



## Social And Political Requirements To National Leaders In The Soviet Period And Their Practice (1925-1941)

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### ABSTRACT

This article illuminated problems of politician personnel in Uzbekistan during soviet formation according to the scientific literatures and media information materials. “Research” work covers the period 25-41s of XX<sup>th</sup> century.

### KEYWORDS

Personnel Policy, Management, Administrative Command, Local Leadership, Party, Intellectuals, Industry, Repression.

### INTRODUCTION

In Uzbekistan, the formation of national leadership, mostly from the bottom to the top, continued in the second half of the 1920s and in the extremely difficult, complex, highly controversial period of the 1930 s. Of course, these problematic situations in society have affected the fate of the staff. The issue of raising the representatives of indigenous peoples to various leadership positions in the state, economic and public organizations is considered by the majority of the staff with the

initiative, diligence, good work ethic, without deep feelings and deep thoughtfulness. Therefore, it is necessary to point out the positive significance of the decisions of the Soviet government and other legally binding documents on the training, education and promotion of intellectuals and leaders, as well as the mistakes and shortcomings in recognizing the practical activities of official and public organizations.

## MAIN PART

The Soviet government followed the path of influencing the minds of the broad working people in the ideological, political and ideological spheres through the means of "peaceful" struggle. In fact, it was carried out in conjunction with ideological "games" against national staff who think differently, have their own independent opinions and conclusions, without resorting to violence, use of force, imprisonment, deportation and destruction. In the early years of the Uzbek SSR, the government faced important tasks, such as overcoming the accumulated problems of localization and the positive direction of this area. By the mid-1920s, representatives of the local people in progressive mood were sent to state and government bodies for leadership positions. The country's achievements in the political, economic, and cultural spheres were largely due to their activities. Thanks to the services of local leaders, national state structures began to emerge. In 1924, the number of indigenous workers in the Soviet bodies of the republic increased by 17%, in the provinces by 45%, and in the districts by 90% [1]. T. Riskulov, K. Otaboyev, S. Tursunkhodjayev, I. Khidiraliyev, A. Rakhimboyev, N. Turakulov, F. Khojayev, A. Fitrat and other patriotic national leaders who worked in the government of the republic, despite the negative attitude of the Bolsheviks from the center was recruited by educated local cadres striving to actively engage in the construction of life. As a result of their efforts, national cadres were able to serve their people in the field of public education, cultural and educational institutions, publishing houses.

Party and state figures of Uzbekistan during the Soviet era should not be judged on the basis of the criteria and criteria of today's independence. If we approach the issue from the point of view of the period in which they

lived, it is impossible not to see that the mistakes and shortcomings of national figures who were forced to act against national interests during the Soviet era were a tragedy of the period in which they lived. Persecution of dissidents, national intellectuals, and religious figures continued, accusing them of supporting "bourgeois nationalism", pan-Islamism, and pan-Turkism. However, national leaders continued to stand up for the interests of the local population despite political persecution. To do this, national leaders tried to seize every opportunity. For example, in his speech at the XII Congress of the RCP (b) (April 1923), Turor Risqulov boldly said that although there had been almost seven years since the establishment of the Soviet regime, "there had been no social change in the lives of the Sart (Uzbek) population". The same opinion was expressed by S. Khojanov at the IV Council of Officials of the National Republics (April 1923). In the same year, a group of officials issued an open letter criticizing Turkestan's post-October development [2]. Among the national zealous cadres was a public figure Kaigusiz Otaboyev (1887-1937). During his political career, K. Otaboyev repeatedly spoke out against the separatist, chauvinist policy of the Center with his bold views. He criticized the methods used by the emissaries against the indigenous peoples, saying that the Russian staff did not believe in the ability of the indigenous people to govern the country independently, and that they were running for office without knowing the living conditions in Turkestan. K. Otaboyev was one of the first national leaders to correctly assess the resistance movement. His speech at the VI Plenum of the Central Executive Committee of Turkestan on July 18, 1922 was in the spirit of sharp criticism and open opposition. K. Otaboyev described the resistance movement as a popular uprising that could not be eradicated militarily, and suggested that the

participants in the movement use political and economic means to negotiate peacefully. After that, in September 1922, K.Otaboyev, A.Rakhimboyev, A.Sergoziyev were dismissed from their posts in Samarkand region for signing a peace treaty on an equal footing with Bahrombek Korboshi, who was fighting against the Bolshevik regime. The fate of the unfortunate K.Otaboyev ended as tragically as that of the nationalists of those years, when he was unjustly persecuted and shot by the dictatorship in 1937 [3]. In connection with the formation of the Uzbek SSR, the organizations of the Communist Party were also territorially reorganized. On February 8, 1925, the First Congress of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan began its work in Bukhara. The Communist Party of Uzbekistan (Bolsheviks), a branch of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was established there. The Central Committee of the Party was elected. V.I.Ivanov and A.Ikramov were elected executive secretaries of the Central Committee. Akmal Ikramov's activity was very complicated. As the first leader of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan in 1925-1937, he obeyed all orders and instructions of Moscow. It does not give freedom of movement to council and public organizations and their leaders in the republic. Indeed, the issue of leadership was a separate issue during this period. The reason was that there was a lack of national staff in government and economic administration, and office work was conducted in Russian. The Russians held senior positions in the republic's governing bodies. Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Uzbek SSR Fayzulla Khodjayev was active in training local cadres of indigenous peoples and raising them to high positions. On his initiative, the Central Commission for Localization of the State Apparatus was established on March 3, 1925 under the chairmanship of Bobon Mavlonbekov. Akmal Ikramov, Raim Inogamov

and others became its members. Branches of the Central Commission have been established in Samarkand, Tashkent, Zarafshan, Fergana and other regions. The leadership of the localization commission is tasked to develop a master plan for the localization of educational institutions, scientific and cultural-educational organizations, industrial enterprises in Uzbekistan. Involving the urban and rural working masses in the active participation of local people in the development of the country was extremely important and necessary. This task could be solved by raising entrepreneurs from among the working and peasant masses, based on the work of responsible leadership. As a result, in the first three months of 1925, more than 250 workers and peasants were promoted to leadership positions in the central organizations, more than half of whom were representatives of local nationalities. He expressed dissatisfaction with the changes taking place in Uzbekistan in several critical speeches.

At the II Congress of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, held in Samarkand on November 22-30, 1925, the issue of "involving the local population in the Party, Soviet, economic, trade unions and cooperative organizations" was considered. It was noted that it is necessary to train local staff from workers, farmers and intellectuals for management work. At the Provincial Council of Public Educators held on May 26, 1926, A. Ikramov said, "Recently, many workers and peasants have risen to Soviet jobs. It is true that they do not know some things yet, but the main thing is that the workers and peasants are always ready to do their will. In March and July of the same year, for the first time in Uzbekistan, a summary of the work carried out from the bottom up was summarized. A total of 130 people were promoted to leadership positions, of which only 42 were local workers [4].

Although the promotion of the most advanced workers to leadership positions has been carried out consistently, it has not yet been able to meet this demand. The promotion to leadership positions was largely decided by a Moscow ruling, based on party instructions. As a result, the specialists and employees of government agencies became more European.

After the government's decision of March 7, 1927, "On the next tasks in the promotion of workers and peasants to the state apparatus", the work on training senior officials and solving the problem of their promotion to new positions became especially widespread. The promotion of the people's representatives to high positions was to serve as a means of inter-ethnic integration of the working masses of the local nation with other peoples as a means of training and educating the Soviet apparatus, economic organizations. By 1927, 61.9% of the staff of the Uzbek state apparatus were Russians, 24.7% were indigenous, 6.0% were Jewish, and 7.4% were of other nationalities [5]. The government of Uzbekistan has instructed local organizations to work to strengthen the promotion of workers, to raise the cultural and political level of the rising workers and to settle them in new jobs. In 1927, the commission on localization of the state apparatus was reorganized and transformed into the Central Commission for Uzbekization under the leadership of Safoyev [6]. According to the transcript of the minutes 32/10 of the meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Uzbek SSR dated April 3, 1928, within two weeks the central office of the committee was to be staffed with Uzbek-speaking staff. European workers warned to study Uzbek for 7 months and fired for refusing to speak Uzbek [7]. The report of the Central Executive Committee (CEC) of the Uzbek SSR was heard at the meeting of the Central Commission on Uzbekization held on May 17, 1928. Regarding

the work carried out in the CEC on the basis of Resolution № 20, the following was noted: Before the adoption of this decision, there were 76 state units in the CEC of the Uzbek SSR, and this amount was preserved. In terms of national composition, the number of Uzbeks has increased from 25 to 30. European staff has been reduced from 51 to 46. It is noted that the share of local staff in this central office has reached about 40 percent [8]. At a time when the process of localization of government agencies is underway, the attitude of the leaders sent from the Center to local staff has not changed. One of the biggest problems in this area was the mistrust of European staff and the impediment to their free movement. This was reflected in the entire system of government from top to bottom. On August 1, 1925, the total number of state employees in the Uzbek SSR was 1,523, of which only 201, or 16.5 percent, were Uzbek. Of the 201 people, 34 percent were in charge, 18 percent were technicians, and 6 percent were specialists. Of these, 173 party and Soviet leaders were Uzbeks, 38 or 22 percent. The nationalization rate at that time was 27.8% in the central economic apparatus [9].

At the III Congress of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan on November 16-24, 1927, the issue of "localization of the state apparatus and the involvement of local workers in production" was considered. It should be noted that there are also signs of distrust in the government, state, economic apparatus, which is growing and growing from the indigenous population in 20-30 years. This was especially evident in the fact that Russian nationalists were firmly entrenched in the system of government in Uzbekistan and pursued a chauvinistic policy. By the late 20s, he had accumulated some experience in promotion. As a result of the rise from the bottom up, the number of workers in the Soviet, economic, trade union apparatus



increased. But among the positive things that were done, there were also mistakes and shortcomings. In the implementation of the socialist construction program, the Communist Party gave a central place to the working class. It should be noted, however, that the ruling political leadership often used the name of the working class as a mask. In fact, he pursued a policy that met the interests of the upper classes of the partocracy. This was especially evident in the second half of the 1920s, when Stalin's totalitarian regime was decided. On the other hand, the Communist Party, under the guise of the slogan "On the leading and guiding role of the working class", managed to mobilize the working masses to carry out social experiments on its own scale.

However, serious shortcomings were also noted in the promotion of working farmers to management positions. The bottom-up lift often did not extend beyond the cabinet frame. Working with the rising workers, their reports were not heard at the meetings. As a result, they were often cut off from production, and the leaders of the organization ignored them and acted as if "let's see if it works". As a result, some of them were forced to return to their previous jobs again. For example, between 1925 and 1929, only 30.9% of the five people who rose to senior positions in the Central Office remained in the apparatus, while 18 % were sent to lower positions in the districts [10].

He tried to tarnish the image of the local cadres in the Soviet administration and to create tension among them. In particular, the discrediting of local staff in the state apparatus, the strong pressure on them, the "reforms" in the country have led to many mistakes. This situation also led to protests against the Soviet rule. Strengthening the state apparatus and providing it with qualified, talented and capable staff also remains one of

the most important tasks. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, during the beginning of the administrative-command method of management, this experience gained in the promotion to managerial positions was of great importance. However, in 1930, 1,082 people were fired in the republic under the pretext of purging themselves of social alien elements. 21.4% of those who held senior positions during the "cleansing" were charged with "misconduct", 3.9% with "criminal cases", 10.4% with "class enemies" and 5.0% with "alcoholism" was removed from senior positions [11].

It should be noted that during this period, the level of literacy and education of those who rose to senior positions in the Soviet organizations of Uzbekistan is still low. 3.3% of the chairmen of the city council were people with higher education, 3.3% with secondary education and 93.3% with low education [12].

The government of Uzbekistan has instructed local organizations to work to strengthen the promotion of workers, to raise the cultural and political level of the rising workers and to settle them in new jobs. Thus, in 1930-1931, training courses for Soviet personnel were opened in all regions and districts. On July 26, 1928, the Government of Uzbekistan adopted a special resolution to solve the problem of promotion of indigenous peoples to leadership positions more quickly and efficiently. Republican, soviet, trade union organizations focused on the promotion of advanced working peasants to managerial positions in order to implement the above decision. In 1928, for example, 268 workers were promoted to managerial positions, 198 of whom were indigenous [13]. In September 1928, the Central Office of the Government of Uzbekistan employed 2,037 employees, of which 23.3% were indigenous, 9.6% were workers and 9.6% were farmers [14]. These examples show that there were very few

indigenous peoples in leadership positions. In many places their numbers were dwindling from year to year. The level of business acumen, political maturity, organizational skills, and literacy of those who rose to leadership positions determined the results of work in this area. Taking into account the objective situation, organizations, trade unions, have effectively worked to improve the literacy, political, cultural levels, business skills by training new employees in schools, courses, seminars. At the same time, special attention was paid to the training of national cadres and raising their general level. They took an active part in strengthening the state apparatus and skillfully led the masses. As a result, only in 1934, 35% of Uzbek workers, 56.5% of peasants and 7.8% of other nationalities rose to senior positions in the district administration. This meant an increase in the number of indigenous leaders who squeezed the state apparatus from workers and peasants.

The party promoted thousands of ordinary, illiterate working peasants to leadership positions in those years. The training of specialists of local nationalities in the educational institutions of the republic began to intensify. However, at the same time, the demand for personnel in the national economy and cultural construction has been growing from year to year. In the 1930s and 1940s, there was a widespread use of this method.

In the early 1930s, the cult of personality of Stalin intensified. The Center based on command and control was formed. The most influential, prominent representatives of the national intelligentsia, independent thinkers were persecuted. The persecution of the most advanced members of the indigenous peoples, who had risen to senior positions, began with the labeling "enemy of the people", "class enemy", "foreign-linked" and prison arrests peaked. Many honest and sincere people have

fallen victim to slander from this horrible inspection. It centralizes the entire action program under its control. Akmal Ikramov is driving the repression machine operating in Uzbekistan on behalf of the center. Akmal Ikramov said: "The land is in the hands of a group of rich people, ... it is impossible to develop cotton growing without closing the rich farms. "In a letter sent by Akmal Ikramov to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU I.V.Stalin on June 12, 1935, various officials of the Center, in particular, the chairman of the USSR All Union National Economy and People's Commissar of Heavy Industry G.K.Orjonikidze "Yesterday, comrade Orjonikidze, an industrialist in Uzbekistan, found me guilty of all my sins, slandered me and slandered me. I didn't even have time to ask a number of questions. I do not consider such an attitude to be normal. I ask you to accept me on these matters [15]. However, Akmal Ikramov, a loyal servant of the dictatorship, was also shot dead in 1938 by Stalin's order as an "enemy of the people".

The "socialist experiment" carried out by the Bolsheviks in Uzbekistan was met with protest by the local people. During the first 10 years of Soviet rule, national leaders and intellectuals openly criticized the violence of the center. The opposition had united some statesmen and public figures, writers, poets, educators, and lawyers. While the Soviet regime initially pursued a policy of repression against those who opposed the current regime, it has used mass terror against its own people since the 1930s. In the second half of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, Uzbekistan was embroiled in political affairs such as the "Group of Eighteen", "Inogamovism", "Kasimovism", "Badriddinovism", "National Unity", and "the Narkompros Case". As a result of his imprisonment, many original children of the Uzbek people were persecuted. After a trial in

Moscow in April 1931, 15 people, led by Munavvarqori, were shot, and the remaining 70 were sentenced to long prison terms.

By the mid-1930s, mass repression was rampant in Uzbekistan, as it was throughout the country. Many leaders of the Soviet, sect, public organization, and national intelligentsia were repressed. Among the innocent victims were F.Khojayev, A.Karimov, S.Segizbayev, A.Abdurahmanov, A.Tojiev, H.Okhundiy, M.Tursunkhodjayev, Karim Boltayev, Malik Kaxxarov, Y.Irismetov, N.Isroilov and others. Most political leaders in the republic were accused of "fighting nationalism" and "fighting Soviet power" and "preparing for an armed uprising" in 1937-1939. These national Republican political leaders were executed. Uzbekistan has come under a wave of arrests that have spread to all sections of society. State and public figures, leaders, and ordinary people, as well as national intellectuals, were repressed en masse. Figures of Uzbek literature of the XX century; Fitrat, Chulpon and Abdullah Qadiri and others were shot. In 1937-1939, more than 41,000 people were arrested in Uzbekistan on trumped-up charges, more than 37,000 of them were punished, and 6,920 were sentenced to death by firing squad [16]. In total, in 1937-1953, the trio of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (PCIA) of Uzbekistan repressed more than 100,000 people, of whom 15,000 were shot. Between 1936 and 1940 alone, 5,758 of statesmen and public figures, writers, poets, and scholars were arrested and 4,811 of them were sentenced to death by firing squad. Tens of thousands of people are shot every year during these years. Millions of people died in the camps from hard labor, famine, and various diseases. Among those who were unjustly imprisoned and prosecuted were the party Soviet economic workers, the military, the intelligentsia, the collective farmers. Every

year, those caught in the act on political charges are brutally tortured. The Soviet state, the most humane state in the world, continued to dry up the people's pillows and oppress them in various ways [17]. At that time, mass repressions and terrorism began in Uzbekistan. Every action of the national leadership was under the control of the United State Political Administration (USPA) representatives. A special report on the political mood in Uzbekistan, sent by the USPA to the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) on May 31, 1928, referred to the activities of about 20 such national leaders. National leaders, who were later suspended, were repressed. In Soviet times, even mentioning their names was banned [18].

Gulom Muzaffar oglu Zafari (1889-1937), a great representative of Turkestan's progressives, was not only a scholar of Uzbek music, a master of national theatrical art, but also a mature playwright, poet and journalist. His childhood was spent in the Old City part of ancient Tashkent, in the Big Garden neighborhood. Born into an ordinary coppersmith family, Gulam Zafari was known among Tashkent intellectuals from a very young age for his talent and sharp potential. G.Zafari first worked as a jadid teacher in the cities and villages of Osh and Fergana valleys. At the same time, he established strong creative ties with members of the Turon Enlightenment Society and became one of the active writers and propagandists of the Jadid press, which was born in Turkestan. On October 28, 1937, it was decided to re-arrest G. Zafari, who had just started his life. This time, too, he is charged with seven counts of not sleeping. He was followed by his wife Maryamkhan and 8-year-old daughter Erkin, who were crying blood. His 2-month-old son, Botir, was still far from suffering the horrors of this world. The Soviet executioners were a

lowly people, deprived of the happiness of understanding the identity of such a great coach as G. Zafari. The convict himself had already come to the conclusion that death was more acceptable than living in the ugly environment of Soviet society. So it wasn't hard to get his signature on the slanders either. On December 2, 1937, the "Prosecution Protocol" for G. Zafari was signed by Leonov, and on December 4, the ominous "trinity" court under the Uzbek Interior Ministry sentenced him to be shot. On December 28, 1937, the unjust sentence was carried out in silence. In the early days of the Red Empire, on December 17, 1956, Ghulam Zafari, an innocent man who had never committed a crime, was acquitted by the Uzbek Prosecutor's Office. However, the USSR, which was essentially built on oppression and violence, never admitted its guilt. This is evidenced by the organization of records of certificates of civil status document dated November 15, 1958, signed by G. Zafari's daughter Siddiqa, stating the acquittal of her father. According to the report, Zafari was sentenced to 10 years in prison and died on August 4, 1944 while serving his sentence [19].

Some of the local executives were not well versed in management skills. This was due to the mistrust of the heads of some enterprises and institutions towards those who were promoted, the lack of conditions and support for their work, and inefficiency. In particular, the state construction trust treated local leaders with disregard and distrust. Many workers were elected to the positions of engineers and managers of the largest industrial enterprises. For example, worker Said Khodjayev became the first Uzbek to become an electrical engineer [20].

During these years, social life in the former USSR was suffocated. Many of the creative staff were repressed, the rest were persecuted and constantly monitored, and the policy of

transforming more than 100 nationalities and ethnic groups into a single, unified "Soviet people" was implemented [21].

## CONCLUSION

It should be noted that the political administration was primarily under the control of the Communist Party, and any tasks of the Center were unconditionally fulfilled. This was done in the context of political repression. In 1925-1941, when the Soviet state, its totalitarian and authoritarian regimes took full control of all aspects of life, during the unlimited domination of the party apparatus and bureaucracy, there was no question of reforming the socio-cultural aspects of life in Uzbekistan. During this period, a new social stratum - the supreme party at the head of power and the Soviet nomenklatura - was fully formed.

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