

Vol 20 (2022): October Public Policy

# Fayzulla Khodjayev - National and Political Leader of the Uzbek People

Rafikov Kudratilla Mirsagatovich Chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions of Uzbekistan

This article analyzes the activity of Fayzulla Khodjaev, the leader of the "Young Bukhara" party, the chairman of the government of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan in 1924-1937, the political leader of the Uzbek nation, as a political and state chairman. Despite the fact that Fayzulla Khodjaev was a communist, the All Union of Russia at that time was critical of the methods and ideology of the Russian Communist Party. He contributed a lot to the development of industry, agriculture and culture of Uzbekistan in 1924-1937. During his tenure as the head of the government, the rate of development of the state and society of Uzbekistan accelerated. Dictator Joseph Stalin did not like the fact that Fayzulla Khodjaev enjoyed great prestige among the people and had the qualities of a political leader back in the days of the former USSR. Moscow did not particularly like the courage, truthfulness of Fayzulla Khodjaev and the fact that he followed the people. Stalin also suspected that he might try to separate Uzbekistan as an independent state. Fayzulla Khodjaev was shot in 1937 by order of Stalin. The article mainly analyzes the political events and processes of the 20-30s of the twentieth century, reveals the original image and ideology of the Bolshevik Party.

### Introduction

Fayzulla Khodjaev was born in Bukhara in 1896 in the family of the world-famous merchant-farmer Ubaydullahkhodji Kasimkhodjaev. He received his primary education at school, then at the Ghaziyan Madrasah. In 1907-1912, Fayzulla Khodjaev was privately educated by teachers hired by his father in Moscow. From the age of 17 he took part in the Jadid movement, from the age of 20 and soon led them. In 1912 he returned to Bukhara from Moscow and soon became a member of the "Young Bukhara" party, and in 1913 he was elected a member of its central committee (at the age of 17). As a devoted Jadid, he made a great contribution to the opening of the schools of the new Jadid method due to the large fortune inherited from his father, financially supported the political party "Young Bukharians".

Fayzulla Khodjaev voluntarily transferred the wealth inherited from his father to the state treasury. These are as follows: 410 kg of gold, 4.8 million pieces of gold coins, 82 kg of silver coins, a large amount of valuables and land properties. 200 pounds (3 tons, 200 kg) of gold, 9,600 pounds (153 tons, 600 kg) of silver, pearls, diamonds, jewels, which were inherited from the Emirates, to establish and restore the economy of the People's Republic of Bukhara (PRB), not to collect taxes from the population for two years, to educate the youth abroad, Fayzulla Khodjaev personally took charge of the control over spending for the opening of modern industrial and educational institutions.

# Main part

Beginning in 1917, Fayzulla Khodjaev and his colleague Fitrat led the left wing of the party, proclaiming the goal of first establishing a constitutional monarchy and then a republic in Bukhara. Fayzulla Khodjaev and his followers were forced to leave the territory of the Emirate of Bukhara after the intensification of the persecution of the "Young Bukharians" by the Emir of Bukhara. In January 1920, he was elected chairman of the Turkestan Central Bureau of the Revolutionary



Vol 20 (2022): October Public Policy

"Young Bukharians" party, which was founded in Tashkent.

After the overthrow of the Bukhara Emir - on September 14, 1920, with the establishment of the Bukhara People's Socialist Republic (BPSR), Fayzulla Khodjaev was elected as the chairman of the Soviet of People's Supervisors (government).

The political situation at that time was such that Fayzulla Khodjaev was not independent and free in his activities as a statesman and political figure. Because at that time the Bolsheviks were a great force, they overthrew the Emir of Bukhara, and Fayzulla Khodjaev was elected to the leadership of the USSR with the consent and support of the Bolsheviks.

Fayzulla Khodjaev initially had to rely on the support of the Council of People's Commissars of the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR) and its chairman Fedor Kolesov to overthrow the Bukhara emir and establish a constitutional state, after the formation of the USSR, it became completely dependent on Moscow, in such a difficult situation, there was no way to avoid joining the Communist Party.

Since 1924, the Bolsheviks officially occupied Central Asia, and there was no power in this region that surpassed the Soviet state in military power, political influence and economic potential. Therefore, not only Fayzulla Khodjaev, but also all the youth who worked in Soviet institutions, became dependent on the Bolsheviks, and they had no choice but to wait for better days.

Fayzulla Khodjaev was a politically mature person. His creation and publication of a programmatic document (ceremonial document) in the spirit of the ideas of "Young Bukharians" is proof of our opinion. This document of the party was called "Revolutionary Young Bukharians party program of Turkestan bureau". Program "Join us against oppression!" begins with this slogan. In its introduction, the general condition of Bukhara and the goals and objectives of "Young Bukharians" are included. In the second part of the project, a practical proposal of "Young Bukharians", a plan for conducting reforms and organizational and financial development of the city was made.

It was clear to the Bolshevik Party that Fayzulla Khodjaev was dissatisfied with Soviet policy. But at that time, for the interests and political goals of the center in the region, there was no alternative person with the qualities of a well-known political figure, except for Fayzulla Khodjaev. Therefore, the center used all sorts of tricks to tear him away from his comrades and turn him against them. That is why the Soviet government appointed him chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Uzbekistan.

Fayzulla Khodjaev was the first in the history of Uzbekistan to speak out against cotton monoculture. In his article "The most important tasks of our construction", he put forward the following provisions: "At the same time, I must also mention the topic raised by Comrade Bauman in the documents and by Comrade Akmal Ikramov at this congress. This topic concerns only the cultivation of cotton. We must fight against the idea of growing cotton alone. The times when our crops consisted of 90-95% only cotton did not lead to any results ... To be honest, we now have people who want to solve the cotton issue only with fields and think that the more cotton is planted in this collective farm, section or region, so much the better. There are "left" ones. They don't care if a collective farm horse, bull or cow needs a certain food, when a collective farmer needs a certain food supply.

# **Analyses**

At the III session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan held in November 1927, Fayzulla Khodjaev was strongly criticized for supporting old intellectuals and modernists, trying to reduce taxes from entrepreneurs and craftsmen, and for his views that did not correspond to the ideology of other Soviet authorities. Some delegates also proposed to release him from all



Vol 20 (2022): October Public Policy

positions. Soon after, at the meeting of the VII of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, his political opponents organized an attack and leveled serious accusations against him, trying to destroy his position as a political leader. Fayzulla Khodjaev knew very well the consequences of such attacks by the enemies. In his concluding speech at the congress, he gave the following answer to his enemies: "Comrades, I had the misfortune to be born in Bukhara, I had the misfortune to start my revolutionary work very early, when I was 16 years old, in the Jadid organizations. Another of my misfortunes is that I was born in Bukhara and in 1917 became the leader of the "Young Bukhara" party. I participated in an armed uprising against the emir, for which I was sentenced to death. "I am the first Bukharian, maybe the first Turkestani who came to power without a party." Of course, these words made a deep impression on the congress delegates.

Fayzulla Khodjaev said in one of his speeches: "We don't need personnel at all, but first of all, we need national, Uzbek personnel, because without it we cannot nationalize the Soviet apparatus, we cannot approach the problem of reorganizing the collective farm" ...It is more difficult for the representatives of the land-based nation to grow in Soviet bodies with stronger elements of colonization, ...the weight of Uzbeks in technical schools, rabfaks, labor universities are not large. These are very unsatisfactory, lowest, shameful figures".

Fayzulla Khodjaev criticized the cadres in the field of management, characteristic of the socialist system and developed by the party, and openly expressed the following opinion: "After all, without filling the Shura apparatus with specialized forces, bureaucracy and other formalities, without bringing the Soviet apparatus closer to the masses of workers and collective farmers, without drawing them into direct participation in the administration of the state, without expanding it, without making this apparatus ground-based, it is impossible to bring it closer to the bulk of the population.

These thoughts were certainly expressed during Stalin's dictatorship. Few people have such courage. Stalin could not forgive these heartfelt words spoken with nationalistic and patriotic feelings.

In another speech, Fayzulla Khodjaev said about the realization of national interests and historical justice: "Uzbekization should be carried out not in words, but in practice, the Soviet apparatus should be close to the masses, and serve the interests and rights of small nations". It is necessary to eliminate all unnecessary links of the Soviet apparatus, its over-extended parts, to introduce strict economic austerity, and to raise the struggle with bureaucracy, censorship, and the indifference of individual bureaucrats to the necessary height. It is necessary to introduce the revolutionary legislation even in the most distant corners and follow it everywhere.

The well-known lawyer Otaboy Eshonov in his work on Fayzulla Khodjaev described his leadership qualities in the following way: "Fayzulla Khodjaev distinguished himself as an active, hardworking and principled leader of the party. He directly led the meetings of the Council of People's Commissars, constantly participated in the activities of the People's Commissariats of Finance, Education and Health, demanded that all employees take their work seriously, be efficient, set an example in observing state and party discipline.

Fayzulla Khodjaev is a constant mediator between the highest government bodies and local Soviets, their executive committees, workers, peasants, hardworking intelligentsia, and believed that the establishment of a strong connection is the key to the successful implementation of the plans.

A fierce struggle against all forms of bureaucracy and censorship, a cold attitude towards the needs and demands of the workers, the ability to listen to the voice of the masses, the fulfillment of their legitimate demands, friendliness, the ability to get along with people - these are the characteristic signs of Fayzulla Khodjaev's leadership style, a new type of leadership qualities. Fayzulla Khodjaev was in constant communication with the workers, deeply felt their needs and demands, sensitively reacted to signals coming from the field, and, if necessary, immediately provided appropriate



Vol 20 (2022): October Public Policy

assistance.

### **Discussions**

Otaboy Eshanov continues and reveals the following qualities of a political leader: "Fayzulla Khodjaev was a far-sighted, broad-minded, great statesman who was always interested in the promising problems of developing the economy and culture of Uzbekistan. During his trips around the republic, during meetings with scientists and collective farmers, workers and engineers, he tried to better understand the labor situation in the field, to better understand the essence of events and events. Then he summarized what he saw and heard, the advice he heard and discussed issues of national importance.

The famous Russian writer Galina Iosifovna Serebryakova (in the 20s of the 20th century she visited Uzbekistan several times as a correspondent for the Izvestia newspaper) was well acquainted with Fayzulla Khodjaev and had many conversations with him. He wrote the following about Fayzulla Khodjaev's oratory: "We met at the house of Akmal Ikramov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. Fayzulla Khodjaev was everywhere called the most intelligent and truthful person of the republic... I heard a lot about his courage, great diplomatic skills and that he was well informed. Fayzulla Khodjaev is not tall, comes from the slums, thin as a teenager. Fayzulla's handsome face, with Asian deep-set eyes and long lashes, was slightly marred by the scar left by the pendinka disease he once suffered from. No matter how much A. Ikramov was alive, cheerful among the people, Fayzulla would be less talkative, or rather, sad. He looked at him seriously, as if comparing his interlocutor with himself.

I heard the speeches of Uzbek statesmen at a big election rally... This time A. Ikramov surprised me with his coldness, and Fayzulla Khodjaev with extraordinary enthusiasm of his voice, hand movements and words. Fayzulla Khodjaev's speech made an extremely attractive impression on those present at the meeting, they responded with their emotions, sat down and stood up, waving their hands approvingly. At the department, Fayzulla Khodjaev appeared before me bright and very handsome. I have often seen how great people become in the process of creation, during action ... Fayzulla possessed the qualities of a real fighter for his idea.

This small recollection of the Russian writer gives us a vivid idea that Fayzulla Khodjaev was not only one of the great statesmen of his time, but also one of the representatives of high culture. Galina Serebryakova was the wife of Grigory Serebryakov, Minister of Finance of the USSR. Its assessment and description by Fayzulla Khodjaev and Akmal Ikramov is a great treasure, equal to a rare gem. His assessment clearly proves that the leaders of these two republics are real political leaders.

The fate of Fayzulla Khodjaev became a landmark for the intelligentsia of that time and became extremely difficult and tragic. In a difficult situation, when the negative influence of the totalitarian regime and the imperialist policy of the center intensifies in the life of the republic, F.Khodjaev's attempts to act openly to protect the interests of Uzbekistan as much as possible in solving economic and economic problems met with sharp resistance.

When he served as the head of the government of Uzbekistan, he tried to resist the dictatorial policy of the center, i.e. the policy of making one's own judgment. Sometimes F.Khodjaev was forced to wear a mask of loyalty and humility, acting skillfully and diplomatically, as he had to continue his work to protect the interests of the republic. It is impossible to evaluate the personality of F.Khodjaev without regard to his time. Accusing him of laziness and instability due to the fact that he was presented from the outside as a "faithful child of the party" would be the result of an unfounded and hasty conclusion without understanding the tragic situation in which F.Khodjaev lived and worked.



Vol 20 (2022): October Public Policy

Despite all the complexity of the Stalinist regime, the people had to live and the republic should develop, and Fayzulla Khodjaev's services were endless in this. He was a person with a "full stomach" as the people say .

The Bolsheviks were afraid that he would organize an independent Uzbekistan, and even in this case he could become one of the important leaders of the USSR, so they created false fictions about him. Finally, in 1937, they slandered Fayzulla Khodjaev and went as far as imprisoning him. In a Moscow prison, he was brutally tortured. Groupism, Stalinist repressions also affected Khodjaev. Sentenced to death March 13, 1938. On March 15, 1938, he was shot in the forest in the village of Sosensky, Butovsky district of Moscow.

Fayzulla Khodjaev was found guilty of plotting to overthrow Soviet power in Uzbekistan and spying for Germany, the United States, Japan and Poland. In 1965, he was fully acquitted and recognized as one of the innocent victims of Stalin's repressions.

On June 24, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the VKP(b) "gives consent" to the "request" of the Central Committee of the Uzkompartiya to release F.Khodjaev from the position of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Uzbek SSR. Realizing that the "black beetle" of the NKVD was waiting for him, F.Khojaev had a heart attack and went to bed.

With the arrest on charges of high treason of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars Fayzulla Khodjaev, and soon after that the head of the republican party organization Akmal Ikramov, a wave of mass repressions began in Uzbekistan. Not only all the associates of the two leaders of the republic - Akmal Ikramov and Fayzulla Khodjaev, but also all their relatives were imprisoned. Anyone who greeted these two leaders or met with them one or more times as a service requirement was imprisoned for being the "tail" of the "enemy of the people" discovered in 1937, or on some other charge.

All Soviet leaders of these regions, cities and districts were imprisoned for working under the direct supervision of Fayzulla Khodjaev, and the secretaries of all party organizations in these regions, cities and districts for working under the direct supervision of Akmal Ikramov. In turn, with the arrest of the leaders of the regional, city and district councils, as well as the secretaries of the regional, city and district party organizations, dozens of other people who had contact with these "enemies of the people" were abandoned.

### **Conclusions**

Thousands of innocent people lost their lives during the authoritarian regime in Uzbekistan. In 1937-1953, 100,000 people were persecuted in Uzbekistan. 13 thousand of them were brutally shot. How many families have been destroyed and children have become orphans. During the great repression of 1937-1938 alone, about 7,000 Uzbeks were shot. Only in 1937-1939, more than 43 thousand people were imprisoned in Uzbekistan. 6,920 of them were shot, and 37,000 were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and exile. Nothing can justify these actions of the executioners of the established regime. This dark darkness of our recent national history has remained an eternal dream in the language of our people.

It is a fact that "criminal cases" were opened against 450,000 of our compatriots from the beginning of the 20th century to the 1940s, and their lives were turned upside down. Especially in this case, the damage caused by the Soviet ideology to the spiritual life of the working people of the republic was incalculable. Scientists who for centuries contributed to the spiritual and spiritual life of the people were destroyed.

Fayzulla Khodjaev was accused of joining the activities of the anti-Soviet right-wing Trotskyist bloc against the government and leading the activities of the secret organization "National Union",



Vol 20 (2022): October Public Policy

supporting the "print" movement and partisans, patronizing Fitrat, Cholpon, Abdulla Kadiri and other Uzbek intellectuals. After prolonged torture, together with Akmal Ikromov, N.Bukharin, A.Rykov and others (17 people in total), Fayzulla Khodjaev was sentenced to death by the decision of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

In conclusion, he said that in the history of our country, the memory of Fayzulla Khodjaev, who made a great contribution to the development of the economic, political, social and cultural spheres of our country, was recognized by the people as a political leader, despite the hardships of the totalitarian system, his name is courage, creativity and selflessness for the country remains a symbol.

### References

- 1. Alimova A Introduction.//Khodjaev F. Materials for the history of Bukhara revolution.-T.:Fan, 1997.-P.3-4.
- 2. Eshanov O. Fayzulla Khodjaev (Essay on his life and work).-T.: Uzbekistan, 1973.-P.80-81.
- 3. Fayzulla Khodjaev. Selected works. Volume II.-T.: Fan, 1978.-P.309-310.
- 4. Inoyatov S. Three great figures who were victims of repression// Education and innovative research (2022 No. 1).-P.8.
- 5. Karimov N. The tragic consequences of the "great massacre" in 1937-1938.-T., 2015. -P.24-25.
- 6. Khodjaeva F. The most important tasks of our construction.-T.: Uzdavnashr, 1934.-P.49-50.
- 7. Naimov I. Contradictions in the political views of Fayzulla Khodjaev // https://ia-centr.ru/experts/iats-mgu/protivorechiya-v-politicheskikh-vzglyadakh-fayzully-khodzhaeva/.
- 8. Rajabov Q. Fayzulla Khodjaev (historical essay).-T.: "AVI MATV1GOT-KOK5A1L" publishing house, 2011-P.39-40; G.Serebryakova. People of a great cause // Literary Russia, 1967, March 24.
- 9. The politics of repression: its nature and consequences // https://e-tarix.uz/vatan-tarixi/478-vatan-tarixi.html
- 10. Mamazhonov, A. T., & Eraliev, A. A. (2022). PROFESSIONAL ACCOUNTING AND PROBLEMS OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITY (LOSSES) IN JOINT STOCK COMPANIES. World Economics and Finance Bulletin, 9, 132-134
- 11. Mamazhonov, A. T. (2020). CONCEPTUAL ISSUES OF ACCOUNTING FOR FINISHED GOODS IN THE AUTOMOTIVE INDUSTRY. Theoretical & Applied Science, (12), 373-376.
- 12. Mamazhonov, A. T. (2022). The Main Aspects of the Analysis of Costs on Production in Farming Facilities. Middle European Scientific Bulletin, 22, 91-93.