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ELECTION POLICY OF SOVIET LEADERS IN UZBEKISTAN BASED ON PARTY NOMENCLATURE REQUIREMENTS (1925-1941)

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ABSTRACT: This article scientifically analyzes the formation, mechanism of action and socio-political consequences of the party nomenclature system introduced by the Soviet authorities in Uzbekistan in 1925-1940 for the selection and appointment of leading personnel. The article reveals the discrepancies between official slogans and current policy on the issue of training local national personnel and promoting them to leadership positions. In particular, the nomenclature system ensures constant control of the center over the republican governing bodies, limits the independence of personnel, and weakens the initiative. The study argues that in the conditions of a centralized management model, personnel policy was mainly conducted based on the criteria of ideological loyalty, class approach and party discipline.

Keywords: leading personnel, nomenclature, state apparatus, authoritarian, party, center, administrative-command, social life, industrialization, local staff, employee, apparatus, communist ideology, communist morality, chauvinism, authoritarian regime

Introduction. In Uzbekistan in 1925-1940, the process of formation of leading personnel was carried out within the framework of the all-Union personnel policy, which was mainly based on the criteria of party loyalty, class origin and ideological stability. Factors such as professional qualifications, management experience, and knowledge of local conditions were often relegated to second place. As a result, a layer of personnel dependent on the center and with limited ability to make independent **decisions was formed in the republic's management system**.

Analysis of literature on the topic. During the implementation of this research, the scientific and educational heritage of political and public figures and economic leaders who worked in the party-soviet management system in Uzbekistan in the 1920s-1940s was studied as an important source. In particular, reports, speeches, articles and brochures made by leading figures of the time such as T.Riskulov, F.Khojayev, A.Ikromov, Y.Okhunboboev reflected important ideas and views on personnel policy, socio-economic reforms and management practice. In these sources, a number of comments on the process of training, placement and formation of control mechanisms of leading personnel in the republic are stated.

Also, the scientific research carried out during the period of independence is of great importance in comprehensively covering this problem. For example, in the works of scientists such as R.Murtazayeva, B.Khasanov, Q.Q.Quranboyev, B.Khasanov, Y.Ergasheva, R.Bazarbayev, S.Tursunov, O.Rashidov, D.A.Iymanova, the stages of formation and development of the Soviet

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management system in Uzbekistan, its ideological foundations and the essence of the mechanism of centralized power were scientifically analyzed. Aspects such as the establishment of single-party rule, the transformation of the state nomenclature into an institutional system, the priority of ideological criteria in personnel policy, and the centralization of the decision-making process within a narrow party are widely covered in these studies. At the same time, the socio-political status of local leaders, their subjugation to the central policy, the limitation of initiative opportunities and the strengthening of formalism in management activities are scientifically justified.

Research methodology. From the first years, it was considered a serious task for the Soviet state to form regional managers who shared the ideas of the communist society, adapted them, and at the same time provided them with qualified personnel. Special attention was paid to the loyalty of the cadres selected from the local population to the decisions and orders of the ruling political power. As a result, the central administrative apparatus of the state had to settle accounts with the representatives of the party-state nomenclature in the regions.

If we look at the history of Uzbekistan from 1925 to 1940, the border of this period was politically, socio-economically complex, new rules and working methods were introduced in accordance with the requirements of the new system in various areas of state and community life, and these processes were also reflected in the personnel policy of the ruling period. During this period, the policy of selecting and training Soviet leaders based on the requirements of the party nomenclature was widely implemented in Uzbekistan.

Party-state nomenclature was formed in the Soviet personnel policy [1]. The nomenclature is a list of the main positions and positions and candidates for them, which began to be compiled in 1919. In the same year, a special department for recruiting and distributing communist cadres was established in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Communist Party of Ukraine (b) [2]. They created a mechanism for accounting, distribution, and training of personnel. This department was involved 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. The ruling class, that is, the nomenklatura, strove to monopolize the power, not the educational qualifications and material needs of the cadres. After the revolution, the "old" state apparatus of the regime was already showing its inefficiency. Some positions went to workers, peasants and soldiers. The Soviet Union needed leaders who could solve specific issues of territorial development or establishing production. This trend was evident in Stalin's policies and speeches.

In the period of this study, theoretician and creator of the nomenclature was I.V.Stalin, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). At the 12th Congress of the Communist Party (b) (April 1923), Stalin put forward the idea of introducing communists into all levels of government. After that, on November 8, 1923, the Central Committee of the RKP (b) made a decision to select personnel and place them in responsible positions. Stalin developed the nomenklatura system and organized it as the patronage system of the party. By the decision of the Central Committee, the lists of nomenclature in various fields were approved. The 1st list of the nomenclature includes members of the leadership, presidium and collegiums of the USSR Central Committee of the USSR and the USSR MIK, BMIK, heads of the VSSPS and trusts, syndicates, heads of the VSNX department, and they were approved by the special commission of the Central

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Committee of the RKP (b). The 2nd list includes the deputies of the above main positions, and the 3rd list includes the leading personnel in the republic and localities[3].

During the time of I.V.Stalin, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party was the highest authority in the country, and considered many big and small issues related to all aspects of the development of the state and society, high-level personnel implementing party policy in the party, state, Komsomol, trade unions, military, economy and other fields [4]. At the 18th session of the VKP(b), Stalin said: "The goal is to completely capture the work of selecting personnel from the bottom up and raise it to the appropriate, scientific and Bolshevik level. For this, it is necessary to stop dividing the study, conduct and selection of personnel into different departments and sectors and collect them in one place. Such places are the personnel department of the SK VKP(b) and personnel in each republican, regional and district party organization. there should be a section" [5].

I.V.Stalin: "The main strength of the party is in its personnel policy. Through the nomenclature, the party controls the selection and placement of leading personnel. This ensures the leadership role of the party" [6] and accelerated the practice of strengthening the nomenclature system. The establishment of the institution of nomenclature is closely related to the way of "continuous strengthening of the influence of the party in the state apparatus", which was considered not only as a way to further monopolize the management of personnel, but also to change their social characteristics.

I.V.Stalin: "The leading role of the party should not only be in giving instructions, but also in appointing to certain positions personnel who can understand our instructions and carry them out correctly. There is no need to sit around proving that there is no impassable boundary between the political work of the center and the organizational work. One of you is showing a good political path." as soon as you say that it is enough, the staff should be chosen in such a way that there are workers who can accept these instructions as their own, otherwise the policy will lose its meaning and become a handshake" [7], "Any leader should work under the control of the party. These goals also depended on the policy of selecting and training Soviet leaders in Uzbekistan based on the requirements of the party nomenclature. Loyalty to the party path and policy of the candidates included in the nomenclature is the main criterion, and this situation is checked by the employees of the security services (GPU and OGPU) [9]. Even during the Soviet period, which was based on administrative-command, totalitarian-authoritarian regime and nomenclature system, communist ideas were instilled in the upper and lower levels, and at the same time, patriotic, scientific, humble and honest leading personnel also carried out significant activities. The main issue seems to be the importance of their contribution in the politics of the time, the extent to which national leaders can influence the socio-economic life, the effectiveness of the policy of selecting, training, and deploying national personnel, and the extent to which they can change society.

In terms of nomenclature requirements, the Soviet authorities constantly filled up personnel on the basis of promotion from lower to higher positions, that is, recruitment. Candidates are included in the nomenclature based on their party seniority. At the same time, the professional competence of the personnel was also taken into account. Because in people's commissariats such as finance, education, and health care, the professional knowledge and competence of the personnel was the main place. Therefore, workers, peasants, and service communists who entered the nomenklatura had to study in party education and were trained in short courses. All students studying in Soviet universities were included in the nomenclature list.

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In the years when the Soviet government was established, lessons were learned from the difficulties, problems, and mistakes in personnel policy, selection, training, and placement. The USSR consisted of a single state system embodying the power of the workers and peasants of the Soviets. Stalin described the working class as the "troops" of the party. The party led the activities of the Supreme Soviet at all stages. All laws and decisions were prepared by the party authorities and written under their instructions. In the sessions of the Supreme Soviet, they were confirmed as Sunni in name only. The Supreme body of the Union state was, at first, the All-Union Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, and later the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which were considered the main "legislative" and executive bodies. In the USSR, the Communist Party under the leadership of Stalin, under the pretext of promoting young cadres, along with the practice of purging people with different oppositional views, gave positions to cadres, middle and lower ranks, who were subordinate to them, who behaved like "we will do everything" no matter what they were told.

The right of Uzbekistan is equated with the right of regions or autonomous republics within the RSFSR. The appointment or removal of senior personnel was decided from the center. At all stages, the party considered the issue of personnel as the most important link in the implementation of its leadership role in the state and society, economy, and the army. The term "dictatorship of the proletariat" by itself denied the supremacy of rights and expressed a system with a revolutionary appearance. Although the constitution of that time emphasized the equality of citizens, this equality did not apply to civil servants. Having a party ticket was one of the decisive factors for obtaining a position in the state apparatus and moving up the ranks of positions [10].

In order not to be separated from the positions of the cadres assigned to leadership based on the demand of the nomenclature, he fully complied with all the instructions of the party. The appointment and approval of the leading personnel of the candidates for state positions was within the authority of the party's primary and higher organizations. Since this authority has been secret since 1925, the decisions to be made regarding training, discussion and appointment of personnel have also been secret. The personal profile of the candidate to be appointed to the position is kept very secret, almost completely closed. It can be explained by the fact that the information provided by the special security agencies is crucial in most cases. Because the candidates were checked by special security agencies according to the loyalty to revolutionary and communist ideas, as well as other parameters that should be studied in secret, such as classism. I.V.Stalin "First of all, the leading personnel must be politically loyal and reliable. They must not deviate from the party's path and not violate the party's discipline" [11].

The clear view of the Soviet cadres is that they serve the policies of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, and are formed as promoters of their ideas. The main reason for the formation of the Uzbek political elite in this spirit is, undoubtedly, the policy of promotion from the bottom to leadership positions and nomenclature used by the Communist Party in terms of personnel. 1925 In the early years of the establishment of the CP(b) of Uzbekistan, there were about 20,000 communists in its composition, consisting of Uzbeks-42.16%, Russians-40.43%, Tatars-3.53%, Kazakhs-1.45%, Tajiks-3.42%, Kyrgyz-1.02%, Karakalpaks-0.01% and others [12]. The Communist Party determined the position of the cadres working in the system of republican Soviet administration and constantly strengthened its influence. The Communist Party, which included many communists, practically took power in the republic at this time.

I.V.Stalin "Loyalty alone is not enough when choosing personnel. The leader must be knowledgeable, organized, and proactive. Loyalty and knowledge together determine the value of

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personnel" [13]. The Bolsheviks wanted every employee to show loyalty to the party, and cadres who deviated from it were severely punished[14]. Due to the actions and controls of the state apparatus and party workers, the personnel serving in the interest of the country and the people are constantly under suspicion[15]. From the information mentioned above, it can be seen that although local personnel occupied the first and second leadership positions in the central management bodies, the weight of local employees in the state structure was very low. It was not easy to meet the above requirements.

The UzKP (b) and its apparatus left a conflicting and problematic mark on the entire socio-political life of the republic, which actually flowed in the direction determined by the Center. In the congresses of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan (nine congresses were held in 1925-1940) and plenums of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, the socio-economic, socio-political and cultural development strategy of the republic was determined on the basis of the main path set by the Communist Party of Uzbekistan (b), in which the path aimed at strengthening the communist regime, accelerating socialist construction, and strengthening relations and cooperation with the allied republics was expressed. Under the pressure of the party apparatus, the state bodies and public organizations became the simple executors of the party's decisions. The behavior, behavior, way of thinking, and goals of each leader were defined by the so-called "communist ideology" or "communist ethics", and it was forbidden to deviate from them thinking or having a point of view in a way that does not correspond to the ideology was considered abnormal, and the activity and efforts of that person were evaluated accordingly[16].

Party activists selected cadres based on the following principles: first, the cadre must be communist; secondly, the staff's fanatical loyalty to the system and high level of organizational skills; thirdly, the ability to think "dialectically"; fourth, initiative in work; fifthly, discipline, i.e. the principles of loyalty to party ideals, had to be seen. All spheres of economy, politics, culture fell under the grip of party and state nomenclature. Decisions made by the ruling party within a narrow framework were binding for the country. Officially announced democratic processes, creative discussions, discussions, search for ways of agreement were practically stopped. Soviets and public organizations became passive executors of directives from above. It became impossible to make any decision without the bodies of the ruling party. Akmal Ikromov, Fayzulla Khojayev and several other local leaders were found to be lacking in the selection, training and placement of personnel, according to archival documents. One of their major shortcomings at that time was that they placed local national cadres in the administrative bodies of the district executive committees. For this reason, the Soviet authorities dismissed 78 national cadres appointed by them. 33 of them were arrested as enemies of the people [17]. The original goal of regular pressure on the fate and morale of local leaders was to make them obedient, duty-bound, and "paralyzed" in terms of their freedom. Qualified local leaders were not satisfactorily staffed[18]. In particular, constant ideological pressure on local leaders, keeping them under constant fear and persecution, or taking them under difficult conditions, restricting and restricting personal freedom - these were the characteristic features of the official ruling policy carried out by the oppressors of the nation.

The Uzbek political elite was formed on the basis of promotion from the bottom up, that is, recruitment and nomenclature, as in the USSR. In terms of personnel, the Soviet government, while applying the policy of promotion from the ranks of workers and peasants to leadership positions, firstly, did not create sufficient conditions for the candidates to work, and secondly, the candidates did not meet the requirements. The majority of farmers and workers who were promoted to leadership positions did not have the necessary skills and knowledge. That is why there was a high level of unemployment among the employees who were promoted from the bottom to the leadership position

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due to their inability to take responsibility. Institutions of higher education, such as the Institute of Red Professors, the Communist Academy, and Party History, were established to educate peasants and workers, as well as those appointed to leadership positions based on the nomenclature, in the spirit of Marxian-Leninist ideas. Also, labor training faculties and various training courses were opened for the training of working personnel. These courses and higher education institutions have produced personnel who are committed to the communist idea and implement the party's policy in most cases without discussing it[19]. Central Asian courses for the training of economic workers and directors were organized in Uzbekistan. These courses accepted "male and female workers of local nationalities, with 5 years of production, 3 years of party experience, as well as those with at least 2 years of experience in the special field in which they work or for promotion from the bottom up" [20].

The party did not pay enough attention to the selection and training of local leaders in organizations [21]. I.V.Stalin said in his speeches, "I think that every trust and enterprise based on economic calculations should be responsible for their work and at the same time be fully responsible. The administration employees who worked there are also fully responsible for the safety of their enterprises. If they cannot achieve this, they should be held accountable and all members of the board should be punished with a long prison sentence" noted [22].

In summary, after the establishment of the Uzbekistan SSR, its management system was formed. As a result of the operation of the nomenclature system in political management and personnel matters, all organizations were fully under the control of the Communist Party. All tasks of the center were carried out in the republic. This situation was carried out together with extremely difficult conditions such as political repression. In the period of 1925-1940, when the Soviet state, its totalitarian and authoritarian regime fully controlled all aspects of social life, during the unlimited monopoly of the party apparatus and bureaucracy, there was no question of reforming the social and cultural aspects of the life of the people of Uzbekistan. It was not possible, the national leaders had enough knowledge, skills, and skills regarding the reforms of our country, unfortunately, they had to submit to the strict system, otherwise their lives and families would be in danger. In the 1925-1940s of the 20th century, the independent thinking cadres with their own opinions regarding the personnel policy implemented in Uzbekistan were lost in various ways, and the first generation of the new Soviet cadres was formed.

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