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SOME ASPECTS OF THE «BASMACHI» MOVEMENT AND THE ROLE OF ENVER PASHA IN TURKESTAN

The national independence movement, which swept almost every region of Turkestan from 1917 to 1934, was crushed with blood by the Soviet government. This word at different times took on different meanings. Etymologically, «basmachi» comes from the verb “pressure” or engage in “hooliganism”. Therefore, «basmachi» in translation from the Uzbek language means «bandit», «stop the road», «bully». Over time, this word was used to express the general anti-Soviet movement in Turkestan. For this reason, this movement, which occupies a very important place in the struggle for the independence of Turkestan, does not refer to a popular uprising, but to an armed struggle against Soviet Russia. The name «basmachi» first appears in Ferghana during the Russian Revolution. Similar actions are observed in tsarist times. The movement swept Turkmenistan, Bashkortostan and Crimea. The Bashkir people at one time called Basmachism the Khorasan revolution, that is «ayyar». The Basmachi did not touch the Muslims, but opposed the Russian troops and the establishment of Soviet power. After the development of cotton growing and the deterioration of the economy in Ferghana, the number of «basmachi» increased. Thus, this article sets the goal – on the basis of Turkish and foreign historiography, to carry out a comparative analysis of the «Basmachi» movement in Turkestan and to reveal the role of Enver Pasha in this movement.

Key words: Turkestan, «Basmachi» movement, Ferghana, national liberation uprising

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Түркістандағы «басмашы» қозғалысы мен Әнуар Паша қызметінің кейбір мәселелері

1917-1934 жылдар аралығында Түркістанның барлық дерлік аймақтарын қамтыған ұлттық тәуелсіздік қозғалысы Кеңес үкіметі тарапынан қанды жолмен бастырылды. Бұл сөз әр уақытта әртүрлі мағынаға ие болған. Этимологиялық тұрғыдан алғанда, «басмашылық» «қысым көрсету» немесе «бұзақылық» деген сөзден шыққан. Сондықтан «басмашылық» өзбек тілінен аударғанда «бандит», «жолды тосу», «қорлау» дегенді білдіреді. Уақыт өте келе бұл сөз Түркістандағы жалпы антисоветтік қозғалысты білдіру үшін қолданылды. Осы себепті Түркістанның тәуелсіздігі үшін күресте өте маңызды орын алатын бұл қозғалыс халық көтерілісіне емес, Кеңес Ресейіне қарсы қарулы күресті білдіреді. «Басмашы» атауы алғаш рет Ферғанада Ресей революциясы кезінде пайда болды. Осындай әрекеттер патша заманында да байқалды. Бұл қозғалыс Түркіменстан, Башқұртстан және Қырым жерлерінде де болып өтті. Башқұрт халқы бір кездері «басмашылықты» Хорасан төңкерісі деп атаған, яғни «айяр». «Басмашылар» мұсылмандарға қол тигізбеді, бірақ орыс әскерлері мен Кеңес өкіметінің орнауына қарсы шықты. Ферғанада мақта шаруашылығының дамуы мен экономика нашарлағаннан кейін «басмашылардың» саны көбейді. Осылайша, бұл мақалада түркиялық және шетелдік тарихнаманың негізінде Түркістандағы «басмашы» қозғалысына салыстырмалы талдау жасауды және осы қозғалыстағы Энвер Пашаның рөлін ашуды мақсат етілді.

Түйін сөздер: Түркістан, «Басмашы» қозғалысы, Ферғана, ұлт-азаттық көтеріліс.

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Некоторые аспекты «басмаческого» движения и роли Энвера Паши в Туркестане

Движение за национальную независимость, которое охватило почти каждый регион Туркестана в период с 1917 по 1934 годы, было кроваво подавлено со стороны Советской власти. Это слово в разное время принимало разные значения. Этимологически «басмачество» происходит от глагола «нажим» либо заниматься «хулиганством». Поэтому «басмачество» в переводе с узбекского языка означает «бандит», «пресекать дорогу», «хулиганить». Со временем это слово использовалось для выражения общего антисоветского движения в Туркестане. По этой причине данное движение, которое занимает очень важное место в борьбе за независимость Туркестана, относится не к народному восстанию, а к вооруженной борьбе против Советской России. Название «басмачи» впервые появляется в Фергане в период русской революции. Подобные действия наблюдаются и в царское время. Движение охватило Туркменистан, Башкортостан и Крым. Башкирский народ в свое время «басмачество» называло Хорасанской революцией, т.е. айяр. «Басмачи» не трогали мусульман, а выходили против русских войск и установления Советской власти. После развития хлопководства и ухудшение экономики в Фергане количество «басмачей» увеличилось. Таким образом, в данной статье поставлена цель – на основе турецкой и зарубежной историографии проделать сопоставительный анализ «басмаческого» движения в Туркестане и раскрыть роль Энвера Паши в данном движении.

Ключевые слова: Туркестан, «басмаческое» движение, Фергана, национально-освободительное восстание.

Introduction

Many of the «Basmachi» stacks established after 1918 and the most influential ones, the old Koroğlu grandmother and the heavy-headed village elders who did not have any contact with them, were sometimes educated and all of them were called «Basmachi». In this respect, the word «Basmachi» was used in the sense of «political gang» in Turkistan, or rather «gangs» representing the revolt of the colonial people against the cousins (Togan, 1981: 381)

Turkestan people who had armed struggles during Tsarist Russia and the Soviets had never called themselves «Basmichi». In the Russian political literature, the rebellion in 1916 and the national resistance movement in the Soviet-Russian period were shown as «Basmichi» (gangster, rogue). Those who carried out this movement have shown themselves as Islamic Soldiers, Muslim Fighters, Homeland Defenders, Islamic Defenders and the Military of Islam, Military of Turkestan. The national liberty struggle that started in the beginning of 1918 in Turkistan through the propaganda and writings of Soviet Russia was recognized under the name of «Basmichi» in Western Europe (Hayit, 1986: 273). Or it was named as «Korbashi» movement with a general name. Thanks to the writings of Joseph Castagne and Mustafa Chokay, after the 1930's, this

word was established in Western countries as a phrase that expresses the struggle for independence, apart from the meaning of mobbing and rogue. This article was published in 1999 at the Fourth International Atatürk Congress, where some reflections of the Basmach movement were made. In this article, the problem is highlighted from the perspective of foreign historiography and supplemented by some materials (Şahingöz, 2000: 699-718). This scientific study in Turkish historiography is considered in the context of comparison with the national liberation movement in Turkestan.

The Causes of the «Basmachi» Movement

Although the beginning of the «Basmachist» movement seems to have started with the reaction of the Turkestan to the Bolshevik conflict, it is possible to take it up to the revolt movements seen since the Russian occupation of Turkistan. A Soviet researcher named Ginsburg said, «... The Fergana people were rebelled against Russia many times in 1877-82, 1886 and 1916... These situations initially made the people, who had not forgotten the 1916 rebellion, hostile to the Soviets. This movement strengthened hostility between Turkistan and Russia. The destruction of the Hokand National Government by the Soviets was felt as an invasion by the people of Turkistan.

This movement started as a protection against it» supports this view (Yarkin, 1999: 42)

XX. The transition from Tsarist to constitutionalism in Russia at the beginning of the 19th century provided partial comfort among the Turks who lived under the domination of this country, and the Turks made visible developments in the fields of education and politics. For this reason, it is seen that the political activities among Turkestan Turks have increased compared to the past. Under the influence of Kazan Tatars from 1905 and finally from «Young Turks» from 1908, reformist and Turkist ideas penetrated Turkistan (Devlet, 1989: 144). In this environment in which nationalist ideas developed, the emergence of the First World War increased the political, cultural, social and economic pressure of the Russians on the Turkistan Turks. Although this revolt was bloody suppressed by the Tsar armies and Russian Kazaiks, the Tsarist regime in Russia collapsed and the republic was declared due to other reasons.

The Bolshevik revolution, which ended the Tsarist regime in 1917, initially viewed the Turks of Turkistan. They believed that the slogan of «Freedom for People, Independence for Nations», which was one of the important slogans of the Bolsheviks, would have their independence and determined their own destiny. With the help of tens of thousands of immigrants who were brought and armed with the decree, Russian military and civilian rulers, who struck the 1916 national rebellion with blood, were staying in Turkistan (Saray, 1995). Despite this situation, the 1917 conflict gave the opportunity to express the wishes of the Turkistanians. The societies, newspapers and other social activities that were founded with the freedom of the revolution were gathered around «Jadidism». Thus, a national movement was born in Turkestan. The «Alash-Orda» party in the steppes and the «Turkistan National Council» in the center of Turkistan emerged as two political organizations and later merged and established the «Turkistan National Union».

Founded in the city of Hokand, the center of Fergana, the Constituent Assembly declared the Turkistan National Mukhtar on 1 December 1917. On December 13, 1917, the Alash-Orda Government was established in the city of Semey in the Kazakh steppe. Both governments agreed to provide the Turkestan union. To demonstrate this, some members of the Turkistan National Mukhtar Government also served in the Alash-Orda Government (Cebeci, 1975: 29). In March 1917, a Turkestan Muslim Congress was held in Tashkent

and a national committee was established. An Islamic-Government was established for Turkestan in Hokand. After this government was disbanded in February 1918, at the end of 1919, the Red Army entered Turkistan starting from the Volga and ended the Hive Khanate in December 1919 and the Bukhara Khanate in February 1920 (Devlet, 1989: 145-146).

With the end of the Hive and Buhara Khanates, the Harezm and Bukhara People's Republics were established with the efforts of the Bolshevik Turks. But the nationalist Turks also waged their independence struggle against the Tsarist regime against the Bolshevik regime. In this way, this movement, which is called Literature, has started. It is not possible to talk about consensus among the «printers» in every subject. Broxup says that the «Basmachi» have no tangible ideologies, but he mentions that there are reasons that require them to rebel (Brxup, 1984: 6). Although the grounds of each «Basmichi» leader or group are different, the dissatisfaction with the Russian administration and the fact that some of them express national demands and become an independence movement over time show that it is based on various reasons. The causes of the «Basmachist» movement can be listed as follows:

1- The work of the Nationalist Turkish intellectuals after 1917 and encouraging the public about independence. These studies and incentives cause the spread of the idea and ideal of independence among the people.

The extraordinary, unprecedented anti-national and class-unrelated violence of the Soviet regime in Central Asia.

3- The hostile attitude of the Tashkent Soviet to the «Turkistan National Headman Government» declared in Hokand. As a result, he took Hokand and Margilan in February 1918 and eliminated this state.

4- The implementation of an unbelievable, barbaric genocide among the Russians.

5- The inevitable and even necessary self-defense reaction of the Muslim people against the anti-Muslim politics implemented by the Soviet power in Turkistan as a whole and without class difference¹.

6 – Economic scarcity and difficulty in all Turkistan.

7- Decline in cotton agriculture.

8- The hostile approaches of the Soviet power to Muslims and their possession to be captured.

9- The war that started between the White and Red Russians in Turkistan².

10- Accelerating the “punish the locals” practices implemented in the Fergana and Semireçe regions.

11- The fact that the Ottoman Empire was an ally with Germany fueled the hostility towards the Russians among the people.

12- The Russians colonization policies in Turkistan and partly the economic turmoil resulting from the expansion of cotton agriculture in the second half of the 19th century and the desire of the locals to take back the lands where Russian colonists settled (Lageard, 1987).

13- The disruption of the local economy against the competition of Russian industrial products.

14- As a result of the joint efforts of Russian immigrants and armed troops in 1916, they were unable to suppress the revolts of the Uzbek, Kazakh and Kyrgyz nomads, despite the massacre of nomadic tribes in East Fergana (Brxup, 1984: 3).

15- The social breakdown created by the harsh conditions of the First World War and the reaction to the Russian administrators in the region.

Although the Soviet writers use expressions to reduce the causes of the movement, they point out the national and religious qualities of this struggle from time to time and express that the carelessness and unnecessary pressures of the officials in the region have been caused (Lageard, 1987: 3-4).

“Basmachi” Movement in Fergana and its Transfer

The Turks, who wanted to take advantage of the liberal air that started in 1917, took an important path towards the national unity of Turkistan by uniting the two separate branches, the Turkistan National Council and the Ulema Society, in October and November 1917. In December 1917, the foundation of the Turkistan National Mukhtar Government was announced in Hokand. The government of the Turkestan Mukhtar Republic was entirely elected from the members of the Constituent Assembly sent by the people of Turkistan. It was supported by all the people of Turkistan (Çağatay, 1969: 16).

Mehmed Emin Bek, from the «Basmachi» around Fergana Margilan, and Kichkine İrgesh around Hokand were very famous. Mehmed Emin Bek joined the Hokand national government with the intention of working in the way of freedom and revolution after the national government was declared in Hokand and İrgeş after the establishment of the national government. Mehmed Emin Bek Margilan was appointed as the police director, and İrgeş was appointed as the head of the police and soldiers of the Hokand government. They had gathered their old arms friends around them.

These were the only military bases of the Hokand government (Togan, 1981: 388).

On January 31, 1918, the Tashkent Soviet decided to abolish the Turkistan National Government in Hokand and immediately withhold its members. On February 18, the red army militia and Armenian assistants surrounded Hokand and abolished the national government. He was abandoned by Hokand Korbashi on 23 February. İrgeş Bek retreated in the direction of Bachir-Okchu village. He wanted to reorganize his former agency and continue fighting the Russians. He was martyred with a Russian bullet on February 27. Katte Ergesh was commanded by his forces. The Korbashi retreated to the ridges of the Bachir mountains. They began to organize attacks against Russian centers in short intervals (Hayit, 1975).

The resistance movement that started in Hokand spread all over in 1918. At the city of Osh, Hal Hodja, Parpi Bek in Endican, Muhiddin Bek from Kipchaks near Navkat, Aman Pehlivan from Nemengan, Kürşimmet (Shirmehmet) from Margilan, and his brother Nur Mehmet Bek, Canıbek Kadı from Kyrgyz from Ozkend, and Rahman Kul Bek from Nemengan, joined Kuliya. These began to manage all Fergana except the cities and attack the Russian headquarters.

The raids made by the «Basmachi» were felt in the big centers of Fergana and even around Hokand. Before these gangs retreated, they destroyed the material warehouses, set the ginning factories on fire, and destroyed the Shurap mines, the Çemyon oil wells. The «Basmachi», who raided on the Sundays in Margilan, attacked the militia mail, attacked the state shops after receiving the weapons of the militia and returned with the spoils, the Celalabad supply center, surrounded by the «Basmachi», was looted and some Soviet officers were killed. While the Russian people in the villages migrated to the cities, the Russian colonies were leaving their fields. Cotton production was alarmingly declining, factories were closing, mining quarries left by miners were no longer working, and the material was destroyed by the «Basmachi». Mass arrests were made in villages and cities, and there were retaliations. The enraged people went to the ranks of the «Basmachi» (Castagne, 1980: 120).

Shir Mehmet Bek became the head and commander-in-chief of all Fergana «Basmachi» forces. Fergana under his command divided his mujahids into 8 continents. There was a Korbashi at the head of each continent. 1200 people at the disposal of Ergesh Korbashi, 5000 people in Mehmet Emin Bek, more than 3000 people in Hal

Hodja, 3400 people in Parpi Korbashi, 4500 people in Muhiddin Bek, 1800 people in Aman Pehlivan, Nur Muhammed Bek There were 3900 people, Canibek Korbashi had 5700 people. The total force of the «Basmachi» in the Fergana region was thus up to 28500 (Cebeci, 1975: 35).

Fergana managed to occupy all the important regions by the «Basmachi» until November 1919. They removed the Russian Soviet agencies in the Fergana Valley. Soviet administration in Tashkent; The Fergana region, which was officially present, dissolved the Soviet Executive Committee. On November 11, 1919, a Fergana Revolutionary Committee formed, consisting of 5 people. In August 1919, the Soviet Government in Tashkent established a Fergana front consisting of three Russians. The Red Army and the Revolutionary Committee could not suppress the «Basmachi» movement. So the Fergana revolution committee was abolished on 20 August 1920. Instead, a military dictatorship was established for Fergana. This administration oversaw civil and military affairs and made decisions as desired (Hayit, 1975: 279).

Soviet rule in Turkistan was in a dangerous situation despite all the measures taken. However, Kızılordu was able to dispatch its forces to Turkistan by creating the Orenburg front line of Beyazordu in August 1919. The wave of the uprising was not in a position to suppress the Soviet-Russian armed forces present only in Turkestan. For this reason, the Soviet administration opened a «Turkistan front» in August 1919, which would ensure Soviet rule in Turkistan. Frunze, who was appointed as the Commander-in-Chief of this front on August 18, 1919, ordered the necessary preparations to enter Turkistan on September 3. The Turkistan Front General Staff, with Frunze at its head, arrived in Tashkent on February 22, 1920. Thus, a systematic struggle against the «Basmachi» movement was possible. But the reinforcement of the Soviet armies in Turkistan and their operations against the national uprising could not stop the progress of the liberation war (Hayit, 1975: 280).

When the Samara-Orenburg railway was opened on September 11, a significant amount of aid came to Tashkent. The Bolsheviks took Osh on September 26 and Jalalabad on September 30. Russian villages in the region also began to help the Bolsheviks. I Korbashi from Algiers and Nouakchott in 1920 and Akbar Ali Haji 2000 600 armed and unarmed soldiers with the 2 Parpan Korbaş in February 3000 with the soldier went

over to the Soviet side. On February 4, the Soviets attacked Mehmet Emin Bek's headquarters with important forces and defeated him. In March, Mehmet Emin started negotiations with the Soviets. Mehmed Emin only wanted the bear to be a scarce for himself. A peace agreement was signed on March 7, 1920. According to the agreement, Mehmet Emin Bek remained in his arms. Until the middle of March, most of the «Basmachi» societies annexed and obeyed the Red Army (Togan, 1981: 394).

Mehmet Emin Bek set out to discuss the peace issue with Shir Muhammed Bek on May 14. While on the road, he was murdered by Hal Hodja. Shir Mohammed was anti-Bolshevik and he was an irreconcilable opponent of the Soviet regime and a loyal supporter of Turkistan's Muslim government among those leading «Basmachi» leaders. Shir Muhammed Bek accepted the «Emir-i Leshker-i Islam» mission, which was vacated by Mehmed Emin Bek. On April 3, 1920, he declared the Turkistan Independent Government at the meeting in which Garbasi and local people were deputies in Garbaba village. Shir Muhammed Bek became the head of government and commander-in-chief. Shir Muhammed Bek sent his brother, Tas Mehmed, as an ambassador to Afghanistan. He started to arrange the administrative organization by the old Hokand inns (Togan, 1981: 395).

The Russians had begun to try the path of peace, as they understood that they could not achieve a result only by continuing the fighting. Peace agreements were made with Korbashi who gave up fighting, and some soldiers were left with them. Some of them were trying to join the Red Army. The Soviet-style organization was not issued in the provinces dominated by Korbashi. Upon this approach, many of the Korbashi agreed with the Russians.

The Russians attempted to end the fighting, Shir Muhammed Bek, who continued the war. During the talks held in August and September, there was no result. On this, Frunze mobilized all military forces against «Basmachi» on September 13, 1921. After that, the «Basmachi» started to suffer defeats in a row in the struggle in Fergana. Shir Muhammad (Mehmed-Kur Shimmet) Begin at the end of 1923, if the guy continued to struggle to put an end to the fighting on the very reduction emigrated to Turkey and settled in Adana. Although the small «Basmachi» forces in the Fergana region continued their struggle, they were followed up and destroyed by Russian forces.

«Basmachi» Movements in Hive (Turkmenistan) and its Transfer

Like the Bukhara Khanate, Hıve Khanate continued its existence as a free and dependent state in its internal affairs after the Russian occupation. When the Bolshevik conflict began in 1917, unlike other parts of Turkistan, the innovative group known as «Young Hiva» with Han in Hanve agreed and established a reformist and democratic administration style in the country. However, the eruption of the spiritual rivalry between the Uzbeks and the Yomud Turkmens was the biggest misfortune of Hıve in these critical days. After the Turkmen-Uzbek conflict was not resolved, the Turkmen leader Cuneyd Khan surrounded the city by walking with the Turkmen forces around Hıve. Taking advantage of this confusion, the Soviets sent a red-army unit to Hıve and removed the siege of Cuneyd Khan (Togan, 1981: 395).

The October Revolution, which brought the Bolsheviks to power in Russia, had no noticeable effect in the first periods. In this period, some of the Young Genres opposed to Isfendiyar Han were cooperating with the leader of the Turkmen rebels Cüneyd Han. Isfendiyar Han was charged with being the stooge of the Russians and oppressors of the Turkmens and killed by Isim Khan, son of Cuneyd Khan. Cuneyd Khan started to dominate the Uzbeks after he became dominant in Hıve Khanate. He confiscated his property. He put some of them in jail. Some also executed. These unexpected practices cooled the Young Genres of Uzbeks from Cuneyd Khan and prompted him to fight against him. With the help of the Bolsheviks, they tried to take over the countris administration. For this, they applied to the Tashkent Soviet government in November 1919. After this application, on the 25th of December 1919, the Red Army forces, consisting of 800 soldiers, seized the city of Hıve together with a volunteer continent composed of Young Hıve. Cuneyd Khan had to retreat to Karakum desert (Togan, 1981: 395).

With the help of the Red Crescent under the presidency of a non-communist Cuma Niyaz Sultanmurat, the «Revolutionary Committee», which was established in Ürgenç in June 1918, took power. On February 1, 1920, the «Khanate System» was abolished and replaced by the «Khorezm Peoples Republic» (Hayit, 1975: 272).

Although the new regime established in Hıve was named as Peoples Republic under the pressure of Soviet Russia and came to power with the

bayonet of the Red Army, it was not socialist in the beginning. The Young Judges in power were not only satisfied with promoting political freedom, but also protecting the territorial property right and industrial enterprises (Yarkın, 1999: 241).

The Soviets arrested the government of the Young Hıve, headed by Pehlivan Niyaz, by accusing them as bourgeois nationalists. The «Basmachi» movement was growing as it showed violence. At the end of 1920, almost four-fifths of Harezm was in the hands of Cuneyd Khan. At the end of 1921, Cuneyd Khan was strengthened again (Togan, 1981: 424-425).

While the struggle of Cuneyd Khan continued, national uprisings continued against the Russians in West Turkmenistan. Oraz Serdar, son of Tikma Serdar, who heroically ruled the Turkmen during the Russian invasion, studied at the Russian military school and was promoted to Colonel when the revolution began, and the troops from Turkmen were appointed commander. Colonel Oraz Serdar, who saw the heroic struggle of Cuneyd Khan and meanwhile benefiting from the complicated situation after the Bolshevik revolution, rebelled with the Turkmen troops under his command (Saray, 1995: 143). Mumin Sufi and her friends continued to fight between Charchoy and Kerki and Andkhoy by forming small gangs by other Turkmen groups in the Merv-Serahs border.

In January 1924, Cuneyd Khan Hıve made a big revolt with the participation of 10-15000 people. Cuneyd Khan, who came before Hıve on January 10, surrounded the city. However, on 6 January 1924, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party had ordered an important amount of forces to go to the aid of Hıve, as such a movement had previously been expected. In order to support the Soviet garrison in Hıve, on February 4, 1924, the 82 Cavalry regiment reached Hıve. The uprising was suppressed and the siege was repulsed (Hayit, 1975: 273).

There were over 80,000 soldiers in Turkmenistan under the order of Cuneyd Khan. In addition, the forces of Oraz Serdar and Aziz Han were also fighting the Russians. Under the order of Oraz Serdar, there were 3000 mujahideen in mid-1918. Russians were very disappointed in their fight with Cuneyd Khan in Khorezm region (Cebeci, 1975: 35).

Despite all the absence, Cuneyd Khan did not give up his struggle for independence and struggled the Russians until 1931. Cuneyd Khan, who was forced to leave Turkmenistan, went to Iran and then to Afghanistan, and continued his

fight against Russian troops until his death in 1938 (Saray, 1995: 143).

«Basmachi» Movements in Bukhara and its Transfer

When the Soviet troops withdrew the Bukhara Emirate with the help of the Young Bukhara, the Emir retreated to East Bukhara and tried to fight. His biggest rival was Young Bukhara, not Russians. Thus, the «Basmachi» movement started in the Bukhara region. Bukhara Government was established on October 6. It was named the Peoples Republic of Bukhara. After the Bukhara government was established, finance minister Osman Hodja was sent to Dushanbe to prevent confusion as the Deputy Mukhtar of Bukhara.

The «Basmachi» who fought against the Russians in Turkistan were mostly based on the mutaastop part of the ulema and the Uzbek bourgeoisie. By 1920, Turkish intellectuals no longer began to have friendly feelings towards the Soviets. Meanwhile, the authority of the ulema over the «Basmachi» began to shake. Meanwhile, the secret society created by the intellectuals in Turkestan was trying to establish a relationship with the «Basmachi» in Semerkand, Fergana and Hıve. The aim was to give this movement a genuine national spirit and an archaic order, to bring the idea of the society to the body of the military, under the direction of the pro-experienced and protesting men, and to bring the existing continents into the hands of the moral men whenever possible (Togan, 1981: 419).

Emir, who was trying to continue his struggle in East Bukhara in September 1920, asked for help from Fergana Fellows to support him. Shir Mehmed Bek first sent his brother to Emir with 500 soldiers upon this request, and he himself came and met with Emir. The order had to take refuge in Afghanistan on February 1, 1921, when the Fergans fought with the Russian forces in the Baysu border. During his duty, Osman Hodja made various contacts with the corpses and took the first step in establishing the national unity for the future. When Emir took refuge in Afghanistan, Sir Mehmed took his forces and returned to Fergana.

In Bukhara, the struggle for power between Feyzullah Hodja and Mirza Abdulkadir Muhiddinoglu continued. The Russians were promising help to both sides. At the 2nd congress of the Bukhara Peoples Representatives gathered on September 23, 1921, M.A. Muhiddinoglu was dismissed. Osman Hoca was chosen instead. Feyzullah Hoca became the prime minister. The

Russians, who took advantage of this situation, had the opportunity to re-enter troops in Bukhara. Supporter of Mirza Abdülkadir, police director Muhiddin Mahdum joined the “Basmakılar” with his 300 men. In this period, the movement area of Bukhara «Basmachi» stretched towards the Afghan border in the south, Hisar province and wild river in the east. Hisar region and Garm region in the east became the most dangerous «Basmachi» epicenter. The Russians were trying to hold on in city centers such as Dushanbe, Bukhara, Feyzabad, Shehr-i Sebz, leaving the regions outside of them.

The «Basmachi» leaders knew that this war could not be won with untrained people gathered from the region. They started taking measures for this. First of all, former Turkish officers left by Cemal Pasha in Bukhara started to provide military training to young people by opening courses under the leadership of Harbiye Minister Abdulhamid Arif. Later, these young people were sent to cities such as Karshi, Shehr-i Sebz, Guzar, Hisar and tried to establish a national army there.

After the Bukhara Emir was withdrawn to Afghanistan, Soviet troops settled in East Bukhara. Emir supporters have started to work as gangs, namely «Basmachi». In June 1921, İbrahim Bey from the Lakay tribe, Sheyh Sultan from Kurgan Tepe-Kulab Lakays, Fuzeyl Mahdum from Karatekin Tajiks, Devletmend from Karatic Tajiks, Abdurrahman Bek in Karatağ, were well-known «Basmachi» leaders (Togan, 1981: 426).

The most powerful «Basmachi» leaders in Bukhara were Devletmend and İbrahim Lakay. While Devletmend Bey even agreed with his former enemies for the sake of independence, İbrahim Lakay paid more attention to eliminating his rivals in order to continue his domination in the region. The fate of Turkestan could have changed if Lakay İbrahim had merged with 20 000 soldiers under his command and other «Basmachi». Lakay İbrahim, who remained under the Emir of Bukhara Emir, who fled to Afghanistan, had lost considerable time to the independence movement by capturing Enver Pasha for the purpose of reconciling him with the Peoples Republic of Bukhara and ensuring the national unity of the Turkestan Turks. Thus, he prepared the opportunity for the Russians to save time and send more troops to the region.

The efforts of the Russians to Sovietize the Bukhara started to increase day by day. The new head of state of Bukhara, M.A. Muhiddin, was forced to resign and was replaced by Osman Hodja, who was thought to be more moderate. However, Osman Hodja did not make any concessions to the

Soviets and, in cooperation with Enver Pasha, who came to Turkistan for full independence, he further accelerated the fight against the Russians (Saray, 1995: 104).

Enver Pasha Coming to Bukhara and joining the «Basmachi»

Enver Pasha with friends after leaving the mostly Muslim Turkey overtime to support the national liberation movements in the world dedicated. These works, which started in Berlin, have intensified after coming to Moscow and started to work within the «Society of Islamic Violations». A newspaper named «Liva-i Islam» was also issued in the name of the society. The Bolsheviks wanted to stop Britains support in the Russian civil war by supporting the Bolsheviks in the Russian civil war, taking into account the influence of Enver Pasha on the Islamic world, by revoking a rebellion in Muslim countries where Britain was ruled by her (Aydemir, 1972: 546-548)³. For this, Pasha was provided as a delegate to the «Eastern Peoples Congress» in Baku, but the desired outcome could not be achieved. and asked to be taken over by the people who were rebelled. Enver Pasha, who went to Bukhara in October of 1921, was welcomed with great enthusiasm (Türker, 1961).

Irregular and scattered fighting that Turkistan, Enver Pasha, after leaving Turkey has found morale to participate in the struggle to come to Turkestan, began to organize more regular. Since the end of 1921, Enver Pasha has taken over the task of managing the «Basmachi» movement from one hand. However, it cannot be successful in this for various reasons. On November 8, 1921, he leaves Bukhara with 74 Turkish officers under the pretext of going for a hunt to reach his region in East Bukhara. Welcomed by Molla Nafiz, one of the leaders of the struggle for liberty in Cilligol, which is connected to Karshi (according to some sources, as Killi-Gol) (Türker, 1961: 200). Thus, she started to take part in the «Basmachi» movement as of November 9, 1921.

Enver Pasha, who took the control of a significant part of the territory of the Bukhara Emirate with around 20,000 mujahedin gathered in the first places, tried to unite the Basmachi groups around a program in the «Misak-i Millî» congress he gathered in Kafirûnihan (Baysun, 1945: 92-93). Especially, he tried to take Lakay İbrahim Bey, which is an important power among the Uzbek people, but the fact that Lakay İbrahim had difficulty with Pasha and even kept him under surveillance had lost time to Enver Pasha in the other parts of Russia. The Red

Army, who took control, had the opportunity to shift a significant amount of military power to Turkistan. These developments resulted in depression among the «Basmachi» and the leadership of Enver Pasha among the «Basmachi» groups in other parts of Turkistan.

As Enver Pasha moved to the ranks of the struggle for freedom, different views appeared in the administrative staff of the Bukhara public republic. While Osman Hodja and his friends wanted to follow an independent state policy by getting rid of the hegomania of the Russians, Feyzullah Hodja and his comrades, who served as the Prime Minister in the Government, preferred a way of compromising the Russians. Many government members (11 of the 21 ministers were very rich). Favored determining the attitude according to the course of the struggle between Enver Pasha and the Russians. Many supporters of Emir, such as İbrahim Bek, opposed both Enver Pasha, the government of the Ceditites and the Communists, as well as the Russians. Bukhara Communists, like Akçurin, favored working together with the Russians unconditionally. Enver Pasha had to do the truth in an environment where there were such opposing ideas and powers (Hayıt, 1997: 215).

The number of soldiers gathered around Enver Pasha in May 1922 was around 20,000. In addition, as the center of East Bukhara, Duchenbe and important cities such as Hisar, Belcivan, Kolab, Darvaz, Karatekin, Saraykemer, Korgantepe, Kabadivan and a significant part of Baysun province were seized, local and civil administrations in these places in accordance with the decisions taken at the 15 April 1922 congress. It was established.

Battles took place in many places in May. While these battles also achieved great success, the «Basmachi» movement had the opportunity to spread to almost everywhere in June 1922. The Russian headquarters were attacked with night and day raids, the Russians were bored in many places, the Russians who heard the «Basmachi» were leaving their places.

The participation of Enver Pasha in the «Basmachi» movement has given the movement a more in-depth dimension. This has led to new interactions inside and outside Turkistan. While it brought a new hope and excitement to most of the «Basmachi», it caused panic and fear in the Russians. This fear of the Russians was due to the understanding that the movement they tried to present as an internal issue could turn into a broader meaning and that other states could get involved. So they took much tougher military measures. Russians,

who sent an army of one hundred thousand people to the region, began to take control of the region in a short time. Enver Pasha, who lost his war on June 15, 1922, retires to the village of Belcivan near Dusenbe. He tries to resist the Russians with a few soldiers around him. However, on August 4, 1922, they were subjected to Russian raids when they performed festive prayers. Red-army troops led by a Armenian Communist Agabekov and a Tajik Abdurrahman attacked Enver Pashas headquarters on the second day of the sacrifice. Enver Pasha was martyred in this conflict. The Russians, who evaluated the negative effect of the death of Enver Pasha on the «Basmachi», dispatched more soldiers, planes and tanks to the region and occupied almost all of the regions that participated in the national uprising until the winter of 1924 (Saray, 1995: 104: 112-113).

Although the sudden death of Enver Pasha caused disappointment and despair among the «Basmachi», they continued their struggle without giving up. In this respect, Russian officials, who thought that the wars would come to an end with the death of Enver Pasha and that the «Basmachi» movement would be digested, were disappointed. The «Basmachi» continued their struggles until 1934, and had troubled days for the Russians.

Conclusion

The «Basmachi» movement was not a class struggle, but a religious and nationalist struggle. The struggle between the nomad and his obscene was ultimately the Turkish-Russian struggle. Turks were defeated from this struggle. The reason for this was not that Russia was Russia, but Turks were nomadic and their economic structures could not find their place in the communist elements. Because these items consisted of soldiers, peasants and industrial workers.

Since 1919, the Russians had the opportunity to dispatch a large number of soldiers and officers to Turkistan. The Red Army used tanks, planes, cannons and gas against «Basmachi». He even poisoned some wells in the deserts. He won some of the people who would make Soviet propaganda among the Turkestan people. Some of the Muslims living under Russian domination, not from Turkistan, deceived them to serve against the Turkistan struggle. The fact that Muslims in European Russia do not support their brothers in Asia, work for the Russian government and take the front of the Eastern Turks who are trying to carry out the local mukhtar program within the federal

framework are among the indispensable reasons for the failure of the «Basmachi» movement. If we briefly summarize the reasons for the defeat of «Basmachi»; The «Basmachi» cannot create a dictated, disciplined unity among themselves, lack a central administration, act as the rulers of the leaders, and act as if they were the rulers of their own regions, the disadvantages of the arms of the mujahids and the soldiers of the mujahids. the lack of quality and importance in the face of their arms, the start of the economic crisis due to wars and various reasons (Russia could bring supporters from outside Turkestan to its troops), the absence of a strong Islamic state that helped Turks and Muslims of Turkestan in the middle, and the fact that Western European states did not approach the Turkistan issue and the lack of political and military assistance, the number of soldiers and superiority of the Red Army compared to the «Basmachi» etc. reasons can be counted.

There were several reasons for the Russians success in Central Asia. Terrorism and the Hokand massacre, which the Russians had manifested once, prevented the rebellion from possessing an intellectual administrative staff and at the same time, dropped the hopes of establishing a central government. After the massacre, the possibility of the «Basmachi» movement to reach a political opposition status was also eliminated. Secondly, the excitement and fanatic belief created by the revolution were the desire to destroy the enemies of the revolution, the driving forces. The Russians and some Muslims who joined the Red Army in 1920 were ready to die for the sake of the revolution. Finally, Frunze's policy of softening tension began to take effect. The natives really began to believe that Russian terror had disappeared. In addition, the «Basmachi» were never able to receive any real help from outside. The clashes with the Red Army were rural and guerrilla warfare. After 1923, the Red Army Command forced the «Basmachi» to battle in both Turkistan and Lakay and «Basmachi» were defeated in these battles. In addition to the in-place maneuvers of the Red Army, Frunze's rationalist approaches to political problems have brought about the results that have caused the environment to settle.

At that time, the only state that could help the «Basmachi» was England. «Basmachi» leaders have made great efforts to obtain this opportunity from different channels, but they have not been able to achieve this. The British did not support the struggle and success of the Central Asian Turks against the Russians. Because if the Turkish elements in

the region succeeded in the revolt against Russian imperialism, Afghanistan, India and Far East Muslims who were in their own domination could follow the same path, which could have a headache in the region. Moreover, the fact that Enver Pasha, a powerful politician of the Ottoman State, who was a beloved person in the Turkish-Islamic world at the beginning of the movement, could not be considered as a local movement for the British. His messages could influence the entire Islamic world, in particular, it could also lead to developments that could delay the division of Anatolia or the liquidation of the Ottoman State. However, given the Russian-British competition in the region, there are many reasons that may require the British to support this revolt.

Notes

1. «The only and undeniable reason for the birth of the Basmist Movement among Muslims is hidden in this extraordinary and unprecedented anti-national and unrelated class violence» says Mustafa Chokay, one of the Basmach leaders.

2. These wars eliminated state authority and public order in the region and created a chaos. This situation caused the Russians in the region to think about themselves and engage in various activities.

3. Enver Pasha gave information about her activities in her letters she sent to Mustafa Kemal Pasha at different times while she was in Moscow and stated that they accepted the activity of the Russians as a principle.

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