



# THE HISTORY OF THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENTSIA IN TURKESTAN AT THE ORIGINS OF SOVIET POWER

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## ABSTRACT

*The article describes the process of active formation on a socialist basis of social units of the structure of a socialist society, like Soviet workers and intelligentsia. The creation of completely new social strata, characteristic only of Soviet society, is also noted - cooperative handicraftsmen, collective farmers, workers of Soviet farms. But due to the small number and economic weakness, their activities were practically not noticeable either in the city or in the village.*

**KEY WORDS:** *intelligentsia, society, education, profession, industry, citizen, party, socialism, bolshevik, panIslamism, panturkism, clergy, school, madrasah, university.*

## INTRODUCTION

The new socialist system badly needed its own intelligentsia - a social category of any civilized society, consisting of specialists professionally engaged in highly qualified mental work in various areas of state, industrial, scientific, cultural and social activities, and having, as a rule, an education corresponding to their profession. Since the Soviet state practically did not have its own proletarian intelligentsia, in the early years it faced two tasks - to recruit the old "bourgeois" intelligentsia and begin to form a new "worker-peasant" intelligentsia.

## METHODS

The interests of building a new society forced the Soviet government to use the "bourgeois" intelligentsia. But, in dire need of her knowledge, she treated her with distrust, and in the early years simply hostile. In the process of establishing workers' control in production, numerous purges of the state apparatus, the old bourgeois specialists were purposefully removed from all leading positions or were fired when the apparatus was reduced, not in the least considering the interests of the cause, but guided only by revolutionary class hatred. They were replaced by nominees workers from the machine. At the same time, the workers were given the right to decide for themselves what specialists their production or institution needed.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Thus, in July 1918, with the reduction of staff in the cotton industry of Turkestan, its labor collectives decided to remove all managers and clerks. It was motivated by the fact that, "under Soviet rule, it is not necessary to solve the problems of commerce and competition, and every honest citizen can determine the type of goods"[1]. In the course of requisitions and confiscations of the property of large industrialists and merchants, the property of "bourgeois specialists" was often subjected to these measures, and even those who worked in Soviet institutions. Therefore, in November 1918, the chairman of the Central Council of National Economy of the TASSR demanded from the TurtsEC "to protect the property of old specialists, whom the Soviet government invited to their service, because their work was recognized as necessary" from disorderly requisitions and confiscations [2].

Only by the summer of 1919 did the party come to understand the need to urgently stop the fight against these specialists. But, while inviting bourgeois specialists to work, the Bolsheviks at the same time set the task of overcoming their "bourgeois worldview" in every possible way, considering this as one of the forms of class struggle for the restructuring of the social psychology of the old intelligentsia in the spirit of socialist ideas. It was a very painful process when uneducated people, obsessed with revolutionary enthusiasm, tried to "re-educate" educated people with an established system of views and values. The main criterion for determining the political and civic positions of the "bourgeois"



intelligentsia during this period was its attitude to the political, economic, social, cultural transformations of Soviet power and the ideological doctrine of the party.

It should be noted that in the Turkish Republic at the initial stage of socialist construction, in addition to the general problem of establishing relations between the Soviet government and the "bourgeois" intelligentsia, there was a special problem of its relationship with the national Jadid intelligentsia. During the period of numerous power actions of the Bolsheviks in 1917-1918. this social stratum suffered great losses. Many of its leaders, along with the progressive Muslim clergy, were repressed, deported or forced to leave their homeland. The Bolsheviks, considering Turkestan an economically and culturally backward region with an extremely small national intelligentsia, moreover, infected with the ideas of "pan-Islamism" and "pan-Turkism", refused to see in it an intellectual part of society capable of becoming an assistant to the new government. In their opinion, it should have been subjected to a class Bolshevik transformation, or simply destroyed as a class enemy [3].

The advanced national intelligentsia of Turkestan and, above all, its Jadid core, for the most part supported the Soviet government. She stood on the positions of the need to combine the Soviet organization of society with national traditions, to achieve a new stage of progress through the rise of all the healthy forces of society, and believed that the new society should take from the old one its productive force - artisans, as bearers of the traditions of national production and life, and create for them the necessary conditions for successful functioning, organize the right relationship with state industry and power structures, as well as accept and use the educated part of the old society, including the clergy, determine their place in the new society, find common ground, support progressive aspirations.

Patriotic national leaders who worked in the government of the republic, T. Ryskulov, K. Atabaev, S. Tursunkhodzhaev, I. Khidraliyev, A. Rakhimbaev, N. Tyurakulov, F. Khodzhaev, A. Fitrat and others, despite the negative attitude of the Bolsheviks -Europeans, actively advocated the involvement of the national intelligentsia in the construction of a new life.

In the early 1920s, the national intelligentsia took an active part in the discussion of the issue of writing reform. During these years, interesting magazines and newspapers began to be published in the Uzbek language - "Ilm va maorif", "HAQIQAT", "Ishchilar dunyosi", "Bolalar dunyosi", "Inqilob", "Bilim uchog'i", "Ozgarish yoshlar", "Ishtraqiyun", "Ishchilar Kalkoni", "Ozod Bukhoro", "Ozod Fargona", etc. In the journalistic corps of this period, along with such well-known authors as M. Behbudi, A. Fitrat, A. Chulpon, A. Avloni, A. Kodiri, Sh. Rakhimi, H. Niyozov and others appear young journalists - Usmonkhon Eshonkhojaev, Kosim Sorokin, Naim Soip, Mirmukhsin Shermukhamedov, Ziyov Said, Komiljon Olimov, Mannon Ramzi, Rakhim Inomov, Abdulkhay Tozhiev, Ali Ismoilzoda, Khoji Muin Shukrolaev and others. On the pages of newspapers and magazines, as well as in special works, they raised such burning issues as the development and reform of the language,

youth problems, prospects for the development of public education, Uzbek culture, etc [4].

In the early 1920s, the first works on the history of the region appeared, written by F. Khodzhaev, A. Fitrat, T. Ryskulov, S. Aini, P. Soliev. P. Soliev's monographs "Bukhoro mangitlari sulolasi davrida" ("Bukhara during the reign of the Mangits"), published in 1920 and "Bukhoro tarihi" ("History of Bukhara"), published in 1923, aroused great interest. The work of talented national translators Gazi Yunus, Fatih Karimov, art historian G. Zafari.

More difficult was the position of the Muslim clergy, as an integral part of the national intelligentsia of the Central Asian society. The very first decrees of the Soviet government "On the separation of church and state", "On civil marriage, on children, on keeping books of acts of civil status", "On the dissolution of marriage, on the destruction of estates and civil ranks", "On the abolition of waqf property", "On the liquidation of the courts of qazis and biys", "On the closure of madras and maktab" dealt a blow to the clergy, as the integrating force of the Muslim society. In addition, the Constitution of the Turkestan Republic, adopted in 1918, deprived all the clergy of electoral and political rights, thus excluding them from social and political life. But state acts could not abolish the all-encompassing influence of religion, which took shape and affirmed over the centuries. They only caused strong discontent among the bulk of the population, and the influence of the clergy in everyday life remained practically the same. Therefore, fearing an explosion of popular discontent, the Soviet government was forced to make some concessions. She allowed the teaching of the fundamentals of religion in Muslim schools, in 1922 she returned waqf property, restored the courts of qazis and biys, and restored Friday as a day of rest for Muslim believers. In February 1923, the Mahkamai Sharia society was established, which carried out work to clarify the moral foundations of Islam, the meaning of the Koran, hadiths in the spiritual development of society [5]. Thus, in the first years of Soviet power, the Muslim clergy in Turkestan continued to regulate the civil legal relations of the local population, remained to a certain extent the organizer of public education through schools and madrasas.

But this situation was clearly a temporary concession of the proletarian state due to the instability of the political situation in the country in the early years of Soviet power. Already in March 1923, the 7th Congress of the CPT firmly raised the question of the need to move on to "political disinfection and further weakening of the influence and power of the ulema over the believers." The congress stressed "that with regard to the Muslim clergy (ulema) there can be no talk of allowing them to participate in government." The task was to organize anti-religious work. And this task was carried out by the Party with particular zeal.

Given the specifics of the first years of Soviet power, we can assume that the intelligentsia at that time included qualified professionals (engineers, technicians, agronomists, doctors, teachers, lawyers, scientists, journalists, workers of cultural education institutions, artists, artists and other creative workers) and leading administrative workers of the state,



economic, party and Soviet apparatus. Although, objectively, not all of them had a sufficiently high professional education during the period under study, especially administrative workers.

The insignificance of the number of knowledgeable and educated people who were in the service of the Soviet state necessitated the need to solve the problem of forming a "worker-peasant" intelligentsia as quickly as possible. This task was solved in the first years of Soviet power in the same way as all other tasks, only on a strictly class basis. Ways to solve it were varied, but very characteristic of the policy of the Soviet state in those years.

One of them was the creation of cadres of employees of the administrative apparatus through "nomination", when the most active and revolutionary-minded workers and peasants, who not only had no vocational education, but very often and a solid primary education. It was a peculiar, characteristic only for the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a typically revolutionary leftist method of forming administrative workers from workers and peasants, who formally, by the nature of their position, belonged to the intelligentsia, but in terms of their educational and professional level, as a rule, in no way corresponded to it. In their overwhelming majority, these were poorly educated non-specialist Soviet employees.

In order for semi-literate and sometimes illiterate workers and peasants to be able to fulfill their duties as leaders of the party, Soviet and economic apparatus, a system was created to train them through courses, Soviet party schools, and then special universities. By the spring of 1924, in the republic, in the system of training party and Soviet workers, there were: The Central Asian Communist University, where 434 students studied, including 39 women, 4 daytime regional Soviet party schools and 2 evening schools, in which 227 people studied. The training of these personnel required significant material resources, however, despite the difficult financial situation in the republic, this work expanded in every possible way, since without its proletarian cadres the party could not form the political apparatus of the new government. She considered the nomination of the most active workers and peasants for leading work in the state, party, Soviet and economic apparatus as the most important means of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, establishing a system of effective government, and creating a state apparatus closely connected with the masses.

In Turkestan, the formation of a new Soviet intelligentsia was associated with a number of additional difficulties that caused the special specifics of this process. First of all, there were no higher educational institutions in colonial Turkestan, and the system of higher education was created from scratch. The first higher educational institution in the region was the Turkestan People's University, solemnly opened on April 21, 1918. Prominent representatives of the national intelligentsia Munavvar kori Abdurashidkhanov, Sodik Abdusattarov, Burkhon Khabib, Mukhtar Bakir, Abdullo Avloni and others stood at its origins[6]. In November 1918, the Turkestan Oriental Institute was opened

by local orientologists (in 1924 it became part of the Central Asian State University as an oriental faculty).

In September 1920, the Turkestan State University was opened in Tashkent - a large multidisciplinary higher educational institution, which until the end of the 20s trained all the specialists necessary for the region (since July 1923 it received the status of the Central Asian State University (SASU). The main task of the administration is party and Komsomol organizations of the university was to ensure its worker-peasant social composition. Therefore, when recruiting students, their social origin was at the forefront. Students who tried to hide their non-proletarian origin were immediately expelled. Work on the proletarianization of the composition of students was steadily moving towards the goal.

In addition to the general difficulties of the process of formation of the intelligentsia in the Turkish Republic, there was also its own specific direction. It consisted in the dominance of the training of humanitarian specialists - mainly school teachers due to the fact that the new government liquidated the old national system of public education in Turkestan and set the task of creating a Soviet labor school according to the European model. This task was set in the conditions of the almost complete absence of trained teachers for schools, and the possibility of developing university education depended on the availability of well-trained students in these schools.

To solve this problem in the 1920s, a wide network of national secondary specialized educational institutions was created in the republic - teacher's institutes, pedagogical technical schools, colleges, all kinds of pedagogical courses that train teachers for national schools. Through the efforts of the best representatives of the national intelligentsia in 1918-1920. The first pedagogical educational institutions were opened in Tashkent, which played an important role in the training of national teachers. On June 1, 1918, a Muslim teacher's institute was opened. Among his teachers were Ismail Khaki, Abdurauf Fitrat, Komol Shamsi, Ibragim and Abdurahman Ismagilov, Burkhan Khabib, Munavvar kori Abdurashidkhanov, Abdullo Rakhimbaev, Khaidar Shavki [7]. At the end of October 1919, a women's pedagogical school was opened "to train Turkic teachers in first-level schools"[8]. In the autumn of 1920, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Turkic-Tatar male and mixed Russian educational institutions were opened. A little later, the Uzbek women's and native-Jewish men's inquiries were opened [9]. The opening of these educational institutions was a significant contribution to the development of public education in the republic, the first steps towards the creation of its new national intelligentsia. But in the second half of the 1920s, these educational institutions were gradually absorbed by the new Soviet system of training teachers - pedagogical technical schools and universities.

Since the government of the republic did not have the opportunity to open diverse higher educational institutions, the national political leaders T. Ryskulov, A. Rakhimbaev, F. Khodzhaev, A. Fitrat in 1922 ensured that 75 young people from the TASSR, BNSR and KhNSR were sent to studying at universities in Germany. Among them were Akhmadjon Ibragimov, Sobira Ibragimova, Temurbek Kazakbaev,



Khairiniso Madzhikhanova, Sultan Matkulov, Tulyagan Muminov and others [10]. Studying at the Berlin, Heidelberg, Freiburg Universities, Berlin, Dresden, Darmstadt Higher Technical Academies, they, overcoming the language barrier, great every day and material difficulties, acquired the knowledge of highly qualified specialists through hard work. In addition, by the end of 1922, 306 people from Turkestan studied at universities and technical schools in Moscow and Petrograd, 25 people in Azerbaijan, 25 people in Turkey [11]. However, as the further development of socialist construction showed, the practice of training highly qualified specialists abroad was a specific feature only in the early 1920s. Later it was discontinued and students from the republic were taught only within the country.

All of the above forms were components of a purposeful process of the formation of a new social stratum - the Soviet intelligentsia. At the beginning of the 1920s, it was in its infancy, and it was slow and difficult in conditions of serious political and economic difficulties, the decisive role was played by the subjective factor - the class social policy of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviet intelligentsia was formed on a Marxist ideological, rigid class basis. The intelligentsia in the republic was small in that period, it was dominated by workers in public education and the cultural and educational sphere, technical, medical and scientific personnel were insignificant and, most importantly, there were very few representatives of indigenous nationalities among them.

Thus, in the early 1920s transformational social processes in Soviet society developed in two directions - the process of forming the social structure of the Soviet society under construction began and the painful process of destroying the social structure of the overthrown society gained momentum. At this stage, the political and economic life of the country was purposefully rebuilt on a revolutionary basis, the privileged position of the working class was established, in favor of which the structure of power changed, and the foundation was laid for a new stratification of society. The Soviet state steadily pursued a pronounced class social policy aimed at deepening the class differentiation of society and, ultimately, at destroying its old stratification. But its implementation in the Turkestan ASSR had a number of specific features.

## CONCLUSION

At the beginning of the 1920s, the process of active formation on a socialist basis of such main components of the social units of the structure of socialist society as Soviet workers and intelligentsia also began in Turkestan society. But due to the political and economic state of the region, it went slowly and with little success. At the same time, completely new social strata began to be created in society, characteristic only of Soviet society - cooperative handicraftsmen, collective farmers, workers of Soviet farms. But due to the small number and economic weakness, their activities were practically not noticeable either in the city or in the kishlak.

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