

Akmal Ikramov - Uzbek National Political Leader during the Totalitarian Regime

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Annotation: This article analyzes the activities of Akmal Ikramov, the political leader of the Uzbek people, who led the country of Uzbekistan in 1929-1937, worked as the 1st secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, and in the field of political and public administration.

Despite being a communist, Akmal Ikramov repeatedly criticized the methods and ideology of the All-Union Russian Communist Party of that time. Uzbekistan led the industrialization reforms of the Soviet Socialist Republic. During his reign, industry, agriculture and culture developed rapidly in Uzbekistan.

The high reputation of Akmal Ikramov among the people, his courage in negotiations with the dictator Joseph Stalin, the the leader of the USSR, the ability to defend his honor did not please the Moscow leaders. Stalin feared that he might try to make Uzbekistan an independent state. That is why Akmal Ikramov was repressed and shot in 1937 by order of Stalin.

The article mainly analyzes the political events and processes of the 20-30s of the twentieth century, criticizes the original image and ideology of the Bolshevik Party.

Keywords: political leader, socialist system, socialist economy, Cultural Revolution, collectivization of agriculture, repression, kolkhoz, autocratic ideology, Komsomol, totalitarian regime, totalitarian state.

Akmal Ikramov (1898-1938) is one of the devotees of the nation, a recognized political leader in the history of Uzbekistan. He was born in the Okchi makhalla of the city of Tashkent in the family of teacher Ikram, studied at his father's school, worked as a teacher in Tashkent. In 1918, he received his political education at the Sverdlov Communist University in Moscow, founded by a "Gang of followers" of Said Akhrari and Fitrat.

At this time, Rakhim Inogomov, Akmal Ikramov, Usmonkhan Eshonkhodjaev, Abdullajon Karimov, together with Turkestan students, formed a group in Moscow in 1922-23 called "Left Communists". They often used the words "we are still a Russian colony" because the October Revolution did not give any freedom to the workers of Turkestan¹.

Akmal Ikramov wrote poetry under the pseudonym Elkhan. He worked as the head of party organizations in Namangan, Fergana and Syrdarya regions (1919-1921). He worked as secretary of the Central Council of the Communist Party of Turkestan, head of the organizational training department (1921-1922). Actively and proactively participated in the implementation of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in the Turkestan Republic. In 1922-1924 he studied at the Communist University in Moscow. From January 1925 he was secretary of the party committee of the Tashkent region. Since February 1925, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of

¹Irzaev B. Victims of repression: Rahim Inogomov - an educator who became a minister at the age of 23. 25.03.2022й.// <https://azon.uz/content/views/qatagon-qurbonlari-rahim-inogomov-23-yos>.

Uzbekistan, First Secretary (December 1929 - September 1937). In 1931-1934, he was the secretary of the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Council of the Communist Party of the All-Union, a member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and in 1925-1937, he was a candidate for the membership of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR. As a member of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Uzbek SSR (1925-1937), he held important political and state management positions. In 1919-1924, Akmal Ikramov resisted the policy of the Center by protecting national interests within the limits of his time.

When Akmal Ikramov was the head of the Communist Party of the Fergana region, many memories have been preserved of him. One of them gives the following information about the time of his arrival in the city of Margilan: “He often came to Margilan. He really liked the real Uzbek city, the living conditions in it, he visited the surroundings, respected artisans who knew their own worth, even if they were poor. He dreamed that in the city, instead of manual machines, there would be cold workshops, large factories with bright windows. He really wanted to see no more merchants, no craftsmen for people, no fourteen-hour weavers, no children in the workshops. Of course, we will soon reach these days, it will happen in 5-7 years, which is not very long, he dreamed².”

There is very little information and memories about the activities of Akmal Ikramov in the party organizations of the Fergana Valley. Because in the 1920s the network of archives was still being formed. According to historian M.G.Vakhobov, in 1923 Akmal Ikramov did not lose his national feelings. In 1923, at a meeting of the headquarters of the national republics of the Russian Communist (Bolshevik) Party, Akmal Ikramov, together with Faizulla Khodzhaev, stated that “no changes have occurred in Turkestan during the period of Soviet power, only labels (signboards) have changed, but in reality the exploitation of the people is still preserved”.

Also, Akmal Ikramov, as the executive secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, in his critical opinion on the localization of state bodies, cites the following words: “Some Russian workers wrote a petition in the sense of “Uzbekization in Uzbekistan, Turkmenization in Turkmenistan”, and Ukrainization in Ukraine, what should we, Russian workers, do? This means that the Russian workers do not sufficiently understand the policy of Uzbekization and cannot understand the essence of this issue, the lack of correct public opinion on this matter³.”

The son of Akmal Ikramov compared his father with Fayzulla Khodjaev and said: “They did not look alike at all. He was, to put it mildly, an ascetic. It was noticeable in our home life, in our family relationships, in the way he dressed... When it was not too hot, my father wore a good sports shirt, breeches and boots⁴.”

To prove Akmal Ikramov's talent for political leadership, it is necessary to mention that as the head of the republican party organization, the pace of development of the economy of Uzbekistan increased rapidly under the conditions of the socialist regime and the Stalinist dictatorship. During this period, according to the instructions of the party center “Pay special attention to the issues of economic and cultural development of backward national territories and regions for the Five-Year

² Ikramov K. Case of my father. Chronicle novel. –M.: Soviet writer, 1991.-P.145.//https://royallib.com/book/ikramov_kamil/delo_moego_ottsa.html.

³ AAP RU, fond-58, list-4, work-493, page-7. AAP RU, fond-58, list-4, work-493, page-8.

⁴ Ikramov K. Case of my father. Chronicle novel. –M.: Soviet writer, 1991.-P.145.//https://royallib.com/book/ikramov_kamil/delo_moego_ottsa.html

Plan”, Uzbekistan was also included in such a backward region. Therefore, the development of the economy of Uzbekistan was many times more difficult than in industrial regions⁵.

After the end of the period of restoration of the national economy in Uzbekistan, the party leadership gave instructions to industrialize the national economy. By 1925, 21 new sectors were formed in the industry of Uzbekistan: cement production, metal processing, construction, development of canned goods, etc. Gross industrial output reached 80% of the pre-World War I level, electricity production increased 5 times. Uzbekistan became an agrarian republic⁶. The share of agriculture in the national economy was 61.8 percent. Many power plants were built. By 1928, the number of power plants increased from 5 to 29. Electricity production increased 10 times. Due to the growth of energy, new industrial enterprises were built: the Tashkent plant of rural engineering, the Tashkent textile plant, the Kuvasoy cement plant, the Khilkov cement plant, the textile and canning factories in Fergana, silk-spinning factories in Samarkand, Bukhara and Margilan were reconstructed, 2 large silk factories were put into operation, 7 brick factories, the production of building materials has begun. During the 3 years of industrialization (1925-1928), the number of new industries increased from 21 to 35. Coal and chemical industries were created. Uzbekistan began to develop faster than the average pace of the USSR. In the USSR, the gross product grew by 47%, while in Uzbekistan this figure was 57%.

The source of financing for the five-year period was realized at the expense of internal savings - workers' deposits in banks, state loans. In 1932, compared to 1928, the gross industrial product increased by 2.3 times, electricity production by 3.7 times, oil production by 3.3 times, metal processing products by 5.8 times, cotton-spinning gas products by 5.6 times, people the share of industry in the economy increased from 30 percent in 1928 to 50 percent in 1932⁷.

If you pay attention to the fact that industrialization in Uzbekistan was carried out at a time when the literacy of the population was at a low level, feudal remnants were preserved, and women's freedom was only being ensured, then you can see what painstaking work was done during this period. Considering that Akmal Ikramov was elected First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan from December 1929, we feel that he was at the forefront of these changes. These developments were implemented mainly due to the initiative of Akmal Ikramov, perseverance, ability to organize people, in other words, the qualities of a political leader.

In the second five-year period - in 1935, the Kogon and Kokand superphosphate plants, "Tashselmash" were put into operation. In 1933, the Borjar hydroelectric power plant was put into operation. Electricity production increased 3 times. Sulfur, oil, coal, molybdenum, tungsten deposits have been discovered and products have been extracted from them⁸. Oil and gas production increased 8 times in five years. If in 1928 there were 2 sewing factories, in 1937 their number increased to 62.

Thus, in 1937, such industries as chemistry, engineering, yarn, metalworking, silk weaving, silk sewing, knitting, tailoring, footwear, textile and paper industries were formed in Uzbekistan. In addition to the reconstructed enterprises, the industry of Uzbekistan has increased to 189 enterprises based on new equipment. In 1937, the share of industry in the economy was 67.1%. In

⁵ CPSU in resolutions of congresses, conferences, plenums. 4-II. - M.: Gospolitizdat, 1960. - P.343.

⁶ History of the Uzbek SSR. -T.: Publishing House "Fan", 1974. - P.350.

⁷ Mukhammedov M.M., Umarov A.Z. Economic history of Uzbekistan. (Textbook).-T.: "Innovatsion rivozhlanish nashriyot-matbaa uyi", 2020. -P.137-138.

⁸ Knyazev P.K. Subsoil of Uzbekistan. -T., 1935. -P.8.

this way, Uzbekistan turned from an economically remote country into a large industrial-agrarian republic⁹.

It can be seen that such great changes in the second and third five-year plans were carried out under the leadership of Akmal Ikramov. There was no way to achieve such developments if he was engaged in "toxic chemicals", as the Stalinist court accused him, if he fought against the Soviet regime. The reason why such jumps were not observed in the next five years was that Akmal Ikramov retired from the political and economic life of the republic for life.

The reasons for the destruction of Akmal Ikramov on Stalin's orders are not his leadership qualities, organization, initiative, leadership, but Stalin's rejection of his leadership qualities, Akmal Ikramov's reputation growing year by year, the fact that he was able to maintain his value to Stalin and his lack of fear.

Lenin Prize winner Rajab Islambekov, who has been a professor in Moscow since 1958, cites the following documentary story in his novel "Troubled Time": "I had a copy of the transcript of the meeting of the Politburo of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks marked "Top Secret". I will cite one episode from it: "Stalin: Now the word of Comrade. Ikramov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks of Uzbekistan.

Ikramov: Comrade Stalin! I have a request! Now, due to the fact that Uzbekistan remains the main cotton-producing republic of the Union, all irrigated lands are occupied by cotton monoculture, and there are no lands for sowing grain and rice crops. That is why, if you help formalize the party decision to provide bread to Uzbekistan from the center together with Russia. Otherwise, hunger and protests among the population may begin in the republic.

Stalin: I was informed that a consignment of wheat has recently left for your republic.

Ikramov: One echelon of wheat will not solve the problem, Comrade Stalin.

Stalin: If necessary, we will send another echelon of wheat, Comrade Ikramov!

Ikramov: Comrade Stalin, don't interrupt me! Firstly, your train did not reach Tashkent at all, it was robbed on the way to Kuibyshniv. Secondly, one or two or even ten echelons of wheat cannot solve the problem of providing the population of Uzbekistan with bread. We need a solution that solves the problem...

Stalin: We will think about it"¹⁰.

This event definitely happened. Because this reality is also found in another source. Since this source has been kept in memory for about 30 years, there are differences in wording, but their content is close to each other:

The son of Akmal Ikramov, the writer Komil Ikramov, in his book "Case of my father" tells about this event as follows: "In 1960, Radjab Abdugaffaforov, who worked as secretary of the district committee in the 1930s, testified that the transcripts of the plenums of the Central Council of the party were sent to the district party organizations of that time. In one of them, he got acquainted with the following reality: "Discussing the issue of supplies to Uzbekistan, Akmal Ikramov said:

⁹ Mukhammedov M.M., Umarov A.Z. Economic history of Uzbekistan. (Textbook).-T.: "Innovatsion rivozhlanish nashriyot-matbaa uyi", 2020. -P.137-138.

¹⁰ Radjab Islambek. Steel dictator. // Unknown pages of history: Scientific articles, documents and materials, memoirs. The fifth book. / Responsible editor B.Khasanov and etc. - T.: Publishing house named after Gafur Ghulam, 2016. - P.133-134.

“Uzbekistan is a republic that grows cotton, this raw material is sent to industrial regions, so Uzbekistan should be supplied like industrial regions. If there is no supply of industrial regions in Uzbekistan, then we should be allowed to plant grain. Joseph Stalin repeatedly interrupted Akmal Ikramov to prevent him from speaking. A.Ikramov continued to speak calmly. Stalin interrupted him again: “Why is mechanization not being carried out?” Why weren't all cars used? Then Ikromov turns sharply to Stalin: “Comrade Stalin, let me express my opinion to the end. Will you let me talk or not? I'll tell you everything, I won't leave anything. After that, Stalin was silent until Ikromov finished speaking. I thought Ikromov would fall under Stalin's wrath”¹¹.

In order to destroy Akmal Ikramov by Stalin, starting from September 20, 1937, the personnel that he used to discredit him were fired. There are two goals in this: the first is to finish off the cadres of Akmal Ikramov, and the second is to hide the slander of Stalin and his entourage on Ikramov, that is, to frame false accusations against him with the help of Ikramov's cadres. It is for this purpose that the leaders of the Komsomol of the republic are being repressed. Among all the cases, the reason for discrediting Ikramov in the accusations against Fyodor Petrovich Tarasov, the second secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol organization of the republic, is accidentally visible.

On September 19, 1937, during the investigation of the NKVD officers, F.P.Tarasov listed the "innumerable crimes" committed by the republican Komsomol member, and indicated that the main culprits were A.Ikramov, F.Khodjaev, the main Trotskyists. The question of F.P.Tarasov was put on the agenda, and he was expelled from the ranks of the Komsomol. On the night of September 20, a search was carried out in the house of F.P.Tarasov, and he was arrested.

In the report of interrogation conducted by Gniloshekov on October 29-31, 1937, Tarasov, unable to endure torture, admitted that for 10 years there was a Trotskyist-nationalist counter-revolutionary organization in the work of the party and Komsomol and that the organization operated under the leadership of A.Ikramov, M.Shermammedov, A.Karimov, A.Tsekher takes A.Ikramov, who came to his field yard in 1936, entrusted F.P.Tarasov with counter-revolutionary tasks, and he says that he agreed to this proposal. Since then, he has been a member of the Trotskyist organization, and after that A.Ikramov opened up, equated himself with Stalin and said that he considers himself a major political figure in Shark. He also remembers that he claimed to be superior to the leaders of other union republics, including Georgia and Azerbaijan. In particular, in the summer of 1937, at A.Ikramov's dacha, I.Ortikov also mentions that he equated A.Ikromov with Stalin and talked about his youth and bright future.

Apparently, Stalin was worried about the reputation of Akmal Ikramov among the people, his determination to lead the rapid development of the republic and the fact that he would not allow his dignity to be humiliated. That is why he was forced to express Stalin's suspicions in the language of Tarasov.

Naturally, this protocol of interrogation was a complete "find" of the investigators, and logically, even a small part of this information had nothing to do with the activities of F.Tarasov. Because a

¹¹Ikramov K. Case of my father. Chronicle novel. –M.: Soviet writer, 1991. – P.155-156.//https://royallib.com/book/ikramov_kamil/delo_moego_ottsa.html.//https://royallib.com/book/ikramov_kamil/delo_moego_ottsa.html.

person who has been gone for a year cannot collect so much information, and he did not even know most of the people listed in the report personally¹².

Akmal Ikramov is a true leader of the nation with political leadership potential and qualities. Before Akmal Ikramov, 6 first secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan worked for about 2 years, and Akmal Ikramov for about 8.5 years.

On March 13, 1938, the military collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR announced its verdict following the results of a process called the Bukharin Trial, the Third Moscow Trial. Faizulla Khodzhaev and Akmal Ikramov, two historical figures who were the leaders of Uzbekistan, were sentenced to death by court order, and this sentence was carried out on the same day at the "Kommunarka" military training ground near Moscow.

However, people say that "there were no defendants at this trial, it was an artificially staged trial". Apparently, they have the truth. The fact is that the question-answer between the executioner Vyshinsky and the defendants in court was short and long, and when Faizulla Khodzhaev and Akmal Ikramov were given the last word in court, it was not that they were prisoners, but as if they were reading some then a pre-prepared speech at the request of Stalin, is proof of our opinion.

It can be seen that the economic and social transformations in Uzbekistan under the leadership of Akmal Ikramov, achievements in the field of industrialization increased the authority of Akmal Ikramov, Moscow did not like his bold behavior in negotiations with Stalin, his selfless struggle for the national interests of the Uzbek people. Stalin was also concerned that "during this withdrawal, the question of Uzbekistan's withdrawal from the union as an independent country may be raised." Of course, the existence of such a national political leader as Akmal Ikramov was dangerous for Stalin. Akmal Ikramov became a victim not only of the totalitarian Soviet regime, but also of national patriotism and self-sacrifice for his people, who at one time had the potential for great political leadership.

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