

# Ideological Struggle of National Intellectuals against the Bolsheviks in Turkestan

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## Abstract

This article is devoted to the theoretical foundations of the ideological struggle between the national intelligentsia and the Bolsheviks on the territory of Uzbekistan. The views of the Uzbek intelligentsia in the former Soviet Union are analyzed as bourgeois, petty bourgeois, liberal-bourgeois, idealistic, clerical (religious) and alien to the working people.

**Keywords:** Revolutionary struggle, class struggle, struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, party struggle, ideological struggle, program, party, Bolshevik, national intelligentsia, Jadidism, nationalism, chauvinism.

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The intellectuals and enlighteners of Turkestan understood the ideology of the Communist Party well. The progressives tried to explain as much as possible that the destructive ideology of the Bolsheviks did not correspond to national interests. The father of the Turkestan Jadids, Mahmudkhoj Behbudi, expressed his views in the press. He divided the Communist Party (Participatory Party) into two: social-democratic ("participatory public"), social-revolutionary ("participatory revolutionary"). Both of them had the main goal of "completely breaking all laws and property rules, and making property and land common among all people", "eliminating wealth and poverty, and making everyone equally enjoy the benefits of worldly goods..." This idea cannot be realized, because it is unscientific, immoral, and therefore inhuman. Behbudi assessed the actions, programs, and goals of the communists as "fantasy" and stated that "joining this group is extremely harmful for us Muslims", "their programs... and their ideas on the family issue are completely incompatible..." [1].

The Turkestan national intelligentsia had the idea of governing in the future in a two-party system, the first of which would be radical national and the second socialist. A.Z. Validi cited such parties as "Erk" and the "Tarakkiyparvarlar" of the Jadids as radical national parties. In 1921, during negotiations in Bukhara, the 27-point program of the "Erk" party was reduced to nine points, and the "Tarakkiyparvarlar" party adopted a 19-point program. The first point of the program of this "Tarakkiyparvarlar" party contained the following words: Having a national culture and living as an independent nation should be the fundamental basis of life. This is the noble dream of all nations. Our goal is to establish an

independent and national government in Turkestan. The nation relies on the integrity of language, religion, literature, customs and traditions [2].

The forcible establishment of Soviet power in Turkestan caused general discontent among national cadres, intellectuals, and the general public. The national intelligentsia openly denounced the Bolsheviks' policy of absolute rule, the disregard for the will of local cadres in state administration, and this was nothing more than colonialism. They stated that the existence of an armed struggle or ideological struggle against colonialism was a natural process: "The fundamental contradiction between the colony and the metropolis is not reduced by local political measures. The psychological basis of the subject's desire for individual and national freedom, although not very strong and of little benefit, is an inherent feature of man. Despite the best management, the contradiction between the subject and the ruler is inevitable"[3].

The struggle against the Bolshevik ideology was present not only in Uzbekistan and other Soviet republics, but also in Russia itself, which was considered the center of the revolution. In particular, the opposition parties were strongly opposed to the economic aspects of Bolshevism's ideology. Property, land, and wealth were seized from citizens by force, or rather, by proletarian aggression. In 1925, the Central Committee of the party, at the initiative of I.V. Stalin, condemned the slogan "Get rich!", which Bukharin had then put forward and which was supported by "Komsomolskaya Pravda". According to Stalin, this was "in essence a call for the restoration of capitalism" [4]. The Bolsheviks fought to spread their ideology through the press. They criticized the daily newspapers, magazines, and even published books of the national intelligentsia and exerted strong pressure using various methods and means. The shortcomings in the issue of ideology were discussed several times at meetings of the Communist Party. In these discussions, they noted the methods and means by which the ideological struggle against the old intelligentsia should be waged. In this place, the flaws in the issue of ideology are analyzed [5].

The Bolsheviks constantly monitored the activities of the national intelligentsia, who did not want to serve the Soviet ideology. The activities of the national intelligentsia, Munavvar Qori, were discussed several times and quoted as follows: "Later, in the second part of Munavvar Qori's book written for secondary schools, there were sentences that did not correspond to the current policy of our party and poisoned the brains of young children. We were not aware of this. This is because our government was busy with other matters and did not pay attention to their actions, and secondly, it is more likely that our leaders, the people who work in the state publishing house, did not pay attention to this matter, considering the official side of the book and not paying attention to the ideological aspect. They are educating children with their own corrupt ideologies. They have not stopped such actions even now" [6].

The Soviet state approached the national question in a proletarian spirit, dividing society into oppressors and oppressed, rich and poor, forgetting that national interests and national relations are complex and diverse, and ignoring their continuous development and deepening. As a result, situations arose that were entangled around narrow national interests. Those who opposed the Soviet state's policy of national autonomy, which was a "condition for building socialism," were called "enemies of the people." Thus, the idea of "proletarian internationalism" emerged. When the theoretical foundations of the Soviet state were being built, the path outlined by the founder of the dictatorship of the proletariat, V.I. Lenin, was followed. V.I. Lenin advocated the policy of a single party against national privileges, which is characteristic of the socialist system, not nationalism. The people of the "healthy communist society" to be built in this complex of ideas were to be distinguished not only by their thoughts and feelings, but also by their culture of dress [7].

The fact that ideological and educational work was being carried out superficially and in a businesslike manner due to the weakening of the leaders' activity in the ideological sphere was sharply criticized at party meetings. It was emphasized that it was inappropriate to view the issue of the struggle for the ideology of the proletariat as something temporary and transitory, and that work on the ideological front should be carried out systematically and constantly. At the same time, attention was paid to the issues of striking at the manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism by strengthening work among the intellectual forces working in ideological positions and educating them in the spirit of internationalism

and Marxism. [8]

The fact that some intellectuals in Uzbekistan are fighting to establish a state based on the national bourgeoisie, and that this struggle is leading to the intensification of national conflicts, was also discussed at party meetings. It is noted that this struggle is manifested primarily in opposing the common national idea to class interests, in denying the power of the poor, and in other similar actions. At the same time, some groups serving the interests of the bourgeoisie are mentioned among these intellectuals:

- 1) a black group of landlords and intellectuals who are concerned with the interests of those who have survived feudal relations and are trying to restore them;
- 2) "progressives" who, in the interests of the merchant bourgeoisie, are trying to use the slogans and ideas of the Communist Party for their own ends [9].

The Bolsheviks consider these groups of intellectuals mentioned above to be dangerous. It is mentioned that they have a strong economic base, that is, they receive support from the rich and the clergy. On the other hand, they express concern that these intellectuals, having settled in the Soviet apparatus, are forming a secret group. Therefore, it is emphasized that the party is waging a resolute struggle against this group. Indeed, as a result of the incorrect policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet government on the national question, many secret groups, organizations and societies have emerged among the progressive part of the intelligentsia. As a measure to prevent the secret activities of the intelligentsia, the Bolsheviks began a movement to bring them closer to the party and the Soviet government. To this end, the intelligentsia was required to break free from the influence of their former leaders and work closely with the Soviet government under the leadership of the party.

There was a clash of ideas between the Bolsheviks and the national intelligentsia in the education system, in the press, in literature, on the issues of the Uzbek language and Arabic orthography. The ideology of "theories of uniqueness, synharmonism - the iron law" of national intellectuals Murad Shams, Fitrat, Atajon Hashim, Kayum Ramazan, and Ghazi Olim was called by the Bolsheviks a movement that carried counter-revolutionary ideas and was directed specifically against the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin [10].

The Bolsheviks, having begun to organize new Soviet schools, found it impossible to use most of the teachers who had previously worked in the education system (madrasah education, Jadid and Russian-style schools). It was argued that the teachers who were engaged in education in the old schools and especially in the madrasahs before the revolution did not have sufficient knowledge, were influenced by religious beliefs and bourgeois nationalism, and were themselves people opposed to Soviet power. It was emphasized that the teaching methods of the new Soviet school and the content of the education provided did not fully correspond to the old schools. From this point of view, the Bolsheviks decided to train new teaching staff loyal to the interests of the working people and the ideas of Soviet power. Ideological autocracy served to ensure the subordination of peoples in the former Soviet republics, including Uzbekistan, to make them forget their history, distance themselves from their native language, and to develop one-sided national culture. In such conditions, the spirituality of our people and any thoughts and aspirations were often assessed as bourgeois nationalist ideas and counter-revolutionary actions. The leaders of the Jadid movement, who called on their compatriots for freedom and national development - Mahmudkhodja Behbudi, Abdurauf Fitrat, Abdulhamid Chulpon, Usmon Nosir, dozens and hundreds of their children, as well as many prominent state and public figures such as Fayzulla Khojaev, Akmal Ikramov, Turar Riskulov - became victims of a tyranny based on ideological monopolization [11].

Uzbek émigré historian Boymirza Hayit wrote about the colonial policy of the Bolsheviks: "Soviet colonialism in Turkestan has been preserving itself under various guises - socialism, communism, internationalism, national independence, and so on. To better understand Soviet colonialism, let us pay attention to the sources. The history, culture, customs, religion, language, and other national characteristics of the Turkestans are completely different from those of the Russians and have a completely different essence. Until 1917, there were no such things as socialism, communism, or the

labor movement in Turkestan; these are concepts instilled by the Soviet regime and Russian elements that have infiltrated Turkestan” [12].

American and European researchers, emphasizing the deep economic crisis and the collapse of science in all communist countries during the period when the ideology of the proletariat (working class) prevailed, give the following explanations:

Firstly, the Bolsheviks, as a result of seizing power through violence, revolutionary terror, divided the population into "their own" and "strangers", plunging the country into a trap of civil war and ruin. In this way, the Bolshevik government relied on inhuman principles;

Secondly, the system of state governance - the dictatorship of the proletariat, was based on red terror and oppression. Murder, violence, thousands of children separated from their parents - all this can be "justified" with one explanation - in the construction of a communist atheistic society, feelings of blood, kinship, love and affection had to be forgotten, there had to be no friends - only like-minded people united around the idea of the party. The dictatorship led to the concentration of power in the hands of a handful of people. Therefore, anyone who held ideas contrary to the Bolsheviks' ideas, regardless of who they were, was declared an enemy of the people;

thirdly, the status of a world revolution. In order to expand its sphere of influence in the name of this idea, the communist government carried out wars, revolutions and terrorist acts. This dried up the lives of millions of people. Millions of dollars were spent every year to support the communist regime;

fourthly, the principle of "uniformity". This was reflected in the fact that everyone was paid the same monthly salary, regardless of how hard they worked. This stifled people's desire to create something new. The idea of "being the same" became a reality for everyone. Thus, the Bolsheviks systematically turned people into an obedient herd [13].

The Bolsheviks wanted to win over the intelligentsia of the Turkestan region and make them serve the Soviet ideology. From this point of view, the national intelligentsia was called the "old intelligentsia", "foreign intelligentsia" or "harmful", while those who wanted to serve the ideology of the proletariat were called the "new intelligentsia", "red intelligentsia". The Bolsheviks called the national intelligentsia those who were worried about the proletarian revolution, those who looked at the Soviet government with a hostile eye and those who wanted the collapse of the Soviet government. The Bolsheviks considered the new intelligentsia as the old intelligentsia. The new intelligentsia included those who served the proletarian ideology and, without deviating from its ideas, demonstrated their loyalty to this path, and criticized the old intelligentsia.

The Bolsheviks put forward ideas such as "revolutionary struggle", "class struggle", "struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie", and "party struggle" against the independence ideology of the national intelligentsia. Soviet national policy was based on the theoretical and ideological basis of Marxism. The meaning of the struggle of the Bolsheviks, who considered themselves internationalists, was the world revolution, the construction of a communist society that did not know class and national differences. The intellectuals and enlighteners of Turkestan understood the ideology of the communist party well. The progressives tried to explain as much as possible that the destructive ideology of the Bolsheviks did not correspond to the national interests. As a result, the national intelligentsia and Jadids were accused by the Bolsheviks of pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism.

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