



## Turor Riksulov's Political And Social Position On The Restoration Processes In Turkestan During The First Quarter Of The 20th Century

**Kandov Bahodir Mirzayevich**

Chirchiq State Pedagogical University

Associate Professor of the Department of National Idea, Spiritual Foundations, and Legal Education

**ORCID ID: 0009-0002-1923-2138**

### ABSTRACT

The article examines the content, goals, and results of industrial, agricultural, and land/water reforms, particularly Riksulov's political and social position and his initiatives in this area, based on historical documents. This article presents an in-depth analysis of the land, water, industrial, and agricultural reforms carried out in the Turkestan region in the early 20th century, as well as the role of Turor Riksulov in these reforms. It also addresses the formation of relative equality in land ownership as a result of the reforms, the involvement of poor peasants in production, the creation of cooperative movements, and the improvement of the water supply system. Turor Riksulov participated in these processes not only as an implementer but also as an initiator and political figure. In particular, his political views, which placed the interests of the people first, are supported by compelling evidence.

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**Introduction.** In Uzbekistan, during the years of independence, the nature of Soviet rule and its main stages of development, the issues of the genesis of Soviet statehood, Issues such as the New Economic Policy (NEP) implemented by the Bolsheviks and its forced suspension, the Soviet state's national policy, and armed movements against the Soviet regime have been thoroughly researched. However, the New Economic Policy and its impact on the development of Turkestan have not yet been studied as a separate topic. This study, using a large volume of archival documents, various historical sources, and periodical press materials, seriously examines the administrative and New Economic Policy implemented by the Soviet authorities in the region, including Turkestan, and its impact on the development of Uzbekistan, an impact that was both positive, as well as the position and attitude of the Turkestan political leadership on the issue of reconstruction in industry and agriculture, also constitute the topicality of the subject.

**Literature Review and Methods.** The historical literature on the subject of the activities of the Turkestan national communists includes studies, published articles, pamphlets, and monographs created during the years of Soviet rule. These include: G. Safarov, N. Borisov, T. Risqulov, F. Khujadev, P. Alekseenkov, Some aspects of this issue are also covered in various books by state and political figures such as S. Khujanov, N. Turaqulov, R. Inogamov, and P. Galuzo, as well as in studies published in the subsequent decades of Soviet rule.

The studies of R. Rajapova, R. Murtazayeva, R. Abdullayev, S. Azamkhojaye, D. Bobozhonova, Q. Rajabov, A. Golovanov, R. Shamsutdinov, D. Ziyayeva, include the research of B. Hasanov, M. Khaydarov, Kh. Yunusova, and other historians. Also, various collective monographs[1] prepared by leading historians in

Uzbekistan, as well as fundamental research and various textbooks and reference works, have highlighted certain aspects of the activities of national communists in Turkestan.

**Discussion.** The Soviet authorities and the Bolsheviks paid special attention to establishing various economic councils and commissions during the process of Sovietizing the region. The first of these economic councils was the Turkestan Economic Council (Turk EKOSO), established in Tashkent in February 1921[2, 88–89]. In the provinces of the Turkestan ASSR, provincial economic councils were established. On October 6, 1921, the Turkestan ASSR Central Executive Committee and People's Commissariat adopted a regulation to strengthen its activities. The Statute established the Turkestan Economic Council as the supreme economic body in the Turkestan ASSR, responsible for its activities to the Turkestan NKS and the TSEK, and stipulated that all its directives and decisions were mandatory for the people's commissariats and organizations[3, 24]. As early as October 1921, the Central Committee of the RCP (Bolshevik) had deemed it necessary to reorganize the economies of the Turkestan, Bukhara, and Khiva republics and to unify their economic policies with those of Soviet Russia. On February 13, 1922, the Central Committee of the RCP(b) adopted a decision on the economic unification of the Turkestan, Bukhara, and Khiva republics. At the meeting of the Turkestan Bureau of the RCP(b) on March 9, 1922, a commission was formed under the chairmanship of S. Gusev to prepare the conference of the Central Asian republics. The upcoming conference was to determine the plan for the economic unification of the Central Asian republics and its administration based on orders sent from the RSFSR.

From March 5 to 9, 1923, the First Economic Conference of the Central Asian republics – Turkestan, Bukhara, and Khiva – was convened in Tashkent. The conference was led on behalf of the Central Asian Bureau of the RCP(b) Central Committee by Isidor Lubimov. The main reports on the economic situation of each republic were delivered by N. Paskutskey, Chairman of the Turkestan Economic Council; Fayzulla Khodzhayev, Chairman of the Bukhara Council of Commissars; and Otazhonov, representative of the Khiva Central Executive Committee. Also, at the conference, reports by Ievlev and Lyubimov on the financial situation were also heard[4, 5-6].

At the conference, representatives from the three republics provided participants with a detailed overview of the economic situation in their respective countries. Their speeches noted that all three republics possessed material and spiritual unity. Even Otazhonov, the representative of the Khorezm Central Executive Committee, said in his remarks, “Just as a fish cannot live without water, we too cannot live without Russia and Turkestan.” The delegates stressed that the economic unification of the republics was necessary, first and foremost, for agriculture (mainly cotton cultivation), irrigation, and the restoration of industry. The need to integrate the agriculture and industry of the Central Asian economic region with the Russian economy was specifically emphasized.

At the conference, Turar Ryskulov, Chairman of the Turkestan ASSR Revolutionary Committee, delivered a report on organizational matters[4, 12]. In his speech, he sought to justify the economic unification of the three republics. It is characteristic that the center's representative I. Lyubimov and the chairman of the RCP(b) Central Committee's Central Asia Bureau, Y. Rudzutak, entrusted precisely T. Risqulov, the representative of the local peoples, with speaking on this matter at the conference. This was characteristic, as the influence of T. Risqulov was very high among the Turkestan people at that time.

T. Risqulov, in his speech on the economic regionalization being carried out in Turkestan, said, "The purpose and basis of regionalization is that we want to make major changes in state-building compared to the Tsarist era. We want these changes to be implemented in the country's economy, meaning that the connection between the village and the city should be improved. The centers of the economic regions must be the centers of factories and plants: this is one side of the issue, the other is the establishment of a combined economy. Under the Tsarist government, policy was directed in another direction. The metropolis and the outlying regions existed as separate countries, and their raw materials were sent to the Center. But in the Federation, based on the principle of regionalization, different conditions arise: in certain economic regions here, it is possible to engage not only in the extraction of natural resources but also in processing industries, it is possible to process the raw materials on the spot in factories and plants, and it is appropriate to do so, and it is not necessary to organize these factories and plants only in the center of the Federation". In this speech, T. Risqulov addressed for the first time the issues of economic regionalization that needed to be implemented in the Central Asian

republics, including the Turkestan ASSR. He also stressed in his speech that the leadership role in the economic unification of the Central Asian republics would fall to the Turkestan Republic, explaining this by the fact that many industrial sectors were built there, and that there were railway workshops, oil, and coal mines [4, 10-11].

At the final session of the conference on March 9, 1923, a decision was adopted to economically unite the Turkestan ASSR, the Bukhara and Khiva People's Soviet Republics, and the Central Asian Economic Council (Sredaz EKOSO) was established[5, 169]. At the conference, a Presidium of the Central Asian Economic Council composed of 10 members was formed, with one representative from the RSFSR (Lyubimov) and four representatives from Turkestan (Khidyraliyev, Paskutskey, Pribitkov, Risqulov), Bukhara with 3 representatives (Otakhuzhaev and others), and Khiva with 2 representatives (Yakubov, Sarsenbaev). N. Paskutskey, head of the Turk ECOSO, was appointed chairman of the Central Asian Economic Council[4, 4]. In 1923, the different paces of recovery in the republic's industry and agriculture led to different valuations for industrial and agricultural products, that is, industrial goods were sold at very high prices, while agricultural products were purchased at extremely low prices. In industry, factories producing certain types of goods took advantage of the situation and attempted to impose monopoly prices on their products. Trade between the city and the countryside, as well as stock exchange and financial transactions, developed rapidly. At that time, the bulk of commerce in the countryside was in the hands of private individuals. Because state and cooperative trading houses were unable to supply farmers with agricultural machinery, transportation, building materials, everyday goods, and other products, the farmers were forced to buy them from private individuals at high prices. The main problem was the large price gap between industrial and agricultural goods. Because the price difference was so great, it was difficult for farmers to buy industrial products and for industrial enterprises to sell their finished goods.

The state, in turn, gradually eliminated violations in the pricing of industrial and agricultural products, opening a broad path for the development of agriculture. The government sought to prevent industrial enterprises from setting monopoly prices for their products through economic means, which in turn allowed for a certain degree of resolution of the economic and social contradictions between the city and the countryside. The growth of commodity circulation between the city and the countryside stimulated monetary relations within production, as well as between industry and agriculture. In the republic, a system of paying wages in cash, rather than in kind, gradually took shape. Major economic transactions were converted to a monetary system.

**Results.** At the Presidium meeting of the Council of People's Commissars of Turkestan held on April 5, 1923, the republic's 1923 budget was approved based on T. Risqulov's report.

On May 8, 1923, the technical commission of the USSR Central Statistics Directorate, P.P. Popov discussed the issue of a single agricultural tax in Turkestan and set its amount at 18,800,000 puda of grain (a unit of measurement, meaning the tax amount was determined by dividing the wheat cost price). On May 10, 1923, T. Risqulov sent a letter to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), along with Ya. Rudzutak's protest against the technical commission's decision. T. Risqulov, having proven the inaccuracy of the commission's report, expressed the opinion of the Turkestan Council of People's Commissars on this tax. According to T. Risqulov, the 1923-1924 Turkestan agricultural year plan provided for a total of 132,163,000 poods of grain to be harvested from the republic's 2,146,000 desyatin of cultivated land, excluding cotton, sugar beet, and corn. Over the next three years, the following taxes were collected from Turkestan's agriculture: in the 1920–1921 agricultural year, a food tax of 22 million puds of grain units was planned, of which 12 million puds were actually collected; In the 1921–1922 agricultural year, a collection of 14 million bushels of grain was planned under the food tax, of which 7,500,000 bushels were realized; In the 1922-1923 agricultural year, of the 11,830,000 poods of grain planned, 9,000,000 poods of grain were collected. In addition, this year the republic will collect another 500,000 puds of labor tax and 1,965,000 puds of cash tax, which brings the total to 11,465,000 puds of grain.

T. Risqulov noted that before the First World War, the amount of taxes levied on agriculture in the province did not exceed 3.1 percent. Risqulov emphasizes that in the current period of economic decline and crisis, during the restoration and reconstruction of the national economy, the upper limit of taxes collected should be capped at 10 percent of the gross domestic product. This, in monetary terms, amounts to approximately 13,200,000 bushel units of grain."[7]

T. Risqulov the single agricultural tax to be levied on the republic's agriculture (13.2 million pud-grain unit sum (in the 1923–1924 fiscal year) and the 18.8 million pud-grain units planned by the USSR's Central Statistical Commission was substantial. T. Risqulov's data were developed with the aim of freeing Turkestan agriculture from a heavy tax burden and creating opportunities for its free development. Thus, T. Risqulov defines the main sources of revenue and expenditures for the republic's budget plan for the 1923–1924 fiscal year: Expenditures: a) expenditures of the commissariats in the state budget, 6 million commodity money or 6,600,000 bushels of grain; b) expenditures of the local state budgets, 5 million commodity money or 5,500,000 puds of grain; c) the expenditures of state-sponsored food organizations amount to 3,000,000 put dorn units. Total expenditures amount to 15,100,000 put dorn units. Revenues: a) from the single agricultural tax – 13,200,000 put dorn units; b) from the water tax (750,000 commodity money) and other taxes (3,000,000 commodity money) – 3,400,000 put dorn units. Thus, the total revenue should amount to 16,600,000 put dongan units. That is, the Turkestan budget is to be filled by collecting a single agricultural tax of 13,200,000 put dongan units.

Therefore, says T. Risqulov, there is no need to collect taxes from the planned 2,146,000 desyatin of cultivated land (1922-1923 -in the 1922-1923 agricultural year, the Republic's People's Commissariat for Food had actually determined that only 1,150,000 desyatin of land existed). If we collect a tax on 13,200,000 poods of grain units, then approximately 9 poods of grain units will be taken from each desyatina, which means the tax will constitute 20-25 percent of the total product. And if, according to the commission's plan, we collect a tax on 18,800,000 put of grain units, then nearly 13 put of grain units will be taken from each dessiatina, meaning the tax constitutes 26-33 percent of the total product. This is absurd. "The Council of People's Commissars of Turkestan," says T. Risqulov, "deeming the planned tax of 18,800,000 put units of grain completely unsuitable for Turkestan, firmly opposes the commission's decision... Therefore, he demands that Comrade Popov enforce the commission's decision and reconsider the amount of the tax to be levied... 13,200,000 put units of grain." [7]

On June 13, 1923, the Turkkomiss adopted the decree "On the Single Agricultural Tax in the Turkestan ASSR for 1923–1924" [8]. According to the decree, producers of many types of agricultural crops—such as millet, sugar beet, cotton, and young orchards—and all crops grown at experimental stations and fields were exempt from agricultural tax. Peasant committees and farms that had suffered from natural disasters or bandit raids were also exempted from the tax. Numerous privileges were granted to the families of disabled persons and soldiers of the Red Army.

On June 28, 1923, at a meeting of the Presidium of the Council of People's Commissars chaired by T. Risqulova, the issue of "reducing the tax rate on livestock farms of the Turkestan Republic" was discussed. The meeting resolution stated: "In order to restore the livestock industry in the Turkestan Republic, which has declined in recent years, it is necessary to completely exempt small peasant farms from all types of taxes and to reduce the tax rate for small peasant farms by 50 percent" [9].

Taxes from agriculture made up the bulk of the republic's budget. The timely collection of the single agricultural tax was the guarantee of the republic's survival. The recovery of agriculture, industry, and irrigation works in the republic, the education of the population, the development of commerce, industry, railways, and communications, and the establishment of health care institutions in the republic depended on the timely and full collection of the single agricultural tax. The collection of agricultural taxes became a matter of national importance.

The T. Risqulov government expended enormous effort and funds to eradicate highly dangerous infectious diseases. On October 25, 1922, T. Risqulov signed the Council of People's Commissars' Resolution No. 213 "On Compulsory Smallpox Vaccination." The decree outlined the following measures to successfully combat the widespread infectious diseases in the republic and to improve smallpox vaccination: all children under the age of 6, orphanages, students and pupils of all types of educational institutions, workers and staff of industrial enterprises and organizations, as well as criminals held in prisons, are subject to mandatory smallpox vaccination [10, 4].

T. Risqulov organized the government's activities and frequently visited the republic's various provinces. In August 1923, he visited the Mirzachul Province. Here he familiarized himself with the condition of a cotton-growing sovkhoz covering 10,000 desyatin [11, 101]. T. Risqulov departed for Moscow on August 10, 1923.

In a telegram No. 4248 sent from Moscow on August 20, 1923, T. Risqulov announced: henceforth, half of the expenses for the state and communist universities in Tashkent will be equally distributed between the union budget and the three republics of Central Asia; the majority of students will be recruited from the local population; the federation will assume the costs of maintaining 494 village schools, 150 urban schools, and 30 special boarding schools in Turkestan; Funds of the Cultural and Educational Foundation, established under the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK), will be directed primarily to Turkestan; d) The Turkestan Publishing House is reorganized as the Central Asian State Publishing House, with the federation covering half of its expenses and the three Central Asian republics covering the other half[12]. In addition, according to T. Risqulov, there is a dispute over the price of cotton and the management of the Federal Cotton Administration by the Turkestan representative.

In 1923, the All-Russian Agricultural Exhibition was held in Moscow from August 26 to October 20. The exhibition also featured a Central Asian pavilion. On August 26, a ceremonial gathering was held to mark the pavilion's opening. The work of the Central Asian pavilion was led by Professor Dimo, chairman of the Central Asian Exhibitions Committee. T. Risqulov and G. Chicherin spoke about the importance of the Central Asian pavilion[13, 3].

On August 27–28, 1923, the Turkestan delegation led by T. Risqulov discussed republican economic issues with Y. Rudzutak. On August 28, T. Risqulov, from Moscow to Tashkent, to the Central Committee of the Turkestan Communist Party, In a telegram sent by the CPSU to the Moscow Central Committee, it was reported that the following issues were resolved at this discussion: a 3 million-soul gold loan for agriculture would be granted to Turkestan by March 1924; Turkestan's state budget would constitute 5 percent of the union budget; union organizations would resolve trade matters in agreement with Turkestan's trade organizations; the border issue would be resolved with the aim of expanding livestock trade with China; A central board of the cotton growers' trade union was to be established in Moscow with the participation of Turkestan; the task of determining and fully reimbursing the expenses for the resettlement measures carried out in Turkestan was entrusted to the Narkomfin of the USSR; The issue of transferring a number of industrial enterprises from the Center to Turkestan was resolved; the Federation allocated 300 million rubles in gold for the construction of the Bozsu hydroelectric power plant; The issue of developing Semirechye was discussed; a proposal to increase the budget allocated to Turkestan from 5 percent to 7 percent was sent to the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) for consideration; The issue of merging the Turkestan People's Economy Plan into the single People's Economy Plan for the federation was sent to the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) for consideration[14].

At two joint sessions of the T. Risqulov delegation and the Y. Rudzutak commission, a number of decisions were discussed and adopted on a wide range of issues of great importance to Turkestan. There is no doubt that T. Risqulov's organizational skills, business acumen, determination, and political influence played a decisive role in the full and effective resolution of these issues for the republic.

Industry was a secondary sector in Turkestan's national economy. Nevertheless, T. Risqulov's government paid great attention to industrial development. In restoring the republic's industry, the Council of People's Economy under the Council of People's Commissars played a major role. The Second Congress of the Committee on Energy and Electro-Energy, held in Tashkent from November 26 to 30, 1922, was of particular importance in the restoration of the Turkestan People's Economy Council. At the congress, reports from the regional people's economy councils were heard, and issues of industrial development were considered. Special attention was paid to the issue of economic unification of the Central Asian republics. A decision was made to open a department of the Committee for Energy and Electro-energy within the Turkestan Permanent Representation in Moscow to strengthen ties with the industrial regions of the RSFSR[15, 33].

In 1922–1923, Turkestan's coal and oil industries were restored and began operating at a steady pace. It was necessary to resolve the industry's organizational issues, supply technical equipment, normalize plant operations, carry out repairs, and so on. On January 12, 1923, by decision of the USSR Council of Defense, a 125,000-gold-ruble interest-free loan was allocated from the Union fund to restore and develop Turkestan's coal and oil industries[16, 35]. A large quantity of metal goods, lumber, and other supplies were allocated to Turkestan[17]. In 1923, oil production increased by 60 percent[18, 97]. In 1923, the central power plant at the Santo production site was re-equipped and 47 new oil wells were installed[19, 57-58]. In 1923–1924, the oil

combine produced 621,000 bushels of oil[20, 58]. In 1923–1924, flour production in the republic increased by 60%, wine by 70%, and sugar by 90%[18, 97].

On October 16, 1922, a general meeting of the members of the Craftsmen and Tanners Industrial Union was held in the hall of the old Tashkent City Executive Committee. Approximately 1,000 artisans and tanners, workers from related trades not affiliated with the union, and individual shoemakers—a total of 2,500 people—attended the meeting. At the meeting, T. Risqulov delivered a lecture titled “The New Economic Policy, the Tasks of the Soviet Government in the Development of the National Economy, and the Role of Craftsmen in This Development.” The packed hall listened to T. Risqulov's lectures with great interest and unanimously adopted a resolution on the lecture: "The general assembly of the Union of Artisans and Tanners, having heard Comrade Risqulov's report on the Soviet government's new economic policy, resolves: 1) to review the course of the Soviet government's new economic policy, aimed at properly developing the republic's national economy and determining the timing; 2) the general meeting fully agrees with Comrade Risqulov's opinion on the necessity of eliminating the Basmachi movement, which is hindering the development of industry and agriculture, deems it necessary to conduct wide-ranging propaganda work among all the province's artisans with the aim of eliminating the scourge of the Turkestan workers, the Basmachi movement; From the state institutions, the tanners 4) consider it sacred to provide all-around support for the development of regional industry"[21, 3].

In the summer of 1923, T. Risqulov participated in and spoke at a weekly meeting of the commission for assisting the air fleet [22, 6]. 1923 was the year the Air Fleet was established in Turkestan. In Uzbekistan, the number of factories in operation increased beginning in 1923. For example, in the 1925–1926 fiscal year, 49 cotton ginning plants were operating in Uzbekistan and 7 in Turkmenistan (for a total of 59) [23, 113].

**Conclusion.** In conclusion, The Central Asian Economic Council was responsible for reviewing and coordinating the economic plans of the three republics, developing common legal frameworks for all Central Asian Soviet republics, and setting the general direction of trade and financial policy. The Council determined the general direction for work on transportation, communications, and irrigation improvement, and also, taking into account the region's raw material and fuel resources, prepared them for shipment to the Center. In short, the council was tasked with strengthening and developing the national economies of the Turkestan, Bukhara, and Khiva republics, as well as coordinating economic issues of importance to Central Asia.

With the establishment of the centralized single economic council, the Bolsheviks and the Soviet government intensified the process of Sovietization in the region. Shortly after the Economic Council was established, first the Bukhara Soviet People's Republic and then the Khiva Soviet People's Republic were stripped of that status and artificially turned into socialist republics. The BSR and the KhSR increasingly became dependent on the Center. On September 11, 1923, a decision was made to abolish the BSSR's consulate general in Tashkent. Through such decisions, the Center sought to bring the economies of the Bukhara and Khiva republics under its control even more quickly.

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