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POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION IN UZBEKISTAN ON THE EVE OF INDEPENDENCE

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Abstract: The article examines the general picture that has developed in the political and socio-economic sphere in Uzbekistan under the conditions of the dominance of the command-administrative system of government inherent in the Union State with a predominance of communist ideology. An objective assessment of the negative consequences of such methods of governing the state is given, which included fifteen union republics. On the example of Uzbekistan, the real situation in the republic is revealed, when, according to the residual principle, the negative consequences arising in the political and socio-economic life of the Uzbek people were considered.

Special attention is focused on the situation in Uzbekistan at the stage before the republic gained political independence. At the same time, the political game of the central governing bodies of the Union State is considered, which wanted to divert public attention from the real problems in the country associated with the activities of the CPSU. For this, the fabricated so-called "Uzbek case" was used, while accusing the party leadership of the republican level of corruption, thereby deflecting accusatory claims from the central government bodies.

In addition, the article, on the basis of the policy of perestroika, glasnost and democracy proclaimed by the center, reveals the real political and socio-economic situation with the negative consequences of the prevailing situation in Uzbekistan, which threatened the growth of anarchy and lawlessness. To withdraw the republic from a critical situation, the official leadership of the republic took decisive actions to withdraw Uzbekistan from the USSR and gain political independence. All these points in a logical sequence, based on documentary sources, are reflected in the article below.

Key words: politics, command, administrative, ideology, communist, council, socialism, economy, independence, Uzbekistan, centralized, democracy, party, multinational, people.

摘要：本文考察了在以共产主义意识形态为主导的联盟国家固有的命令-行政管理体制占主导地位的条件下，乌兹别克斯坦政治和社会经济领域发展的总体情况。对这种治理国家的方法的负面后果进行了客观评估，其中包括 15 个加盟共和国。以乌兹别克斯坦为例，当根据剩余原则考虑乌兹别克斯坦人民政治和社会经济生活中产生的负面后果时，揭示了共和国的真实情况。

特别关注乌兹别克斯坦共和国获得政治独立前阶段的局势。同时，考虑了联盟国家中央管理机构的政治游戏，它希望将公众的注意力从与苏共活动相关的国家实际问题上转移开。为此

Received: September 16, 2021 / Revised: October 11, 2021 / Accepted: October 29, 2021 / Published: November 22, 2021

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· 使用捏造的所谓“乌兹别克斯坦案”，同时指责共产党领导层共和腐败，从而转移了中央政府机构的指控。

此外，文章在中央宣布的改革、公开和民主政策的基础上，揭示了乌兹别克斯坦当前局势的负面影响的真实政治和社会经济形势，这种形势威胁到无政府状态和无法无天。为了使共和国摆脱危急局面，共和国官方领导人采取果断行动，将乌兹别克斯坦从苏联撤出并获得政治独立。根据文献资料，所有这些按逻辑顺序排列的要点都反映在下面的文章中。

关键词：政治、指挥、行政、意识形态、共产主义、议会、社会主义、经济、独立、乌兹别克斯坦、中央集权、民主、政党、多国、人民。

INTRODUCTION

The history of the Uzbek people and its statehood has a centuries-old history of its political and socio-economic development, accompanied by periods of rise and fall. But its history in the twentieth century is full of especially dramatic events. It was a period when, within the framework of the single Soviet Union, a centralized system of government dominated all internal and external affairs of the state, which united 15 sovereign union republics, including Uzbekistan.

Formed in the late 1920s and early 1930s, the administrative-command methods of management in the Union State survived until the collapse of the USSR. If at the initial stage of its existence this system, used by the pressure method, through force, during the war years and in the recovery period, gave a positive effect, then already from the end of the 50s, socio-economic progress began to slow down. The reason for this was that the country's economy, by inertia, continued to develop according to the old methods - the methods of extensive development. At the same time, the country's central leadership, headed by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, did not perceive the need to transfer the country's economic

development to an intensive method based on the principles of a market economy. As a result, the attempts to implement cosmetic reforms in the field of economic development, begun in the 60s and 70s, did not lead to the expected results. Since the political situation remained unchanged and impeded economic reforms. Ultimately, this led the country to stagnation. The crisis situation in the political and socio-economic life of society began to manifest itself more and more clearly, especially at the republican level. It was more and more clearly reflected in the emerging situation in Uzbekistan, in spite of its natural resource wealth and intellectual potential.

The reason for the emergence of a crisis situation in the political and socio-economic life of Soviet society was the inability to give a real assessment of the situation in the entire country. Introduced in the late 1960s into scientific and political life, the concept of "developed socialism" was the result of a serious theoretical error in determining the degree of socio-economic development. A biased assessment of the state of Soviet society led to a definition that did not correspond to the strategic and tactical tasks of real life. Overestimation of the achieved successes, the pursuit of indicators, reluctance to see

shortcomings and similar omissions began to take root in the life of the country.

As a result of the continued command-and-control method of governing the country, signs of a crisis began to appear in the economic development of Uzbekistan, as well as throughout the country as a whole. According to official figures, the average annual growth in national income fell from 7.8% in 1960-1965. up to 3.3% in 1981-1985. Growth rates of per capita income in 1965-1985 decreased by 7 times. In addition, very serious mistakes were made in the economy, in the use of materials and energy in the transition to intensive production methods. Instead of conserving material resources, they were mercilessly exploited. The coefficient of socially useful labor has decreased.

An extraordinary situation in Uzbekistan also developed in agricultural production. The reason for this was a decrease in interest in the results of their labor among rural workers. So, for example, by the "order of the Center", the volume of growing raw cotton increased year after year, but the population received a meager profit from its sale. If in the villages of Russia the monthly income of each family member was 98.1 rubles, then in Uzbekistan it was only 58.9 rubles [2]. In terms of the standard of living of the population, Uzbekistan ranked last among the republics of the USSR.

The crisis situation in the field of economics has led to the emergence of a similar situation in the social sphere, both throughout the country and in the republics separately. In particular, the funds allocated by the center for the social needs of Uzbekistan were carried out on a leftover principle, and the desire for equalization in distribution increased social injustice. It boomerang reflected in the social sphere, leading to tension, exacerbation of interethnic relations,

widespread alcoholism, drug addiction, speculation, bribery, corruption and similar vices. So, for example, the number of patients with alcoholism and alcoholic psychosis per 100,000 population as of 1987 in the USSR was 1628, in the Uzbek SSR - 452 and, accordingly, patients with drug addiction and substance abuse in the USSR were 21.5, and in the Uzbek SSR - 20.8 registered in medical institutions [1].

The lack of a rational approach to the social issue, as well as a systematic approach to stimulating labor, led to increased tensions. In many cases, the remuneration for skilled labor has declined. An engineer, a worker, a doctor received almost the same salary. As a result, people's interest in work disappeared and their activity decreased, and this, in turn, became the reason for a decrease in labor productivity. This situation has led to a shortage of products in the country for many years.

The health care and public education sectors were also in decline. Funds allocated from the state budget continued to decline. This, in turn, led to the obsolescence of the material and technical base, as well as a deterioration in the quality of medical services for the population and education. Lack of space for kindergartens, schools, theaters and cinemas has become commonplace. For example, in 1985, due to the lack of school premises, two-thirds of the students studied in the second or even third shift. 32% of general education schools were not provided with piped water, 60% - with a central heating system. In the social life of Uzbekistan, anonymous letters, slander, criticism with the aim of revenge are widespread. This led to the formation of an unhealthy socio-psychological climate, both in the republic and throughout the country.

Despite the multinational composition of Uzbekistan, where at all times the spirit of humanism and tolerance, as well as interethnic harmony, prevailed, due to the exacerbation of social tension throughout the country, problems began to appear in interethnic relations. Employees of ministries and departments did not always take into account the need to take into account national characteristics and customs, environmental conditions. The unemployed began to appear in many regions. In the Fergana Valley alone there were more than 200 thousand unemployed boys and girls.

The central bodies of Soviet power did not take into account the changes taking place in society, and did not make a timely deep analysis of social processes, in particular, an increase in interest in the history and spiritual culture of the national people, in their traditions and customs. This process was especially intensified where the ratio of the national composition of the population changed. The problems of preserving the national language, traditions and customs were aggravated. Uzbekistan turned out to be one of such regions.

Administrative-command methods of management in the leadership of the state and the Communist Party, the policy of artificial rapprochement of nations led to ignoring the rights of national republics and other national structures, to the threat of social instability, and preconditions for aggravating relations between the republics appeared.

As you can see, by the mid-1980s, the invisible part of the "iceberg" of the political and socio-economic basis of the system of Soviet society began to surface. Due to the permanent drop in economic indicators, the planned five-year plans for the development of the national economy, both at the level of the entire country and at the

republican level, were not implemented, which clearly indicated the impending economic crisis. At the same time, in order to get out of the current situation, the economic mechanism was experimentally changed on the go by inertia. Against the general background of the changes taking place throughout the country, in Uzbekistan many production teams were transferred to self-financing or brigade (collective) contracts. However, such scientifically unsubstantiated methods of socio-economic transformations did not and could not give positive changes. The root of the main reasons for this lay in:

- firstly, in the still persisting totalitarian system with well-established administrative-command methods of management;
- secondly, in the fact that many decisive sectors of the economy were subordinate to the union, bypassing the system of government of the republic and deductions to the republican budget;
- thirdly, in the absence of direct economic dependence of the producer on the consumer.

All this taken together led Uzbekistan, as well as other union republics, and the country as a whole, to that period of economic stagnation, in which it was acutely felt that the system had already exhausted its possibilities in the further development of the economy using the previous methods.

Realistically assessing and realizing all the complexity of the situation in the country, the central authorities of the USSR made every attempt to equalize the situation. In particular, to strengthen the role of centralized government of the country, a new Constitution of the USSR was adopted in 1977. In the new format of the Basic Law of the country, Article 6 was introduced, proclaiming the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the leading and guiding force of Soviet

society, the core of its political system. The third article of the Constitution also received its birth, which stated that the principle of democratic centralism is the basis for organizing the activities of the Soviet state [3]. All this meant that any violation of the party line at the republican level could be assessed as anti-party, anti-Soviet and anti-state activity.

A new stage in attempts to radically change the political and socio-economic situation, associated with the coming to power in the country in 1985, the seventh leader of the Soviet state - M.S. Gorbachev. The beginning of the stage of perestroika, acceleration, glasnost and democracy is associated with his name.

The pre-crisis state of society in which the country found itself forced the new "leader" of the USSR to look for ways to renew it. The modernization of the system was started without changing the model of social development. The complex of reforms and the processes associated with them are called "perestroika". The essence of the perestroika changes manifested itself, first of all, in the proclamation of a new political thinking, in which first the foreign and then the domestic policy in the country was revised from the class prism of vision to the prism of universal human interests.

The first stage of the perestroika processes in the country's domestic policy began in the spring of 1985 with an attempt to "accelerate" the pace of socio-economic development. However, the lack of expected results prompted the transition to the second stage of economic reforms. It began in the summer of 1987. It was associated with the transition from predominantly administrative methods of leadership to economic ones, with the democratization of public life. However, these transformations were notable for half-heartedness, compromises between ideas about

the socialist economic system and new approaches. The third stage began in 1988, when the question of changing the political system of society was first raised. The main reason for the failure of the reforms was called the "braking mechanism", the resistance of the administrative-command apparatus.

Despite the measures taken, the situation on a national scale and, especially at the republican level, remained critical. In particular, the average annual gross product decreased in Uzbekistan from 3.4% in 1981-1985. up to 2.75% in 1986-1990 [4]. The rate of growth of labor productivity has decreased, the indicators of the use of fixed production assets have worsened. It was only possible to expand the cooperative form of ownership, cooperatives became the harbingers of entrepreneurship. The situation in the agar sector also remained critical. The administrative-command activity of the Central Committee of the CPSU, subjected Uzbekistan to specialization in the development of cotton monoculture in a single system of the "national economic complex" of the country. This policy was carried out without taking into account the potential economic opportunities of the republic with its rich natural resources. This led to the fact that the economy of Uzbekistan was formed as a hypertrophied raw material. The consequence of all this was that in terms of the growth rate of the national income produced and, accordingly, the social security of the family, Uzbekistan occupied only 12th place among the fifteen union republics.

The profoundly ill-considered actions of the central authorities led not only to stagnation of the economy, to a drop in the living standards of workers, but also to another terrible disaster, to an ecological catastrophe, the most striking

manifestation of which was the tragedy of the Aral Sea.

By the mid-1980s, the situation throughout the Soviet space was becoming more and more critical. The political and socio-economic crisis that gripped the Union State forced the leadership of the central authorities to look for a way out of this situation. The previously adopted marathon measures aimed at improving the political and socio-economic situation began to slip openly. All this was to blame for the remaining totalitarian system in the country with established administrative-command methods of management.

As a result of the current situation, under pressure from the republics, laws of the USSR were adopted aimed at reducing the influence of the center, which testified to the growing tendencies of independence. This ultimately led to an intensification of the actions of centrifugal forces, when the union republics openly began to show their unwillingness to obey the launch units from the central authorities.

Taking into account the seriousness of the growing crisis situation, which became an open threat to the further fate and existence of the Union State, the central government urgently resorted to searching for the reasons for economic failures in shortcomings and "miscalculations" in the personnel policy of the national republics. With the aim of allegedly straightening out the existing deformations in management at the local level, various functionaries, the so-called "personnel landing", were sent to Uzbekistan. Having occupied key positions in the party, Soviet and judicial bodies of the republic, they unleashed a real terror. Not only leaders of party organizations were persecuted, but also representatives of science, industry and the creative intelligentsia of

Uzbekistan. All this led to an open infringement of the national interests of the republic.

Moreover, in order to raise the authority of the central government of the country, the CPSU Central Committee decided to organize a demonstration process of combating corruption. In this regard, in order to compromise the political leadership at the republican level in all the mistakes made, Uzbekistan was among the first to be chosen as such an object. In order to unleash a corruption case at the republican level, in 1987 the so-called "cotton case" was fabricated. To conduct this case, a "personnel landing" of the investigative-prosecutor's group headed by T. Gdlyan and N. Ivanov was landed in Uzbekistan. This turned into a new wave of repression against the innocent workers of the agricultural sector of the Uzbek economy. It is also paradoxical that in order to denigrate local party and departmental leaders, the "cotton business" was subsequently interpreted as an "Uzbek business", which, in essence, was offensive to the entire Uzbek people.

However, the investigation carried out on the so-called "cotton case" revealed the shortcomings and crimes that were the result of the central government system. Subsequently, the threads of the investigation of this "case" were led to Moscow, to the central ministries and departments.

So, the difficult socio-political situation that has developed both throughout the country and in Uzbekistan, set in motion a sense of national identity with the requirement to provide conditions for independence for the republics. Against this background, socio-political transformations took place, which manifested themselves with the introduction of democratic principles in the country, accompanied by publicity, criticism, self-criticism and pluralism

of opinions. This became the basis for the revival of the civic dignity of people in society and the struggle against the monopoly position of the CPSU in the country's political system. The time itself already demanded the need for the introduction of a multi-party system and the transfer of power from the party apparatus to the Soviets. As a result of these trends, social movements and informal organizations began to appear throughout the country. At the same time, such movements as Birlik, Erk, Tumaris, Free Association of Youth of Uzbekistan and others appeared in the political life of Uzbekistan, operating along with the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. They laid the foundation for the future multi-party system in the republic. Their programs raised issues of the national revival of Uzbekistan as an independent state. The official leadership of Uzbekistan also understood that there is only one way out of the crisis situation, this is, firstly, the economic independence of the republic and secondly, the strengthening of the national statehood and sovereignty of Uzbekistan.

A manifestation of the growth of national self-awareness was the revival of national traditions and customs during the years of "perestroika", the restoration of freedom of Muslim and other religions. The new leadership of Uzbekistan, headed by Islam Karimov, played an important role in determining the strategic course of the republic's development. Under his leadership, concrete measures were taken to achieve full political independence for Uzbekistan.

The first step in gaining independence by Uzbekistan was the adoption in October 1989 at a session of the Supreme Council of the Uzbek SSR of the Law "On the State Language" [5]. According to this law, the Uzbek language was declared as the state language, while the Russian

language was preserved as a means of interethnic communication. In addition, the ongoing transformations in the political life of the republic have become a clear example of effective steps towards independence. For the first time in Uzbekistan in February-April 1990, elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR were held on an alternative basis.

The second step towards gaining independence was the introduction of the institution of the presidency into the political administration of Uzbekistan. This was rightfully a bold and decisive step taken by the leadership of Uzbekistan while the Soviet regime was still in effect. By this action, the leadership of Uzbekistan openly declared the republic's aspiration to live independently without instructions from the center. In addition, the establishment of the post of President was dictated by the need to strengthen the executive power, capable of promptly and effectively ensuring the implementation of economic and political reforms, measures for social and state legal protection of citizens of the republic. Having taken the position of firm decisions, the First session of the Supreme Council of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic of the 12th convocation on March 24, 1990 proclaimed IA Karimov the first President of the Uzbek SSR [6, p. 445].

The third step for the republic to achieve its own independence was the adoption on June 20, 1990 by the Supreme Council of the republic of the "Declaration of sovereignty" of Uzbekistan [6, p. 447-449]. This document was adopted in accordance with the norms of international law and served as the basis for the subsequent creation of the legal and political foundations of the national-state independence of the republic. In the shortest possible time, a number of

resolutions were adopted, reflecting the course of the republic towards independent economic and political development. These include, for example, the Resolution of the Presidium of the Supreme Council "On enterprises, state associations and organizations of union subordination located on the territory of Uzbekistan."

An important moment on the way of achieving independence for Uzbekistan was the fact that the "Declaration of Sovereignty" dictated the need to develop a new Constitution in accordance with the basic principles of the adopted document. In accordance with this, a constitutional commission was formed to edit the Basic Law of the Republic in accordance with the requirements for achieving sovereignty. As a result of painstaking work, on November 1, 1990, a Law was adopted on improving the authorities and introducing amendments and additions to the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR. The main direction of the policy of the leadership of the republic was the stabilization of the situation in the republic, ensuring national harmony and civil peace.

The culminating stage on the way of gaining political independence by Uzbekistan was the August events that took place in Moscow in 1991. This was preceded by the fact that, due to the aggravation of the political crisis in the USSR, in order to soften the situation in the country, a decision was made to conclude a new Union Treaty between the republics. However, on the eve of the signing of the agreement, the situation changed. A number of leaders of the CPSU Central Committee and allied departments announced the creation of the State Committee for a State of Emergency (GKChP). However, this attempt failed, and this led to the sudden

collapse of the USSR, which happened in December 1991.

The events of August 1991 prompted the union republics to take decisive measures to determine their political status. The leadership of Uzbekistan immediately set about defining pragmatic actions for the future fate of the republic.

On August 26, 1991, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the republic issued an order on the preparation of a bill on the state independence of Uzbekistan. Then, on August 28, a decision was made to convene an extraordinary VI session of the Supreme Council of the republic on August 31, 1991, at which the long-awaited historical document of the Uzbek people was adopted - the Law "On the Foundations of State Independence of the Republic of Uzbekistan" [6, p. 458-459].

Thus, the acute political and socio-economic situation that developed throughout the Union State in the 80s - early 90s revealed the entire inconsistency of the monopoly position of the communist ideology that prevailed for more than 70 years. And the methods of command and control of the country turned into deep crises in the political and socio-economic life of the country. All this taken together led to the collapse of the socialist foundations, the collapse of the USSR and the formation of new independent states in its place, one of which was the Republic of Uzbekistan.

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