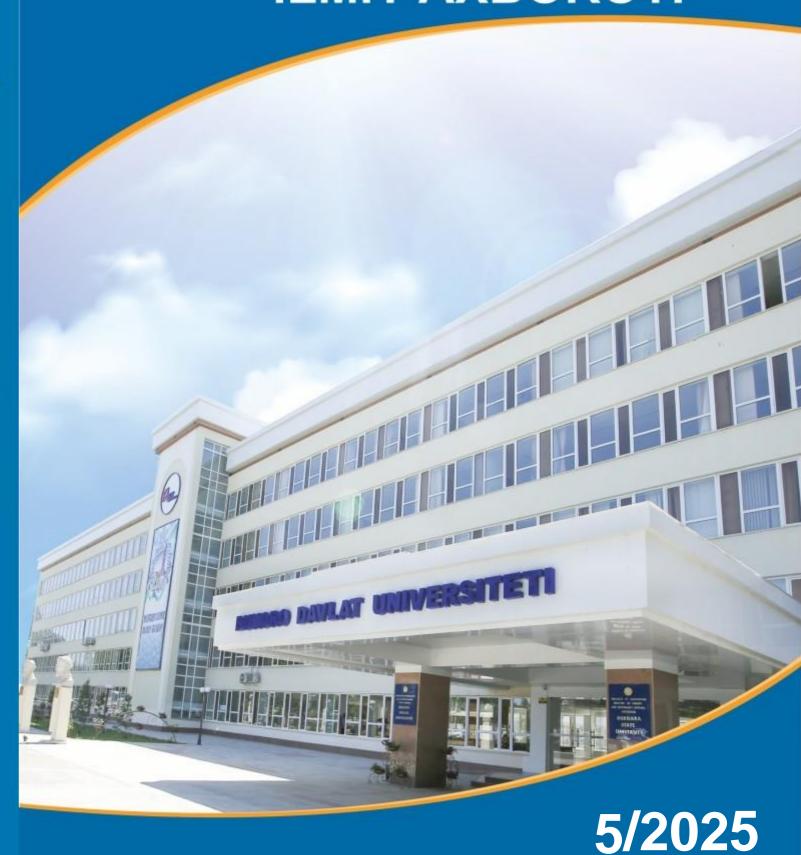


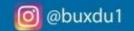
# BUXORO DAVLAT UNIVERSITETI ILMIY AXBOROTI



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# BUXORO DAVLAT UNIVERSITETI ILMIY AXBOROTI SCIENTIFIC REPORTS OF BUKHARA STATE UNIVERSITY НАУЧНЫЙ ВЕСТНИК БУХАРСКОГО ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА

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ma'naviy yuksalish markazi sifatidagi ahamiyatini tilga olgan. Muallif, Bahouddin Naqshbandiy maqbarasi Buxoro shahridan taxminan 6 mil masofada joylashgan bo'lib, diniy faollik markazi bo'lganini va butun mintaqadan ziyoratchilarni o'ziga jalb etganini ta'kidlagan [5, 108, 113].

**Xulosa** qilib aytganda, milliy madaniyatimiz, qadriyatlarimiz, ma'naviy boy merosimizni tiklash va ularni chuqur o'rganish, uning mazmun-mohiyatini hamda ahamiyatini xalqimiz, yurtimizda yetishib chiqqan buyuk muhaddis, faqx, tasavvuf va mufassir allomalar merosini har tomonlama teran o'rganish, yuksak insoniy g'oyalar va muqaddas qadriyatlarimizni o'zida ifoda etgan manbalarni tadqiq etish, ulardan diniy ta'lim, ma'naviy-axloqiy tarbiyada foydalanish, yoshlar qalbida ular qoldirgan merosga bo'lgan muhabbat va e'zoz tuyg'usini shakllantirishdan iborat.

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**UDC 93/94** 

#### THE SOVIET COLLECTIVIZATION PROJECT

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Abstract. Today, in most post-Soviet states, a number of elements of the agricultural production system based on the collective model characteristic of the Soviet era have been preserved. In particular, the provision of material-technical resources, mineral fertilizers, fuel and lubricants, as well as mechanization and maintenance services remain under state control. The governments of each independent republic face an extremely complex task of adapting the legacy of Soviet collectivization policies to modern national conditions. This problem can only be resolved through a thorough study of the large-scale agricultural production system project developed by the Bolsheviks, including an analysis of its goals, directions, implementation mechanisms, and expected outcomes.

**Keywords:** socialism, collective, farming, village, cooperation, kolkhoz, sovkhoz, theory.

# СОВЕТЧА КОЛЛЕКТИВЛАШТИРИШ ЛОЙИХАСИ

Аннотация. Бугунги кунда пост совет давлатларининг аксариятида, қишлоқ хўжалиги ишлаб чиқариш тизимининг коллектив шакли намунасидаги бир қатор элементлар сақланиб келмоқда. Жумладан, соҳани моддий-техник, минерал ўгит, ёқилги-мойлаш матераиллари билан таъминлаш, механизация ва сервис хизмат кўрсатиш ишлари давлат назоратида қолмоқда. Мустақиликка эришган ҳар бир республика ҳукуматлари олдида, совет коллективлаштириш сиёсатидан қолган меросни миллий, замонавий шарт-шароитларга мослаштиришдек ўта мураккаб муаммо кўндаланг бўлиб турибди. Ушбу муаммони большевиклар томонидан ишлаб чиқилган, йирик қишлоқ хўжалик ишлаб чиқариш тизими лойиҳасини синчиклиб ўрганиш, яъни унинг мақсади, йўналишлари, амалга ошириш механизми, кутилган натижаларини чуқур таҳлил этган ҳолда бартараф этиш мумкин.

Калит сўзлар: социализим, коллектив, хўжалик, қишлоқ, кооперация, колхоз, совхоз, назария.

# СОВЕТСКИЙ ПРОЕКТ КОЛЛЕКТИВИЗАЦИИ

Аннотация. Сегодня в большинстве постсоветских государств сохранился ряд элементов системы сельскохозяйственного производства, основанной на коллективной форме, которая была характерна для советского периода. В частности, обеспечение отрасли материально-техническими ресурсами, минеральными удобрениями, горюче-смазочными материалами, а также работы по механизации и сервисному обслуживанию остаются под государственным контролем. Перед правительствами каждой независимой республики стоит крайне сложная задача адаптации наследия, оставшегося от советской политики коллективизации, к современным национальным условиям. Решение этой проблемы возможно только через тщательное изучение проекта крупномасштабной системы сельскохозяйственного производства, разработанного большевиками, а именно анализа её целей, направлений, механизмов реализации и ожидаемых результатов.

Ключевые слова: социализм, коллектив, хозяйство, село, кооперация, колхоз, совхоз, теория.

**Introduction.** With the rise of the Bolsheviks to power in Russia, the idea of creating an economy based on centralized production was put forward, and the formation of a new system of socialist agricultural production was announced. As a result of practical measures undertaken in the 1920s to systematically establish this system, new mechanisms of economic management, forms of ownership, and labor organization were introduced. The theoretical foundations of the socialist agricultural production system were closely linked to the theory of socialist construction. The scientific theory of Soviet societal development was based on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The Soviet state and the Communist Party guided the people toward implementing the objective laws of societal development, as proposed by theorists such as Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, with the goal of building communism and realizing the Soviet people's dream of a bright future.

Research Methodology. A genetic analysis was conducted on the transition from traditional forms of economic management to a collective production system, based on sources containing ideas aimed at

developing the theory of collectivism. The study of the integration of large-scale collective agricultural production into the socialist national economy was carried out using the synthesis method.

Analysis and Discussion of Results. The scientific theory of large-scale socialist agricultural production fundamentally aims at transitioning from a class-based society to a new, more just society where there are no rich or poor, and all work under equal conditions. In such a socialist system, the use of machines and other advanced tools of labor is organized in a way that facilitates the work of millions rather than enriching individuals [1, p. 248]. The practical implementation of this theory in Russia, the USSR, and other socialist countries was directly linked to the activities of V. I. Lenin. He viewed the struggle against autocracy as part of the broader fight against the bourgeois system and, following the agrarian revolutionary stance of Marxism, put forward demands aimed at eliminating feudal remnants, ensuring peasant freedom, and fostering class struggle in the countryside [2, p. 376]. Interestingly, the Bolsheviks' theoretical positions on collective farming gained significant support despite the fact that Marx's doctrine, formulated in the mid-19th century, had begun to lose its practical relevance by the 20th century. Marx conducted a comprehensive analysis of the capitalist system, highlighting its negative aspects and presenting socialism as an alternative force. He predicted that labor productivity in large collective forms of management would surpass that of small private enterprises. In his concept, land nationalization centralized productive resources in the interest of society and organized labor based on voluntary, equitable, and rational planning [3, p. 42]. The socialist system of agricultural production was continuously improved through the combination of theory and practice.

V. I. Lenin proposed implementing agrarian reforms gradually and peacefully, using a revolutionary transformation program. However, the transition to the new system, especially through revolutionary changes, was impossible without coercive measures. The internal political crisis in Russia, exacerbated by war, devastation, and demobilization, created favorable conditions for the realization of Lenin's ideas.

To stabilize the situation, measures were taken to centralize the economy, establish state monopolies on agricultural products, ban private trade, eliminate monetary relations, and ensure the equitable distribution of material goods. The armed forces and militia played an active role in the national economy, forming the basis of the policy of War Communism (1918–1921). This policy, grounded in communist ideology, aimed to create a unified, centralized state-controlled economic system operating on the principle of a single "ideal factory" [4, p. 45]. Many measures within this ideological framework were extraordinary, imposed forcibly from above in accordance with the requirements of the totalitarian regime. At the same time, the socialist system played a positive role in alleviating social tensions caused by upheavals, providing rapid and equitable solutions in the spirit of social justice. However, the development of a market economy continued, deepening social inequality. After the end of military conflicts, the need arose to adapt the national economy to peacetime conditions. The restoration of the devastated agricultural and industrial sectors became a significant challenge for the country. Soviet leaders recognized that continuing the policy of War Communism during peacetime would inevitably lead the state into crisis. V. I. Lenin, assessing the situation, emphasized: "This will inevitably lead the Soviet state and the dictatorship of the proletariat to destruction" [5, p. 219]. A natural question arises: was there an alternative within the socialist program designed for peacetime? Unfortunately, the program did not propose specific solutions for such a scenario. The ideas of equality, collectivism, and unity were successfully implemented in wartime and even received positive assessments. However, their effectiveness in peacetime remained uncertain. Under the pressure of acute socio-economic problems in the national economy, the Soviet leadership abandoned the policy of War Communism and introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP), aimed at economic recovery during the transitional period.

In fact, this meant a revision of the socialist program, which initially envisioned a complete rejection of capitalism and the construction of socialism. It seems that the theory's development did not fully account for all possible realities and potential difficulties that could arise in practice. Ultimately, socialist theory failed to fully justify itself: an agreement between small peasants and the proletariat was never reached. At the 10th Party Congress in 1921, Lenin proposed a plan to replace the grain requisition system (prodrazvyorstka) with a natural tax. It was noted that changing the mentality of small peasants could only be achieved through material and technological progress, widespread use of tractors and machinery in agriculture, and large-scale electrification [6].

The measures aimed to meet the needs of small peasants, including allowing commodity exchange within the framework of the local economic system. As a result, peasants gained a certain degree of trade freedom and elements of capitalist relations. However, this contradicted the socialist program, which viewed capitalism as a source of exploitation and social inequality. The past three to four years demonstrated that while the socialist program was theoretically well-founded, it was practically unviable, or its implementation did not align with the intended norms. For example, the nationalization of trade and industry and the elimination of local markets were carried out hastily, without considering objective economic conditions,

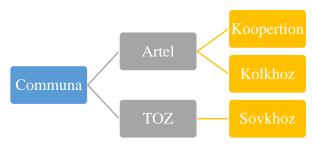
leading to significant problems in the national economy. Changes in the principles of local economic circulation indicated substantial shifts in economic theory. Small peasants still required economic incentives, individual farming opportunities, and guaranteed conditions for cultivating their land. A new formulation was added to the theoretical foundation of the revised policy: "If this economic circulation ensures the state a minimum amount of grain in exchange for industrial goods for cities, factories, and industry, then economic circulation will resume in such a way that power remains in the hands of the proletariat and continues to strengthen" [7, p. 596].

The introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP) somewhat alleviated the situation for peasants. The food tax was significantly lower than the previous grain requisitioning system, and surplus production after taxation remained at the disposal of peasant households. This encouraged personal initiative, increased agricultural productivity, and created more favorable working conditions. Despite the short-term nature of the NEP, its positive impact on the national economy became evident. However, the local commodity exchange system faced challenges when it came to the buying and selling of products. As a result, a decision was made to shift from local exchange to state-controlled free trade [8, p. 178]. The New Economic Policy (NEP) aimed to develop free trade among peasants under state control. Lenin emphasized that "a certain revival of capitalism is not so dangerous for the proletariat, since the working class has already taken control of the land, large industry, railways, water transport, banks, and other leading sectors of the country's national economy" [9, p. 338], implying that there was no cause for concern. However, the state's economic reforms once again intensified the struggle between socialism and capitalism. Under conditions of state capitalism, a decision was made to ensure local economic circulation through cooperation and the equitable redistribution of resources. The population was massively involved in cooperatives, and private and commercial interests were integrated and subordinated to overarching, state-controlled goals.

The key advantage of the NEP was its flexibility—it easily adapted to the level of understanding of the average peasant, did not require complex theoretical knowledge, or a radical change in their traditional way of life. At the same time, the cooperative system differed from state-capitalist enterprises due to its collective and private foundations [10]. Theoretically, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, involving peasants in socialist construction through cooperation was meant to happen gradually. Initially, it applied to the sale of agricultural products, followed by the organization of production itself. To develop agriculture, all forms of cooperation needed expansion, especially agricultural cooperation and state trade, bringing them closer to the peasants. The development of agriculture in a cooperative form required stronger technical support—only with the use of machines could cooperatives become efficient. The use of machinery in the agricultural sector required significant capital investments but simultaneously allowed for the processing of only certain types of raw materials. Thus, large-scale farming with extensive mechanization was seen as the only way to increase production [11, p. 226].

Under the NEP, the idea of state capitalism was further developed. However, it was not officially incorporated into the general theory of socialist construction and, moreover, contained internal contradictions. Lenin attempted to integrate new proposals into the theoretical framework and convince the masses of their necessity, but after his death, this policy (NEP) was discontinued. During the NEP period, in conditions of free trade and market relations, economic revival led to two different consequences: on the one hand, through the strengthening of state capital, socialist elements of the Soviet economy were accumulated; on the other hand, it facilitated the growth of private capital through its interactions with the peasantry [12, p. 11]. Later, the Soviet government assessed this situation as undermining the economic development of socialism. Authorities were particularly concerned by the fact that trade in rural areas had completely fallen into the hands of private capital. The early manifestations of capitalist cooperation appeared in the form of **artels**. The system of socialist agricultural production reflected the transition from collective associations, such as communes, artels, and associations for joint land cultivation, to cooperative production.

**Evolution of the Socialist Agricultural Production System** 



The Soviets, strengthening the organizing role of agricultural cooperation in improving peasant farming, initiated extensive efforts to develop it based on voluntariness and electivity. The activities of agricultural cooperatives were aimed at fulfilling the primary objective—advancing agriculture by expanding credit availability, organizing sales, and providing farms with draft animals, equipment, selected seeds, and other necessary resources [13, p. 12]. The agrarian policy of the Soviet government in the 1920s–1930s also reflected the idea of communism. The process of collectivization, based on the creation of a unified and large-scale collective production system, continued systematically. As a result, there was a transition from the existing forms of associations in the USSR (artels, communes, partnerships) to a more advanced system of collective and state farms through agricultural cooperation. Joseph Stalin's strategy for implementing the theory of the agricultural production system in the USSR was based on directive political methods and relied on forceful execution, distinguishing it from Vladimir Lenin's approach. Stalin emphasized that "Soviet peasants, accustomed to valuing political cooperation and friendship with the proletariat, must not forget that they owe a debt to this friendship and cooperation" [14, p. 133]. With this statement, he sought to highlight that political principles dominated Soviet agriculture, while economic relations remained an unresolved and pressing issue. In reality, alongside the successes of agricultural cooperation—built on material incentives and free commodity exchange—a transition to large-scale collective farming (half state-owned, half cooperative) was taking place, thereby strengthening the foundations of socialism.

In the early years of Stalinism, the theory of the socialist agricultural production system was partially supplemented with new theoretical ideas. In particular, the need to address the long-standing issue of transitioning from small, fragmented peasant farms to large collective production forms was emphasized, along with ensuring their continuous supply of modern, high-performance equipment. The People's Commissariat of Agriculture (Narkomzem) played a key role in implementing this program, actively utilizing leasing systems and cooperation. Specifically, "in the areas of distribution and supply for peasant farms, cooperation and state agencies were expected to expand their reach over the rural population, and in the long term—gradually transform fragmented peasant farms into organized, large, collective forms of agriculture focused on intensification and mechanization" [15, p. 73]. Thus, practical steps were initiated to establish specialized collective farms.

The Foundation of National Economic Development. The leading sectors of the economy, primarily large-scale industry, became the backbone of the entire national economy. However, within the framework of the New Economic Policy (NEP), the interests of the peasantry were also taken into account. Large industry served as the driving force of the national economy, around which other sectors and spheres, including agriculture, were expected to adapt to the demands of industrialization. With the strengthening of state monopoly, reforms in the agricultural system were carried out with increasing intensity. Peasant associations (artels, communes, cooperatives), which originally operated based on material incentives, commodity exchange, and market mechanisms, were gradually brought under state control. Collectivization, as envisioned in the theory of socialist agricultural production, was actively encouraged and accelerated. State farms (sovkhozes) began to influence the restructuring of agriculture through their agro-cultural activities: seed production, cultivation of high-yield crop varieties, breeding of pedigree livestock, as well as the demonstration of advanced land cultivation technologies and the introduction of tractors and complex agricultural machinery into peasant farms. Another key form of agricultural production was the collective farm (kolkhoz), which embodied a complex and refined model of cooperative organization. Government support for the kolkhoz system quickly yielded tangible results. Joseph Stalin viewed collectivization as a tool for a radical and irreversible transformation of the traditional peasant way of life. The collective movement was intended to gradually integrate the broad masses of peasants into a collective farming system and establish a centralized form of agricultural cooperation, ensuring the full integration of the agrarian sector into the socialist economy.

It can be argued that the agrarian reforms initially proposed by Vladimir Lenin were strictly regulated at Stalin's initiative. The restructuring of agriculture required implementation that considered the regional characteristics of the country. Consequently, the regions of the Soviet Union were divided into three groups based on the pace of collectivization:

- The North Caucasus, the Middle and Lower Volga regions were to complete collectivization by the spring of 1931.
- Grain-producing regions (Ukraine, Central Black Earth Region, Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan, etc.) were to complete the process by the autumn of 1932.
- The remaining areas were to finalize collectivization by the end of the First Five-Year Plan, i.e., by 1933 [16, p. 208].

The principle of considering the diverse conditions of Soviet regions, combined with the principle of voluntariness, created certain conditions for the successful implementation of the kolkhoz movement.

However, the territorial approach was accompanied by various challenges and delays in the realization of the socialist agricultural model.

For example, in Turkestan, the process of establishing communes and agricultural artels progressed significantly slower than in central regions of the country. The first collective farming union, which brought together 18 artels and communes, was organized in the Tashkent district only in 1918 [17, p. 49]. Despite this, the issue of collectivization remained relevant until the mid-1930s. Another distinction was that while the transition to socialism in the Soviet Union was carried out through cooperation, artels, and the socialization of agricultural communes, in Uzbekistan, this process was interpreted differently: "the transition from capitalism to socialism is not socialization or an agricultural commune, but a direct transition to a Soviet economy" [18, p. 179]. As a result of the consistent implementation of ideological and theoretical measures, the structure of the overall socialist national economy was supplemented by several major state production elements, including the system of socialist agricultural production. Throughout this process, it was asserted that labor relations between employers and workers should be based on the principle of voluntariness.

The socialist state system represented a complex governance structure in which socialist components were interconnected and complemented each other. The economic and production structures of the socialist economy were coordinated, directed toward a unified goal, and operated in close connection with the national economy. Thus, elements of the free market mechanism were transformed: private ownership was replaced by collective ownership, and the supply-and-demand mechanism was substituted with centralized planned management. The theory of socialist agriculture envisioned a transition to a new qualitative stage through the development of agricultural production sectors. This process was accompanied by quantitative changes: the movement "from simple to complex" and "from lower to higher levels" was seen as a means of achieving qualitative growth. For instance, in agriculture, the primary means of production for a long time consisted of draft animals, simple tools, and basic machinery. However, over time, there was a transition to more powerful equipment, comprehensive mechanization, automated systems, and the use of skilled labor. A significant step in the development of collective farming was the transformation of kolkhoz enterprises into inter-kolkhoz associations, which was considered a guarantee of increased efficiency [19, p.16].

Approaches to the direction, mechanisms, implementation methods, and expected outcomes of socialist economic construction varied. At the core of this theory lay the idea of collective farming, which was unanimously supported by its advocates. It was also acknowledged that transformations might be carried out using revolutionary methods within specific timeframes. The widespread support for these ideas could suggest that their practical significance and feasibility were not questioned by society. However, a detailed analysis of the program, perceived as a strategy for socialist construction, reveals substantial differences in perspectives. The interaction between the socialist national economy and agricultural cooperation was marked by complex contradictions: between the proletariat and the peasantry, rural and urban areas, agriculture and industry, commodity-money relations and the planned economy, private and state ownership, as well as socialism and capitalism.

Class Struggle and Agricultural Reforms. According to Karl Marx's theory, conflict was expected to drive development. The struggle that emerged under the dictatorship of the proletariat extended to agriculture, manifesting as a confrontation between private and collective forms of ownership. In Uzbekistan, land and water reforms took place amid intense struggle, accompanying the transition from private and lease-based land ownership to state ownership. Despite pressure from central authorities, the leadership of the Uzbek SSR faced a number of urgent issues and regularly reported the situation to Moscow. Official data indicated that 130,000 batmans of land were accounted for in the republic. If distributed evenly, each household would receive just over half a desyatina. These figures suggested that the land needs of the population could only be met by 30-40%. Another pressing issue was the criteria for land distribution and determining who should receive it. Optimizing this process required considerable time, a fact that was widely acknowledged. Theorists, anticipating these difficulties, asserted that "Soviet power, in its relations with small peasant farms, would regard them as independent producers, and the transition to collective farming would be organized gradually, with initial state support and the development of cooperative forms" [22, p. 518]. The socialist agricultural production system could not achieve its intended goals without a clear and precise explanation of its essence to poor and middle-income peasant households—something theorists recognized. However, practical measures in this direction were only intensified by the late 1920s. Agitation and propaganda efforts in cities, particularly in rural areas, were strictly controlled. In December 1920, the first national journal—an official publication of the Central Committee of the Communist Party—was released under the title Kommunist. Printed publications became the main tool for promoting the ideas put forth by Soviet authorities. Alongside the Russian-language newspaper Izvestia, a newspaper in Uzbek, Қизил байроқ (Red Banner), was also established.