



## **THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOVIET POWER IN TURKESTAN AND THE CHANGE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE**

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<b>Article history:</b>	<b>Abstract:</b>
<b>Received:</b> 26 <sup>th</sup> July 2024	This article discusses the changes in the management system, the newly established structures, and their activities in Turkestan as a result of the establishment of Soviet power in Turkestan in 1917.
<b>Accepted:</b> 20 <sup>th</sup> August 2024	

**Keywords:** Soviet power, management system, Bolsheviks, Bolshevik Party, national issue, national relations, colonial policy, national peripheral regions, Turkestan Autonomy, Provisional Government.

### **INTRODUCTION.**

The socio-political situation in the territory of present-day Uzbekistan at the beginning of the 20th century, and the colonial policy of the Russian Empire required serious attention to national issues and national relations in the country. As a result of the October coup in Petrograd on October 27, 1917, the Provisional Government was overthrown, the Communist Party of Soviets was elected at the Second All-Russian Diet of the Soviets under the leadership of the Bolshevik leader V.I. The uprising led to the overthrow of the Soviet government at the cost of much bloodshed. The transfer of power to the hands of the Soviets led to the protests of a large part of the local population and public figures. The Council of Muslims of the country, national parties and organizations, well-known Muslim public figures were against the transfer of power to the Soviets.

On November 15-22, 1917, there were heated discussions on the issue of power at the III-Regional Diet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies of Turkestan, held in Tashkent. The group of Bolsheviks advocated that the government should be the same as in Central Russia, and rejected the proposal to form a coalition government. Sherli Lapin, chairman of the Tashkent branch of the organization «Shuroi Ulamo» proposed the resolution adopted by the «united council of various Muslim groups» (held on November 12-15) at the Syezd. According to the general content of the resolution, a purely Muslim autonomy should be established in Turkestan with legislative rights in all branches of internal administration. Turkestan is declared as the Muslim Federation of Turkestan within the Russian Federation. It was determined that management will be conducted on the basis of Sharia law.

The 3rd National Congress of Soviets adopted a declaration. According to this declaration, «the supreme authority in Turkestan is the Council of Workers',

Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, which is called the Council of People's Commissars of Turkestan.» According to this document: At present, it is not appropriate to include Muslims in the supreme organization of the revolutionary power of the country, because the relationship of the local population to the power of the soldiers, workers and peasants' soviets is uncertain, and also because there are no proletarian class organizations among the local population, they are in the supreme power of the country they cannot rely on the support of factions to form an authority. This was a big political mistake made by the Bolsheviks in the national issue, in which the chauvinistic, i.e., nationalist sentiments of some leaders were openly manifested. In accordance with the agreement between the Bolsheviks and the Left Socialists, 8 seats in the government were given to the Left Socialists and 7 seats to the Bolsheviks and maximalists. Thus, the Council of People's Commissars of the Turkestan region was formed under the chairmanship of the Bolshevik F.I. Kolesov. Not a single representative from the local population was included in the government. During 1917-1924, as the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Republic of Turkestan, Kolesov F.I. (November 1917 - October 1918), Figelsky V.D. (October 1918-January 1919), Sorokin K. (March-September 1919), Rudzutak Ya.E. (February-September 1920), Carefree Otaboyev (September 1920-September 1922), Turor Riskulov (September 1922-January 1924), Rustam Islamov (January-November 1924) conducted. The non-inclusion of representatives of the local people in the political process further weakened the confidence of the people of the country in the Soviet government. Even some democratic sections of the European population in Turkestan opposed such insidious policies of the Bolsheviks.

In Turkestan, the leftist extremist political groups, the government formed from their representatives, primarily the Bolsheviks, began to continue the colonial



policy of the Russian Empire in new ways. After the October coup, administration work was organized and implemented in Turkestan, as in Russia, based on the principle of class.

From the early days of Soviet power, the Bolshevik Party adopted two important documents on the national issue.

On November 2, 1917, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Russia V.I.Lenin and the People's Commissar of National Affairs I.V.Stalin signed the «Declaration of the Rights of the Russian People» and on November 20, the appeal «To all Muslim workers of Russia and the East». In the «Declaration of the Rights of the Russian Peoples», the national policy of the Russian Empire was criticized by V.I.Lenin: during Tsarism, the peoples of Russia were always inciting each other. The results of such a policy are known: on the one hand, massacres and upheavals, and on the other, the enslavement of peoples. There is no way, and there can be no way, that this damn policy of confusion will be revived again. It is emphasized that this policy of confusion should be replaced by the policy of a voluntary and honest union of the peoples of Russia. However, the fact that the result of the «Leninist» national policy based on the administrative-command system of the Soviet government is not the same in theory and practice, its falsity showed its negative aspects in Uzbekistan as well as in all the republics that were part of the USSR.

In this declaration:

1. Equality and sovereignty of Russian peoples;
2. The right of Russian peoples to freely determine their own destiny, even to secede and create an independent state;
3. Cancellation of all and any national privileges, restrictions and national-religious privileges;
4. The tasks of ensuring the free development of small nations and ethnic groups living on the territory of Russia were defined.

But this declaration, consisting of pompous slogans, promises, and ideas, consisted of «freedom» and «abolition of national-religious privileges» for the nations. According to Lenin, the false slogans of «Equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia, free self-determination» remained only on paper.

During the reign of the Soviet state, the peoples of the national periphery, including Turkestan, were transformed into a region of the Soviet Empire, a supplier of productive forces and a raw material base of the center.

The Soviet state approached the national issue in a proletarian spirit, divided the society into the oppressors and the oppressed, the rich and the poor, forgetting

that national interests and national problems are complex and diverse, and ignored their constant development, change and deepening. There have been cases of the Soviet state getting wrapped up in national interests, which are «a condition for building socialism.» When the theoretical foundations of the Soviet state were being built, the founder of the dictatorship of the proletariat, V. I. Lenin, put forward the idea that any serious issue related to the nation should be solved not in terms of nationality, but in terms of class and partisanship. As I. V. Stalin himself stated: «Just as capitalism cannot survive without national oppression, socialism cannot survive without the liberation of oppressed nations and without national liberation.»

The geniuses of the Soviet government, in their many official program documents and slogans, loudly announced to the world that all oppressed peoples and peoples should be given legal equality, self-determination, national statehood, and their rights until the separation as an independent state. The fact that they announced that it was a lie in practical life was reflected in the personnel policy from the first days of Soviet power. The original purpose of the program documents developed by the «geniuses» was to somehow take deep roots in Turkestan, subjugate local peoples to their beliefs, gradually gain their trust and actively involve them in the process of Soviet construction.

Even in the field of personnel, the Bolsheviks pursued a policy based on arbitrariness and sole rule, without taking into account the local conditions, characteristics of the country, the national, political, legal, social interests and needs of the native population, and all methods to achieve this, began to use the means of influence. The Bolsheviks who came to power as a result of the «revolution» and the leftists who were their temporary allies did not consider the will and wishes of the people of Turkestan at all. «In addition to tsarism and under its wing, another historical force, that is, velikorus capitalism, was born and strengthened in the country.

Lenin's government and the Turkestan Bolsheviks, who implemented its policies in the country, did not want to change the country's colonial status and give relief to its people. Unlike other parties, the local Bolsheviks did not want to give power to the local population, who make up 95 percent of the population, or even share it with them. This can be seen in the example of the Turkestan Mukhtariyat (Kokan Mukhtariyat), which was established by the Bolsheviks on the initiative of the representatives of the local ethnic groups.

On November 26, 1917, the Fourth Extraordinary Congress of the Muslims of the Country began its work



in Kok. 200 representatives from various public organizations took part in the assembly. According to the information of Mandate Commission Norbotabekov, among them there were 100 representatives from Fergana, 21 from Samarkand, 22 from Syrdarya, 4 from Bukhara, and 1 from Kaspiyorti. In addition to representatives of the region, members of «Shurai Islam», «Shurai Ulama», Muslim military council, regional Jewish community, representatives of local Jews also participated in the meeting. The agenda of the conference discussed the form of government in Turkestan, the re-election of the Muslim Council of Turkestan, the Constituent Assembly, the police, and financial issues. The participants of the congress came to the conclusion that it is necessary to manage the country in the form of an autonomous republic, the idea of declaring autonomy and independence in Turkestan was supported by the participants.

«On November 27, 1917, the participants of the congress showed the will of the peoples of different nationalities living in Turkestan, who were invited by the Russian revolution, to determine their own rights, and declared Turkestan as territorially autonomous within the Federal Republic of Russia. , at the same time makes a decision to refer the decision-making forms of autonomy to the Constituent Assembly. Kurultoy announced that the rights of national minorities living in Turkestan will be permanently protected.

On November 28, it was decided that the name of the newly formed state would be «Turkistan Autonomy», and until «Turkistan Autonomy» is approved by the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, the power should be in the hands of the Turkestan Provisional Council and the Turkestan People's (Nation) Assembly. The agreement was also included in the decision. The composition of the Provisional Government of Turkestan was determined to consist of 12 members, 4 seats for membership in the Provisional Council of Turkestan were left for the nomination of representatives of the European population, the government of the Turkestan Autonomous Region was formed with the composition of 8 people:

1. Muhammadjon Tinishpayev - Prime Minister and Minister of Internal Affairs, member of the State Duma of the II convocation, member of the Turkestan Committee of the Interim Government, engineer;
2. Islam Sultan Shoahmedov - deputy prime minister, member of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Council of Muslims, lawyer.
3. Mustafa Choqayev - Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Turkestan Muslim Council, lawyer.

4. Ubaidulla Khojayev - military minister, member of the All-Russian Council of Muslims, lawyer.

5. Yurali Agayev - minister of land and water resources, agronomist. 6. Obidjon Mahmudov – oziq-ovqat vaziri, Qo'qon shahar dumasining rais o'rinosari, tog'-kon sanoati muhandisi.

7. Abdurahmon Orazayev - deputy minister of internal affairs, lawyer.

8. Solomon Abramovich Gersfeld - Minister of Finance, lawyer.

The following members of the People's Assembly were elected at the congress: Ubaydulla Khojayev, Mustafa Chogayev, Tashpolatbek Norbotabekov, Sadreddin Sharifhojayev, Kongyrkhoja Khojinov, Ismatulla Ubaydullin, Saidnosir Mirjalilov, Said Jafarboy. Saidov, Islam Sultan's son Shoahmedov, Abdurakhmonbek Orazayev, Hidayatbek Yuraly Agayev, Nasirkontora Kamolkhontoraev, Mirodil Mirzaahmedov, Tashkhoja Ashurkhojayev, Abdulkadir Kushbegiyev, Obidjon Mahmudov, Jamshidboy Karabekov, Solomon Abramovich Gersfeld, Abdusamad Abdusalimov, Ubaidulla Derbisalin, Musa Akchurin, Mustafa Mansurov, Mahmudhoja Behbudi, Ibrahim Davletshin, Muhammadjon Tinishpayev, Khalil Shirinsky, Talibjon Musaboyev, Kamalkozi Rahmonberdiyev, Alikhontora Shokirkhontorayev, Sobirjon Yusupov, Odiljon Umarov. The people of the country welcomed the establishment of the Turkestan Autonomy with great joy, meetings and rallies were held in various regions of the country, in public mosques, in support of the Turkestan Autonomy. Several thousand people participated in these demonstrations. The organizers of the event explained the structure of the Turkestan Autonomy and its goals to the participants of the event, and invited them to stand together and fight against all actions that insult the noble feelings of Turkestan Muslims. The establishment of the autonomy and its goals were covered by national enlighteners such as M. Behbudi, Munavvar Qori, A. Cholpon, A. Fitrat, I. Shoahmedov, and Mirmuhsin Shermuhammad oglu in the pages of the national press of that time.

A. Fitrat in his article «Mukhtariyat»: «When we came back crying from the doors of the court, when we were lying in prisons with no light, when we were kicked by a beast of a gendarme, when our lands were burned, when our fellow believers were hanged, we lost our consciousness, our brains were damaged, and our eyes were closed.» we didn't see anything. At that time, in order to lift our depressed spirits, a moon and a star were shining in a far place in that dark world. That's what our untrained eye could see. What was he? Autonomy of Turkestan!» , - he says. These thoughts indicate that A. Fitrat and several national enlighteners



like him have experienced many painful days, that it was not easy to achieve autonomy, and they were extremely happy that Turkestan has its own management system. On December 26, 1917, the national flag of Turkestan Autonomy was adopted. Newspapers «El Bairoghi», «Unity Flag», «Svobodniy Turkestan» («Free Turkestan») are published in Uzbek, Kazakh and Russian languages.

On December 13, 1917, a gathering of several thousand people took place in the Old City of Tashkent. Even the representatives of the Russian community in the Russian part of the city raised a banner with the slogan «Autonomy for the land of Turkestan». In addition to Muslims, a rally was held in front of the Sheikhortohur Mosque in Tashkent, in which Russians, Jews, Armenians and representatives of other nationalities, members of various social and political organizations of the Bolsheviks took part. The participants carried about 100 red, blue and green flags. The rally was declared open by Munavvarqori Abdurashidkhanov, representatives of various organizations and associations gave speeches.

During the rally, rioters broke out among the participants and called for the release of the Provisional Government Commissioner G. I. Dorrer and other people in prison, and then to seize power. Following this invitation, some participants of the rally separated from the general public, crossed the Orda bridge and moved towards the New City. Among them, a group of officers and officials seized Gudovich, the head of the city guard, and marched towards the prison. Dorrer and Ivanov were released and put in a car and headed for Kaufman Park. When the soldiers tried to stop the car in which Dorrer was sitting, shots were fired from the crowd. In response, the soldiers fired rifles and machine guns at the rally participants. Dorrer and Ivanov were caught and shot by the Bolsheviks.

The details of this incident were reported to the center by Kolesov, the chairman of the Kenashi State Committee of the Russian Federation. A reply was received from the center saying that you (that is, the Bolsheviks in Turkestan) should develop orders in this regard.

It should also be noted that the attitude of parties and political groups to autonomy was also different. In particular, the Tashkent clerics did not recognize the Turkestan Autonomy, but were in favor of establishing a separate autonomy called the «Tashkent Ulamosi Republic». Turkestan workers supported the Provisional Government of Turkestan Autonomy at their 2nd meeting held on January 8-10, 1918 and decided to send their representative Skomorokhov to the People's Assembly.

The Soviet government in Tashkent considered the Autonomy of Turkestan dangerous for itself and began to try to destroy it in any way possible. I. Tobolin, the leader of the Turkestan Bolshevik Party, in his speech at the 4th session of the Soviets of the Turkestan region held on January 19-26, 1918, openly opposes Autonomy and denies its existence. Despite this, the government of the Turkestan Autonomous Republic prepared to convene a Constituent Assembly in Turkestan «on the basis of general, direct, equal and secret voting» on March 20, 1918, in the name of the Soviet IV-Olka Seyezd. They send a telegram expressing their opinion that 3/1 of the seats are given to non-Muslims in the election of representatives to this meeting. However, the 4th Diet of the Soviets of the Turkestan region ignored this telegram, considered the autonomous government and its members to be outlawed and decided to imprison their leaders.

From the end of January 1918, the Bolsheviks began to use military forces against the autonomy of Turkestan. The city was shelled by the Soviet troops made up of Red Guards, Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war and Armenian Dashnaks.

Turkestan Autonomy, which sought to seize power peacefully, was unable to defend itself. They said «Turkestan is for Turkestan!» came out with the slogan and resisted the red soldiers using simple weapons - axes, hoes, cooks and sticks, but it was impossible to defeat the enemy with these simple weapons. Thus, on February 22, 1918, the «Peace Treaty» prepared by the Bolsheviks was signed between the Turkestan Autonomy and the Bolsheviks in the building of the Russo-Asia Bank in Kokan. Turkestan Autonomy lived only 72 days.

In their short-term activities, they took a place in the history of the country in the formation of the administrative structure of Turkestan in the 20s of the 20th century. Munavvar Qori Abdurashidkhanov, a national enlightener, expressed his opinion about this autonomy and said: «After the termination of the Kokand autonomy, we gained full confidence that we are not even ready for autonomy. It should be noted that the declaration of Kokand autonomy states: «Turkestan does not recognize Soviet Russia.» But since at that time only autonomy was discussed and we were under the influence of the Mensheviks, we did not demand immediate separation from Menshevik Russia. We left the issue of separation, that is, the implementation of our main slogan - the issue of independence, to be resolved in the future.»

It can be understood from this that the autonomy of Turkestan did not recognize Soviet Russia, even stated it in its declaration, and the issue of achieving



independence was their strategic plan. It is also important that they were in a position of tolerance towards representatives of different nationalities living in the country at that time in the formation of the structure. These events showed that the Bolshevik regime, armed with violence, repression and chauvinism, is capable and ready to suppress any actions of the local population for national independence and freedom with brutal massacres.

This showed that the criteria of Soviet state management based on the laws of party and class dictatorship, the nationalistic attitude based on inequality, and the ideas of great state chauvinism were the principles of the national policy of this period. Under the false slogan of the right of nations to self-determination, the country's Communist Party under the leadership of F.I.Kolesov fought for a united and indivisible Russia.

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