

Final Report for the Title VIII Research Scholar Program

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With the help of the Title VIII Research Scholar Program, I was able to conduct archival and library research in Russia for a period of three months (September-December 2010). The title of my research is “At the Crossroads of Revolution: The Fergana Valley and the Russian and Iranian Constitutional Revolutions, 1900-1914”.

In 1905 the winds of change swept across Central Asia driven in large part by mass movements in favor of constitutionalism in Imperial Russia and near-by Qajar Persia. In 1867 Russia created the Turkestan governor-generalship and by 1873 the emirate of Bukhara and the khanate of Khiva became protectorates of Russia, yet influences beyond the borders of Russian politics reached into these areas. Persia, while autonomous, was a proxy participant in, and victim of, the “Great Game.” Although not directly involved in the Islamic khanates of Russian Central Asia, discourses of modernization, westernization, and liberalism from Persia would have carried particular resonance (positive or negative) in the khanates.

The Title VIII Research Scholar Program allowed me to visit Russia in order to undertake dissertation research on the impact of Russian and Persian constitutionalism on the peoples and politics of Central Asia, particularly in Andijan and other areas of the Fergana Valley. My research explores the extent to which the revolutions in Russia and Persia, the introduction of basic civil liberties in Russia in 1905, and the establishment of parliaments in both regions contributed to the development of the idea of constitutionalism and a transformation of politics in these crossroads of Central Asia.

This research project will combine Middle Eastern politics, language and culture, with research on border regions of the former Russian empire to assess the impact of Russian and Iranian revolutionary movements within the region.

A number of scholars have explored the impact and legacy of Russian rule on Turkestan. Adeeb Khalid, for example, has investigated cultural changes during the Russian imperial period, focusing largely on the Islamic reform movement, Jadidism. Jeff Sahadeo has revealed changes in the colonial Russian community in Tashkent. Ervand Abrahamian, Janet Afary, Hamid Algar, Nikkie Keddie, and Marianne Kamp, on the other hand, have examined political, cultural, social, and religious aspects of the first Iranian revolution and its impact on the peoples and politics of Iran. No one has yet journeyed outside major urban centers to illuminate the impact of revolutionary rhetoric in outlying and border regions. In the Moscow archives I found good information regarding an important region of Central Asia that not only sat astride major trade-routes for commodities but, I suggest, was a center for exchange of political concepts and ideological transformation. The information I gathered will help to explore precisely the extent to which the Fergana Valley served as the crossroads for revolutionary ideals prevalent in early twentieth century Europe and Asia. Using a comparative approach that incorporates the histories of Imperial Russia, Qajar Persia, and Russian-dominated Central Asia, I will explore in my dissertation the extent to which the Russian and the Persian constitutional revolutions impacted the population of the Fergana Valley through cultural, religious, administrative, and colonial ties, and assess which categories, classes, and nationalities were most affected by constitutional movements in neighboring Russia and Persia.

In undertaking this research I hope to add a new perspective to the study of Central Asia. Other scholars have studied similar questions, but in different regions and from different perspectives. Khalid, for example, studies the Jadids as a new elite throughout Central Asia, while Sahadeo focuses on Russian liberals in Tashkent. Abrahamian, Algar, Keddie, and Kamp maintain that the first Iranian revolution introduced constitutionalism to the region primarily through the initiatives of European-oriented reformers, bazaar merchants, and religious elites. Afary adds grass-roots organizations that represented craftsmen, peasants, and social democrats to the list of the forces that were instrumental in the constitutional movement. I will be the first to look at these different issues in the historically important Fergana Valley at the local level. I am particularly interested in the roles that religious elites ('ulama'), merchants, working classes, and rural inhabitants played in the political participation of native populations in Turkestan. My research also will address the era before Soviet control. Most of the work being done on Central Asia (Douglas Northrup, Marianne Kamp, and others) is on the Soviet period.

The Title VIII Research Scholar Program allowed me to research the region via archival and journal/periodical collections in Moscow. The periodicals I read in Russia included the official and unofficial press published in the Russian and Uzbek languages in Turkestan. Between 1905 and 1910 newspapers were founded in the cities of Novii Margelan, Samarkand, Skobelev (Fergana), Tashkent, and other cities. First of all I examined the periodicals that were published in the Fergana Valley. I examined *Fergana* (published in N. Margelan), *Ferganskiie Oblastnye Vedomosti* (published in Skobelev), *Ferganskoie Ekho* (published in Kokand), *Golos Fergany* (published in Kokand),

Kokandskii Listok (published in Kokand), *Listok Ob'iaivleniy, Telegramm, i Mestnoi Khroniki* (Kokand), *Novaia Fergana* (N. Margelan).

For my research it was important to examine the official newspapers as well as the periodicals that were published by people who belonged to various parties. *Fergana*, for example, was published by members of the Constitutional Democratic party in 1906. *Fergana* covered many aspects of local life. In its first issue the newspaper promised to inform the residents of the Fergana region of their political and economic rights. In August of 1906 *Fergana* changed its name to *Novaia Fergana*.

Correspondents of *Kokandskii Listok* did not belong to any political party. They published local news of Kokand and other areas of the Fergana valley.

Ferganskiie Oblastnye Vedomosti (1907-1917) was the only official newspaper published in the Fergana region before 1910. Each issue was divided into formal and informal parts. The formal part of the newspaper published the Governor's rulings. The informal part published telegrams and various news and happenings in the area.

Other periodicals I read included *Askhabad* (Askhabad), *Birzhevie Vedomosti* (St. Petersburg), *Ekho* (St. Petersburg), *Golos Narodnoi Svobody* (Samarkand), *Na Rubezhe* (Tashkent), *Novaia Zhizn'* (Moscow), *Novoie Vremia* (St.Petersburg), *Novyi Put'* (Tashkent), *Novyi Samarkand* (Samarkand), *Obshchestvennoye Delo* (St.Petersburg), *Pravitel'stvennyi Vestnik* (St.Peterburg), *Rabotnik* (Tashkent), *Ruskaia Okraina* (Samarkand), *Russkii Ivalid* (St.Peterburg), *Russkii Samarkand* (Samarkand), *Russkii Turkestan* (Tashkent), *Rus'* (St.Peterburg), *Samarkand* (Samarkand), *St.Peterburgskie Vedomosti* (St.Petersburg), *Sredneaziatskaia Zhizn'* (Tashkent), *Tashkentskii Kur'er* (Tashkent), *Tashkentskii Listok* (Tashkent), *Turkestan* (Tashkent), *Turkestantaskaia*

Voennaia Gazeta (Tashkent), *Turkestanskaia Zhizn'* (Tashkent), *Turkestanskiie Vedomosti* (Tashkent), *Turkestanskiy Kur'er* (Tashkent), *Utro* (Moscow), *Vperiod* (Tashkent), *Zakaspiiskoie Obozreniie* (Ashgabat), *Zemshchina* (St. Petersburg), *Zeravshan* (Samarkand), and *Zvezda* (St. Petersburg).

The revolution of 1905 led to the emergence of the Uzbek-language press. Such periodicals as *Turkistan Wilayatining Gazeti*, *Taraqqi*, *Khurshid*, *Shuhrat*, *Aziya*, *Tojjar*, and *Taraqqi—Ortan Aziyaning umr guzarligi* will shed more light on the extent that the native population responded to reforms.

All of these newspapers are held in the vast collections of periodicals (OG—Otdel Gazet) at the Khimki branch of the Russian State Library (Rossiiskaia Gosudarstvennaia Biblioteka).

Periodicals provided vital information on the discourse of revolution and reform within the region.

I also examined the collections of dissertations at the Khimki branch of the Russian State Library. Some of the dissertations I read are Kholmatov, R. *Iz Istorii Uzbekskoi Staropechatnoi Arabographichnoi Knigi I Knizhnoi Kul'tury v Gorodakh Ferganskoi Doliny 1867-1917gg* (Tashkent, 1989); Abdurakhimova, N. *Revoliutsionnoie Dvizheniie i Karatel'naia Politika Tsarizma v Turkestane* (Tashkent, 1969); Shayusupova G. *Progressivnaia Obshchestvenno-Politicheskaia Mysl' v Uzbekistane v nachale XX veka (1905-1917)* (Tashkent, 1962); Umarov, A. *Kul'turnaia Zhizn' Ferganskoi Doliny vo Vtoroi Polovine XIX—nachale XX vv.* (Tashkent, 1985); Akramov, V. *Kukon Shakhrining Izhimoi-i Iktisodii va Madanii Khayoti (XIX asrning II yarmi va XX asr boshlari)* (Tashkent, 1973); Sharafiddinov, A. *Sotsial'no-Ekonomicheskaia i Kul'turnaia Zhin' g.*

Andizhana v kontse XIX—nachale XX v. (Tashkent, 1980); Tashpulatov G. *Sotsial'no-Ekonomicheskaiia i Kul'turnaia Zhizn' g. Fergany v kontse XIX—nachale XX v.* (Tashkent, 1983), and some others.

In Moscow I worked with the archival collections at GARF (Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii) and at RGVA (Rossiiskii Gosudarstvenno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv).

I worked with the record groups of the historical and revolutionary sections of the GARF. Specifically, I examined the following record groups (*fondi*): f. 102 “Departament Politsii Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del”, f. 124 “Ugolovnoye Otdelenie 1-go Departamenta Ministerstva Yustitsii”, f. 1779 “Kantselyariya Vremennogo Pravitel'stva”.

The Police Department (f. 102) and the Department of Justice (f. 124) record groups were the ones I examined the most because they contain valuable and important information about social and political situation in the Fergana Valley at the beginning of the twentieth century. Both record groups (f. 102 and f. 124) have reports, telegrams, and correspondence between tsarist officials and local administrators about crimes, terrorism, illegal societies, constitutional, revolutionary, and national liberation movements. The documents contain information about election campaigns to the Russian State Duma and different parties that existed in the Fergana Valley in 1905-1910. The Police Department record group (f. 102) contains documents that were seized during searches and arrests of local democrats and revolutionaries. I found leaflets and flyers of social democratic and social revolutionary parties as well as other documents and publications. The documents delivered by secret agents will also shed some light on the political situation in the Fergana Valley.

I worked with the archival collections at RGVIA (Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voенno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv) with the record groups (*fond*) f. 400 (op. 1) “Glavnyi Shtab. Aziatskaia Chast’”; f. 801 (op. 56) and (op. 9) “Glavnoie Voенno-Sudnoie Upravlenie”; f. 801 (op. 2, 3) “Glavnoie Voенno-Sudnoie Upravlenie Voennogo Ministerstva”; f. 1395 “Voенno-Okružnoi Sovet Turkestanskogo Voennogo Okruga”; f. 1396 “Shtab Turkestanskogo Voennogo Okruga, 1866-1919”; f. 1402 «Okružnoie Voенno-Sanitarnoe Upravleniie Turkestanskogo Voennogo Okruga”.

F. 400 op. 1 (Asiatskaia Chast') contains documents on military and civilian rule of Russian Turkestan. Some of the most important documents in f. 400 for my research include information about election campaigns to the State Duma (d. 3369), urgent dispatches of military governors about happenings in different regions of the Russian Turkestan (d. 3292, d. 3392, d. 3525), reports of military governors of the Fergana region to the War Minister (d. 3886), measures against unrest in the region (d. 3352, d. 3544), reinforced security in the region (d. 3402, d. 3444, d. 3594), reports of various societies (d. 3406, d. 3541), military governors' orders (d. 3409), reports about unrest among the Muslim population (d. 3413), and many others.

The Russian State Library contains a great deal of material relevant to my research, including historical and geographical publications on the Fergana Valley, reports, diaries, and travel notes of Russian and foreign travelers, such as E. Markov *Rossia v Srednei Azii. Oчерki Puteshestviia po Zakavkaz'iu, Turkmenii, Bukhare, Samarkandu, Tashkentskoi i Ferganskoi Oblastiam* (1901), D. Logofet *V Zabytoi Strane. Putevyie Oчерki po Srednei Azii* (1912), G. Glinka *Aziatskaia Rossiia* (1914); I. Geyer *Turkestan* (1909); S. Konopka *Turkestanskii Krai* (1913); A. Middendorf *Oчерki*

Ferganskoi Doliny (1882); V. Massal'skii *Rossii. Polnoie Geographicheskoe Opisanie Nashego Otechestva*, vol. 19 “Turkestanskii Krai” (1913); D. Semenov *Otechestvovedenie. Rossiia po Rasskazam Puteshestvennikov i Uchenym Issledovaniiam*”. Vol. 6 (Turkestanskii Krai) (1887), V. Voshchinin *Ocherki Novogo Turkestana. Svet i Teni Russkoi Kolonizatsii* (1914); A. Brianov *Na Pamiat' o Fergane, 1876-1901* (1901); A. Kuplast *Ferganskaia Oblast'* (1913); V. Nalivkin and M. Nalivkina *Ocherk Byta Zhenshchiny Osedlogo Tuzemnogo Naseleniia Fergany* (1886); V. Yuferev *Khoziaistvo Sartov Ferganskoi Oblasti* (1911), and others.

In the Russian State Library I also found some great collection of documents. They are *Revoliutsiia 1905-1907 gg v Rossii. Dokumenty i Materialy. Vtoroi Period Revoliutsii 1906-1907gg*. Vol. 2 (1963); *Zakonotvorchestvo Dumskikh Fraktsii 1906-1917gg. Dokumenty i Materialy* (2006); *Revoliutsiia 1905-1907 gg v Uzbekistane. Dokumenty i Materialy* (1984).

In the library I was also able to examine reports published by V.V. Bartol'd in his *Otchet o Komandirovke v Turkestan* (1904) and by K.K. Palen in *Otchet po Revizii Turkestanskogo Kraia, Proizvedionnogo po Vysochaishemu Povelenniu Senatorom Gofmeisterom Grafom K.K. Palenom* in several volumes (1910).

Among the memoirs I examined are A. Zurabov *Vtoraia Gosudarstvennaia Duma. Vpechatleniia*. (1908), D. Manzhara *Revoliutsionnoe Dvizhenie v Srednei Azii 1905-1920gg. Vospominaniia*. (1934), V. Maklakov *Vtoraia Gosudarstvennaia Duma. Vospominaniia Sovremennika*, S. Konopka *Turkestanskii Krai* (1912), V. Dukhovskaia *Turkestanskie Vospominaniia* (1913).

The Russian State Library also has a great collection of encyclopedias, such as

Istoricheskii Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar' (2010), S. Prozorov (ed) *Islam na Territorii Byvshei Rossiiskoi Imperii. Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar'* (2006), A. Toroptsev (ed) *Istoricheskaia Entsiklopediia. Terminy, Geographicheskie Nazvaniia, Biographia* (2009), *Bol'shaia Istoricheskaia Entsiklopediia* (2010), *Gosudarstvennaia Duma Rossiiskoi Imperii 1906-1917. Entsiklopediia* (2008).

In the RSL I also found the official statistical surveys of the Fergana Valley. *Spisok Naselennykh Mest Ferganskoi Oblasti*, published in the city of Skovelev in 1909, is one of the statistical compilations I examined. Another one is *Ezhegodnik Ferganskoi Oblasti*, issued in the city of Novyi Margelan. The first volume of *Ezhegodnik* was issued in 1902, the second—in 1903, and the third one is 1904. Besides statistics each volume contains articles about history, geography, and ethnography of the Fergana region, about its agriculture, its natural resources and its education.

Obzor Ferganskoi Oblasti was issued each year beginning in 1889 and ending in 1916. It contains information on ethnic and religious composition of people of the Fergana Valley, activities of its people, educational and religious institutions, as well as information about economy of the region, its public health, and others.

This project has immediate application to policy issues that the United States currently faces in Central Asia and Iran. In order to develop close ties with the post-Soviet Muslim Central Asian states, it is important to know the history of the region and its ethnic and religious composition as well as its previous relationships to western democratic and liberal reform movements. Central Asia, located close to important regional actors such as Iran, Afghanistan and Russia, is a vital policy interest geopolitically and economically. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the

United States has been pursuing several goals in the Central Asian region such as stability, political democratization, and introduction of free market economy. Security, economic and energy resources of the Central Asian region are also important.

This research project addresses the intellectual, social and political ferment of the Central Asian region during the volatile eras of revolutionary and constitutional reform in Persia (Iran) and Russia in 1905. In particular the research explores the extent to which the revolutions in Russia and Persia and the introduction of basic civil liberties in Russia in 1905 and the establishment of parliaments in both Russia and Persia contributed to the development of the idea of constitutionalism and a transformation of politics in Central Asia.

The best way for American policymakers to build strong and lasting relationships with the Central Asian region is for them to know the individual history and religious and cultural aspects of each country as well as to understand each country's relations with other regional powers. Taking into account the United States' Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan, the history of civil war in Tajikistan, and the threat of Islamic militancy in Uzbekistan, it is clear that the security of the region is one of central concern. Any instability in the region presents a security concern for the United States.

My research addresses Uzbekistan, a country that was dominated by Russia and that borders Afghanistan. Uzbekistan is a country of rich resources and of ethnic diversity. Uzbekistan has experienced problems with overpopulation, economic and political crises, the absence of free and fair elections, ethnic clashes in the Fergana Valley, and the threat of Islamic militancy. One of the clearest examples of the threat was the existence of such radical organizations as the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)

that supported the Taliban. There is a fear of unrest if this group were to reemerge.

Because of high unemployment and economic problems, young people in the Fergana Valley and other parts of Uzbekistan tend to support anti-government radical organizations.

American policymakers face the challenges of providing security, building democracy, and promoting human rights in each Central Asian country. One other challenge is dealing with powers such as Russia and Iran, both of which have also crucial interests in the region. My research on constitutional and revolutionary movements in Uzbekistan in the beginning of the twentieth century will give a better understanding of Russian control, Uzbekistan's relations with its neighbors, in particular Iran, and the impact of the politics of the region. And this research might help American policymakers create more effective and successful policies in former Soviet Central Asian countries.