



**THE POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF FAYZULLA KHOJAYEV**

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ABSTRACT	KEYWORDS
This article discusses some issues related to the political activities of Fayzulla Khojayev, one of the representatives and reformers of Bukhara Jadidism, an intellectual and a major political figure. In particular, his management activities in the Bukhara People’s Soviet Republic(Bukharan SSR), reformist directions, and role in strengthening national statehood are historically highlighted.	Bukhara, Young Bukhara people, Fayzulla Khojayev, Jadidism, Bukhara People’s Soviet Republic, socio-political life.

**Introduction**

The political and social changes that took place in Central Asia at the beginning of the 20th century marked a turning point in the history of the country. In particular, the abolition of the Bukhara Emirate and the establishment of a new political system in its place, the Bukhara People’s Soviet Republic, are considered one of the most important events of this period. During this period, the ideas of renewing society, developing enlightenment, and reforming state administration became widespread. In particular, the Jadid movement emerged as a progressive force that aimed to abandon the old traditional system and move to the path of modern development. In this process, a number of political figures emerged, among whom Fayzulla Khojayev occupies a special place. Fayzulla Khojayev’s complex political and reformist activities have been consistently studied in domestic and foreign historiography. During the years of independence, an objective assessment of his political portrait, falsified by the Soviet regime, began. In particular, the historian Q. Rajabov in his research revealed the national statehood struggle, economic reforms and military aspirations of the Bukhara government led by F. Khojayev based on accurate sources<sup>1</sup>. In particular, the collective study “New Reflections on the Life and Activities of Fayzulla Khojayev” reveals the complex fate of the figure under the Soviet totalitarian regime and the tragedy of false accusations against him<sup>2</sup>. The book objectively analyzes the reasons for his becoming a victim of political repression in 1937-1938. The figure’s services in the cultural and educational spheres were reflected in the materials of a special republican scientific and theoretical conference<sup>3</sup>. This collection reveals F. Khojayev’s image not only as a politician, but also as a thinker,

<sup>1</sup> Rajabov Q. Fayzulla Xo’jayev: (tarixiy esse). – Toshkent: Abu Matbuot-Konsalt, 2011. – B. 48

<sup>2</sup> Fayzulla Xo’jayev hayoti va faoliyati haqida yangi mulohazalar. – Toshkent: Fan, 1997. – B. 9.

<sup>3</sup> “Файзулла Хўжаев – муғафаккир, маърифатпарвар ва ислохотчи” мавзусидаги республика илмий-назарий анжумани материаллари. – Бухоро: БухДУ, 2021. – Б. 101.

enlightener, and reformer who applied the ideas of Jadidism, in particular, his initiatives to renew the school system and send talented young people to study abroad (Germany).

Fayzulla Khojaye (1896-1938) was born into a wealthy merchant family in Bukhara. After studying at the Bukhara madrasah for 2 years, his father sent him to Moscow in 1907-1912. There he realized the huge difference between modern European society and technology and the ancient, traditional ways of his homeland. If we pay attention to his political activities, we can note that in 1912 he became a member of the «Young Bukhara» party, and in 1913 he became a member of the party's Central Committee. He spent the large fortune inherited from his father on opening new schools of thought and on material support for the political activities of the «Young Bukhara». Through this, he supported the idea of carrying out reforms in the Bukhara emirate. According to his views, the socio-political system in the emirate was outdated, and in order to renew it, it was necessary to introduce systemic reforms aimed at improvement and development. The program of the Young Bukharaists was mainly:

- Fighting oppression and injustice in the emirate.
- Opening new Usul schools in Bukhara.
- Making the people literate and spreading enlightenment.
- Arousing thought through the publication of newspapers and magazines.
- Sending young people to Europe and advanced educational institutions.
- Limiting foreign interference in the internal affairs of Bukhara.
- Reforming the country politically and socially.

The Young Bukhara Program mainly refers to plans to transform Bukhara society through enlightenment, reform, and political renewal. Supporting the “Young Bukhara” program, Khojaye considered it important, first of all, to modernize the education system and reform public administration. Under the influence of such a socio-political and educational environment, the worldview and social consciousness of young Fayzulla Khojaye began to form in the early 1900s, since the ideological and spiritual basis of this movement was the need to accelerate the sluggish social processes taking place in Bukhara society. Within the framework of the movement, entrepreneurs, artisans, and peasants put forward the idea of adapting the system of governance of society to new socio-economic conditions. In particular, the Jadid intellectuals, who were considered the leading stratum of the movement, justified the need for a radical reform of the education and education systems. F. Khojaye denied the path of violence, bloodshed, intrigues, was loyal to national and universal values, kept the will, interests and aspirations of the people in the spotlight, which is why he acts as a person who chose the path of reforms. However, the first attempt to implement political changes in Bukhara failed in March 1918. This event is called the “Kolesov incident”: it was an armed campaign against the territory of the Bukhara Emirate, which ended in defeat due to the resistance of the emir's army and the insufficient preparation of the movement. After this defeat, dark days began not only for F. Khojaye or the “Young Bukhara people”, but also for all progressive people in Bukhara. As researcher Kh. Boltayev noted, the most fair explanation for the “Kolesov incident” was given by the newspaper “Hurriyat”, edited by Fitrat: “These events became the darkest stain on the entire history of Bukhara over the past hundred years”<sup>4</sup>. After these events, tensions in political processes increased, and the use of force began to prevail in resolving the issue. The progressive ideas of the “young Bukhara people”, such as a system limiting absolute monarchy, anti-corruption administrative and

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<sup>4</sup> Rajabov Q. Fayzulla Xo'jayev: tarixiy esse. – Toshkent: Abu Matbuot-Konsalt, 2011. – 58 b.

judicial reforms, and the introduction of new methodological schools based on secular sciences, were rejected and ignored by the emirate government and scholars. As a result, the possibility of changing the existing political system through reforms became increasingly limited. Therefore, the «Young Bukhara» movement collaborated with the troops of the Turkestan Front to overthrow the power of the Bukhara Emirate, and military forces led by Mikhail Frunze overthrew the Bukhara Emirate on September 2, 1920. As a result of these political changes, the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic (BKSSR) was formed, and a number of important issues related to state building, including the issue of the state language, became one of the urgent tasks for this republic. On March 11, 1921, at the initiative of Fayzulla Khojayeov, the Bukhara People's Council of Supervisors (Kengashi) declared the Uzbek (Turkish) language the state language of the republic. This was also reported in the official government press. Since the majority of the population in the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic was Turkic, their language was adopted as the state (government) language. Unfortunately, although both Uzbek and Tajik were declared official languages in Bukhara, in practice official documents were kept in Russian. This situation was also due to the lack of local specialists and national personnel in the state administration system. Therefore, the training of qualified personnel from local youth not only for the administrative sphere, but also for the military system was put on the agenda of the government of the BSSR as one of the urgent tasks. The following procedure was introduced for local youth wishing to receive education at the first Bukhara military school, established in February 1921. It was stipulated that those recruited to this military school must be between 18 and 26 years old, and according to official requests up to 30 years old, be in good health and have a recommendation from party, union or government institutions. It was also stated that it was not necessary to be literate in Russian to enter a military school. The procedure for providing this military school with specialist teachers, textbooks, and teaching aids, and for teaching to be conducted in the Muslim language, has been established. Fayzulla Khojayeov and his comrades - Abdurauf Fitrat, Mukhtor (Munis) Saidjonov, Mahmud Mansurov, Abdulla Mansurov, Kadir Otaboyev, and intellectuals who collaborated with them ideologically, such as Abdulla Qodiriy, Chulpon, Munavvarqori Abdurashidkhan oglu, sought to carry out profound reforms in the socio-political life of the republic. They implemented measures aimed at strengthening peace and internal stability within the republic, eliminating armed conflicts and conflicts (for example, conflicts between the Red Army and warlords), developing economic life, trade, and commerce, and strengthening cultural and educational work. Namely, the network of new-style schools was expanded, the Uzbek language was declared the state language, taxes for peasants were reduced, and talented young people were sent to study in Germany at state expense. In 1922, 56 students were sent to study in Germany and 25 to Turkey at the expense of the government of the BSSR. This was done at the expense of the emir's treasury and Khojayeov's personal funds (410 kg of gold, 82 kg of silver). With the direct initiative and support of Abdurauf Fitrat and Mukammil Burkhanov, about 100 Turkestan students received education abroad. According to the information presented on the Ziyonet website, Fayzulla Khojayeov took significant steps toward strengthening economic cooperation with Germany in 1922. In addition to concluding trade agreements, he also made a substantial contribution to the establishment of a scholarship system aimed at providing financial support for young people pursuing their education abroad. The project of sending talented young people to study abroad was the first foreign education initiative in the history of Turkestan and the most striking example of Jadidism in the national enlightenment strategy.

However, by 1924, the Soviet center began to implement a project to completely put an end to the independence of the Bukhara state. No matter how hard Fayzulla Khojayeв tried to protect the interests of Bukhara and the independence of the country, under pressure from Moscow, he was forced to agree to a plan of national-territorial delimitation. As a result, the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic was abolished, and its territories were included in the newly formed Uzbek SSR. It was precisely because of his political influence and leadership potential at that time that at the end of 1924, Fayzulla Khojayeв was appointed chairman of the provisional government of the new Soviet republic, the Revolutionary Committee of the Uzbek SSR, and later the chairman of the Government (Soviet of People's Commissars). Now, in a new capacity, he began to put forward the idea of developing other sectors of the economy of Uzbekistan, along with cotton growing. Criticizing the Soviet low cotton prices, he demanded fair prices for the peasants and the exchange of industrial goods. He opposed the policy of reducing grain areas and planting only cotton, and as a result, he defended economic diversification, showing that cotton monoculture impoverished the peasants. This led to his repression in 1937. F. Khodjaev shows the connection between the issue of local government and the issue of legislation and lawlessness, and the falsehood of the claims that revolutionary legislation was being implemented well. F. Khodjaev did not remain indifferent to the growing lawlessness, but repeatedly reiterated the need to prevent it, and called for it. In January 1936, at the Plenum of the Uzbek Communist Party<sup>5</sup>, he said that "we do not attach enough importance to the laws." A five-minute interrogation organized by himself, the secretary of the regional District Committee of the Communist Party<sup>6</sup>, and the head of the operations department (internal affairs and security) showed that these people were completely innocent, and they were released. Khojayeв opposed these trials, saying that the cotton monopoly was impoverishing the peasants. During the repressions of 1937-1938, he was also arrested as a "right-wing bourgeois nationalist" and sentenced to death on March 15, 1938 (in Moscow). The whereabouts of his grave are unknown. These events are considered the first tests of the great repressions of 1937-1938. On March 6, 1965, the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR found F. Khojayeв innocent and acquitted him.

Uzbekistan celebrated the 100th anniversary of F. Khojayeв (1996). The house of Fayzulla Khojayeв, who lived in Samarkand in 1925-1930, was reconstructed, and the Fayzulla Khojayeв House-Museum was established<sup>7</sup>. F. Khojayeв's works and research about him were published. The story "The Demon Streets of Bukhara" (A. Mukhtor), the drama "The Dawn of the Revolution" (K. Yashin), the novel-chronicle "I Want to Live" (N. Naimov) and other works are dedicated to F. Khojayeв's activities (according to Tarix.uz). In recent years, the head of state Shavkat Mirziyoyev decided to create the "Jadidlar Merosi" museum, which also served to sanctify the historical memory of Jadidism, Khojayeв, Fitrat and other local intellectuals (According to Jadid.uz (2024)).

In conclusion, at the beginning of the 20th century, socio-political life in Bukhara was shaped by complex and contradictory processes, characterized by significant changes in the development of

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<sup>5</sup> The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan was the highest political decision-making body that effectively governed the Uzbek SSR during the Soviet era (1925-1991).

<sup>6</sup> During the Soviet period, District Committee of the Communist Party served as the highest political and administrative authority at the district level.

<sup>7</sup> "Файзулла Хўжаев – мутафаккир, маърифатпарвар ва ислохотчи" мавзусидаги республика илмий-назарий анжумани материаллари. – Бухоро: Республика маънавият ва маърифат маркази Бухоро вилояти бўлими, Бухоро давлат университети, 2021. – Б. 101

society and political contradictions. In particular, the “Young Bukhara” movement set itself the goal of leading the country to the path of modern development, developing education, reforming public administration and protecting the interests of the people. Fayzulla Khojayev, one of the leading figures of this movement, took an important place in the history of Bukhara and later Uzbekistan through his political activities. He held various state and government positions and tried to implement economic and political reforms. The sending of young people to Germany for education at the initiative of F. Khojayev was one of the important steps towards the formation of national intelligentsia and the acquisition of modern knowledge. However, as a result of the strengthening of the Soviet authoritarian system, administrative-command policies flourished in the country, and the cotton policy and repressions had a negative impact on the life of the people. In particular, the repressions of 1937-1938 led to the tragic fate of Fayzulla Khojayev, along with many national intellectuals. Nevertheless, his socio-political views, reformist activities and services to the development of the nation occupy an important place in the history of Uzbekistan and are still valued as a historical heritage.

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