

Ideological Pressure Of The Bolsheviks In The Turkestan Region

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Abstract – Bolsheviks, who came to power in the result of the revolution in Petrograd (Russia) on October 27, 1917, violently established Soviet rule in Turkistan also. Turkestan Mukhtoriyati (Turkestan Autonomous), an independent state proclaimed by the population of the country, was abolished by the Bolsheviks and replaced by soviet-type Turkestan ASSR. As a result, struggle for freedom against Bolsheviks started in the country and secret national-political organizations were established. As the majority of public administration personnel in the Turkestan ASSR were of European nationality, the system of office and document management was mainly carried out in the Russian language. State apparatus received a number of complaints regarding this matter. Even important documents sent to the respective places for execution have been denied as they were not understandable to local staff. In order to prevent this, localization policy which undermined bringing close state apparatus to local population, has been implemented. However, number of problems appeared in implementation of localization policy in the republic. The Russians residing in the Turkestan ASSR resisted the local population's public-management activity. As a result, there was not enough personal qualified among representatives of local population. The state administration was mainly comprised of Russians and other European nationals.

Keywords – Revolution, National, Bolshevik, Localization, Language, Center, Turkestan ASSR, USSR, BPSR, KPSR, Csaruz.

When the Bolsheviks came to power, they condemned the colonial policy lead in the remote areas of the Russian Empire, and seemed to help representatives of indigenous population to build a democratic state. However, the Bolshevik policy was a new version of policy lead by the Russian Empire. During the era of struggle for raw materials between the imperialist states, the Bolsheviks needed Turkestan region which was reach in raw materials. To accomplish this, Soviet Russia has pursued a chauvinist policy in the region as did a former Russian Empire. Regarding this, a prominent representative of djadid movement Munavvar Qori Abdurashidhanov said: "The revolution did not give us anything; Moving to homeland under the banner of unemployment continues ... "[SK RKP (b), 2005].

After the Soviet rule has been established in Russia, from October 1917 to December, Bolsheviks adopted seven resolutions, decrees and documents on religious and national issues. The Soviet administration pursued the policy of implementing and executing all the decisions and decrees of the Center in order to fully subordinate Turkistan to Russia. This, in turn, meant that colonialism would continue unchangeably.

In February, 1918 the collapse of the Turkestan Mukhtoriyati by the Soviet administration and the absence of the local executives involved in the administration led to a tense situation on the national issue. Once the indigenous population of the country and their political leaders have seen the attempts of Bolsheviks to imply the state that differs from national mentality, peaceful method of resolving the national issue came to an end. [Azamxodjaev, 2000].

The Soviet government learned from experience of the Turkestan Mukhtoriyati and started establishing a Soviet model autonomy in the territory of Turkestan. The main goal of it was to prevent Turkestan from becoming a sovereign, independent state in the future. With this aim the 5th Turkestan Soviet Congress opened on April 20, 1918, in Tashkent. Finally, on April 30, the Congress decided to establish the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic within the Soviet state. At the VI Congress of the Turkistan Council (October 5-14, 1918), on the basis of Russian Constitution "The Turkestan ASSR Constitution" was adopted. It was emphasized in the constitution that the federal, state, defense, foreign affairs, postal, telegraph, maritime affairs, rail, customs, trade, industry and finance were at the disposal of the Federal Government, that is, all branches of state administration were subordinated to the Center. Moreover, this "autonomy" was not a national autonomy but a territorial autonomy. Moreover, primarily, the proletarian part of the European population benefited from this "autonomy". [Ermetov, 2007].

According to the archive documents, in 1918, 1,773,000 people lived in the Syrdarya region of Turkistan ASSR, 252,000 in the Amudarya region, 2,175,000 in Fergana, 1,200,000 in Samarkand, 464,000 in the Turkmen region and 1,281,000 in Yettisay. In total, the population of the Turkestan ASSR comprised 7.145.000 [CSARUz]. According to some reports, during this time, the national composition of the Turkestan ASSR population was mainly comprised by Turkic nations, followed by Tajiks and Persians, followed by Russians, followed by Dungans, Chinese, Kalmyks and other nations. [CSARUz].

In April 1918 the People's Commissariat for National Affairs was established in Turkestan ASSR and Toshkhoja Ashurkhojaev was appointed as a commissar. In March 1919, the Bureau of National Affairs, acted as an assisting organization executing the political duties of party committees. This type of governance system was in force not only in Turkistan, but also in other national republics which were under the Bolshevik leadership.

European population which comprised minority determined the direction of national policy of nations who comprised majority in these territories. The small national departments of Turkestan ASSR Bureau of National Affairs for the European population consisted of Iran-Azerbaijan, Czech, Serbian, Ukrainian, Jewish, Armenian, Polish, local-Jewish, Caucasian-Azerbaijan and others [Saipova, 2013].

When the Turkestan ASSR was established, the state language issue was not resolved and office work was carried out in Russian. As a result of the efforts of national administrative leaders, in June 1918 the Turkic language was granted the status of the state language in the Turkestan ASSR. On August 20, 1918, in according with the Decision of the CEC of the Turkestan ASSR "About the Turkic language and its main dialect," this language was designated equal to the official Russian language [Habibullayeva, 1995]. The Turkish language was declared the national language of the republican population in the Decision "On the introduction of the local language in all Soviet institutions" also, which was signed by Turkestan ASSR CEC and Turkestan ASSR PCS in 1918. Also in the First Congress of the Communist Party of Turkestan held in June 1918, it was said that it was necessary to form departments of national commissions, to carry out publishing activities in local languages, to organize courses to train party personnel out of locals, and to establish the National departments of Red Army. In particular, it was said that local languages of the nations residing in the republic and the Turkic language should be acknowledged as a state language along with the Russian language in order to attract the Muslim community to a new life. [Kamilov, 1993].

However, even though the Turkic language was given the status of the state language, before the localization policy started, in practice, office work was held in the Russian language. Before the office work was permitted to be carried out in local languages, People's Commissariat for National Affairs employees were requested to translate the texts of orders, decrees, resolutions and other orders written in Russian into local languages.

The Fourth Congress of the Turkestan Communist Party was urgently convened in September 1919 and was dedicated to the national issue. At the congress Turar Ryskulov made a sharp comment on the drawbacks of the Soviet national policy and defended the national interests. "Special methods of involving workers and another oppressed nation in the process of revolutionary development are required in order for the people to have authority. The most forward participants are needed to be included in the Soviet administration, but it requires certain independence of remote areas, that is, the local schools, the local courts, local administrations, local authorities, local communities, political and educational organizations should be established and they should be guaranteed to use their native language in all areas of social and political activity"[Musbyuro, 1922].

The Bolsheviks defined the role of the Russian language in the education system as well in the Turkestan region. The resolution adopted in 1921 provides information regarding the procedure of obtaining the secondary education of the Turkestan ASSR

population. According to it, schools covering one-stage three-year retraining courses will be opened in all volosts, ovals and residential areas. The condition was that education should be held in local languages along with Russian.

The Bolsheviks regularly cleaned the ranks of the party from the "extraneous elements" to strengthen the ideological and political influence of the Center and controlled the "ideological purity" of national administrative staff. In order to fulfill this task, the Center regularly sent "experienced Bolsheviks" to Turkistan. 354 communists from the Center were sent as emissaries to the Turkestan bureau from Russia only in 1921. They worked in responsible positions in the Turkestan, Bukhara and Khorezm republics. Officers of the center violently governed administrative bodies without knowing the conditions, customs and special characteristics of the Turkestan people. They ignored the rights of the local population and have pursued a policy against their interests [Haydarov, 2012].

At the same time, the Bolsheviks began a struggle against national and political organizations in order to strengthen their power. On December 23, 1921, under the Turkestan ASSR CEC accused Sadriddinkhoja Sharifkhodjaev, head of the Tashkent department of the revolutionary tribunal "MilliyIttihod" and its members, Orif Karimov, Yusufbek Kurbonov, Muhammad Muhammadumarov, Rustambek Niyazbekov, and Abdullajon Ziyomammedov of establishing "anti-agitation association under the flag of the Unification of the Nations" and being in contact with "Basmaches" of Fergana, who fought against the soviet government, and an investigation on their case started. The investigation of the thirty-fifth person was personally carried out by Dubinskiy, chairman of the commission of the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal, under the Turkestan ASSR CEC [Inqilobiy, 1921].

As mentioned in the accusation report, members of the "Milliy Ittihod" were accused of sending two letters to representatives of British and Japanese governments in Kuldja city of China to fight against the Soviet government.

Arif Karimov and Yusufbek Kurbanov, who were taking letters to Kuldja, were arrested when they reached Avliyoota city by red-army and sent back to Tashkent. Sadriddinkhoja, who heard Arif Karimov and Yusufbek Kurbanov's detention, went to Rakhmonkul, who was fighting against the Soviet regime. Three months after serving Rakhmonkul and returning back, he was arrested by the Red Army.

Other members of the "Milliy Ittihod" were subsequently arrested. Only Abdullojon Ziyomammedov stayed in Fergana with Rakhmonkul and continued the struggle. Even though Sadriddinkhoja tried to admit the guilt and attempted to show that others were innocent, during the investigation it was found that the mentioned letters were written in the yard of Abdullojon Ziyomammedov on March 9, 1921. The criminal case against the members of the "Milliy Ittihod" ended with a trial held on 23 and 24 December 1921. The available information states that when the verdict was announced, the death penalty has been replaced with imprisonment and some defendants have been released. Sadriddinkhoja Sharifkhodjajev, after serving his sentence, establishes relations with the armed movement against the insurgent regime and later emigrated to Afghanistan, accompanied by Salimposhsho. Unfortunately, Sadriddinkhoja, the nationalist patriotic mufti, was killed by Soviet agents in the 1940s.

Obviously, the main goal of the "Milliy Ittihod" was to restore the independence of Turkestan and return the fate of the homeland to the hands of the turkestanians. Therefore, the Soviet regime assessed the activity of this organization and reported as "the main aim was returning national rights on a large scale, establishing national army and governing the newly established government by National Ethnic Organization through uniting all oriental soviet republics into one federation"[Adeeb,2015].

Bolsheviks' "localization" policy is the introduction of the Uzbek language and other local languages along with the Russian language and attracting the local people in state governance in the Turkestan ASSR. In the archive documents and press materials, the term "localization" appears in the form of "nationalization", "nesting," "melting," "Uzbekization" also.

A number of legal documents have been adopted in the Turkestan ASSR for local governance. In particular, Decision number 3 of CEC of the Turkestan ASSR on January 5, 1923, Decision number130 on August 29, and Decision number 124 on August 15 of this year, introduced by Turkestan PCS.

Turkestan CEC Decision number130 includes 14 chapters and was signed by the Chairman of the Turkestan CEC I.Khidiraliev, Chairman of the Turkestan PCS Ismoilov, secretary of the CEC of Turkestan A. Shutemov and Kiselev. Part 1 of the Decision states that "all decrees and decisions shall be published in Russian, Uzbek, Turkmen and Kyrgyz languages" [CSARUZ].

In order to localize government offices in August 1923 a Central Commission of Localization was established under the CEC of the Turkestan ASSR. This Commission's tasks and authority were to oversee the implementation of local languages, to involve local people in the administration and to protect their interests, to develop a system of legal documents, to train experimentalists

and to employ them in different institutions. However, localization activities in the country were not welcomed by European nationals.

They openly demonstrated that they were against local workers working in organizations. One of the local reporters commented on this issue as follows: "It was natural that the problem of the privatization of agencies was irrigated by spirit of colonialism and it was prognosticated that European gentlemen, who claimed the table of the administration as legitimate right, would be an obstacle. The revitalization of the fight against such elements is the main task of the authorized officials in the office. As a result, only commission itself will fight against the above obstacles"[Giyosiddin,1924].

The Constitution of the SSSR, adopted on July 6, 1923, stated that the national language was the October Revolution's Russian language. However, none of the constitutional laws of the Turkestan ASSR, the BPSR and KPSR were mentioned anything about the state language. After the adoption of a number of decisions on localization of the state apparatus, in these republics, office-work was held in local languages along with the Russian language.

On September 15, 1923, council was held regarding Turkestan ASSR PCS activity on organization of the office-work in the local languages. At the same time, a special commission was set up in the PCS of the Turkestan ASSR to ensure the implementation of the Resolution number 130 of the Central Committee of the Turkestan ASSR dated January 5, 1923 and number 130 of August 29. Aralboev, People's commissar for Internal Affairs was appointed as chairman to this committee, Malishev was appointed as his deputy. Kucherbaev and Rasulov were also included in the structure from the Administration of People's Commissariat of Finance. Starting from this day, the special commission starts its activity based on the plan approved by Turkestan ASSR PCS[CSARUz].

According to Decision number 130 of the CEC of the Turkestan ASSR, the procedure was established to implement office-work in all organizations in the territory of the republic in four state languages. According to this, three local languages Uzbeks, Kyrgyz (meant Kazakh - Kyrgyz language – O.R.), Turkmen and one European, that is Russian, were mentioned. Based on this, the state languages of the Turkestan ASSR were proclaimed in the regions. In particular, the system of office-work in Yettisay, Syrdarya and Amudarya regions was introduced in Kyrgyz, in Fergana and Samarkand in Uzbek and in Turkmenregionsin Turkmen language [CSARUz].

In addition, this decree specifies procedure of office work in russian language and in respective areas in higher institutions of Turkestan ASSR. According to it, the following information was provided in the meeting on October 1923 in the CEC of the Turkestan ASSR regarding the work carried out in the system of office-work:

1. Legislative acts of the SSSR, which are announced on CEC of the Turkestan ASSR, are being translated into local languages for all regions of the Turkestan ASSR;
2. General state orders and all legislative acts of CEC of the Turkestan ASSR and Turkestan ASSRPCS are being published in 4 languages of the Turkestan ASSR;
3. Government assignments of the CEC of the Turkestan ASSR and Turkestan ASSRPCS, belonging to only one of the three districts, are published in the language appropriate to that area;
4. All government institutions contacts with the local population are directly carried out in the district language;
5. In all departments of subordinate cells under control of Turkestan ASSR office work is being held in the regional language;
6. Preservation of Russian language is established in accordance with the agreement of respective administration of local organs[CSARUz].

Central Localization Commission on 19 October 1924 addressed to the CECof the Turkestan ASSR, to the Turkestan ASSR PCS, the executive chairman of the Turkestan Economic Council and the Fergana Regional Executive Committee. It was stated in this communication that in accordance with Article 1 of the Turkestan Declaration number 130 issued on 29 August 1923, all orders and decisions were decided to be published in four languages for the Turkestan population and that even though the Article number3 of this Decision envisages that all central establishments should promptly switch the office work into local language, it was mentioned that insufficient attention was paid to practical implication of it.

Besides, A.Rasulov, a member of the centralized commission of the korenizatsia (localization) in this address stated the following disadvantages: "Decision number 130 was not only sent in Russian by general staff, but by the decision issuing body

itself, doing so, they violated the order" [CSARUZ] the letter number 12002 issued by the Fergana Province Executive Authority On October 9, 1924, was returned back to Central Localization Committee due to the reason that decisions 120 and 124 dated 6 and 13 August, 1924 of the CEC of the Turkestan ASSR.

In October 1924, the Localization Commission studied the complains received and called administrative bodies of Turkestan ASSR and other establishments to unconditionally follow the order mentioned in the articles 1 and 3 of Decision number 130 of the CEC of the Turkestan ASSR on the procedure of issuing orders and handling the writing in the local language. Every country in the world wishes to speak, write and handle office-work in their mother tongue. The Turkestan people also wanted to office-work to be held in the understandable language, that is, mother language, in their mother tongue, which is understandable, and wanted equally work in state administration with staff of European nationality. What representatives of local people ought to do and which deficiencies would they have to eliminate? Regarding this matter, newspaper correspondent Nuriddin Odilij shared the following view: "Today, the process of localization is so ineffective, which is, on the one hand, due to unpreparedness, on the other hand due to Russian imperialists' behavior. Our mission is to employ the experimentalist to various agencies. We will satisfy the needs of the local people only and gain success only if we start-up the task of localization"[Nuriddin, 1924]. Of course, in order to effectively and successfully organize the localization, preparation and effective planning and strict executive mechanism were required. Unfortunately, the execution mechanism was poor and one-sided in localization system.

The localization commission which lead activity in Turkistan ASSR, since October 1923 started sending experimentalists to various agencies and institutions. These experimentalists were requested to learn about work and lead labor activity. However, in majority of cases, the experimentalists sent by the commission received warm welcome by administration and staff of establishments, and instead of learning about work, due to various excuses were returned back.

The central commission has received a lot of claims about the experimentalists facing difficulties due to European chiefs. For example, in Fergana, experimentalists were not paid salary and majority of them were made redundant. The Central Localization Commission sends Order number 5733 to the Fergana Localization Commission to immediately eliminate these shortcomings. The following was written in the text of this order: "Nobody has the right to relieve the experimentalists of their duties. Heads of establishments are required to pay the cost, indicated by the law, in accordance with the procedure prescribed by the general law"[CSARUZ].

In conclusion, the national policy of Bolsheviks in Turkestan was in a form of chauvinism. National patriots struggled against the colonial Bolsheviks. Even though it was determined that the localization theory would be implemented at the state level, its accomplishment and position of local staff was as in the past. As a result, local representatives started making suggestions and requirements to eliminate the drawbacks of localization tasks. The implementation of the Decree and Orders on Localization Policy of the Turkestan ASSR was not sufficiently monitored. European staff did not want local workers to be involved in governance. Problems with the local population's placement in state governance and local agencies had not been completely resolved.

Turkestan ASSR – Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
CEC of the Turkestan ASSR–Central Executive Committee of the Turkestan ASSR
PCS of the Turkestan ASSR –People's Commissars Soviet of the Turkestan ASSR
BPSR – Bukhara People's Soviet Republic
KPSR –Khorezm People's Soviet Republic
CSARUZ – Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan

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