CHAPTER - III

THE NATIONAL STATE DELIMITATION IN 1924 IN CENTRAL ASIA - A SIGNIFICANT MILESTONE IN ACQUISITION OF NATIONAL STATEHOOD BY CENTRAL ASIAN PEOPLE
THE NATIONAL STATE DELIMITATION IN 1924 IN CENTRAL ASIA - A SIGNIFICANT MILESTONE IN ACQUISITION OF NATIONAL STATE-HOOD BY SOVIET CENTRAL ASIAN PEOPLE.

In Soviet Central Asia, it was deemed necessary that the process of nation building necessitated the elimination of multinational republics and regions and the creation of nationally homogenous Soviet republics and regions. The national state delimitation plan of Soviet Central Asia in 1924, as a result of which national Soviet Socialist republics were formed in place of the former multinational Turkestan, Bukhara and Khwarezm, has created a considerable controversy among Soviet and non-Soviet scholars. Soviet scholars see in this reform a 'second revolution' and a consummation of the the Soviet nationalities policy in Central Asia. Some non-Soviet critics have seen behind this plan the 'intention' of the Soviet authorities to break down, artificially, the "nationally and linguistically homogenous" overwhelming majority of the people.

belonging to the Turkish nationality. Thus Mustafa Chokayev alleged that the plan of 'the division of Turkestan into tribal efforts made by the "Mussalman Communists" to achieve the unification of all the Turkic Tribes around the nucleus of Soviet Turkestan.²

Prince Labanov Restovsky, a Russian emigre scholar, stated that the delimitation plan 'was less concerned with solving the ethnographical puzzle than with the political aspect arising from the problem' and that it was merely the Bolshevik reply to the 'Basmachi Uprising'.³ Others see in this plan a manifestation of the "old imperialistic principle of divide and rule" and hold Stalin as its chief architect.⁴

Hugh Seton Watson expressed the view that the national delimitation plan was carried out in order to "remove any danger of a common front of the Central Asian Muslims."⁵ Such arguments are highly biased and lack

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any kind of justification. The principle underlying the national delimitation of Central Asia stemmed directly from the Soviet nationalities policy itself. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the idea of national state delimitation plan was not invented in 1924. It had been present long before then and was implemented in 1924, when historical conditions matured. As early as 1913 Lenin in his work entitled *Critical Remarks on the National Question* had stressed the need for changing the old medieval divisions of Tsarist Russia and creating new divisions as far as possible in accordance with the national composition of the population. 6

In 1913, the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic workers party in its Poronin Conference had called for "the demarcation of boundaries of the regional autonomies and self-governing units by the local populations themselves in conformity with their economic, ethnic distinctions and national composition etc". 7 This was reaffirmed in full by the Seventh

Conference of the RSDRP held in 1917, and it also found expression in a number of public pronouncements made by the Government of the RSFSR after 1917. The People's Commissariat for Nationality Affairs gave concrete shape to this provision which formed separate national republics. In Central Asia, however, the process of implementation was delayed by a number of objective factors. These included:

1) Turkestan developed more quickly towards Socialism than Bukhara or Khorezm,

2) the economic backwardness of Khorezm and Bukhara as compared with Turkestan,

3) the varying stages of development among the various peoples inhabiting Central Asia,

4) national hostility among the various peoples inhabiting Central Asia,

5) the necessity 'for a certain period of time, in which to carry out certain important social

8. Ibid.
111

and economic transformations... to develop national consciousness and the idea of national demarcation among the native working class. The national demarcation could take place only in the whole of Central Asia. It was impossible to implement this in Turkestan only since a large part of the population belonging to the nationalities living there were to be found in the Bukharan and Khorezmian Republics, and the shortage of or complete absence among the more backward peoples of politically mature trained personnel. 9

As a whole, instability was a factor in delaying the process of implementation of the national state delimitation plan. The question of national state delimitation plan in Central Asia was first raised by Lenin on July 13, 1920. Lenin while rejecting nationalistic draft of Ryskulov concerning the establishment of the so-called republic of Turks, had instructed the

Turkestan Commission "to draw up an ethnographic map of Turkestan showing its subdivisions into Uzbek, Kirghiz (i.e., Kazakhs and Kirgiz) and Turkmen" and had further ordered them "to examine in detail the conditions of fusion or division of three parts".\(^\text{10}\)

This proposal indicated the emerging trends of Soviet nationalities policy and anticipated the scheme of national territorial delimitation of 1924. The Turkestan Commission had decided in favour of carrying out the administrative regrouping of Turkestan in conformity with its ethnographic and economic conditions of the region, though it opposed the immediate division of the territory of the Turkestan Republic into a number of national republics. In a communication sent on 5th June, 1920 to the presidium of the All Russian Executive Committee and to the CC of the Russian Communist Party, the Turkestan Commission had stated that the Political situation which then prevailed in Turkestan dictated the necessity of retaining for some more time an undivided Turkestan

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Republic and that its immediate division into a number of national units was bound to plunge all work into chaos and help the nationalist elements. While the Turkestan Commission continued with the preparatory work relating to this question, the Governments of Turkestan, Bukhara and Khorezm prepared the ground for national delimitation by the creation of national divisions, the establishment of national autonomous oblasts, the development of the languages, literature, press, etc., of the indigenous nationalities. The measures taken by the Governments of the three Central Asian Republics in this direction stimulated their national consciousness and accentuated their demand for the establishment of separate national state formations.

To what extent and how quickly these demands did in fact develop became clear from the 13th Congress of the Soviets of the Turkestan Republic. The Congress received a declaration from the Thirty Pergana Delegates,

which contained a demand for the autonomous separation of Fergana from Turkestan and its direct inclusion in the RSFSR. 12

The Kirgiz and the Kazakh delegates also put forward similar demands. The Turkmen led by Aitakov, Atabaev, and Sakat Muratov began pleading for the establishment of a separate Turkmen National Republic. 13 Thus we find the demand for national delimitation emanating from the peoples of Central Asia themselves, which provided a popular setting to the proposed reform.

Need for National Delimitation:

The process of establishing national republics of the Central Asian Peoples necessitated an extensive territorial reorganisation of Central Asia. The old demarcation of political and administrative frontiers was solely a product of military, strategic and political exigencies of the time of Tsarist conquest. As such it


only aggravated the national problem; the old frontiers cut across the ethnographic distribution of peoples of Central Asia and were utilized by the old regimes of Turkestan, Bukhara and Khiva to preserve their power by playing one national group against the other. The complexity of the national composition of the population of Turkestan, Bukhara and Khorezm is shown by the following tables.

### Table 3.1

**National Composition of the Population of the Turkestan Republic**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Groups</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentative of Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Uzbeks</td>
<td>2,347,491</td>
<td>41.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kazakhs</td>
<td>1,097,677</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kirgiz</td>
<td>607,551</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tadjiks</td>
<td>437,656</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Turkmens</td>
<td>266,672</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Kara-Kalpaks</td>
<td>77,825</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Kurama</td>
<td>49,697</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Taranchi</td>
<td>44,989</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Kipchaks</td>
<td>42,449</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Jews</td>
<td>15,465</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Russian</td>
<td>540,674</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Persians</td>
<td>35,296</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Tatars</td>
<td>21,826</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Armenians</td>
<td>19,886</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Dungahs</td>
<td>10,971</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Others</td>
<td>48,329</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,664,454</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. *Statisticheskii Sogodnik 1917-23* (Tashkent, 1924) I, p. 3, 45.8. cited in Vaidyanath, n.1, p. 156. The figures given in this table are based upon the 1920 census and they considerably differ from the figures given by the Commission on the Economic Unification of the Central Asian Republics. According to the estimate of this Commission the total population of Turkestan Republic was placed at 5,299,162 persons.
### Table 3.2

**National Composition of the Population of Bukhara**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Groups</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Uzbeks</td>
<td>777,768</td>
<td>50.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kazakhs</td>
<td>24,268</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kirgiz</td>
<td>8,215</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tadjiks</td>
<td>475,589</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Turkmens</td>
<td>164,993</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Karakalpaks</td>
<td>2,095</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Arabs</td>
<td>47,179</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Bukharan Jews</td>
<td>6,842</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Others</td>
<td>24,066</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,531,015</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The Commission on the Economic Unification of the Central Asian Republics. According to the Estimate of this Commission the total population of the Turkestan Republic was placed at 5,229,162 persons.
Table 3.3

National Composition of the Population of Khorezm. 17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Groups</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Uzbeks</td>
<td>3,64,404</td>
<td>79.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kazakhs</td>
<td>19,638</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Turkmens</td>
<td>67,431</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Kara-Kalpaks</td>
<td>4,262</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Russians</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Persians</td>
<td>1,504</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Arabs</td>
<td>1,248</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Tatars</td>
<td>1,190</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Others</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4,60,905</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tables 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 clearly bring out that barring the Uzbeks, no other major national group of Central Asia constituted a compact majority in any of the three republics. In Turkestan, Bukhara and Khorezm, all of them were swamped by the numerical predominance of other national groups.

Table 3.4

Republic-wise Distribution of the Major National Groups of Central Asia and the Proportion of each National Group to the Total Population of each Republic. 18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Major National Groups</th>
<th>Turkestan</th>
<th>Bukhara</th>
<th>Khorezm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage of each Nationality in relation to its total strength in Central Asia</td>
<td>Percentage of each Nationality in relation to the population of the Republic.</td>
<td>Percentage of each Nationality in relation to the population of the Republic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbeks</td>
<td>66.5</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkmens</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadjiks</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>52.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirgiz</td>
<td>98.6</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kara-Kalpaks</td>
<td>68.1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhs</td>
<td>95.9</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4 clearly shows that on the eve of the national delimitation of Central Asia 66.5 percent of the total Uzbek population lived in Turkestan, 22.2 percent in Bukhara and 11.3 percent in Khorezm and comprised respectively 41.4 percent, 50.1 percent and 61.1 percent of the total population of these republics. Similarly, 43.2 percent of the total Turkmen population of Central Asia lived in Turkestan, 27.0 percent in Bukhara and 29.8 percent in Khorezm. However, in relation to the total populations of these republics the Turkmen constituted only 4.7 percent in Turkestan, 10.6 percent in Bukhara and 28.8 percent in Khorezm. The Tadjik population of Central Asia was divided between Turkestan and Bukharan republics in the order of 47.7 percent and 52.3 percent respectively, but in relation to the total, constituted only 7.7 percent and 31 percent respectively. Almost the entire Kirzhiz population of Central Asia (98.6 percent) lived in Turkestan Republic where it was reduced to the status of an insignificant minority. Similar was the case of the Kara-Kalpak and the Kazakh population.

Such a heterogeneous composition of the population
and artificial division of the territory slowed the consolidation of the economy and the national culture of each nation and hindered the development of each language into common national literary and spoken media preserving local dialects. Koshudov, the Deputy Commissar for Education of the Turkestan Republics, stated that national distinctions which manifested in the ways of life, religious influences and the uneven levels of cultural development of the various national groups cause great hindrances for formulating a uniform educational policy by the people's Commissariat of Education. The establishment of separate republics will provide full opportunity to the Commissariats of education of these republics to carry on their work in accordance with the distinctions of life of the people of those republics. 19

The presence of national and inter-tribal frictions often led to outbreaks of violence and rendered the preservation of law and order and the promotion of normal

economic development difficult. Inspite of the best efforts made by the Soviet authorities, national feuds and frictions continued to linger on in Turkestan, Bukhara and Khorezm.  

It was argued that only by such reform would traditional antagonism among various ethnic groups (such as that between the sedentary Uzbeks and the nomadic Turkmens) be minimised and the progressive aspects of each group's culture be developed.

A Thesis on National Delimitation Issued on July 15, 1924 by the Central Asiatic Bureau stated that 'National antagonisms which were strengthened in the past are now firmly entrenched in the economic conditions which prevail among the peoples of Central Asia and hamper the work of emancipating them not only from the Russian colonialists but also from the local exploiting classes, they (i.e., national antagonisms) relegate to the background class contradictions and accentuate nationalism among the different nationalities the weaker and

backward nationalities instead of being assisted and aided by the more dominant nationalities only continue to be exploited by them. The thesis went on to say that only by establishing separate state formations for each of these nationalities could the existing national antagonisms be overcome and favourable conditions be created for promoting the economic and cultural development of all nationalities. 21

In February 1924, the question of national delimitation was discussed in a conference of Party and Communist Party of Bukhara. The Conference reached the conclusion that the question was quite timely. The executive Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bukhara followed this up by adopting a resolution on March 10, which formed the establishment of the Uzbek and Turkmen Union Republics and a Tadjik Autonomous oblast. 22 In March 1924 a Conference of Party Soviet activists of Khwarezm also supported the idea of carrying out national delimitation. But for a


22. Ibid., p. 166.
long time, neither the Party Central Committee nor the Central Executive Committee committed themselves to the national delimitation project. 23

In a Joint Conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkestan, the Central Executive Committee of Turkestan and Party activists of Tashkent, held on March 10, 1924, the idea of national delimitation was fully endorsed. The Plenum of the CPT held on March 23–24, 1924 gave its express consent to the plea of national delimitation. 24 Unexpected opposition, however, came from Khorezm in setting the question of national delimitation where the Executive Committee of Central Committee of the Communist Party of Khwarezm expressed itself against the national demarcation of Khwarezm and proposed instead that Khorezm as a whole should be included in the USSR. But the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Khorezm changed its stand against national delimitation largely under the pressure of support for it in the party ranks. It also recognised the need

23. Ibid., p. 167.
24. Kaushik, n. 10, p. 207.
for national delimitation of the Khwarezm republic. 25

In April 1924, the politbureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (B) approved in principle the proposals of the Party organisations of Central Asia concerning the carrying out of national delimitation. On April 20, a joint meeting of the Communist Party of Turkestan appointed a special commission to report by 10 May on measures for carrying out the national delimitation; this special commission appointed three sub-commissions an Uzbek Commission (with Uzbek and Tadzhik representatives) a Turkmen Commission, (with Kirghiz and Kazakh representatives). 26

The 8th Congress of the CPT . . . was held toward the beginning of May 1924. Rudzutak a former member of the Turkestan Commission, was deputed by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party to attend this Congress and acquaint himself with the views of local communists. Vareikis, the Secretary of the

25. Ibid., p. 208.
Communist Party of Turkestan dealt at length with the question of national delimitation. He described it as "a progressive step forward" in the implementation of the Soviet nationality policy in Central Asia.  

Many delegates stated that national delimitation would increase the prospect for economic and cultural development.

Sagisbayev, a Tadjik delegate pointed out that national frictions were bound to continue to hamper the work of socialist construction if the proposed reform was not carried through.

Rudzhak in his address to the Congress warned that the public discussion of the national delimitation question was bound to accentuate nationalist feelings among the peoples of Central Asia and give rise to a movement of brain waves on many issues. He called upon party workers to channel such movements along a healthy communist path.

27. Turkestanskaia Pravda (May 8, 1924), No. 100 (377), cited in Kaushik, n. 10, p. 208.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., (August 18, 1924), No. 181(458).
These sub-commissions studied boundaries and made plan for national centres. On May 10, the sub-commissions reported to the Sredazbyuro in favour of national territorial republics. After examining the materials submitted by the Commission for delimitation of Central Asia, the Central Asian Bureau of the CC RCP(B) decided, on May 12, to establish two union republics (the Uzbek SSR and the Turkmen SSR) two autonomous regions (the Tajik, as a constituent part of Uzbekistan, and the Kara Kirghiz), and to incorporate the Kazaks districts of Turkestan into the Kazakh ASSR. ³¹ It rejected the plan put forward by the Kazakhs for a Central Asian Federation to include the Kazakh ASSR. The recommendations of the commission and the decision of the Central Asian Bureau of the CC RCP(B) on delimitation in Central Asia were forwarded for consideration to the CC RCP(B).

The Politbureau of the CC of the RCP(C), scrutinized these recommendations on June 2 and 12, 1924. On June 12, it adopted a resolution on national

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delimitation of the republics of Central Asia.
In this decree it was stated that:

1. The proposals of the Central Committees and Sovnarkoms of Bukharan and Turkestan be accepted in the following manner:

   (a) to carve out the Turkmen Parts of Turkestan, Bukhara and Khorezm and establish an independent Turkmen Republic;

   (b) to carve out from Bukhara and Turkestan their Uzbek areas and establish an independent Uzbek Republic;

   (c) to retain the Khorezm Republic in its present form after separating from it the Turkmen areas;

2. to merge the Kirghiz (i.e. the Kazakh) areas of Turkestan with the KASSR;

3. to create an autonomous Kara Kirgiz (i.e. Kirgiz) oblast to include it within one RSFSR;

4. to carve out with the Uzbek Republic a separate Autonomous oblast of the Tadjiks.
5. to conclude a treaty between the USSR and the independent Turkmen and Uzbek Republics on their entrance into the Union in the forthcoming Congress of Soviets of the USSR. 32

Later on Khwarezm was also included within the purview of national delimitation. In its meeting on July 26, 1924 the Executive Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Khwarezm changed its earlier stand against the national delimitation of Khwarezm. 33 The Central Asiatic Bureau was asked to constitute a territorial commission. At the end of June, the Sredazbyro appointed a territorial commission with representatives of 16 nationalities which was concerned with the organisations of political party, economic, statistical and national commissions. The tasks of the national commissions were, in the political field, to prepare plans for the republican constitutions for the new administrations, to prepare election


campaigns, and to summon Soviet constituent congresses, in the territorial field, to define state boundaries and administrative divisions; in the economic field, to work out national development plans for branches of the economy. 34

The territorial commission concluded its work at the beginning of September, 1924. All the nationalities were equally represented in it. All the outstanding issues were passed on to the Central Party and Government bodies for future consideration and final decisions.

All the unresolved disputes over territories and frontiers were placed before the Politbureau of the CC RCP(B) which in turn created a special commission under the Chairmanship of V.V. Kuibyshev, which prepared a draft decision of the CC RCP(B), taking into account the opinion of the representatives of the political units being established. Simultaneously discussion in the republics was continued.

34. Gordienko, n. 4, p. 394.
On September 16, 1924 an extraordinary session of the Central Executive Committee of Turkestan gave its legal affirmation to the delimitation proposals and conferred upon the Uzbeks, Turkmens, Kazakhs, Tajiks and Kirghizs the Right to opt out of the composition of the republic and establish their own national state formation. 35

The Kurultais of Soviets of Bukhara and Khorezms, meeting respectively on 20 and 30 September, 1924, also conferred similar rights on the major national groups which inhabited those republics. 36 On October 14, 1924 the All Russia Central Executive Committee confirmed the resolution passed by the Turkestan Central Executive. On October 14, 1924 the All Russian Central Executive Committee passed by the Turkestan Central Executive Committee and separated Turkestan ASSR from the RSFSR. 37


37. Ibid., pp. 205-6.
On October 27, 1924 the Central Executive Committee of the USSR decreed the dissolution of the multinational state structure of Turkestan, Bukharan and Khorezm and the establishment in their place of the Uzbek and Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republics, the Tadjik Autonomous Republic, and the Kirgiz and Kara-Kalpak Autonomous oblasts. The decree also affected the immediate merger of the Kazakh inhabited areas of the Turkestan Republic with the Kazakh ASSR. 38

After the formation of the new republics and regions, Turkestan, Bukhara and Khorezm Central Executive Committees of Soviets resolved at their session in November 1924 to cease their work. All power was transferred to "Revolutionary Committees". These committees were set up to look after the administration of the new republics and autonomous regions until the formation of the new national governments. They made the final divisions on details of the new boundaries and made preparations for the election of Soviet. By February 1925, the work of the revolutionary committees was completed and government by Soviets took over in the new republics. 39

38. Sobranie Zakonov USSR (Collected Laws of the USSR), (1924), n. 19, Item 187.
Thus, this process not only radically altered the political map of Central Asia but it also rendered ineffective the old radical, religious and cultural bonds which historically evolved in the region, though several difficulties had to be faced.

According to Gordienko, opposition to the national demarcation came from several directions. Apart from the apostasy of the Khorezmians, some party members accused the party of "forgetting the basic tasks of socialist construction because of the national border land". Some local nationalists, however, went to the other extreme and saw the creation of national states as an end in itself. The Uzbeks and Kazakh demanded the formation of a 'Great Uzbek State' and a 'Great Kazakh State', the Kirghiz nationalists besides demanding their territorial claims, started talking about the necessity of creating in Central Asia separate 'state formations' of the Kirghiz tribes. Other nationalists demanded that national demarcation should take place only if a Central Asian Federation were formed. The Pan-Islamists and Pan Turkists denied the necessity for uniting the Central Asian Peoples into national states, asserting that Central
Asia was inhabited by a Turkic nation, and should become a Turkic republic.\(^\text{40}\) That such national controversies should have arisen was in fact quite natural. The tremendous propaganda on national delimitation carried out among the local population accentuated the national consciousness of the various national groups. Zelsnski himself admitted that there was an increase in the national consciousness of not only the dominant national groups, but even among the smaller and weaker nationalities, such as the Kara-Kalpaks, the Kazaka population of Bukhara, the Kashgaris, Taranchis Dungans etc.\(^\text{41}\) Once the public interest and enthusiasm on the question of creating national republics were aroused, it became difficult to keep the discussion within the narrow limit.

The national delimitation plan was followed by Economic Delimitation Plan. All the material resources (State industrial and agricultural enterprises,

\(^{40}\) Gordienko, n. 4, pp. 349-50.

\(^{41}\) Turkestanskaia Pravda, (September 11, 1924), 201(476); cited in Vaidyanath, n. 1, p. 178.
cultural and educational institutions, etc.) indispensable for the development of the national economy and culture were distributed among the new state formations. Before setting about the actual work of distributing the various kinds of properties among the new republics and autonomous regions the Central Asiatic Liquidation Commission had to decide upon the principle governing the economic delimitation.

In the distribution of the economic wealth of Central Asia the commission took as the basis the size of the population of the new republics and autonomous regions. It divided the assets of organisations dealing with fodder stocks on the basis of the head of cattle possessed by each state formation. The immovable properties were allocated to the state on whose territories they were situated. The funds of agricultural credit banks were divided on the basis of the volume of land under different crops and the size of their production. The properties of the Silk and bee-keeping

42. Central Asiatic Liquidation Commission was formed to scrutinise the data of their industrial and commercial establishments, area of land available for cultivation of different crops, head of cattle available in each republic, etc.
industries were divided on the basis of the size of the production of those industries within the new state formations.\footnote{I.I. Kryl'stov, O' Printsipakh Economicheskogo Razmezhevania Sredni Aziatskikh Respublik, Norodnoe Khozialstvo Srednei Azii, (1926) 8-9, pp.135-39; cited in Vaidyanath, n. 1, p. 197.}

The Central Asiatic Liquidation Commission decided not to allocate certain educational scientific and technical institutions to any state formations but to retain them for the common utilization of all the republics and regions. These comprised of mainly the Central Asiatic State University, the Central Asiatic Communist University, the Central Asiatic Chemical and Bacteriological Laboratories, etc. Similarly, the technical institutions of Forestry, Medicine and Engineering located in the city of Tashkent were left to the common utilization of all the republics until such time the new state formations were able to establish their own technical institutes.\footnote{Vaidyanath, n. 1, p. 202.}

The significance of the national delimitation was not only political but it had considerable significance for the economic, cultural and national consolidation of the major nationalities of the region.
economic sphere the delimitation of Soviet Central
Asia resulted in the territorial bifurcation of areas
practising a nomadic cattle breeding economy from the
areas of sedentary agricultural economy. The areas
merged within the Kazakh and the Kirghiz republic,
which were Central Asia's traditional centres of cattle
breeding economy, fully differed from the regions of
sedentary agricultural economy, which after the
delimitation of 1924, were located mainly in the Uzbek
and Tadjik Republics. The Turkmen and the Karakalpak
regions, in whose economy both agriculture and stock-
raising played an equally important role, also differed
from both the typically cattle breeding areas of
Kazakhstan and Kirghizia and the typically agricultural
regions of Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan.45

The inclusion of such distinct economic regions
within the framework of separate state formations enabled
the governments to attempt a systematic study of the
economic potential and to undertake a planned development
and utilisation of their resources.

45. Ibid., p. 230.
In the educational and cultural spheres the establishment of nationally homogenous state formation provided ample scope for systematically combating illiteracy and raising the cultural levels of the people. Before 1924, educational and cultural institutions in Central Asia existed as a rule in the more advanced Uzbek regions, and the Peripheral non-Uzbek areas were completely neglected. With the creation of their own national state formations, the Turkmens, Tadjiks, Kirghiz and KaraKalpaks acquired the necessary means to catch up not only with the culturally more advanced regions of Central Asia but also with European Russia.46

In the national sphere the main significance of the national delimitation of Central Asia was that a number of nationally homogenous states appeared in

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46. Between 1924-27 the number of schools within the Uzbek SSR increased by four times and within the Turkmen SSR, the number of students increased from 12,000 to 23,000 persons. Within Kirghizia at the time of formation, there were only 70 schools and 16 doctors. By 1927, Kirghizia had 480 schools and 100 doctors. Within Tadjikistan by 1927 there were 154 schools which within the following two years doubled in number. S. Dimanshtein, 'Desiat' let Natsional'noi Politiki Partii i Sovvlasti' Novyi Vostok (Moscow, 1927), 19, XII-XIII, cited in Vaidyanath, n. 1, p. 230-1.
place of the former republics of Turkestan, Bukhara and Khorezm. The population of the new republics and autonomous oblasts acquired a greater degree of homogeneity than had existed in the former republics of Central Asia. Thus within the Uzbek SSR the Uzbeks constituted 74.7 per cent of the total population, and the Turkmens constituted 70.2 per cent of the population of the Turkmen SSR. Within the Tadjik ASSR, the Tadjiks constituted as much as 74.7 per cent of the total population. The Kirgiz constituted 66.4 per cent of the total population of Kirgiz. This reform sped up the natural process of formation of the Kazakh, Uzbek, Turkmen, Tajik, Kirgiz and Kalpak nations.

The Uzbek and Turkmen republics were immediately elevated to the rank of union republics, which entitled them to the right of direct entrance into the Soviet Union and to a constitutional position which at that time was enjoyed within the USSR by the Russian Federative Soviet Socialist Republic, the Ukrainian SSR, the Byelorussian SSR and the Transcaucasian Federation.

47. Vaidyanath, n. 1, p. 230.
On May 13, 1925 the Third Congress of Soviets of the USSR resolved to admit both the Turkmen and the Uzbek SSR into the Soviet Union.\(^{48}\) In October 1929, Tadji-kistan, which earlier was an autonomous republic within the Uzbek SSR was given the status of Union republic. This declaration was approved at the third session of the USSR Central Executive Committee on 5th December 1929.\(^{49}\) The Kirgiz autonomous region was made a Kirgiz ASSR in 1926. In 1932, the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Region was re-organised into the Kara-Kalpak ASSR and became a part of the RSFSR and since 1936, in accordance with the constitution it has been part of the Uzbek SSR. In 1936, the Kazakh and Kirgiz ASSR were re-organised into Union republics and included directly in the USSR.\(^{50}\)

Thus, the process of building the national state formations in the Central Asian region, which was begun in the early twenties of the present century, was brought to completion in 1936. One of

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48. USSR: 60 years of the Union, n. 36, p. 215.
49. Ibid., pp. 222-26.
the most important results of this stage was that in building the Soviet federal system, not only ethnic but also economic, cultural and geographical factors were taken into consideration, so that the republics may have a sufficiently stable material and technical base, natural and human resources for their comprehensive economic and cultural development.