

**Muslim
National Communism
in the
Soviet Union**

**Publications of the Center for
Middle Eastern Studies, Number 11**
Richard L. Chambers, General Editor



-
1. Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East:
The Nineteenth Century
Edited by William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers
 2. The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture
By Aptullah Kuran
 3. Economic Development and Regional Cooperation:
Kuwait
By Ragaei El Mallakh
 4. Studies in the Social History of Modern Egypt
By Gabriel Baer
 5. Conflicts and Tensions in Islamic Jurisprudence
By Noel J. Coulson
 6. The Modern Arabic Literary Language
By Jaroslav Stetkevych
 7. Iran: Economic Development under Dualistic
Conditions
By Jahangir Amuzegar and M. Ali Fekrat
 8. The Economic History of Iran, 1800-1914
By Charles Issawi
 9. The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian
Architecture
By Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar
 10. The Forgotten Frontier: A History of
Sixteenth-Century Ibero-American Frontier
By Andrew C. Hess
 11. Muslim National Communism in the Soviet Union:
A Revolutionary Strategy for the Colonial World
By Alexandre A. Bennigsen and S. Enders Wimbush

Alexandre A.
Bennigsen
S. Enders Wimbush

Muslim National Communism in the Soviet Union

A Revolutionary Strategy for the
Colonial World

Товарищи Мусульмане! Под зеленым знаменем Пророка шли вы завоевывать наши степи, наши аулы. Враги народа отжили у вас



The University of Chicago Press
Chicago and London

Russian revolutionary posters are taken from Viacheslav Polonskii, ed., *Russkii revoliutsionnyi plakat* (Moscow, 1925), and Fritz Mierau, ed., *Links! Links! Links!* (Berlin, 1970), both kindly lent by A. L. de Saint-Rat.

The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 60637
The University of Chicago Press, Ltd., London

© 1979 by The University of Chicago
All rights reserved. Published 1979
Phoenix Edition 1980
Printed in the United States of America
83 82 81 80 5 4 3 2

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication
Data*

Bennigsen, Alexandre.

Muslim national communism in the Soviet
Union.

(Publications of the Center for Middle Eastern
Studies; no. 11)

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

1. Communism—Russia—History. 2. Nation-
alism and socialism. 3. Muslims in Russia.

I. Wimbush, S. Enders, joint author. II. Title.

III. Series: Chicago. University. Center for
Middle Eastern Studies.

Publications; no. 11.

HX313.B42 335.43'0947 78-8608

ISBN 0-226-04235-9 (cloth)

ISBN 0-226-04236-7 (paper)

To the memory of Mir-Said
Sultan Galiev and his com-
rades, who sought national
independence in revolution
but who died fighting that
same revolution to preserve
their freedom.

Contents

One

Two

- xiii **Acknowledgments**
- xv **A Note on Transliteration**
- xix **Introduction**

- 3 **From National Socialism
to National Communism**
- 7 **The Transfer of
Socialist Ideas**
- 13 **The Relevance of
Socialism to Nationalist
Elites**
- 15 **Conclusion**

- 19 **The Impact of
Revolution and Civil
War**
- 31 **Typologies of the
New Bolsheviks**

Three**37 National Communism****41 The Ideological Basis****48 A "Muslim Way" to Communism****51 The Eastern Strategy****58 The Struggle for Organizational Independence****66 The Republic of Turan: A Revolutionary Springboard****Four****71 The Struggle for Power and the Liquidation of the National Communists****71 Self-Determination and Counterrevolution****75 The Southern Border: Turkey, Iran, and the Republic of Ghilan**

Five

- 81 Twelfth Party Congress
and the Purge of Sultan
Galiev
- 86 The National Communists
Fight Back
- 89 The Turning Point: 1928
- 92 A Note on Rehabilitations

- 97 **The Legacy of Muslim
National Communism**

- 98 Muslim National
Communism's Legacy
in the USSR

- 108 National Communism
beyond the Borders of the
Soviet Union

Six

- 123 **Conclusion and
Prospects**

| | | |
|------------|-----|---|
| Appendix A | 131 | The Social Revolution and the East |
| Appendix B | 138 | The Tatars and the October Revolution |
| Appendix C | 145 | The Methods of Antireligious Propaganda among the Muslims |
| Appendix D | 158 | Rights and "Lefts" in the National Republics and Regions |
| Appendix E | 166 | The Program of the ERK Party |
| Appendix F | 178 | Demographics of Soviet Muslim Nationalities |
| Appendix G | 181 | Chronology, 1917-28 |
| Appendix H | 191 | Biographies |
| Appendix I | 212 | Political Parties |
| Appendix J | 225 | Glossary |

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| 229 | Notes |
| 239 | Bibliography |
| 259 | Index |

**Photo section following
page 86**