

## THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE OF UNDERGROUND POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS AGAINST THE BOLSHEVIKS IN UZBEKISTAN

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### Abstract

*In the following article the ideological struggle of underground political organizations against the bolsheviks in Uzbekistan are analyzed based on the available scientific data corresponding to the periods during and after collectivization process.*

**Keywords:** Soviet, ideologues, independence, press, intelligentsia, nation, revolution, secret organization, Jadidism, “G’ayratlilar” (“Enthusiasts”), power.

### I. INTRODUCTION

It is known from history that Soviet ideologues used the national spirit of the Uzbek people to distort the philosophical history, and, as a result, to escalate enmity between peoples. That is why the constant struggle against anti-communist and anti-Soviet ideology by Soviet ideologues was defined by Soviet historians as an important task.

Additionally, the ideologues of the history of the Party, given its great importance in the struggle, call for an active struggle with sabotage against its bourgeois falsifiers, against the distortion of the historical process and the history of the USSR. Central Committee of CPSU in its most decrees mentioned that the inquiry on the disclosure of the professional antisovetchiks and anticommunists working in the field of problems of history of USSR and CPSU, world communistic, workers and national liberation movements was set as the foremost obligation of the soviet scholars.

Thus, in the context of the growing aggression of Imperialism, the intensification of the psychological and ideological struggle of anti-communism, the party calls for a “to carry out the ideological struggle against class rivals more deeply and aggressively” [1].

### II. DISCUSSION.

According to historical data, in July 1917, local intellectuals, living with the dream of national independence, formed the faction “Turk adam markaziyat” in Tashkent. The growing position of the Bolsheviks in the political and social life of Turkestan forced the local cadres to form the “National Union” in 1920 on the basis of the “Turk adam markaziyat” and the “Union and Development”.

One of the national intellectuals, Rahim Inogamov, who was later accused of being the leader of the “Inogamov movement”, an anti-Soviet underground political group, waged an ideological struggle against the Bolsheviks in the press. In particular, in a series of articles in the newspaper “Kizil Uzbekistan” entitled “Our mission on the intelligentsia”, he outlined the position of the national Uzbek intelligentsia on the October Revolution and its aftermath, as well as the attitude of

the Communist Party to the intelligentsia: “Although the national intelligentsia did not welcome the October Revolution with all its love and soul, it was at the forefront of building an independent Uzbek government and Uzbek state for the freedom of the nation” [3].

Specifically, R.Inogamov commented on “Who are the national intellectuals?”, What are their ideas and aspirations for “freedom of the nation”. A. Ikramov and Abulkhai sided with the Bolsheviks and expressed their views against these comments: “If Inogamov wants to show a number of intellectuals who moved to the side of the Bolsheviks in the first line of change (although Inogamov does not say a few intellectuals in his article, he takes general intellectuals as “national intellectuals”), then the problem is not as Inogamov said, the conversion of some of the intelligentsia to the Bolsheviks must also be seen in terms of their acceptance by the sect, so that by these transitions they will completely turn away from their old ideas and be genuinely accepted by the poor revolution, the communist sect. Or they will move to us from the revolution of the poor to return to their old goal of “national liberation” [3].

Thus, the above opinion confirms that the activities of the Soviet intelligentsia, which sided with the Bolsheviks, were also under control. Therefore, the Bolsheviks always maintained that they could return to their old goals and ideas, or that they had entered our midst for their hidden interests. In the process, however, the Soviet intelligentsia appealed to the broad masses of the people to accept one of two paths and presented themselves as revolutionaries fighting to save the people from ignorance.

However, intellectuals who were members of the secret organization National Independence began to be persecuted by the Bolsheviks after 1928. Munavvar Qori Abdurashidkhonov said that all congresses of the organization will consist of a five-member presidium (chairman, secretary, treasurer, two members). At the same time he mentioned that the program of the old organization was not corresponding to the current situation and it was essential to attract more youth to the organization in order to divert the attention of the GPU:

“There is no national spirit left in schools now. No action is being taken in this regard. If this situation continues, the Uzbek national spirit will disappear. Uzbekistan will be under Russian rule” [4].

As a result, in 1929, Munavvar Qori Abdurashidkhonov was arrested as the head of the secret organization “Milliy Istiqlol”. Tangriqul Maqsudi, a national intellectual, gives the following information about the activities of this secret organization and Munavvar Qori: On April 29, 1930, while we were in cell 9, Yusufbek brought a letter written by Munavvar Qori. The letter was written in the content as follows: “Today, it has become fashionable to find a secret organization everywhere.

Our associates are organized as if a one establishment, desiring to revive the died organization and in this way they are in the opinion of shooting our people or banishing them.

One of the oldest organizations, the “Union and Development”, was formed in 1918, and in 1919, the “National Union”. The founder of this organization is unknown. There was no organization after the 1921 trial. Although there has always been some sitting in some places, it has not gone beyond the word to help the needy” [5].

Madkhiddin Solikhovich Muhammedov, the only member of the “National Independence” Organization, will be released from prison for selling his friends for making a political assessment of

Jadidism. In one of his letters to the political administration it is written as follows: “If we look at the current ideology of the Jadids, we can easily see that they are fierce enemies of the Soviet government, and that they are eager to see when that power will fall. And they firmly believe in the fall of Soviet power. They are on the same side with the foreign enemies of the Soviet government and have the intention of participating in the overthrow of this power. When the enemy, both internally and externally, begins to act against this authority, and when this struggle reaches its top, they are waiting for it” [6].

It is known from history that another secret organization of national intellectuals in opposition to the Soviet government was the organization “Enthusiasts”, founded in 1929-1930 in Samarkand by a group of employees of the People’s Commissariat of Education of the Uzbek SSR. The “Enthusiasts” group included prominent members of the national intelligentsia, most of whom were teachers and students. The group also included representatives of local nationalities, who worked in the leadership positions of Soviet power, but during the cleaning in 1929-1930 years were removed from the party as “foreign elements”, well understood the entrances of the Soviet system with great experience and potential, as well as a group of creative people. The “enthusiasts” carried out their activities through “gaps”. “Gaps” are held once a week. The permanent chairman was Botu, and sometimes the chairman was Sabir Kadyrov<sup>[7]</sup>.

### III. RESULTS

Bois Qoriyev Oltoy was giving the following evidence during the investigation of the “G’ayratlilar” organization in the “troika” of OGPU which occurred from 15 July to 1 August 1930: Our “Enthusiasts” organization is an anti-Soviet and counter-revolutionary organization in terms of its political structure. That’s why he can not be compared with the trotskists, leftists or the inagomovians in the terms of Uzbekistan. Its program was not based on a party model, but against the party and Soviet power. As I mentioned in my previous instructions, our programming instructions are nowhere recorded in writing and we knew it by heart. We aim to train young nationalist cadres. Our main goal was to completely separate Uzbekistan from the Soviet Union. In order to achieve independence, in our opinion, first of all, it is necessary to train nationalist cadres armed with national ideas that will ensure the development of the nation-state. In order to take power into our own hands, to protect it, we must acquire special military knowledge by placing young people in many military schools. In short, our organization aimed to overthrow the Soviet government and create a bourgeois-democratic republic of Uzbekistan” [7].

The migrant intelligentsia reported that in the 72-th issue of the Journal Young Turkistan, after a discussion on an organization that organized a by a cleric named Abdumutalib in Kokand, 4 people were shot and brought the following: “The Bolsheviks want to portray the leaders and members of the organization as ignorant. On the one hand, they insult the religion of the Turkestans, on the other hand, they show that these young people have returned from the Bolsheviks, and that Moscow’s ideology of Marxism and Stalinism has collapsed without being able to enter the youth of Turkestan” [8].

Some Germans living in Uzbekistan were labeled “propagandists of fascist ideas”, “enemies of the Soviet state”, and “counter-revolutionaries”. One of such people is the Fischer Genrikh Fransiyevich who was born in 1881 in the Kamishinski uyezd Saratov governorate and who had

settled to Uzbekistan, he was arrested by OGPU accusing him with the propaganda against soviet regime [ 9].

On March 20, 1932, the Presidium of the USSR MIC adopted a resolution “On the transformation of the Karakalpak Autonomous Oblast into an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and its accession to the RSFSR”. Then a new generation of leaders entered the political arena: K.Nurmuhamedov, K.Avezov, N.Saparov, K.Allambergenov, P.Janaliev, K.Sagdullaev, D.Seytova, A.Irmanov, D.Kurbanov, B.Tojiev, D.Matkarimov and others came out. At the same time, the sending of leading cadres from the RSFSR (T.I. Churbanov, D.M. Loginov, I. Aliyev, I. Larkin, GF Kvachev and others) to Karakalpakstan had a negative impact on the political and cultural life of the country [10].

On 21-23 April 1933, the activity of group of respective authorities in Karakalpakstan (T. Churbanov, A. Morin) was disclosed as a result of the investigation of the Central Committee of Central Asian bureau of VKP (b) special brigade of Prosecutors office of RSFSR and was referred to as “churbanovshina”.

There was a political process over the group of “Four” and “Ten” (H. Abdukhalikov, D. Ishimbetov, A. Mambdiyarov, R. Matchanov, M. Nurjanov, J. Rakhmatullaev, B. Tojiev, H. Temirkhanov, K. Shamuratov). They were labeled “enemy of the people” and repressed [10].

### CONCLUSION.

In summary, at that time, the national intelligentsia united in secret political organizations and waged an ideological struggle against the colonial policy of the Bolsheviks. In particular, this ideological struggle was mainly reflected in the press, the education system, the literature. However, the Bolsheviks were defeated in the ideological struggle against the national intelligentsia and resorted to physical torture and repression against them.

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