

PAPER

PILLARS OF NATIONAL FREEDOM: THE TURKISH-EUROPEAN ACTIVITIES OF MUSTAFA CHOKAY, OSMAN HOCA, AND AHMED ZAKI VALIDI

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Abstract

This article scientifically covers the activities of Mustafa Chokay, Osman Khoja and Ahmed Zaki Validi, the pillars of national freedom, in Turkey and Europe, based on archival funds, national and foreign periodicals.

Key words: Mustafa Chokay, Ahmed Zaki Validi, Usman Khoja, army, archive, expedition, revolution, press, independence, emigrant, totalitarian, party, idea, Soviet, government.

Introduction

The leaders of the three states that operated in Turkestan, namely Mustafa Chokai, Prime Minister of the Turkestan Autonomous Government in 1921, Osman Khoja, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic in 1922, and Ahmad Zaki Validi, Head of the Bashkir Autonomous Republic in 1923, were forced to leave their homeland and emigrate abroad. These three sons of the Uzbek, Kazakh, and Bashkir peoples lived in Turkey and European countries, waging a life-and-death struggle against Soviet Russia and the communist idea in the ideological arena. It

was Mustafa Chokai, Osman Khoja, and Ahmad Zaki Validi who were the leaders of the Turkestan emigrants abroad.

Mustafa Chokai's emigrant life abroad began in Istanbul in such a difficult way. The political emigrants had no money or valuables. Also, no one welcomed the Turkestan emigrants and did not give them shelter. At that time, Istanbul was under the control of the British, the Ottoman Empire was experiencing its last days, and the Turkish people, led by Mustafa Kemal Gazi, were achieving significant victories in Anatolia during the final stage of the National Liberation War against the Greeks and the British.

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According to Maria Gorina-Chokay, Mustafa Chokay received an order to write 5 articles in the newspaper "The Times" and was given 5 British pounds as an advance [1]. This amount was considered the happiest thing for a young family in emigration at that time.

Analysis literature and methodology

This article is based on the research of R.Radjapova, R.Abdullaev, S.Azamkhodzhaev, S.Inoyatov, O.Sharafiddinov, N.Karimov, R.Shamsutdinov, S.Shodmonova, A.Mingnarov, Sh.Khayitov, D.Dzhamolova, O.Rashidov, U.Khayitov, A.Makhmudov, M.Darmonova, A.Yuldoshev, and other historians. The principles of historicity, systematicity, and generalization were used in studying this problem.

Discussion

At this time, newspapers published in Berlin and Paris reported that the chairman of the Russian Provisional Government, A. Kerensky, and the leaders of the Russian emigrants who had escaped from Kolchak's army, Avksentyev and Tchaikovsky, were living in Paris. Mustafa Chokay, who read these reports, also made determined efforts to obtain a visa to France and achieved his goal. Saidnasir Mirjalilov, one of the leaders of the Uzbek Jadids, who had been with Mustafa Chokay in Tirlis from 1919 to 1921 and in Istanbul from February 1921, and a large businessman, was thinking of returning to Turkestan[2]. After the Chokay family left Istanbul for Paris, they lost contact with S. Mirjalilov. In the chapter "About Said Nasir" in Maria Chokai's memoirs, it is written that S. Mirjalilov, who did not know Russian, had a lot of trouble both in Tbilisi and among the Russian emigrants in Istanbul, and in addition, many Armenians in Tbilisi shunned him under the pretext of trade. "Whatever I do in Istanbul, I will return to Turkestan, even if it is on foot," he often told his friends. During the war, they heard from prisoners of war about S. Mirjalilov's death. "He was a good man! May his bed be soft"[3], Maria Chokai concludes her thoughts about him.

Mustafa Chokai continued his struggle for the independence of Turkestan in Paris for 20 years

from 1921 to 1941, that is, until his death. Since the summer of 1921, Chokay collaborated with the Russian-language newspaper *Poslednie Novosti* in Paris and other European press publications, in which he put forward the claim of Turkestan independence and exposed the anti-people policy of the Soviet state[4]. During his stay in France, he waged an influential intellectual struggle against the occupying Soviet regime in Turkestan with his lectures in various European countries. In addition, he published books and articles in German, French, English, Polish, Russian and Turkish. Mustafa Chokay knew these languages well. These articles were influential in explaining and explaining to the peoples of the world that the Soviet rule in Turkestan was illegal. Because Mustafa Chokay was taking the basis and essence of the ideas of the Soviet state and the Bolsheviks from the Soviet periodical press of that time[5].

The second organization of emigrants was the Prometheus Union, which brought together Ukrainians, Georgians, Belarusians, Azerbaijanis, Tatars, Uzbeks and other peoples oppressed under the Soviet regime. Some of Chokay's French articles were published in the French journal *Prometheus*, the central publication of this organization in Paris. Mustafa Chokay and Osman Khoja played an important role in the organization of the Prometheus Union. Later, on the initiative of the Polish President, Marshal Józef Piłsudski (1867-1935), the Prometheans, that is, all emigrants in Europe fighting against the Soviet state, gathered in Poland and were supported materially and morally.

Speaking about Osman Khoja's activities abroad, it is worth mentioning that in April 1922, he arrived in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, on an official visit to hold negotiations from Eastern Bukhara. However, under pressure from the Soviet state, Afghanistan refused to provide military and material assistance to its neighbor Bukhara in the fight against the Red Army. On June 18, 1923, Ahmad Zaki Validi, who arrived in Kabul, met with Osman Khoja and other progressives, as well as some of his commanders.

Osman Khoja's life and activities are divided into two periods. His first period was spent in his homeland, that is, in Bukhara, the land of his ancestors. During this period, he also studied in

Bakhchisarai and Istanbul for four years. In the second period of his life, Osman Khoja lived in exile, first for a short time in Afghanistan, then in Poland, Iran, Pakistan, and mainly in Turkey. The adventures of his life in exile were also full of hardships and struggles. In any case, Osman Khoja was a tireless fighter for the freedom and true independence of his country.

Osman Khoja arrived in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, on April 10, 1922. He tried to negotiate with the British officials there about purchasing weapons for the Bukhara troops. However, the British officials did not give Osman Khoja any guarantees, since there was an agreement between England and Russia not to interfere in each other's spheres of interest. On April 29, 1922, Osman Khoja presented a memorandum to the Afghan Tsar Amanullah Khan.

While in Afghanistan, Osman Khoja tried to ideologically lead the independence movement in Bukhara. He established contacts with Anvar Pasha and some of his commanders. After Anvar Pasha's death (August 4, 1922), he composed two marches in Uzbek and Tajik in his memory and taught them to the young soldiers. One of these marches, written in August 1922, is called "Intiqam... Ol intiqam!" [6].

Results

On June 26–28, 1923, a special congress of the Turkestan National Unity (TMB) organization was held near Kabul to unite the Turkestan emigrants in foreign countries and continue the national movement. At this congress, it was agreed that Abdulhamid Aripov, one of the Turkestan emigrants, would remain in Afghanistan and continue his work, Hashim Shoyik Yakubov would go to Japan, Mufti Sadriddinkhan (Sadriddinkhan Sharif Khojayev) and Turobbek would go to Mashhad (Iran), and Osman Khoja would set off for Turkey. It also appointed Mustafa Chokay as the chairman of the department in Europe, and Ahmad Zaki Validi was tasked with opening a TMB headquarters in Paris in consultation with Mustafa Chokay, and establishing it in Berlin and Istanbul, and Validi was also tasked with writing and publishing a history of the national liberation struggles in Turkestan [7].

Osman Khoja's stay in Afghanistan did not last

long. He traveled to Turkey via India. At the same time as Osman Khoja, Ahmad Zaki Validi Tugan also set off for Turkey with a "Bukhara citizen" passport issued by the Bukhara embassy in Afghanistan, and from there to Europe.

Ahmad Zaki Validi set off from Anov and Ashgabat on February 21, 1923, heading for Mashhad and crossing into Iran. He arrived in Muhammadabad, Iran, on February 28, Tus (the homeland of the famous poet Firdawsi and Imam Ghazali) on March 11, and Mashhad on March 12, where he stopped at the Lochali caravanserai. According to Validi's later writings, the governor of Khorasan and the commander-in-chief of the troops there showed him great respect. In this city, Validi also visited historical sites and the tombs of famous people, worked in libraries and bought a large number of books from bookstores. He met with the Afghan consul Sardor Abdulaziz Khan, who was stationed here, and stayed in Mashhad for five weeks. The embassy staff from Ankara met with Somibey, Tahsinbey, Kopruli and others in Mashhad. He also met with the Soviet ambassador M. Khakimov and Sa'dullah Khoja Tursun Khojayev, who was sent from Tashkent. Then he left Mashhad for Kabul [8].

A 26-page article by Ahmad Zaki Validi entitled "The Tasks of the Eastern Revolutionary Intellectuals in the Fight against Social Revolution and Reaction in the East" written in the village of Bedana, Samarkand region, on June 23, 1922, was published in Turkey at this time. The article discusses the future outcome of the struggle between communism and capitalism, and what advocates of socialist social justice and reform in the East can do at a time when communism in Marx's time and its modern representatives, such as Trotsky, have lost their purity and become puppets in the hands of a powerful imperialist state exploiting weak peoples.

Osman Khoja and Ahmad Zaki Validi developed a plan for the struggle of the emigrants abroad for the independence of Turkestan in the summer of 1923 in Kabul. At that time, Mustafa Choqai had arrived in Paris, where he had intensified the struggle against the Bolsheviks on the ideological front through various articles published in European countries and letters written to his comrades. [9]

While in Bombay, Ahmad Zaki Validi spent much of his time studying the works of the famous poet, Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1938), who wrote in Urdu and Persian. Iqbal lived in Lahore at that time. At one time, Iqbal's poems were also popular among the Turkestan leaders. Among Iqbal's poems were also stirring verses dedicated to Turkestan. In one of his works, he expresses complete confidence that: "Temur's word has been broken, but his melody lives on. This melody sounds like another word from Samarkand." [10]

Validi's journey from Bombay to Istanbul by sea took 27 days, and he reached Istanbul on November 28, 1923. Due to the lack of a Turkish visa, Validi could not board a steamer to Istanbul and Izmir, but set off for France. Validi and his companion Abdulkadir Inon, having obtained a French visa, reached Marseille on December 20, 1923. Validi improved his financial situation by selling a valuable Bukhara carpet that he had been carrying with him in Marseille. Thus, Validi traveled in Europe for 15 months, arriving in Istanbul only in the summer of 1925. [11]

The arrival and settlement in Istanbul of prominent figures of the national liberation movement in Turkestan (Bukhara and Bashkiria), such as Osman Khoja and Ahmad Zaki Validi, automatically began to shift the focus of the Turkestan Liberation Society, which was being built in Paris and Berlin, to Turkey. In 1925–1926, the Turkestan Society sought to create unity and cooperation among Turkestan intellectuals living in different countries.

Ahmad Zaki Validi was initially appointed to the Department of Penmanship and Translation Affairs under the Turkish Ministry of Education in Ankara with the help of Dr. Riza Nur. However, his scientific and creative activity began soon after he was appointed by the state as a teacher at the History Department of Istanbul University, and he was also relieved of financial difficulties. [12] Similar luck also smiled on Zaki Validi's compatriot and friend Fatkhulkadir Sulaymanov (who later took the name Abdulkadir Inon), who also became an assistant at Istanbul University. [13] However, such luck did not smile on everyone. Miyon Buzruk Salihov (1891–1938), a member of the Central Committee of the Turkestan Liberation Society, was a well-

known penman in Turkestan. While studying at Istanbul University (he also lived in Turkey for a while), he could not adapt to the environment and returned to the Uzbek SSR in early 1927 due to financial difficulties. His return to the homeland was transformed into a major propaganda campaign for the Bolsheviks. At first, he taught Tajik at the Central Asian State University in Tashkent and other institutions. He also got involved in literature and wrote articles. However, during the period of mass repression, Miyon Buzruk Salikhov was arrested on August 7, 1937, and then shot on October 4, 1938.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the leaders of the Turkestanis who were forced to emigrate in the early 1920s: Mustafa Chokai, Osman Khoja and Ahmad Zaki Validi went to Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey and European countries (France, Germany, etc.) and settled there. They continued the struggle for independence against the Soviet regime and the communist idea on the ideological front, operating mainly in Turkey and Europe. Despite great difficulties, financial shortages, and others, these three great sons of the Turkic peoples, while abroad, worked tirelessly for the national liberation struggle of Turkestan and achieved certain results.

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