

CRISIS OF SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE IN RURAL AREAS OF UZBEKISTAN DURING TOTALITARIAN REGIME IN 1965-1985

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ABSTRACT---The article aims to clarify the crisis of social policy in rural areas of Uzbekistan caused by completely inappropriate functioning of the administrative-centralist system, firmly established in the agricultural sector and completely incompatible with the objectives of laws and development. It also compares and contrasts the degree of social infrastructure development and the effectiveness of social policies of Uzbekistan and other Soviet Union Republics². The main methods employed in this study are objectivity, historicism together with compare and contrast analysis. The results show that the lack of coordination and departmental unity was the main reason for rural underdevelopment compared with other Soviet Republics.

Keywords---Social infrastructure; Uzbekistan; Soviet Union; Basic infrastructure; USSR; Central Asia.

I. INTRODUCTION

Based on the documentary materials held in the Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan in conjunction with statistical collections, the activities of the government and Soviet bodies of Uzbekistan on the implementation of social policies in specific conditions of the Republic – miscalculations in the implementation of the tasks of housing and communal construction, the provision of drinking water, services to rural residents of Uzbekistan healthcare systems and consumer services are tracked.

However, for many years, social injustice manifested itself with particular acuteness. Even theoretically, the housing problem in the village was not resolved in any way. The village practically did not assist the villagers in construction. Moreover, various obstacles to construction by individuals (not by the state) were created.

Further, based on irrefutable facts, it is shown that the rural population of the Republic is poorly provided with water, owing to every-year failure to fulfill plans for the construction of water supply networks, healthcare facilities and consumer services. As a result, more than half of the rural settlements of Uzbekistan did not have water supply networks and were forced to use imported water. The consequence is highly vivid in statistics as well – the provision of rural residents with drinking water ranged from 6.3 to 15 liters per inhabitant per day, while in the world, more than 50 liters a day was utilized by an average person at that time.

Degradation of human health was another topical issue stemmed from the social policies of those days by the Soviets. On the basis of factual materials (such as, a report by WHO – ‘Health Care System in Transition Russian Federation’), it

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is shown that the rural health care system of the Republic, designed to guard the health of the villagers, like all other branches of the social sphere, was in a state of neglect.

Assessing the results of the development of consumer services in the rural areas of Uzbekistan, this area remained one of the bottlenecks on establishing improved social infrastructure, and thus, further on human capital development and efficiency. The inhabitants were of agriculturalist way of life far away from secondary and tertiary sectors. Technical matters were also conspicuous in every area of workshops without basic equipment, rendering the workforce inefficient.

II. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The research is based on the most important principles of scientific knowledge, such as objectivity, historicism, consistency and development principle.

The objectivity of the study was meant to be achieved by identifying and studying a wide range of materials, documents and facts that express properties, relationships. In doing so, we relied on the fact that the information obtained on an empirical level can carry both objective and half-truthful content, and sometimes even disinformation.

The basis for the solutions suggested relied on the principle of historicism that requires consideration of the interconnectedness of processes and phenomena in the dynamics of their occurrence, and the factors that caused those processes and phenomena.

The principle of development is important for understanding the nature and sources of social development. Unlike the researches of previous years, this research does not hide failures of the system in providing welfare for citizens in rural areas.

In addition, compare and contrast analysis between Uzbekistan and the other Soviet Union nations (or the Soviet Union average) is held. In this way, the author made conclusions on the circumstances of the rural population of Uzbekistan.

The main materials used include the statistical reviews of 1960-1990s, published by the Central State of that time. Another important source of material was the dissertation of the author. In other words, the author, in this article, continues his investigation on the same object. Economic and political journals published in the USSR³, such as 'Communist' or 'Economics and life', were used as well.

III. RESULTS

The collapse of the USSR and obtaining the sovereignty changed the entire political space of society in Uzbekistan. Sharp decline in the standard of living was observed during the establishment of the young Republic. The course of the historical development of Uzbekistan dictated the need for a comprehensive study of the existing social policy. The crisis of social policy in the rural areas of Uzbekistan was the outcome of administrative-centralized system. That system was firmly established in the agricultural sector, and was incompatible with the objective features and laws of the development of social policy. It was based on the direct exploitation of the potential and resources of wildlife, which is considered unfair as the excessive utilization of these deprives next generations of the same facilities.

³Soviet Union Republics include 15 nations around Eastern Europe and Central Asia, which are now independent countries (Armenia, Moldova, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Russia)

³Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a federal sovereign state in northern Eurasia that existed from 1922 to 1991, consisting of the above-cited 15 countries.

Under the Soviet state administration, the policies on the social sphere were so hard that it seemed there was only a single way of survival – adapting to those policies. However, the Uzbeks did the opposite – they made every attempt to change the living conditions of the inhabitants, with the prevailing ideas about socio-economic relations. Contrary to the preceding, the social policy run by the Soviet state authorities targeted the destruction of social relations. Therefore, the Soviet Union authorized only the administrative-centralist structure members to make decisions upon strategic social relations. The optimal solution to these issues prevailing within the community was to transform the social infrastructure in rural areas.

Housing

Uzbekistan was one of the most densely populated Republics of the former USSR, with an annual growth of an average of half a million people, and thus, naturally, housing was an acute matter for the Republic. Nevertheless, Soviet Union did not provide housing for Uzbekistan as much as the other Republics included in any way. Year by year, social injustice has manifested itself with particular acuteness in housing policy. There was not even a theoretical solution to the housing problem. The authorities, mostly subordinate to centralized administration, did not provide assistance in construction. On top of that, the public policy created a wide range of obstacles to construction by individuals (not by the state).

A unique feature of the rural housing stock of Uzbekistan among the former USSR nations was the high ratio of individual houses to those belonging to the state. By the end of 1985, private property of land belonging to the inhabitants was 97.1 million square meters, as opposed to 19 million square meters of the state-socialized fund (The National Economy of Soviet Uzbekistan for 70 Years of Soviet Power, 1987). People in rural areas built and commissioned more than 36 million square meters of housing for the period 1965-1985 (Nasyrov, 1994). These figures convincingly indicate that the rural population of the Republic did a great job without noise and fanfare, without victorious reports, and with minimal support from the regional and district authorities. However, instead of gaining support, in the midst of private construction, villagers often received a ban from authorities. The highly bureaucratic system, acting in its best traditions, using voluntarism, cooled the enthusiasm of the rural population with bureaucratic norms. Some could never have imagined that they had no right to build a room or build a house for their family's benefit.

The impetus for the rapid growth of rural housing construction in Uzbekistan was given by the program of large-scale irrigation and land reclamation works, because of which large tracts of fallow lands were inhabited. State farms with urban-type residential settlements were established on these lands. As the outcome, if there were 283 state farms in 1965, by the end of 1985 there were 1088 of them in the Republic (Agriculture of Uzbekistan, 1986), and in each of them, there were state farm settlements with comfortable housing.

Because of the amendments in state policy in favor of agriculture, the village received huge investments intended for housing construction, allocated by both the state and collective farms of the Republic. Massive investments allowed state and collective farm construction organizations to expand a wide front of housing construction, which significantly raised the housing stock of rural areas of Uzbekistan. Therefore, only in 1973 collective farms of the Republic built over 19 thousand square meters of housing, whereas state organizations built more than 520 thousand square meters of residential estate (Central State Archive, Republic of Uzbekistan F. M-1963. L.8. F.530). Nonetheless, despite significant growth in investments in residential estate, the housing was still a critical problem in rural areas of Uzbekistan.

In spite of the great demand for housing, state housing plans were not implemented from year to year, and the funds allocated for these purposes were not spent wisely. For illustration, in 1974, the plan of capital construction of housing by the Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic was implemented only by 81%; about 11 million rubles remained undeveloped.

The annual housing plan of the Jizzakh⁴ Regional Agricultural Administration was implemented only by 10% and in the Kashkadarya, Tashkent and Andijan regional agricultural administrations, the degree of non-compliance amounted to 40, 53, 57 percent, respectively (Central State Archive Republic of Uzbekistan F. M-90. L.10. F.6197). The Ministry of Rural Construction of Uzbekistan did not exercise proper control over the activities of its units. They were preoccupied with other large-scale works than housing construction, and did not provide resources for construction of social facilities. The provision of resources for these facilities began to be carried out based on the “residual” principle of resource supply. As a result, the planned tasks were not completed from year to year.

Owing to the systematic failure to implement housing plans, the program for the creation of comfortable villages clearly failed, which led to a deterioration in the provision of housing for rural residents. Over and above that, the quality of those settlements was low.

Water

Severe shortage of clean water provision was another crucial problem for rural area inhabitants of Uzbekistan. The construction of a water supply network and the provision of water to people were the key not only to the improvement of housing, but also, primarily, to the improvement of sanitary culture within the community. However, the work done to provide drinking water to the rural population of the Republic was clearly insufficient. In connection with the high rate of development of new lands and the creation of collective farms and state farms, as well as the rapid growth of the population of the Republic, Uzbekistan has faced a tremendously complex position with not enough provision of drinking water to the residents of the Republic. A significant part of the inhabitants of cities and regional centers where water supplies existed were not provided by water supply due to insufficient development of water supply systems. In hundreds of rural schools, hospitals, kindergartens and nurseries, water was the key issue.

As of January 1, 1986, in 18 cities of Uzbekistan (14.7%), 56 urban settlements (59.6%) lacked public water supply, and out of 13,659 rural settlements, only 37 (0.2%) had the same amenity. About seven million or 52.6% of rural residents used water from canals, irrigation ditches, wells and other water sources for drinking and household-chore purposes. Only 920 collective and state farms out of 1,500, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic, had water pipelines, which provided water to the population of the central estates.

Every year, plans for the current and capital repair of water supply systems, especially in rural areas, were not implemented. In 1984, over 21% of water samples did not meet State Standard 2874-52 ‘Drinking Water’ in terms of sanitary-chemical indicators and more than 10% in bacteriological ones.

Of the total volume of water supplied to the water supply network, only 33% was filtered and cleaned. Given below is the diagram illustrating the ratio of filtered water in certain regions where the same ratio is less than the national average [figure 1. Below]:

⁴Jizzakh, Kashkadarya, Syrdarya, Khorezm, Samarkand, Navoi, Khatyrchi, Andijan, Bukhara, Namangan, Fergana, Zarafshan, Karakalpkstan, Surkhandarya are all the regions of Uzbekistan.

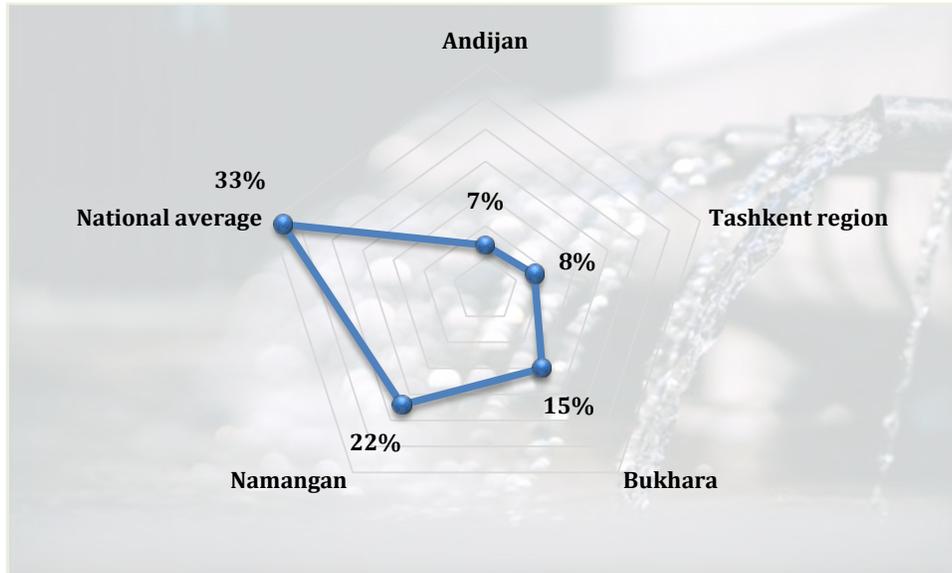


Figure 1. The ratio of filtered water in some regions of Uzbekistan where this ratio is lower than the national mean.

Prepared by the author based on his doctoral dissertation (Nasyrov R. A. 1994)

Because of the slow development of the street water supply network, only 31.8% of the water supply was provided for the rural population of the Republic in 1985 down from 32.2% in 1984. Lower than the national average, water was discharged in Bukhara – 28.6% of Navoi– 26.9%, Namangan – 29.8%, Khorezm– 29.4% (Nasyrov, 1994).

Year by year, capital investments in the construction of water supply networks were systematically underdeveloped. Thus, only 62% of the allocated funds for the construction of water pipelines in the regional centers were spent actually, at the end of the 60s. The following figure compares the national average fulfilment level of plans with those regions where this level is the lowest [figure 2. Below]:

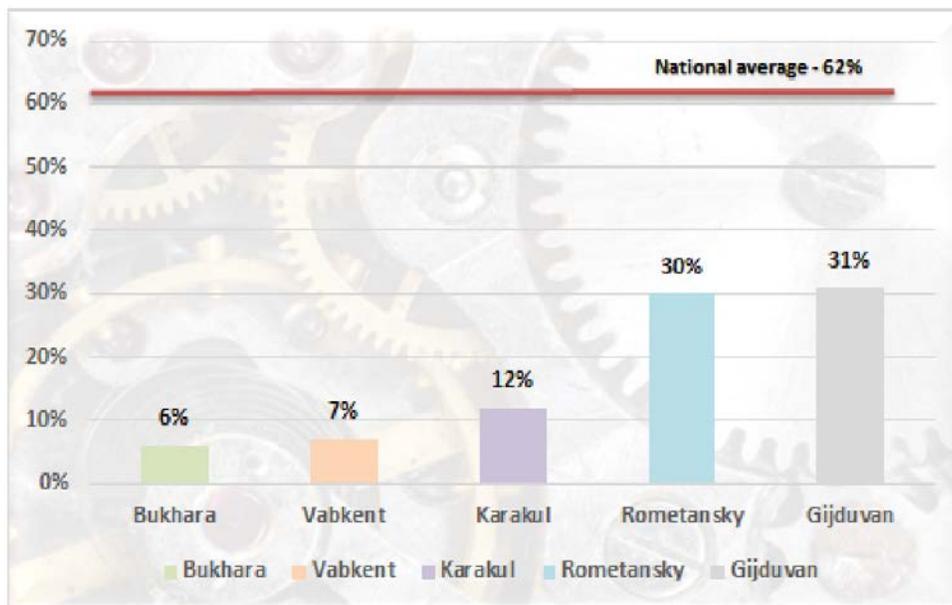


Figure 2. The areas where the actual amount of investments in the construction of water pipelines deviated most acutely from the planned in comparison with the national average. Prepared by the author based on the statistics in the Central State Archive Republic of Uzbekistan (F. M-90. L.10. F.8459)

Due to the non-fulfillment of the development plans by the construction organizations under the Ministry of Construction of Uzbekistan –‘Uzglavstroy’⁵ and ‘Glavgolodnostepstroy’⁶, more than 100 thousand rural residents did not receive drinking water (Central State Archive Republic of Uzbekistan F. M-90. L.711. F.770)

At the Leningrad state farm of the Tashkent Agro-Industrial Association, the construction of a water supply system by the ‘Uzspetsdrenazh’⁷ trust began in 1978. However, it was not completed even by the end of 1985 even though a standard construction period was 6 months.

Systematically underdeveloped capital investments were made in the construction of water supply systems ‘Uzkolkhozstroy’⁸, the Ministry of Construction, which are the general contractors of the Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic. In 1982-1985, ‘Uzkolkhozstroy’ underdeveloped 2.5 million rubles, did not build water networks in more than 110 km on the farms of the Syrdarya and Jizzakh regions. The Ministry of Agriculture, for the same years, underdeveloped more than 2 million rubles or 30.9% of the funds allocated for these purposes, did not build 84 km water networks. As a result, 30 state farm settlements did not receive tap water.

Despite the unsatisfactory situation with providing the population with drinking water, in many places mismanagement of its use was also allowed exacerbating the circumstances. More than 4000 km of water supply networks or 20% of its total length and 6 thousand wells or 35% of their total number were inactive.

In the Navoi region, out of 150 wells, 30 were inactive. Only 3 out of 14 state farms had water supply. In Khatyrchi district, 65% of water supply networks were in disrepair, there was no sanitary treatment zone, and water was not disinfected.

There were many wells in the Republic, which were used for irrigation. At the beginning of 1986, 12.5 thousand wells were idle, of which more than 8 thousand were in need of repair, two thousand were self-draining, about 4 thousand were abandoned, and more than 6 thousand were used for irrigation.

Because of the increase in cultivated areas, the creation of large reservoirs, the regulation of river flows and the lining of a number of main canals, radical changes have taken place in the conditions of drinking supplies to the population of the Republic. Water from rivers and canals ceased to flow in the required amount into under-bed lenses, on which the water supply of the rural population and especially Karakalpakstan, Bukhara, Khorezm and some virgin areas of the Jizzakh and Syrdarya regions was mainly based. The water of the Amu Darya⁹ and Zarafshan rivers was completely disassembled for irrigation needs and for four months (January-May) only highly mineralized drainage water flowed into their lower reaches, after washing saline lands (Nasyrov, 1994).

⁵One of the developers of residential and commercial estate

⁶ Main Department on Irrigation and Development of Mirzachul (a desert in Uzbekistan) at the Council of Ministers of Uzbekistan

⁷Trade and construction company in Uzbekistan

⁸Construction of agricultural estate company in Uzbekistan

⁹A river in Uzbekistan

Sewage

One of the important sectors of public utilities is sewage, without which housing construction is impossible. At the same time, it should be noted that for many years the issue of linking the pace of construction of engineering structures with the pace of housing construction has not been given due attention. Owing to this, the lag in the development of sewage systems prevailed within the Republic. The condition of providing sewage for housing, hospitals, schools and administrative buildings was unsuccessful, the absence of which was in some cases a source of intestinal diseases. Across the Republic, there were no fully constructed treatment facilities and sewage facilities that would meet modern requirements.

Most residential buildings commissioned were not connected to sewer networks, solely because they were not on state plans. Sometimes, there were cases when the sewer systems of state farm settlements ended in a closed pipe, where it was impossible to use the sewer system at the end of the village (Is It Possible to Manage without Departments, 1988).

As a result, at the end of 1985, only three rural settlements were functioning, which amounted to only 0.02% of their total. Out of 1542 farms of the Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic, only 48 collective farms and 44 state farms had sewers, and in the Karakalpak, Andijan, Bukhara, Namangan and Khorezm regions, there were no sewage systems in the countryside (Nasyrov R. A., 1994).

Health (facilities)

Another topical issue connected with social policies at that time was human health. The health of every person within the community is a public wealth, an indicator of national welfare and social progress in general.

However, rural health care system, designed to guard the health of the villagers, like all other branches of the social sphere, was in a state of neglect. To understand the root cause of the retardation in the development of rural healthcare, it is necessary to consider the development of health care in rural areas in the late 60s - early 80s years of the twentieth century.

The basic principles of healthcare are the same for both the city and the village. However, the organizational forms of providing medical assistance to the rural population differs from the forms of medical assistance to the population living in cities.

Significant distances between medical settlements, special working and living conditions in rural areas, unsatisfactory condition of roads, communications and transport in rural areas made it necessary to use special distinctive forms of medical and especially specialized assistance to rural people from urban forms.

Poor material and technical base – low provision of hospital beds, lack of qualified personnel, the absence of hospitals in many areas – in 1965 were a couple of other crucial factors leading to underdevelopment of the health system of Uzbekistan. In the words of statistics, in 1965, about 90 thousand hospital beds functioned in the rural areas of Uzbekistan; the provision of beds for 10,000 people was only 88.9 beds (Central State Archive Republic of Uzbekistan F. M-837. L.41. F.317).

At first glance, the significant increase in hospital facilities is explained by the fact that during the 70s in Uzbekistan there was a reorganization of rural district hospitals. In many rural areas of Uzbekistan, community hospitals were reorganized into outpatient clinics, which were independent institutions or branches of polyclinics of central district hospitals. In some cases, district hospitals were reorganized into specialized departments of district hospitals, or into rehabilitation departments.

The Ministry of Health of Uzbekistan and the health sector as a whole raised the number of hospital beds in 1965-1985. Funds were allocated from the budget for the issues of providing labor, materials and other resources. The slogan 'More hospital beds' put forward at the end of the 60s launched the 'race' behind the rampart, which for a long time defined the Republic's healthcare strategy. The absolute growth of hospital beds in these years amounted to 124 thousand. Indeed, this growth has led to the fact that Uzbekistan began to have 120.6 beds per 10000 people. Still, this figure was below the average Soviet Union rate - 130.1 beds.

Year by year, the need for hospital beds rose. In the newly introduced standard hospitals some time later, instead of the 120 and 240 projected beds, 200 or 300-350 beds, respectively, became a typical phenomenon.

The same phenomenon was observed in adapted buildings allocated for public health. If in 1985, the indicators of newly deployed beds in typical and adapted rooms in the whole USSR were 63 and 37 percent, respectively, and in the Baltic Republics even 90-95 and 5-10 percent, then in Uzbekistan - 44 and 56 percent. Nevertheless, this situation led to a sharp decrease in sanitary conditions. Under the all-Union norms, there should be seven square meters per bed, while in Uzbek hospitals this figure did not exceed 3.8 square meters in mid-1985. An alarming situation was in maternity hospitals, the area for a hospital bed was three times lower than the norms (Questions of History, 1989). Not surprisingly, nosocomial infections flared up in hospitals in Uzbekistan, not to mention maternity hospitals, where the consequences of such outbreaks became dramatic.

Despite this situation, the construction of health facilities sharply lagged behind the standards, the allocated capital investments in the industry were not mastered annually, and the commissioning deadlines were disrupted. In consequence, for the period from 1966-1969, 20.6 million rubles were underutilized, and thus, in these years, 105 thousand health facilities were received, out of 198 thousand planned, including hospitals with 4.98 thousand beds or 54% of the planned increase (Central State Archive Republic of Uzbekistan F. M-2698. L.1. F.215).

Construction organizations of the Republic did not respond appropriately to the implementation of plans for the construction of healthcare facilities without any reason. The growth of formalism and window dressing in the activities of construction organizations, the blatant "residual principle" of providing construction and human resources for facilities of medical institutions have become a hindrance in the development of the healthcare system in rural areas of Uzbekistan.

Health (medical personnel)

It is obvious that the most significant factor to improve medical care is the high qualification of medical personnel. However, in our case, the personnel policy was affected by miscalculations consisting in the fact that it was conducted without taking into account the demographic situation in Uzbekistan. The available personnel in the Republic were not correctly placed and only 12.5% of doctors worked in rural areas, owing to which many district centers and district hospitals were not provided with doctors. The medical units of many agricultural enterprises did not have any medical personnel. Rural medical outpatient clinics and rural district hospitals did not provide adequate primary medical care for patients due to a lack of doctors. Most rural district hospitals were headed by paramedics due to a lack of doctors.

There were extremely few pediatricians and obstetrician-gynecologists in the Republic, and there was great unevenness in providing them with areas. Therefore, in 1981, in the countryside, about 1,600 medical posts remained vacant.

At the same time, the Ministry of Health of the Republic distributed specialists without taking into account the needs of the regions, and did not restore order in the arrangement and use of medical personnel.

The rural population of Fergana was twice as low as the population, where 10.5 urban residents accounted for 36.5 doctors, while rural residents accounted for 18.3. It was the lowest rate in the Republic (Nasyrov R. A., 1994).

The shortage of nurses seriously affected the quality of medical care. Annually, more than 2.5-3 thousand graduates of medical schools and colleges did not come to their destinations at all. The following chart compares the number of nurses per doctor in Uzbekistan, in the Soviet Union overall, and a number of developed nations in the mid-80s [figure 3. below]:

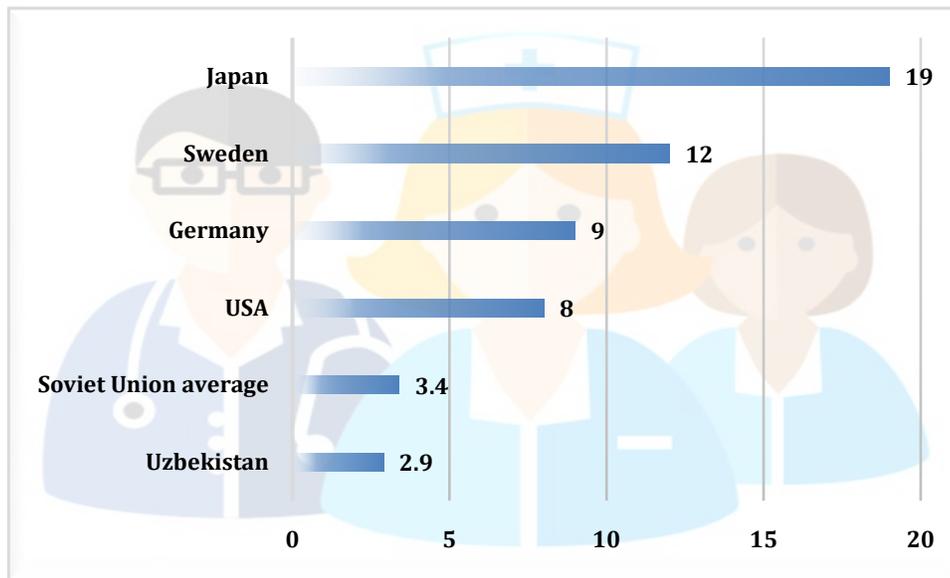


Figure 3. The number of nurses per doctor in the Soviet Union, Uzbekistan, and some developed nations. Prepared by the author based on statistics provided in Central State Archive Republic of Uzbekistan (F. M-2698. L.1. F.519)

In Uzbekistan, there were 2.9 nurses per doctor, while the Soviet Union average was 3.4, not to mention developed countries enlisted above. Therefore, our doctors had to perform functions that they should not perform (maintaining a record of the medical history, registering on registration cards, compiling statistical forms, writing prescriptions, prescribing, and sometimes performing procedures, and much more).

Miscalculations in the human resource management policy led to undesirable consequences. Most of the specialist doctors were predominantly female, due to which 11.6 thousand doctors and 43.5 thousand paramedical workers did not work annually due to maternity leave and caring for young children, which amounted to 17.6 and 23.6 percent of them, respectively, from the total amount. If we take non-working doctors of pediatric departments as an example, then these are mainly specialists of childbearing age, and every third of them was either on maternity leave or caring for a young child. This led to the fact that Uzbekistan had the highest infant mortality rate at the highest birth rates.

A negative role in the health care activities of Uzbekistan was played by the quantitative indicators syndrome, which caused a chronic illness of the sector, such as the pursuit of an increase in the number of new services, without taking into account the possibilities of providing them with personnel. The bureaucratic system in their orders demanded the creation of various services, but in fact, they functioned for many years inadequately due to the lack of specialists. Such a typically departmental approach has done a lot of trouble in the sector, misleading everyone, including the medical community. The

stereotype that was characteristic of times of stagnation and dumbness, the desire to look “no worse” than others, also affected. All this brought to life home registry and fraud, led to a distortion of the accounting of deaths in hospitals.

Consumer services

The improvement of the living standards is partly characterized with the enhancement of consumer services. In the 60s, the establishment of a new branch of “public services for the population” began in rural areas, which was the most important social event that caused a radical upheaval in addressing the urgent domestic needs of rural workers, its quantitative and qualitative level. For the period 1965-1985, more than twenty resolutions were adopted in the Republic that affected various aspects of the industry, the development of the material and technical base, mechanization of labor, the improvement of the economic mechanism, the increase in the volume and expansion of services, the introduction of progressive methods of operation of consumer services and reception points, improving the quality of work performed.

However, when evaluating the degree of the development of consumer services in rural areas of Uzbekistan, one must keep in mind the relative nature of the results achieved. The rural household service, despite significant development, remained one of the bottlenecks in all the work on establishing consumer services for the rural population of the Republic. The number of services provided to the villagers was limited. A significant part of the workshops were located in adapted rooms, they lacked the most necessary equipment.

Most of the public services facilities were built very slowly and poorly, and commissioned with large imperfections. Construction organizations considered household objects of secondary importance and did not provide them with either human or material resources.

Failure to meet the deadlines, improper allocation of capital investments have become a chronically massive phenomenon, which was repeatedly noted at meetings of governing bodies. On the board of the Ministry of Domestic Services of the Population of Uzbekistan of August 19, 1969, there was a big lag in the construction of domestic facilities. The capital investment plan for all sources of financing was implemented at 65%, and for centralized funds at 50%. Built at an extremely unsatisfactory pace were a clothing repair factory in Andijan region, shoe repair workshops in the Surkhandarya region, and households in Kashkadarya and Bukhara regions (Central State Archive Republic of Uzbekistan F. M-2698. L.1. F.1040).

By the end of 1973, there were only 44 reception centers for shoe repair in the Republic, including seven in rural areas, eleven for repair of garments, and not even one in rural areas. There were no rental locations in 36 rural areas. The network of complex reception points developed slowly (Central State Archive Republic of Uzbekistan F. M-837. L.41. F.1766).

Only 57 of 116 rural areas had workshops for the repair of refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners and other electrical household appliances. There were no such workshops in 4 districts of Tashkent, 5 - in Fergana, 6 - in Samarkand, 7 - in Namangan, in most areas of Surkhandarya, Kashkadarya and Khorezm regions. In 1973 in 26 collective farms of the Kashkadarya region, there were no stationary workshops and comprehensive reception centers, in 64 farms of the region only hairdressing services were provided. The same situation was in 38 farms of the Syrdarya and in 29 - Surkhandarya regions. In five farms of eight Nukus rayons, workshops and reception centers were absent altogether. Specialized factories for individual sewing and repair of clothes in the Syrdarya and Surkhandarya, shoe enterprises in the Fergana and Bukhara regions were not created (Central State Archive Republic of Uzbekistan F. M-837. L.41. F.443).

More than 50% of household outlets in the Bukhara region were concentrated in cities. Even in cities, domestic services enterprises were concentrated in the center and near the market. Similarly, in the Romitan region, 10 out of 15 household points were concentrated in the very center, and not a single point was in the village. On the Romitan state farm¹⁰ with a population of 12 thousand people, housed in 8 branches of the state farm, located from the central estate from 5 to 40 kilometers there was not a single consumer service point, except for the central estate, where there was a so-called “Bytkombinat” located in an unequipped trailer, in which two hairdressers worked, and a booth of minor shoe repair was located nearby (Central State Archive Republic of Uzbekistan F. M-837. L.41. F.318).

The concentration and specialization of domestic services in the countryside were not supported by the corresponding organization of public services and the transport base. The state system of household services was largely focused on the production and sale of products, to fulfill the planned tasks, rather than their maintenance. The authorities did not focus on effectiveness, which is one of the landmark drawbacks of communism¹¹. Although there was production or service available, it was not allocated to those who were in need of it.

Quality of services remaining unfocused was another downside of the social policies run at that time. As there was no competition at all in the consumer services sector, no one was motivated to raise the quality, and thus the main attention was diverted towards the quantity of goods and services. Thus, the consumer services sector remained underdeveloped for several years.

IV. DISCUSSION

The main source of the above-mentioned issues was the shortage of well-functioning public services. The system was not planned scrupulously with care. Nonetheless, as time passed, people, whether rural or urban, developed, and began to feel the need for improved services. These developments can be seen in various ways in the enhancement of health facilities, consumer services, and water provision, year after year.

The number of tools key to health services rose considerably in fairly a short period. As is mentioned above, more than 30 percent rise was observed in the number of beds per head. Considering the high rates of population growth, 30 percent is satisfactory progress. However, in terms of this facility, Uzbekistan was still behind the average in the Soviet Union. The following projects aimed at raising the number of beds per capita further reinforce that there arose needs to have more and better facilities.

Regarding the developments in water provision, projected reservoirs to be built, were aimed at ameliorating the extant conditions of this service. In addition, the regulations planned would better the provision of water system.

Finally, in terms of consumer services, there was a large imbalance in the consumption of services between residents of the city and village. Opportunities to meet the demand for domestic services in rural areas were extremely limited. The villagers experienced great difficulties with the repair of radio - television equipment and complicated household appliances, despite the fact that their households were more and more saturated with appliances. It was difficult to repair

¹⁰A farm belonging to the state situated in Romitan (a region in Uzbekistan).

¹¹Communism is the philosophical, social, political, and economic ideology and movement whose ultimate goal is the establishment of the communist society, which is a socioeconomic order structured upon the common ownership of the means of production and the absence of social classes, money, and the state.

shoes and sew clothes in the village. The situation was extremely unsatisfactory in almost all the rural areas of Uzbekistan. The concentration and specialization of domestic services in the countryside were not supported by the corresponding organization of public services and the transport base. The state system of household services was largely focused on the production and sale of products, to fulfill the planned tasks, rather than their maintenance. There was a great retardation in the development of consumer services.

V. CONCLUSION

A generalization of the experience, results and problems of the development of the social infrastructure of the rural areas of Uzbekistan in 1965-1985 shows that the social infrastructure of the village was due to the generally lower development of the countryside, a much smaller share of funds allocated in the past, the development of public services and housing for village, lagged behind the general level of development of this sphere. As a result, the state of the village's social infrastructure was characterized by a low level of resource provision, uneven development in different regions of the Republic, within the households between settlements, and the unsatisfactory state of its material and technical base. Nevertheless, the main characteristic of social infrastructure was departmental disunity, which manifested itself in the design, construction, and operation of facilities.

There was a potential for development in the Soviet Union – even greater than other nations. However, lack of motivation and coordination to improve the conditions was the main obstruct. Due to lack of the former, the plans were not made with scrutiny, and thus were not of any value as the deviation from the plan was considerably high. Lack of coordination, on the other hand, did not allow for harmonious development. For illustration, when individuals, rather than the state, desired to construct housing themselves, the state did not permit this unreasonably and owing to the excessively bureaucratic system.

Nonetheless, as people developed they began to intend more, and attempted to enhance the services rendered for themselves and their family members. Therefore, with such tremendously hard conditions, Uzbekistan reached higher positions among the Soviet Union nations in many respects.

The key solution to the social problems of the village would have been the transformation of housing and communal services in rural areas. In choosing ways and forms of improving the living conditions of the rural population, it was necessary to proceed from creating the most favorable conditions for the implementation of the functions of the rural family, making every possible use of the positive features of rural settlements for this purpose.

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