lpon was critical of the use of Persian words in newspaper which he referred in the article as a dialect. To him, articles had to be carefully inspected for grammar mistakes as well as for non-Uzbek language.

When it comes to satire, reformists insisted that humor should only be taken as humor; yet, this claim belied their true intent because Jadids continued to use humor as a tool for

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188 Behbudiy. “Tanqid;” Julqunboy [pseud.], “Og’zingga.”
191 Cho‘lpon, “Tilimizning.”
critique. Moreover, the Tashkent Jadid argued that satire must tell the truth yet leave a smile on the face of a rival. Yet, satire was a humorous way of insulting the opponents. Recall Qodiriy’s satire targeted at Akmal Ikramov in which he addressed him Akmalcha (a deliberate rhetorical belittling aimed at accusing or playing on nerves of a person).

Central Asian Jadids also assigned ethical duties to editors and correspondents. To them, editors had to have a sense of respect for the people and for themselves. The Jadid writers had to avoid covering scandals (janjal), gossip, and instead, focus on education, charity, social projects and theater. With all that, the modernists insisted on using a good quality paper, appealing design and regularity of issues. Hoji Muin’s discontent with the lack of paper suggests that he believed the government cut paper supplies short for Jadid newspaper, which he saw as censorship because it prevented newspapers from seeing the light of the day.

So far, we know how Central Asian Jadids envisioned their style. But how exactly did hyperbolic language impact it? Jadids portrayed Turkestan as a land of oppressed (ezilgan) people with half cultured (yarim madaniy) and half savage (yarim vahshi) cities and villages. Turkestan was perceived to be on the edge of destruction (taassuflik holatdamiz). Even in 1921 Munavvar qori called the times immoral (buzuq). People were perceived to be so

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192 Muin, “Anglashilmasliq.”
193 Ovsar [pseud.], “Yig’indi.”
194 Julqunboy [pseud.], “Og’zingga.”
196 Muin, “Samarqanda matbuot ahvoli;” Muin, “Xidmatga.” Cho’Ipon too was frustrated with the lack of financial support. See, Cho’Ipon, “Katta kamchiligimiz.”
198 Muin, “Taassuflik.”
199 Abdurashidxonov, “Hujummi?”
backward that they did not know the names of mosques they attended, did not trust banks, did not have professions but did not want to work for Jews or Armenians. Hoji Muin hyperbolically insisted that Turkestani Muslims so were lazy (*dangasa*), arrogant (*mutakkabir*) and strange (*g’alati bir jonvor*) that only beating them would fix the problem.

Central Asian Jadids declared cultural traditions to be morally corrupt. Behbudiy bemoaned that poor people worked 20 hours per day for many years and then wasted all their savings in a day on a wedding. Wealthy people, on the contrary, spent five days making feasts. And, alcoholism on those feasts was so widespread that people didn’t care about health consequences. Other Jadids’ declared vices included superstition, magic spells, and visiting *tabibs* (folk healer) instead of doctors. In 1914 article Hamza ridiculed women for performing the superstitious ritual of walking around a newly bride while burning the wild rue plant, a ceremony believed to drive away evil spirit. But reformists criticized women only for superstitions. Otherwise, they usually were strongly defended. Jadids frequently used the “four walls” metaphor to describe women’s seclusion from public life: Instead of going to school, girls trapped in the four walls of the home. Hoji Muin criticized problem in polygamy. He called

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201 Boturbek [pseud.], “«Tayoq»,” *Mehnatkashlar tovuchi*, November 18, 1918.
202 Mahmudxo’ja Behbudiy, “‘A’molimiz yoinki murodimiz,” *Oyna*, 1913.
204 Vadud Mahmud, “Turkistonda mayxo’rlik”, *Turkiston*, December 24, 1923.
men with multiple wives “pimps” (dayusmizoj) and puppeteers depriving women of their rights and happiness by taking wives left and right (Endi opa-singillarimizning huquqini poymol qiladurg’on va ularning baxtini o’yunchoq qilg’on xotunjalloblarimizning ichki-oilaviy turmushlarig’a bir ko’z solayliq).\textsuperscript{207} Polygamy was a contagious disease (yuqma kasal) to him. Interestingly, although Jadids based their values on Islamic principles – which allows up to four wives – they condemned taking even two wives. This is because Jadids, as did other Muslim reformists, justified their European-born ideals, such as monogamy, with appeal to early Islam. They argued, as Deniz Kandiyoti has explained, that the social ills they opposed, such as polygamy, were a result of the corruption of Islam over time.\textsuperscript{208} Here is an excerpt that illustrates Jadids’ position:

It (polygamy) all started from truthful Muslims taking more than one additional wife and continued thereafter.

Mana, bizning haqparast musulmonlarimiz orasida birdan oshiq xotun olish shu yo’sinda boshlanib, shu ravishda davom etdi.\textsuperscript{209}

Hygiene was criticized, too. Muin called people bathing in hovuz (pool for storage of water) pigs swimming in a lake full of microbes and worms (qurt).\textsuperscript{210} Even more gruesome pictures came as Hoji Muin lamented corruption. He compared corruption to human feces as a metaphor for immoral conduct. Everybody from poor people to mullahs to bourgeois appeared guilty of taking

\textsuperscript{207}Mulla Junbul [pseud.], “Yuqma kasal,” Mashrab, 1924; Muin, “Yoshlarimiz.”
\textsuperscript{209}Mulla Junbul [pseud.], “Yuqma.”
\textsuperscript{210}Hoji Muin, “Tibb va hifzus-sihhatda rioyalitsizligimiz,” Hurriyat, January 9, 1914; Hoji Muin, “Bizda sog’liqni qaqshatish ishlari,” Mashrab, 1925.
bribes. The Jadid then hyperbolically suggested throwing a culprit into a doghouse and feeding him with a slice of rye bread and a teacup (piyola) of water.

As expected with Jadids, they considered ulama and dynastic sovereigns to be guilty of many societal vices. This illustrates the idea of civilizational decline in which society is in decline because its leaders have poor morals and vice versa. According to this idea, it was the tyranny of emirs and khans, as well as the permissiveness of ulama, that brought Turkestan to a state of destruction. For Fitrat, people were oppressed by the despotic emir (zolim) but too ignorant to take action. He argued that all oppressors had one distinct trait: when an enemy needs to be captured, they (oppressors) ran after him, but tyrants ran away while people ran after him.

Central Asian Jadids used hyperbolic language with regard to Soviet power too. In doing so, they demonstrated a unique, Central Asian way of speaking Bolshevik. For example, in 1924 Hoji Muin brought to light the news of farmers who died crossing the Zarafshan river with the hope of selling their melons in a bazaar. In his article Muin accused the government of ignoring this problem, and as he did, he called out Soviet the exaggerated loss endured by locals as a result of Soviet bureaucratic malfeasances:

As a result, while some manage to barely cross the river, others come straight from Bukhara, or from the other world … [Meanwhile - JA] their children pre-heat the pot, hoping their fathers would bring the meat. But put the meat question aside, there is no

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211 Hoji Muin, “«Rishvat» xastalig‘i,” Mehnatkashlar tovushi, November 22, 1918; Hoji Muin, “Pora va poraxo‘rlik,” Zarafshon, November 16, 1922.
212 Boturbek [pseud.], “«Rishvat»,”
213 Fitrat, “Buxoro vaziri.”
214 Abdurauf Fitrat, “Buxoroning holi,” Hurriyat, 1918.
news from fathers. And the pot cracks from being overheated. And the children are
abandoned.

Natijada, bir munchalari daryodan zo’rg’a o’tib, boshqalari to’p-to’g’ri Buxorodan
chiqadirlar yoki ikkinchi dunyodan… Bularning uydagi bola-chaqalari «otamiz go’sht-
yog’ keltiradir» deb qozonni qizitib turadir. Lekin go’sht-yog’ nari tursin, otalaridan
darak ham bo’lmas. Bunda qozon qizib yorilur. Bola-chaqalari ham sabil qolur…215

And it was satire that bit the hardest. Muin insisted that satire shouldn’t be taken
personally because humor had to serve entertainment purposes; however, that didn’t stop the
Central Asian Jadids from stepping into political satire.216 Consider, for example, an excerpt
from Qodiriy’s 1923 feuilleton in which he rhetorically asks, “Where does income go?”:

1. Ishchining topqani xo’jayinning xaltasig’a ketadi.
2. Sovdagarning topqani o’g’ul to’yisig’a ketadi.
3. Eshonning topqani sakkizta xotung’a ketadi.
4. Xotunlarning topqanlari issiq-sovuqchi domlag’a ketadi.
5. Eski shahar ispolqo’mining topqani har xil yuqori shefstvolarga ketadi.
6. «Mushtum»: yozganlaringizning hammasi ham havoga ketadur! — deb biz ham muhrimizni bosdiq.

1. Worker’s income goes into pocket of his supervisor.
2. Merchant’s income goes into his son’s wedding.
3. Eshon’s income goes into supporting his eight wives.
4. Women’s income goes to fortunetellers.
5. Executive committee’s income goes into all kinds of festivities.
6. *Mushtum*: “Everything we write is to the wind!” we put our stamp on it.217

216 Muin, “Anglashilmasliq.”
217 In this quote Qodiriy took a self-deprecatory approach to claim that *Mushtum*’s words had no value
which is a satirical way of fortifying the value of the journal. Julqunboy [pseud.], “Nima qayoqqa.”
Qodiriy postulated that satire should attempt to be both humorous and truth telling. In “Salomnoma” (Salutations), he sent his best regards to all of his rivals: “My salutations to the Council of Education sound like a horse’s bridle, like a coin worth one kopeck (the smallest Soviet coin), like a frog coming out of water.”

Jadids’ satire was often self-deprecating. Take Qodiriy’s earlier statement that Mushtum’s exhortations evaporate in the air. In another feuilleton published on International Women’s Day, March 8th, 1924, the Jadid first laughed at an eshon (Sufi master) belief that women deserve no rights, and then put himself in a position of a careless person. In the article Qodiriy offered the following words: “Agarda siz ham huquq tarafodori bo’lsangiz, sasig’an og’izdan achig’an so’z chiqar deyarsiz, havola ba Xudo” (If you are also a support of [human – JA] rights, then you probably say, “A bitter word from a stinking mouth,” referencing God.” After that he lists the ways women are mistreated. Considering Qodiriy’s general support for women’s rights, it is possible to suggest that he was hyperbolically self-deprecating his position by putting himself in the position of a person who cares nothing for women’s rights. Then, he sarcastically stated in a reductio ad absurdum argument that women should be beaten and whipped, while eshons would enjoy themselves in a teahouse. Editors, poets and writers were portrayed as the victims of censors “whose eyes have just opened” (Yangi ko’z ochqan hisobsiz o’zbek shoircha va shoirachalari). Poets, writers, and journalists were also the ones who had better stay silent, or

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218 Qodiriy, “Salomnoma.”
219 For more, see, Julqunboy [pseud.], “Hoy, yer yutkir,” Mushtum, March 8, 1924.
220 Ibid.
221 Julqunboy [pseud.], “Biz kim va nimalardan qo‘ramiz?” Mushtum, May 1, 1923.
otherwise they would be silenced, wrote Qodiriy to bemoan Soviet censorship.\textsuperscript{222} Another example found all over the Uzbek Soviet press at this time all Jadids is Qodiriy’s swapping, in a 1926 article, of the similar-sounding terms \textit{ziyollilar (intellectual)} and \textit{ziyonlillar (harmful)} to sarcastically belittle Jadids, though a former Jadid himself, for not meeting Bolsheviks’ expectations.\textsuperscript{223} The use of \textit{ziyonlillar} wasn’t exclusive to Abdulla Qodiriy. Many Soviet Uzbek writers made use of this term amid verbal attacks addressed toward modernists in the second half of 1920s.

And, there were bureaucrats whom Hoji Muin compared to Azrael, the angel of death.\textsuperscript{224} Soviet clerks were a sleepy mass of corrupt people afraid of their own shadows (\textit{poraxo’rliq bilan kurash boshlang’andan beri o’zlarining soyalaridan ham qo’rqadirlar}); the ones who were so helpless and afraid that their pants fell down (\textit{ishtonsizlar}).\textsuperscript{225}

One can easily distinguish Central Asian Jadid style by the abundance of metaphors, skillful word play, and flamboyant expressions. Yet the most notable feature among all was the continuous hyperbolic criticism throughout all eras. Criticism was intertwined with progress. In Jadid sense, a nation was incapable of achieving progress if its maladies are not brought on surface, and Jadids were the ones who could do it well. Not only this technique allowed them to claim leadership in society, but also point the direction toward progress. It was the progress, essentially, that required criticism, and Jadids, equipped with pen and papers, were its mediators.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Julqunboy [pseud.], “Istatistikaning ko’rsatishicha,” \textit{Mushtum}, April 8, 1924.
\item Ovsar [pseud.], “Yig’indi.”
\item Muin, “Azroilmi.”
\item Julqunboy [pseud.], “Istatistikaning;” Ovsar [pseud.], “Yig’indi;” Julqunboy [pseud.], “Biz kim va nimalardan.”
\end{enumerate}
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CHAPTER 5:

EPILOGUE

The end of Jadid participation in Soviet system began in 1925 with opening of “ideological front,” the Soviet’s campaign against the enemies of communism. Khalid divided the assaults to three waves:

- In 1925, when the party officially launched the campaign to assert its power over cultural landscape;
- Between 1929 and 1933, when Stalin announced a policy of “Great Break” from previous decade which meant a rapid change in the economy toward collectivization and industrialization, and construction of socialist community in the cultural scene;
- And between 1936 and 1939, what is known in history as “the Great Terror,” party denunciations followed by executions or exiles.  

The “ideological front” comprised an attack on Islam, unveiling within *Hujum* campaign, policy of collectivization and ideological purges. Attack on religion after 1926 led to forced closure of old schools, and propaganda of atheism, while the *Hujum* resulted in mass killings of women by local men who considered unveiling an attack on their dignity. Collectivization entailed the

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forcible acquisition of land from *bais* (wealthy) and the voluntary (though it was often involuntary) entry of poorer and middle peasants into state-organized collective farming units to farm their land in common using a common set of tools.\textsuperscript{228} This reorganization of farming resulted in massive famines in Ukraine and Kazakhstan. Uzbekistanis were affected as well, but not at the scale of their northern neighbors, for whom near 6 million died in total.

And, there was also the Soviet purge of “old intelligentsia,” Jadids and group of Uzbek Soviet cadre who shared reformist ideas. They were denounced as counterrevolutionary nationalists, pan-Islamists and pan-Turkists for membership in inexistent movement called *Milliy Istiqlol* (National Independence) that allegedly strived to separate Uzbekistan from Soviet system. Arrests began in 1929. Munavvar qori was detained that year, Botu in the following. Mannon Romiz, Oltoy and other Jadids were first sent to Moscow’s Buturka prison and then sentenced to death. Out of 27 arrested people, 15 lost their lives.\textsuperscript{229} But Qodiriy, Cho’lpon and Fitrat bypassed the persecution of 1929, possibly thanks to the help of Fayzulla Xo’jayev who provided protection.


\textsuperscript{229} Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan*. 

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But they did not escape the Great Terror of the following decade. With assaults on “old intellectuals” raging in Soviet Uzbekistan in 1936, Fitrat, Qodiriy, Cho‘lpon alongside other Jadids were denounced in the press. The year after, Jadids were detained and kept alive in prison until their last days. Two were shot; it is said that Cho‘lpon was killed by a shovel to head after
the Soviets ran out of bullets. Exiled, Hoji Muin died in a prison camp. Fayzulla Xo'jayev and even Akmal Ikramov were charged and persecuted.

A new generation of Soviet Uzbeks coined by political scientist Donald Carlise as “Class-38” replaced Jadids.

This work explored the life of the Jadid press from 1906 to 1928. Certainly, it is not without limitations. As noted earlier, travel limitations imposed due to Covid-19 pandemic hindered me from performing archival work in Uzbekistan. A media historian approach as opposed to traditional historian’s approach in writing this thesis opened an opportunity to look at the Jadid press from a different angle, but limited weaving historical concepts and theories practiced in the field.

Shortcomings on this work are not limited to the above mentioned which presents an opportunity for future researchers to correct and explore new dimensions of the study of Jadid press. Academia can greatly benefit from taping new themes. Comparing Jadid press to the press led by “Class-38” is yet another potential area of research. Finally, I believe major Jadid media like Mushtum and Hurriyat deserve their own closer look.

230 «Bu kunda shunchalar ko’p odam otilganidan, Cho’lponga kelganda o’qlar tugab qolgan...» - 4 oktabr dahshatlari haqida” [“So many people were killed on that day, that no bullet was left for Cho’lpon...” – on the event happened on October 4.], interview by Saodat Abdurahmonova, Kun.Uz, October 4, 2020, www.kun.uz/uz/news/2020/10/04/bu-kunda-shunchalar-kop-odam-otilganidan-cholpona-kelganda-oqlar-tugab-qolgan-4-oktabr-dahshatlari-haqida

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**Secondary Sources**


Appendix A: Map of Southern Turkestan before the Conquest

Map 1. Map of Southern Turkestan illustrating the region before Russian conquest. The Emirate of Bukhara and the Khanate of Khiva borders highlighted in green. Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_15030/?r=-0.111,0.131,1.182,0.515,0; arrowed illustration by Jakhongir Azimov.

Note: Use this map to refer to the locations listed in the appendices to follow.
Appendix B: Table of newspapers in Turkestan of the first era: 1906 – 1908

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number of Issues printed</th>
<th>Number of copies disseminated</th>
<th>Cadence</th>
<th>Editors</th>
<th>Type of media/Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tashkent/Tashkent region</td>
<td>Xurshid</td>
<td>September 1906 – November 13, 1906</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Once a week</td>
<td>Munavvar qori Abdurashidxonov</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shuxrat</td>
<td>December 1, 1907 – N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Once a week</td>
<td>Abdulla Avloniy</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tujjor</td>
<td>1907 – N/A</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Saidkarim Saidazimbay merchant</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Osiyo</td>
<td>April 9, 1908 – N/A</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Ahmadjon Bektamirov</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Taraqqiy</td>
<td>July 27, 1906 – August 20, 1906</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Twice a week</td>
<td>Ismail Obidiy</td>
<td>Newspaper/Taraqqiy was not a Jadid newspaper. It was the first vernacular paper that build on reformist ideas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Data developed based on Ziyo Said’s book O’zbek vaqtli matbuoti tarixiga materiaallar (1870-1927), Nazira Abduazizova’s book Istorija natsionalnoy jurnalistiki (1-chast), M. Babakhanov’s Iz istorii periodicheskoy pechati Turkestanana and Hoji Muin’s “Samarqand matbuoting tarixi” article.232

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Appendix C: Table of newspapers in Turkestan of the second era: 1912 – 1914

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number of Issues printed</th>
<th>Number of copies disseminated</th>
<th>Cadence</th>
<th>Editors</th>
<th>Type of media</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Tashkent/Tashkent region</td>
<td>Sadoi Turkiston</td>
<td>April 1, 1914 – April 10, 1915</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Twice a week</td>
<td>Ubaydulla Asadullaxo’jayev, lawyer</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Al Isloq</td>
<td>January 14, 1915 – N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Abdurahmon Sodiq</td>
<td>Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Samarkand/Samarkand region</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>April 1913 – September 1913</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>400-600</td>
<td>Twice a week</td>
<td>Mahmudxo’ja Behbudiy</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Oyna</td>
<td>August 20, 1913 – June 15, 1915</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>400-500</td>
<td>Once a week at the start, and then once in 15 days</td>
<td>Mahmudxo’ja Behbudiy</td>
<td>Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Ferghana/Ferghana region</td>
<td>Sadoi Fargo’na</td>
<td>April 3, 1914 – November 1914</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Three times per week</td>
<td>Obidjon Maxmudov</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Bukhara/Bukhara region</td>
<td>Buxoroyi sharif</td>
<td>1912 – January 1913</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Data developed based on Ziyo Said’s book *O’zbek vaqtli matbuoti tarixiga materiallar (1870-1927)*, Nazira Abduazizova’s book *Istorija natsionalnoy jurnalistiki* (1-chast), M. Babakhanov’s *Iz istorii periodicheskoy pechati Turkestanana* and Hoji Muin’s “Samarqand matbuotining tarixi” article.233

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Appendix D: Table of newspapers in Turkestan of the third era: 1917 – 1918

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number of Issues printed</th>
<th>Number of copies disseminated</th>
<th>Cadence</th>
<th>Editors</th>
<th>Type of media</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tashkent/Tashkent region</td>
<td>Shuroi Islomomiya</td>
<td>May 16, 1917 – N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Turon</td>
<td>1917 – N/A</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Abdulla Avloniy</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Najot (successor of Turkiston viloyatining gazeti)</td>
<td>March 1917 – N/A</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Munavvar qori Abdurashidxonov and Vladimir Nalivkin</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Shoroi Islom</td>
<td>March 16, 1917 – N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>A. Battol</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kengash (instead of Shoroi Islom)</td>
<td>June 25, 1917 – N/A</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Ahmad Zakiy Validiy and then Munavvar qori Abdurashidxonov</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Turk Eli</td>
<td>September 1917 – N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Muhammadamin Afandizoda, Shokirjon Rahimiy, Burhon Xabib</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ulug Turkiston</td>
<td>After February revolution – N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>A. Battol</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Chayon</td>
<td>July 1917 – January 1919</td>
<td>12 issues in 1917; 13 issues in 1918</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Once in two weeks</td>
<td>Halaf To’lakov and Ibrohim Toxiriy</td>
<td>Journal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ishchilar Dunyosi</td>
<td>January 4, 1918 – N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Once in 15 days</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Journal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Izxorlxaq</td>
<td>February 20, 1918 – N/A</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Once a week</td>
<td>Mulla Sadriddinxo’ja mufti ibn Sharifxo’ja eshon</td>
<td>Journal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region</strong></td>
<td><strong>Title</strong></td>
<td><strong>Publication Dates</strong></td>
<td><strong>Start Date</strong></td>
<td><strong>Frequency</strong></td>
<td><strong>Editors</strong></td>
<td><strong>Type</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samarkand/Samarkand region</td>
<td>Hurriyat</td>
<td>April 16, 1917 – 1918</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>500 – 1,000</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Mardonkul Shoxmumammadzoda, then Akobir Shoxmansur, then Abdurauf Fitrat</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferghana/Ferghana region</td>
<td>Fargo’na Saxifasi</td>
<td>March 15, 1917 – N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Xusayin Makayev</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fargo’na Nidosi</td>
<td>November 5, 1917 – N/A</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Xusayin Makayev</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokand</td>
<td>Kengash</td>
<td>March 1917 – N/A</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Twice a week</td>
<td>Hamza Hakimzoda Niyozy</td>
<td>Journal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yurt</td>
<td>March 1, 1917 – N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Zohiriy Ashuraliy</td>
<td>Journal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>El Bayrogi</td>
<td>September 1917 – N/A</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Twice a week</td>
<td>Bulot Soliyev and Ashuraliy Zoxiriy</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Data developed based on Ziyo Said’s book O’zbek vaqtli matbuoti tarixiga materiaallar (1870-1927), Nazira Abduazizova’s book Istorija natsionalnoy journalistik (1-chast), M. Babakhanov’s Iz istorii periodicheskoy pechati Turkestanana and Hoji Muin’s “Samarqand matbuotining tarixi” article.234

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234 Said, O’zbek vaqtli; Abduazizova, Istoriya natsionalnoy journalistik.; Muin, “Samarqand matbuotining tarixi.”
## Appendix E: Table of newspapers in Turkestan of the fourth era: 1918 – 1928

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number of Issues printed</th>
<th>Number of copies disseminated</th>
<th>Cadence</th>
<th>Editors</th>
<th>Type of media</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Tashkent/Tashkent region</td>
<td>Ishtirokiyun</td>
<td>June 20, 1918–December 19, 1920</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Run three times per week</td>
<td>Orif Klebeyev (until July 1918); Ahmad Donskoy (from July 1918 to 1919); Qobir Bakir (from 1919); Abdulla Avloniy, Nazir Turakulov, Hanafiy Barnashev also edited the paper at some point.</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Qizil Bayroq (successor of Ishtirokiyun)</td>
<td>December 19, 1920 – September 10, 1922</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>10,000 at the start; 2,500 at the end</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Umar Alimuhamedov (until 8th issue); Mirmuxsin (after 7th issue); Hanafiy Barnashev (until 6th issue in 1921); Go’zi Yunus (from 85th issue from September 10, 1921);</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Newspaper/Periodical</td>
<td>Start Date</td>
<td>End Date</td>
<td>Circulation</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Editors</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Turkiston (successor of Qizil Bayroq)</td>
<td>September 13, 1922 – December 5, 1925</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>2,500 at the start, 7,000 at its peak</td>
<td>Three times per week</td>
<td>Usmonxon Rahimboyev</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Qizil O’zbekiston (successor of Turkiston)</td>
<td>December 5, 1925 – 1964</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>22,000 at its peak</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Qosim Sorokin</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Kasabachilik ishi</td>
<td>October 24, 1921 – N/A</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Muxsin</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Yangi Yo’l</td>
<td>January 1, 1924 – October 22, 1925</td>
<td>500 at the start, 2,000 at its peak</td>
<td>Once a week</td>
<td>Elbek, Olim Shorikiy, Lolaxon Sayfulina and Sobira Xonim edited the newspaper at some point</td>
<td>Newspaper. In 1922 turned into journal.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Qizil matbuotchilar</td>
<td>September 1924 – N/A</td>
<td>500 copies at its peak</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Founded by Abdulla Qodiriy</td>
<td>Journal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Mushtum</td>
<td>February 18, 1923 – present days</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>9,000 in 1974</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Nazir Turakulov, Usmonxoja Eshonxojayev</td>
<td>Journal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Maorif</td>
<td>December 1, 1918 – April 1919</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Once a week</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Nazir Turakulov, Usmonxoja Eshonxojayev (from 5th issue, August 1, 1922)</td>
<td>Journal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Inqilob</td>
<td>February 1, 1922 – October 1924</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Once a month</td>
<td>Usmonxoja Eshonxojayev</td>
<td>Journal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Start Date</td>
<td>End Date</td>
<td>Total Circulation</td>
<td>Distribution Frequency</td>
<td>Editor(s)</td>
<td>Type</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Samarkand/Samarkand region</td>
<td>Mehnatkash tovushi (renamed to Kambahallar tovushi in 1922)</td>
<td>June 11, 1918 – September 28, 1922</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>500 at the start, 4,000 at its peak</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Hoji Muin (until 1922), Mirmuxsin after that</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Zarafshon</td>
<td>October 27, 1922 – N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>3,000 in 1974</td>
<td>Once in four/five days</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Go’zi Yunus, Ali Ismoilzoda (after 14th issue)</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tayoq</td>
<td>January 1, 1920 – N/A</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1,000-2,000 depending on capacity</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Hoji Muin, Go’zi Yunus, Rafik Mominiy, Bahrombek Yo’ldoshev edited the journal at some point</td>
<td>Journal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Bukhara</td>
<td>Buxoro axbori</td>
<td>September 1920 – September 9, 1922</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Twice a week</td>
<td>Muhammad Said Axroryi, Abdulhamid Sulaymon, Ziyo Usmoniy and Qori Yuldoshev edited the paper at some point</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Ozod Buxoro (successor of Buxoro axbori)</td>
<td>September 9, 1922 – N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Three times per week</td>
<td>Qosim Sorokin, Fotih Sulaymon, Kamolov, Ahmadjon Yokubov edited the paper at some point</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Tong</td>
<td>April 9, 1920 – N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Founded by Abdurauf Fitrat</td>
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<td>Journal</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Ferghana/Ferghana region</td>
<td>Fargo’na ishchi dexqon va qizil askar vakillar sho’rosining axbori</td>
<td>1918 – N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Dadaboyev</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Yangi Sharq</td>
<td>July 8, 1919 – 1921</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Xodi Faiziy and then Qosim Yuchev</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Mehnat bayrogi</td>
<td>January 1921 – May 25, 1921</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Three times per week</td>
<td>Qosim Sorokin then Ibrohim Rashidiy</td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Farg’ona</td>
<td></td>
<td>May 27, 1921</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>800 at the start, 8,000 in 1974</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Botu, Mirzaxakim Aliyev and Hamzin edited the paper at some point</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Namangan/Namangan region</td>
<td>Ishchilal qalqoni</td>
<td>September 1, 1918 – N/A</td>
<td>More than 40</td>
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<td>July 18, 1919 – N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
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<td>X. Safaraliyev and Nasriddin edited the paper at some point</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Andijan</td>
<td>Darxon</td>
<td>1923 – N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Abdulxay Toji</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Kokand</td>
<td>Xalq gazetasi</td>
<td>December 4, 1918 – August 27, 1919</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1,000 – 1,500 depending on capacity</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Ahmad Devishev</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Khorezm</td>
<td>Inqilob quyoshi</td>
<td>March 8, 1920 – N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Afzal Tohir, K. Beregin and Qalandarov edited the paper at some point</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
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Source: Data developed based on Ziyo Said’s book O’zbek vaqtli matbuoti tarixiga materiallar (1870-1927), Nazira Abduazizova’s book Istoriya natsionalnoy jurnalistiki (1-chast), M. Babakhanov’s Iz istorii periodicheskoy pechati Turkestanana and Hoji Muin’s “Samarqand matbuotining tarixi” article.²³⁵

²³⁵ Said, O’zbek vaqtli; Abduazizova, Istoriya natsionalnoy jurnalistiki.; Muin, “Samarqand matbuotining tarixi.”