

## On Preparation for the Construction of National-Territorial Borders in Central Asia

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**Abstract.** This article examines the issues of preparation for the national-territorial demarcation carried out in Central Asia. Opinions on the demarcation carried out by the Soviet government are expressed through various sources and literature.

**Keywords:** Turkestan, Bukhara, Khorezm republics, national-territorial demarcation, Uzbekistan, republics and autonomous regions, national composition, national symbol.

The issue of national-territorial delimitation of the Turkestan region by the Center entered its final stage at the beginning of 1924.

At its meeting on January 31, 1924, the Orgburo of the Central Committee of the RCP(b) considered, among other issues, the issue of national-territorial delimitation of the republics of Turkestan, Bukhara and Khorezm and Y.E. discussed in advance how this could be implemented.

It is known that the Russian leadership then rejected the claims of the national communists to see the statehood of the peoples of the country based on the principles of Turkic unity, and since then firmly declared its intention to divide them and create some autonomous national state structures within Russia.

For the highest political leadership of the center, the idea of dividing Turkestan and destroying it as a single state structure became a priority. He believed that the preservation of Turkestan would pose a threat to his imperial goals, since Turkestan was understood in the minds of all the peoples inhabiting it as a symbol of their historical homeland and had always been a powerful unifying factor in the struggle for their independence and freedom. On June 20, 1920, at a meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), four decisions on Turkestan issues were later known under the general title "On the Main Tasks of the Central Committee of the RCP (Bolsheviks)". The Party (Bolsheviks) in Turkestan", and a separate point instructed the TurkMIK to "include the administrative districts of Turkestan in its national composition", to begin the redistribution of.

In September 1920, the IX Sejm of the All-Turkestan Soviets approved the Constitution of the TASSR, the draft of which was prepared by members of the Turkestan Commission. According to the constitution, "Turkestan is recognized as an autonomous republic of the main peoples living in it, namely: Turkmens, Uzbeks and Kyrgyz (Kazakhs), divided into regions according to the main national groups, economic and business structure and called the Turkestan Autonomous Republic of the RSFSR." Thus, on the basis of the Constitution, the division of the population of Turkestan, its administrative-territorial structure according to ethnicity was fixed, and the unifying factor for these peoples at that time was religious and territorial affiliation. In order to divide the peoples of Central Asia into national groups, the Bolsheviks considered it necessary to unite their ethnically close ones and for this they used the language tool.

The activities of the Bolsheviks in this area had a clear focus and consisted of reforming some dialects of the Turkish language and creating on their basis for each national composition their own national languages. Along with a number of ideological, political, orthographic, cultural and other events aimed

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at dividing the population of Turkestan into groups based on national symbols, a large space was allocated for holding Turkmen and Uzbek parliaments, conferences and councils, which had been experimented with since 1920. Such meetings, conferences and councils, convened on the initiative of the Turkestan Commission, were usually aimed at demonstrating the "desire" of a certain national group to become an independent territorial-administrative unit. Thus, the Turkmen (Turkmenistan) region appeared on the map of Turkestan.

By the mid-1920s, the Bolsheviks' idea to redraw the Turkestan ASSR, which was part of the RSFSR, had turned into a far-reaching task - the issue of separating not only the Turkestan Republic, but also the Bukhara and Khorezm People's Republics into a national-territorial demarcation. At that time, the Bukhara and Khorezm Republics were still legally independent sovereign states. The issue of national demarcation of Central Asia received full support in Moscow. Because by that time the border issue had become a clearly expressed main goal of the party leadership of the Center.

By direct order of the Central Committee of the RCP(b), the leading party bodies of Turkestan, Bukhara and Khorezm were forced to implement the ideas of national-territorial demarcation put forward by the Center. Back in February 1924, Abdulla Rakhimboyev, a member of the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU, was sent to Bukhara. The Council basically approved the delimitation[1].

On February 25, 1924, this issue was discussed at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bukharan Communist Party. Faizulla Khodjajev spoke at the plenary session. The theses of the Central Committee of the CPSU, adopted as a basis at the plenum, were considered and processed by the commission of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Union, approved at a meeting of its Executive Bureau on March 10, 1924[2]. The Executive Bureau of the Communist Party of Ukraine interpreted the national delimitation of Central Asia as an important step in realizing the right to self-determination of the conditions declared by the Communist Party and, as noted in the theses, proposed a delimitation scheme as follows: the union republics of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan in Central Asia, the formation of the autonomous region of Tajikistan within the Republic of Uzbekistan, and the annexation of the Kazakh regions of Turkestan to the Republic of Kazakhstan. It was noted that the newly formed Republic of Uzbekistan would join the USSR on a voluntary basis.

In the Turkestan Communist Party, this issue developed in the same way. As in Bukhara, on March 10, 1924, a council of responsible workers of the TKP and the Turkestan MİK was convened. The speaker A. Rakhimboev once again emphasized that the demarcation of Central Asia by national symbol was the only measure to strengthen Soviet power and clearly expressed the true goal of this event.

The issue of national demarcation was resolved in detail at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, held on March 23-24, 1924. Recognizing the need for national demarcation, the plenum limited it only to the territory of the Republic of Turkestan: on its territory, it was planned to create three national republics - the Republics of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan. At the same time, the plenum instructed the Central Committee of the TKP to establish contact with the party organs of Bukhara and Khorezm and jointly agree on the issue of national demarcation of Central Asia. The leadership of the Khorezm Communist Party had a different attitude to national demarcation. On March 3, 1924, at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Party, a report was presented by I. Mezhlauk, a member of the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Asian Committee of the Central Committee. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was heard. However, the meeting was limited to an order to obtain a report for information.

Thus, the initial stage of the implementation of the national-territorial delimitation of Central Asia was completed. Its essence was that the party leadership of Turkestan, Bukhara and Khorezm submitted to the desire of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and expressed their opinion in favor of delimitation and the creation of national republics. In the documents they adopted, the single goal and will of the Central Committee of the RCP (Bolsheviks) were clearly noticeable by the similarity of the expression of opinions. The faithful executor of this will of the



Center is the chairman of the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Asian Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Ya. Rudzutak.

In April-June 1924, the central organs, regional communist organizations and the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Asian Committee of the Communist Party of China carried out a great deal of work on preparing practical proposals and relevant materials on issues of national delimitation. The meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (Bolsheviks) on April 5, 1924, required them to prepare such materials. For a more detailed study of the issues of national demarcation, special commissions were created under the Central Committee of the Turkestan and Bukhara Communist Parties. Such a commission also worked under the Bureau of Central Asia, under which national subcommissions were also created.

The reports of the subcommissions were heard at a meeting of the commission of the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Asian Bureau of the RCP(b) on May 10, 1924 and on May 11 at the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Asian Bureau of the RCP(b). Bureau of the Central Asian Committee of the RCP(b). The Bureau discussed the results of the work of the special commission and its subcommissions and approved the specific plan for the national-territorial demarcation of Central Asia that they had developed. The following decision was made:

"1. It should be considered necessary to delimit the Turkestan, Bukhara and Khorezm republics according to their national-territorial features, and not to form a federation from newly formed national-territorial associations. 2. The Republics of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan should be created, having the rights of an independent SSR and directly included in the USSR. An autonomous region of Tajikistan should be created within the Republic of Uzbekistan. Let the Kyrgyz Autonomous Region be created. The question of which republic the Kyrgyz Autonomous Region will be part of should remain open. 3. The Kazakhs living in the Republic of Turkestan should be included in the currently existing Republic of Kazakhstan"[3].

However, the Central Asian Bureau did not take into account the change in the situation when making such a decision. As early as May 8, 1924, members of the Khorezm delegation, who arrived in Tashkent to participate in the Central Asian Economic Conference, presented the chairman of the Central Asian Bureau with a "Letter on "the solution of the national question in Khorezm". The Central Asian Committee of the RCP(b), in which Khorezm was to remain as an independent administrative region, and it was also proposed to unite the Amu Darya region of the Turkestan Republic with the Khorezm Republic. In fact, this was Khorezm's refusal of demarcation. Nevertheless, the Central Asian Bureau refuted this idea and included the Khorezm Republic in the first point of its decision. But in June, the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China supported the point of view of the authors of the letter with its telegram. In connection with this, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which met on June 12, 1924, had to make appropriate amendments to the materials prepared for the meeting of the Central Asian Bureau. The Politburo decided to leave the Khorezm Republic in its previous form.

Beginning with the decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP(b) on June 12, 1924, the process of preparation for the actual national-territorial demarcation entered a new stage. On July 15, the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Asian Republic created a temporary bureau of the newly formed national republics and regions. Faizulla Khodjaev, Rustam Islamov, Akmal Ikramov, Kori Yoldosh Polatov, Mukhtorzhon Saidzhonov were included in the Bureau of Uzbeks (Uzbekistan) as members, and B. Inoyatov as a candidate. It was necessary to fill the planned new national structures with content, define their territories, separate and determine the borders. Somewhat earlier, this work had begun in the regional commission created under the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP(b), its national subcommissions and special commissions created to resolve contentious issues. The regional commission included Faizulla Khodjaev, Sultanbek Khodzhanov, Abdulla Rakhimboev, Rustam Islamov, Kaigisiz Ataboev, Nadir Aitokov, Yusuf Abdurakhmanov, Imanali Aidarbekov, Iosif Vareikis, Dmitry Manjara, Ivan Medzhlauk, Kholmurod Sakhatmurodov and other political figures[4.]



The verbatim minutes of the meetings of the regional commission (which included representatives of the newly formed republics and regions) allow us to truly appreciate the complexity and diversity of the problem of "dividing the population into national groups," to use the figurative expression of one of those who carried out this work today. While the representatives of the Uzbek and Turkmen subcommissions advocated the creation of independent "national Soviet" republics and autonomous regions based on demarcation, the Khorezm delegation continued to defend the integrity of the Khorezm Republic, and the Kazakh subcommission advocated the creation of a Federation of Central Asian Soviet Republics, once again putting forward its idea. Even greater diversity was observed in dividing the territory of Central Asia into borders between the proposed national structures. The two principles underlying the demarcation - national-territorial and economic - did not correspond to the conditions that existed in Central Asia. This posed difficult tasks for the members of the regional commission, deepened disagreements and differences between them, and sometimes created strange and serious situations [5].

The participants of the meeting expressed their opinion against the idea of creating the Central Asian Federation by simple voting, without scientific study of the main issues, in favor of creating the Republics of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan and their direct entry into the USSR, and the formation of the Autonomous Region of Tajikistan and the Autonomous Region of Kyrgyzstan within the Republic of Uzbekistan.

In general, the participants of the meeting of the regional commission of the Central Asian Bureau of the RCP(b) of the Central Asian Bureau realized that the issues of national-territorial demarcation were not sufficiently prepared, that these issues were resolved roughly, that there was a need for their scientific justification, the need to attract additional materials, statistical data, and it was shown that it was necessary to have grid maps. Based on this, in particular, the question of the boundaries of new structures was postponed.

The results of the regional commission's activities were discussed in the Central Asian Bureau and in the governing bodies of the communist organizations of Central Asia. The party leadership encountered real difficulties in defining the territory and boundaries of the new national structures in Central Asia. The disparate location of various peoples in a region inhabited for centuries, their economic and social relations should not only recognize the national aspect, but also take into account such factors as the historical development of peoples, economic and living conditions, economic integrity. regions, their economic aspirations, etc. showed the importance of achieving.

The joint plenum of the Central Committee of the Turkestan Republic, the Central Committee of the Central Committee of Turkestan and the Auditing Commission as a whole approved the plan for the national-territorial delimitation of Turkestan, Bukhara and Khorezm, approved the decisions of the regional commission and the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Central Committee of the Central Asian Republic of Kazakhstan, as well as an emergency meeting of the Central Committee of the Central Committee of the Turkestan Soviet. decided to convene a session to consider and approve this plan. Thus, it was decided to submit to the Soviet authorities for approval the issue that until now had only been considered, prepared and decided by the party authorities. In addition, the joint plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in its resolution on this issue proposed "opening a broad agitation among the worker-peasant masses", as noted in the report of I. Vareikis: "We have the opinion of the highest bodies, the opinion of the party, but the future demarcation for us is broadly peasant, there is no clear idea of how it will be absorbed into the consciousness of the masses ... After all, the decisive decisions have been made, we will have to conduct a very broad campaign to familiarize the entire population with this revolutionary reform" [6.]. This comment by Vareikis is important. In fact, up to this time the people of the country had been completely removed from the discussion of an issue that was extremely important for their fate.

The agitation campaign was conducted under the strict control of the party organs, and first of all the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Asian Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Russia. Commissions for conducting agitation were formed everywhere at the regional party committees, consisting of responsible workers of the regions; leadership meetings, party meetings were held, plans





for the election campaign were prepared. The harshness of the election campaign was a sign of lack of trust and fear among the regional party leadership. Indeed, at the stage of discussions in the party cells there were moments that confirmed the existence of grounds for this threat. On August 31, 1924, he considered the issue of supplementing and clarifying the directives for the propaganda campaign to delimit the Central Asian republics.

At the meeting of the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Committee, held on September 7, 1924, the first secretary of the bureau I.A. Zelensky will give a speech on the topic "Questions related to borders". The lecture tells about the events related to national-territorial demarcation, carried out in Central Asia. At the meeting, the borders of the newly formed Turkmen SSR will be confirmed on the basis of the 2nd protocol of August 16, the 5th protocol of August 21 and the 6th protocol of September 6 of the territorial commission. Also, the borders of the newly formed Uzbek SSR with the Kyrgyz Republic (in fact, the Kazakh ASSR) will be confirmed on the basis of the 5th protocol of the regional commission of August 21. The question of whether to include regions inhabited by different peoples in the national republics or regions causes heated debate. Many documents on this topic have been preserved in archival funds.

At the 109th meeting of the Central Asian Bureau on September 9, 1924, a report was heard from the commission on the issue of the Kyrgyz (actually Kazakhs) in Bukhara. According to the report, since the Kyrgyz (Kazakhs) live in the Bukhara region and the western part of the Karmana district (Konimekh) and Nurata districts, a special Kyrgyz (actually Kazakh) district should be created here (the center is the city of Nurota). This district is directly subordinate to the central government. At the meeting, a special decision was made, on the basis of which a special Nurata district and the Konimekh autonomous region were created. This project, which showed the need to create a new Uzbekistan on the basis of the Bukhara territories, was approved by the Central Asian Bureau in 1924.

Thus, the attempt to strictly regulate the discussion of the issue of national-territorial demarcation bore fruit. The party leadership of the Central Asian republics managed to avoid serious upheavals under the leadership of the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Asian Republic, and also to achieve approval and support for the party's plans for national-territorial demarcation and the creation of new republics and autonomous regions by the party and non-party masses.

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