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## Some issues of the national liberation movement in Turkestan in the legacy of Mustafa Shokay

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### Abstract

**Relevance.** The history of the Turkestan uprising in the works of Mustafa Shokay is rather poorly researched, especially the biographical writings that covered these processes were barely analysed. The Turkestan uprising of 1916 is a grey area in historiography, and the study of Mustafa Shokay's writings for the interpretation of those events is still relevant nowadays.

**Purpose.** The purpose of this study is to investigate the writings of Mustafa Shokay for the interpretation of the 1916 uprising, to trace the processes and causes that followed, and to examine Mustafa Shokay's role in the Muslim faction - which was important in clarifying the issue.

**Methodology.** The study used a variety of historical methods and approaches to analyse and select information regarding the issue of the uprising in Turkestan in the works of Mustafa Shokay. The research also made wide use of methods of analysis and synthesis, general methods of scientific cognition, and methods of empirical investigation. The historical-comparative, retrospective and abstractive methods made it possible to reconstruct and model the processes on the days before the uprising in Turkestan, and its consequences, in as much detail as possible. The study analysed Mustafa Shokay's work, his role in these processes, and his views on all the processes that occurred in Turkestan during the uprising.

**Results/Conclusions.** Based on the results of the study, the following conclusions were made: the role of Mustafa Shokay in the Turkestan uprising of 1916 is implicit, his standpoint of this event is insufficiently studied by modern historians, which gives grounds to consider his writings as another important source for the coverage of those events. However, it is

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Mustafa Shokay's work in the 1916 uprising commission and his biographical notes from that time that provide valuable and complete information for a comprehensive consideration of the issue.

**Keywords:** Semirechye; the 1916 Uprising; the Muslim question; Central Asia; the Russian Empire; World War I.

## Introduction

This study was to identify the role of Mustafa Shokay in the events of the 1916 Turkestan uprising. The study explored different perspectives on the Turkestan uprising of 1916 and added to this with biographical notes by Mustafa Shokay on the uprising of that period, its causes, role, and consequences. An examination of these issues is relevant today since it provides an overall picture of attitudes not only in Turkestan but also among Central Asians living in the Russian Empire before the February Revolution. The study explored different perspectives on the Turkestan uprising of 1916 and added to this with biographical notes by Mustafa Shokay on the uprising of that period, its causes, role, and consequences.

The history of the Turkestan uprising in the works of Mustafa Shokay is rather poorly researched, especially the biographical aspects of the issue have been barely analysed. Since the events in Turkestan in 1916 are barely covered, and only a few works assess this event in detail, research into this issue is essential in contemporary reality [1-4]. After the February Revolution and the arrival of various parties and factions in the Federal Duma, the subject of the atrocities of the Tsarist regime was reopened. Mustafa Shokay, who was secretary of the Muslim party at the time and was included in the government commission at the request of the people of Turkestan. There he witnessed the aftermath of the 1916 uprising and saw with his own eyes the atrocities that the Tsarist regime had committed against the population. An analysis of these events identifies a complete perspective in understanding the further events of the February Revolution and the reluctance of the Central Asian population to take more drastic measures, due to their exhaustion after the violent suppression of the uprisings [5].

The study of Mustafa Shokay's works on the issue of uprisings in Turkestan is a quite objective condition upon the completion of these processes in the new history but requires detailed consideration as a result of the poor study of this issue in the national historiography. The Turkestan uprising of 1916 is one of the most important chains of understanding, but also the most unexplored theme in the history of the processes of the February Revolution. The relevance of this topic consists in the originality of the process, the study of which will make it possible to analyse history from a new perspective and to implement in the future the experience developed on previous analysed mistakes in the issue of the Turkestan uprising, which influenced later on all the twists and turns of the Russian Civil War [6].

The purpose of this study is to investigate the phenomenon of the uprising in Turkestan; to analyse the steps historians have taken in studying this issue towards a more objective account of it. The object of the study was material from earlier research, and regulations and documents of the period. With the help of the study materials it was possible to recreate a complete picture of the uprising in Turkestan, explore the external influences on these events, determine the role of Mustafa Shokay and

other ardent figures in covering this event and the results of the uprising on the social and political situation in Central Asia [7-9]. The relevance of this subject is based on its significance for the study of the development of Central Asia in modern times, which, in turn, covers its significance for all subsequent developments in the Russian Empire. The originality of the subject consists in its low level of study and the relative impossibility of objectively examining the activities of Mustafa Shokay and his writings, which were concealed during the Soviet period [10].

Earlier studies attempting to analyse and systematise the processes of the uprising in Turkestan in the works of Mustafa Shokay include a variety of information on the subject. Some sources emphasise the consequences of the uprising and the reaction of Mustafa Shokay, who, with a commission from the Federal Duma, considered the issue of the people of Turkestan, some emphasise the uprising in Turkestan as a single event that influenced the course of development of the whole of Central Asia [11]. In one of the sources used in the study, the author [12] emphasises to a greater extent the role of the uprising in the subsequent events and how the brutality of the Tsarist regime in suppressing the uprising made the people of Turkestan more amorphous in the realities of the February revolution. Other sources put more emphasis on the reaction of Mustafa Shokay, who upon his arrival in Turkestan investigated the causes of the uprising, and was somewhat stunned by what he heard, not recognising his compatriots in the local population [2]. With the materials used in the study, it was possible to illustrate events and conditions in Turkestan in as much detail as possible and to identify and describe in detail the biographical aspects and role of Mustafa Shokay in this subject [13].

## Materials and Methods

The study used a variety of historical methods and approaches to analyse and select information on the issue of the uprising in Turkestan in the works of Mustafa Shokay. Some of them are classical research methods, some are special historical methods that are designed to follow precisely historical processes, analyse them, and verify their objectivity. Special historical methods made it possible to examine the processes of the uprising in Turkestan in terms of their phases and cause-effect relationships.

This study has used the method of the historical timeline to examine events specific to the Turkestan uprising. A retrospective method was also used to trace the processes of the uprising in Turkestan and to assess the external backgrounds of the process throughout its development. The method of diachronic analysis made it possible to establish the state, both of a particular period and of the entire uprising in Turkestan in general, at a particular interval or point in time. This method also made it possible to analyse the status of the individual processes associated with the Turkestan uprising relatively in a chronological straight line. The Turkestan uprising and the

writings of Mustafa Shokay on this subject were not a coherent and separate report, but the historical-comparative method made it possible to analyse all the works and processes that were described in the events in Turkestan. The methods of analysis and synthesis, general methods of scientific knowledge, and methods of empirical research were also used extensively in the study. Through empirical research methods, observation and comparison, it has become possible to analyse information in some detail and compare some phenomena with others, assessing their importance, impact, produced effects, public reaction, and so on. Empirical methods of knowledge are among the most important in historical research, since it is the ability to spatially model and analyse the information obtained that allows objective conclusions to be drawn about the events that occurred.

General methods of scientific knowledge also have a significant role to play in the writing of the study, namely theoretical research methods such as induction and deduction, abstraction and idealisation. The idealisation of the historical process comes at the expense of absolutisation one of its meanings and applying that meaning as the essential quality of that process. An idealisation method is an auxiliary tool for constructing a theoretical model of a phenomenon and a causal model. The method of abstraction is also very important in the study of historical processes and is also an auxiliary tool for building theoretical models, finding cause-effect relationships, and the similar by focusing on two or three features of the phenomenon of interest and using them in further modelling the situation.

Due to the research methods described above, it was possible to highlight and consider the issue of the Turkestan uprising in the works of Mustafa Shokay, in particular, to objectively explore Mustafa Shokay's role in the events he described, and to consider this event from the perspective of the interpretation of various authors.

## **Results and Discussion**

The tendency to cover complicated and tragic historical events can only be countered by detailed academic coverage of the Turkestan uprising in the summer and autumn of 1916. In which, the writings of Mustafa Shokay are an essential source for a detailed review, a complete picture of what happened in the region, and the possibility of viewing a complete chronology of events. As one contemporary noted, "very few people in Russia knew about this uprising because the government had taken steps to isolate the area where the uprising was occurring from other parts of the empire. This objective succeeded brilliantly and not only the masses in Russia, but even the civil and military authorities were unaware of what was happening in Turkestan. If I had not witnessed these events, I would consider it a miracle to tell you about it" [14-15]. The uprising was particularly violent in Semirechye. Such peculiarities of the uprising that happened in this particular region require explanation and careful analysis based on the work of different authors.

The incorporation of Central Asia into the Russian Empire had a significantly positive impact on the lives of the indigenous peoples of the region. The region became part of the Russian state, at a level of socio-economic and cultural development incomparable to that of Russia [16-

17]. The spread of Russian-wide standards has brought an enormous technological leap into the region that would otherwise have taken centuries. As a result of the establishment of a new order with the region's development, the spread of medical care, and the fight against epidemics, mortality in Turkestan declined significantly, leading to a demographic explosion. From the mid-19th century to 1916, the population grew from 4 to 7 million. All this led to an improvement in economic performance, stimulated the overcoming of centuries of underdevelopment, and an indigenous administration, composed of indigenous people, played a crucial role in the administration of the region. The radical changes in conventional society were, of course, controversial and sometimes resented. "The greatest disaster for a politician is the inability to predict possible objective difficulties and not to realise the disadvantages of his work or to consciously ignore them. A politician must also be a good orator. If he, in his work, fails to prevent difficulties, makes mistakes, the courage of the politician turns into mere misuse and eloquence into the idle talk. This is what we Turkestanis should avoid," wrote Mustafa Shokay, analysing the event in Petersburg and Turkestan [18-21].

On the recommendation of Alikhan Bukeykhan, Mustafa Shokay was introduced into the Russian Federal Duma as Secretary of the Muslim faction, working with national figures such as Zaki Validi Togan from Bashkiria, Alimardan Topchibashi and Khalil Hasmamedov from Azerbaijan, Ahmed Tsalikov from the North Caucasus, and Ismail Lemanov from the Crimea. Mustafa Shokay was expected to become a member of the Duma in this faction. A convincing example of this is the action of the landlord of the Ufa district, Salimgerei Zhanturin, who gave Shokay a donation of land and gave his consent to his candidacy [18].

Under the Federal Duma, Mustafa Shokay occupied the secretariat, providing the Muslim fraction with the necessary materials relating to Turkestan. More than once he went to the front and to Turkestan as part of various commissions dealing with local problems. This is where he had time to prepare various materials about the 1916 uprising [22]. The Federal Duma then received an application from the people of Turkestan. On June 25, 1916, the Stürmer-led government issued an order "forcing foreigners of 18 to 45 years of age to do manual labour in the front-line areas", even though the entire Muslim population was exempted from military service [22]. To this, the issuance of the decree came during the Muslim fasting period of Ramadan and was the last straw. While the people of Turkestan used to meekly tolerate all forms of disrespect for their religious feelings, the very act of issuing a decree during Ramadan was perceived as sacrilege. In addition, the Russian population began to spread rumours that Turkestanis were being used as "human shields" at the front. The population, driven to despair, responded to the decree with a violent uprising throughout the province. It was brutally suppressed by Russian forces led by a young Russian general, Ivanov-Rinov. Sent at the head of the punitive troops, he endeavoured to execute the order with all his skill. Evidence of the unbearable atrocities can be seen in Kerensky's speech to the Federal Duma in December 1916, declaring "that even on the Western and Caucasus front, he

had not seen such a 'perfect' destruction of a city as Jizzakh" [22]. He also criticised the decree on enlisting foreigners in the army: 'The promulgation and implementation of the 25th July Imperial command alone violated all fundamental and non-fundamental laws of the Russian Empire' [22].

The example of Shokay in the Tashkent newspaper "Turkestanskiye Vedomosti" of 9 October 1916 "relentlessly pursue the bands of uprisings, inflicting new losses on them and releasing prisoners" [22] can serve as proof of the brutal suppression of the uprising. But that is not all: the main result of the combined operations of the troops is that all the rebels, now driven into the mountainous regions, where, through hunger and cold, they will soon feel the full effects of their insane uprising". In this way, the punitive troops tried to eliminate all rebels [23]. Mustafa Shokay in his work "Kerensky and the national movement in Turkestan", written in 1930, also notes the great authority of Alexander Fyodorovich Kerensky [23]. His speeches in Tashkent and from the tribunes of the Federal Duma, after his trip to Turkistan in 1916, notes Shokay, in which he gave an in-depth analysis of the causes of the uprising of Turkestanis against the policies of the tsarist government, brought Kerensky fame not only in Turkestan but also in all Turkic-speaking regions of Russia [23; 24]. On August 22, 1916, in Andijan, at the request of Kerensky in a local mosque, the service for the health of the Turkestanis and Russians and the establishment of humane, friendly relations between them was held. Kerensky concluded his sermon by saying that the Russian democrats were not taking any responsibility for the totalitarian regime of the past and that Russian democracy was struggling for the state to be run by the people and spoke about the equality of rights of Turkestanis and Russians [25].

In the summer of 1917 a commission, including Mustafa Shokay, arrived in Tashkent in response to an application from the Turkestan people. Speaking to the residents, Shokay did not identify his fellow countrymen. He saw exhausted and tormented people who spoke of the moral and physical humiliation they had to endure, not only from the Governor-General's men but also from the Russian settlers. What he heard from the locals drastically calmed his St Petersburg ardour. The population breathed a sigh of relief after the bloody events of the summer of 1916 but continued to live in anxiety. People tried not to get involved in any of the events: the memories of last year's violence and human sacrifice were deeply rooted in their minds. They now found their only support in religion [26-28]. The 1916 uprising in Mustafa Shokay's writings thus provides an extensive analysis of documents, journals, and, most importantly, primary sources, extracted from the oral sayings of many inhabitants of the region, which give a complete picture of the uprising. The data provided by Mustafa Shokay's work allows us to complete the picture of 1916, and through additional sources to complete the picture on the issue of the Turkestan uprising.

In 1916, an uprising developed in Central Asia under the control of the Russian Empire. The harsh situation on the fronts of the World War I required the straining of all the empire's resources. The indigenous population exempted from military service was about 7 million, including 114,000 souls of the Russian population. Among

the issues that had already been discussed in 1914 was the question of recruiting the Muslim population for military service. There was, however, no decision on this at the time [29]. However, as early as 25 June 1916 Emperor Nicholas II signed an "Imperial order to enlist the foreign population of the Empire aged between 19 and 43 years for work on the construction of fortifications and military communications in the area of the army in force" [29-30]. Further events showed the failure of this measure. Compared with the situation of Christians, the burden imposed on foreigners was comparatively mild, but given that the native population had not previously served military service, even conscription affected them [16]. The War Office demanded that they be drafted into the army, but the Ministry of Internal Affairs was against it. A compromise solution to this issue was prepared by the government cabinet, headed by B. Stürmer. Decree of 25 June 1916 "on the forced conscription of foreigners who had not previously served in the front line" [31-32]. The Stürmer Cabinet declared the involvement of all Muslim nationalities in military service in front-line areas as auxiliary rear detachments to provide infrastructure and communications in the rear [18]. The implementation of the decree was already complicated when it was impossible to determine the approximate age of the draftees, and the rich indigenous people did all they could to avoid military service and to spare all their relatives at the same time, causing discontent among the poor. Almost immediately various rumours spread that recruitment would be made to the front and that the natives would be forced to dig trenches between the two opposing armies and slaughter them all [33-35].

The local government has shown itself to be at its worst possible disadvantage. There was no differentiated approach to the ages of conscripts depending on how far away they were from the assembly point; the provisions of the decree were not explained to the population; there were rumours among the population that the decree was invented by the local authorities, and semi-literate interpreters gave the impression that mobilisations were being prepared for the front lines. In July 1916, absurd rumours began to spread that the Russians wanted to take away the healthiest element of Muslims, send them to the theatre of war, and slaughter them, and in this way, the Russian purpose of destroying Muslims would be accomplished. In such circumstances, the steppe became restless and young men of recruitment age began to gather in gangs of deserters [36]. According to Mustafa Shokay, "the timing of the decree was completely wrong, as the signing and proclamation of the decree came during Ramadan, and it was certainly perceived by the Muslim population not just as an insult to religious feelings, but as a deliberate sacrilege" [36].

Mass resentment was fostered by the Russian population, who spread rumours that Muslims were being used at the front as "cannon fodder", human shields, and expendable material. Under such pressure, the Muslims did not wait for the end of the holy fast and unleashed all their anger, first on the local authorities and then on the entire Russian population of the region. The consequences of these actions were felt behind Mustafa Shokay's words for a long time to come, affecting further relations between the Muslim and Christian parts of the region [36]. Obviously,

dissatisfaction of the local population with the Russian administration existed before. It was established both on the arbitrariness of the authorities and the intricacy of national, religious, and economic factors [36; 37].

In different regions of Turkestan province, the local population's dissatisfaction had various reasons. In Semirechye, intensively developed by Russian settlers, the local population's hatred of them was most pronounced, particularly because of the land issue. In general, the most adverse role in Semirechye was played by mutual panic and self-mobilisation on both sides. Among other reasons for the resulting anarchy, according to Mustafa Shokay are:

- the low number of Russian administration, police, and troops, and a large number of administratively deported and prisoners of war;
- abuse by local authorities on the ground;
- the mass deployment of refugees to Turkestan in a pitiable state.

Shokay also emphasises the role that the element of spontaneity and randomness, and the psychology of crowds, played in the emergence of the uprisings.

Gradually the native population began to move from passive to active protest, initially through demands for the issuance of the family lists or attempts to destroy them. Huge crowds of locals were involved in these uprisings. A weak and small Russian administration could not effectively deal with the riotous disturbances occurring in the vast areas [38]. Events intensified gradually. Since the end of July, attacks on local authorities began and local forces were insufficient to deal with such large-scale disturbances. With such conditions, the commander of the troops of Turkestan district applied to the Main Department of the General Staff for drafting five younger ages of the Cossack militia of the Semirechensk army and for establishing four militia Cossack centurions and establishing in the Semirechensk province the Kirghiz horse division for service in which plots of land would be given [38]. While the higher authorities of the empire agreed on the Turkestan district's petition, the situation in Turkestan was becoming tense. Attacks on Russian civilians became more frequent. Some Russian villages were encircled and pillaged, with killing, wounding, and capture, and the rebels stealing livestock. The reports grew more disturbing by the day [38]. The inter-ethnic and inter-confessional conflict has started in Turkestan. The situation of the Russian civilians was exacerbated by the absence of a Russian male population in the region, due to mobilisation. A powerful catalyst for mutual hatred has been rumours, which greatly overstate the true extent of events. Among the reasons for the disturbances were land disputes conditioned upon the active migration policy in the region, and the tax burden forced the indigenous population to switch their aggression over to the Russian population. The Russian population was afraid to leave their towns, which in turn left the rural population of the region without help. The inhabitants of small villages and hamlets, feeling the danger, in fear began a process of mass migration to large cities [38]. In a situation of increasing instability and panic, the population searched for the people to blame. And there were numerous members of the Russian administration with German origins. The anti-German hysteria began so that in public opinion innocent people were the extreme ones [38]. In July-August 1916

the ethnic self-mobilisation mechanism was engaged in Turkestan. The frightened and indignant Russian population responded to the violence with violence. In addition to organising militia units, desperate residents also conducted demolition against indigenous people [38]. The uprising was brutally suppressed by the Tsarist authorities. Alexander Kerensky, a member of the Federal Duma, returning from Turkestan in a speech in December 1916, said: "...even on the Caucasus and Western Front, I have not seen such a "perfect", destruction of a city as Dzhizak" [39]. The Russian army suppressed the uprising comparatively effortlessly. Even the strength of individual punitive expeditions managed to disperse huge crowds of rebels with their first shots. However, local troops were in short supply and the command had to withdraw several units from the front to naturally benefit the enemy [39].

The effectiveness of the suppression of the uprising is based on many factors:

- First of all, the rebel units were unable to resist the regular troops, even if they consisted of reserve soldiers;
- The suppression was organised and coordinated;
- The existence of a railway allowing for the rapid transfer of troops and supplies contributed to the suppression of the uprising;
- The use of artillery and machine guns, which did not impress the rebels much, but also terrified them [39].

In Central Asia, according to Mustafa Shokay: "They vividly remembered the "black regime of the White Tsar", which gave rise to the terrible year of 1916 - widespread popular uprisings and bloody punitive expeditions" [39]. When the February 1917 revolution overthrew the old repressive regime and the Muslims had hope that the old inequalities would be ended. However, the national movement in Turkestan remained weak and vulnerable. Mustafa Shokay describes this situation as follows: "A strong moral basis for the (national movement) issue in Turkestan was in short supply, and so was an effective political overlay. Due to our intellectual poverty (meaning in European and technical terms), we cannot inspire anyone with sufficient respect for our even most humble national wishes" [39]. It was the wishes of Muslims to pursue their national and religious demands, but as a result of the brutal suppression of the people's will in 1916, the province simply did not have the strength. Mustafa Shokay, in his analysis of the national movement, identified a few aspects that contributed to its weakness. He noted that the late incorporation of the region into the Russian Empire, as well as: "the most abominable policy of resettlement of peoples; a policy of forceful appropriation of lands from the indigenous population," meant that the Central Asian peoples could not develop an adequate policy of resistance using Europeanised means [39].

According to Mustafa Shokay, three factors contributed to this situation:

- The population's fear of its past, which developed before the Russian advent;
- Technical underdevelopment and weakness to create governance by our radical outlook on the social arrangement and political structure;
- An almost fanatical belief in the Russian Revolution of 1917 [14].

However, referring to an analysis of Mustafa Shokay's writings, they reduce all these factors to one - incomplete processes of self-identification among local political elites.

Also, post-February revolution great-power ambitions in Turkestan and especially among the ruling elites of the Provisional Government played a role. Mustafa Shokay, on 10 April 1917 in Tashkent, attended a meeting of the Turkestan regional congress of representatives of executive committees of public organisations as a delegate from his native Perovskiy district, Syr Darya province. The first phrase Shokay heard was from a socialist teacher there, who said: "The Muslims must be content with what we Russians give them, and therefore the "Muslim natives" must not make excessive demands" [14]. Soviet historians who covered the events of 1916 ended up exposing themselves as a result. In exile, Mustafa Shokay wrote of the anti-Russian and anti-Tsarist nature of the uprising and how it preceded many processes in Central Asia (e.g. Basmachi movement). As a response to this, a whole list of monographs was published in the USSR designed to disprove such a viewpoint. The fact that they were mass-produced, suggests that this position and viewpoint, was inconvenient for the current Soviet authorities and a justified different view was feared by them [14; 40; 41].

Meanwhile, Mustafa Shokay, analysing those events, explained that the so-called "natives" only demanded from the Provisional Government that the new government in the city be constructed based on a coalition of representatives of councils and national representatives of various organisations and factions. This demand was because power was effectively in the hands of the Soviets, who were instituting a true dictatorship. This statement by Mustafa Shokay is at complete odds with the position of official Soviet historiography, which concealed the issue of great-power aggression by Russian socialists in Central Asia.

## Conclusions

The study concludes that the Turkestan uprising fought back on the further mood of the population during the February Revolution for the entire Central Asian region of the Russian Empire and played a crucial role in the political activism of the region. The brutality of the tsarist regime's suppression of the rebellion played an essential role in causing a large mass of the population to become amorphous and neutral to most of the political processes that began to develop later on. The February Revolution and the activity of the Muslim intelligentsia enabled an active part of the population to initiate public processes for the creation of statehood or autonomy, but as a result of the events of 1916, most people were afraid to express their position openly. Thus the 1916 uprising, and especially its far-sighted consequences, influenced all further processes

in Turkestan, affecting not only the political aspects but fundamentally the social ones as well. In turn, the brutal defeat of the uprising in Turkestan influenced both the further processes of state-building and the weakness of Turkestan autonomy in subsequent years. All these processes are perfectly described in the writings and memoirs of Mustafa Shokay, who described these processes and the mood in Turkestan on his arrival.

A consideration of the historical and political aspects provides a full and comprehensive examination of the causes and consequences of the Turkestan uprising, due to the end of these events in modern times, and the possibility to study the issue both in domestic documents and in works written in immigration. The works of Mustafa Shokay provide a complete picture of the horrors that occurred on the territory of Turkestan and also provide excellent first-hand information, where not only normative documents, acts, extracts from magazines and newspapers are taken as a basis, but also information from the inhabitants of Turkestan themselves. Thus, the main aspect of an objective and comprehensive study of this issue is to look at several sources and factors that have served both to develop and complete these processes.

A crucial role in the coverage and research of the Turkestan uprising derived from the work of Mustafa Shokay, and several other authors who wrote in exile. The inhabitants' discontent with the policies of the tsarist regime and the subsequent uprising played a cruel joke on the development of the whole region. Mustafa Shokay, who was in the Secretariat of the Muslim faction during the Provisional Government, was horrified to see the scene of mass slaughter, and his compatriots' accounts only reinforced the idea that the Tsarist regime had crushed any attempts to resist its policies with particular cruelty. The issue with the uprising in Turkestan is the inability of the inhabitants of the region to consolidate effectively to solve their problems and establish their statehood. The lessons of the later Turkestan autonomy are vividly illustrated by the problems of a region that was never able to consolidate domestic resources, due to population fatigue after the brutal defeats during the Turkestan uprising.

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## Conflict of Interest

None.

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## **Деякі питання національно-визвольного руху в Туркестані у спадщині Мустафи Шокая**

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### **Анотація**

**Актуальність.** Історія Туркестанського повстання у творчості Мустафи Шокая є досить малодослідженою, особливо біографічні твори, які висвітлювали ці процеси, майже не аналізувалися. Туркестанське повстання 1916 року є білою плямою в історіографії, а вивчення творів Мустафи Шокая для інтерпретації тих подій залишається актуальним і сьогодні.

**Мета.** Метою цього дослідження є вивчення праць Мустафи Шокая для інтерпретації повстання 1916 року, простежити процеси та причини, що його супроводжували, а також дослідити роль Мустафи Шокая у мусульманській фракції, що є важливим для з'ясування цього питання.

**Методологія.** У дослідженні використано різноманітні історичні методи та підходи для аналізу та відбору інформації щодо питання повстання в Туркестані у творах Мустафи Шокая. У дослідженні також широко використовувалися методи аналізу та синтезу, загальні методи наукового пізнання, методи емпіричного дослідження. Історико-порівняльний, ретроспективний та абстрактний методи дозволили максимально детально реконструювати та змодельовати процеси попередні повстання в Туркестані та його наслідки. У дослідженні проаналізовано творчість Мустафи Шокая, його роль у цих процесах, а також його погляди на всі процеси, що відбувалися в Туркестані під час повстання.

**Результати/висновки.** За результатами дослідження було зроблено такі висновки: роль Мустафи Шокая у Туркестанському повстанні 1916 року є імпліцитною, його позиція щодо цієї події недостатньо вивчена сучасними істориками, що дає підстави розглядати його праці як ще одне важливе джерело для висвітлення тих подій. Однак саме робота Мустафи Шокая в комісії з підготовки повстання 1916 р. та його біографічні нотатки того часу дають цінну і повну інформацію для всебічного розгляду питання.

**Ключові слова:** Семиріччя; повстання 1916 року; мусульманське питання; Центральна Азія; Російська імперія; Перша світова війна.