

MUSTAFO CHOKAY – TURKISTAN ENLIGHTENER

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Abstract. This article analyzes the activities of Mustafa Choqay, a fighter for the independence of Turkestan, Prime Minister of the Turkestan Autonomous Government, and the establishment of the Turkestan Autonomy in Kokand. It also covers Mustafa Choqay's activities in emigration after the collapse of the Autonomy.

Keywords. Mustafa Chokai Germany, Turkey, Akmachyt, Kazakhstan, Berlin, Turkestan, Turkestan Autonomy, Petersburg, Tashkent, Russian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Turkish, French, English, German, Polish.

Mustafa Chokay is a person who has gained great prestige and high authority not only among Turkestan immigrants, but also in the world of oriental scholars in the West, especially in Germany and Turkey. The scholar achieved this attention not only because he once stood at the head of the Turkestan autonomy, not only because he saved many of his Turkestan compatriots from the clutches of death during the Second World War, but also because of his selfless work on the path to Turkestan independence, and because of his many profound and objective scientific works. Abroad, he is revered as "one of the great nationalists and patriots of the Turks."

Mustafa Chokai (Cho'qayev) (1886, Akmachit, Kazakhstan - 1941.27.12, Berlin) - fighter for the independence of Turkestan, Prime Minister of the Turkestan Autonomous Government. His father, Cho'kaibei Turgai dadkhoh oglu (d. 1912), was the head of a bolis (volost). After receiving his primary education in Akmachit, Mustafa Cho'kai studied at the Russian gymnasium in Tashkent (1902-10), graduated from the law faculty of St. Petersburg University (1917). He worked as a secretary for Turkestan affairs in the Muslim faction of the 4th State Duma of Russia (until February 1917). Later, he was in Turkestan as part of a commission headed by the Prime Minister of the Provisional Government, A. F. Kerensky. In 1917 In April, he returned to Tashkent from Petrograd and was involved in political events. Chairman of the Central Council of Muslims of the Turkestan region, editor of the newspaper "Birlik tugi" (Kazakh). Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Turkestan Autonomous Government (1917-18), Prime Minister (from January 1918). After the autonomy was abolished by the Red Army, Mustafa Chokai came to Tashkent and hid from the Bolsheviks.

Then in Tiflis he published the newspapers "Yangi Duny" and "Shafaq" for Muslims. In February 1919, he addressed a special memorandum to European countries, calling on them to support the struggle of the independence fighters in Turkestan and overthrow the Bolshevik regime. M.Ch. lived in emigration,

participated in various international conferences, and contributed articles to the press. In particular, in the article "National Struggle in Turkestan" (Paris, 1923), he indicated the tasks of the country on the path to independence. In the work "The Press Movement in Turkestan" (London, 1928), he emphasized that this movement was a national struggle for independence.

Mustafa Chokai wrote many articles and books on the history of Turkestan in the 20th century in Russian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Turkish, French, English, German, and Polish. The book "1917, Fragments of Memory" (Berlin, 1937; in Uzbek) gained fame. This work was published as a separate book in Turkish (Ankara, 1988), Russian (Germany, 1989; Tokyo-Moscow, 2001), and Uzbek (Tashkent, 1992). The 2-volume book "Selected Works" (Almaty, 1998-99) was published in Kazakh and partially in Russian.

Mustafa Chokai was born on January 17, 1890 (the date of birth is given here in the old way) in the city of Akmachit. Akmachit is now the center of the Kyzyl Horde region. In the middle of the 19th century, this city belonged to the Kokand Khanate, and was considered a small fortress on its border. The Russian-language writer Anov, who lived in Almaty, described in detail the events of the occupation of this city by Russian troops in his novel "Akmachit". Cholpon also tells an anecdote about Akmachit in his novel "Night and Day". One of the heroes of the novel says to Naib to Miryakub: "... They told your Khudoyorkhan, "The Russians took Akmachit." Khudoyorkhan asked, "How many days' journey is that country?" He replied, "A month's journey." "Then I don't need such a distant country. "If you can, let him have it."...»¹

Before the revolution, Akmachit was famous for another reason - despite being a remote place, Akmachit produced many translators. It's better to let Mustafa Chokai himself speak on this matter:

"Among the cities within the Old Turkestan region, Akmakhit had some peculiarities... One of them, perhaps the most important, was that most of the translators who worked in this region came from Akmakhit. Not only in the Syrdarya region, but also in the cities of Samarkand and Fergana regions, Kazakh translators from Akmakhit served in the governor's and police offices... The city of Akmakhit became a place that produced secretaries and translators."...»²

In this way, Mustafa Chokai arrives in Kokand and continues his political and revolutionary activities. At that time, he was the chairman of the Regional Council of Muslims ("Shuroi Islamiya"). After spending some time in Kokand, he goes to Margilan to study the situation and learn about the mood of the people. Cities of Turkestan region such as Andijan, Tashkent, Samarkand, Shymkent, and Avliyo-ata are in close contact. On October 31, 1917, a group of Bolsheviks seize power in

¹ Cho'lon. Yana oldim sozimni. G'afur G'ulom nomidagi Adabiyot va san'at nashriyoti, Toshkent—1991, 144-bet.

² Mustafo Cho'qay. «1917 yil xotira parchalari». Anqara. yosh Turkiston nashriyoti — 1988, 16-bet.

Tashkent and proclaim Soviet power in Turkestan. The political situation in the region takes on an extraordinary character. In such conditions, the Regional Council of Muslims also intensifies its activities.

The peasants were not left behind either: “In order to actively and decisively stand on the side of the working class (that is, on the side of the revolutionaries, I mean — O. Sh.), three things were lacking:

- 1) ignorance of one’s own basic economic and political interests;
- 2) the organization necessary for activity;
- 3) insufficient understanding of the working class and the need to involve the peasants in an active struggle.”

And what about the national intelligentsia?

“The national intelligentsia went with the bourgeoisie after the October Revolution.”

So, neither the working class, nor the peasants, nor the intelligentsia took an active part in the implementation of the October Revolution. Now think for yourself — can an event that neither the workers, nor the peasants, nor the intelligentsia supported be called a “people’s revolution”? What would be the positive reaction of the people to it? Doesn't the evidence, admitted by the pro-Soviet scientist himself, clearly prove that the October Revolution was brought to Turkestan from outside? Well, that's true. The claim that the Kokand autonomy came into being contrary to the revolutionary will of the local people is just a fabrication. On the contrary, the evidence and documents testify to this. The autonomy of Turkestan fully corresponded to the deepest desires of the local people living here.

In fact, the establishment of Turkestan autonomy should be viewed as a result of the revolution. As is known, from its very first forms, the new government promised freedom to the peoples under Russian rule, recognized their right to self-determination, and even the possibility of secession from Russia. In addition, the head of the new government, V. I. Lenin, less than a month after the October Revolution, addressed all Muslim workers in Russia and the East. His letter contained the following words: “From now on, your traditions, your national and cultural institutions are declared free and inviolable. Organize your national life freely and freely, you have the right to do so... You yourself must become the rulers of your homeland. You must organize your life according to your own customs and traditions. You have the right to do so, because your fate is in your own hands...»³

In addition, the emergence of autonomy was also due to the fact that the new Soviet authorities, from the very first steps, made terrible mistakes in the field of national policy, indifferently violated the rights of the local people, and treated them in a chauvinistic manner. There is a lot of evidence to prove this. The first Soviet

³ «Sharq yulduzi» oynomasi, 1991, 3-son, 168-bet.

government formed in Turkestan after the October Revolution did not include a single representative of the local people. Even in the composition of the Central Committee of the Turkestan Communist Party, local people were not given a place at the initial stage. Some employees of the revolutionary leadership did not hesitate to make insulting remarks about the local people at various meetings and conferences during 1917-1918. For example, one of the members of the authorities in Turkestan, K. Ya. Uspensky, in his speech at the congress of regional Soviets in January 1918, said: "Comrade Muslims! Know that we are your big brothers. You are small and, understandably, you must obey us.»⁴

As a result of such discrimination and humiliation, on December 11, 1917, the Extraordinary Fourth Congress of the Muslims of the country declared the autonomy of Turkestan. Therefore, autonomy came to the fore not because of the "attack of a handful of conspirators", but as a result of the long-standing desires of the local people, as a product of the socio-political situation during the October Revolution. It came to the fore, and soon it was crushed by the Bolsheviks.

The repression of civilians began in Kokand on February 17. According to research by pro-Soviet historians, Kokand was in flames for three days at that time. The new authorities gave the Dashnaks full freedom to plunder Kokand. More than 10,000 people were killed in Kokand alone. The massacre did not end there. In the first half of 1918, 4,500 people were killed in Margilan. In the process, 180 villages were burned down. Thousands of families were left homeless and homeless.⁵

So, the Fergana Valley was covered in blood and turned into a wasteland from the beginning of 1918. It was impossible for any honest person who saw this not to be horrified, to seize the opportunity, to cry out, "Beautiful Fergana, what has happened to you?" At the same time, it was natural for a movement against these evils - a rebellion - to arise, and for the people to rise up, saying, "One head, one death!"

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