

DURING THE INITIAL PHASE OF THE ATTACK MOVEMENT, THERE WERE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN THE REPUBLIC

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ANNOTATION

The "attack" movement, which began in the second half of the 20th century, aimed to liberate Uzbek women and girls from oppression and darkness, symbolized by the forced veiling. In the context of Turkestan's conditions, this socially and politically complex issue was implemented by the ruling party without considering local customs and traditions, without any consultation or voting. This resulted in many negative consequences in the country's life. The pre-attack period was neither prosperous nor satisfactory. This study focuses on the social and political situation in the country during the "attack" movement, which took place in Central Asian countries.

Keywords: "Attack," October Revolution, Central Asia, Soviet government, Central Propaganda Committee, forced veiling, collectivization, land and water reforms, Fayzulla Khodzhayev, Abdurauf Fitrat, Abdulhamid Cho'lpon, Abdulla Avloni, Siberia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, clubs, shops, vocational courses, Aid Al adha, fasting, Nawruz, spiritual development, Tojixon Shodiyeva, Sobira Khodjorova, personality.

If the "attack" movement was officially launched on March 8, 1927, significant preparations were made to enter into the campaign. Therefore, issues related to the implementation of the party's policies were discussed in meetings of party committees, town unions, women's and peasants' assemblies, as well as in Komsomol organizations. The issue of women has always been a complex matter in the history of humanity¹. During the second half of the 20th century, the Bolsheviks tackled the complex social and political issues that affected the fate of millions of women in Turkestan. The lives of Turkestan women were traditionally built on Islamic principles and customs, but during the Soviet era, these religious authorities and traditions were suppressed and labeled as "superstitions." The respect and honor attributed to our traditions and national women were completely forgotten once the Soviet government was established. Instead, women were expected to be raised as individuals who only considered their families, not as active participants in society's social and political life on an equal basis with men. After the October Revolution, the Soviet state enacted a series of laws and regulations aimed at ensuring equal rights for women in Turkestan. However, it would be a mistake to say that these issues only interested society during the Soviet era. At the beginning of the 20th century, within the framework of national progressive movements that emerged in Uzbekistan, the issue of women's equality with men and their role in social life was already gaining prominence².

¹ Alimova D. A. Golovanov Compiled A. A. During the period of the Uzbek Muslim Soviet regime: the consequences of political and ideological repression. Tashkent, 2000. p.161.

² New history of Uzbekistan. Book 2 during the Soviet colonial period. Tashkent, 2000. p.487

The unique characteristics and cultural traditions of local regions were not taken into account in the implementation of Soviet policies. This is evident in the case of Uzbekistan's rural economy during the 1920s. These circumstances led to its deterioration. "In general, between 1925 and 1926, more than 45 thousand individual households of large and wealthy peasants were completely abolished. Many farms were divided into smaller plots. Some of these lands were given to landless or small landholding peasants. As a result, the number of rich and influential households decreased from 76% before the reforms to 39% after the reforms. Their decline in status and financial weakness became evident through the decline in their production indicators. In order to implement the collectivization policy in rural areas, the Uzbekistan Party, Soviet government, youth organizations, women's and girls' organizations, and other public organizations made extensive efforts.

The central government and local authorities, who were blindly following the orders and instructions, had great confidence in implementing the policy without listening to the concerns of the villagers. They forcefully introduced many peasants to collective farms, particularly during the first half of 1929 and the beginning of 1930. The increased control of the government over local administration caused dissatisfaction among the population, leading to various protests and movements. Many rural districts were forced to take measures to reconcile the situation. The republic faced significant challenges in terms of providing the required resources for large-scale grain production. As a result, without the consent or rights, thousands of peasants, along with their families, were forcibly relocated to distant regions such as Siberia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, or newly established collective farms. Many of them were sent to inhospitable places, where they faced harsh conditions, lack of basic necessities, and various diseases without proper medical care. Thousands of rural families anticipated the dangers ahead and voluntarily left their sacred homeland, heading to distant foreign lands. For many years, they lived as migrant workers, struggling to survive. The intense pressure, economic terror, and implementation of harsh measures led to the rapid development of collective farming, but at the expense of the suffering of the people. During this period, the consolidation of collective farms mainly targeted the cotton-growing regions, increasing the area of cultivated land from 530 hectares in 1929 to 928 thousand hectares in 1932³. As part of this process, the relocation of women and girls was also planned. The land and water reforms played a crucial role in the fight for gender equality because before these reforms, women and girls were deprived of the right to own land. The land and water reforms not only recognized women's economic rights but also challenged patriarchal norms and customs. The practice of obtaining water rights through marriage was abolished. As a result, more than 500 Uzbek women became landowners, equipped with agricultural tools. However, these developments, as mentioned earlier, slowly attracted the attention of the Soviet government, which was focused on initiating and accelerating the "attack" movement. Thus, the Soviet authorities initiated the "attack" movement, which brought about significant social, economic, and political changes in the fate of thousands of Muslim individuals. This situation and the period left an indelible mark on the Uzbek people. In 1927, mass rallies began on March 8th, where they celebrated the elimination of veils for over 100 thousand women and girls.

³ "New history of Uzbekistan", Book 2 during the Soviet colonial period. Tashkent, 2000. p.485

During the "attack" period, women and girls were actively involved in social, political, and cultural life, demanding the opening of nurseries, clubs, schools, dispensaries, and counseling centers. They began demanding swift actions from the judicial authorities to hold accountable those responsible for humiliating women who did not wear the veil. The "attack" movement was based on centuries-old Islamic principles and traditions of Uzbek women's lives. However, with the establishment of the Soviet government, their traditions and concepts of modesty were challenged, and it took time for them to adapt to new norms and understand the purpose behind empowering women. From this perspective, various questions can arise. The Uzbek people viewed starting the "attack" movement as a means to achieve liberation, specifically for Uzbek women. Indeed, it was necessary. However, the chosen path by the Bolsheviks did not align with our mentality and needed to be approached more gradually and carefully⁴.

All of these measures were carried out with consideration for the unique characteristics of Uzbek women and girls, in line with national traditions. At that time, no one discussed removing the veil. Efforts were made to promote a more respectful approach. Women achieved significant successes in terms of creativity and community work. Surprisingly, the totalitarian regime was not satisfied with the gradual progress in this regard. In order to expedite the process artificially, the "attack" campaign was launched in the spring of 1927, with an emphasis on mandatory participation. The Bolsheviks did not fully consider the spiritual aspects and completely disregarded Islamic values in their approach. However, it was not socially acceptable for women and girls to go without veils. Neither the party officials nor the ordinary people were prepared for this.

Under pressure from the party authorities, leaders were forced to bring their own wives to places where veils were prohibited and persuade them to remove their veils. During the "attack" campaign, the Bolsheviks forcibly removed veils from hundreds of thousands of women. However, they did not anticipate the negative consequences of rushing this process. Persecution began against women who opposed the "attack" movement. In 1927-1928, more than 2,500 women in Uzbekistan lost their lives.

Liberating women from oppression could not be accomplished in such a hasty manner. For this, it was necessary to first create appropriate conditions and gradually implement changes within the framework of our Uzbek identity. Initially, it was essential to raise awareness among members of society, especially intellectuals, through educational means. Prominent figures of our modern era, such as Fayzulla Khodzhayev, Abdurauf Fitrat, Abdulhamid Cho'lpon, and Abdulla Avloniy, had set their sights on addressing this issue. In pursuit of this goal, women's departments were established at the republican, regional, district, city, and lower-level organizations, ensuring that correct actions were taken overall. The focus was not only on removing veils but also on opening special clubs, shops, and vocational courses for women and girls. As a result of these various initiatives, women began to contribute to beneficial social work and community efforts, and they gradually achieved many successes. Unfortunately, some of the initial achievements, especially women's access to public spaces while wearing veils, were not sustained, and they faced criticism.

⁴ Zhurayev. N, Karimov. History of Uzbekistan, (during the Soviet colonial period). Tashkent. 2011.p.524

"In addition, this seasonal movement also led to an increase in negative consequences. Serious mistakes and shortcomings were made during this process, which violated the modern norms of Uzbek women's Eastern etiquette and manners. The disruption of these values in the delicate realm resulted in many unfavorable incidents in real life. Most notably, many women who actively participated in the "attack" movement, fully dedicating themselves to socialist activities and adhering to the false promises of the party, later became victims of Stalinist repressions. Examples include Tojikhon Shodiyeva, Sobira Kholdorova, and Khosiyat, who faced unjust and dangerous fates. Many women and girls lost their lives in various locations. Looking at the statistics of 1928, it becomes apparent. Many women and girls lost their lives in various locations. It is sufficient to consider the statistics of 1928. Well, did removing the veil bring positive outcomes for women or the opposite? Some women opposed this movement, while others embraced it with satisfaction. Open visibility and equal rights with men were their contemporary aspirations. It should be emphasized that this movement was implemented with the administrative pressure and compulsory methods that oppressed all women, disregarding their individual choices. As a result, all women who opposed it were marginalized.

Forcing the removal of veils was accompanied by the repression of religious leaders and the complete restriction of religious practices. Sacrificial feasts, fasting, and celebrations of our traditions were abolished and restricted. Educational materials were produced to educate children in boarding schools with a secular focus. In conclusion, the Soviet government and the Communist Party considered Islam as their main rival and engaged in relentless battles against it. According to Uzbek literature and art magazines, from 1929 to 1939, it is noted that only in Turkistan, thousands of mosques and madrasahs were closed down or destroyed, religious leaders, imams, and other religious figures were repressed, as they also opposed the removal of veils"⁵.

Women and girls were prohibited from wearing veils. Consequently, they were also perceived by the Soviet government as enemies, and even some of them were labeled as hostile enemies. Even before the start of the "attack" movement, the social, economic, and political life was already tightly restricted. Those who actively participated in this movement not only aimed to remove veils but also engaged in various activities to expedite the process through social, economic, and political influences.

In summary, the "attack" movement, which began on December 8, 1927, was a well-prepared and premeditated campaign. Even before the movement started, there were discussions about removing veils, which also affected men. Women's activities were observed in all areas of life. They worked for their families and were obliged to do so during that period. This allowed the Soviets to achieve their goals. As mentioned earlier, the reasons for their actions were also influenced by the start of the "attack" movement. They chose this path to fulfill their objectives and address women's issues. In 1927, the Uzbek Communist Party assigned the "attack" organization, which served as an example, to have women remove their veils, and the party conducted activities to clean up this tradition. Those who did not force their wives to remove veils, during the subsequent investigation within the party ranks, some responsible officials, even after the Soviet government was established, provided large sums of money as

⁵ Murtazayeva. R. X. - History of Uzbekistan. Tashkent. Academia. 2010. p.366

compensation for the dowries they received, indicating their involvement in polygamy. At that time, no one discussed removing the veil. Efforts were made to promote a more respectful approach. Women achieved significant successes in terms of creativity and community work.

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