

FORMATION PROCESSES OF THE NATIONAL POLITICAL ELITE IN TURKESTAN

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**Abstract.** This article is devoted to the formation of the national political elite in the conditions of the establishment of the Soviet regime in Turkestan. In this, it was analyzed that the Bolsheviks did not bring the representatives of the local people closer to the Soviet administration, they viewed their activities with distrust, and the nomenclature was introduced, which was considered the practice of promotion from the bottom to the top in the personnel policy.

**Key words:** party, chauvinism, national policy, nationalism, political elite, nomenclature, autonomy, proletarian revolution, declaration, bolshevik, Soviet, autonomy.

After the October coup, the Soviet government pursued a policy of implementing and ensuring the implementation of any decisions and decrees of the Center in order to fully subjugate the former colonial countries to Russia. This, in turn, meant that the colonial system would continue unchanged. To this end, the Bolsheviks put forward the following strict demand in order to strengthen their political power in these countries: “The nations that desire freedom and independence from Russia should accept the program of “socialism” and hand over the management of each country to a government called the soviets of worker-peasant representatives. Condition”[1]. In such difficult conditions, a unique political elite began to form in Turkestan.

In order to keep the nations under Russian influence, the Bolsheviks issued a legal document about it from the first days of the coup, namely the “Declaration of the Rights of the Russian People”. In this regard, the following were defined in the issue of nationalities in the territory of Russia: 1. Equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia. 2. The right of the peoples of Russia to self-determine their own destiny up to secession and establishment of an independent state. 3. Prohibition of any national, national-religious privileges and restrictions was established[2]. On the theoretical basis of this declaration, the abolition of national oppression and national inequality, the liberation of the oppressed peoples of colonial and dependent countries from the tyranny of imperialism, the granting of true freedom and equality to all people, regardless of their race and nationality, all peoples o It was written with pride about creating conditions for the development of friendly cooperation and mutual assistance.

Initially, the Bolsheviks did not bring the representatives of the local people closer to the Soviet administration, and their activities were viewed with distrust. Because the cadres sent from the Center occupied the main links of the state apparatus and excluded the local employees from the administration. The Bolsheviks ruled Turkestan General-Governor Kuropatkin's opinion that “Local people cannot be given full rights”[3]. they worked based on his instructions.

The Soviet authorities drew an important conclusion from the experience of Turkestan Autonomy, and on April 20, 1918, the Fifth Congress of Turkestan Soviets was opened in Tashkent. Finally, on April 30, the Sejd adopted a decision to establish the Turkestan Soviet Autonomous Republic within the RSFSR and approved the “Regulation on the Turkestan Soviet Republic”. The People's Commissariat for National Affairs was established within the government of the Turkestan ASSR, which was established on April 30, 1918, and Toshkhoja Ashurkhojaev was appointed as its

commissioner[4]. On June 18 of this year, the following 10 members of the Central Committee of the People's Commissariat of National Affairs were approved: 1. Yusupov; 2. Bulyaboev; 3. Nagaybekov; 4. Sharofiddinov; 5. Akhunov; 6. Joraboev; 7. Ostonboyev; 8. Klevlev; 9. Ibragimov; 10. Kosenko[5]. Also, on this date, departments of the People's Commissariat of National Affairs were established in regions and uezds[6]. In 1919, 10 national departments, consisting of Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Ukrainian, and others, started their activities under the Turkestan Commission[7]. Along with this, in March 1919, at the Second National Party Conference, a special bureau for national affairs of the RKP(b) was established. The Bureau of National Affairs functioned as an auxiliary organization performing the political tasks of party committees. Such a system of governance was introduced not only in Turkestan, but also in other national republics under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. The national affairs bureau of the Turkestan ASSR for the European population consisted of Iranian-Azerbaijani, Czech, Serbian, Ukrainian, Jewish, Armenian, Polish, local-Jewish, Caucasian-Azerbaijani and others[8]. At the same time, they determined the national political direction of the minority European population and the majority indigenous peoples in the region.

On the basis of the Constitution of the RSFSR, the "Constitution of the Turkestan ASSR" was adopted at the 6th session of the Turkestan Soviets (October 5-14, 1918). The Constitution specifically stated that defense, foreign relations, post, telegraph, maritime affairs, railways, customs, trade, industry and finance were left to the Federal Government, that is, all branches of state administration were legally subordinated to the Center. This "autonomy" was not a national autonomy, but a territorial autonomy. Moreover, the benefits of this "autonomy" were primarily benefited by the mainly proletarian part of the European population of the country[9].

One of the main principles of the colonial policy of the Bolsheviks in Turkestan was that they did not trust the local people. That is why the composition of the Soviet of People's Commissars, formed in Turkestan in November 1917, consisted only of representatives of the European nationality, and not a single representative of the local nationality was included in it. This situation continued until the rebellion of military commander K. Osipov on January 19, 1919. Only from February 1919, representatives of the local nation were involved in state administration. Nizamiddi Khojaev, Turar Riskulov, Nazir Torakulov and others began to work in responsible positions in the country. However, there were not enough representatives of the local people in the state bodies, especially in the central administration. As a result, the majority of Turkistan's political elite was still made up of Europeans. Also, the activities of party and state leaders in Turkestan came under the control of organizations with extraordinary powers sent from the Center, such as the Turkestan Commission established in October 1919, the Turkestan Bureau established in July 1920[10].

In September 1919, at the fourth session of the Turkestan Communist Party, Turar Riskulov expressed a strong opinion about the shortcomings of the Soviet national policy in Turkestan: "The proletarian revolution in Turkestan made great mistakes along with its wonderful aspects. This was due to the fact that the main revolutionary representatives were not familiar with the life and conditions of the local population. Therefore, the non-normal nature of the policy was the reason for the errors noted later. The struggle of the Soviet authorities with the forces against the revolution greatly damaged the construction of the Soviet system in this area. The collapse of the Kokan autonomy and the events in Bukhara exposed the negative aspects of the Soviet government for

Muslims. In these events, political leaders made a number of irreparable mistakes. As a result, they brought tragedies to the peaceful Muslim population, led to the emergence of new fronts, for example, the Ferghana front"[11].

It should be noted that in the early years of Turkestan administration, leaders from the Center pursued a policy of not trusting local cadres. The local population, its prominent figures, especially the national intelligentsia, were viewed with hostility. The activities of indigenous employees, including high-ranking officials, were strictly controlled. The Soviet state introduced nomenclature, which was considered the practice of promotion from the bottom to the top in personnel policy. Nomenclature policy played a key role in the formation of the political elite. The nomenclature is a list of the main positions and positions and candidates for them, which began to be formed in 1919. In the same year, a special department for accounting and distribution of communist cadres was established in the Central Committee of the RKP(b). This department was engaged in compiling a list of communists who implemented the decisions of the Soviet government and the Communist Party and sending them to work. As a result, the mechanism of appointing and transferring personnel from one place to another was created instead of the principle of election of personnel in the party apparatus. This mechanism was widely used in Soviet society as a tool for implementing the policy of the Communist Party. On February 12, 1919, People's Commissar of National Affairs of the RSFSR I.V. Addressing the Turkestan soviets and party organizations, Stalin pointed out the need to involve representatives of the local nation in state building[12]. Until now, no representatives of local nationalities have been included in the Soviet government of Turkestan, which means that after the establishment of Soviet power in Turkestan, national leaders were not recruited from the indigenous population.

Theoretician and creator of the nomenclature was the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the RKP (b) I.V. Stalin. At the 12th Congress of the CPSU (b) (April 1923), Stalin put forward the idea of introducing communists in all levels of government. The Bolsheviks, who set themselves the goal of instilling the Soviet ideology into the minds of the local population, made a slight change in the language of business and tactics in personnel matters. It was intended to prepare Bolsheviks from representatives of the local nation and rule the country with them. Also, according to the decision of the Congress, the creation of circles promoting Marxist ideas in the national republics, the formation of the party's instructor department from local workers before the central committee, the strengthening of the party's educational work, the opening of local universities serving the Soviet ideology, the education of every nation publishing literature in the mother tongue and conducting business in local languages[13].

In this session, I.V. Stalin spoke in theses on the topic "National Moments in Party and State Building" to humiliate and humiliate the inhabitants of the national remote areas, deprived of their national language, religion, traditions, values, and national identity. It is noted that the era of the deceptive "elimination of real national inequality - the struggle against all remnants of national tyranny and colonial slavery" [14] has begun.

The 12th Congress of the RKP(b) included the issues of nationalization of Soviet offices and cultural construction among the main issues of the party's national policy. On June 8, 1923, according to decision No. 50, adopted by the All-Union MIK Presidium, it was allowed to conduct public administration in Russian and local languages in the national republics of the Soviet Union[15]. According to the theoretical basis of this decision, the power of the proletariat should be



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dear to the national peasants, just as it is dear to the Russian peasants. It was emphasized that in order for the Soviet authorities to be dear to the national peasants, their schools, courts and other authorities should be conducted in the language of the local population. It is also recognized the need to train national personnel who know the behavior, customs, and lifestyle of the local population well in state agencies[16].

On November 8, 1923, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (b) made a decision on the selection of personnel and their appointment to responsible positions[17]. As a result, by the decision of the Central Committee, the lists of nomenclature in various fields were approved. The 1st list of the nomenclature includes the members of the leadership, presidium and collegiums of the USSR Communist Party of the USSR and the USSR MIK, BMIK, VVSSPS and heads of trusts, syndicates, heads of the Department of the VSNX, who are specially designated by the RKP (b) MK (later, VKP (b) MK) approved by the commission. The 2nd list includes the deputies of the above main positions, and the 3rd list includes the leading personnel of the republic and localities. Loyalty to the party path and policy of the candidates included in the nomenclature is the main criterion, and this situation was checked by the employees of the security services (GPU and OGPU)[18].

On the theoretical basis of the personnel policy, training of national communists who will serve the Soviet ideology in state administration is defined. However, the distrust of the Russian-speaking leaders in the local cadres and their opposition to their free functioning continued. In the personnel policy system, the problems remained mainly in the central institutions, and certain works were carried out in the regions and districts. There was insufficient control over the implementation of decrees and decisions related to personnel policy in the Turkestan ASSR. Managers of European nationality did not want to train local personnel and involve them in management. Due to this, the problems in the system of placement of local employees in the state administration and local offices have not been fully resolved. In such conditions, the actions of the political elite of the national administration did not bear their full effect.

The theoretical and conceptual bases of the personnel policy are mentioned in a number of historical documents adopted by the Bolsheviks, as well as in the decisions and instructions of the party congresses, congresses, conferences and various agencies. Turkestans welcomed the decisions regarding conducting business in the Uzbek language and training local personnel in management. However, the Bolsheviks interpreted the policy of training personnel from local nationals differently. In the process of personnel training, efforts were made to bring the government departments closer to the working and peasant masses, and training of national personnel sufficient for the population was neglected in management.

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