

UOT 101.316.34

THE ROLE OF ISMAIL GASPRALI, ALI BEY HUSEYNZADEH AND YUSIF AKCHURA IN THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL PAN-TURKISM

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ABSTRACT

Ismail Gasprali, Ali bey Huseynzadeh and Yusif Akchura are founders of political Pan-Turkism. The political orientation of their Pan-Turkist activity was seen in defending political rights of the Turkic people, particularly in their struggle for elaboration of common literary language of the Turkic peoples, opening national schools, development of secular education, in their fighting against illiteracy, socio-economic and political backwardness of the Turkic peoples, in appealing to people for active participation in political life of society, in criticizing the policy of russification pursued by the Tsarist Russia, in propagating idea on borrowing scientific and technological achievements of the Western civilization.

Keywords: *Pan-Turkism as a cultural movement, political Pan-Turkism, Ismail Gasprali, Ali bey Huseynzade, Yusif Akchura, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Russia*

Introduction

According to Ziya Gokalp and Royd Chavan nationalism, national movements among Oriental peoples gradually pass through the following three stages: cultural, political and economic. They begin with a cultural awakening; they then assume the form of a political movement; and finally they also formulate an economic program (Gokalp 1959, 60; Royd 1973, 34).

The stage of cultural awakening of a nation is characterized by the process of the re-evaluation of existing and by the formation of new values.

Pan-Turkism as a concrete historical form of Turkish nationalism, Pan-Turkist national movement came into existence as a cultural movement. Scholarly works of the European orientalists of the XVIII- XIX centuries on the cultural and ethnic past of the ancient Turkic peoples played very important role in its formation, particularly in the process of the cultural awakening of the Turks. Ziya Gokalp, an intellectual leader of the Turkish nationalism mentions the following works of the European orientalists which particularly promoted the formation of Pan-Turkist movement: "The Histoire generale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols, etc." by J.De Guidnes (Paris, 1756-1758), "The Grammaire turke" by Arthur Lumley David (London, 1836), "The Introduction a l'histoire de l'Asie" by Leon Cahun (Paris, 1896) (Heyd 1950, 105). In addition to these works there were such famous European orientalists as P.Loti, H.Vambery, W.Rafloff, V.Tomson, Y.Kunos and others. These works contributed very much to the investigation of the history and culture of the Turkic peoples. In the works of the European orientalists of the XVIII- XIX centuries was proven that Turkic peoples in their pre-Islamic history had a highly developed culture. The results of investigations of the European orientalists played very important role in the process of the cultural awakening of Turks and promoted the formation of Pan-Turkism as a cultural movement in Turkey.

Under the influence of these works Pan-Turkism demonstrated itself as a cultural movement propagating the unity of all Turkic peoples in the field of language and culture which considered as a means for the revival of the past glory of the Turks. At the beginning of the XX century some of these works were translated into Turkish and published in Turkey. They promoted the cultural renaissance of the Turkish intelligentsia as well as stimulated scholarly interest of the Turkish authors in the cultural and ethnic past of the Turkic peoples. Many scholarly works were written by Turkish authors. Among such authors we can call the founders of "scientific Turkism" Ahmet Vefik Pasha and Suleyman Pasha. Ahmet Vefik Pasha in his book "The Ottoman dialect" proved that the Ottomans were one of the numerous Turkic peoples and their language was a dialect of the united Turkic language which was spread also outside Turkey. Suleyman Pasha in his book "World history" discoursed at length on the pre-Islamic history of the Turks. In his investigations he showed that Ottoman was the name only of a country and that the language and literature of the Turks should by rights be called Turkish (Heyd 1950, 106).

In the reign of Abdul Hamid II (1876- 1909) Pan-Turkism had to be satisfied by the propaganda of the idea of the unity of all Turkic peoples in the field of language and culture. Therefore, at that time it remained as a cultural movement. However, the further development of history prepared very favorable prerequisites for the transformation of Pan-Turkism from cultural into political movement. These prerequisites were realized through intellectual and practical activities of such prominent representatives of political Pan-Turkism as Ismail Gasprali, Ali bey Huseynzadeh, and Yusif Akchura.

In this article I will analyze the role of Ismail Gasprali, Ali bey Huseynzadeh, and Yusif Akchura in the formation of political Pan-Turkism.

Ismail Gasprali

Ismail Gasprali (1841-1914) is one of the outstanding leaders of the enlightenment movement among the Turkic peoples. His name is associated with the edition of the newspaper “Terjuman” in Turkish from 1883 till 1914 in the Crimea. The Pan-Turkist character of this newspaper was explicitly formulated in its epigraph “Dilde, fikirde, ishte birlik” (The unity in language, thought and action). To Gasprali, the unity in language, which was the necessary conditions of the unity of practical action, could be reached through the elaboration of the common literary language for all Turkic peoples, who spoke in different dialects. It should be noted that the idea on the elaboration of common literary language was put forward by Hasan bey Zardabi (1837-1907), a famous Azerbaijani writer, the editor-in-chief of the first Turkic newspaper “Ekinci” (“ploughman”) (1875-1877). Gasprali considered that for the creation of a common literary language the following practical tasks should be carried out: 1. To purify the Turkish language of grammar rules of foreign languages particularly those of Arabic and Persian; 2. To exclude from the Turkish language words of the Arabic and Persian origins; 3. To adapt numerous dialects of the Turkish language to the simplified version of the Ottoman dialect. Gasprali in his newspaper “Terjuman” did his best to carry out these tasks. As a result of his efforts his newspaper was understood by all Turkic peoples. However, there were two obstacles in the way of the creation of a common literary language: 1. Illiteracy of the overwhelming majority of Turkic peoples; 2. The policy of russification conducted by the Tsarism in relation to non-Russian peoples.

Gasprali was sure that ignorance, a low level of the development of science and education were the main causes of the Muslim people’s socio-economic backwardness, their alienation from the social reality and their

being indifferent to it (Гаспринский 1991, 22-50). In his various articles and speeches Gasprali noted that the Muslim world being economically and culturally developed in the past presently is not able to compete with the Christian world in the socio-economic development. "In past times Islam was a dominant force, but now 75% of all Muslims are managed by other forces. The contemporary world is in the process of constant change and development. We are lagging behind this world" (Devlet 1988, 111) - Gasprali notes. To him, presently the Muslims do less in the field of production. They live mainly thanks to the nature. They are not aspiring to science, education, enlightenment. What are causes of such scornful relation to science, education and enlightenment? - Gasprali puts a question. It should be noted that he does not agree with the opinion according to which Islam is the main cause of the Muslim world's backwardness. This opinion was widely spread in the West and supported by some local westernists. Referring to some written sources of Islam Gasprali shows that the Muslim religion supports and promotes the development of science and education. As an empirical fact he treats to the Medieval history when great scientists, writers, poets, artists lived in the Muslim world. To discuss causes of the contemporary backwardness of the Muslim world and to find out real ways of its development he suggests to call for the World Islamic Congress (Kırimer 1934, 119-122).

As the first step in the liquidation of the illiteracy among Turkic peoples Gasprali suggested to conduct a reform of the primary school. He offered to introduce new method of the liquidation of the illiteracy ("Usul-u Jedid") which was considered by him as the basis of the reform. The given method was an integral part of the reformist movement, which was initiated by such prominent representatives of the Tatar intelligentsia as Shihabeddin Marjani (1815-1889), Abdulkayyum Nasiri (1824-1907) and Huseyn Feyizhane (1826-1866). That reformist movement was aimed to solve the problems of religion and language (Devlet 1988, 11).

In the beginning of the 1870's Gasprali founded in Bakhchisaray, the Crimea a primary school in which educational program was based on the application of new method. It should be noted that in old schools the teaching process was mainly oral. Therefore, it took a lot of time to teach pupils the alphabet. The new method of the liquidation of illiteracy was based on the application of sound (phonetic) method. It let to teach pupils to read and write in 40-45 days. Gasprali changed not only the form of the training, but also its content. Particularly, he included into the training program such new subjects as the Turkish language, the Grammar of Turkish, Foundations of

Mathematics, History of Islam, Geography, the World History and Foundations of Medical Knowledge (Saray 1987, 45). Except these advantages schools let pupils receive a secular education in national (Turkish) language. Before pupils did not have such opportunity because the national schools were in hand of ignorant and fanatic clergymen. The secular education was available only in the Russian schools. However, the majority of the Muslim population did not desire their children to study in the Russian schools. The Muslim children who studied in the Russian schools were not educated in national spirit. They were very vulnerable towards the policy of russification. The application of "Usul-u Jedid" method, its advantages were propagated by "Terjuman".

News about the new method reached different Turkic peoples of Russia. In some cities and villages populated by Turkic peoples new schools using this method were opened. To the beginning of the First World war there were about 5000 such schools in the territory of Russia. Mirza Ismail Gudsı, Mir Movsum Navvab, Molla Abdul Hasan, Haji Seyyid Azim, Molla Ibrahim Khalil founded such schools in Azerbaijan (Baykara 1992, 53). As it was above mentioned the second obstacle standing in the way of creation of the common literary language was the policy of russification pursued by the Tsarism in relation to the non-Russian peoples. Education was considered by the Tsarism as one of the most effective means of this policy. Nikolay Ilminskiy (1822-1891), a professor of Kazan University (Russia) contributed very much to the determination of concrete ways of the realization of the policy of russification in the second half of the XIX century. Ilminskiy was a specialist in the field of the Turkic dialects and theology. He considered that the forcible teaching the Turkic peoples the Russian language and their conversion into Christianity are the most effective ways of the russification of these peoples. He began his missionary activity among the Turkic peoples. As the first step in that direction on May 25, 1876 he offered to adapt each concrete Turkic dialect to the Russian alphabet. He also suggested to accept each concrete Turkic dialect as native language instead of the common Turkic-Tatar language (Saray 1987, 28). Suggesting such kinds of demands Ilminskiy intended to disseminate the Russian language and Christianity among the Turkic peoples on the one hand and to prevent their unification on the other hand.

Like other Turkic intellectuals Gasprali was afraid of the policy of russification and christianization of the Turkic peoples conducted by the method of Ilminskiy. In his numerous articles especially in his newspaper "Terjuman" Gasprali analyzed the urgent problems of the Turkic peoples. He

pointed out the necessity of their unification, and also modernisation by the acceptance of the achievements of the modern Western civilisation. His newspaper was written in such Turkic dialect which could be understood by different Turkic peoples. That is why Ilminskiy considered the activity of Gasprali and his newspaper as the main obstacle in the way of realization of his plans. He fought against Gasprali and his newspaper. In his letter addressed to Pobedonostsev K.P. who was at the head of Russian Orthodox church from 1880 to 1905 Ilminskiy wrote: "Gasprali has only one goal – to unite millions of Muslims living in Russia by the means of the modern education and European civilization, to strengthen their positions and receive the support of Istanbul. All he does contradicts to the interests of the Russian Orthodox church. Therefore, we must make him and his newspaper to stop. You personally must meet a State official and receive his approval" (Kreyndler 1969, 109-110).

Gasprali understood that the unity in language was necessary but not a sufficient condition for the real unification of the Turkic peoples. To him, in order to reach the real unification the unity in language should have been supplemented by the unity in thought and action of the Turkic peoples. Therefore, Gasprali was involved also in the political activity, which was based on his struggle for socio-political rights of all Muslims of Russia. Together with such outstanding Muslim intellectuals from Russia as Ali Merdan Topchibashov, Ahmed Aga oglu, Ali bey Huseynzadeh, Yusif Akchura, Alim Magsudi Gasprali took active part in founding the political party "İttifaki Muslimin" ("The unity of Muslims"). He also participated in the works of the First (August 15, 1905, Nizniy Novgorod), the Second (January 13-23, 1906, Petersburg), and the Third (August 16-21, 1906, Nizniy Novgorod) Congresses of that party. Among questions discussed in these Congresses were such questions as unification of the efforts of the Muslims of Russia for the solution of their urgent social problems; liquidation of the illiteracy among the Muslims of Russia; establishment of the universal, mandatory and free primary education in native language; reaching equal political, civil property and religious rights for the Muslims population of Russia; teaching of the Turkic literary language in the secondary schools; adoption of the common program in all Turkic schools; establishment of the pedagogical colleges in Baku, Kazan Bakhchisaray and in the other cities.

As it was above mentioned for the discussion of the urgent problems of the Muslim world Gasprali put forward the idea to organise the World Islamic Congress. He suggested to organise it in Cairo in 1907 or in 1908. He used different means for the propaganda of his idea. Particularly, he sent letters to

famous personalities from the Muslim world asking them to support the Congress. That idea was approved in many Muslim regions. However, due to some objective causes the proposed Congress did not take place. To Nadir Devlet, the main cause of its failure was that the Ottoman empire did not support that idea (Devlet 1988, 110). The idea of the World Islamic Congress did not leave Ismail Gasprali till the end of his life.

Ali bey Huseynzadeh

Ali bey Huseynzadeh (1864-1940) is considered to be the founder of the political Pan-Turkism. For the first time among all Pan-Turkists he began to defend the idea on the political unification of the Turkic peoples. In 1905 in the Baku paper “Hayat” Huseynzadeh put forward the motto “Turkification, Islamization, Modernization“. By this motto he meant to be inspired by Turkish life, to worship God in accordance with the Muslim religion and to adapt present-day European civilisation (Heyd 1950, 149). This motto became the political slogan of Pan-Turkism. Later it was systemized by Ziya Gokalp.

Unlike Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism Pan-Turkism was a national movement. Its primary goal was to overcome the socio-economic backwardness of the Turkic peoples, to promote their development. It paid a special attention to the development of the national-ethnic values of the Turkic peoples. As a representative of Pan-Turkism Huseynzadeh introduced the notion “Turan” in 1892. This notion was regarded by him as a symbol of the cultural unity of all Turkic peoples. To Huseynzadeh, national culture which includes language and religion as its integral parts is the fundament on which all Turkic peoples should be united. However, there were some hostile external forces impeding this unification . In the past these forces succeeded in separating the Turkic peoples from each other, in dividing them into different ethnic groups- the Crimean Tatars, the Caucasian Tatars, the Caucasian Tatars, Uzbeks, Kirgizs etc. Therefore, Huseynzadeh believed that the first condition of the renaissance of the Turkic peoples was that they should have realized their belongness to the Turkic culture. The question on the ethnic history of the Turkic peoples was very complicated one. There were different opinions on this question among scholars. Huseynzadeh in his work “Who are Turks and which peoples are Turkic ones?” notes that even some turkists who are admiring with Turkism can not define who are Turks and which peoples are Turkic ones? They dont know that Uzbeks, Kirgizs, Bashkirds are Turkic peoples (Huseynzadeh 1997, 210). He criticizes the newspaper “Turk” that was issued in Cairo in the beginning of the XX century for its identifying the Crimean, Orenburg and Kazan tatars as non-Turkic

peoples. In this work Huseynzadeh treating to the investigations of the Western European and Russian turkologists proves that the Crimean, Kazan, Orenburg Tatars as well as Uzbeks, Kirgizs etc. belong to Turkic peoples.

It should be noted that in the end of the XIX and the beginning of the XX centuries the question on ethnic identity of Turkic peoples who were under alien domination was very urgent one. That question was also urgent for the Azerbaijani people. At that time they were under domination of two alien cultures – Russian and Persian ones. The publication of the above mentioned work in the newspaper “Hayat” on June 10, 1905 promoted spreading ideas of political Turkism among the Azerbaijani people.

Thus, according to Huseynzadeh, association by Turks of their ethnic identity with the Turkic culture is the first goal of the Pan-Turkism. The formation of the common literary language of the Turkic peoples who talked in different dialects is its second goal. Huseynzadeh suggested to create the common literary language on the base of the Ottoman dialect.

Islamization is the second integral part of the Huseynzadeh’s conception of the national revival. He believes that Islam is an essential element of the national culture of the Turkic peoples. However, Huseynzadeh like other prominent Muslim intellectuals is worried by the fact of the socio-economic, scientific-technological and political backwardness of the Muslim world. He also reject opinions which regard Islam as the main cause of the backwardness . He notes that different religious sects, separated the Turkic peoples from each other. But Islam united them and promoted their socio-economic, political and cultural development. He criticises the practice of division of Muslims into Sunnis and Shiis. He notes that modern science and Islam are compatible. He believes that Islam in the interpretation of the fanatic clergymen is presented as a dogma as contradicting to reason, science. Therefore he suggests to fight against such interpretators and to apply a rationalistic approach in studying Islam. To him, Islam being an integral part of the national culture can play an important role in the process of awakening of national consciousness and national revival. Islam in his interpretation is the national religion which can promote the revival of the Turkic peoples. As it was noted above Huseynzadeh with Gasprali, Topchibashov, Agaoglu, Akchura and others intellectuals took active part in the creation of the political party “The unity of Muslims” as well as in the organization of its Congresses.

Despite on the Muslim world’s being backward in the field of socio-economic development Huseynzadeh was an optimist concerning its future. He believed that the Muslim world will overcome its backwardness and will

leave behind the developed European states. He was sure that the future progress of the Muslim world is connected with the acceptance of achievements and values of the modern Western civilisation. Therefore, modernisation, i.e. acceptance of values the modern Western civilisation is the third integral part of its conception of the national revival.

Identifying modernisation with the acceptance of achievements and values of the modern Western civilisation Huseynzadeh takes the typical Pan-Turkist position. Particularly, unlike Ottomanists he notes the necessity to take into consideration peculiarities of the national culture in the process of the acceptance of all values and achievements of the modern Western civilisation. He warns about dangers of the blind imitation of the West. He considers, that when a Turk loses his national, cultural and literary “Self” and accepts values of the French culture, it is not a victory of the Turkic culture, but that of French culture (Qarayev 1996, 4). Considering culture as a basis of the national and religious identity Huseynzadeh notes the necessity to keep it from destructive influence of the Western civilisation. He notes: “We want to achieve a progress in the frameworks of Turkism and Islam. We want other peoples assessing our achievements to say: “Turks and Muslim succeeded very much in their socio-economic development, but not to say – Turks and Muslims are imitating the French people” (Qarayev 1996, 5).

What is the content of the conception of modernisation of Huseynzadeh? Which achievements and values of the Western civilisation should be accepted? Huseynzadeh in his “Kasablanka tragedy and the Ottoman–Iran comedy” notes: “We need to treat to the literature of Europeans, to their industry, science, enlightenment, scientific discoveries, but not to themselves. We want the Muslim world to take their brains, but not to be dissolved in their stomach”. Huseynzadeh believes that the Muslim peoples did not understand that truth. And it resulted in their being backward in the field of socio-economic development. As a case he treats to the Kasablanka tragedy that took place on June 30, 1907. During that tragedy the French crushed the revolt of the Muslims in Kasablanka and incorporated Morocco to the French protectorate. Analysing that tragedy Huseynzadeh concludes that it was a consequence of the historical events of the XVI century when the Arabs concentrated their attention exclusively on the theology and rejected scientific achievements of Europe. It led the Muslim peoples to fanaticism. However, the Christian states promoted the development of science and industry. Speaking about the significance of modernisation i.e. that of borrowing values of the modern Western civilisation Huseynzadeh does not show its concrete

ways. As a representative of political Pan-Turkism he pays much attention to the problems of the revival of the national cultural values.

Yusif Akchura

Yusif Akchura (1876-1935) as a representative of political Pan-Turkism presented his main political ideas in the work "Uc tarz-i siyaset" ("Three policies") (Akchura 1997). It was one of the most fundamental theoretical works of political Pan-Turkism. The work was published in the newspaper "Turk" in Cairo in 1904. Only in 1912 it was re-printed in Istanbul.

As it is seen from the title of the work Akchura makes a comparative analysis between three political doctrines – Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism –with the aim to define the efficiency each of them for the revival of the Ottoman state. Analyzing the political doctrine of Ottomanism Akchura rejects its desire to create an Ottoman nation through assimilating and unifying the various nations subjected to Ottoman rule (Akchura 1997). He notes that around the beginning and the middle of the XIX century the given policy was considered to be a preferable and practicable for the Ottoman dominions. In the XIX century Europe because of the influence of the French revolution the idea of nationalism accepted as the basis of nationality the French model. The French model of nationality was based on principle of conscience rather than that of descent and ethnicity (Akchura 1997). Napoleon the Third, the apostle of creating nations according to the French principle of the plebiscite, was the most powerful supporter of the Ottomanist conception of nation. "However, when Napoleon and the French empire fell in 1870-1871 which symbolized the victory of the German interpretation of nationality, that of assuming ethnicity as the basis of nationality, which, I believe, is closer to reality, the policy of Ottoman unity lost its the only powerful supporter – Akchura notes. He believes that the formation of a nation is very long historical process in which cultural and ethnic factors play the most crucial role. Therefore, he calls the desire of Ottomanism to create a new nation via ignoring cultural and ethnic factors as utopian. It should be noted that the given idea was supported neither by Ottoman Turks , who did not want to lose the status of the dominant nation nor by Muslims, who opposed the principle of legal equality between Muslims and non-Muslims; nor by non-Muslims who did not desire to forget their cultural past and who fought for their national liberation. There were also some external obstacles in the way of the creation of the Ottoman unity from different national groups. Russia, the Balkan states and the majority of

the Western European states did everything to prevent the strengthening of the Ottoman empire.

Characterising the political doctrine of Pan-Islamism Akchura notes that although the bringing into being of the Muslim commonwealth will be stronger than that of the Ottoman nation, but the given policy will cause the enmity between Muslim and non-Muslim population of the Ottoman empire. As a result the Ottoman state will become weaker. Furthermore, there were some external forces creating obstacles in the way of the policy of Pan-Islamism. The overwhelming majority of the Muslim states are under the domination of the Christian states, on the one hand, and the overwhelming majority of the Christian states have as their dominions some Muslim regions, on the other hand. These Christian states will never let their Muslim subjects' rapprochement with a foreign force even such rapprochement will have cultural, non-political meaning. These states will not support the political doctrine of pan-Islamism.

At last, Akchura analyses the political doctrine of pan-Turkism (*tevhid-i-etrak*). To him, by such a policy all Turks living in the Ottoman empire would be perfectly united by both ethnic and religious bonds and the other non-Turkish Muslim groups who have been already Turkified to a certain extent would be further assimilated. But the main service of such a policy would be to unify all the Turks who, being spread over a great portion of Asia and over the Eastern parts of Europe, belong to the same language groups, the same ethnicity and mostly the same religion (Akchura 1997). Thus, Akchura notes that there would be created a greater national and political unity among the other great nations, in which the Ottomans as the most powerful, the most progressive and civilised of all Turkish societies, would naturally play an important role (Akchura 1997). However, this unity would lead to the division of the Muslims into Turks and non-Turks and thereby to the relinquishment of any serious relations between the Ottoman state and the non-Turkish Muslims.

Akchura, as an ideologist of the political Pan-Turkism gives his preference to the political doctrine of Pan-Turkism among available political doctrine. To him, nation is the main political force in the contemporary history, on the one hand, and religions are increasingly losing their political importance and force, on the other hand. Akchura notes that external obstacles towards the policy of Pan-Turkism are less strong in comparison with those working against Pan-Islamism. Of all Christian states only Russia opposes the policy of pan-Turkism. Concerning other Christian states they may even

encourage this policy because they will use it against the interests of Russia (Akchura 1997).

Thus, comparing Ottomanism, pan-Islamism, and pan-Turkism Akchura definitely rejects the policy of Ottomanism and considers it as an impracticable, utopian. Concerning the policies of Pan-Turkism-Islamism and Pan-Turkism he regards them as having equal weight. Although “Three policies” of Akchura does not give the definite answer on the question – Which of these policies is the most practicable and useful for the Ottoman state? – but analysing his scientific and political activity we can conclude that Akchura prefers the policy of Pan-Turkism.

“Three policies” was a valuable theoretical contribution to the development of the political Pan-Turkism. In this work the idea of the Turkic unity was presented as the most real and effective political way of development of Turkey. Western authors highly assessed the role of this work in the history of Turkism. According to Charles Hostler, “Three policies” of Akchura takes the role in the history of Turkism which is similar to the role of “Manifest of Communism party” of Karl Marx in the history of marxizm (Temir 1987, 33).

Conclusion

Some scholars agree with the opinion of Herminos Vambery (1837-1918), a Hungarian orientalist according to which the formation of Pan-Turkism was caused by external factors. These factors are divided by them into two groups: cultural and political factors. The first group of external factors, i.e. cultural factors is associated with the above mentioned scholarly works of the European orientalists of the XVIII- XIX centuries on the cultural and ethnic past of the ancient Turkic peoples. The second group of factors, i.e. political factors is associated with the ideological and political activity of the outstanding Turkic intellectuals such as Ismail Gasprali, Ali bey Huseynzadeh, and Yusif Achura. They all came to Turkey from Russia. Their merit in the history of Pan-Turkism is that they played very important role in the process of transformation of Pan-Turkism into political movement. However, the activity of these intellectuals should not be regarded as an external factor of the formation of the political Pan-Turkism. Because they all were culturally Turks and also they spent the essential part of their ideological and political activity in Turkey.

Ismail Gasprali, Ali bey Huseynzadeh, and Yusif Akchura played very important role in the process of formation of the political Pan-Turkism. These intellectuals take a specific place in the history of political Pan-Turkism

because the political orientation of their Pan-Turkism is seen not only in their socio-political activity but also in their scholarly and literary activity. Their political ideas promoted for further development of ideas of the political Pan-Turkism not only in Turkey, but also in Azerbaijan, and Central Asia.

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**İSMAİL QASPRALI, ƏLİ BƏY HÜSEYNZADƏ
VƏ YUSUF AKÇURANIN SİYASİ PANTÜRKÇÜLÜYÜN
FORMALAŞMASINDA ROLU**

XÜLASƏ

İsmayıl Qaspralı, Əli bəy Hüseynzadə və Yusuf Akçura siyasi pantürkçülüyün banilərindədir. Onların pantürkçü fəaliyyətlərinin siyasi istiqaməti türk xalqlarının siyasi hüquqlarının müdafiə etmələrində, xüsusilə bu xalqların ortaq ədəbi dilinin formalaşmasında, milli məktəblərin açılmasında, dünyəvi təhsilin inkişafında, savadsızlığa, sosial-iqtisadi və siyasi geriliyinə qarşı mübarizədə, cəmiyyətin siyasi həyatında fəal iştirak etməyə çağırışında, çar Rusiyasının yürütdüyü ruslaşdırma siyasətinin tənqidində, Qərb sivilizasiyasının elmi-texnoloji nailiyyətlərinin qəbul olunması ideyasının təbliğində özünü büruzə verirdi.

Açar sözlər: *pantürkçülük bir mədəni hərəkət olaraq, siyasi pantürkçülük, İsmayıl Qaspralı, Əli bəy Hüseynzadə, Yusuf Akçura, Türkiyə, Azərbaycan, Rusiya.*

д.ф.н., проф. Этибар Наджафов

**РОЛЬ ИСМАИЛА ГАСПРАЛЫ, АЛИ БЕЯ ГУСЕЙНЗАДЕ И
ЮСУФА АКЧУРЫ В ФОРМИРОВАНИИ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОГО
ПАНТЮРКИЗМА**

РЕЗЮМЕ

Исмаил Гаспралы, Али бек Гусейнзаде и Юсуф Акчуря являются основоположниками политического пантюркизма. Политическая направленность их пантюркистской деятельности проявлялась в защите политических прав тюркских народов, особенно в их борьбе за выработку общего литературного языка тюркских народов, открытие национальных школ, развитие светского образования, в борьбе с неграмотностью, социально-экономической и политической отсталостью тюркских народов, в

призывах к активному участию в политической жизни общества, в критике политики русификации, проводимой царской Россией, в пропаганде идеи заимствования научно-технических достижений западной цивилизации.

Ключевые слова: *пантюркизм как культурное движение, политический пантюркизм, Исмаил Гаспрали, Али бек Гусейнзаде, Юсиф Акчура, Турция, Азербайджан, Россия.*

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