



HISTORY OF THE BOLSEVIKS POLICY OF THE "CULTURAL REVOLUTION" AND ITS THEORETICAL BASIS

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Annotatsiya: Madaniy inqilob – bu Bolsheviklar tomonidan Rossiya Imperiyasida (keyinchalik SSSRda) ijtimoiy, siyosiy va iqtisodiy inqilobdan keyin amalga oshirilgan, jamiyatning madaniy-ma'naviy asoslarini tubdan o'zgartirishga qaratilgan siyosiy harakatlar majmuasidir. Bu siyosatning asosiy maqsadi yangi, kommunistik dunyoqarashga ega "sotsialistik inson"ni shakllantirish edi. Ushbu maqolada bolsheviklar tomonidan o'tkazilgan "madaniy inqilob" siyosati va uning nazariy asoslari tarixiga oid ma'lumotlar tahlil qilingan.

Kalit so'zlar: SSSR, bolsheviklar, madaniy inqilob, proletar jamiyat, estetik qadriyatlar.

Аннотация: Культурная революция — совокупность политических движений, осуществленных большевиками в Российской империи (позднее СССР) после социально-политической и экономической революции, направленных на радикальное изменение культурных и духовных основ общества. Главной целью этой политики было формирование нового, коммунистического мировоззрения, «социалистического человека». В статье анализируются сведения по истории политики «культурной революции», проведенной большевиками, и ее теоретические основы.

Ключевые слова: СССР, большевики, культурная революция, пролетарское общество, эстетические ценности.

Abstract: The Cultural Revolution is a set of political movements implemented by the Bolsheviks in the Russian Empire (later the USSR) after the social, political, and economic revolution, aimed at radically changing the cultural and spiritual foundations of society. The main goal of this policy was to form a new, communist worldview, a "socialist person". This article analyzes the information on the history of the policy of the "cultural revolution" carried out by the Bolsheviks and its theoretical foundations.



Key words: USSR, Bolsheviks, cultural revolution, proletarian society, aesthetic values.

INTRODUCTION. The Cultural Revolution was a set of measures aimed at radically restructuring the cultural and ideological life of society in Soviet Russia and the Soviet Union. The goal of the revolution was to form a new type of culture as part of the construction of a socialist society, including increasing the share of people from the poor in the social composition of the intelligentsia. The Cultural Revolution in the Soviet Union was largely halted in its implementation as a program to transform national culture and was only implemented on a mass scale in the first five-year plans. Anatoly Lunacharsky's *Kulturnoy i revolyutsii* (Culture and Revolution) is one of the most important works of Soviet cultural policy, written in 1919–1920. Lunacharsky, in his work, tried to clarify the importance of culture and art in the process of social revolution and the place of the culture of the proletariat. In this work, he stated: "The revolution must win not only on the political and economic fronts, but also on the spiritual and cultural fronts." [2]

LITERATURE ANALYSIS and METHODOLOGY. It is an important document in the development of the theoretical foundations of the Cultural Revolution, especially in the early years of the Soviet Union. Lunacharsky sees the Cultural Revolution only as a continuation of the political revolution. He emphasizes the theoretical role of culture in shaping society. He believes that a new, proletarian culture should be created through the Cultural Revolution. Lunacharsky rejects the old culture, especially that which served the bourgeois and feudal system. Lunacharsky sees art not only as a means of creating beauty and aesthetic values. In his opinion, the main task of art is to serve social change and educate society on the basis of new values.

He also sees art as a means of awakening society and encouraging workers to fight for social justice. In addition, Alexander Bogdanov's work "Fundamentals of Proletarian Culture" also provides a vivid account of the Bolshevik cultural revolution. In this work: "Proletarian culture is not a continuous continuation of capitalist culture, but a completely new culture, built on a class basis." Also Bogdanov believed that the proletariat should independently create a new culture. The "Proletarian Culture" movement was organized on the basis of these ideas. According to Bogdanov, art and culture are a means of shaping class forces in society. He writes: "Art organizes social experiences through living images; this makes it the most powerful organizing tool in class society." [1]

In his opinion, the proletariat needs a new art and culture in the spirit of collective labor to form its class consciousness. For Lunacharsky, the new form of



culture is the culture of the proletariat. This culture reflects the working class, its values, needs, and customs. Bogdanov, without completely rejecting the old bourgeois culture, proposes to reinterpret it from a proletarian point of view.

He says: “The proletarians must accept the treasures of old art with a critical approach; this will reveal their hidden collective principles and organizational meaning.” Through this approach, Bogdanov emphasizes that the proletariat can use the heritage of the past to create its own culture. Bogdanov was one of the founders of the Proletkult movement, through which he aimed to create an independent culture of the proletariat. Proletkult supported proletarian creatives in art, literature, theater, and other cultural fields. Bogdanov intended to raise the cultural consciousness of the proletariat and prepare it for political struggle through this movement. Bogdanov's views on the cultural revolution brought him into conflict with Lenin. Lenin criticized the Proletkult movement, considering it a center of bourgeois intellectuals. In 1920, the independence of Proletkult was curtailed and it was subordinated to the People's Commissariat of Education. Lunacharsky aimed to make culture popular not only for the upper classes, but for the whole of society. He wanted to make culture equal and understandable to all strata. [1]

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Bogdanov's views on the Cultural Revolution brought him into conflict with Lenin. Lenin criticized the Proletkult movement, considering it a center of bourgeois intellectuals. In 1920, the independence of Proletkult was abolished and it was subordinated to the People's Commissariat of Education. The work "Uzbekistan during the Soviet Colonial Period" is considered an important scientific source that provides an in-depth analysis of the cultural revolution policy implemented in Uzbekistan during the Soviet era. This book is the second volume of the "New History of Uzbekistan" series. The work describes the cultural policy pursued by the Soviet government in Uzbekistan between 1917 and 1930 in the following directions: Lunacharsky emphasizes the popularization of art, that is, making art



understandable and free for all people. He recognizes the monopoly of the old culture on the part of the elitist and bourgeois class and speaks of the need to open it to the people.

He believes that art should be presented to the general public, especially to workers and the rural population, and emphasizes that the Soviet regime's entry into Turkestan acted as a form of neocolonialism. [6]

The campaigns called the “Cultural Revolution” the fight against illiteracy, the opening of schools, the reform of writing are in fact interpreted as a means of ideological control and Russification. Lunacharsky does not separate culture and politics. He sees culture as a necessary part of the political revolution. Culture should help create a new form, a new social order. Culture plays a huge role in shaping people's worldviews, therefore it is necessary to rebuild it on a revolutionary basis. Lunacharsky denies the old culture, its social and moral foundations. He sees the old culture as a continuation of the bourgeois and feudal system and rejects it in order to make way for a new, revolutionary culture. The main reason for the denial of the old culture is that it contradicts the interests of the people. Lunacharsky considered education and enlightenment to be an integral part of the Cultural Revolution. He aimed to eradicate illiteracy, reform the education system, and make it universal. He saw teachers as a means of shaping a new worldview. For this reason, the education system also needed revolutionary changes.

Lunacharsky's work "On the Cultural Revolution" had a great influence on the formation of cultural and artistic policy in the Soviet Union. This work, in particular, presented important theoretical foundations on the issues of adapting culture to the needs of the proletariat, involving it in the process of social reform, and popularizing art. Through his views on the cultural revolution, Lunacharsky developed the theoretical foundations of Soviet cultural policy, and these ideas left a deep mark on society, especially in the fields of art and education. Lunacharsky and his ideas played a significant role in shaping the new worldview and educational aspects of social revolution in Soviet culture. [3]

He played a significant role in the development of Soviet cultural policy. This work, which saw culture not only as a means of creating aesthetic heights, but also as a means of social revolution. He also emphasized that culture should be public, understandable to everyone, and reflect the interests of the working class, and put forward a number of important ideas not only about Soviet culture, but also about the culture of the whole world. In his work, he showed not only the practical importance of culture, but also its place in society. The work analyzes many of Lunacharsky's theoretical aspects of culture, art, education, and social revolution.



Lunacharsky did not see culture only as aesthetic values or art forms. He understood culture as an integral part of the social system.

In his opinion, culture plays a decisive role in building a new society and creating its spiritual foundations. Culture is not only about creating artistic products, but it should be a tool in the process of social and political change in general. Lunacharsky saw education as one of the most important aspects of the Cultural Revolution. Education, in his opinion, should not only provide knowledge, but also educate people with a new worldview, help them understand social justice. Lunacharsky saw teachers as key figures in the implementation of social change. Their task was to create an intellectual and spiritual foundation for the new society. He strongly advocated the popularization of culture. Lunacharsky emphasized that culture should be for the entire people, not just for the elite. Mass culture is a culture that should be open to everyone. For this reason, Lunacharsky's work aimed to create not only art for working people, but also a culture suitable for all social strata. [4]

Lunacharsky believed in artistic freedom and the creative processes of artists. However, he did not accept artistic freedom in its entirety, because he did not see culture only as a means of protecting individual freedom and creativity. He believed that art and artistic freedom should serve social control and the interests of the working class.

RESULTS and DISCUSSION. Vladimir Paperny's work (Russian: «Культура дважды рожденная: Очерки о советской цивилизации») is an important scientific work analyzing two stages of Soviet culture. It was published in Russian in the USA in 1985 and was later published in Russia.

In his work, Paperny divides Soviet culture into two stages:

- 1: Revolutionary and avant-garde culture, formed between 1917 and 1932.
- 2: Totalitarian and monumental culture, which developed between 1932 and 1954.

By analyzing these two cultures, Paperny shows the cultural changes of Soviet society and their connection with the political system.

Paperny calls the first stage revolutionary culture. The October Revolution of 1917 and the subsequent political changes also influenced culture. During this period, culture was avant-garde, oriented towards experimentation, the creation of new forms and contents. At the same time, efforts were made to promote social justice and revolutionary ideas through art and culture.



During the second stage of Soviet culture (1932–1954), totalitarian and monumental features dominated culture. After 1932, the Stalinist regime took control of culture and turned art into a political tool. This period also saw the rise of a style of art known as socialist realism, which aimed to adapt art to the needs of the people. Paperny examines Soviet culture in two stages, analyzing their transformations in a political, social, and ideological context.

While 1917–1932 saw new opportunities in culture, a revolutionary spirit, and avant-garde, it was only after 1924 that culture was brought under state control and ideological control. In the first stage, art and culture served as a means of rebuilding society, advancing new, revolutionary ideas. According to the 1918 "Decree on Public Education", all schools became secular and free. Religious education was abolished. [8]

In the second stage, culture served as a means of propagating the ideology of the state, controlling the people, and adapting them to a more totalitarian policy. Paperny views Soviet culture not only as an art form, but also as an integral part of the social and political system. The interdependence and changes between culture and politics are deeply analyzed in the work. It is shown that while art was free during the revolutionary period, directed towards the advancement of new ideas, later culture became a political tool and was controlled to control it.

Paperny's work is an important scientific source in the analysis of Soviet culture, and it is not limited to the teaching of art and culture. It shows the cultural evolution of society, how it is related to political and social changes. The work deeply studies the theoretical foundations of cultural processes in the Soviet Union and their impact on society. This work is considered a valuable source not only for cultural historians, but also for historians and political scientists. By showing two stages of Soviet culture, Paperny explores how culture is intertwined with politics, the influence of ideologies on art and culture, and how they are inextricably linked to political changes. Paperny's "Culture Twice Born: Essays on Soviet Civilization" studies the history of Soviet culture in two main periods and shows how these periods are interconnected with their political and social contexts. This work presents a deep analysis and a scholarly approach to the interdependence of culture and politics. [9]

The formation of cultural and ideological policy in the Soviet era, especially in the years following the October Revolution (1917), developed on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the social and political programs of the Soviet system. Cultural and ideological policy was formed as a transformative, ideological and political force in itself. They became an important part of the social system and



played an important role in shaping the consciousness of the people. In the early years of the revolution, liberal and revolutionary ideas dominated the shaping of culture in the Soviet Union. During this period, culture was seen primarily as a means to change the social consciousness of the people and build a new society. [5]

Organizations such as "Proletarian Culture" emerged, which sought to adapt art and culture to the needs of the proletariat. They played a decisive role in creating a new culture, in drawing the people to revolutionary ideas, and in shaping a new society. [7]

Culture was heavily controlled by the state, but there was also freedom in art and literature. During the Stalin era, cultural and ideological policies changed completely. Culture and art were completely subordinated to state ideology and were brought under state control. Socialist realism became the main direction of Soviet art. This emphasizes that all forms of culture (literature, music, theater, cinema) should serve the ideological ideals of the state. The art of socialist realism served to depict the life of workers and peasants, to reflect their social rise, and to demonstrate the power of the Soviet regime. As an example, famous artists, writers, and filmmakers are shown.

During the Stalinist regime, art, while denying its own ideals of social justice, equality, and freedom, served only the interests of the state. In Turkestan and other former Soviet republics, the role of the national language and culture in shaping culture decreased, and the importance of the Russian language increased. All forms of art that could deviate from state control of culture were severely persecuted. The word "artistic freedom" has almost disappeared, only official ideology and ideology have prevailed. The formation of cultural and ideological policy in the Soviet era was very complex and changing. In the revolutionary era, art and culture were seen as a means of social change, while in the Stalin era, culture was subordinated to state ideology and was completely controlled. The study of Soviet culture and ideological politics is of great importance today, not only from a historical, but also from a social and political point of view. [4]

CONCLUSION. The formation of cultural and ideological policy in the Soviet era was a broad and complex process, which influenced not only the policy of the central Soviet government, but also the cultural and social characteristics of local peoples. Cultural and ideological policy developed especially intensively in the post-revolutionary years (1917–1991). The formation of Soviet culture and ideology had its own characteristics, and these processes were associated with major political and ideological changes. Revolutionary ideology and art were seen as a means of modernizing Turkestan, raising the cultural level of the workers and the rural



population. For this, new systems of literature, art, and education were created. Structures such as Proletkult (the organization of proletarian culture) were created, through which efforts were made to spread the ideas of social justice and revolution among the people.

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