INTRODUCTION

Russian (Soviet) historiography, which owns the vast majority of studies on Tuva, was dominated by the statement about the reunification of Tuva with Russia, about its connection with the Russian economic system. Tuvin historiography also holds the opinion that the introduction of the Russian protectorate provided the opportunity to preserve the Tuvin ethnic group, since otherwise the Tuvans would become part of Outer Mongolia and could eventually lose their ethnic identity and lose their native language (MART-OOL, MOLLEROV, 2004).

Once the lands of the Tuvin's (known as the Uryankhai Territory) were part of the Dzungar Khanate, then - the Qing Empire. Since 1755, the region was ruled by the Manchu military governor in Outer Mongolia - jianjun. A significant number of publications confirm that at the beginning of the twentieth century Uryanhai was considered part of Mongolia, including Russian pre-revolutionary researchers who recognized this (EDINARKHOVA, 2000, p. 145).

The Mongol national liberation movement of 1911 separated Uryanhai from China. The Chinese government has lost de facto control of the territory. In 1914, the Uryankhai Territory became a protectorate of Russia (it became officially called the Uryankhai Territory). The civil war in Russia disrupted the current balance and in the fall of 1918 Chinese and Mongolian troops entered the southern regions of Uryanhai. In the summer of 1919, detachments of red partisans retreated to Tuva from the Yenisei province. Battles followed with the Kolchakites who were here, and since the end of 1919 there were regular troops of Soviet Russia in it, who occupied the territory after the defeat of the forces of A.V. Kolchak. In 1921, units of the Red Army were expelled from Tuva and Chinese and White Guard detachments (LUZYANIN, 2003).

METHODS

In the study of the chosen topic, the following methods were used: historical-genetic, comparative-historical; problem-chronological. The historical and genetic method made it possible to consistently reveal the prerequisites for self-determination and sovereignization of Tuva in 1921, to demonstrate the causal relationships between the positions of Mongolia and Soviet Russia and their relationship on the status of Tuva, the laws of self-determination and the sovereignization of Tuva.

With the help of the comparative-historical method, the general and special features of the course of self-determination and the sovereignization of Tuva in the period under consideration were shown. At the same time, the activities of the Vsetuva Constituent Khural, which proclaimed the independence of Tuva, are presented in the course of a real historical process determined by socio-economic changes in the regional perspective.
By means of the problem-chronological method, the corresponding problems that existed in Tuva during the specified chronological period are highlighted.

RESULTS
Tuva was interpreted by the Mongols as an integral part of the Mongolian world. Its stay under the protectorate of the Russian Empire (since 1914), and then the proclamation of an independent republic (1921), the Mongolian elite perceived as a flagrant injustice, despite the fact that the Tuvans had Turkic (non-Mongolian) origin. The People’s Government of Mongolia, which came to power in 1921, also considered Tuva as part of its territories and negotiated with Moscow to include these lands in the sovereign Mongolian state. In turn, in Tuva, during the study period, the so-called Mongolophile moods took place, especially among the Tuvan noyons.

The Bolsheviks did not have a unified position on the future status of Tuva. For example, the appeal of the chairman of the Sibrevkom I.N. Smirnov and the authorized Comintern B.Z. Shumyatsky to the People’s Commissar of Foreign Affairs G.V. Chicherin regarding the creation of the Mongolian state and the inclusion of the Uryankhai Territory (from 2.03.1921) was preserved. It said:

In connection with your decision in the fall to provide real assistance to the Mongolian Nar. The parties in the restoration of independence would consider it necessary that an independent Mongolia include the Uryankhai Territory. In this way, it is easier to achieve the goal of the liberation of Mongolia, since Nar. The party will simultaneously carry out a coup not only in Northern, but also in Western Mongolia. This gives us an increased influence on Mongolia without binding hands, because in Uryanhai at any time they can go to secession from Mongolia, if its international situation does not take shape in our favor. Inclusion of Uryanhai... strengthens our forces and gives some stability to the government formed by Nar.-Rev. with the batch. (MALYSHEVA, POZNANSKY, 1996, p. 208-209).

Thus, Mongolia was to become a federal People’s Republic. In June 1921, the Mongolian revolutionary leadership sent its representatives to Moscow - C.J. Zhamtsaran and Horlo, who immediately put forward the Uryankhai issue during the negotiations, saying that Soviet Russia should support the desire of the Mongolian and Uryankhai tribes for unity. The position of the People’s Commissar of Foreign Affairs on this issue was ambiguous, although at the talks he explicitly stated that Soviet Russia does not consider Uryanhai as its territory and has no views on it. At the same time, in particular, the future status of the Russian colony in Uryanhai was discussed on the basis of local self-government, issues of protecting the interests of the Russian colonists there (LUZYANIN, 2003, p. 113). This fact, in our opinion, eloquently indicates that at that time the Soviet side considered the extension of Mongolian revolutionary power to Tuva likely. Otherwise, it would simply not be advisable to discuss such issues with Mongolian representatives. So, there is every reason to say that in the first half of 1921, the Soviet foreign ministry was inclined to transfer Tuva to Mongolia (BAKSHEEV, 2016).

At the same time, Ts.J. Zhamtsaran was given an unequivocal instruction from the Comintern: to urge the MNP to immediately begin work in the Uryankhai Territory in order to create a local revolutionary party, with the help of which it will be easier to draw the Soviet line, and the Uryankhai Territory will enter the All-Mongolian Federation (LUZYANIN, 2003, p. 113). The latter circumstance especially impressed the Mongolian revolutionaries, who, when discussing this issue with the People’s Commissar, constantly referred to the position of the Comintern.

On June 14, 1921, G.V. Chicherin requested the opinion of the Chairman of the Sibrevkom I.N. Smirnov on the Uryankhai issue. Smirnov conveyed that the Sibburo (Siberian Bureau) of the Central Committee of the RCP(b) decided that Tuva should be part of Mongolia, but this should not be declared (BAKSHEEV, 2011). On June 16, 1921, after re-discussing the situation in Tuva, Sibburo adopted a resolution that the self-determination of the Tuva people cannot be considered out of connection with the liberation movement of Mongolia in general. However, since the process of formation of the Mongolian state has not yet been completed and it is not yet known what forms of its State and international existence will result in, the question of
Tuva’s accession to Mongolia should remain open for the time being (SHURKHUU, 2001, p. 111). It was emphasized that

[...] the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP sharply condemns the desire of individual Soviet and party workers who work in Uryanhai to pursue the old tsarist policy of schism between the Uryanhays and Mongols, and even more so the policy of colonizers who seek to strengthen and expand the area of their possessions in the territory of the Uryanhai people. (MOSKALENKO, 2004, p. 96).

The fact is that the authorized Sibrevkom in Uryanhai - I.G. Safyanov - pursued a completely different policy in the region. On May 22, 1921, he distributed “An appeal to all Tuvan noyons, all officials and the entire Uryankhai people”, where he explained his position on the issue of self-determination of the Tuvan people. He also assured that the Red Army troops introduced in Tuva would not impose their laws and decisions on the Tuva people. It was clear from the text that Safyanov sympathizes with the idea of self-determination of Tuva (LAMIN, 2007, p. 120).

Having wide powers, I.G. Safyanov on June 25-26, 1921 organized negotiations with two Chemchik khoshuns. This refers to Beise-khoskon and Daakhoshun, the western Khoshun located in the valley of the Khemchik River. They were economically more developed, richer than other khoshuns; and most importantly, more than half of the entire population of Tuva lived in them. Therefore, the position of their rulers was decisive in political matters. These negotiations were, in fact, a preparatory meeting before the convening of the khural itself.

The meeting was also attended by a Soviet delegation and a delegation from the Russian population of the region. About 80 arats, as well as 40 noyons and officials were present from the Khemchik Khoshuns (SAAYA, SAT, 2006, p. 62). At the beginning of the negotiations, I.G. Safyanov familiarized representatives of Tuvans with the national policy of the Soviet state in the East and hinted at the need to convene the All-Tuvan Khural. Noyon M. Buyan-Badyrgi spoke on behalf of the representatives of the Khemchik Khoshuns, who, in particular, noted that “having discussed the statement of the Russian delegation on the attitude of the Soviet government of Russia towards us, we find that the only surest and best way of later life of our people will be the way to achieve the full independence of our country” (SAAYA, SAT, 2006, p. 59-60).

According to some researchers, I.G. Safyanov with his active activity determined the real policy of Soviet Russia in this matter, therefore, he can be called the “designer” of the Tuva state (SAAYA, SAT, 2006, p. 65). I.G. Safyanov lived in Uryanhai since the late 1890s, therefore, he knew the local conditions well; he spoke Tuvan and Mongolian languages, was a collector and popularizer of Tuvan folklore. It seems, that over the years of his stay in the region, Safyanov developed his own view of the future of Tuva and began to implement it at the first opportunity. So, as we can see, here we are talking more about the personal perception of a confused diplomatic issue than about observing the Soviet political line. The convening of the Constituent Khural (congress), the question of the independence of Tuva under Soviet control was, first of all, the idea of I.G. Safyanov (MOLLEROV, 2005).

On August 13, 1921, the All-Tuva Constituent Khural of the Tuva people began, at which the issue of self-determination of Tuva was discussed. At the congress, according to the protocol, 63 representatives from 7 out of 9 khoshuns were present. From Soviet Russia there were 17 people present, from the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern - 1, from Mongolia - 3. The Khural meetings were held under the chairmanship of I. G. Safyanov and Mongush Buyan-Badyrgy (SAAYA, 2003, p. 24).

DISCUSSION

On August 14, 1921, Khural proclaimed the creation of an independent People’s Republic of Tannu-Tuva with the capital - the city of Kyzyl. The republic was supposed to be independent in internal governance, and in international relations - to act under the auspices of Russia. The Khural, in particular, decided to call the indigenous inhabitants the Tanna-Tuva people, and the Khazut Khoshun, as located within Mongolia, should be excluded from Tuva. The Central
Council (government) was created, which included the former hoshun noyons (LAMIN, 2007, p. 127).

We can agree with N.P. Moskalenko’s conclusions regarding the Constituent Khural: firstly, the question of creating a sovereign Tuvan state was raised by the Russian Bolsheviks, who purposefully prepared the indigenous Tuvan population for this action; secondly, the heads of the Tuva Khoshuns did not have a single idea of the future of their country (MOSKALENKO, 2004, p. 82-83). The representatives of the Khemchik Khoshuns insisted on independence; the others simply joined their position. Such a choice and, above all, Mongush Buyan-Badyrgy, is not surprising, since Noyon believed that, despite some restrictions, it would be real independence.

According to some researchers, in 1921, in fact, the Russian protectorate over Tuva was restored, however, in a more veiled form (LEWIS, 1995, p. 53). However, it seems fair that the proclamation of the People’s Republic of Tannu-Tuva was somewhat unexpected for the leadership of the RCP (b) and the Comintern (SAT, 2000). Moreover, after the Constituent Khural on August 17, 1921, the Sibburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) heard the information of B.Z. Shumyatsky about Urianhai, and sent I.G. Safyanov his instructions on the desirability of Tuva’s entry “on a wide autonomous basis into Mongolia” (MALYSHEVA, POZNANSKY, 1996, p. 304).

We believe that for a number of years Soviet diplomacy could not clearly determine the international legal status of Tuva, although it finally took advantage of the fruits of the former commissioner’s work (BAKSHEEV, 2015). Moreover, in the autumn of 1922, I.G. Safyanov was expelled from the ranks of the RCP (b), and soon he was expelled from Tuva, according to some researchers, only because he was a real leader in the region, authoritative in both the Russian and Tuvan environment (MOLLEROV, 2009).

CONCLUSION

The emergence of the Tuva state became possible both due to the contradictory political situation in Russia, China, Mongolia, and through the manifestation of the historical role of the individual. Now it is difficult to say how Tuva’s fate would have developed in the absence of such an extraordinary personality as Innocenty Georgievich Safyanov in the Uryankhai Territory in 1921.

Thus, since 1921, Tuva lived in new political and socio-economic conditions, the beginning of which was laid by the decisions of the Constituent Khural. Indeed, on the one hand, the Tuva State, from the point of view of the right of nations to self-determination, is a phenomenon that is certainly positive and in this way the indigenous people of Tuva received their own writing, education, science and also preserved their own language, original culture and traditions. The USSR provided significant material assistance and diplomatic support. On the other hand, the huge northern neighbor significantly limited the sovereignty of the newly formed state, “exported” ideology and repression to it.

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Prerequisites for self-determination and the sovereignty of Tuva (Russia) in 1921
Pré-requisitos para a autodeterminação e a soberania de Tuva (Rússia) em 1921
Requisitos previos para la libre determinación y la soberanía de Tuvá (Rusia) en 1921

Resumo
O artigo analisa os pré-requisitos de autodeterminação e soberania de Tuva em 1921. Resumidamente, o contexto geral dos eventos é revelado, os principais episódios e personalidades-chave são listados. Usando métodos histórico-genéticos, históricos e cronológicos, foram reconstruídas as posições da Mongólia e da Rússia Soviética e sua relação sobre o status de Tuva, a organização e a convocação do Khural Constituinte de Tuva, que proclamou a independência de Tuva, bem como as consequências da declaração de independência de Tuva. O papel do representante autorizado do Sibrevkom em Uryanhai I.G. Safyanov neste processo é mostrado. Em conclusão, os autores concluem que a independência de Tuva foi possível tanto devido ao papel de I.G. Safyanov na história quanto devido ao papel de I.G. Safyanov na história. Desde 1921, Tuva começou a viver e se desenvolver nas condições políticas e econômicas criadas pela Constituinte Khural.

Palavras-chave: República Popular de Tuva. Território Uryankhai. Autodeterminação. Partido Popular Mongólia (MPP). Sibrevkom.

Abstract
The article analyzes the prerequisites of self-determination and sovereignty of Tuva in 1921. Briefly, the general context of events is revealed, the main episodes and key personalities are listed. Using historical-genetic, comparative-historical and problem-chronological methods, the positions of Mongolia and Soviet Russia and their relationship on the status of Tuva, the organization and convocation of the All-Tuva Constituent Khural, which proclaimed the independence of Tuva, as well as the consequences of the declaration of independence of Tuva, were reconstructed. The role of the authorized representative of the Sibrevkom in Uryanhai I.G. Safyanov in this process is shown. In conclusion, the authors conclude that the emergence of a sovereign Tuva state was made possible both due to the contradictory political situation in Asia and due to the role of I.G. Safyanov in history. Since 1921, Tuva began to live and develop in the political and economic conditions created by the Constituent Khural.

Keywords: Tuva People’s Republic. Uryankhai Territory. Self-determination. Mongolian People’s Party (MPP). Sibrevkom.

Resumen
El artículo analiza los requisitos previos de la autodeterminación y la soberanía de Tuva en 1921. Brevemente, se revela el contexto general de los acontecimientos, se enumeran los episodios principales y las personalidades clave. Utilizando métodos histórico-genéticos, comparativo-históricos y problem-cronológicos, se reconstruyeron las posiciones de Mongolia y la Rusia soviética y su relación sobre el estatus de Tuva, la organización y convocatoria del Khural Constituyente de Todo Tuva, que proclamó la independencia de Tuva, así como las consecuencias de la declaración de independencia de Tuva. Se muestra el papel del representante autorizado del Sibrevkom en Uryanhai I.G. Safyanov en este proceso. En conclusión, los autores concluyen que la aparición de un estado soberano de Tuva fue posible tanto debido a la situación política contradictoria en Asia como debido al papel de I.G. Safyanov en la historia. Desde 1921, Tuva comenzó a vivir y desarrollarse en las condiciones políticas y económicas creadas por el Khural Constituyente.

Palabras-clave: República Popular de Tuva. Territorio Uryankhai. Autodeterminación. Partido Popular de Mongolia (MPP). Sibrevkom.