

CONDITIONS AND FACTORS OF THE FORMATION OF THE BUKHARA PEOPLE'S SOVIET REPUBLIC

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Abstract

This article provides a comprehensive analysis of the historical, political, and social factors that led to the formation of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic. It explores the crisis within the Bukhara Emirate, the reformist activities of the Jadid movement, Soviet Russia's geopolitical interests, and the revolutionary changes of 1917–1920. Key events such as the Kolesov campaign, the Qiziltepa agreement, the 1920 uprising, and the formation of the BPSR are discussed step by step with objective conclusions based on historical sources. The BPSR serves as a model for transitional processes in Central Asia.

Keywords: Bukhara People's Soviet Republic, Jadids, Bukhara Emirate, Soviet Russia, revolution, Kolesov campaign, Qiziltepa agreement.

Introduction

The First World War and the Russian Revolution of 1917 created the basis for profound political changes in Central Asia. In the first quarter of the 20th century, the peoples living in the Turkestan region began to put forward the ideas of freedom and independence against colonialism and tyranny. In particular, in the Bukhara Emirate and the Khiva Khanate, reformist intellectuals led by the Jadids sought to renew social life and carry out political reforms, awakening the local people. In Bukhara, a group of Jadids known as the "Young Bukhara" was formed and began political activity, demanding reform of the government of Emir Olim Khan.

There are different approaches to this topic in historiography. In the works of Soviet historians, the Bukhara revolution was interpreted as an uprising of the broad working masses against the tyranny of the emir and as a national liberation revolution with the help of the Bolsheviks. However, modern research is taking a critical approach to this situation, especially reconsidering the ratio of internal and external factors of the revolution. For example, historian S. Kuzmin notes that although the pretext for Soviet Russia's military intervention in Bukhara and Khiva was the provision of armed assistance at the request of the people, in practice this was an aggression aimed at overthrowing the legitimate governments of independent states.

Other scholars are also re-analyzing the reaction of the Bukhara population to the revolution, the role of international powers (for example, the British Empire) in Central Asia, and the survival of the emirate. In this regard, a scientific study of the reasons and conditions for the formation of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic is still relevant today.

Methodology. This study relied on traditional historical-analytical and comparative methods in studying historical events. Events were studied in chronological order, their interrelationships and



causes and effects were analyzed. Archival documents of the period, collections of official documents, memoirs of participants, and the results of scientific research were used as the main sources. In particular, archival documents such as the text of the Kyzyl-Tepa Treaty signed on March 25, 1918 between representatives of Soviet Turkestan and the Bukhara Emirate (consisting of 9 articles, in which the Bukhara Emirate was found responsible for military operations, was obliged to pay a large contribution, and its army was not to exceed 12 thousand soldiers) were analyzed. Also, the memoirs and information of individuals who participated in the Bukhara revolution were studied - for example, F. Kolesov, who participated in the unsuccessful invasion of 1918, admitted in his report that the ideas of young Bukhara people were not adopted by the majority of the people [3 p -38] .

the works of Uzbek, Russian and Western scientists on this topic were comparatively studied. In particular, studies of the period of independence and foreign sources (for example, the British agent FM Beilin) were examined. (memoirs of the mission and articles by modern historians) were used. The information found during the work was scientifically and critically analyzed, and conclusions were drawn regarding the structure of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic.

Results

The Bukhara Emirate on the eve of the revolution . By the beginning of 1917 , conflicts had intensified in the internal life of the Bukhara Emirate. Although the emirate government promised some reforms under the influence of the February Revolution in Russia, real changes did not materialize. On the contrary, the attempts of the Jadid enlighteners to peacefully reform were suppressed by the emir with force. A vivid example of this was the violent dispersal of a demonstration organized by the Young Bukharas in Bukhara in April 1917 - while 5-7 thousand people participated in this demonstration, the emir's supporters organized a counter-demonstration of 7-8 thousand people and threatened to bring troops against the Jadids [4 p-30] . The dispersal of the protesters was followed by a series of government crackdowns , with many Jadids being arrested, beaten in prison, or forced to flee Bukhara. Although the emir released some of them under pressure from the provisional government, the incident demonstrated the near impossibility of changing the emirate through reform.

After the demonstration, the Central Committee of the Young Bukhara People was reorganized - Mukhitdin Mansurov, one of the wealthy sponsors of the Jadid movement, was elected as the new Chairman of the Committee, and intellectuals such as Abdukodir Mukhitdinov, Abdulvahid Burhonov, Usmon Khojayev, Arif Karimov, Mirzo Isom Mukhitdinov, Muso Saidjonov , as well as A. Fitrat and Otakhoja (Ata) Khojayev, who had previously been on the Committee, were re-inducted [1 p-25] . The new Committee initially tried to negotiate with the emir with proposals for reforms, but when this dialogue did not yield results, the Jadids, who did not receive real concessions, decided to take more drastic measures. As a result, the left wing became more active within the Young Bukhara People's movement , and a political program developed by Fitrat was adopted. This program was moderate in content and mainly included demands such as updating the administrative system and reforming the financial and educational sectors. Thus, by the end of 1917, the revolutionary movement in Bukhara began to gain strength, but it was still impossible to overthrow the emir's regime .



At this time, Soviet Russia treated Bukhara with caution. When Soviet power was established in Tashkent in November 1917, the Bolsheviks established contacts with the Young Bukhara people as a force to rely on in Bukhara. At the beginning of 1918, the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Turkestan, F. Kolesov, responded to the appeal of the Young Bukhara people for help by saying that it was too early, since the battles against the Kokand autonomy were still ongoing. Also, in 1917, the Russian Provisional Government had recognized the independence of the Bukhara Emirate. However, in February 1918, when the autonomous government in Kokand was drowned in blood, it was Bukhara's turn - the Bolsheviks. They put the plan to abolish the emirate on the agenda [11 p-88].

1918: Kolesov's campaign and the Treaty of Kiziltepa. In March 1918, the troops of the Turkestan Soviet government attempted to subjugate the Emirate of Bukhara by force. Red Guard detachments led by F. Kolesov launched an attack on Bukhara from Samarkand. Although this military campaign began in agreement with the Young Bukhara, it ended in failure due to insufficient support from the masses and the strong defense of the Bukhara fortress. The Bolsheviks' March attack was defeated, forcing Kolesov to withdraw his forces. Kolesov later admitted that the reason for this failure was that "the main part of the Bukhara people did not support the ideas of the Young Bukhara" [12 p-22].

Kiziltepa gave Emir Alimkhan a temporary respite. After the March events, Emir Alimkhan began to strengthen the defense of his state - remobilizing his troops, increasing their numbers and stockpiles of weapons. After the defeat in the first attack on the gates of Bukhara, Soviet Russia maintained peaceful diplomatic relations with the emirate for a while, but in practice plans were being made to overthrow Bukhara from within [23 p-40]. After the March events, many new revolutionaries left Bukhara - some emigrated to Kogan (New Bukhara) and Samarkand, others to Tashkent, and chose to continue the struggle from there. Bukhara, on the other hand, became a refuge: White Guards, representatives of the resistance movement in Turkestan (pressmen), and clergy-landowners loyal to the emir gathered in Bukhara, turning it into the "center of reaction."

The establishment and initial activities of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic. After the capture of Bukhara, the revolutionary forces immediately began to form new power structures. Initially, a Provisional Revolutionary Committee (Revkom) was formed in Bukhara, and 25-year-old Fayzulla Khojaev was appointed its chairman. The Revkom mainly included progressive members of the Young Bukhara Movement and communists. For example, along with F. Khojaev, there were intellectuals such as Q. Olimov (Minister of Internal Affairs), Usman Khoja Polatkhojev (Minister of Education), A. Mirzo (Minister of Finance), Abdurauf Fitrat (Minister of Foreign Affairs). Most of them were new enlighteners, young specialists with broad worldviews who had previously studied in Bukhara, Istanbul, Moscow and other places. Therefore, the new government program set progressive goals such as reforming Bukhara society, increasing the literacy of the people, and ending the old order [12 p-12].

On October 6-8, 1920, a congress of representatives of all the Bukhara peoples was convened at the Sitorai Mohi Khossa residence near Bukhara, where the formation of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic (BKSSR) was officially announced. This congress formed the supreme legislative body of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic - the All-Bukhara Congress of People's Deputies (parliament) and the Central Revolutionary Committee (government). The congress approved the first people's government under the leadership of F. Khodjaev and determined its term of office



until the next congress. The representative of Soviet Russia, I. Lyubimov, spoke at this congress and announced the recognition of the independence of the Bukhara People's Republic by the government of the RSFSR. This was an important event in foreign policy, as the BKSSR claimed sovereign statehood - at first it even had its own national currency (coin), flag and coat of arms. However, in practice, the independence of the BSR was relative - in October-November 1920, a military alliance agreement was signed with the RSFSR, allowing the temporary stationing of Soviet troops in Bukhara. On March 4, 1921, the "Alliance Treaty" was signed between the RSFSR and the BSR, officially declaring the two countries to be close allies. In fact, this alliance treaty legalized the permanent deployment of Soviet troops in the territory of Bukhara and limited the independent domestic policy of the Bukhara government [12 p-34]. Political decisions of the Bukhara Communist Party were often made in accordance with the instructions of the Turkestan Commission from Moscow, that is, the new republic de facto became a protectorate of Soviet Russia.

The initial activities of the government of the BSSR were aimed at radically reforming the socio-economic life of the country. On October 30, 1920, the Central Revolutionary Committee adopted a decree "On Land", which announced that all lands owned by the emir and his relatives and major beys would be confiscated and distributed to poor and landless peasants [15 p-32]. Also, taxes such as the khiroj and "mulki khusupi" (mulki tamga - property tax) that existed during the emirate were abolished. According to archival documents, a total of 10 thousand tauns of land were confiscated in the Old Bukhara and Charjoi uyezds and distributed among poor peasants. This agrarian reform was welcomed by the broad masses of the people - revolutionary committees were formed in the regions, and poor peasants began to support the new government.

However, a number of drastic measures of the new regime also had negative consequences. In particular, the confiscation of all property of large landowners and officials, the transfer of the treasury of the emir's palace to Moscow, the strict introduction of food "razvyorstka" (forced requisition), the conduct of a hostile policy towards Islamic scholars and old madrasah circles, and the plundering actions of Red Army soldiers caused sharp discontent among the population. Representatives of the new government initially tried to justify such a harsh policy - for example, F. Khodjaev and his like-minded Jadids emphasized that there was no way out without drastic measures for a while to end the old regime and establish the principles of equality. However, as a result, by the end of 1920, the socio-political situation in the republic had again become tense, and the protests that had begun among the people gave rise to armed resistance in some regions - the movement of the press. Some beys and religious scholars, dissatisfied with the events in Bukhara, retreated to the mountainous Eastern Bukhara and began a guerrilla struggle from there. As a result, the territory of the BSSR was engulfed in a civil war - on one side the new Soviet government, on the other, supporters of the emir and independent fighters began to clash.

Nevertheless, the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic took important steps towards strengthening its statehood. September 1921 The first Constitution of the BSR was adopted at the Second All-Bukhara Congress of People's Deputies convened in 1919. This Constitution declared the republic a people's democratic state, guaranteed the rights and freedoms of citizens, and recognized the right to private property and free trade. The Constitution enshrined equal political rights for citizens of all nationalities and the abolition of national inequality. The structure of state administration was also determined. It was determined that the All-Bukhara Congress of People's



Deputies, consisting of 350 people's representatives, would be the supreme body of power, and in the interim period, the Central Executive Committee (CEC) would act as the legislative and supervisory body. F. Khojaev was elected Chairman of the CEC, and Usmonkhodja Polatkhojaev was elected Deputy Chairman of the CEC.

During the first two years of the government of the BSSR, elements of the New Economic Policy (NEP) were also introduced. In 1921-1922, a number of decrees were adopted to restore agriculture, improve the irrigation system, and ease the tax burden. However, due to internal conflicts and the activities of the press, the Bukhara government was under constant stress. In early 1922, the rebellion of the supporters of the former emir intensified under the leadership of Anvar Pasha and temporarily managed to occupy some areas of eastern Bukhara. Only in 1923, with the help of the Red Army, this rebellion was suppressed, and the Bukhara Soviet power was strengthened again [9 p-12].

Looking at the main historical events and participants, we see that a number of important figures and factors participated in the formation of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic. On the one hand, the Emir of Bukhara, Sayyid Alimkhan, and his supporters fought to preserve the feudal-monarchical system, while on the other hand, young Jadids and revolutionaries - Leaders such as Fayzulla Khojaev, Abdurauf Fitrat, Usman Khoja, Abdukadir Mukhitdinov formed a new government. Some of them later became leaders of the Soviet states of Central Asia. For example, F. Khojaev held high positions in the government of the Uzbek SSR after the dissolution of the BSSR. Also, leaders of Soviet Russia - Military and political figures such as Mikhail Frunze and VV Kuibyshev developed and implemented a plan to capture Bukhara. Representatives of the Central Asian Bureau of the Bolshevik Party (Turkish Commission) and the command of the Turkestan Front directly led the revolution in Bukhara and played a decisive role in establishing new republican structures.

Documents related to the formation of the BSR are also important historical sources. The Treaty of Kyzyl-Tepa (1918) clarified the balance of power between the emirate and Soviet Turkestan, while the 1921 Constitution of the BSR defined the democratic principles of the new state. Also, the RSFSR-BSR Union Treaty (1921), although aimed at strengthening the international legal position of Bukhara, was actually a document that limited its sovereignty.

The above events and processes show that the emergence of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic took place under complex conditions. Now, based on these results, we will discuss the conditions and factors of this event in more detail.

Discussion

Based on the historical evidence presented above, it is possible to analyze the complex of internal and external factors that influenced the formation of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic. These factors can be conditionally divided into internal: the political and social situation of the Bukhara Emirate, the movement of local forces, and external: It is appropriate to divide Soviet Russia and the international situation into groups.

Internal political and social conditions. The structure and social life of the Bukhara Emirate for centuries was based on a traditional feudal-monarchical basis, and by the beginning of the 20th century this system had hardly changed. The majority of the population considered the power of the emir and the ulema to be natural and legitimate, and there was no large-scale discontent among



them aimed at directly overthrowing the existing system. This means that the revolutionary situation in Bukhara did not develop "from below" - that is, the peasants or workers did not raise a mass uprising against the emir. Although the population was dissatisfied with the taxes and oppression of only some officials and hoped for reforms, a complete rejection of the emirate system was not widespread.

External political factors and international context . External geopolitical factors also played a decisive role in the overthrow of the Bukhara Emirate.

First, after the collapse of the Russian Empire, a power vacuum had emerged in Central Asia. Relations between Soviet Russia and the Emirate of Bukhara underwent dramatic changes in 1917-1920. Initially, after the 1917 February Revolution , the Soviet government reaffirmed the independence of Bukhara, but when the Bolsheviks came to power, they set themselves the goal of bringing Bukhara to the path of revolution.

Second, the ideological and geopolitical aspirations of Soviet Russia accelerated the Bukhara revolution. The central government, led by Lenin, was committed to the idea of spreading the revolution throughout the world; in particular, they saw the emergence of pro-Soviet governments among the Muslim peoples of the East as part of the fight against colonialism. By overthrowing the Emirate of Bukhara and establishing a people's republic in its place, the Bolsheviks wanted to shine a "bright star" of socialism in the East.

The third important external factor is the position of Great Britain. Earlier, after the Russian Empire conquered Bukhara and Khiva, Britain recognized Central Asia as a sphere of Russian influence. Although in 1918-1919 the British organized some reconnaissance missions in the direction of Urgench and Bukhara under the leadership of Colonel F.M.Bailey , in fact the British Empire did not seriously interfere in the events in Bukhara [1 p-12] .

As an external factor, the "example" of the Khiva revolution should also be mentioned. The collapse of the Khiva Khanate and the formation of the People's Republic encouraged the revolutionaries in Bukhara. This event also gave the Bolsheviks a morale boost, because they believed that a similar scenario could be implemented in the case of Bukhara. Indeed, the Khorezm People's Soviet Republic and the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic later served as an important intermediate stage in the process of integrating Central Asia into the Soviet Union through national-territorial delimitation.

The role of local revolutionary movements and leaders . The success of the Bukhara revolution largely depended on the activities of the local revolutionary movement - the Jadids and the Young Bukharas. If there were no internal progressive forces, Soviet Russia would have had difficulty capturing Bukhara using external military force alone. As the Bolsheviks repeatedly emphasized, they claimed that they provided "armed assistance at the request of the local people." This local force was precisely the actions of the Young Bukharas and the Bukhara Communist Party. Indeed, since 1917, the Jadids in Bukhara had formed secret societies, carried out propaganda against the emir, and prepared for an armed uprising. They established contacts with the Bolsheviks in Turkestan, asked for help, and drew up a joint plan. Although this movement failed in 1918 due to its weakness, by 1920 the Young Bukhara people had gained considerable experience and were more widely mobilized. For example, leaders such as F. Khojaev and A. Fitrat gained popularity among the people, and although they were unable to fully mobilize the majority of the population,



they were preparing a group of cadres capable of managing the government and developing a reform program [3 p-13] .

The role of local revolutionary leaders is also evident from the fact that when the Bukhara SSR was formed, its government was mainly composed of the same Jadid intellectuals. On the one hand, this gave the new regime a local character - that is, the impression was created that the people of Bukhara were ruling themselves. At the same time, local leaders were also required to adhere to the political principles of Soviet Russia. The Bukhara Communist Party was formed, and Young Bukhara people were actively recruited into this party. Thus, the Bolsheviks took control of the revolutionary movement in Bukhara. The Jadids, who held ministerial (ministerial) positions in the new government, initially began to carry out extensive reforms, but they were not completely free to govern the country. Advisors sent from Moscow and representatives of the Turkestan Bureau began to interfere in almost every decision. This led to conflicts between local leaders and the center.

In general, the Bukhara revolution occurred at the intersection of internal and external factors. Internal factors - the internal decay of the emirate system, the demands for reform by the Jadids - created the ground for the revolution, while external factors - the Russian revolution and victory in the civil war, the geopolitical interests of the Bolsheviks - led to the implementation of this revolution with real force. Local revolutionary movements, on the other hand, served as a bridge: they combined internal discontent with external support and established a new regime.

Conclusion

The formation of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic was a complex historical process, which occurred under the influence of several factors. First, the socio-political crisis of the Bukhara Emirate - the despotic regime, which had become unfit for reform over the years, and its backwardness - created a need for changes in society. Second, the local intelligentsia, led by the Jadids, realized this need, entered into an active political struggle and tried to awaken the people. Third, the military and political power of Soviet Russia ensured the victory of this struggle - the Bolsheviks, pursuing strategic goals in Central Asia, provided organizational and military support for the Bukhara revolution. Fourth, the international situation favored the Soviets, and the overthrow of the emirate took place in a relatively "closed" environment.

The formation of the BSR was a progressive event for its time, which had a significant impact on the development of Bukhara and Central Asia as a whole. During its short period of existence (1920-1924), the Bukhara People's Republic sought to build a modern state from a feudal system , introduced a constitution, carried out land reform and other democratic changes. At the same time, its independence was relative, and soon, in 1924, as a result of the national-territorial delimitation carried out by the Soviet state, the BSR was dissolved, and its territory was divided into the newly formed Soviet republics of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan. This event ended the historical role of the BSR, but the experience of its formation and activities left important lessons for future generations.

In conclusion, it can be said that the processes that led to the formation of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic were complex and multifaceted. Internal conditions in this process and external factors complemented each other. A deep scientific study of this event is still relevant today, as it serves to understand the lessons and conclusions of the transitional period in the history of our



region. Analysis of historical documents and scientific research shows that the Bukhara Revolution was not only a local liberation movement, but also a complex process that took place within the logic of the struggle of geopolitical forces. Only such an objective scientific approach allows us to fully understand this important page of our history.

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