

*K.K. Bazarbayev*¹, N.Gumus², E.Akdeniz³*

¹*PhD, Associate Professor of Khoja Akhmet Yassawi International Kazakh-Turkish University.
Kazakhstan, Turkistan, orcid.org/0000-0003-0058-2322*

E-mail: kanat.bazarbayev@ayu.edu.kz

²*Doctoral (PhD) student of Khoja Akhmet Yassawi International Kazakh-Turkish University.
Kazakhstan, Turkistan, orcid.org/0000-0001-7490-4801*

E-mail: nasuh.gumus@ayu.edu.kz

³*Doctoral (PhD) student of Khoja Akhmet Yassawi International Kazakh-Turkish University.
Kazakhstan, Turkistan*

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3261-3384>

E-mail: eren.akdeniz@ayu.edu.kz

ISSUES OF THE CONTINUITY OF THE HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE YOUNG TURKS AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF TURKESTAN IN THE XX CENTURY

Abstract

The idea of creating a developed state united the national liberation movements in Turkey and Turkestan, despite the similarities and differences in their development. These movements can be considered as a movement that seeks to preserve respect for their homeland, respect for human rights, freedom of cultural development, the solution of the agrarian problem, to enter the world arena, to establish economic cooperation with European and Asian countries. The Turkestan national liberation movement has become an international phenomenon in nature, content and influence, not limited to the regional scale. After all, historical data show that the national liberation movements abroad had a direct and indirect influence on its ideological and organizational formation. Among the factors that directly influenced the impact of the youth movement. Historiographical analysis and factual evidence allow us to draw such a conclusion. Political and cultural ties between Turkey and Turkestan brought the idea of Turkish unity to the political arena in the twentieth century. The development of Turkish-Turkestan relations in the informal way in the early twentieth century influenced the development of these relations. The contacts of Turkestan intellectuals, who were educated in Turkey and went there for various purposes, will form the basis for the development of Jadid, Muslim and Turkic ideas.

Keywords: Turkey, young Turks, Central Asia, Ottoman Empire, Turkestan, Soviet power, economics, national liberation movement, Turkism, jadids.

*K.K. Базарбаев*¹, Н.Гүмүш², Е.Акдениз³*

¹*PhD, Қожа Ахмет Ясауи атындағы Халықаралық қазақ-түрік университетінің доценті
Түркістан қ., Қазақстан*

E-mail: kanat.bazarbayev@ayu.edu.kz

²*PhD докторант. Қожа Ахмет Ясауи атындағы Халықаралық қазақ-түрік университеті
Қазақстан, Түркістан қ.*

E-mail: nasuh.gumus@ayu.edu.kz

³*PhD докторант. Қожа Ахмет Ясауи атындағы Халықаралық қазақ-түрік университеті
Қазақстан, Түркістан қ.*

E-mail: eren.akdeniz@ayu.edu.kz

XX ҒАСЫРДАҒЫ ТҮРКІСТАНДАҒЫ ҰЛТ-АЗАТТЫҚ ҚОЗҒАЛЫСЫ МЕН ЖАСТҮРІКТЕР ҚОЗҒАЛЫСЫ ТАРИХЫНДАҒЫ САБАҚТАСТЫҚТАР МӘСЕЛЕСІ

Аңдатпа

Түркия мен Түркістандағы ұлт-азаттық қозғалыстардың өз дамуындағы ұқсастықтар мен ерекшелік-терінің болуына қарамастан дамыған мемлекет құру идеясы біріктірді. Бұл қозғалыстарды өз отанына құрмет сезімін сақтауға, адам құқықтарының сақталуы, мәдениеттің дамуына еркіндікті қамтамасыз етуге, аграрлық мәселені шешуге, әлемдік аренаға шығуға, Еуропа және Азия елдерімен экономикалық ынтымақтастық орнатуға ұмтылған қозғалыс деп бағалауға болады. Түркістан ұлт-

азаттық қозғалысы аймақтық көлеммен шектелмей сипаты, мазмұны және ықпал-әсері бойынша халықаралық құбылысқа айналды. Өйткені, оның идеялық және ұйымдық қалыптасуына шет елдердегі ұлт-азаттық қозғалыстардың тікелей де жанама да ықпалы болғандығы тарихи деректер айғақтап отыр. Тікелей ықпал еткен факторлардың қатарында жастүріктер қозғалысының ықпал-әсерін бөліп айтуға болады. Тарихнамалық талдаулар мен деректік, дәйектік айғақтар осындай тұжырым жасауға мүмкіндік береді. Түркия мен Түркістанның саяси-мәдени байланыстары XX ғ. бас кезінде түркілік бірлік идеясын саясат сахнасына шығарды. XX ғ. басындағы Түркия мен Түркістан байланыстарының бейресми емес жолдармен дамуы осы қатынастар дамуына өз әсерін тигізді. Түркияда білім алған, онда түрлі мақсаттармен барған Түркістандық зиялылардың байланыстары жәдитшілік, мұсылмандық және түрікшілдік идеялардың дамуына негіз қалады.

Кілт сөздер: Түркия, жастүріктер, Орта Азия, Осман империясы, Түркістан, Кеңестік билік, экономика, ұлт-азаттық қозғалыс, түрікшілдік, жәдиттер.

Базарбаев К.К.¹, Гүмуш Н.², Акдениз Э.³

¹PhD, доцент Международного казахско-турецкого университета имени Ходжи Ахмеда Ясави, Туркестан, Казахстан

E-mail: kanat.bazarbayev@ayu.edu.kz

²PhD докторант Международного казахско-турецкого университета имени Ходжи Ахмеда Ясави, Туркестан, Казахстан

E-mail: nasuh.gumus@ayu.edu.kz

³PhD докторант Международного казахско-турецкого университета имени Ходжи Ахмеда Ясави, Туркестан, Казахстан

E-mail: eren.akdeniz@ayu.edu.kz

ВОПРОСЫ ПРЕЕМСТВЕННОСТИ ИСТОРИИ ДВИЖЕНИЯ МЛАДОТУРОК И НАЦИОНАЛЬНО-ОСВОБОДИТЕЛЬНОГО ДВИЖЕНИЯ ТУРКЕСТАНА В XX ВЕКЕ

Аннотация

Идея создания развитого государства объединила национально-освободительные движения в Турции и Туркестане, несмотря на особенности их развития. Эти движения можно назвать движением, которое стремится сохранить уважение к своей родине, правам человека, свободе культуры, решению аграрной проблемы, выйти на мировую арену, установить экономическое сотрудничество с европейскими и азиатскими странами. Туркестанское национально-освободительное движение стало международным явлением по своему характеру, содержанию и влиянию, не ограничиваясь региональным масштабом. Ведь исторические данные показывают, что национально-освободительные движения за рубежом оказали прямое и косвенное влияние на его идеологическое и организационное становление. Среди факторов, которые непосредственно повлияли на это, влияние молодежного движения. Историографический анализ и фактические данные позволяют нам сделать такой вывод. Политические и культурные связи между Турцией и Туркестаном в начале XX века вывели на политическую арену идею турецкого единства. Развитие неформальных отношений между Турцией и Туркестаном в начале XX века повлияло на развитие этих отношений. Контакты туркестанской интеллигенции, получившей образование в Турции и отправившейся туда с различными целями, составляют основу для развития джадидских, мусульманских и тюркских идей.

Ключевые слова: Турция, младотурки, Средняя Азия, Османская империя, Туркестан, Советская власть, экономика, национально-освободительное движение, тюркизм, джадиды.

Introduction. If we compare the Alash movement, which formed the core of the national liberation struggle in the Kazakh land, with the phenomenon of the Turkestan national liberation movement, "the national liberation movement in the Turkestan region was characterized by political diversity and social diversity. The Turkestan movement can be considered as an organized active action of political forces united in the struggle for freedom and independence in the region on the basis of the idea of national, Muslim, Turkic unity. We see that the government of Alashorda and the government of Turkestan autonomy have a common goal, a common character, complementary national, social, political phenomena in the national liberation movement [1, p.53] and their interaction. Now, the assessment of these two phenomena in terms of the impact of the ideas of the youth movement also allows us to draw new conclusions.

The first similarity was the dissatisfaction of the national intelligentsia of Turkey and Turkestan with the system of government. This protest mood was reflected in the specific actions that chose the tasks, directions and approaches to the modernization of society. For example, this can be seen in the desire of Turkestan Jadids, as well as young people, to legitimize Islam through religious reform. In doing so, they sought to introduce a new education system, promote new technologies in production, and justify and justify the enlightenment movement based on the principles of the Qur'an.

The youth approved all the measures taken, including the introduction of the constitution, with reference to the Koran and the history of Islam. The introduction of governing lifestyles in their press was justified by Muslim traditions [2, p.18].

This position is due to the fact that in Turkestan, as in Turkey, Islam has lost its true philosophical significance and has become conservative.

The second similarity is reflected in the program documents of the national liberation movement in Turkestan and the youth movement under the political and ideological influence, the principles of the political struggle, the continuity of propaganda work. The Ottoman idea of uniting all nations into one nation, the Turkic idea of uniting all nations around the Turkish nation and the idea of pan-Turkism putting the interests of the Turkish nation above other nations were not on the agenda of the political struggle in Turkey. Such a complex national issue is also reflected in the programs of Jadids in Central Asia in the form of uniting all ethnic groups in Turkestan. Although this idea seemed too simplistic, their national consciousness was closely linked to ethnic concepts. They clarified ethnic concepts with the terms «Nation», «Muslims», «Turkestans», «Turanians». According to them, the term «nation» means the Turkic-speaking and Iranian-speaking peoples living in Turkestan, Bukhara and Khiva. The concept of «Muslims» was similar. The term has taken on a religious connotation, meaning that Turkestan is a Turkic-speaking and Persian-speaking population. However, Jadids refer to the «Muslim community» as ethnic rather than religious.

Methods and materials. In the theoretical and methodological justification of the study of the topic, the authors relied on the achievements of modern historical sciences. 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. The study used a method of restoring historical truth through historiographical analyses that complement the knowledge of traditional historical knowledge, refute or confirm certain conclusions.

We see this research in the Central Asian scholar M. Behbudi's use of the term «Muslim» in conjunction with the ethnic terms «Russian» and «Jew» in his article «Bayuni Haqiqat» [3, p.71]. At the same time, the term «Muslim» is used in conjunction with the term «Christian» in a religious sense. In this regard, the Uzbek professor D. Alimova states: «Thanks to the Jadids, the concept of Islam has been transformed from a religious to an ethnic content. The consolidation of political ideas and progressive forces as the main condition for a successful struggle against colonialism has led to ethnic unity» [4, p.12].

The content of this issue was not considered at all in Soviet historiography. D. Alimova, one of the first in the history of Central Asia (Turkestan) to write this line as a separate concept, writes: The basis of their common interests the same and it was Turkism. This idea was a golden pillar of the youth movement, as well as the views of Turkestan progressives, who called themselves «National Progressives.» The reasons for the movements were similar. « First of all, we can compare the reasons for the emergence of these movements. In this regard, we can note the conclusion of the Central Asian scholar Z.H. Gabidullin, who first studied the history of the youth revolution: «The Turkish bourgeoisie could not develop freely for the reasons of foreign competition ». The national bourgeoisie, which began to form in Central Asia in the late nineteenth century, was able to significantly improve its position with the inflow of Russian capital into the region and its integration into the Russian economic system. On the other hand, the region became the raw material base of the empire, and the development of industries that produced only the raw materials needed for the metropolitan industry began to limit the opportunities of national entrepreneurs and oust local products from the market. Such a one-sided situation in the economy of Turkestan in Turkey in the form of England, France, Germany took a multi-vector direction, while in Central Asia (Turkestan) it was limited to a unilateral Russian direction.

In the course of this succession, the socio-political influence of the Jadid movement increased. This influence in the form of enlightenment was initially widespread among the urban population of the region. Prior to the First World War, the political documents of Turkestan Jadids identified the evidence of feudal backwardness and the struggle against colonialism in the region, and the idea of constitutional reform of the

institutions of power was established. At that time, the unification of the local peoples in the common struggle against foreign exploiters on a pan-Turkic, Muslim basis was strictly controlled and persecuted by the tsarist government.

Similarly, Turkish youth have supported all measures, including the introduction of the constitution, by referring to Islamic history. The introduction of governance in their press was backed by Muslim traditions.

This position is due to the fact that in Central Asia (Turkestan), as in Turkey, Islam has lost its true philosophical significance and has become conservative. Even in Turkey during the Kemalist period, Islam was used as an «ideological cement» [5, p.11].

«In Turkestan and Bukhara, the Islamic justification for modernizing society is stronger and more transparent than in Turkey,» he said. Examples of this are the brief historical works of Islam by the Jadids Mahmudhoja Behbudi and Abdrauf Fitrat, entitled «Mukhtasari Historical Islam». The commonalities and similarities of the movements in Turkey and Central Asia (Turkestan) stem from the issue of religious tolerance in their formulation. The leaders of this movement understood that restricting peoples on the basis of religion would not achieve political results. Although Turkestan was a colony of Russia, it was clear that allowing religious divisions between peoples would separate them from political unity, despite the differences between the Ottoman Empire and other regions that united many peoples. The youth understood that in order to successfully fight against the rule of Abdulhamid, they needed the support not only of the Turkish people, but also of other peoples in the empire. Therefore, the ideology of the youth movement focused on the support of non-Turkish peoples. The social structure of the Turkish youth and the Central Asian (Turkestan) national liberation movements turned out to be similar. The social basis of both movements was common. This situation was central to their political divisions and disturbed the common struggle. For example, the Unity and Development Committee split a group called the Free Thoughts Division, which accused the committee of violating the principle of national equality and favoring Muslims. The consequences of such divisions were reflected in the parliamentary elections.

The reasons for this similarity in the Jadid and youth movements were as follows. First, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the ideas of Turkism and Muslim nationalism as a Bukhara movement against the economic, political and cultural aggression of the Western powers became widespread and colonial.

One of the main features of the similarities between the two movements is that the youth movement had a significant impact on the Turkestan national liberation movement. It is known that the visits of Central Asian intellectuals and businessmen to Turkey are widespread. Many Jadids studied in this country. According to some archival data, 250 students from Bukhara studied in Turkey in 1913. The main feature of both movements arises from the social basis of its representatives. At the heart of the youth movement were members of the military class. Officers formed the leading and cultural part of society and defended the interests of the national bourgeoisie. Most of them were educated in Germany and took a Germanophile stance in foreign policy. The Turkestan, Bukhara, and Khiva Jadids, on the other hand, stayed away from the military. They are mainly the humanitarian elite. However, the common one-sidedness on both sides is clearly reflected in their actions [6, p.14].

The spread of the idea of youth in Central Asia (Turkestan) can be concluded in the following ways:

1. Educated in Turkey, lived there and witnessed the socio-political changes. Representatives of this group were M. Behbudi, A. Fitrat, G. Yunusov and others.

2. It spread through the socio-political activities of the youth movement, which came to Central Asia from Turkey under various circumstances. Prominent representatives of them are Enver Pasha, Subhi and others

3. It was spread through the activities of Turkestan figures who were educated in Russia and were involved in the All-Russian Muslim movement. Representatives of this group are Ubaydulla Khodjaev and others. The position of the Jadids on economic issues is also interesting. For example, they believed that the creation of new economic institutions should be aimed not only at improving the social situation of the population, but also be one of the key factors in achieving independence. The Jadids called on businessmen to unite to help the people out of the economic crisis as a way to achieve these goals [7, p.43]. The Jadids not only analyzed the causes of the agricultural crisis in the region, but also used every opportunity to find a way out and call on landowners to protect their rights.

Discussion. In many cases, they also began to take concrete steps to solve mature problems. For example, when the Provisional Government passed a law banning the sale and purchase of land, Mustafa Chokai visited Petrograd on July 27, 1917 and met with A. Kerensky. As a result of this meeting, the decision on Central Asia (Turkestan) was annulled, leaving the land in the hands of its owners and preventing it from falling into the hands of settlers [8, p.63].

Progressives have developed their own concept of economic development of the region. These ideas were advertised in Jadid newspapers and magazines.

Among those ideas is the protection of the political, national and economic interests of the local people of Turkestan. According to them, the country's economic independence was directly linked to freedom in politics, law and religion. For this reason, the Jadids, first of all, in connection with the land and its use, turned the water into the property of the people, the management of industry, agriculture, trade and construction in the hands of the Turkestan people. Establishment of production of necessary products for the region, construction of factories, development of new lands, increase of irrigated arable lands, orchards, etc. Offered to implement.

This view is shared by Mahmudkhoja Behbudi, a prominent member of the Turkestan national elite, in the post-October Revolution period. His outspoken opposition to the transfer of grain production to the state's food committees was fundamentally incompatible with the Bolshevik position. According to him, the market should be free, and grain should not be exported from the regions and districts, and there should be no monopoly on grain prices. Behbudi also demanded the repeal of the decree on the closure of private bakeries. According to him, before the transfer of land to state ownership, a statistical analysis of the condition of land and landowners was carried out, including the construction of mills, workshops, etc. State ownership should be stopped [9, p.19]. In general, Turkestan historians believed that the development of a democratic society is possible only in a free market economy [10].

Behbudi, who traveled to Turkey, Egypt and other Arab countries, recorded his impressions of those countries and analyzed the factors that contributed to or hindered their development. According to N. Boldauf, «Mahmudkhoja Behbudi writes in his memoirs with the intention that trade relations between countries on geography and trade will develop and travel links will be established» [11]. Behbudi himself was a private owner. Behaiddin, the owner of the Behbudiya Publishing House, ran bookstores in Samarkand, Bukhara, Kokand, Namangan, Tashkent, and Andijan [12]. He, along with other foreign cities, offered books published in Istanbul in bookstores.

Results and analysis. The results of the study show that there are many similarities in the formation and development of the Central Asian (Turkestan) and Turkish youth movements and national liberation movements. In general, the common laws that formed the basis for the development of national liberation movements were characteristic of both movements. The similarities between these two political movements are defined as follows:

1. The transformation of medieval social institutions into a deterrent in the Ottoman Empire and Central Asia (Turkestan). In particular, the backwardness of the education system is reflected in the obsolescence of traditional social and political relations, which is reflected in the medieval Ottoman regime that held the despotic rule of Abdulhamid II [13, p.49].

2. The basis for the emergence and formation of the two movements began with the ideas of the Enlightenment. As a result, the Enlightenment ideas became sharper in both movements. 3. In both movements, there were ideological continuities in the policy documents adopted by the political movements, which substantiated the arguments of the liberation struggle that formed the national ideas. Ideological continuity took place in the similarities in the structure of political organizations. For example, there are significant similarities among the political positions of the Turkish Unity and Development Party and the Turkestan Shuroi Islamiya movement, the Ahrar party and the Shuroi Ulema.

Political and cultural ties between Turkey and Turkestan at the beginning of the XX century brought the idea of Turkic unity to the stage of politics. This idea was the basis of the poems of not only politicians, educators, but also poets. Among the poets of Central Asia at the beginning of the century, one of the first to convey this idea was the poet Magzhan Zhumabayev.

In the poems "Prophet", "Kunshygys", "Turkestan", "Ural Mountains", Magzhan adds the idea of Turkic unity to the poem. In the poem "Prophet", he raised this idea of unity to the countries of the East as a slogan :

Dawn comes from the East - I come,
The sky is blue: I'm blue, too.
The face of the Earth is covered with darkness,
I give light to the earth, I give the Sun!
The bag is a black night. Sad heavy earth Psalm!
The bag is a black night. Son of a night.
There is a white gold single line in the sun:

I will come, I am the Prophet, the son of The Sun – [14, p.4]. It is a symbol of unity of the Turkic peoples in the poem "Turkestan". Turkestan is the door of two worlds,

Turkestan is the cradle of the Turkic people.
Born in a beautiful Turkestan region,

That the Turkic Tengri gave gift. He added with special inspiration [14, p.18]. In this poem, The historical place of Turkestan is written: "when many Turks move away, there is no black shanyrak left in the Kazakhs?" the Kazakh is determined by one of the heirs of the same male Turk.

In the poem "Ural mountain" by the Turkish poet, the Ural mountain is a symbol of the entire Turkic world.

One day your Lord was a Turk,
They were nomads
Turkic people were brave and tricky
Er Turk was the beauty of the steppe
And were free
When the bird of happiness stands on its head,
The foundation was strong, without wind, without sun [14, p.56-57].

Here, the poet says that "ER Turk" is a consolidated image of the entire Turkic world. What is the current state of these peoples, which were once the beauty of the steppe? Magzhan focuses on these political events and put them in the language of poetry. This concept of M. Zhumabayev, the participation of the Ottoman state in the First World War, its defeat and the suffering of the Turkish people in the war, was of great concern to the poet Magzhan Zhumabayev among the jadidists of Turkestan. The poet, who responded to the national liberation movement of his brothers in Anatolia and considered it in unity with the fate of his people, wrote in his poem "distant bauryrma":

My brother, who suffered greatly in the distance,
My brother faded like a snowdrop,
In the middle of a thick enemy
"I am the brother who shed tears over the lake [14, p.72-73].

The national liberation struggle started by Mustafa Kemal Pasha in Anatolia ends with a victory, despite various difficulties. The jadidists of Turkestan welcomed with great joy the unprecedented feat of the Turkish troops, who entered the war without funds, weapons and any training, the victory of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the masses who followed him. The national liberation struggle in Turkey had a strong impact on the jadidists of Turkestan. After all, the Government of the Turkish parliament, based on the national liberation struggle and the national spirit, was an example for the jadidists of Turkestan. The victory in Anatolia aroused the hopes of the jadids. They thought that we could win a major victory in Turkestan as well as in Turkey. We think that this Main article should have been written by the editor of the magazine M. Shokai. Mustafa Shokai, the head of the Turkestan mukhtariyat, was one of those who closely followed the course of the National Liberation Movement and provided spiritual support to it. Mustafa Shokai supported the National Liberation Movement and published a newspaper called "Shafak" ("Tansari"-B. K.). In addition, he wrote an article entitled "Anatolian letters" under the pseudonym, based on the data obtained as a result of his meetings with Kazim Bey, a representative of the National Army in Tbilisi. The American general, who also served as a representative of the Allied forces in Yerevan in those years, made a statement about Turkey and the pro-Turkish movement. Mustafa Shokai exposed these unfair slander on the pages of newspapers and gave a decent answer [15, p.36].

Conclusion. The connections of the Youth Movement with the Turkestan National Liberation Movement were also reflected in the specific actions of their individual representatives. An example of this is the actions of Turkestan figures such as Munavar Kari, M. Shokai, S. Lapin, Ubaidulla Khojaev, Z.U. Togan, and Turkish figures such as Enver Pasha and Subhi. Such personal connections established the continuity of political ties and the integration of the two movements.

As the results of the study show, we are convinced that there are many similarities in the formation and development of the youth Turkic movement and the Turkestan national liberation movement. In general, both movements were characterized by the general principles underlying the development of national liberation movements. The similarities between these two political movements are defined as follows:

1. To become a deterrent force of medieval social institutions in the socio-political development of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkestan Territory. In particular, the backwardness of the education system, the exhaustion of traditional socio-political relations, this position was reflected in the medieval power structures that supported the despotic rule of Abdul-Hamit II in the Ottoman Empire, and instead of updating the traditional society and outdated reactionary institutions of the colonial power of the tsarist government in Turkestan, with arbitrariness typical of the Russian Empire, manifested itself in the form of the creation of chauvinist, colonial structures.

2. At the heart of the emergence and formation of both currents were the ideas of enlightenment. As a result, in both movements, the ideas of enlightenment acquired an acute character with a national orientation.

3. Ideological continuity took place in program documents adopted by political movements, based on the arguments of the liberation struggle, which formed the national ideas of both movements. The continuity of ideas was evident from similarities in the structure of political organizations. For example, the political positions of the Unity and Development party and the Shuroi Islamia movement, as well as the "Ahrar" and "Shuroi Ulema" parties, have significant similarities. Despite these radical similarities, the youth movement and the Turkestan national liberation movement had unique roots. These differences are due to the fact that Turkey is an independent state and Turkestan (Central Asia) is a colony of tsarist Russia. In this context, the political goals of the two movements are reflected in the objectives and tactics and strategies for its implementation. While this issue is aimed at freeing Turkey from the influence of Abdulhamid II's despotic rule and the colonial actions of foreign powers, it is in the form of modernizing the medieval social structure in Turkestan and freeing it from the pressure of colonial rule. In this regard, the young Turks were able to boldly put on the agenda the idea of creating a renewed Turkish state instead of the Ottoman Empire. And this idea of the youth came true during the socio-political changes in Turkey. Under the political and military pressure of the colonial Soviet authorities, the leaders of the Turkestan national liberation movement boldly raised the idea of national statehood and independence.

It should be noted that despite the establishment of Soviet power in Turkestan, Turkey-Turkestan relations have not lost their new meaning. In the course of political relations between the Soviet government and Turkey, we see that concrete actions have been taken to influence the ethno-political processes in Turkestan. In this case, the issue around the ideas of Turkish and Muslim unity had been boldly raised. As a result, the Soviet government, through the policy of national state demarcation, dismantled the idea of Turkish unity and created states with the most limited political will, «socialist in kind.» As a result, the independence of the peoples of Central Asia (Turkestan) as a nation-state was postponed until the end of the twentieth century. It is known that the peculiarities of the two movements were significantly influenced by the level of historical, cultural and economic development of these countries and the international situation in these countries. At the same time, we can see from the historical data that there are many similarities in the national mentality of the peoples of Turkey and Turkestan.

In short, with the strengthening of Soviet power in Turkestan, the Turkestan national liberation movement, which is the collective name for the struggle of local peoples for independence, continued to weaken politically and ideologically. Now it was the turn of the Soviet authorities to decide the question of nationality in the national liberation movements. Although the Soviet government seemed to solve the national question of Turkestan through national-state delimitation, it removed the issue of state independence from the agenda. Thus, the ideas of the Turkestan national liberation movement became popular, the real influence of the youth movement in Turkestan became a part of history, and the realization of the idea of independence was postponed for a long time.

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