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POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF ENVER PASHA IN THE TURKESTAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Abstract

The political and ideological influence of the National Liberation Movement and the young turks movement in Turkestan is reflected in the continuity of their program documents, principles of political struggle, and propaganda work. And the interaction from idea to concrete action can be seen in the analysis of the following issues. First, the direct participation of representatives of the young turks led by Enver Pasha in the basmachi movement, which is considered the armed stage of the Turkestan national liberation movement; secondly, the attempts of Turkestan figures to provide political leadership to the basmachi movement. The interaction of the two movements through these factors is determined in our research work. Enver Pasha had a special place and role in the Turkestan national liberation movement. Another important event that changed the course of the national liberation movement was the arrival of Enver Pasha in Turkestan. In general, the analysis of Foreign, including Turkish, Central Asian historiography shows that the assessments of Enver Pasha's place and role in history are contradictory and contradictory. In this regard, the views on his work in the Turkestan national liberation movement are expressed. Based on the results of our research, we can conclude that Enver Pasha is the instigator of the armed period of the Turkestan national liberation movement.

Keywords: Turkey, Central Asia, Turkestan, Bukhara, Enver Pasha, Soviet power, national liberation movement

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ТҮРКІСТАН ҰЛТ-АЗАТТЫҚ ҚОЗҒАЛЫСЫНДАҒЫ ЭНВЕР ПАШАНЫҢ САЯСИ ҚЫЗМЕТІ

Аңдатпа

Түркістандағы ұлт-азаттық қозғалысы мен жастүріктер қозғалысының саяси, идеялық ықпалындағы олардың бағдарламалық құжаттары, саяси күрестегі ұстанған қағидалары, жүргізген үгіт-насихат жұмыс-тарының сабақтастығынан аңғарылады. Ал идеядан нақты іс-әрекетке ұласқан өзара ықпалдастықты мынадай мәселелерге талдау жасау барысында көз жеткізуге болады. Біріншіден Түркістан ұлт-азаттық қозғалыстың қарулы кезеңі болып саналатын басмашылық қозғалысқа Энвер паша бастаған жастүріктер өкілдерінің тікелей қатысуы; екіншіден түркістандық қайраткерлердің басмашылық қозғалысқа саяси басшылық жасау әрекеттері. Осы факторлар арқылы екі қозғалыстың ықпалдастығы зерттеу жұмысы-мызда айқындалады. Түркістан ұлт-азаттық қозғалысындағы Энвер пашаның орны мен рөлі ерекше еді. Ұлт-азаттық қозғалыстың бағытын өзгерткен тағы бір маңызды

оқиға, ол Энвер Пашаның Түркістанға келуі болды. Жалпы, шетелдік, соның ішінде Түркиялық ортазиялық тарихнамаға жасалған талдаулар көрсеткендей Энвер Пашаның тарихтағы алар орны мен атқарған рөліне берілген бағалар бір-біріне кереғар, қайшылықты сипатта болып келеді. Ал оның Түркістан ұлт-азаттық қозғалысындағы атқарған қызметі туралы көзқарастар да осы сарында айтылады. Біз зерттеуіміздің қорытындысы бойынша Энвер Паша- Түркістан ұлт-азаттық қозғалысы қарулы кезеңінің дем берушісі деген тұжырым жасауға болады.

Кілт сөздер: Түркия, Орта Азия, Түркістан, Бұхара, Энвер паша, Кеңестік билік, ұлт-азаттық қозғалыс.

Бұл зерттеу жұмысы Қазақстан Республикасы ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігінің Ғылым комитетімен қаржыландырды. (Грант № AP19676634)

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ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ ЭНВЕР-ПАШИ В ТУРКЕСТАНСКОМ НАЦИОНАЛЬНО-ОСВОБОДИТЕЛЬНОМ ДВИЖЕНИИ

Аннотация

Политическое и идеологическое влияние национально-освободительного движения Туркестана и движения младотурков нашло отражение в их программных документах, принципах, которых они придерживались в политической борьбе, преемственности их пропагандистской работы. А взаимодействие от идеи к конкретному действию можно увидеть при анализе следующих вопросов. Во-первых, непосредственное участие младотурков во главе с Энвер-пашой в басмаческом движении, являющимся вооруженным этапом туркестанского национально-освободительного движения; во-вторых, попытки туркестанских лидеров обеспечить политическое руководство басмаческим движением. Через эти факторы и определяется взаимодействие двух движений в нашем исследовании. Влияние и деятельность Энвер-паши занимает особое место в туркестанском национально-освободительном движении. Еще одним важным событием, изменившим направление национально-освободительного движения, стал приезд Энвер-паши в Туркестан.

В целом анализ зарубежной, в том числе турецкой, среднеазиатской историографии показывает, что оценка места и роли Энвер-паши в истории того периода довольно противоречивы. В статье также высказывается мнение о его значении в туркестанском национально-освободительном движении. По результатам нашего исследования можно сделать вывод, что Энвер-паша стал вдохновителем туркестанского национально-освободительного движения, инициировав генезис его вооруженного периода.

Ключевые слова: Турция, Средняя Азия, Туркестан, Бухара, Энвер-паша, советская власть, национально-освободительное движение.

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Introduction. Enver Pasha arrived in Bukhara on November 8, 1921. There was no limit to the joy of the people when they heard that he was coming to Turkestan. During the 23 days spent in Bukhara, Enver Pasha, who was not interrupted by the people in front of him, aroused the hopes of the public. After all, Turkestan could get rid of this political turmoil only with the arrival of Enver Pasha. Enver Pasha arrived in Bukhara on October 20, 1921. Next to him are 2 Turkish officers Haji Sami-Bey and Abdul Kadir Muhiddin-beybolgan. Enver Pasha, who made a short stop in Bukhara, went to Eastern Bukhara on November 9 and joined the joint of Molla Nafis kurbash in the vicinity of the city of Karshi and took over its leadership. Thus, on November 9, 1921, Enver Pasha announced his joining the National Liberation Movement [1, p.54]. When Enver Pasha arrived in

Turkestan, the national liberation struggle was widespread in Eastern Bukhara. Most of the basmati forces in eastern Bukhara were led by Ibrahim Lakaili, a confidant of the Emir of Bukhara. On the one hand, Enver Pasha, who came to Turkestan to give freedom from colonial rule, did not know Turkestan well enough. Even Turkish officers, such as Haji Sami, near him, could not give him the correct information [2, p.48]. For example, in an unsigned definition, Abdurrauf Fitrat, one of the leaders of the jadids in Turkestan, was described as cunning, Mahmoud Khoja Behbudi as a person of civil courage, Sadullah Khoja as a jealous person, and Abidjan Mahmud as a liar [3, p.49].

Enver Pasha, however, seems to have found all the qualities that can win in Turkestan. In any case, Enver Pasha, as a liberator from the colonial rule, received a special gift from the Turkestan people. He was the son-in-law of Sultans and caliphs and a hero of the liberation struggle. In addition, Enver Pasha was a skilled and experienced soldier and commander-in-chief of the Ottoman army. These data, which we used in our research, allow us to consider from a new angle the activities of Enver Pasha, who gave a powerful impetus to the national liberation movement in Turkestan.

Materials and methods. The relevance of our research is determined by the problems of generalization and further development of historical experience of modern political cooperation between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Turkey. It should be noted that the historical ties between the states of Turkey and Kazakhstan date back to ancient times, and in the late XIX-early XX centuries, this relationship reached a new quality. The national-democratic idea raised by the youth movement, which laid the foundation for the collapse of the Ottoman empire and the formation of a New Republic of Turkey, went beyond the regional framework and spread to other countries, including Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Turkmens living in Central Asia. This process testifies to the acquaintance of the Turkestan intelligentsia with the socio-political, religious and spiritual processes in Turkey, the existence of political and ideological ties between them [4]. In addition, during the armed period of the Turkestan national liberation movement after 1917, many Turkish figures led by Enver Pasha, Subhi participated in major historical events in the region, and one of these links was the long-term political repression (emigration) of Turkestan figures in Turkey, which led to the abandonment of Soviet power. The experience of these historical ties between the National Elite more than a century ago forms the basis of these ties today.

Turkish scientists were among the first to draw attention to the foreign historiography of the history of the Turkestan national liberation movement. Political figures M. Shokai, B. Hayit, V. Togan, who were forced to leave Central Asia under the repression of the Soviet authorities, made a great contribution to the formation and development of these directions of foreign historiography. Since the works of these people, who were direct participants in the National Liberation Movement at that time, are based on valuable memories of political contacts, they are still used as a valuable source in the research of Russian and European historians.

In these valuable studies, the rich experience of scientific analysis of the process of sovietization of Turkestan and the resistance of the Bukhara people to it has been collected. In the researches of these historians, critical conclusions have been formed about the one-sidedness, conjuncture of the Soviet science of history and the fact that ideology is more important than historical truth. 50-60s of XX century. 1917 in English in the US and UK. Many research works were published on the relations between the Kazan revolution and Turkestan peoples' relationship to it. The main source for these studies is 1920-1930. The works of P. Galuzo [5], F. Bozhko [6], T. I. Broido [7], Dervish [8] published in the journal «Life of Nationalities» and other publications, are widely used. At the same time, along with these authors who supported the Soviet power, the works of M. Shokay [9], Baymyrza Hayit [10] who fought against the Soviet power and 20-30 years. The works of other authors from Soviet regions other than Turkestan published in the European press were widely used. The work of J. Castagne (French archaeologist who worked in Turkestan) [11] is widely used as one of the important sources of British-American historiography. Similarly, 20 Major V. Bailey [12] who headed the influential diplomatic mission of the British government in Turkestan in Central Asia, was used as a valuable source, as many secret data on the subject were circulated. Similar studies were conducted by Kazakh historians. In particular, B. Baimakhanov [13] identified the combat role and military activity of Enver Pasha in the Turkestan national liberation movement, A. Turlybek [14] studied the activities of Enver Pasha abroad from 1918 to 1922.

In the course of the study, such general scientific methods of research as induction and deduction, historical-comparative, system-structural, theoretical knowledge of historical events and phenomena, socio-political activities of individual persons of the liberation movement were formulated. Political history requires maximum realism in the generalization of historical, political and socio-cultural arguments of the past, taking into account the diverse and contradictory state of political and ideological phenomena. Therefore, such features as the uniqueness of the research object, their relationship and internal dependence were taken into account. In our research work, we used a method of restoring historical truth through historiographical analysis that complements knowledge in traditional historical knowledge, refutes or confirms certain conclusions.

Discussion. Enver Pasha, completely unaware of the situation in Turkestan, makes strategic mistakes and establishes contacts with the former emir of Bukhara Alimkhan and his subordinate Ibrahim Lakaili. The Ferghana and Samarkand basmasters refuse to recognize the leadership of the chief vizier of the Emir of Bukhara, whom they hate. On the one hand, the Emir was also skeptical of the former leader (leader) of the young turk [3]. In this regard, Ibrahim Lakaili, the Emir's confidant, captures Enver Pasha, who came to meet him, and interferes with Pasha's actions.

Hearing that Enver Pasha was captured, Osman Hoca, after consulting with his entourage, refuses to do this, saying that taking military action to save Pasha would endanger his life. Thus, Osman Khoja, Ali Riza and Danial Beyler are sent to Ibrahim Lakaili and want to know his game. Ali Rıza Bey, who met lakaili, agrees to fight in solidarity against his enemies. Despite such actions by Osman Khoja, the members of the Bukhara government remain silent, paying no attention to this situation. The majority of government members supported the Soviet troops and the Bukhara Communist Party [15].

With the exception of Osman Khoja, Abdulhamid Arif and Kari Abdullah, who wanted to create an independent state by getting rid of Soviet hegemony, the young Bukharis did not welcome Enver Pasha's actions. Fayzullah Khojayev, who at that time served as prime minister in the government, and his comrades did not frighten the Russians, but considered ways to conclude an agreement with them. But the members of the government from the rich dynasty are hunting for the national liberation struggle, which means that they will fight wherever they win. Bukhar communists like Akchurin, along with the Russians, thought to oppose Enver Pasha. According to Zaki Validi pond, although representatives from all over Turkestan came when Enver Pasha called a common Congress, Bukhara intellectuals do not respond to this call. Pond attributes this to the fact that most young people are the children of believers and merchants, preferring political struggle rather than armed struggle [16]. Togan himself does not participate in this struggle, he offers Enver Pasha to leave Turkestan for Afghanistan. In a letter to Zaki Validi Togan Enver Pasha, it is stated that the Bolsheviks are ready to cooperate with the opposition Russian revolutionary movements, and accept proposals and demands if forced. It is also noted that Turkestan, which relied on the National Red Army, could get along with the Bolsheviks if the Soviet government decided to cooperate. It is said that if Enver Pasha intervened in this struggle, the Turkestan movement could turn into a pan-Islamist movement and cause the Russians in Turkestan to unite around the Bolsheviks in order to achieve their national goals [17].

Khoja was born in 1921, on December 10, when the Red Army commanders were invited to a cocktail party in Dushanbe, they were given a document stating that they had been handed over the weapons and ammunition depots of the Russian troops [18]. The old school building in Dushanbe has been cordoned off, and troops have been shown a document signed by their commanders handing over ammunition depots. However, when about 1,000 Russian troops in the old hospital building heard about it, armed clashes broke out in the city. In a difficult situation, Osman asked Khodja Ibrahim Lakai for help. Lakai's men, who had come to the rescue, returned after plundering the city. Osman Khoja, who was pursued by the Red Army on the one hand and Lakai's men on the other, goes to Koktas to save Enver Pasha and sets up his headquarters here to prevent the blood of his brothers from being spilled. It will be joined by new troops. At the same time, the King of Afghanistan, Amanullah Khan, wrote a letter to the ruler of Bukhara Alim Khan Ibrahim Lakai and saved Enver Pasha from captivity [19]. Thus, Enver Pasha, with all his troops under his command, attacked Dushanbe near dawn on January 22, 1922. Although the Russian troops are eager to leave the city, Pasha demands their surrender. The Russians leave the city and begin to flee. At this time, Enver Pasha's army will be joined by another group of 450-500 people. Pasha, who blocks the fleeing Russians in mintepe, defeats the Reds in this way. Among those who joined Enver Pasha's troops in this war was the Minister of Defense of the Government of Bukhara, Jadid Abdulhamit Arif.

Red Army units reinforced their attacks against Enver Pasha in June and captured Beljivan on July 20. Enver Pasha's troops remained on the defensive line near Beljivan, and he himself with 30 men retreated to the village of Obdora near Beljivan. Enver Pasha 1922 On August 4, he was killed in a battle in the village of Obdora, where he came to celebrate Kurban Ait [20, p. 39].

Hearing about the death of Enver Pasha, the jadidis grieved greatly and mourned him under the cover of black. In his poem «Beljivan», written in connection with this event, the jadidist poet Cholpan conveys his mood as «Beljivan, who painted history in crimson blood, painted the last hope of the people in blood» [15, p. 22].

The Bukhara people's Republican Government, made up of young Communists, is celebrating Enver Pasha's death with the Russians. In addition, 49 Soviet soldiers who took part in this battle will be awarded the Order of the Red Star of the Government of Bukhara.

Validi Togan, who was at the forefront of a secret anti-Soviet political movement in Turkestan, says national forces were in crisis after Enver Pasha's death. He plans to hold a congress of the Turkestan National Movement on September 18-20, 1922 y [21, p. 36].

In connection with this situation, Zaki Validi Togan writes that famous political figures such as Alikhan Bukeikhan from Turkestan, Turar Ryskulov, Akhmet Baitursynov, Mukhamedzhan Tynyshbayev, Munnavar Kary from Uzbeks and Khakimzade from Bukhara and Mirza Abdulkadyr Mukhiddin from Turkmenistan, Kakazhan Berdiyev, could not come to this Congress after being under the constant supervision of the Council [22, p.352]. For similar reasons, the number of congress participants is limited to 10-15 people.

The next issue is Enver Pasha's relationship with the Soviet Union. Due to the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, Enver Pasha decided to resign, and the leaders of the Ittihad and Terakki party, Enver, Talat and Jemal Bey, boarded a German submarine in 1919. will arrive in Berlin in January. In Berlin, Enver Pasha met Karl Radek, a Soviet Russian politician, and made contact with Moscow [23]. Radek negotiates with these leaders of the youth movement to work together against the British. Talat Pasha did not accept the offer, claiming that the Bolsheviks did not keep their promises to the Muslims and supported the chauvinist policy of the tsarist government. And Enver and Jemal Pasha in 1920. In the beginning he went to Moscow and was welcomed by high-ranking officials of the Soviet authorities [24, p.256].

Results. Enver Pasha came to the Soviet Union in 1920. In the summer of 1945, with the support of the Bolsheviks, he founded the Islamic Unity and Revolutionary Society (Islamic Union-Ihtilal Jamiati). In the east, the Bolsheviks had high hopes for the organization's efforts to use the opportunities of Enver Pasha against the British and to spread communist ideas among Muslims. 1920 Some Azerbaijani communists have criticized Enver's participation in Chicherin's invitation to the Congress of Oriental Peoples in Baku in August. Azerbaijan's People's Commissar for Education, Buniyatzade, says Enver Pasha is working with the German government to support German imperialism. In this regard, Enver Pasha asks for a word. The head of the Kurultai, Zinoviev Enver Pasha, was not allowed to read his speech, but was replaced by another man who thanked the organizers. recognizes the right to life at the time of its creation [15, p.128].

The arbitrariness of the Soviet authorities on the indigenous peoples is also seen in the experience of the Emirate of Bukhara. In September 1920, with the intervention of the Turkish Commission, the Bukhar People's Soviet Republic (BPSR) was established on the territory of the Bukhar emirate. As one of the examples of building a Soviet-style national statehood, we can see that this action was carried out by political cunning. With the financial support of the Turkic Commission, the organizations of the Bukhara Communist Party organized an uprising against the government of Amir Seyit Alimkhan and asked for military assistance from the government of the RSFSR. As a result of the Bukhara operation, the army of the Turkestan Front was defeated and the gold treasury of the Emir's government was sent to Tashkent.

Molotov, in his letter to Chicherin about this event, tells that during the revolution in Bukhara, their units were engaged in looting, after which many valuable items belonging to Bukhara were exported to Tashkent. This event spread throughout the East and undermined the dignity of Soviet power [25, p. 25].

During the revolution in 1920. In September, two governments were formed in Bukhara in the form of the All-Bukhara Revolutionary Committee, consisting of a single communist party, and the Council of People's Commissars, which was composed of representatives of national organizations together with the communists. The Bolsheviks made such a compromise in the formation of the government, because the prestige of the youth was much higher than that of the Communists. This situation has led to divisions and political instability among the national ruling elites of the People's Republic of China.

The Soviet government provided significant financial assistance to the Bukhara government through military intervention. Bukhara economy in 1920 then in 1921 to the middle of 4 billion rubles. investment, 1921 According to the union and economic agreement between the governments of Russia and Bukhara on March 4, the amount of financial assistance will be 2 billion tenge per month rubles [26, p. 245]. Neither the local government nor the people supported the Soviet reforms in the country. During this period of political turmoil, ie in 1922. In the spring, tensions escalated over Enver Pasha's move to Central Asia from an anti-Soviet camp.

Enver's arrival in Bukhara hastened the government's disintegration amid political turmoil. Myrza Mukhitdinov, chairman of the All-Bukhara Revolutionary Committee, sided with Enver Pasha. In a letter to the ambassador of the RSFSR to Afghanistan F. F. Raskolnikov, Zuckerman, a member of the Turkish Commission, who was directly involved in the Bukhara issue, said that Enver resisted the Soviet troops in the territory and demanded their voluntary withdrawal from Central Asia, as well as to allow Turkestans and Bukharians to control their own destiny [27, p. 15-16].

On March 19, 1922, in a letter from F.F. Raskolnikov to L.M. Karahan, Enver Pasha vigorously implemented the plan of a mass uprising in the region from the Caucasus to the Caspian Sea, and after the completion of organizational work in Eastern Bukhara and Fergana, Enver initially launched an uprising in some point of Turkestan, simultaneously with its expansion, an attempt to damage the railways by guerrilla attacks. In February 1922, with the support of the Afghan side, Enver Pasha's forces captured the city of Dushanbe and began to prepare for the attack on Bukhara.

Due to the current political crisis, the Prime Minister of Bukhara F. Khodjaev visits Moscow to take part in high-level meetings to discuss ways out of the difficult situation. Stalin himself talks to Khodjaev face to face. Returning from a visit to Moscow, he was confronted by a government rift in Bukhara. In his absence, the invaders reached the bottom of Bukhara, and Enver Pasha's men roamed the streets of the city. The emissary of Moscow in Bukhara, Ya.H. Peters, urgently reported to Stalin that half of the left-wing Communists in the Central Committee had abandoned the Council of people's commissars, and sent a telegram to him with several proposals for the implementation of Moscow's policy to curb the political situation. In the content of the Telegram, it is reported that a big mistake is being made by encroaching on the independence of the Republic of Bukhara and thereby driving the population against the Russians and finding an excuse for Enver's invasion [25, p. 150].

In Turkestan, Bukhara, and Khorezm, there were many proposals to pursue a policy of revolutionary reconstruction. On the contrary, the opinion of the leaders of the government of the Republic of Bukhara differed from the above. F. Khodjaev will analyze the political situation in Bukhara and on April 5 will send a letter to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs addressed to Karakhan. He, in turn, handed the letter to Stalin. In the letter, Khodjaev gave a true assessment of the invasion of East Bukhara, calling it the Enver movement, because Enver Pasha had the largest and most influential regular army among the leaders of the insurgents. He tries to dispel rumors about the invaders, saying that the main force of the insurgents is 3-4 thousand armed men, and the remaining 10-12 thousand are mobs. The second issue focuses on what needs to be done politically and militarily to overcome the situation. In his opinion, this shows how to launch economic mechanisms that can be done without difficulty and at no cost.

The third issue in the letter is the firm conclusion that the leadership cannot be eliminated only by military means and suggests measures for its peaceful settlement. In this case, due to the diversity of views of the Turkic Commission and local elites on the issue and the lack of clear information, Stalin sent G. Ordzhonikidze on a special visit to Tashkent on April 21 to study the issue of successful elimination of the aggression in Fergana and Bukhara [25, p. 151]. Ordzhonikidze arrived in Tashkent with an authority, in a telegram to Stalin on May 12, seeking an objective answer to Stalin's demands, he wrote: "The situation in Bukhara can be described as a nationwide uprising. The insurgency was caused by the incompetence, lack of authority, irreversibility of the current government and the looting of our units, which were not equipped with food and clothing. In order to save the situation, it is necessary to eliminate Enver as soon as possible, and preparations are underway for it" [27, p. 152]. From this conclusion, we can see that the professional revolutionaries, led by Lenin, focused on the method of eliminating their political opponents through terror. These data seem to point to the mystery of Enver's death in Belgium.

Conclusion. From the established historiographical literature about Enver Pasha, he is recognized as a complex person with many contradictions in his political views and actions. Analyses of foreign, including Turkish, Central Asian historiography show that Enver Pasha's assessments of his place and role in history are contradictory. Opinions about his role in the Turkestan national liberation movement are also expressed in this article.

If Enver Pasha had not been killed by the Soviets, if the Soviet army had not won on the Western Front and sent troops to Turkestan, the Tashkent and Ashgabat railways would have been completely closed by the end of August, and many Muslims in Khiva, and Bukhara would have sided with the Red Army [16, p. 351]. Velidi Togan claims that Enver Pasha is ready to give his life to save the Turkic nation. He was a real idealist and it was true that he was ready to die for the land of Turkestan. Everything turned out the way he wanted. His name will go down in the history of Turkestan and will be remembered forever. Validi Togan describes Jamal Pasha as the complete opposite of Enver. In 1921 Jamal Pasha Walidi wrote a letter to Togan from Kabul urging the publishers to negotiate with the Soviets. He then invited all of them to Afghanistan to unite to drive the British out of India. Thus, he is recognized among the publishers as a dreamer devoted to the idea of aggression. Jamal Pasha was also an idealist, but Enver Pasha's idealism was impeccable.

Based on the results of our research, we conclude that Enver Pasha was the instigator of the armed period of the Turkestan national liberation movement. In addition, along with the national liberation movement in Turkestan, representatives of the Kazakh national elite M. Shokai, S. Kozhanov, G. Birimzhanov, D. Adilov and others. It is obvious that we need to consider the person of Enver Pasha, who had a direct impact on the fate of the figures, in the history of the country.

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