

THE RESULTS OF SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION IN UZBEKISTAN IN THE LATE 30S OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

After the establishment of Soviet power by the end of the 30s of the twentieth century, great changes took place in the formation of the new Soviet intelligentsia in Uzbekistan. The process of its formation took place under the strict control of the state authorities, which pursued a policy of ideological Russification. However, despite this, Uzbekistan has formed its own national intelligentsia, which has made a significant contribution to the development of all aspects of public life.

Keywords: Society, structure, economy, population, region, ethnic composition, migrants, urbanization, re-urbanization, kishlak, social status, collective farmer, individual farmer, intelligentsia, owner, class, stratification, gender, stratum, means of production.

INTRODUCTION

Having established Soviet power in the country, the Bolshevik leadership and the ruling party set the task of building a unified, socially homogeneous society with a new social structure. Such a society, in their opinion, was built in the mid-1930s. Instead of the destroyed old society with a diverse social composition, reflecting the diversity of its economy and the traditional occupations of the indigenous population of the region, a new one with a single socialist economic structure was artificially constructed by violent methods. It consisted of three classes of workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia, completely dependent on the state and easily controlled by it, which was officially called the class stratum, since, according to Marxist class theory, it was not connected with the main feature of the class - the means of production.

RESEARCH METHODS

By 1939, the population of the republic, compared with 1926, increased by 1 million 600 thousand people, but it must be taken into account that 650 thousand of them were visitors from the central regions of the country[1]. It was they who determined the higher rates of population growth in the republic than in the country as a whole (during 1926-1939, the population of the USSR increased by an average of 15.9%, and in Uzbekistan by 37.5%) and made completely undesirable changes in its population. national composition (the proportion of the titular nation over the years has decreased from 65.1% to 64.4%, Russians - increased from 4.7% to 11.5%, Europeans as a whole - increased from 6.4% to 15%)[2].

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Since the newcomers settled mainly in the cities, the share of Uzbeks in the urban population also fell from 18.6% to 15% [3]. But migrants settled only in large industrial centers where large industrial enterprises were built - primarily in Tashkent, whose population increased by 233.7 thousand people during this period. The old centers of crafts and trade fell into decay. During

these 13 years, the population of Andijan has grown only by 12 thousand, Margilan - by 10 thousand, Chust - by 6 thousand [4]. That is, the old cities of the republic at that time were practically dying out.

In absolute terms, the population of cities in Uzbekistan increased by 45%, but its share increased by only 1% - from 22% to 23%, while in the RSFSR - from 18% to 33%, in Armenia - from 19% to 29%, Turkmenistan - from 14% to 33%, Belarus - from 17% to 21%, in the USSR as a whole - from 18% to 32%[5]. This meant that not urbanization was going on in the republic, but re-urbanization, that is, the urban population grew mainly due to its internal resources (natural increase and migrants) and only slightly increased due to the rural population. Large losses as a result of the destruction of the layer of urban owners also affected the slowdown in the growth of the urban population.

An analysis of the transformation of the social stratification of Uzbek society shows that by 1939 exploitative elements (persons using hired labor) were completely eliminated in it and small commodity producers (self-employed handicraftsmen) and merchants in cities were practically destroyed. As for small commodity producers in the villages, their social status was radically transformed from individual dehkans to collective farmers [6].

The party practically achieved its goal in 1939. 97.1% of the total population of Uzbekistan were completely dependent on the state. But the complete homogeneity of the society was still not achieved - 2.9% of the population were outside the state structures and tried to maintain their independence, being engaged in agriculture - (1.2% or 76031 dehkans of individual farmers and their families) and handicrafts - (1.7% or 107,710 non-cooperative handicraftsmen with families). Non-working elements also remained in society (they were mostly homeowners) - 0.5% (31,680 people).

Great changes have taken place both in the qualitative and quantitative composition of the workers. Their number has grown 4 times, their share in the employed population has increased more than 3 times, the characteristics of the composition has changed. If in 1926 workers were employed in various socio-economic sectors - private and public, then in 1939 everyone was employed only in the public sector. Progress was noticeable in the formation of industrial workers - their number increased 11.5 times and their proportion increased almost 10 times.

As a result of the development of new branches of heavy industry, the growth of the technical equipment of enterprises, by the end of the 30s, completely new specialties appeared among the industrial workers of the republic, requiring high qualifications - steelworkers, molders, rolling mill operators, toolmakers, press workers, excavators, etc. Ongoing an increase in the share of heavy industry products (by 1939 it rose to 13.3%) and a decrease in the share of light industry products (by 1939 it had dropped to 57%), and not a statistical error, as R. Rabich writes[7], were the reason for the reduction in the number of workers in the textile, leather, and shoe industries in 1939 compared with 1926 from 60.8 thousand people to 46.8 thousand people[8]. For the same reason, by 1939 the proportion of such professions as blacksmiths, solderers, and tinkers had decreased. The introduction of mechanisms and the reduction of seasonal work also explain the decrease in the proportion of construction workers in the general professional composition of workers. All this taken together led to a further decrease in the proportion of workers of indigenous nationalities in the total number of industrial workers by 1939 to 36.7% [9].

Significant were the growth rates of women workers employed in the industry of the republic. By 1939 their number had grown by 24 times compared to 1926 and amounted to 135,000 people. But the downward trend in their share in the total number of workers, which emerged after 1934, when it reached the highest figures - 34.5%, continued to develop. In 1939, women made up 28% of the total workforce. Most of them were employed in the clothing industry - almost 20 thousand, textile - 15.5 thousand, food - 3.2 thousand.

By the end of the 1930s, there was an expansion of the sectoral range of the use of female labor in industry. It began to be used in heavy industries. The reason for this D.A. Alimova sees it in the fact that "experiencing an acute need for personnel to make a forced leap that ensures the construction of the foundations of socialism in the shortest possible time, the party considered replenishing the missing labor force from among women as one of the ways to achieve this goal, while forgetting the need to take into account the physiological characteristics of women"[10]. If in 1926 not a single woman was employed in such industries as leather, chemical, metalworking, woodworking, construction, then in 1939 1832 women were employed in metalworking, 1847 in woodworking, 550 in leather production, and 550 in chemical 212, in construction - almost 1 thousand women. There were women turners, machine-tools, assemblers, assemblers, electricians, pressers, punchers, adjusters (more than 1 thousand people in total), drivers, tram drivers (329 people), tractor drivers (3.6 thousand people), tractor foremen and mechanics (220 people)[11].

Soviet propaganda called the involvement of women in industrial production "the conquest of socialism in the struggle for women's equality", equalizing women with men in everything, including the opportunity to work in those jobs in which a woman, by her natural destiny, should not have worked. And what, from the standpoint of the leaders of the Soviet state, was the achievement of a new system, according to universal human laws and medical indications, was his huge mistake.

All the changes in the number and structure of workers, and especially industrial workers, testified that in absolute figures this social support of the party had grown considerably, although the indigenous population did not even make up half of it. But their share in the total population was 8.5%. The share of the more consolidated and conscious part of them - industrial workers - was quite small (in the composition of the amateur population - 5.7%, and in the composition of the entire population - 2.6%).

Despite the numerical growth, at the end of the 30s there is a clear tendency to weaken the position of the working class as a force influencing the political life of society. The growth and strengthening of the position of the party nomenklatura led to a decrease in the proportion of workers from production in the ranks of the ruling party. If in 1926 there were 7707 workers (31.6%), 6318 employees (25.9%) in the Communist Party of Uzbekistan "by occupation", then in 1938 there were only 3797 workers, and their share decreased to 12.5%, while there were 16,410 employees, and their share increased to 54.2%[12].

As a result of socialist agrarian reforms in Soviet society, the social stratum of peasants - independent owners was destroyed and a new social stratum was created - the class of the collective farm peasantry. According to the 1939 census in Uzbekistan, this class accounted for 62.6% of the total population of the republic, or 75.3% of its amateur part. According to the political leadership of the country, as a result of the victory of the collective farm system,

dekhkan collective farmers became a socially unified class, since the differences in their economic situation disappeared - the division into laborers, chairikers, middle peasants, bays. This was true only in the sense that groups whose social status was based on private ownership of the means of production disappeared within the dekhkans. But the dekhkans did not receive the expected social homogeneity. Very soon, a new social hierarchy began to take shape on the collective farms - an elite represented by the chairmen of collective farms, secretaries of party cells, foremen, heads of sections, managers, accountants, accountants. Their social and financial position quickly began to differ from that of ordinary collective farmers.

The kishlak did not receive an equal social position with other classes in the state as a whole. The labor of a peasant, despite the large physical costs, was paid much lower than the labor of workers and the intelligentsia. Payment for workdays on collective farms was so low that it did not provide a living wage for collective farmers and did not create conditions for the growth of labor productivity and the interest of collective farmers in its results. Significantly worsened the situation of dekhkan-collective farmers, introduced in the country in 1932, the passport system. Since passports were not issued to collective farmers, this limited their freedom of movement in the unified Soviet state. Among the collective farmers themselves, their own privileged groups appeared, made up of leaders in socialist emulation and "fighters for high yields," who enjoyed special material and other benefits. Part of the dekhkans, the so-called "dispossessed", were outside society and did not have civil rights. In addition, the creation of state farms and MTS singled out from a single rural society workers of state farms, rural machine operators working in the public sector, while all other dekhkans worked in the cooperative-collective farm sector. According to the conditions and wages, the workers of state farms and rural machine operators became part of the working class and had better material conditions, and in terms of their way of life and intra-kishlak relations, they remained dehkans. R.H. Aminova characterizes the social consequences of a radical break in the social structure of the rural population that occurred in the 1930s in the republic: "The place of a small producer was taken by a collective farmer close in social status to an agricultural worker. New social groups appeared: rural machine operators, the leading collective farm apparatus. There were certain positive changes in the way of life of the dekhkans, their everyday life included modern household and cultural items. The educational and, to some extent, the professional level of dekhkans increased. However, the scope and results of these social changes have been greatly overestimated. They were restrained, first of all, by the extremely low level of wages, relatively small deductions from the state budget for the improvement of villages. The politicization of cultural life, the harsh administrative-command methods of managing collective farms reminded the dekhkans of the old days. There was no fundamental change in the position of women dehkans. She was still busy with hard domestic and agricultural work [13].

By 1939, its intellectual potential, the intelligentsia, had grown quantitatively and especially qualitatively in Uzbekistan. It was a completely new social stratum, formed in Soviet times on a new class and ideological basis, corresponding to the ideas and principles of socialist construction. Its number increased by 6.3 times compared with 1926 and in 1939 amounted to 108 thousand people. In the general structure of the intelligentsia of the republic, by this time it was already possible to single out the largest components - administrative, technical, scientific, creative, workers in the judiciary, education, health, cultural and mass.

Comparison of the data of the 1926 and 1939 censuses by the main types of professions of the intelligentsia shows that at the end of the 1930s the number of engineers, doctors, university professors, and school teachers increased very significantly in its composition. There were notable achievements in its gender composition. In general, the number of women among qualified specialists has increased by more than 7 times in the main specialties. If you look at the proportion of women within them, then most of them were among truly female professions - workers in cultural and educational institutions, dentists, doctors, but relatively few among school teachers, employees of research institutions and higher educational institutions, engineers, agronomists and legal staff.

The administrative intelligentsia occupied a special position in the Soviet state. This was due to the fact that the construction of a socialist society took place in the conditions of the establishment of a command-administrative system and was aimed at unifying social and cultural processes, suppressing the national aspirations of the peoples of a multinational state. Even in 1939, the educational level of most of the employees of the republic's governing apparatus still remained low - for every thousand heads of government bodies, only 356 people had a higher or secondary education (including incomplete secondary), the heads of enterprises (industrial, construction, transport, communications), this figure was even lower - 175 people, and among the chairmen of collective farms, in general, only 17 people out of a thousand had vocational training[14]. The only achievement in the formation of the administrative apparatus by 1939 was that the share of Uzbeks in it was 70%, but only 19% of them had a higher or secondary education[15].

Thus, in the 1930s, Soviet power in Uzbekistan completed a long and bloody struggle to monopolize the economy. Its main core was the fight against multiformity and its carriers, independent self-managed entities - small and medium-sized owners, whom it could not destroy in the first years of its formation with a one-time act. As a result of economic, political and power actions - the nationalization of the means of production and capital, forced industrialization, collectivization, "liquidation of the kulaks as a class", the termination of free market relations, severe class tax pressure, etc., the socialist structure becomes a monopoly in the Soviet economy, and the state - dominant regulatory force. By the end of the 1930s, transformational stratification processes in the social sphere were completed in the republic, their result was the elimination of the old diverse structure of society, the traditional way of life of the indigenous population of the region. Its entire strata ceased to exist as independent social units - entrepreneurs, artisans, handicraftsmen, merchants, homeowners, pre-revolutionary national intelligentsia, and the clergy. Dekhkans, as an independent vast stratum, remained in the new social structure of society, but from independent producers they turned into the most oppressed, completely dependent on the state structural part. As a result of collectivization, they suffered great physical and spiritual losses. Their "peasantization" took place, the labor infrastructure of the Uzbek village, its usual way of life and traditions were destroyed. Famous domestic scientists D.A. Alimova and R. Shamsutdinov, assessing the results of the collectivization of agriculture in general, write: "Collectivization led to the alienation of peasants from property and the results of labor, economic incentives for the development of agricultural production were eliminated. As a result, the goal set by the Communist Party - to create a large-scale agricultural production - was achieved. But the price

for this was exorbitantly high, and most importantly, the constructed system was deprived of an internal source of development: it manifested itself more effectively in the withdrawal of a production product than in the organization of its production»[16].

Instead of the destroyed old social structure, by the end of the 1930s, a new social structure of the "society of victorious socialism" was formed in Soviet society, in which only two Soviet classes were economically, legally and socially protected - workers and dekhkan collective farmers and a class stratum - the intelligentsia.

The Soviet state initially considered the working class to be the main pillar of its power. In its formation by the end of the 30s, certain positive results were achieved - it grew in numbers, became more consolidated, expanded its intra-industry structure and gender composition. But, pursued by the party, the policy of internationalization of the ranks of the republican working class, led not only to a decrease in the number of workers of indigenous nationalities in its composition, but also to negative, undesirable for Uzbekistan, as a national and sovereign republic, demographic changes - low growth rates of the urban population for at the expense of agriculture, an increase in the composition of the population of Europeans and a reduction in the titular nation.

Significant success was achieved by the Soviet government towards the end of the 30s in the formation of a new Soviet intelligentsia, despite the huge losses that it suffered as a result of mass repressions among them, especially in the first half of the 30s. In Uzbekistan, the process of its formation took place under the strict control of the state in the conditions of the consolidation of the totalitarian regime of power, socialist unification and Russification of ideological views and especially cultural processes. Nevertheless, the republic formed its own technical, humanitarian, scientific, creative national intelligentsia, which made a significant contribution to the development of the national economy, education, science, literature, and art. The negative side of the process of formation of the Soviet intelligentsia during this period was the increase in the number of party, Soviet and economic workers representing the administrative intelligentsia. From its representatives in Soviet society, by the end of the 30s, a new social stratum was formed - the party-Soviet nomenklatura, to which practically all power passes. Moreover, as its position strengthens, the possibilities for the influence of workers from production on the political and economic life of the republic begin to decrease, those very proletarians who, in the first years of the establishment and strengthening of Soviet power, were given enormous rights to lead the country.

CONCLUSION

The new society, declared as a "society of victorious socialism" in Uzbekistan, in its essence did not correspond to these statements of the propagandistic party apparatus. It was not socially united (it included 2.9% of non-cooperative handicraftsmen, artisans, individual farmers, 0.5% of "non-labor elements"); it was not completely literate (21.3% of the population of the republic in 1939 was illiterate, including in rural areas 25.9% were illiterate); it was not completely atheized (57% of the population were believers); it was not socially homogeneous either (within each Soviet class there was a wide variety of professions with different wages, and its own privileged elite was actively created from the administration, social activists, and production leaders). The leading role in it belonged by this time no longer to the working class, but to the

new Soviet ruling class - the bureaucratic party nomenklatura. In general, as a result of the social change of the Bolshevik leadership of the country, which ended by the end of the 30s of the XX century, the society of Uzbekistan lost an active layer of middle owners, social diversity and identity, which reflected the mentality of its indigenous population, and was enclosed in an artificially created scheme, limited only two classes of workers, collective farmers and a stratum in the face of the intelligentsia.

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