

THE PARTICIPATION OF THE “MILLI ITTIHOD” (“NATIONAL UNION”) SOCIETY IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SOVIETS

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Abstract

The 1920s became a significant stage in the history of Turkestan's liberation movement. On the one hand, during this period, national leaders operating within the framework of the Turkestan ASSR were developing various projects aimed at achieving independence and sought approval from the “Center.” On the other hand, following the bloody suppression of the Turkestan autonomy, the independence movement entered a new phase and spread throughout the entire region. The “Milli Ittihod” (“National Union”) society, which united members of the intelligentsia, had a considerable impact on the liberation struggle conducted in both of these directions. One of the main goals of the society was to unite the kurbashi (field commanders) under a single command and to form a national army with the aim of liberating Turkestan from Soviet rule — an idea that is explored in this article. The article analyzes the reasons that motivated the “Milliy Ittihod” society to participate in the fight for independence, as well as the forms and methods of struggle it adopted.

Keywords: National society, Turkistan, Turkcommission, Baku Congress, Enver Pasha, Munavvar Kari, “Basmachi”.

Introduction

Although the liberation struggle against the Soviets in Turkestan began in 1918, it is no coincidence that its peak occurred in 1920-1922. The reason is that, starting from this period, the organizational participation of the Jadids in the independence movement is clearly visible.

From 1920, the secret society "Milliy Ittihod" began to unite the independence movements in Turkestan under a single command. There were certain reasons for the society's involvement in this movement.

Firstly, contradictions intensified between the Turkcommission, sent to the region in 1919 to regain colonial control over the political situation in Turkestan, and the national leaders striving for independent governance. The project of "autonomy," representing independence, which was repeatedly raised through Turar Ryskulov, elected chairman of the Turkestan Central Executive Committee in January 1920, further strained relations with the center¹.

The idea of Turkestan's "autonomy" was raised not only from official platforms, but also through informal negotiations at the initiative of the leaders of the "National Unity" society. In particular, in the spring of 1920, in the Kibray garden belonging to the society, a banquet was organized for

¹ Туркестан в начале XX века: К истории истоков национальной независимости // Коллектив авт.: Р. М. Абдуллаев, С. С. Агзамходжаев, И. А. Алимов и др./— Т.: «Шарк», 2000, -С. 153.



the representatives of the Turkcommission Eliava and Ordzhonikidze with the participation of such national leaders of that time as Nazir Turakulov, Abdulla Rakhimboyev, and Munavvarkori Abdurashidkhanov, Obidjon Makhmudov, Saidnosir Mirjalilov, and Tolibjon Musaboyev. During the conversation, the issue of Turkestan administration was discussed, and a request was made to grant the region the right of a separate national republic. Salimkhon Tillaxonov, a direct witness to the process, described it as follows: "During this conversation, Obidjon, with a laugh, said, 'You must grant our Turkestan the right of a separate national republic.'" Eliava laughed at this and replied that such things are not given, but taken. Obidjon laughed again at this, saying "If you won't give it, we'll definitely take it," and all the words became half-joking and half-serious. Finally, he said that if Obidjon Mahmudov wasn't there, we would submit what we needed with a separate note. Eliava and Ordzhonikidze also laughed, saying: "Excellent, submit it in writing." In this way, several things were said that could not have been said due to Obidjon Mahmudov's complications."² After this meeting, the society, through official representatives in the Turkestan government, decided to appeal to Moscow and hand over a project of "autonomy," which effectively represented independence. The project is based on the following requirements³:

- 1) Prohibition of interference of the Turkcommission in the administration of Turkestan;
- 2) Allow Turkestan to create its own army;
- 3) Transfer of Railway Control to the Government of Turkestan;
- 4) Transfer of postal, telegraph, and telephone control to the Turkestan government without Moscow's intervention;
- 5) Granting the right to independently resolve relations with the countries of the East.

In May 1920, a commission headed by Turar Riskulov, Nizomiddin Khojayev, and G. Ivanov was sent to Moscow with the "Draft Statute of the Turkestan Autonomy within the RSFSR," which reflected the above-mentioned requirements. G. Ivanov was only officially included in the commission and was not aware of the true purpose. In general, based on the proposals of T. Ryskulov and his supporters, it was aimed at granting Turkestan the status of a sovereign Soviet republic, which, like Ukraine, should build its relations with the RSFSR on a treaty basis⁴. In the Central Committee of the RCP (b) under the chairmanship of V. Lenin, after Turar Ryskulov read the petition, a commission headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the RSFSR, Chicherin, was formed, and after studying this issue within a month, the demand for "autonomy" was rejected. During this period, Bashkir representatives who came to Moscow with the above-mentioned demands met with the Turkestanis. In their secret meetings, they discussed the possibility of overthrowing the Soviets, even by force of arms, if their demands for independence were rejected. For this purpose, the main task was to send members of the organization to the "Basmachi" in Turkestan, to lead them, and to organize them⁵.

Turar Riskulov and Nizomiddin Khojayev, upon returning from Moscow, reported on their trips at a secret meeting of the leaders of the "National Unity" society held in the "Rohat" garden of the old city of Tashkent. The meeting was attended by Turar Riskulov, Sadulla Tursunkhojayev, Munavvarqori Abdurashidkhanov, Yusuf Aliyev, Akbar Islomov, Sulton Khojanov, Turakul

² Archive of the State Security Service of Uzbekistan (After that ASSSU). P-33391, volumes 3, P. 138.

³ ASSSU. P-22407, volumes 1, P. 21.

⁴ Туркестан в начале XX века: К истории истоков национальной независимости. –С. 157.

⁵ ASSSU. P-22407, volumes 1, P. 22.



Jonuzokov, Najmiddin Shermuhammedov, Sanjar Asfandiyorov, Gani Yunusov, Mirza Rakhmatov, and a total of 30 other people. Turor Riskulov, speaking at the meeting, commented on the application: "We went to Moscow and asked for autonomy. They gave us one two-wheeled car."⁶ At the meeting, further action plans were also discussed, and important decisions related to the ways of combating the Soviets were made. One of them was the resignation of all high-ranking national cadres in order to exert pressure on the Turkcommission and the RSFSR, and at the same time, to prevent the transfer of supreme power in Turkestan from members of society to outsiders, the decision of those holding secondary positions to remain at work⁷. Accordingly, in July 1920, after the resignation of Turar Ryskulov and other leaders, another representative of the society, Abdulla Rakhimboev, became the chairman of the Turkestan Central Executive Committee. The issue discussed at meetings with the Bashkirs in Moscow - the unification of the independence fighters around society - was unanimously supported by the participants of the meeting.

Secondly, the representatives of Turkestan, who were going to the Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku in September 1920, were entrusted by the society with the following two tasks⁸:

- 1) Requests to Moscow and notification of their refusal
- 2) Agreement on cooperation with other peoples of the East in the fight against the Soviets.

Among those elected to the presidium of the Baku Congress were representatives from Turkestan: Turor Riskulov, Munavvarqori Abdurashidkhanov, Toshpulatbek Norbutabekov, Turakul Jonuzoqov, Abdulhamid Sulaymon, Rajab Muhammedov from Bukhara, and Bekjon Rahmonov from Khiva, who were not given the opportunity to defend the interests of the region from the official platform⁹. Speaking at the congress on behalf of the representatives of Turkestan, T. Norbutabekov declared that "we demand the implementation of the slogan of freedom, equality, and brotherhood not only on paper, but also in practice," stating that the colonial policy in the region was still ongoing¹⁰. In such circumstances, Turkish officer Anvar Pasha, who was not allowed to speak at the congress at Lenin's invitation, met with representatives from Turkestan and shared his thoughts. Representatives from Turkestan informed him about the activities of the "National Unity" society and invited him to Turkestan to fight against the Soviets¹¹. However, Anvar Pasha did not adequately assess the situation in Turkestan. Later, the Turkish diplomatic representative, Dr. Reza Nur, sent for negotiations with the Soviets, in his memoirs, in the words of a Bukharan government official, explained the reason for the failure of Anvar Pasha's participation in the Turkestan independence movement as follows: "Anvar, through religion, led them (kurbashis - A.Kh.) astray and promoted fanaticism in his proclamations. He showered insults against culture and the new order. What kind of person is this? As a result of this propaganda, the "Basmachi" (as given in the source, in fact, they are referring to the independence fighters - A.Kh.) cut off the heads whenever they found a person with a clear mind.... Then the Russians came and defeated the "Basmachi" and drove them away. The matter didn't end there. The Russians also slaughtered and massacred the people wherever

⁶ ASSSU. P-33391, volumes 3, P. 254.

⁷ ASSSU. P-22407, volumes 1, P. 23.

⁸ ASSSU. P-22407, volumes 1, P. 25.

⁹ Съезд народов востока Баку 1-8 сентябрь 1920 г. Стенографические отчеты. –Петроград, 1920. -С. 28.

¹⁰ Съезд народов востока Баку 1-8 сентябрь 1920 г. Стенографические отчеты. –С. 87.

¹¹ ASSSU. P-22407, volumes 1, P. 26.



they went. They took their plundered goods to the market and sold them. Thus, the region was subjected to two swarms of locusts. We aimed for the path of progress, and Anvar caused us to go back 40 years."¹² The main work of the representatives of "Milliy Ittihad," returning from Baku, was now directed towards supporting the kurbashis.

Thus, the above events show that the Soviets' claims about granting "independence" to all peoples were nothing but falsehood and hypocrisy. Recognizing this, the intellectuals of all the dependent peoples living in Turkestan and the Russian Empire in general began to fight for freedom by various means. Having drawn the necessary conclusions from the bloodshed of the Turkestan autonomy, they began to strive for independence through peaceful negotiations. However, when these attempts were unsuccessful, the issue of strengthening the armed struggle against the Soviets and uniting the independence fighters through a shadow society came to the forefront. The goal was to establish the foundations of the national struggle against the Soviets in Turkestan and the foundations of the national army. In the words of Ahmad Zaki Validi: "Society, without hesitation, established relations with the Basmachi in Samarkand, Khiva, and Fergana. The goal was to introduce national spirit and order into this movement, to create military gangs in the administration of people who were in harmony with public opinion, supporters of reform and progress, and to transfer existing partisans to the hands of enlightened people as much as possible. For this purpose, advisors from among the enlightened and some assistant officers were sent to the "Basmachi."¹³

It is known that the participation of society in the Turkestan independence movement was carried out through various means. The first of these is to establish contact with large kurbashis by sending their representatives and carrying out subsequent actions according to the instructions of society; the second is to provide kurbashis with military weapons; the third is to provide information about military actions against kurbashis using members of society holding state positions; the fourth is to expel defeated or defeated kurbashis abroad; the fifth is to use experienced Ottoman Turkish officers in the independence movement; the sixth is to form a positive attitude towards the "Basmachi" through propaganda among the people.

From the end of 1920, at the initiative of the society's central committee, "advisory representatives" were systematically sent to the kurbashis. The issue of their leadership was resolved between Munavvarqori Abdurashidxonov, Nizomiddin Xo'jayev, and Sadriddinxon Sharifxo'jayev. The merits of Ahmad Zaki Validi, who played a special role in the liberation struggle in Turkestan at that time, were also invaluable¹⁴. In accordance with the decision of the Central Committee of the society, the following people can be included among those who led the management of this sphere: In Fergana, Turaqul Jonuzakov and Obidkhoja Saidov, I. Khidraliyev, Dadaboyev, Alikhojayev, Abdulla Karimov, Mukhtorjon Alimov, Kholbotirov, Rakhim Boboyev, Isakulov; In Samarkand, representatives of the regional committee S. Sergoziev, Yormukhamedov, Zokir Afzali, Majid Abdujabbarov, Ruzikul Yusupov, Kazi Haydar, Murodjon Aloxhodzhaev, Fayzullin, A. Kurbi; In Syrdarya region: S. Sharifkhodzhaev, N. Khodzhaev, S. Tillakhanov, and L. Azizzada¹⁵.

¹² Dr. Riza Nur. Hayat ve Hatratim. III cild. -İstanbul, 1967. -S. 927.

¹³ A. Zeki Velidi Togan. Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve yakın tarihi -İstanbul, 1981. -S. 419.

¹⁴ Қ. Ражабов. Туркистон минтақасида совет режимига қарши қурулди ҳаракат (1918-1924 йиллар). Тарих фан. докт. ...дисс. -Тошкент, 2005. 244-245-бетлар.

¹⁵ ASSSU. P-22407, volumes 1, P. 26.



The management of the Kurbashi movement in Bukhara was distributed by region, and Otaulla Khojaye, who was officially sent to Eastern Bukhara as an extraordinary authorized person to fight against them, was entrusted with it. Its task was to collect gold coins and other valuables to support the independence movement. Muinjon Aminov was tasked with organizing rebel leaders in the districts of Bukhara. In Chorjo'y, this work was carried out by the Turkmen Noubatov. In turn, the funds collected in Bukhara, under the supervision of Musa Saidjanov, were also directed to the supply of Basmachi in Fergana, Samarkand, and Syrdarya. Financial decisions were made by Fayzulla Khodzhaev and Abdukodir Mukhiddinov¹⁶.

The unification and control of the movement of kurbashis was usually carried out in two ways. The first is to control the actions of the kurbashis through representatives secretly sent to their headquarters through direct instructions and material assistance from society. Secondly, under the pretext of ending "Basmachi," responsible state officials were sent to the kurbashis to "incite them to stop the movement" or to unite small groups into larger ones.

Tangriqul Hoji Maqsudov, Usmonxo'ja To'xtaxo'jayev, Mirjalil Karimov, and Obidxo'ja Saidov can be cited as examples of representatives sent directly to the commanders. In the summer of 1921, these representatives, on the instructions of the society, were sent to Kurbasha Rahmankul to provide military training to the Kurbasha's young men and to ensure communication between the Kurbasha and society. According to the directive, Mirjalil Karimov and Obidxo'ja Saidov were to provide military training in gymnastics, while Tangriqul Hoji and Usmonxo'ja were to teach in the village. Their material support was provided by Tolibjon Musaboyev, who is responsible for the company's finances. In particular, Usmonkhoja Tokhtakhojayev and Tangrikul Khoji Maksudov were given 2 million soums¹⁷.

The role of the society's central committee in the independence movement is clearly visible when it sent representatives to the kurbashis, giving instructions to the regional committees. In accordance with the Center's directive, the five in the regional center and the three in the district were tasked with appointing representatives from among the society's members to fight alongside the kurbashis, ensuring they did not expose the society. In particular, from 1921, the Jadid Qori Komil, the Chelak scholars Katta Makhdum and Kichik Makhdum, and the Karakalpaks of the Samarkand region Ochil To'qsabo worked as political advisors to the Kurbashi Ochilbek, who was fighting in Samarkand¹⁸. In fact, many of his young men were members of society¹⁹. The work of regional committees on the ground with the independence fighters was under the constant control of the central committee. Reports were received by the society's departments on who the kurbashis contacted in their territory and on the issues of assistance provided to them. For this purpose, in 1921, Obidxo'ja Saidov was sent to the Namangan Committee for an investigation. Upon arrival, he met with the chairman of the regional committee, Zayniddin Nasriddinov, and received information about the situation in Namangan. In particular, on the issue of "Basmachi," it was reported that contact had been established with the Namangan kurbashis Pirimqul and Dadaboy Ponsod, that the regional committee was providing them with weapons in a timely manner, and that information was being

¹⁶ ASSSU. P-22407, volumes 1, P. 28.

¹⁷ ASSSU. P-33391, volumes 3, P. 254-255.

¹⁸ К.К. Раджабов. Вооруженное движение в Туркестанском крае против советского режима (1918-1924 гг.). Автореферат дисс. ...док. ист. наук. –Ташкент, 2005. –С. 51.

¹⁹ Қ. Ражабов. Самарканд кўрбошилари. -Тошкент, 2025. 188-бет.



conveyed about the Soviet government's measures against the "Basmachi" and the military actions of the Red Army soldiers²⁰.

The delegates often performed their duties successfully. In particular, Tangriqul Hoji Maqsudov wrote a battle song for Rahmonqul's men to enhance the military training and morale of the rebel groups²¹. Sometimes, representatives of the society under the kurbashi attempted to seize power by submitting written requests to the Soviet government on their behalf. Among them is the demand for the creation of the Fergana Autonomy on behalf of Kurbashi Rahmankul to the XII Congress of the Turkestan Communist Party. This request was written by Usmonkhoja Tokhtakhoyayev under the leadership of Sadriddinkhon Sharifkhoyayev, and Abdullajon Qayum copied it with a reed pencil. Mirjalil Karimov returned to Tashkent with this document²². Another information states that the above request was decided to be sent by mail with the help of a member of the society named Isfandiyor, who supplied weapons to Rahmonqul²³. However, the terms of the application and its submission are not yet known. At the same time, in letters addressed to the Soviet command, they expressed their uncompromising attitude towards the Bolshevik regime established in Turkestan; this regime did not bring any benefit to the population of the region (on behalf of the kurbashi Rahmankul, April 4, 1922), it trampled on the customs and laws of Muslims (on behalf of the kurbashi Sultan)²⁴.

On the other hand, members of society in state positions, working on behalf of the government to stop the movement of small groups of kurbashis, gained a special position in the eyes of the Soviets. He was even awarded government honors for his participation in the elimination of "Basmachi." Among those who were awarded the Soviet Order, having received instructions from members of the society to manage the Basmachi movement, the following are known: I. Khidiraliyev, Alikhodzhaev, S. Sergoziev, Yormuhamedov, Abdujabbarov, Abdulla Karimov, Abdulla Rakhimboev, Fayzulla Khodzhaev, Muhammadjon Poshshahodzhaev²⁵. In reality, the cessation of small groups' activities was carried out so that that group could act in unity with another. In this way, the independence movement was united under the control of a single command.

In 1919-1920, some members of the society, who were in contact with the independence fighters, provided them with weapons, while others, fleeing persecution by the Soviet security agencies, fought alongside the kurbashis. The task of providing the kurbashis with weapons was carried out by the chairman of the Fergana committee, Husainkhon Makhsum Niyazov. He buried the weapons in the designated place according to the instructions, and then reported this to the kurbashis²⁶. Yakubdzhan Yusupov, a former militiaman of the old city of Tashkent, as the most trusted person in society, provided the kurbashis, subordinate to Rakhmonkul and Yusuf Erali, with weapons and military plans, creating conditions for their defense. Moreover, he was considered the main mediator in the society's relations with the kurbashis. In this endeavor, Eshonxon Qori from the village of Talya provided him with close assistance. They worked under

²⁰ ASSSU. P-33391, volumes 1, P. 171.

²¹ ASSSU. P-33391, volumes 1, P. 171

²² ASSSU. P-33391, volumes 3, P. 256.

²³ ASSSU. P-33391, volumes 11, P. 212.

²⁴ Туркестан в начале XX века: К истории истоков национальной независимости. –С. 367.

²⁵ ASSSU. P-22407, volumes 1, P. 25.

²⁶ ASSSU. P-33391, volumes 6, P. 244.



the direction of the leaders of the society, such as Tolibjon Musaboev and Isroil Ibragimov. One of the society's members, Farid Toirov, also had indirect contact with them²⁷. Representatives such as Shamsi Najmi and Ayubi also supplied weapons to the kurbashis. Timurbek Kazbekov, Husainkhon, Maarufkhon, Ziyouddin Makhsum ogli, Mavlavi kazi, Abdushukur Ayubi, and Sayfi Kamol fought against the Soviets in the rebel forces²⁸.

One of the factors that ensured the success of the independence movement in 1920-1922 was, undoubtedly, the unprecedented role of such processes as the advance of information about the military actions of the Soviet troops through "representatives" in the state security structures, and the transfer of weapons from the Soviet garrisons to the independence fighters. Representatives of the society, enlisted in the Soviet military to warn the kurbashis about the actions of the Red Army in advance, maintained constant contact with the commander of the kurbashis in Semirechye, the leader of the kurbashis in Semirechye, Turakul Zhanuzakov, in the 2nd Muslim Rifle Regiment in Jalal-Abad - Sari mingbashi, the head of the militia in Jalal-Abad - Kulnazar, the serviceman of the 1st squadron in Jalal-Abad - Kultay mingbashi²⁹. In particular, in a letter signed "888" in his name in 1921, it was reported that on May 15, all relations in Andijan were established at a sufficient level, work was underway to deploy a Russian garrison in Paytuq, Izboskan, and Haqqulobod, on May 24, Soviet workers were sent from Kokand to Andijan to work, and at the same time, they were being distributed to institutions, and on May 24, rumors spread that about 50 Red Army soldiers from Kokand had arrived and settled in Mirkomilboy's barracks in the old city, that there was a Bashkir division in Tashkent, and that members of the Central Committee were at its head. According to Soviet special services, this letter was written by Burhon Mashrabov, a former member of the Andijan Executive Committee³⁰. Therefore, as is written in the archival documents of the Soviet government:... "in the course of the struggle, the Basmachi gained a great deal of experience and knew our weaknesses very well; their reconnaissance was excellent, they were constantly aware of how our detachments were moving and always deployed on time."³¹ Measures were also taken, such as the bribery of Russian government officials in providing assistance to imprisoned or persecuted members of society. It is known that in 1921, the wife of Reisykh, head of the political department of the Turkestan CHK, was used to release members of the society arrested in connection with the Sadriddin Khan case. Jamolkhon Kamolkhonov, a member of "Milliy Ittihad," asked his wife to release Shukur Nazarmukhamedov from custody in exchange for a diamond ring³².

Naturally, the fact that the activities of society in this area were persecuted by the Soviet security agencies and some representatives were subjected to repression testifies to the scale of the movement. In particular, in the report of an employee of the Fergana Department of the Turkestan Cheka, it was noted that one of the Kurbashi Shermukhammad's men, Ruziboy, came to the village of Yarmozor every week to take weapons, in particular, received a three-shooter rifle with 50 rounds of ammunition through the mediation of a soldier of the 2nd Turkish

²⁷ ASSSU. P-33391, volumes 2, P. 445.

²⁸ ASSSU. P-33391, volumes 14, P. 197.

²⁹ ASSSU. P-45537, volumes 2, P. 72.

³⁰ ASSSU. P-45537, volumes 2, P. 70.

³¹ Қ. Ражабов. Самарқанд қўрбошилари. -Тошкент, 2025. 51-бет.

³² ASSSU. P-45537, volumes 2, P. 138.



Division, Majidali Ibragimov³³. In 1920, Red Army personnel, such as Muhiddin Norboyev, Mullajon Alinazarov, and Mirzo Mansur Said Isomammedov, were sentenced to death on charges of espionage and supplying weapons to Shermuhammad³⁴. Or, for assisting in the release of large kurbashis, who were captured or deceived to switch to the side of the Soviets and then imprisoned, in particular, the kurbashi from Samarkand, Bahrombek, who was sentenced to death in 1922, the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Turkestan ASSR, K. Otaboev, the chairman of the Central Committee of the Turkestan ASSR, A. Rakhimboev, the chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkestan, N. Turakulov, the chairman of the troika for the fight against "Basmachi" in the Samarkand region, A.S. Sergoziev, were removed from responsible positions³⁵.

The issue of cooperation with the kurbashis was not perceived equally positively by all members of society. It is known that sometimes contradictions arose in this matter between subordinate departments and branches. For example, in 1922, when the leaders of the Kattakurgan branch of the Samarkand branch of the society were instructed to act jointly with the kurbashis Turobbek Turabekov and Mamur Yuldashev in Jizzakh, and to demolish the railway, telephone, and telegraph lines in Kattakurgan, the task, given taking into account the economic damage and public discontent, was not fulfilled. Kurbashi Bahrombek and Tillatish, who were sent for this purpose, were resisted, and 2 armored trains were brought through an appeal to the Samarkand Regional Executive Committee³⁶.

Another way in which society fought against the Soviets was to conduct propaganda among the people. In this case, various informal gatherings, rituals, in particular, "gap" were effectively used. At these meetings, opinions were exchanged on the political life of the region, and opinions were expressed. For example, in the mid-1920s, a conversation at Sadridin Akhmedov's house discussed how the Soviets were using Hamza's death for mass extermination of the people, how they began selling sheep at live weight in the market and its negative consequences, the news of Junaid Khan's death, the restoration of diplomatic relations with England, and the possibility of China's war against the USSR³⁷. The "Basmachi" were promoted as heroes in conversations. In a conversation held in Tangriqul Hoji Maqsudov's garden, Said G'ofuriy said on this matter: "The Basmachi are not what we imagine. They consciously set themselves the goal of building a new government. For this, they needed military forces and resources. Therefore, they collected money and funds from the people. It is incorrect to define this as banditry. For example, the Soviet government plundered the population to seize power. This can be called banditry."³⁸

In 1921, when the center of the society moved to Bukhara, Munavvarqori decided to publish a newspaper promoting the growth of the independence movement's influence in the government. Members of the society, Laziz Azizzoda and Said Ahrori, were involved in this work. From February, a newspaper was published in pure Uzbek under the name "Turkiston Ozodligi" (Freedom of Turkestan). This newspaper, which published 3 issues in total, had a circulation of only 5 or 6 copies. The articles were written by Laziz Azizzoda, Munavvarqori

³³ Archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. File CO 563, P. 21.

³⁴ Toshkand xabarlari [otilib o'ldirilgan inqilob dushmanlari] // "Ishtirokiyun" gazetasi. 1920-yil 29-may.

³⁵ Самарканд кўрбошилари. 191-бет.

³⁶ ASSSU. P-33391, volumes 12, P. 223-224.

³⁷ ASSSU. P-33391, volumes 11, P. 97-98.

³⁸ ASSSU. P-33391, volumes 11, P. 130.



Abdurashidxonov, Said Ahroriy, and Abdurahmon Ismoilzoda. Abdurahmon Ismoilzoda also worked with L. Azizzoda at the "Bukhara News" newspaper at that time. The newspaper's editor-in-chief's name was "Said Azim," and the content of the articles consisted of highlighting the strength of independence and conveying the goals of society. After reading this newspaper, Fitrat told L. Azizzoda, "It seems there are very strong people among the Basmachi. I read their newspapers, it's terrible!" he praised the movement's prospects. Moreover, one of the main goals of the newspaper was to show the strong influence of society in the center of Moscow and thereby ideologically prepare for granting autonomy or independence to Turkestan. For this reason, Munavvarqori Abdurashidkhanov sent one issue of the newspaper to the RCP (b), another to the Foreign Affairs Commissariat, and another to the Bukhara Executive Commissariat³⁹.

In general, as a result of the successful participation of the "Milliy Ittihad" society in the independence movement, serious blows were struck against the Red Army, and its peak occurred in 1920-1922. After the official peaceful efforts of society towards independence were unsuccessful, the issue of participation in the armed struggle for freedom against the Soviets came to the forefront. The goal was set to unite the groups of dispersed kurbashis, form a single command, and create the foundations of the national army. In this regard, efforts were made to effectively utilize the official representatives of society within the government, the Red Army, and members of the people; representatives were sent to the kurbashis, measures were taken to provide them with weapons, and the kurbashis were regularly informed about the military plans of the Soviet troops. At the same time, through the press, they sought to awaken a spirit of goodwill towards the independence fighters among the people. Despite the effectiveness of the measures taken by society to develop the independence movement, the fact that the Soviet side had military and technical superiority, and some leaders of the independence movement made mistakes in pursuit of personal interests, led to the defeat of the struggle. The Soviet repressive machine led to the elimination of all the leaders involved in this case, one by one. Nevertheless, the glorious struggle of the independence fighters for the freedom of the Motherland was forever imprinted on the pages of history and remained in memory as the highest example of courage.

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