RUSSIA & WORLD: SCIENTIFIC DIALOGUE

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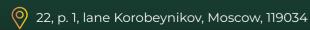
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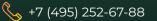
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Aim and Scope

The purpose of the journal is to create a scientific discussion platform for peer discussion of problems and for the development of optimal solutions in the field of international cooperation, joint research, and publication of its results. Foreign scientists and experts are invited to publish and review the materials submitted for consideration. The scientific concept involves the publication of scientific papers, including research insights and scholarly results, discussion articles and reviews, in the field of political science, sociology, world economy, cultural studies. The substantive and thematic profile of the journal includes topics reflecting international and regional processes, political, economic, social, cultural aspects of international relations, interstate and intercultural communications, international security and sustainable development

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Vitaly V. NAUMKIN. Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Editor-in-chief of the journal «Russia & World: Scientific Dialogue»

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF FORWORD

Dear readers!

The fourth issue of the journal Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs). "Russia&World: Scientific Dialogue" for 2023 is dedicated to the Central Asia region. of the problems of interconnectedness of Central whose important role in modern geopolitics is determined by its special significance for intercultural and trade transfers between the countries of Europe, the Middle East and Asia. The region plays a special role in influencing processes in four nuclear powers: Russia, China, the region and "water wars", activities Central India and Pakistan.

This special issue presents articles by Russia and Tajikistan. authors from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, the formation of a more just, polycentric world in this region, developing optimal solutions in the field of international cooperation, conducting especially important.

Of these, five articles were prepared to the International Academic Mobility Program foreign policy is studied based on the activities organized for young scientists from foreign countries by the publisher of our journal. the National Research Institute for the heritage of ancient cultures of Asia, the role of Communications Development. These are articles by Bekmurod Kholmurod ugli Allamurodov Patriotic War of 1941–1945. (scientific supervisor - Ivan V. Surma, Diplomatic Academy of the Russian Foreign Ministry), Aizat K. Doskozhaeva (scientific supervisor – Alexey S. Kharlanov, Diplomatic Academy of the Russian relations Foreign Ministry), Saikal Ch. Zhumalieva (scientific supervisor - Dina A. Kiseleva, IRI RAS), Elvira E. in an article devoted to digital diplomacy as a Torogeldieva (scientific supervisor – Alexander Sh. Kadyrbaev, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences). Kurbonali Yunuszoda Kholmurodi (scientific supervisor –

Natalya A. Budarina, Diplomatic Academy of the

Political sciences are presented by studies Asia and the Caspian region, social causes and possibilities for overcoming the economic and political crisis in Pakistan, as well as, using the example of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, digital diplomacy, resources of the "water economy" of Asian universities and foreign trade between

Sociological sciences are represented Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. This is due to the fact by articles on issues of Russian identity and that the Editorial Board believes that research into attitudes towards Russians in Uzbekistan, ethnodemographic changes in Kyrgyzstan in the 1920–1930s, analysis of educational programs of Germany about Central Asia, foreign experience joint research and publishing their results are in the field of ensuring information and ideological security.

> The history of international relations and of the Collective Security Treaty Organization in Central Asia (2002-2022), the history and the intelligentsia of Kyrgyzstan during the Great

> The issue opens with a series of seven articles devoted to international, global and regional processes in the sphere of international

> Bekmurod Kholmurod ugli Allamurodov, tool for implementing the foreign policy of the countries of Central Asia (using the example of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan), turned to the analysis of this phenomenon and compared,

use of digital tools by the diplomatic missions of the two countries. The author believes, "...to prevent political trolling, disinformation and the spread of fake messages on social networks, it is necessary to create effective means and mechanisms to protect the population from the penetration of harmful and destructive ideas through the Internet."

Authoritative Russian Vyacheslav Y. Belokrenitsky in an article about the economic and political crisis in Pakistan in the late 2010s - early 2020s examined issues related to the dominance in this country of large hereditary landowners and a narrow group of wealthy industrialists, and the decisive role of the military corporation in governing the state. All this leads to the country lagging behind its neighbors in the region, to its dependence on international financial institutions and external assistance. "The state has one prospect." the author noted. "further integration into the system of regional and world relations. On this path, it is likely that part of the country will transform into a certain space, developed for its own purposes by China and the Arab states of the Middle East, primarily Saudi Arabia. Pakistan, in any case, will find itself at the epicenter of the struggle between the two informal, as they now say leaders of the modern world - the USA and Central Asia and South Caucasus region." China."

Natalya A. Budarina and Kholmurodi Kurbonali Yunuszoda, based on an analysis of the geographical and commodity structure of foreign trade between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tajikistan, identified the problems currently arising in mutual trade. They made some practical proposals: "For the development of mutual trade between states, both structural elements will be needed, such as the creation of infrastructure for trade and logistics, wholesale distribution centers and logistics services, as well as the development of the financial sector and others. In addition, have been identified. policy measures will have an important impact, including improving tariff and non-tariff conditions, strengthening interaction between customs and tax authorities."

Aizat K. Doskozhaeva Alexey S. Kharlanov consider the resources of the "water economy" as a geopolitical asset of the Central Asian countries in the formation of sovereign development strategies. According to the authors, their fair distribution in the Central

based on the analysis of statistical data, the Asian region is urgent and requires coordinated approaches and the use of joint "road maps": It would be necessary to diversify the risks arising from this resource, creating favorable conditions for the accelerated development of all countries of Central Asia. The authors came to the conclusion: "...management of hydropower resources in the Central Asian region should be considered through a water-energy consortium scientist with the participation of the states of the EAEU.

Kamola S. Zhuraeva and Sayfiddin A. Zhuraev examined the interconnectedness of Central Asia and the Caspian region. The authors noted that through the study of these regions, one can see the whole range of challenges and threats characteristic of the world system: "... development in conditions of multipolarity and economic confrontation between the West and the East, the growth of civilizational contradictions, the depletion of natural resources, the likelihood of environmental and man-made threats on a planetary scale." In their opinion, "the historic breakthrough in resolving the problems of the Caspian Sea, achieved at the Caspian Five summit held on August 12, 2018 in Aktau (Kazakhstan), creates the preconditions for a serious change in the situation in a number of areas of the economy and geopolitics of the

Valentina V. Komleva and Zhanara Taalaibek kyzy, in an article about universities as subjects of international relations in the context of the potential of Kyrgyzstan, showed under what conditions universities can become effective subjects of international relations and help their states increase competitiveness. The authors describe the conditions and indicators of such subjectivity, the mechanisms for integrating universities into international relations. The positive aspects, opportunities, risks and contradictions of introducing these mechanisms into national educational systems

Vladimir V. Kochetkov, Alexey A. Medvedkov, Elena A. Kuzmenko, Omar M. Nessar, based on the results of a scientific discussion held by the National Research Institute for the Communications Development (NIIRK) in partnership with the Russian Military Historical Society in September 2023, presented the article ""Water wars" as a source and instrument of international conflicts." The authors draw attention to an important international

Россия и мир: на∨чный диалог. 2023. № 4(10). С. 8-11

political trend: currently the "water-based" contradictions between Jordan, Israel and Syria: of the macro-region of Central Asia through Turkey and Syria; Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, an analysis of higher education programs at Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, "The struggle for fresh water supplies," the authors conclude, "has become an important component of such programs in everyday work (both of many international conflicts over the last scientific and non-scientific) are determined hundred years. In such a short historical period, competition for water resources has become of German foreign policy; both business and even more intense than competition for energy foreign policy have specific projects, strategies resources."

Issues of a changing society in the context of the study of social structure, social institutions and processes, and political sociology are discussed in four articles.

The section opens with an article by Anton V. Vasilenko "Russia and Uzbekistan: experience in ensuring information and Russian Identity and Attitude towards ideological security. The leading countries Russians." It is devoted to the results of a study of the communication regime of the Republic of information wars for ideological struggle Uzbekistan in relation to the Russian Federation since the early 1960s. And already in the in the situation of modern changes in the world 21st century, with the development of order. The main conclusion is as follows: "Both information technology and social networks, official resources and the media of the Republic methods of conducting information wars of Uzbekistan definitely broadcast friendly, have expanded. The author's conclusion is positive communication towards Russia, important: "An analysis of information and Russians, the Russian language and Russian ideological security in Uzbekistan shows identity, even in the conditions of political turbulence in recent years. Uzbekistan has been and remains a reliable partner and ally of our insufficient organizational, practical and country, and it is important not to miss this scientific research work is being carried out positive line of our relations and build them on to protect the national interests and basic mutual respect, partnership and the common values of the population (and primarily youth) historical memory of the two peoples."

Saikal Ch. Zhumalieva conducted a comparative analysis of statistical data on ethno-demographic processes in the most representative regions of Kyrgyzstan. The author and the private sector is not established at the draws attention to the ethno-demographic proper level." changes in Kyrgyzstan in the 1920-1930s and their impact on the future fate of the country. She comes to the relevant conclusion that "the presented in three articles. policy of resettlement, the migration of different ethnosocial groups of the population influenced activities of the Collective Security Treaty intercultural communications. They were accompanied by the complication of interaction and mechanisms of intercultural adaptation of representatives of different ethnic communities and groups, the comprehensive study of which Organization. The author answers the question seems to be an urgent task."

"Central Asia as a Macro-Region in the Light of Educational Programs of Germany: Regional Dominants of Study" turned to the political-

geographical understanding of the boundaries German universities. The relevant conclusion is that "the career opportunities of graduates by the interests of business and the objectives or targeted programs. Thus, the autonomy and independence of the educational process and further scientific and practical activities of graduates and young scientists turn out to be ephemeral."

Khairulla P. Umarov analyzed foreign of the world began to pay attention to that there is no comprehensive system for organizing spiritual and educational processes, from informational, ideological and political threats, lack of coordination of government organizations, civil society institutions and the public, social cooperation between the media

The history of international relations and foreign policy in relation to modern times is

Albert V. Beloglazov reviewed the Organization (CSTO) in Central Asia (2002-2022). The author has identified the contribution of the CSTO to ensuring security in Central Asia and characterized the peacekeeping activities of the why the CSTO did not deploy a peacekeeping Elena A. Kuzmenko in the article mission at the request of Kyrgyzstan during the unrest in 2010, but responded to a similar request from Kazakhstan during the January events of 2022. The author believes that "Central

Asian countries do not always consider the CSTO the main instrument for ensuring regional security, which is reflected in their foreign policy concepts. The Organization suffered image losses in 2010, after refusing to help Kyrgyzstan in the interethnic Kyrgyz-Uzbek conflict in the south of the country. Nevertheless, peacekeeping has become an important element of the Organization's activities. Having practiced the conduct of peacekeeping operations in numerous exercises, in 2022 in Kazakhstan the CSTO, for the first time in twenty years of existence, was able to clearly demonstrate its feasibility, efficiency and effectiveness."

The article by Vadim P. Larin was the most controversial; the opinions of the members of the editorial board and reviewers were different. The editors considered it original, decided to publish the results of his research and hope for feedback from experts in this field. The article is devoted to the origin of the symbol "dragon" from the zoonym "crocodile" in the ancient cultures of Southern China and Vietnam. The warm climate at the mouth of the Yangtze and on the coast of the East China Sea, according to the author. determined the large number of alligators in the kingdom of Yue, which was the reason for this geographical name. The author hypothesized that the ancient ethnonym and toponym "Yue" 越, (modern - "Vietnam") come from the Chinese zoonym "crocodile" - 鳄鱼èyú.

Elvira E. Torogeldieva with her article "The Intelligentsia of Kyrgyzstan during the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945" concludes the special issue of the magazine. It is dedicated to the formation of the Kyrgyz intelligentsia during the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945. The author writes that to accelerate the replenishment of the intelligentsia of the republic by party and Soviet bodies, the method of promotion was used. The article is devoted to the analysis of the reasons for the occurrence of the phenomenon and its specification, its significance. The author concludes that "the problem of intelligentsia in the republic with the outbreak of the war and the conscription of numerous of its representatives into the Red Army became extremely acute. There was a great shortage of specialists in all sectors of the national economy and culture. In order to accelerate the replenishment of many groups of intelligentsia by the party and Soviet bodies, the method of promotion was used, especially the promotion of women to leadership and organizational work."

Dear readers!

The editorial board of the journal hopes that the materials of the issue will arouse your interest and that you yourself will become one of our authors in the future.

> Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences Vitaly Naumkin

INTERNATIONAL, GLOBAL AND REGIONAL PROCESSES

International Relations, Global and Regional Studies

RUSSIA & WORLD: SCIENTIFIC DIALOGUE



... to prevent political trolling, disinformation and the spread of fake messages on social networks, it is necessary to create effective tools and mechanisms to protect the population from the penetration of harmful and destructive ideas through the Internet.

Allamurodov B.Kh.

Digital Diplomacy as a Tool for Implementing the Foreign Policy of Central Asian Countries (On the Example of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan

The state has only one prospect - further integration into the system of regional and world relations. On this path, it is likely that part of the country will transform into a kind of space, developed for its own purposes by China and the Arab states of the Middle East, primarily Saudi Arabia. In any case, Pakistan will find itself at the epicenter of the struggle between the two informal, as they now say, leaders of the modern world - the USA and China.

Belokrenitsky V.Y.

Economic and Political Crisis in Pakistan: Social Causes and Exit Opportunities

To develop mutual trade between states, structural elements will be needed, such as the creation of infrastructure for trade and logistics, wholesale distribution centers and logistics services, as well as the development of the financial sector and other factors. In addition, policy measures will be important, including improving tariff and non-tariff conditions, as well as strengthening interaction between customs and tax authorities.

Budarina N.A., Yunuszoda Kh.K.

Problems of Foreign Trade Development between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tajikistan in Modern Realities

...the management of hydropower resources in the Central Asian region should take place through a water-energy consortium with the participation of the states of the EAEU, SCO, etc.

Doskozhaeva A.K., Kharlanov A.S.

Water Economy Resources as a Geopolitical Asset of the EAEU Countries and the Formation of Sovereign Development Strategies

Achieved at the Caspian Five summit held on August 12, 2018 in Aktau (Kazakhstan) a historical breakthrough in solving the problems of the Caspian Sea creates the preconditions for serious changes in the situation in a number of areas of the economy and geopolitics of the Central Asian and South Caucasus.

Zhuraeva K.S., Zhuraev S.A.

The Interconnectedness of Central Asia and the Caspian Region: Current Issues

The specificity of modern Kyrgyz universities is that, by transferring education and communication into the national language, universities narrow the circle of foreign partners and interests. Therefore, strengthening the international subjectivity of Kyrgyz universities is closely related to the development of programs not only in Kyrgyz, but in the languages of international communication (Russian, English, etc.).

Komleva V.V., Taalaibek kyzy Zh.

Universities as subjects of international relations: the potential of Kyrgyzstan

The struggle for fresh water supplies has become an important component of many international conflicts over the last hundred years. In such a short historical period, competition for water resources has become even more intense than competition for energy resources.

Kochetkov V.V., Medvedkov A.A., Kuzmenko E.A., Nessar O.M.

"Water wars" as a source and instrument of international conflicts

INTERNATIONAL, GLOBAL AND REGIONAL PROCESSES International Relations, Global and Regional Studies

Original article https://doi.org/10.53658/RW2023-3-4(10)-22-35 **Political Sciences**

Digital Diplomacy as a Tool for Implementing the Foreign Policy of Central Asian Countries (On the Example of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan)

Bekmurod Kh. Allamurodov⊠

The Coordination and Methodological center of Uzbekistan's contemporary history at the Academy of Science, Tashkent, Republic of Uzbekistan

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Abstract. Many countries pay great attention to the use of digital technologies as a tool for implementing their foreign policy. The popularity of modern information and communication achievements, such as the Internet, social networks, mass media, new communication channels, makes it possible to use them to implement the foreign policy objectives of the state. The purpose of this work is to analyze digital diplomacy, which is considered a new phenomenon in international relations. The article compares the use of digital tools by the diplomatic missions of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Statistical data are presented for each of the countries, which allowed us to get the most complete picture of digital trends in the diplomacy of the above-mentioned countries.

Keywords: Digital diplomacy, foreign policy, soft power, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, information and communication technologies

Acknowledgements: The article was prepared according to the International Academic Mobility Program organized for young scientists from foreign countries by the National Research Institute for the Communications Development. Scientific supervisor – I. V. Surma, CandSc (Economy), Professor, Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia.

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Introduction

Over the past ten years, the use of digital technologies in diplomacy has become one of the priorities in foreign policy communications of states. Digital diplomacy has become one of the fastest and most convenient ways for states to express their official attitude to

political processes taking place in the international arena. The Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Uzbekistan did not stand aside. An analysis of the media, the Internet and social networks shows that there is a need to improve the activities of the Foreign Ministries of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan in terms of using the capabilities of modern information and communication technologies and accelerating the implementation of digital diplomacy. The purpose of the article is to analyze the concept of "digital diplomacy", analyze the implementation of digital technologies in the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Republic of Kazakhstan and the use of digital diplomacy in the foreign policy activities of these countries.

Materials and methods

The author analyzed theoretical approaches to the concept of "digital diplomacy," which is considered a new phenomenon in international relations. Methods of comparative analysis, content analysis, and factual analysis of data from international organizations were used.

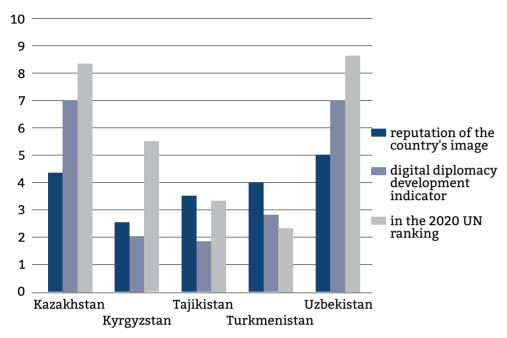
The objectivity of the conclusions is determined by the reliance on reliable material about the activities of international organizations, opinions on the Internet and social networks. The processes of digitalization of the political sphere in modern Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan were analyzed. Information was used from the official websites of Facebook*, Instagram* and data from open sources of the Foreign Ministries of the two countries.

Results

The term "Digital Diplomacy" first appeared in the book "Digital Diplomacy: American Foreign Policy in the Information Age" by American journalist W.Dizard. Its author analyzes the use of information technology in US foreign policy and military relations and proposes a program he developed for the country's government. In his opinion, in a situation of increasing influence of non-governmental and transnational organizations, "digital diplomacy" is a complex but successful means of communication [1:232]. The concept of "digital diplomacy" is considered a new term and in many aspects correlates with such terms as: "cyber diplomacy" [Barston, 2014], "social diplomacy", "virtual diplomacy", "electronic diplomacy" [Hocking, Melissen, Riordan and Sharp, 2012], "diplomacy 2.0" [Harris, 2013].

Although digital diplomacy began to be used in the political sphere from the beginning of the 21st century, until now researchers and political scientists have not given a uniform definition of this term. Representatives of the Anglo-Saxon school M.Holmes, E.Segev, I.Manor, A.Ross, D.Lewis, K.Biola define digital diplomacy as a tool of "soft power" and believe that it should be used in international politics and diplomacy based on mutual trust and values [2:89–108].

Figure 1. Indicators of the digital tools development in Central Asian countries and indicators of their country's image



Source: Goals of the development of digital diplomacy and actions-results in this regard in Central Asian countries. International Scientific Journal. 2023; May 10 (100), Part 2 "News of education: Research in the XXI century"

Russian scientists characterize digital diplomacy as a tool for shaping public opinion and as a factor influencing the process of making foreign policy and political-economic decisions. A.V.Krikunov interprets digital diplomacy as the sphere of application of modern information and communication technologies to solve foreign policy problems, and Doctor of Political Sciences E.S.Zinovieva - as the sphere of use of information and communication technologies, including new media tools, social networks, blogs and similar media platforms of the global network, to implement the current tasks of the foreign policy agenda of government bodies [3:92].

The processes of globalization, the development of information and communication technologies in developed countries, the Internet and the strengthening of the role of non-governmental organizations in countries in international relations encourage the active use of advanced technologies. As a new form of using "soft power" in the foreign policy of states, "digital diplomacy" is often used in the foreign policy of the leading countries of the world: the USA, Canada, Russia, Japan, France, Iran and others. The countries of Central Asia are no exception.

The introduction of digital tools depends on the existing infrastructure in the country, Internet coverage and the speed of Internet connections. The state's national

strategy in the field of digitalization, organization of public services and e-government is reflected in the country's digital diplomacy. In particular, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are among the countries that are more successful in this direction than other Central Asian countries. According to the results of the UN e-Government Knowledge Base study, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are among the leaders in the countries of Central Asia in terms of the "E-Government Development Indicator" and "E-Participation Indicator". According to the E-Government Development Index, Kazakhstan ranks 28th among 193 countries with an indicator of 0.8628%.

In accordance with the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated March 7, 2002 "On the Diplomatic Service of the Republic of Kazakhstan," the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must develop the main directions of foreign policy and implement the country's international initiatives. According to the official statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Republic of Kazakhstan informs the international community about its position on international problems and foreign policy initiatives aimed at the political, socio-economic, cultural and humanitarian development of the country, using modern capabilities of information and communication technologies and traditional diplomacy².

The "Digital Kazakhstan for 2018–2022" program was presented by the Government of Kazakhstan on January 31, 2017 and created the first legislative framework for digitalization in the country. The goal of this program was to accelerate the economic development of the Republic of Kazakhstan and improve the quality of life of citizens through the use of digital technologies in the short and medium term. The Digital Kazakhstan program defines five key areas:

- 1. Digitalization of economic sectors;
- 2. Transition to a digital state;
- 3. Implementation of the digital Silk Road;
- 4. Development of human capital;
- 5. Creating an innovation ecosystem³.

In 2023, 90.9% of the total population used the Internet in Kazakhstan. The number of active users of social networks is 11.85 million people, that is, 60.8% of the total population. The most popular social network among Kazakhstanis is Facebook*, with 2.30 million users, followed by Instagram*, LinkedIn*, Twitter*4.

Government institutions of Kazakhstan are expanding their presence on the global Internet. Nursultan Nazarbayev, the first President of Kazakhstan, created his official

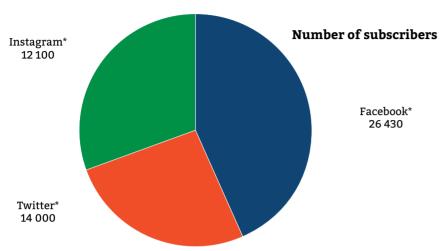
¹ Statista. Internet penetration rate in Kazakhstan from 2011 to 2021. Murojat:17.10.2023. Available from: https://www.statista.com/statistics/769863/internet-penetration-rate-kazakhstan/#statisticContainer

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan. To the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated March 3, 2021 "On Amendments and Additions to the Law "On the Diplomatic Service of the Republic of Kazakhstan"". Available from: https://www.gov.kz/memleket/entities/mfa/press/article/details/45980?lang=ru.

³ Resolution of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 12, 2017, Nº 827. On approval of the State Program "Digital Kazakhstan". Available from: https://adilet.zan.kz/rus/archive/docs/P1700000827/12.12.2017

⁴ DataReportal. Digital in Kazakhstan. Available from: https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2023-kazakhstan#:~:text=Kazakhstan%20was%20home%20to%2011.85,percent%20of%20the%20total%20population.

Figure 2. The most popular social networks in Kazakhstan (2023)



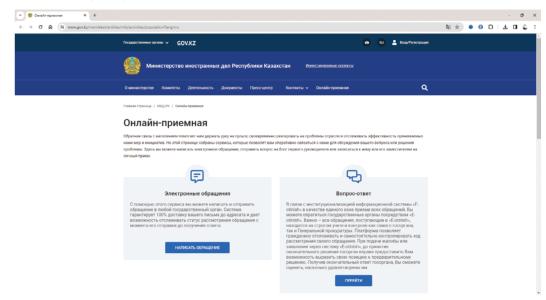
Source: Based on Datareportl data. Available from: https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2023-kazakhstan#:~:text=Kazakhstan%20was%20home%20to%2011.85,percent%20of%20the%20total%20 population.

pages on Facebook*, Twitter*, and in 2014 on Instagram*. Today, almost all ministries and departments, as well as other government bodies, have registered and maintain their own official websites. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan coordinates the posting of information about current events in foreign policy on social networks and, in particular, on the information resources Facebook* and Twitter*.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan is developing digitalization, not only using social networks, but also creating a number of mobile applications. Thus, in 2017, a special application "SmartTravelKZ" was launched, aimed at citizens of Kazakhstan traveling to foreign countries. The application contains up-to-date information about countries, useful recommendations for travelers⁵.

There are other applications for mobile devices. In particular, the application "Kazakhstan Land of the Great Steppe" provides information about the history of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the features of its geography, economy and modern politics of Kazakhstan. This application can be useful for tourists and for people interested in and studying Kazakhstan. Through such digital initiatives, Kazakhstan is realizing opportunities to develop its public diplomacy⁶. Although programs promoting the country's brand have been created, their full integration with the official website of the country's Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not yet exist.

Figure 3. Official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan (2023)



Source: Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Available from:

https://www.gov.kz/memleket/entities/mfa?lang=kk

Mostly, the MFA pages are practical; government organizations do not engage in branding or create special websites.

Based on the analysis of the official pages of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, two directions can be distinguished:

- 1. Information on the activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the republic.
- 2. Providing services to citizens. Complaints and claims and other services, including issuing visas for citizens and foreigners, obtaining citizenship, conducting investigative measures [4:92].

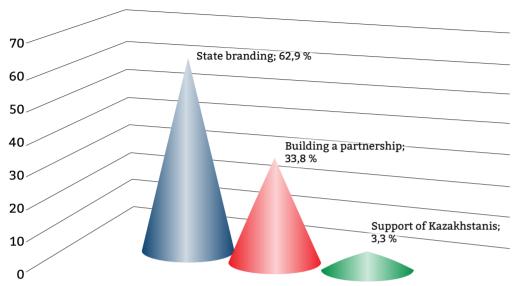
According to the statistics above, the social network with the largest number of users in the Republic of Kazakhstan is Facebook*.

According to a content analysis of Facebook pages* provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, information is mainly used to promote the country and its culture, history, tourist destinations, as well as strengthen its political position at the international level. Most of the materials are presented in the form of reposts of official messages from the pages of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Administration of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the media. The "Cooperation and Cooperation Development" department provides a lot of materials about bilateral meetings (not only at the level of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and embassies, but also at the level of presidents and representatives of countries). When analyzing the block "Support for citizens and diaspora of Kazakhstan", it was found that the least number of posts are

⁵ The official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan (2017). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs presented a mobile application for citizens. Available from: http://mfa.gov.kz/ru/content-view/mid-prezentoval-mobilnoe-prilozenie-dla-grazdan

⁶ The app in the App Store "Kazakhstan Land of the Great Steppe". Available from: https://itunes.apple.com/us/app/kazakhstan-land-of-the-great-steppe-s/id1117366063?mt=8&ign-mpt=uo%3D4

Figure 4. Topics on the pages of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Facebook*.



Source: Botakoz K. and Almash A. Facebook* as a Digital Diplomacy Tool: Case of Kazakhstan. Proceedings of the 6th European Conference on Social Media. University of Brighton UK, 2019, June 13–14:156.

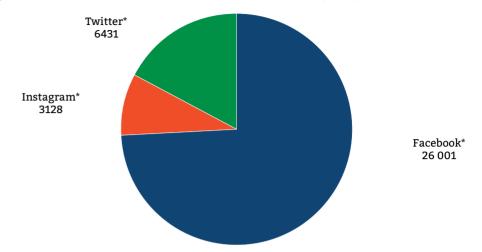
devoted to it. This block consists mainly of materials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and embassies; it contains information about various events with the participation of citizens of Kazakhstan, students of host countries and representatives of the Kazakh diaspora [5:156]. Most embassy and foreign ministry posts on Facebook* are aimed at creating state branding.

In the Republic of Uzbekistan, the use of digital diplomacy began in 2016. Development of digital diplomacy in the country, radical transformation and improvement of the system of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, creation of an Action Strategy for the period 2017–2021. in five priority areas of development, the Concept of Administrative Reform defines the tasks necessary for the implementation of digital diplomacy⁷.

According to Twiplomacy, the most popular digital resources in Uzbekistan are the press services of President Shavkat Mirziyoyev and Prime Minister Abdulla Oripov, as well as the gov.uz portal and the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan [6:58–61].

The press service of President Shavkat Mirziyoyev actively uses the capabilities of social networks. The digital resource of the presidential press service has more than 39,000

Figure 5. The most used social networks in Kazakhstan (2023)



Source: Based on DataReportal data. Available from: https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2023-uzbekistan

subscribers on Twitter*, more than 3 million subscribers on Instagram*, and more than 242,000 users on the Facebook page*. The press service of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan is characterized by the following parameters:

- 1) According to the parameter of the most popular world leaders 3 million users, 16th place in the world ranking.
- 2) According to the parameter of the most famous leaders with the largest number of interactions: 22nd place with 9 million users.
 - 3) According to the parameter of the most successful in the world 39th place.

As of 2023, there are 26.74 million Internet users in Uzbekistan (an increase of 8.84 million compared to 2020), that is, 76.6% of the country's population. Today, the number of users of the social network is 5.35 million (increased by 1.94 million compared to 2020). This corresponds to 15.3% of the total population.

At the beginning of 2023, 31.84 million cellular mobile connections were activated in Uzbekistan, corresponding to 91.2% of the total population.

According to information on the advertising resources "Meta"*, at the beginning of 2023, Facebook* has 1.65 million users in Uzbekistan. The number of Instagram users in Uzbekistan is 4.20 million. Twitter* has 148,700 users in Uzbekistan.

To strengthen the role of government agencies in social networks, it is necessary to use a systematic approach. According to researchers [Hocking B., Melissen J., 2015], there are a number of factors that are important for the successful digitalization of foreign policy activities of foreign ministries:

Firstly, the foreign policy department needs internal structural support, which requires the creation of a special unit including digitalization experts.

⁷ Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On measures to radically improve the system of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan and strengthen its responsibility in implementing priority areas of foreign policy and foreign economic activity". Available from:

Allamurodov B.Kh. Digital Diplomacy as a Tool for Implementing the Foreign Policy of Central Asian... Russia & World: Scientific Dialogue. 2023; 4(10): 14-22

Secondly, an effective digital moderator is required, that is, a person who actively supports and develops digitalization processes.

Thirdly, professional staff is needed, this requires a special program to train diplomats in the field of network management and dissemination of information among various groups and categories of users. In addition, it is necessary to take into account the features associated with the direct activities of foreign policy departments [7:49-50].

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Contribution of the author

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Original article https://doi.org/10.53658/RW2023-3-4(10)-36-49 **Political Sciences**

Economic and Political Crisis In Pakistan: Social Causes and Exit **Opportunities**

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> Abstract. The article examines some of the underlying causes of the acute economic and political crisis that engulfed Pakistan in the late 2010s and early 2020s. Such features of Pakistani society as the dominance of large hereditary landowners and a narrow group of wealthy industrialists are noted, and the decisive role played by the military corporation in governing the state is emphasized. The consequence of conservative social policies and an ineffective leadership system was the country's increased dependence on international financial institutions and external assistance, as well as the accelerated lag of Pakistan from its neighbors in South Asia in economic and social development in the 21st century. It is concluded that there are no easy ways out of the crisis and that there are threats to the entire region as it deepens.

Keywords: Pakistan, current crisis, big landowners, industrialists, army, external aid

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Introduction

At the turn of the last decades, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan entered a period of deep economic and political crisis. One of the reasons was the Covid-19 pandemic. Following the first wave at the beginning of 2020, the second and third occurred. 2022 was marked by a terrible natural disaster: from June to September there were almost continuous torrential rains, causing extraordinary flooding. 33 million people were affected in a third of the country's territory (mainly in the southern province of Sindh), 8 million were forced to leave their homes, and about 2 thousand died. The pandemic and natural disasters have affected macroeconomic indicators. Gross domestic product growth in fiscal year 2019-20 (July to June) was negative (-0.9%). The growth rate for the next two years was estimated

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^{*}Activities in Russia are blocked at the request of Roskomnadzor, 18+

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by Pakistan's economic authorities to be high at 6%, but in 2022–23 the growth dropped to 0.3%, so that the average annual average for four years was below 3%, barely ahead of the ultra-high in modern times demographic growth rate of 2.6%. The value of real GDP in US dollars in 2022–23 decreased compared to the previous year from \$375 to 342 billion and was lower than in 2020–21 and even in 2017–18 (\$349 and 357 billion, respectively)¹

This jumping dynamics is associated with a steep drop in the exchange rate of the national currency (three times over the last 7 years – instead of 100 rupees per dollar, you now have to pay 300) and led to periodic severe depletion of the State Bank's foreign exchange reserves (to less than \$3–5 billion), chronic a budget deficit of 5–7% of GDP, an increase in external debt (up to a third of the national product) and a current account deficit, accelerating inflation, exorbitant increases in electricity tariffs, prices for gasoline, other fuels, for essential goods – flour, sugar, vegetable oil, etc.

Political instability was added to stagflation (stagnation + inflation). In March-April 2022, a government crisis erupted. After winning the 2018 elections, the Pakistan Justice Movement cabinet came to power, led by the charismatic leader Imran Khan, a former athlete and captain of the Pakistan national team in the country's most popular sport. cricket, which won the World Cup for the only time in 1992. IKhan, educated at Oxford, switched to politics and became an idol of youth. Thanks to his personal popularity, his party was able to intervene in the struggle of two other parties that had long replaced each other on the political Olympus: the Pakistan Muslim League (N), where the letter denotes the name of its permanent leader Nawaz Sharif, and the Pakistan People's Party, associated with the names of those executed by the military authorities in 1979 by Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and his daughter Benazir, who twice served as head of government and was killed by Islamists in 2007. Imran's popularity did not save Imran from intrigue, a split in the ranks of his party and defeat in parliament. After he withdrew his confidence in the prime minister in early April 2022, a new government was formed led by opposition leader Shehbaz Sharif, the younger brother of Nawaz, who served as prime minister three times (1990-93, 1997-99 and 2013-17) and never completed the constitutionally allotted five-year term in this post. The reason for his early departure each time was disagreements with the army, the military bureaucracy, which is actually the corporation that governs the country. In August 2023, Sh. Sharif's cabinet resigned a few days before the expiration of the term of office of the parliament elected five years ago. In accordance with the constitution, power in the country passed into the hands of a transitional cabinet. Its functions include overseeing the conduct of "free and fair" elections within 90 days. Although the elections would therefore have been held in early November, this was prevented by the fact that legislators, before ending their powers, approved the results of the last census (digital), carried out in March-May 2023. The Election Commission postponed the elections until January 2024 on the grounds that it needs time to determine the new constituency boundaries according to the latest census data.

The economic situation in the country has not improved under the transitional government headed by Senator Anwar ul-Haq Kakar. In August, citizens took to the streets of large cities to protest against electricity bills and high prices, reaching 30-35% per month. The military authorities, behind the transitional government, took measures to curb the protests. This was easy to do, since political activists were frightened by the way the authorities dealt with participants in protests against the detention of I. Khan on May 9 of this year. Arsons by protesters and other acts of vandalism (especially damage to the military command post in Lahore, located in a historical building) led to the arrest of several hundred people, including the leadership of Imran's party. And the court sentenced him to three years in prison, depriving him of the opportunity to participate in the upcoming elections.

Another problem for the transitional cabinet is the deterioration of the situation in the border areas with Afghanistan and the growing tension in relations between Islamabad and Kabul.

Despite the measures taken by the military-civil authorities of Pakistan, the crisis cannot be overcome; it has affected the economy, society and political system of the country. Let's try to understand its reasons and consider possible ways out of this situation.

Materials and methods

The study is based on an analysis of materials reflecting the current political state of Pakistan. These are materials in the country's leading press organs, primarily in the Dawn and Tribune Express newspapers, articles by influential Pakistani analysts, public and political figures. Since the cause of the crisis lies in the economy, analytical and journalistic materials about the economy were used. The study examined the materials of the annual economic reviews prepared by the special services of the Ministry of Finance of Pakistan. The author relied on the results obtained by representatives of Russian oriental science S. S. Baranov [1], A.A.Kutsenkov [2], S.F.Levin [3], as well as Western (J.Brown [5]) and Pakistani by the authors (S.A.Zaidi [8]. A.Siddiqui [7]) I.Hussein [6]). The book "Pakistan: Beyond Stereotypes" [4] prepared by the Moscow Center for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies was used. The author used methods of analysis of macroeconomic parameters and methods of historical and social work.

Results

Conservative social policy and low savings base

The deep cause of the economic and political crisis lies, in our opinion, in the immutability of the ruling class and conservative social policy. The territory of present-day Pakistan was the agricultural outskirts of colonial India until 1947. Owners of large

Pakistan Economic Survey 2022-23. Economic Adviser's Wing Finance Division Government of Pakistan Islamabad. Available from: finance.gov.pk/survey/PES_2022_23 pdf. Overview of the Economy:2-6. Statistical Appendix:3.

plots of land, who lived, as a rule, in cities and managed their estates through servants and intermediaries, had a strong position among the propertied strata. Absenteeism landlords, or "feudal lords" as they are often called in Pakistan, emasculated the transformative, reformist component of land reforms carried out since the early 1950s. Of course, the situation in the village has changed compared to those times, but not dramatically. Unlike India, where the state was able to largely eliminate large land ownership [2], it remained in Pakistan's agriculture, especially in the south of the Punjab province, in the provinces of Sindh and Balochistan.

Owning land and real estate is a sign of belonging to the elite. This "disease" affects not only the traditional aristocracy, but also the highest ranks of the armed forces, which have humble social origins. The Pakistan Armed Forces, as a privileged corporation, has the right to 10% of public lands, which includes all land not already in private ownership. Receiving plots upon retirement, purchasing lots at auctions for the sale of land, where senior officers and generals enjoy benefits, turned the army elite into latifundists who manage their property following the example of "feudal lords", i.e. exploiting the labor of poor, downtrodden, illiterate peasants.

The consequence of this social vice is low tax collection. The rates of land and water taxes have not changed for decades, having long ago become nominal, and the sociopolitical situation does not allow taxing the large incomes that land and livestock owners receive. The example of latifundists who do not replenish the state treasury is contagious, and in Pakistan it is customary to avoid paying taxes by all means, in particular using the corruption of tax officials. At different periods in the history of the state, the percentage of those paying direct taxes (on personal income) was no more than 1% of the population, and they amounted to 2–3% of GDP [6:380–382]

Pakistan's economy is characterized by low levels of domestic savings and savings. Receipts from direct and indirect taxes, including customs duties and sales taxes, and other current contributions to the budget when compared to GDP do not exceed 7–9% (fell from 14–15% at the beginning of the century). According to this indicator, Pakistan ranks one of the last in the world and last among the countries of South Asia.

It is also impossible to compensate for the low level of domestic savings with an influx of foreign investment. Foreign direct investment is showing negative dynamics, and in terms of accumulated capital investment the country lags far behind India and even Bangladesh, which, before separating from Pakistan in 1971, was considered a hopelessly lagging province doomed to vegetation. The consequence of all this is low rates of economic growth and their decline, especially noticeable since the beginning of this century.

Relative deindustrialization

In 2000, Pakistan was ahead of India in per capita income, but now lags behind by more than a third. Its economy is often characterized as an example of "premature deindustrialization": the service sector came to the fore too quickly, which now generates almost 60% of GDP in Pakistan, and just over 50% in Bangladesh and India. The industrial sector in Pakistan accounts for less than 20% of newly added value, while its neighbors in South Asia account for more than 25%².

The structural distortion of the current Pakistani economy is obvious against the backdrop of the fact that at the beginning of the 21st century, less than half of GDP was created in the service sector, and the shares of the agricultural and industrial sectors were equal [8:4] As for the manufacturing industry, the leading industry remains textile and yarn production and fabrics made from local cotton. Its production is not growing, including due to a lack of demand from industry. And industry continues to stagnate, despite significant benefits provided to Pakistan by the European Union in the early 2000s and other external favorable circumstances.

The crisis also affected metallurgy and heavy engineering, which are basic to the economy. Built 1974–1985 With preferential Soviet aid, a large metallurgical plant near Karachi has not been operating since 2015 due to debts. Attempts to privatize it have failed, and on the site of the collapsing plant they are planning to establish a park of industrial enterprises designed for export.

The slow growth rate of Pakistani goods exports is considered to be one of the main reasons for macroeconomic problems. Reasons for Pakistan's poor merchandise exports are unclear³. Apparently, the reasons lie in the social sphere, in the ways of organizing and managing the production process by private owners and the state. A negative role is played by the activities of lobbying groups, which ensure that industrialists and financial tycoons receive unjustified benefits and kickbacks to top officials. According to Miftah Ismail, who recently held the post of Minister of Finance of the country, all this is a direct robbery of the state budget, robbing the poor from the rich⁴.

Ossification of industrial oligarchy

One of Pakistan's long-standing problems is the weakness of its industrial bourgeoisie. Some authors, prone to class analysis, believe that the dominant position in the country's economy is occupied not by the bourgeoisie, but by the proto-bourgeoisie, i.e. an immature social stratum that has not yet become a true bourgeoisie. And in this they see fundamental differences between the Pakistani path of development and the Indian one. It is difficult to fully agree with this interpretation; there is some truth in it, since it takes into account the underdevelopment of the country's industrial base, inherited from colonial times, and the lack of a tradition of investing in industrial assets among the country's indigenous population.

The first industrialists who appeared at the turn of the 1940s and 50s were merchants and traders and almost exclusively consisted of immigrants from other regions of India [3].

² Asian Development Bank and Bangladesh. Asian Development Bank and India. Asian Development Bank and Pakistan. Fact Sheets. Available from: adv.org/publications/series/fact-sheets

³ Nekhoda A. Explaining Pakistan's balance of payments crisis. Dawn, April 19 2023. Available from: dawn.com/article/1714456/explaining-pakistans-balabce-of-payments-crisis

⁴ Miftah outlines problems afflicting economy. The Express Tribune October 18 2022. Available from: tribune.com.pk/story/2382082/miftah-ouylines-problems-afflicting-economy

The resulting bourgeoisie, which did not belong to the main ethnic groups of the country, found itself in a monopoly position. Under the influence of government policy and favorable global conditions, commercial capital quickly transformed into industrial and financial capital, turning the first capital of the state, the port city of Karachi, rich and prosperous. With the assistance of government officials, immigrants, mainly from Bombay and the province of Gujarat bordering Sindh, established control over the young state's foreign trade and created its large manufacturing industry. Over the first two decades, they maintained their preferences through such state levers as regulation of exchange and foreign trade activities, seeking the sale to them at a preferential price of industrial capacities created in the public sector as part of the import substitution policy.

At first, barely perceptible blows to the monopoly position of the first generation of Pakistani industrialists were dealt by the military regime of M. Ayub Khan (1958–1969), who decided to move the capital from Karachi to Punjab, to the north of what was then West Pakistan. By this, he weakened the position of the foreign bourgeoisie, which was losing some of its close ties with the bureaucracy. But it suffered the most severe losses as a result of the collapse of the country in 1971, the separation of East Pakistan, in whose industry it had invested considerable capital [1].

The top of the first generation bourgeoisie suffered greatly from the nationalization campaign launched by Z.A.Bhutto in 1972–74. By taking the largest industrial enterprises and all major private banks and insurance companies into the public sector without compensation, the country's populist leader deprived many entrepreneurs of incentives to stay in the country and invest in its economy. The military regime of M.Zia-ul-Haq, which replaced the civilian one, gradually regained the trust of business circles, but among them groups of the local, "national" bourgeoisie, mainly Punjabi and partly Pashtun, already predominated. At the same time, a characteristic feature of both the first and second generations of industrialists is their clannishness, even casteism, and belonging to a trading environment local in genesis.

It is believed that since the 1980s. There were no significant changes in the structure of the Pakistani big bourgeoisie. She became ossified and withdrawn, keeping unchanged marriages between cousins and closed social communication (closed clubs, swimming pools, etc.). A book recently published by an Australian researcher suggests that the Pakistani bourgeoisie has remained isolated, poorly integrated into the international elite, which affects the lack of inclination for innovation and modern organizational and market solutions⁵.

The army in the economy, law enforcement and state security

The "pupation" of the bourgeois elite has led to the fact that since the beginning of the 1990s it does not play an independent role in political affairs. The last mass protest of stockbrokers, clerks of private institutions and other market representatives occurred in 1993 in defense of Prime Minister-entrepreneur Nawaz Sharif, removed from power by the military. At the same time, the Pakistani armed forces themselves are conducting active economic activities. Private corporations founded by the Armed Forces, the Fauji Army Foundation, the Army Charitable Trust, the Bahria Naval Foundation and the Shaheen Air Force, in addition to charitable purposes (providing pensions and subsidies to retired and serving military personnel) pursue and completely commercial tasks: increasing capital, increasing profits, increasing the efficiency of investments. Among private firms, the military occupies a prominent place. Unlike other state-owned enterprises, these firms are usually not inefficient; this is achieved through special benefits and privileges, that is, non-market methods that do not contribute to the dynamic development of the corporate economy [7: 219–242].

Pakistan's armed forces have achieved considerable success. The political and military leadership managed to create a large and effective military-industrial complex, which made it possible to sell weapons abroad worth billions of dollars a year. The military has also created an impressive nuclear potential, aimed, according to the Pakistani nuclear doctrine, "to contain India." Although, according to Russian analysts, Pakistan's main trump card in this case is not so much the threat of using nuclear weapons, but rather "well-trained, highly professional general-purpose forces that have extensive and varied combat experience" [4:145].

The army has been fighting terrorists for the past two decades. The number of dead and wounded military personnel is in the tens of thousands. After some lull in the second half of the 2010s, the situation in the border provinces, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa deteriorated again. This is due to the re-coming to power in Afghanistan of the Taliban* movement and the terrorist attacks carried out by the forces of the Pakistani Taliban located on Afghan soil and opposed to Islamabad.

The intensification of terrorists affected not only the border areas, but also Karachi, which remains the largest industrial and financial center, the number of residents of which has exceeded 20 million people. Afghan refugees, including the Taliban, and Pashtuns who migrated from the north-west of the country play a significant role in the life of this metropolis. Among them, mafia and gangster formations control the bulk of the road transport business; their positions are strong in operations for the sale and resale of land and real estate. The heyday of criminal Taliban-Pashtun groups occurred in the early 2010s, but even now they influence the situation in the city, which scares off investors.

Calculation of foreign investments and debt loop

Pakistani and especially foreign experts see a way out of the economic crisis in improving the climate for investment and "doing business." All the numerous assistance programs for Pakistan, which were regularly adopted by the IMF and other international financial institutions: the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, etc., were designed for this. Agreements on the last two IMF "bankruptcy rescue" programs of \$6.7 and \$6.0 billion

⁵ Khan S.A. Crazy rich Pakistanis. Dawn June 24 2020. Available from: dawn/com/article/6657230/crazy-rich-pakistanis.

were concluded in 2014 and 2019, but their implementation was accompanied by great difficulties. The implementation of the three-year program-2019 was especially difficult. In 2021, after disbursing approximately \$3 billion in several tranches, the IMF began to delay the disbursement of funds, demanding that Pakistan fulfill the conditions included in the program and evidence of progress made on them. In the summer of 2023, after much delay and numerous consultations, the Fund decided to allocate the remaining \$3 billion to Pakistan, which it must use within 9 months⁶. The provision of these funds, which are not too large for Pakistan, is carried out against the state's quota for special drawing rights and is in itself important as a sign of confidence in it; it facilitates obtaining external loans and attracting foreign investment.

In anticipation of this decision, Pakistan's civil-military leadership unveiled plans for overcoming the crisis. As part of institutional reforms, the creation of a Special Investment Facilitation Council was announced. The council, which includes the leaders of the Armed Forces and the government, is vested with extraordinary powers to combat bureaucratic red tape and corruption and is called upon to coordinate efforts to attract investment in the country's economy. Unlike the situation in the mid-2010s, when the main hopes were placed on the assistance of China, now the emphasis is on supporting the Arab states of Arabia and the Gulf. Pakistan expects that four states (Saudi Arabia, UAE, Qatar and Bahrain are added) will provide investments of \$20–25 billion, and ideally after some time up to \$28 billion? The military, epresented by Chief of Army Staff General Asif Munir, also joined the government's efforts. In exchange for help, Pakistan is ready to give the Arab "brothers" permission to create modern farms for breeding livestock (camels, horses) and poultry (bustards), and construct tourist and entertainment facilities. Industrial projects are also planned: oil refining, exploration of rare earth minerals, technological development of the entire southern belt of Pakistan from the Thar and Cholistan deserts in the east to the borders with Iran in the west⁸.

Loans already taken could lead Pakistan into a debt trap. This has already happened to our regional neighbor, the Republic of Sri Lanka. Both states, using loans from the IMF and other Western lending organizations to cover current expenses, rely primarily on the assistance of the PRC for investment purposes. As part of the agreement to build the ambitious China-Pakistan Economic Corridor project, Pakistan already owes China more than \$25 billion, and the total debt to Beijing is about a third of its total external debt - more than \$120 billion (in the mid-2010s . it was equal to \$66 billion)

The danger of falling into a debt loop frightens Pakistani ruling circles. Hence the desire to diversify the flow of borrowed funds and use opportunities to develop beneficial relationships with all counterparties. Among them, one of the first places is Russia, trade, economic and political contacts with which have been strengthened in recent years.

Conclusion

Overcoming the socio-economic crisis in Pakistan can be expected only after some time, most likely after general elections are held in the country and the start of a stable functioning government that enjoys the trust and favor of the military corporation. Since the deep causes of the crisis situation lie in social policy, it was in changing it that the most significant results could be expected. But one cannot count on them, since there are no signs of change in the sociopolitical sphere. The pressure on the left is exceptionally weak. Even the author of an article in the British Labor magazine, who is sympathetic to the left, writes about this [5]. In fact, only reformist measures are possible, which the IMF and other international institutions are calling on Pakistan9. These are reforms such as: a tax on the income of large owners of land and real estate, increasing the collection of taxes on profits and excess profits, the fight against illegal business, smuggling and drug trafficking. Such actions, although their need is fully understood by representatives of the middle strata and ruling circles, are difficult to implement due to the influence of the lobby, which protects the interests of a small number of extremely wealthy people. It is not easy to solve the problem of low growth rates and cuts in government spending, since this requires reducing allocations for defense, state security and internal order, which for the ruling corporation would be an encroachment on its interests.

Therefore, disasters and cataclysms are likely to grow. Pakistan is one of the countries most exposed to risks from global climate change. The increasing frequency of destructive natural disasters testifies to this. The environmental situation (lack of water, air pollution in cities) and constant demographic growth are problems that threaten social upheaval and instability.

The state has only one prospect – further inclusion in the system of regional and world relations. On this path, it is likely that part of the country will be developed for its own purposes by China and the Arab states of the Middle East, primarily Saudi Arabia. Pakistan will find itself at the epicenter of the struggle between the two informal leaders of the modern world, the USA and China. The growing contradictions between China and India and the possibility of acute conflicts associated with the pan-Islamic ideology of the Taliban will complicate the situation.

But a more favorable scenario cannot be ruled out. Scientific, technical and technological progress determines the evolution of human civilization. In certain countries and regions it manifests itself in the development of information technology. Pakistan did not stand aside. In recent years, the country has developed an IT sector that employs a young, well-trained workforce. Some of them are women working from home. The large number of young people makes Pakistan an attractive investment destination for international capital. The activity of local entrepreneurs and "freelancers" who are founding successful "start-up" companies is also growing. A major role is played by the rapidly growing Pakistani

Pakistan, IMF reach staff-level pact on crucial \$ 3 billion bailout. The Express Tribune. June 30 2023. Available from: tribume/com/pk/story/2424156/pakistan-imf-reach-stafflevel-pact-on-crucial-\$3-billion-bailout

⁷ Pakistan opens gates for Gulf investment. The Express Tribune July 29 2023. Available from: tribune.com.pk/story/2381293/pkistan=opens=gates-for-gulf-investment

⁸ Army chief wows to steer country out of crisis. Dawn July 25 2023. Available from: dawn.com/news/1766652/army-chief-vows-to0steer-country-out-of-crisis

⁹ IMF chief urges Pakistan to tax the rich, protect the poor. Dawn September 21 2023. Available from: dawn.com/news/1777063/imf-urges-pakistan-to-tax-the-rich-protect0the-poor

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diaspora, living both in the Near and Middle East, as well as in the USA and Europe, primarily in England. Technological progress, capable of moving social rigidity and political inertia from a dead point, gives hope for a way out of the severe crisis in which Pakistan finds itself at the current stage of its development.

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Contribution of the author

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Problems of Foreign Trade Development Between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tajikistan in Modern Realities

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Abstract. The article examines the main directions of foreign trade of the Republic of Tajikistan and specifies trade relations with the Russian Federation. Based on the analysis of the geographical and commodity structure of foreign trade of the two countries, problems were identified, the solution of which will increase the volume of mutually beneficial trade cooperation.

Keywords: international trade, export operations, import operations, structure of trade turnover, foreign trade cooperation

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Introduction

Foreign trade is the main form of foreign economic interaction and the most important factor in the development of the national and world economy. The National Development Strategy of the Republic of Tajikistan until 2030 notes the great importance of foreign trade and emphasizes the need to create conditions for the development of exportoriented production.

Therefore, this issue is studied in the works of many scientists. Many works by domestic and foreign scientists have examined the role of foreign trade in the national economy. The construction of a country's foreign trade strategy is based on the classical theories of international trade: Adam Smith's theory of absolute advantage, David Ricardo's theory of comparative advantage, Heckscher-Ohlin theory, Leontief paradox, product life cycle theory, Michael Porter's theory, Rybczynski's theorem and Stolper-Samuelson theorem. Russian and Tajik scientists analyzed the influence of various factors on the development of foreign trade, the influence of world trade on the growth of the national and world economy within the framework of globalization: L.Abalkin, V.Abramov, E.Avdokushkin, I.Balabanov, Y.Vinslav, E.Dracheva, M.Karimova, A.Kireev, N.Kuznetsova, R.Mirboboev, V.Nazarov, I.Nikolaeva, V.Oreshkin, L.Saidmuradov, B.Safarov, K.Semenov, Y.Sergienko, E.Sidorov, B.Smitienko, V.Smirnov, M.Sodikov, A.Solekhzoda, I.Faminsky, N.Khudoiev, V.Cherenkov, etc.

The purpose of the article is to identify factors influencing foreign trade of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tajikistan, which will help identify prospects for the development of trade between these countries.

Materials and methods

Statistical data from the Statistics Agency of the Republic of Tajikistan, the Trend Economy website, as well as target indicators of the National Development Strategy of the Republic of Tajikistan for the period till 2030 were used.

The study used methods of analysis and synthesis, comparative assessment, mathematical modeling and forecasting. When using the modeling method, the E-views program was used, with the help of which the table "Estimated equation coefficients" was built; the table reflects the coefficients of influence of each selected factor on the dependent variable and the calculation results.

Results

The commodity structure of foreign trade flows and their volume determine not only the economic, but also the political status of the state. In the context of increasing geopolitical pressure, Russian foreign trade entered a period of decline. A record number of

economic sanctions have been introduced against Russia over the past ten years, which are diversified depending on the spheres of economic impact, and the number of countries that have introduced restrictions on trade with Russia has also increased. In these conditions of functioning of the Russian economy, it is necessary to understand how to adapt to new realities in foreign trade activities and how to support the development of foreign trade [1].

Research conducted by international organizations shows that foreign trade contributes to economic growth in a country. Analyzing the dynamics of world trade, we come to the conclusion that the leaders are China, the USA, Germany and Japan. They account for almost 40% of exports and imports (Table 1).

Table 1. Export and import of goods for 2022

1 0					
All goods					
Im	port	Export			
World share %	\$Billion	World share %	\$Billion		
12,54	2715,9	17,86	3593,6		
15,58	3372,9	10,24	2062,1		
7,28	1577,6	8,27	1665,6		
4,15	898,6	3,71	746,6		
	Im World share % 12,54 15,58 7,28	Name	All goods Import Exp World share % \$Billion World share % 12,54 2715,9 17,86 15,58 3372,9 10,24 7,28 1577,6 8,27		

Source: Trend Economy. World export and import of goods. Electronic resource. Available from: https://trendeconomy.ru/data/commodity_h2/TOTAL

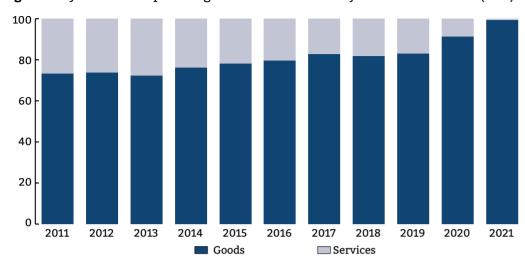
The leaders in world trade are economically developed countries. Leadership in both economic development and foreign trade indicates that these indicators are closely interrelated: with an increase in one of the indicators, you can see an increase in the other.

The total volume of foreign trade turnover of the Republic of Tajikistan in 2021 amounted to \$6359.1 million, including exports – \$2149.6 million and imports – \$4209.5 million. The main partner of the Republic of Tajikistan in foreign trade is the Russian Federation with a share of 20–22% of total trade turnover. The Republic of Tajikistan exports dried fruits, cotton fiber and cotton yarn to the Russian Federation. From Russia it mainly imports oil, prepared foods, petroleum products, wood products, metal products and so on.

To determine the influencing factors on the growth of trade turnover between the Republic of Tajikistan and the Russian Federation, it is necessary to analyze the structure of exports and imports of Tajikistan. The analysis will make it possible to determine those factors that directly affect the growth of trade turnover (Figure 1).

According to the diagram presented in Figure 1, goods constitute a significant part of the country's exports and their share is increasing every year. If in 2011 the share of goods accounted for 73% of total exports, then in 2020 this percentage increased to 91%, and in 2021 it already reached 99%. 2020 was special due to the COVID-19 pandemic, which led to a sharp decline in services exports. However, when considering the dynamics of exports of past years, one can notice that in general there is a steady trend towards a decrease in the volume of exports of services. The majority of exported services in the Republic of Tajikistan are air transport services for the transportation of passengers.

Figure 1. Dynamics of exports of goods and services of Tajikistan in 2011-2021 (in %)



Source: compiled by the authors based on the statistical collections "Foreign economic activity of the Republic of Tajikistan" and "Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Tajikistan". Statistics Agency under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan for the relevant years. Electronic resource. Available from: https://www.stat.tj

To be able to assess the commodity structure of exports of the Republic of Tajikistan, let's present its dynamics in Figure 2.

As can be seen in Figure 2, the increase in the share of exports of such goods as "cotton fiber", "electricity" and "pearls and precious metals" has become noticeable in recent years. A country's exports are determined by these goods.

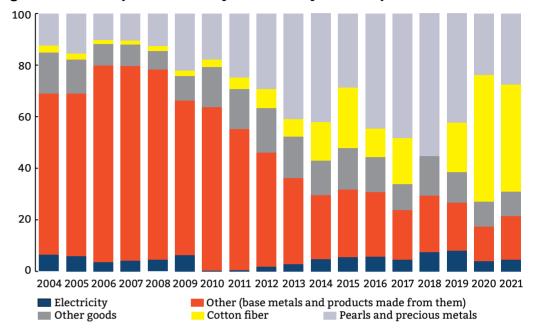
Thus, the rise in world gold prices and the increase in investment in the extraction of precious metals and rare metal ores may be some of the factors influencing the growth of the country's exports.

The commodity group "cotton fiber" is another significant export product of the country, since during the study period its share is approximately 12.8% of the country's total exports. A chart was constructed (Figure 3) that displays the volume, value and amount of cotton fiber exports to determine its relationship with growth.

Analysis of Figure 3 shows the relative independence of the growth of the amount of income from the volume of exports, which proves the direct influence of world prices on the growth of cotton exports. In order to be able to draw a conclusion about the impact of cotton production on the country's export volumes, it is necessary to analyze cotton production (Figure 4).

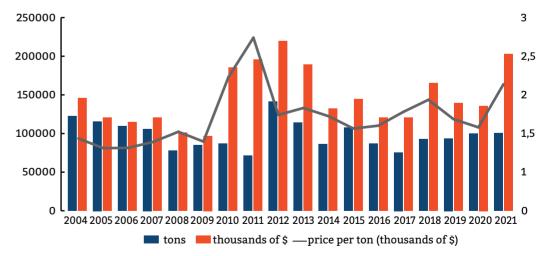
According to the diagram presented in Figure 4, the increase in cotton fiber production in 2017 did not lead to an increase in exports; on the contrary, exports decreased. In 2017, the Republic of Tajikistan received the same amount from cotton exports as in 2016, although the volume of exports in 2016 was higher than in 2017. The situation was similar in 2018, 2019 and 2020. World cotton prices influence the increase in cotton fiber exports.

Figure 2. Commodity structure of exports of the Republic of Tajikistan in 2004-2021



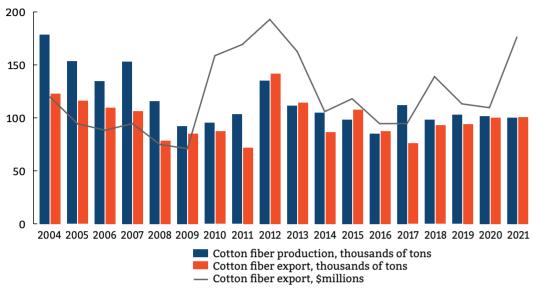
Source: compiled by the authors based on the statistical collections "Foreign economic activity of the Republic of Tajikistan" and "Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Tajikistan". Agency for Statistics under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan for the relevant years. Electronic resource. Available from: https://www.stat.tj

Figure 3. Export of cotton fiber from the Republic of Tajikistan in 2004-2021.



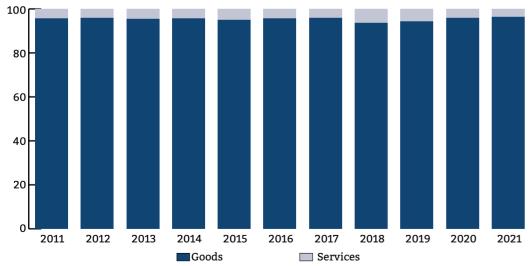
Source: compiled by the authors based on the statistical collections "Foreign economic activity of the Republic of Tajikistan" and "Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Tajikistan". Agency for Statistics under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan for the relevant years. Electronic resource. Available from: https://www.stat.tj

Figure 4. Production and export of cotton fiber in the Republic of Tajikistan in 2004-2021.



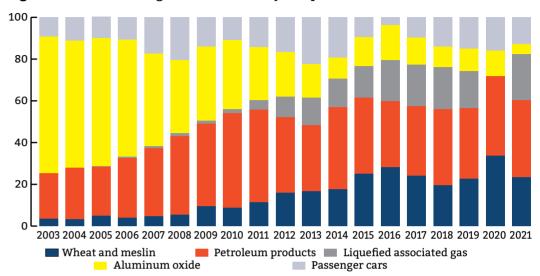
Source: compiled by the authors based on the statistical collections "Foreign economic activity of the Republic of Tajikistan" and "Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Tajikistan". Agency for Statistics under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan for the relevant years. Electronic resource. Available from: https://www.stat.tj

Figure 5. Dynamics of imports of goods and services of the Republic of Tajikistan in 2011-2021. (in %)



Source: compiled by the authors based on the statistical collections "Foreign economic activity of the Republic of Tajikistan" and "Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Tajikistan". Agency for Statistics under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan for the relevant years. Electronic resource. Available from: https://www.stat.tj

Figure 6. Share of main goods in the country's imports for 2003-2021.



Source: compiled by the authors based on the statistical collections "Foreign economic activity of the Republic of Tajikistan" and "Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Tajikistan". Agency for Statistics under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan for the relevant years. Electronic resource. Available from: https://www.stat.tj

One of the important aspects when modeling trade turnover in the Republic of Tajikistan is the consideration of imports of goods and services. The share of imports of goods and services should be analyzed to determine which ones have a greater impact on a country's imports (Figure 5).

Figure 5 shows changes in the volume of imports of goods and services. Goods constitute the bulk of imports throughout the study period, averaging 95.3%.

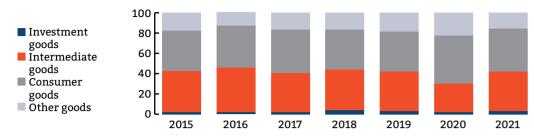
Based on this, we will highlight the factors that significantly affect imports. A study of the structure of commodity imports in Tajikistan (Figure 6) showed that every year there is an increase in imports of petroleum products, wheat and meslin, as well as liquefied petroleum gases. Let's divide all imported goods into the following groups:

- goods that are used as intermediate;
- investment goods;
- goods purchased by consumers;
- other goods.

Analysis of the diagram (Figure 6) shows that the Republic of Tajikistan mainly imports petroleum products, liquefied petroleum gases, wheat and meslin. Their share in the country's imports is high, on average 50–60%.

To analyze the country's import structure, we divide all imported goods into groups. This approach will make it possible to identify which products are imported into the country: investment or consumer goods. This division will also help to find a factor that directly affects the country's imports.

Figure 7. Share of imported goods of the Republic of Tajikistan by groups in 2015–2021.



Source: compiled by the authors based on the statistical collections "Foreign economic activity of the Republic of Tajikistan" and "Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Tajikistan". Agency for Statistics under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan for the relevant years. Electronic resource. Available from: https://www.stat.tj

Dividing imported goods into groups, it was found that consumer goods accounted for 47.19% of total imports in 2021. The share of investment goods was only 3.5%. Intermediate goods also make up a significant share (38.8%), which indicates the development of production and processing in this country. If we consider the entire period under study, we can see that imported goods are mainly represented by consumer and intermediate goods.

Cash income of the population is one of the main factors influencing the country's imports. This is confirmed by the fact that most of the imported goods consist of consumer goods.

To identify other factors influencing imports, a graph was used that reflected the volume and amount of imports of two main groups of goods, a significant share of which constitutes a significant part of the country's imports (Figure 8).

Imports of liquefied petroleum gas depend on the volume of products offered, so the influence of world prices on gas imports is not so significant. Imports of petroleum products are influenced by world oil prices.

In 2009, the amount of imports of petroleum products decreased, despite an increase in the volume of imports. However, from 2010 to 2013, a decrease in import volumes led to an increase in the amount of imports of petroleum products. This indicates that the amount of imported petroleum products depends on world oil prices.

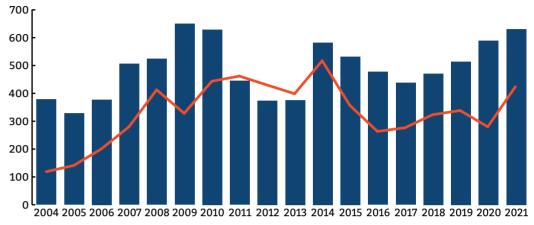
So, the foreign trade of the Republic of Tajikistan depends on such factors as: cash income of the population, world oil prices, as well as production volume and world prices for cotton.

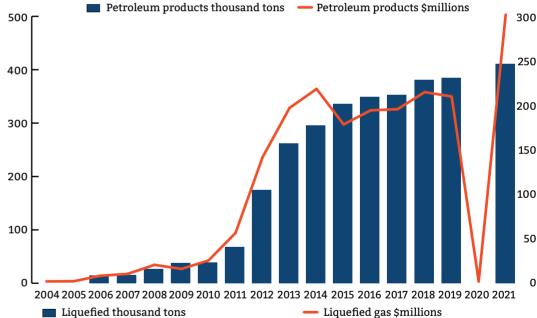
To assess the geographical structure of foreign trade of the Republic of Tajikistan, it is necessary to analyze the main partners in foreign trade turnover.

Since the main partner in foreign trade of the Republic of Tajikistan is the Russian Federation, it is necessary to analyze the influence of the above factors on the trade turnover of the two countries.

It is necessary to analyze the structure of exports and imports of goods with the Russian Federation (see Figure 9 and Figure 10).

Figure 8. Imports of goods that occupy a significant share in the total volume of imports of the Republic of Tajikistan





Source: compiled by the authors based on the statistical collections "Foreign economic activity of the Republic of Tajikistan" and "Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Tajikistan". Agency for Statistics under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan for the relevant years. Electronic resource. Available from: https://www.stat.tj

Of the total share of goods exported to Russia, 90% are textile materials and textile products. Products of plant origin are also exported (almost 9%). This section also includes fruits and dried fruits. Note that foreign trade between Russia and Tajikistan is influenced, first of all, by world prices for cotton and goods made from it.

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Table 2. Foreign trade turnover by main trading partners for 2020-2021.

Partner countries	\$Millions		9	%		Place	
	2020	2021	2020	2021	2020	2021	
Russia Turkey	1952.9	973,6	21.3	21,4	1	1	
Kazakhstan	1778.6	909,7	18.5	20,0	2	2	
China	839.3	472,7	13.2	10,4	3	3	
Uzbekistan	447.8	333,7	7.0	7,3	4	4	
Kazakhstan	390.5	322,6	6.1	7,1	5	5	

Source: compiled by the authors on "Foreign economic activity of the Republic of Tajikistan". Agency for Statistics under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan, for the relevant years. https://www.stat.tj

A large number of goods are imported from the Russian Federation to the Republic of Tajikistan. Let's analyze the structure of imports (Figure 10).

From Figure 10 it can be seen that Tajikistan imports from Russia products included in the fifth product group, that is, petroleum products and liquefied petroleum gases, as well as consumer goods. Thus, the foreign trade turnover of Tajikistan and Russia is influenced by world oil prices and cash incomes of the population.

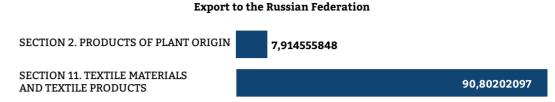
During these years, one could observe a complete change in the share of goods from other groups of Russian imports. In 2014-2015, the share of supplies of goods from Tajikistan of the second product group fell four times compared to 2013 from 18.6% to 4.5%, and after 2019 a recovery began to 17.7% in 2021.

The Russian Federation is the main partner of the Republic of Tajikistan; Russia's share in Tajikistan's international trade during the period under review never fell below 21%. For Tajikistan, the Russian Federation remains in first place among foreign trade partners. Tajikistan imports two main groups of goods: oil and gas, which are offered by the Russian Federation. More than a third of all imported goods into Tajikistan come from Russia. The main product groups of Russian exports to the Republic of Tajikistan include food products and agricultural raw materials, chemical products, mineral products, wood and pulp and paper products, rubber, machinery, equipment and vehicles, as well as metals and metal products.

Russia is on the list of the main countries for Tajikistan's exports, but Tajikistan's share in the total volume of Russia's foreign trade turnover is an insignificant percentage. Traditionally, the main categories of goods that make up Russian imports from the Republic of Tajikistan are food products and agricultural raw materials; textiles, textile products and footwear; chemical products such as rubber; machinery, equipment and vehicles; as well as mineral products.

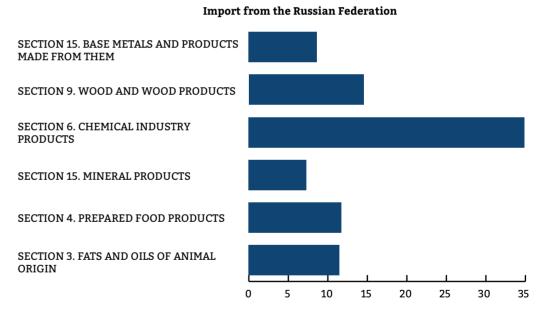
Each of these groups includes many different subgroups of goods, and within them there are many tens and hundreds of different goods.

Figure 9. Main exported goods of the Republic of Tajikistan to the Russian Federation for 2021



Source: compiled by the authors based on the statistical collections "Foreign economic activity of the Republic of Tajikistan" and "Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Tajikistan". Agency for Statistics under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan for the relevant years. Electronic resource. Available from: https://www.stat.tj

Figure 10. Main imported goods of the Republic of Tajikistan from the Russian Federation for 2021



Source: compiled by the authors based on the statistical collections "Foreign economic activity of the Republic of Tajikistan" and "Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Tajikistan". Agency for Statistics under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan for the relevant years. Electronic resource. Available from: https://www.stat.tj

Factors identified during the analysis directly affect foreign trade of the Republic of Tajikistan and the Russian Federation. Based on a regression model that contributes to the forecast of trade turnover of the Republic of Tajikistan, the dependence of the foreign trade of the two countries on these factors was identified (Table 3).

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Table 3. Estimated equation coefficients

Dependent Variable: WT

Method: ARMA Conditional Least Squares (Gauss-Newton/ Marquardt steps)

Sample (adjusted): 2008 2021

Included observations: 12 after adjustments Convergence archieved after 7 interations

Coefficient covariance computed using outer product of gradients

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.				
С	-0.723255	0.372189	-1.943246	0.0931				
Cash income of the population (-1)	1.266765	0.311824	4.062440	0.0048				
World oil prices	0.349340	0.238226	1.466423	0.1860				
World cotton prices	0.068609	0.375721	0.182607	0.8603				
AR(2)	-0.214097	0.090362	-2.369328	0.0497				
R-squared	0.836930	Mean dependent var		1.094396				
Adjusted R-squared	0.743747	S.D. dependent var		0.293571				
S.E. of regression	0.148610	Akaike info criterion		-0.680646				
Sum squared resid	0.154594	Schwarz criterion		-0.478602				
Log likelihood	9.083877	Hannan-Quinn criter.		-0.755450				
F-statistic	8.981574	Durbin-Watson stat.		3.265087				
Prob (F-statistic)	0.006881							
Inverted AR roots	00+.46i	0	046i					

Source: compiled by the authors based on testing results

As you can see, the coefficient R2 = 0.84, which shows the effectiveness of the constructed equation with the specified factors. In this equation, the C indicator is small, which means that the selected factors are correct. Probability indicators (Prob(F-statistic)) are also below 5% (>0.05).

Thus, the equation takes the following form:

BT = -0.723255101031 + 1.2667651288* X1 + 0.349339551933* X2 + 0.0686090941412* X1 + [AR(2)=-0.214097481115]

where X1 is the monetary income of the population;

X2 – world oil prices:

X3 – world prices for cotton.

Conclusion

As a result of the study of foreign trade of the Republic of Tajikistan, the following conclusions were made:

1. foreign trade of the Republic of Tajikistan is influenced mainly by external factors, such as world prices for oil and cotton;

- 2. the exports of the Republic of Tajikistan mainly consist of raw materials:
- 3. The republic's imports are mainly consumer goods.

To solve problems you need:

- 1. reduce the influence of external factors, in particular world prices for cotton. To do this, cotton must be processed and exported as finished products. This will increase export income. Measures have already been taken in this direction by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan in the form of tax incentives and state support for producers of finished cotton products.
- 2. the share of intermediate and investment goods in the total volume of imports should be increased and thereby reduce the share of consumer goods by increasing domestic production of consumer goods through the import of investment and intermediate goods.
- 3. strengthen efforts to simplify customs procedures for import and export. Thus, after the creation of the Trade Portal of Tajikistan (in 2019), the republic's foreign trade turnover increased.
- 4. increase the range and volume of exported goods, especially fruits and dried fruits. On the part of Russia, the demand for these products is great, and Tajikistan is not able to fully satisfy the demand, therefore land is being allocated for orchards and factories are being built for drying fruits.

There are problems in the trade turnover of countries:

- 1.In order to diversify mutual supplies of goods, it is necessary to expand the range of products; the current range of goods is limited.
- 2. there is a negative trade balance in trade between the Republic of Tajikistan and the Russian Federation.
- 3 Tajikistan plays a small role in the total volume of Russia's foreign trade turnover, although Russia itself is Tajikistan's main trading partner.

Increasing the export of goods from Tajikistan and continuing to develop trade relations with Russia will have a positive impact on the economies of both countries. Trade between countries in the region in high-tech products is a promising area. To develop mutual trade between states, we will need both appropriate structures (infrastructure for trade and logistics, wholesale distribution centers and logistics services), as well as the financial sector and other factors. Political factors will play a major role, which should ensure improvement of tariff and non-tariff conditions, strengthening of interaction between customs and tax authorities.

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Contribution of the authors

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Water Economy Resources as a Geopolitical Asset of the EAEU Countries and the Formation of Sovereign Development Strategies

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Abstract. Water is a vital resource for all mankind. Its resources can both accelerate and limit the social development and technological progress of any society, can be the cause of both prosperity and poverty, can lead to both cooperation and conflicts on a local, regional or global scale. The article is devoted to the problem of joint exploitation of water resources. Their fair distribution in the Central Asian region is relevant, requires coordinated approaches and the creation of joint roadmaps. They could diversify emerging risks by creating favorable conditions for the accelerated development of all Central Asian countries and building a unified infrastructure for energy exchange and water use, taking into account the interests of the world's main regulators of the scientific and technological process, who have historical claims to the dominance and assimilation of some parts of the economy in the national economies of Central Asian countries. The opportunity not to fall under the institutions of global governance will help to create conditions for local national elites not to lose their sovereignty and fulfill the tasks of sustainable technological development of Central Asian industries in a situation of digital transformation and post-crisis recovery.

Keywords: Central Asian region, water resources, Russia, USA, China, Iran, Turkey, water conflicts, EAEU, Industry 4.0

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Introduction

The relevance of the research topic is determined by the growing political and geo-economic instability in Central Asia. Here, long-standing conflicts between neighbors are unfolding, and historical claims to water resources arise, which are important for countries to enter Industry 4.0. as self-sufficient and sovereign entities building their industrial future. Russia, Turkey, Iran, China, the UAE, Saudi Arabia, the countries of the Anglo-Saxon world are implementing their projects that affect the economies of the countries of Central Asia, do not take into account national interests of the countries of Central Asia, and propose that of the countries of Central Asia should develop under their own dominance in some global industries or neo-colonial leadership and mediation.

Water resources, as well as technology, land and capital, are becoming one of the key factors in the post-Soviet republics that ensure the national security of the countries of Central Asia, determine their competitiveness in the technological and agricultural sectors, determine national sovereignty and the implementation of nationally oriented policies by the leaders of these states. Finding a reasonable compromise will help build your own effective development and obtain a multiplier effect from integration according to the cluster principle (Soviet geographic zoning zones and territorial-industrial complexes and industries of common customers and consumers of the planned economy of the Soviet period). At the same time, each country located on the path of the rivers is trying to maximize its geographical advantages and build a unique hydraulic network on the territory and in river basins that are of strategic importance for peaceful and accelerated modernization during the transition to the robotic-humanoid way of Industry 4.0. [1:15]. The proposed scenarios of various players have a number of features and do not always correspond to the desires of countries not to lose their specialization in the global division of labor and to confirm the uniqueness of their role in international economic relations, while transnational capital and countries offer long-term support in exchange for access to all resources, including water, for their enterprises (branches) in the countries of Central Asia [5:32].

The purpose of the study is to conduct a historical and economic analysis of the distribution of water resources between the states of Central Asia, considering existing risks and emerging threats, to propose ways for a harmonious policy in the field of industry and agriculture in order to take into account the needs of all countries and get their share in water resources; summarize historically applied approaches to the development of Central Asian territories to obtain multiplier effects in various national sectors, especially those dependent on water, such as agriculture, energy and food security [4].

Materials and methods

The water policy of the countries of Central Asia is considered. It is necessary to create competitive corporations, stimulate the use of new technologies and attract investments for the development of territories, stimulate foreign direct investment and import of Industry 4.0 technologies.

Scientific methodology should contribute to the systematic, step-by-step involvement of the countries of the region in water "road maps" while maintaining the processes of sovereign development of national industries and the priorities of their own national economy before the growing influence of global corporations and transnational capital, seeking to reduce the self-sufficiency of the countries of the Central Asian region, their own energy/raw materials/ water security and maximize the profits of foreign actors, provoke countries to waste the resources of their own economies and mineral resource base on the creation and growth of cross-border chains of transnational corporations that continue to export the resulting products and capital from Central Asia [7:18].

The authors use the methodology of the balance approach, which is in demand by the international scientific community, who wish to use it in the activities of UNESCO, SCO and BRICS to harmonize efforts for equal access to resources, taking into account the reindustrialization of the post-Soviet space [10: 64–67].

The authors use an analysis of the October 1991 Tashkent Conference., which led in February 1992 to the signing by five republics of the Agreement on the Management, Use and Protection of Transboundary Water Resources, propose to classify the resources themselves from the standpoint of their industrial use, a possible instrument of collateral, exchange, trade and investment in creating a joint field of interests and in determining common priorities for the balanced development of the economies of Central Asia.

There are many publications on this topic, which can be divided into 3 groups:

Anglo-Saxon historians, geographers, thinkers and naturalists who consider this region from the perspective of geopolitics (Heartland) or the West's strategy for the colonization and enslavement of the East from the perspective of logistics and food chains that allow solving issues of delivering unique goods to Europe. They identify outposts for the dominance of "civilizational forces" in the "kingdoms of savagery and ignorance", which have become a tasty morsel for the West, the possibility of confronting alternative projects of the Great Turan (the new Ottoman Empire), Ancient Persia (Iran and the ideas of a joint Shiite state together with those close to the faith countries of the global South), Arab caliphates and monarchies of our time (competing projects of the Saudis and Arabs from the Gulf countries, such as Qatar and the UAE), Chinese expansion in Asia (the assimilation of the Celestial Empire of all states under the idea of Great China, developing lands of close geography and the development of the Great Silk Road in the export of its goods from the Asia-Pacific region to the New World, the Middle East and Africa). These views were outlined and described by researchers J. Kay, J.Perry, J.Garten, N.Knight, D.Wallace-Wells, N.Ferguson, R.Sharma, K. Van Wolferen, B.Hughes, K.Baer, R.Kipling, P.Buchanan, C.Gati, G.Greene, K.P. von Kaufmann, S.Maugham, H.Mackinder, S.Huntington and R.Kaplan;

the second group of researchers is based on the Russian tradition of expanding the Russian Empire at the expense of the lands of Asia and with their civilized and full inclusion in a joint Russian, and later in the Soviet project, as well as the Russian, post-Soviet project, through the emerging integration platforms in the form of the CIS, Shanghai organization of cooperation and the "Eurasian project" through the platform of the Eurasian Economic Union. The pre-revolutionary period can include such authors as L.N.Gumilyov, B.A.Turaev, I.N.Nadezhdin, N.I.Roerich, E.P.Blavatskaya, N.N.Miklukho-Maclay, P.P.Semenov-Tyan-Shansky, V.F.Oshanin, A.R.Bonsdorf, L.F.Kostenko, M.D.Skobelev, K.Antarova, Yu.N.Tynyanov, M.V.Pevtsov, V.V.Rozen, N.M.Przhevalsky, G.N.Potanin, G.E.Grum-Grzhimailo, V.A.Obruchev, P.K.Kozlov, V.I.Danilov-Danelyan, N.P.Ostroumov, V.V.Radlov, N. A. Severtsov, K.I.Antipin, G.P.Vasiliev, M.I.Venyukov, N.I.Grodekov, N.A.Aristov, G.S.Zagryazhsky, F.V.Poyarkov, V.V.Bartold, V.V.Grigoriev, S.N.Abashin, E.I.Makhov, V.P.Nalivkin, D.Schimmelpenninck van der Oye

the group of researchers is the work of authors of the Soviet and post-Soviet period, who consider their countries as monopoly owners of natural resources and want to more deeply extend, through their management, their influence on the entire politics of the regions of Central and Central Asia, such as D.M.Mamatkanov, S.Primbetova, G.A.Rudova, T.T.Sarsembekova., T.U.Usubaliev, S.K.Alamanov, etc.

Results

The countries of the Central Asian region are characterized by an arid climate, so water plays an extremely important role in their development and post-industrial formation. Climate change and growing environmental problems focus attention on the water problems of Central Asia, because its territories contain arid steppes, deserts and semi-deserts, which make these countries dependent on interstate rivers, and this requires constant compromise.

Water resources have always played an important role in the development of mankind and determined the development of civilization. After all, the availability of water has always been not only a vital need, but also an economic benefit, a resource for the wealth of nations. Today, water shortage is the most important factor hindering economic growth and preventing people from maintaining health in most Asian countries. Central Asia is the owner of colossal water resources. She received the post-Soviet idea of planned diversified access of people to water as the basis of the technological and environmental sovereignty of developing countries in the region.

Inappropriate and ineffective use of water resources, lack of modern technologies, rapid population growth, poverty of the working masses in dire need of development resources, deterioration of irrigation structures and reservoirs have led to an acute water shortage both in rural areas and in industrial centers and foothills.

Water resources in the region are distributed unevenly, therefore the water issue is one of the most important for the states of Central and Central Asia. In the region, the

volume of renewable water resources averages 118–120 km3 per year and consists of the waters of the Amu Darya, Syrdarya and underground water reserves (14.7 km3). 55.4% of the total water resources flowing into the Aral Sea are formed in Tajikistan, 25.3% in Kyrgyzstan, 7.6% in Uzbekistan, 3.9% in Kazakhstan, 2.4% in Turkmenistan, the rest 5.4% in Afghanistan and parts of China and Pakistan¹.

More than 10,000 rivers originate in the mountainous regions of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan and more than 80% of water reserves are formed [11:69–72]. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, being in the upper reaches of rivers and having no other wealth, are forced to support the national economy through hydropower, while Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan build their economies on agriculture and industry. Therefore, if it is beneficial for downstream countries to collect water in winter and use it in summer, then upstream countries need to collect water in summer and use it in winter, which leads to water imbalance and interruptions in water supplies when using it. And water is important as a key resource between countries in their globalizing international economic relations, in upholding nationally oriented value chains, increasingly subject to the pressure of the selfish aspirations of transnational corporations and accompanying the growing harm caused by the uncontrolled exploitation of the entire infrastructure of the countries of Central Asia by global governance institutions [12:47–52].

Before independence, there was a centralized water and energy complex that provided countries with the opportunity to interact in common interests. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the system not only collapsed, but also entailed a conflict of interests that cannot be overcome to this day, making contradictions multi-level, from national to regional and global, forcing the elites of Asian states to engage in constant bargaining for their national interests.

States have made attempts to resolve the water issue through international organizations. The first step was taken in October 1991 following the results of the Tashkent Conference; already in February 1992, all five republics signed the Agreement on the Management, Use and Protection of Transboundary Water Resources² [13:381].

Today, cooperation in the field of water use is within the competence of the Interstate Commission for the Coordination of Water Resources - an intergovernmental body dealing with issues of water distribution and protection of water resources; the commission was created under the auspices of the International Fund for Saving the Aral Sea, which includes all five republics. This commission coordinates the distribution of waters of the Syrdarya and Amu Darya [5]. There is a Scientific and Information Center under the commission, and there is also a Water Resources Management Organization for the Syrdarya and Amu Darya basins. The work of these structures does not give the expected result, since the key problem is not solved - optimization of multi-seasonal water demand.

¹ Rakhimov Sh. Kh., Khamraev Sh. R., Problems of water resource management in the Aral Sea basin. Available from: chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/http://www.cawater-info.net/library/rus/saniiri80 3.pdf.

² How the ICWC was created. Memoirs of the founders and veterans of the ICWC. Available from: chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/http://www.cawater-info.net/library/rus/icwc_story_behind.pdf

The development of irrigation and hydropower is an important task of the water policy of Kyrgyzstan. The development of water-economic relations and the market for services in the water sector is important in both the internal and external water policy of Kyrgyzstan, which seeks to secure water leadership in the region and introduce mechanisms for uninterrupted water supply to its neighbors. Today, Kyrgyzstan's position in interstate water relations is unfavorable for the national interests of the country itself. Indeed, in a year, 22 km3 of water from Kyrgyz reservoirs goes to neighboring Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. This means that 80% of the accumulated water goes to neighbors³. Huge amounts of money are allocated from the state budget every year for the maintenance of these reservoirs. Therefore, it is necessary to raise the issue with neighboring states about paying for the costs of maintaining reservoirs. This can be solved within the EAEU, through the use of a classifier system for sold water and/or supplying it at reduced or zero prices as part of joint development projects or strengthening the unified Eurasian infrastructure of countries in the processes of digitalization and ICT industry delegation of general powers to each other [16:46–48].

The construction of water relations with Kazakhstan is formed based on its noticeable dependence on river flows from neighboring countries, which bring 44% of surface water resources into the country⁴ of the entire region. Therefore, the Kazakh authorities are interested in improving the existing situation and are taking a number of measures to develop more beneficial water relations for themselves, without taking into account the interests of other players in Central and Central Asia.

Tajikistan, in turn, adheres to a reasonable and legitimate position, according to which transboundary water use should be built on the principles of international cooperation, taking into account all national interests and on the basis of bilateral agreements between countries, taking into account the problems and their competitive advantages, and the investment climate. Since the country's water resources must, first of all, satisfy domestic water demand, Tajikistan is taking and implementing a number of steps to improve water policy, showing its good attitude towards partners in water agreements with a set of services in the joint Eurasian market, where it has long been planning to become an equal participant integration of countries for more than 9 years [17:45–48].

Uzbekistan's position as a "regional leader" was determined in Soviet times in the interests of the entire Union. There was a program for distributing the flow of regional and local rivers between the countries of the region. This allowed Uzbekistan to increase the production of valuable agricultural products several times. To create a non-stop and guaranteed supply of water to all sectors of its economy, the country operates one of the most powerful water management systems in the world, built on the water resources of the Syr Darya and Amu Darya. To date, an agreement has been signed between Kyrgyzstan

and Uzbekistan on joint management of the water resources of the Kempir-Abad reservoir, on the basis of which a joint venture will be created (at the same time, the Kyrgyz side undertakes not to build hydraulic and other structures that impede the natural flow of the river, and to prevent technical pollution of the water) [18:101–105].

It is historically known that Turkmenistan experiences a significant shortage of water resources⁵, since all surface water resources of the country are transboundary. Therefore, for Turkmenistan, which does not have its own surface water resources, the Amu Darya is a key source of water necessary for the development of the country, to meet the needs of a growing population and an expanding market.

Today, the expected sharing of water resources remains one of the most acute conflict issues between countries, not so much because of the lack of water, but because of the ineffective and irrational use of it, the lack of norms and rules, which are long overdue for discussion and adoption for the basic distribution of the scarce resource that produces the authorities of any state have additional and significant trump cards in geopolitics, and for their own power [6:59–63].

Since the time they gained their independence from the USSR, which ceased to provide a plan for each of the former Soviet republics, advisory advice has been given, without taking into account the factors of joint integration and the participation of different states in the development of national industries. The countries of Central Asia require increasingly intensive irrigation, since agriculture is the basis of their economic growth and provides advantages in national development and international cooperation [2:56].

Due to the lack of a unified political will among states, they are forced to be interdependent in water issues, while individual states focus on their national interests for the sake of developing their economies. Initiatives of some participants on water use issues may be viewed by other parties as attempts at a voluntaristic approach in relation to certain hydro resources. Thus, in order to reduce tensions and resolve interethnic conflicts, for the mutually expedient use of transboundary water resources and their protection, it is necessary to conduct systematic negotiations and consultations on a mutually beneficial basis, taking into account the interests of all residents of the region. A highly effective and optimal approach to solving the water problem is needed for the sustainable development of the Central Asian region, in order to avoid regional wars, to help in their growing integration among themselves and in increasingly increasing cooperation with Russia and Belarus [3:563-565]. The authors propose mechanisms for classifying water resources, their restructuring in favor of the unity of interests of the countries of Central and Central Asia within the framework of the Eurasian project [8:98] and maintaining a balance of interests with other countries leading an active investment and technological policy/ expansion in the region. The authors propose to create a joint "water map" of interests for the EAEU countries [9:30-32], take into account the interests of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan

³ Muralieva N.M. Water potential of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. Problems and potentials of economic development. Available from: https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/vodnyy-potentsial-respubliki-kyrgyzstan-problemy-i-potentsialy-ekonomicheskogo-razvitiya/viewer

⁴ Kasymova V., Alamanov S. et al. Positions of Central Asian countries on the issue of the use of transboundary water resources. Available from: https://centrasia.org/newsA.php?st=1386175860

⁵ Volmuradov K.M. Water resources of Turkmenistan: Potential, use, technology and ecology. Available from: //chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/http://www.cawater-info.net/library/rus/almaty/volmuradov.pdf

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and Uzbekistan, build interactions with China [19:9–20] and Muslim countries such as Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, UAE, the Anglo-Saxon bloc of states [14:35], trying to substantiate the idea of alternative development of Central Asia [15:45–48] from the standpoint of hegemony and post-colonial world order.

Conclusion

Preservation by countries of their interests in the process of their ongoing digitalization and reindustrialization, the search for a unified approach to the Eurasian market through the development and adoption of water "road maps" for industry and agriculture, taking into account existing technological regulations, should become the national security priorities of the states of the region. In addition, the management of hydropower resources in the Central Asian region should be considered by a water-energy consortium with the participation of the states of the EAEU, SCO, etc.

Work for the benefit of common interests and for the emerging in-depth integration of national industries in the region should be carried out on the basis of water consensus when formulating the priorities of each national economy, giving all states a chance to improve the quality of life of their population and enter Industry 4.0. Countries must have access to future benefits; the basis of technical development has always been, is and will be water and steam [19].

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The Interconnectedness of Central Asia and the Caspian Region: Current Issues

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Abstract. The article presents the main prerequisites and factors for the interconnectedness of the Caspian and Central Asian regions; the "window of opportunity" for the development of regional cooperation both between the states of the region and with neighboring countries was explored. The main factors determining the strategic importance of the region in the international arena, the importance of the large volume of hydrocarbon reserves, and the geographical location of the region are shown; interconnectedness of the countries of Central Asia and the Caspian states. As a result, the significance and prospects of interconnectedness between Central Asia and the Caspian region were revealed. In these regions, almost all the challenges and threats of globalization characteristic of the world system are manifested: multipolarity and economic confrontation between the West and the East; growing civilizational contradictions; depletion of natural resources; the likelihood of environmental and man-made threats on a planetary scale.

Keywords: Caspian region, Central Asian region, interconnectedness, interests of regional states, regional cooperation

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Introduction

At the present stage, geopolitical uncertainty remains in key regions of the world, negatively affecting regional security and cooperation. This is typical for the Caspian region, with the states of which Uzbekistan actively interacts on all topical issues.

The development of cooperation between the two regions is associated with a favorable political climate in Central Asia, where since 2016 regional cooperation on all pressing issues of the "common fate of the region" has reached a new level, in which the position of Uzbekistan plays a vital role.

After being elected President of Uzbekistan, Sh.Miriziyoyev began to pursue a new regional policy aimed at good neighborliness, the formation of effective favorable policies - necessary diplomatic conditions for bilateral and multilateral relations, to strengthen regional security and stability, taking into account new challenges and threats in the world and the region. All efforts of the Central Asian states, together with the international community, are also aimed at solving the Afghan problem. The main prerequisite for this was Uzbekistan's proposals for a constructive solution to existing problems in the region by the Central Asian countries themselves on the basis of good neighborliness, taking into account interests and reasonable compromises. This initiative was accepted by all states of the region and made it possible to achieve a breakthrough in resolving a number of issues that in the past were sources of interstate tension. Prospects have emerged for the consolidation of the countries of Central Asia, the formation of an independent geopolitical subjectivity of the region and the strengthening of its unique cultural and civilizational identity

Since 2017, regional cooperation to ensure security in Central Asia has become a system-forming factor in the stability and sustainable development of the entire region. The main condition for this was the organization of regular consultative meetings of the heads of state of Central Asia [1] as an effective platform for confidential and constructive discussion and agreed solutions to common problems of the countries of the region; meetings were initiated by the President of Uzbekistan Sh.Mirziyoyev. This mechanism plays a key role in resolving problematic issues in Central Asia based on the principles of good neighborliness, mutual trust, equality, respect and consideration of each other's interests1.

The growing complexity of the international situation and the growing threat of international terrorism, including from Afghanistan, are pushing the countries of the region towards closer cooperation. In this regard, Uzbekistan's foreign policy priorities involve the development of cooperation not only with the countries of Central Asia, but also with Afghanistan. As Sh Mirziyoyev emphasized in an interview with the Kazakh agency Kazinform, "intensification of contacts with neighbors also implies Afghanistan, the transition of which to a peaceful path largely depends on economic development, in which the countries of the Central Asian region can and should take part."2.

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Mirzivovev Sh. To Participants of the first international conference "Interconnectedness European Union and Central Asia: global gateway for sustainable development", 2022. Available from: https://president.uz/ru/lists/view/5714

The Central Asian states do not have direct access to maritime transport, which is why the transport and communications sector is a priority area of regional cooperation. In this regard, it is necessary to actively use transport corridors passing through Central Asia. As the head of Uzbekistan Sh.Mirziyoyev emphasized, the development of the Trans-Caspian multimodal route will be a great contribution to the further development of trade and economic cooperation between Europe and Asia, the access of Central Asian countries to foreign markets along the most convenient transport corridors³.

An urgent issue is also the expansion of cooperation with the Caspian states in such areas as trade and economic, food, energy and others. Today, most projects are implemented in bilateral formats within the CIS, UTC, and SCO. There is no comprehensive approach within the framework of the "Central Asia + Caspian region" format and mechanism.

This will update the study of the situation in the Caspian region, taking into account the interests of the Central Asian states. Existing studies can be divided into four groups.

The first group consists of the works of Uzbek scientists, which are devoted to the study of problems of regional security in Central Asia, the ideas of the countries of the region to counter modern challenges and threats, as well as cooperation with international organizations and foreign states in the field of security. [37].

The second group of studies is devoted to the works of scientists and experts from the CIS countries on issues of regional security in Central Asia (A.Grozin, I.Krugov, V.Kondratyev, etc.)⁴

The third group of studies is the works of Western researchers. Many research and analytical materials on the problems of the Caspian and Central Asian regions were published in the journal "Caspian Affairs" [49].

The purpose of the study was to study the characteristics and interconnectedness of the Central Asian and Caspian regions in the context of the development of modern international relations.

Materials and methods

The research is based on methods of systemic and situational analysis. The method of situational analysis was used as part of the implementation of the scientific project of the Tashkent State University "Interconnectedness of Central and South Asia", within the

framework of which its participants also conducted a content analysis of the media of the states of the Caspian and Central Asian regions. The authors also conducted an expert survey (30 experts) among specialists dealing with problems of interconnectedness in modern conditions. As materials for the study, the authors used materials from international conferences, round tables held at the Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies and in other analytical and research structures of the states of the Central and Caspian regions. Separately, official documents of the states of Central Asia and the Caspian region concerning the interconnectedness of the Central Asian and Caspian regions over the past 30 years were analyzed.

Results

Some aspects of studying the Caspian region

At the present stage, the situation in the Caspian region is largely determined by the geographical position of the countries of the region, the availability of hydrocarbon resources, the development of transport corridors, geopolitical and geo-economic factors, the general regional situation and differences in the national interests of the states of the region [1].

At the present stage, the Caspian region, due to its natural resources and oil and gas deposits, is called the center of gravity for the interests of large states of the world [7]. Considering the interconnectedness of Central Asia and the Caspian region, many researchers believe that the states of the two regions will attract the attention of global actors and the fate of the world will be decided in these regions [30].

In the theory of international relations, the study of the Caspian region is given priority. First of all, this is due to the geographical location of the states of the Caspian region, the influence of the processes occurring in the region on other adjacent regions of the world, and the development trends of the region itself.

Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Iran and Russia form the Caspian region, but this definition is formal and not fully developed [8]. In this regard, in practice and in the works of researchers, different definitions are used in relation to the Caspian region. For example, some Russian researchers, based on the geographical location of states, define the Caspian region as states located in geographic proximity to the Caspian Sea. According to this indicator, the Caspian region consists of Azerbaijan, Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Iran [27].

Some scientists consider the concept of the "Caspian region" through geopolitical processes [11]. Some researchers consider the Caspian Sea as a constituent element of the Caucasus and Central Asia [19]. Some scientists consider the Caspian region through the concepts of an international region. Expert on the theory of regions M.Lagutina notes that global regions are new elements of global regionalization, the main characteristics of which are the presence of a common space, nature and transnational networks [16].

³ Ibid.

⁴ Grozin A. Meeting in the Caspian Sea: how Uzbekistan is becoming the engine of Central Asia. 2021. https://uz.sputniknews.ru/20210809/vstrecha-na-kaspii-kak-uzbekistan-stanovitsyamotorom-tsentralnoy-azii-20014034.html; Krugovykh I. Expert: "Caspian issues" directly concern Uzbekistan. 09.28.2019. Available from: https://nuz.uz/v-mire/43575-ekspert-kaspiyskaya-tematika-napryamuyu-kasaetsya-uzbekistana.html. Kondratyev V. Uzbekistan is increasing cooperation with the countries of the Caspian region. 22.03.2022. Available from: http://casp-geo.ru/uzbekistan-narashhivaet-sotrudnichestvo-so-stranami-kaspijskogo-regiona/

A group of scientists believes that a cross-border region is an international region [14], a form of organizing cross-border cooperation [38]. It is characterized by the continuity of the territory, the presence of regional trans-border organizational and legal structures as elements of the region [13], the presence of a systemic infrastructure (in the case of the Caspian region - transport and industrial), close political and socio-cultural ties between them. In the classification of regions, the Caspian region should be classified as an international macroregion [32]. According to Z.Brzezinski, the Caspian region includes Azerbaijan, Armenia, Afghanistan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan [2]. A number of Russian scientists in the Caspian region, in addition to the five Caspian states include Transcaucasia, Central Asia and Turkey [9]. In turn, the concept of "Greater Caspian region" is actively used in scientific research [35].

An analysis of the literature shows that the main problems in studying the Caspian region are, firstly, the geopolitical situation; secondly, issues of legal status; thirdly, relations between states in the region and international relations; fourthly, the interests of international actors. Thus, an analysis of the scientific development of the topic allows us to conclude that the issue of interconnectedness of the Caspian and Central Asian regions is of significant interest to researchers.

Conclusion

The Caspian states - Russia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Iran form the "Caspian axis", which is complemented by the "Caspian arc", consisting of countries adjacent or interconnected with the region - Armenia, Afghanistan, Belarus, Georgia, Iraq, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkey, Uzbekistan, Ukraine. At the same time, the European Union, China and the United States, despite their distance from the Caspian Sea, have a significant influence on it, according to their national interests [11]. This is the concept of viewing the Caspian region through a system of concentric circles-belts, in which the "core" is formed by coastal states, to which countries nearby or connected to them in historical, economic, geopolitical and other respects, as well as global centers of power, gravitate.

From the point of view of the concept of ethnocultural division of the countries of the world by S.Huntington in his book "The Clash of Civilizations and the Transformation of the World Order," the Caspian region is located on the border of a hypothetical intercivilizational clash between Orthodox (Russia), Muslim (Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan) and Buddhist (Republic of Kalmykia within Russia) formations.

The historic breakthrough in resolving the problems of the Caspian Sea, achieved at the Caspian Five summit held on August 12, 2018 in Aktau (Kazakhstan), creates the preconditions for a serious change in the situation in a number of areas of the economy and geopolitics of the Central Asia and South Caucasus region. Uzbekistan will also be able to reap numerous benefits. First of all, from the growth of the purchasing power of the Caspian countries and from the increase in transit cargo flows along the China-Central

Asia-Caspian Sea-South Caucasus line, which will open up new opportunities for the export of Uzbek products. Opportunities will also open up for investment by Uzbek companies in joint projects for oil and natural gas production.

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Universities as Subjects of International Relations: The Potential of Kyrgyzstan

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Abstract. Against the backdrop of intensifying international competition between global players and international conflicts, small and poor countries are forced to look for mechanisms to ensure sovereignty and stability, including through the development of scientific and educational sovereignty. Therefore, the question becomes relevant: under what conditions can universities become effective subjects of international relations and help their states increase competitiveness? The status of universities as subjects of international relations is determined by the degree of their international subjectivity. International subjectivity is defined as the ability of universities to independently, regardless of the requirements of external foreign actors, determine the vectors and policies of international cooperation based on the norms, principles, goals and values of national educational systems. The authors of the article describe the conditions and indicators of such subjectivity. The mechanisms for integrating universities into international relations are considered: internationalization of the academic environment, participation in international associations; international rating. The positive aspects, opportunities, risks and contradictions of introducing these mechanisms into national educational systems are identified. Using the experience of Russian universities as an example, it is shown how, under critical conditions, these mechanisms become instruments of political pressure. Based on statistics, analysis of government decisions and the practice of universities in Kyrgyzstan, their potential as subjects of international relations are analyzed. It has been proven that now and in the near future, Kyrgyz universities will be located on the periphery of the global educational space, but have great potential for regional leadership. Kyrgyzstan needs to focus on developing this potential in the near future.

Keywords: Kyrgyzstan, international cooperation, subject of international relations, university, education, academic mobility, internationalization

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Introduction

Modern international realities create conditions for increasing the international subjectivity of universities. The successful integration of universities into the international educational space, entering foreign markets for educational services, including the opening of university branches abroad, ensures the attraction of investments in the form of material and technical resources, attracting foreign students, etc. The intermediary role of universities in international communications becomes a key factor. Universities become expert, dialogue, and analytical centers, develop recommendations for political decisions, and have a significant influence on the development of international cooperation in the scientific and educational spheres.

The status of universities as participants in international relations is manifested in the degree of their international subjectivity. By international subjectivity we understand the ability of universities to independently build vectors and policies for international cooperation based on the recognition of norms, principles, goals and values for the development of national educational systems. The international subjectivity of universities is confirmed by the fact that they can independently enter into agreements with foreign partners, enter various international associations, and independently organize projects and programs of international scientific, educational, and cultural cooperation. Universities have the opportunity to participate in legal relations regulated by international legal norms.

All Central Asian states, including Kyrgyzstan, are focused on increasing the international subjectivity of their universities. This is expressed in national development strategies of countries and state concepts for the development of education¹, aimed at increasing the international competitiveness of national educational systems. Universities play a decisive role in these processes, so they are the subject of special attention from both national governments and foreign countries. National governments want to strengthen the international subjectivity of their universities, to fit into the global educational space, preserving their values and identity, and foreign countries, claiming to be global leaders, want to influence this subjectivity. There are a number of mechanisms for increasing the international subjectivity of universities at the international level. However, these mechanisms have contradictory consequences, which in some cases lead not to an increase, but to a decrease in subjectivity.

This article contains an analysis of some of these mechanisms and an assessment of the potential of Kyrgyz universities as subjects of international relations.

¹ The concept of education development in the Kyrgyz Republic for 2021–2023. Available from: https://edu.gov.kg/media/files/118d4b79-d6ea-4648-9c1c-56280444e7fd.pdf

National Development Strategy of the Kyrgyz Republic for 2018–20240. Available from: https://nisi.kg/uploads/strateg/%D0%9D%D0%B0%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B0%D0%BB%D1%8C%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%8F%20%D1%81%D1%82%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B5%D0%B3%D0%B8%D1%8F%20%D0%9A%D0%A02018-2040.pdf

Materials and methods

Universities as subjects of international relations are seen as instruments for realizing the goals and objectives of public diplomacy (it is believed that this concept was first introduced in 1965 by Edmund Gallion, the dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University) and "soft power" (it is believed that this concept was first formulated J.Hiring). Based on the concept of public diplomacy, some Russian researchers believe that

universities are outside of rigid ideological orientations. If, for example, inter-party international structures, international scientific and production associations are limited to a certain ideological vector, then universities do not have such an ideological limiter [25].

This position, in our opinion, is not accurate, since universities are built into the state ideology; they form not only a type of professional, but also a certain type of personality, determined by the goals and values of the socio-political system. States are interested in creating a type of personality capable of reproducing cultural, social and political order, and external influences often disrupt this process. Therefore, the study of universities only within the framework of public diplomacy and "soft power" limits the understanding of the role and significance of universities as subjects of international relations. Events developing around Russia clearly show the need to study the international role of universities also from the perspective of the theory of political realism and the theory of interests.

During the research, the authors analyzed the positions of Kyrgyz and Russian scientists regarding the inclusion of Kyrgyz universities in the international educational space and their international subjectivity [2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27,28, 29].

The empirical basis of the study consisted of: statistical and analytical materials, in particular from the National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic; state documents of Kyrgyzstan regarding strategies and programs for the development of the national education system, reviews of the higher education system prepared by the National Erasmus+ Office in Kyrgyzstan², materials of monitoring of communication regimes of countries conducted by the National Research Institute for the Development of Communications [13].

Results

Mechanisms for integrating universities into international relations

The most common mechanisms for integrating universities into international relations are: internationalization in the academic environment, in the scientific and educational process; involvement in international associations; international rating.

The concept of internationalization of higher education is proposed by Western countries - leaders of the global education market; its practical implementation allows us to avoid losses in the event of unfavorable situations - demographic problems, a decrease in human and intellectual potential, the inability of national educational and scientific systems to independently produce innovations, a peripheral position in the world scientific and educational space, etc. Researchers of international education such as W. Brandenburg and N. de Wit note that this is the main direction of development of higher education in the world, which has changed "the vector from a peripheral phenomenon to the key interest of higher educational institutions" [1]. Instruments of internationalization are scholarship programs for foreign students, international cooperation projects, branding universities as international, international educational programs, internal internationalization of universities, international rankings, distance learning formats, information diplomacy of universities and student communities, cultural homogenization, franchises, double degree programs, etc. According to UNESCO's position, internationalization is one of the forms of interaction between the challenges of globalization and modern higher education.

However, internationalization, which has the ultimate goal of creating global education, creates not only chances, but also risks for national higher education systems. Previously, we have already noted the contradictions of internationalization and the risks of its implementation for national educational systems [9, 10, 11, 12]. These contradictions manifest themselves especially clearly when the interests of global leaders and contenders for this leadership, who want to determine strategies and rules for the development of the world space, collide. In such conditions, universities demonstrate behavioral models similar to other subjects of international relations (states, security institutions, international organizations, etc.).

By adopting an internationalization strategy, most national educational systems receive certain benefits in the first stages. They are associated with the opportunity to improve the qualifications of teaching staff, teaching standards, new methods and educational technologies, the quality of research improves, and they are integrated into the international scientific and educational space. However, along with methodological and technological innovations come new goals and values of education, and there is a unification of approaches to suit the interests of the authors of internationalization - global players in education, among which American and British universities are leaders.

² An overview of the higher education system. Bishkek. 2023:64. Available from: https://erasmusplus.kg/wp-content/uploads/%D0%9E%D0%B1%D0%B7%D0%BE%D1%80_%D0%92%D0%9F%D0%9E 2023 %D1%80%D1%83%D1%81%D1%81.pdf

Countries that have little experience in developing their national educational systems view internationalization as an opportunity to increase their competitiveness. They integrate their identity, national policy for the formation of the citizen's personality, their cultural policy and their values into international unified standards. In essence, they outsource the education and upbringing of their youth.

Another mechanism for bringing universities to the international level is their international ranking. To do this, universities must meet certain standards. The initiators set standards and organizers of the rankings, which allows them to penetrate, regulate, and sometimes control the higher education systems of other countries. In an effort to enter the rankings of the world's leading universities, national educational systems are being unified to meet the requirements of the ranking initiators. For lagging education systems at the first stage, this can become an incentive to develop quality improvement. Then, the desire to meet all rating requirements can slow down the development of the unique properties of national education and make it dependent on external factors. In addition, the events of recent years have shown the politicization of a number of international university rankings.

The third mechanism is international associations. Joining these associations also has two sides. On the one hand, national universities gain access to the best educational practices and have the opportunity to develop international communications. On the other hand, joining international associations contributes to the global unification of educational systems, increasing their dependence on the requirements of associations and is accompanied by financial costs associated with the costs of membership fees and various types of international accreditation of universities. Some of these associations are essentially commercial structures. Recent years have shown that the effectiveness of regional-scale associations is higher than global ones.

The experience of Russian participation in international university associations and international rankings has shown that some rankings and some associations are politically biased. Although the Russian participants met the requirements and standards, were accepted into international associations and were their active participants, in 2022 they were excluded from them, since after the SVO they did not support the political position and political interests of Western countries. Together with standards and academic requirements, through international associations, universities are integrated into the political ideology set by the leaders of these associations.

M.A.Eskindarov and V.V.Perskaya write about the risks of internationalization, associations and ratings. Let us allow ourselves an extensive, meaningful quote: "The spread of the practice of evaluating universities using international rankings compiled on the basis of unified and Western-oriented scientometric databases contributed to the emergence of such definitions as "world-class universities." ... This began to determine the level of financial support for higher education organizations and the accelerated spread of the system of paid educational services in their activities. At the same time, the process contributed to the gradual loss by national educational institutions of their national-historical, social and sociocultural specificities, which were an integral part of the knowledge of the identity of societies, which was especially acute in non-English-speaking countries. With the

passage of time and the development of all-consuming globalization, unified approaches to intercultural learning, socialization processes, and the introduction of European values and the basic foundations of Anglo-Saxon culture into the ethnic groups of different countries of the world began to dominate in the educational sector" [29]. In other words, the internationalization of education leads to the spread of American and British education as a global standard. European systems, competing with American universities, create their own mechanisms of influence, which can be analyzed by studying the information on the website of the European Universities Association (EUA). Among the most well-known, we note the Erasmus+, Horizon, etc. programs.

Russia's experience shows that under certain circumstances, mechanisms of international scientific and educational cooperation become instruments of pressure. For example, the Bologna Group decided to terminate the representation of Russia and the Republic of Belarus in all structures of the Bologna process3. The company Clarivate Analytics (which owns the database of scientific publications) has closed access to the database for Russian users, cooperation between international research organizations and Russian scientists has been stopped, and funding for joint projects has been stopped. Russia's participation in "megascience" projects has been stopped. The European Organization for Nuclear Research, CERN, banned cooperation with Russia and deprived the country of observer status. About a thousand Russian specialists were involved in CERN projects, Russian scientists participated in a dozen experiments⁴. Great contributions were made by scientists from the National Research Center "Kurchatov Institute", institutes of the Russian Academy of Sciences, leading universities (MSU represented by the Skobeltsyn Research Institute of Nuclear Physics, National Research Nuclear University "Moscow Engineering Physics Institute", Novosibirsk State University, St. Petersburg State University). Despite the contribution of Russian scientists, foreign colleagues are forced to exclude them from co-authorship, fearing that the results of scientific research will not be published.

The European University Association decided to suspend membership in the Association of a number of Russian universities, including the largest Russian universities that are capable of international competition with European, British, and American universities both in terms of the quality of education and the rate of growth in attractiveness for foreign students. The British rating company Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) suspended work in Russia and Belarus and decided to edit the ratings that included Russian and Belarusian universities⁵.Let us recall that in the top 100 of the QS ranking, Moscow State University took 78th place. M.V.Lomonosov.

These and other examples clearly show the artificial involvement of non-political subjects in political and geopolitical processes. The experience of Russia, which has

The Ministry of Education and Science announced the exclusion of Russian universities from the Bologna system. Available from: https://www.rbc.ru/politics/06/06/2022/629dec299a7947a0e3d5426f?ysclid=lf9bhgvy9b859350767

⁴ The European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN). Available from: https://ria.ru/20190929/1559197190.html?ysclid=lf9br39hp3241307175

⁵ The QS rating company stops cooperation with universities of the Russian Federation and Belarus. Available from: https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/5249752?ysclid=lf9eu31rge640550262

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gone from delight to skepticism in scientific and educational cooperation with the West, will be useful for comprehension in other countries that are at the stage of reforming their national educational systems, including Kyrgyzstan, which is choosing vectors and "standards" for its universities. By joining European and American consortia, universities in other countries can turn from subjects into objects of the policies of the founders of these consortia. And if in relation to Russian universities, which have enormous scientific and educational potential, their own base, history of management and the formation of training strategies, these measures of foreign political forces are ineffective, then in countries with less potential they can lead to complete dependence of the education system and youth upbringing from external actors. In the new conditions, Russia is reconsidering its approaches to international cooperation and making adjustments to the strategies and vectors of development of the national higher education system

The potential of Kyrgyz universities as subjects of international relations

Among the significant conditions for increasing the international subjectivity of universities, we note the following:

- material and technical base of universities that meets modern requirements (digitalization, interactivity, innovation, etc.)
 - educational products replicated and in demand abroad, educational technologies;
 - quality of personnel;
- a university environment capable of accepting and adapting foreign students and colleagues, as well as capable of producing international initiatives;
 - quality of graduates, competitive in the international labor market;
 - quality and relevance (implementation) of international-level research;
- international projects initiated by national universities and having predominantly national funding.

These are the most significant conditions under which universities become influential subjects of international relations, promote national education systems and educational products at the international level, train personnel for foreign countries, introduce the foreign public to the culture and characteristics of their country, influence social, political, economic, cultural processes.

But the degree of their subjectivity depends on who creates the above conditions and who finances universities, who train university personnel.

At a minimum, the following can serve as quantitative indicators of universities as subjects of international relations:

- institutional basis for the development of universities;
- structure of universities and funding levels;
- quality of staffing;
- language of instruction;
- the number of foreign students studying in the country.

These data are quite objective, as they are presented by the statistical services of the countries. Let us consider Kyrgyzstan from these positions.

Institutional basis for the development of universities in Kyrgyzstan

The institutional framework consists of the country's strategies, concepts and legal documents. The Law of the Kyrgyz Republic "On Education" is the legal and organizational basis in the field of education. On May 4, 2021, by resolution of the Government of Kyrgyzstan, the Education Development Program in the Kyrgyz Republic for 2021-2040, the Action Plan for 2021-2023 for implementation were approved, and tasks and measures for implementing the strategy in the field of higher education were formed. As part of the program, a regulatory legal act has been developed for the implementation of PhD programs. One of the main goals of the Program is to enter the top 200 universities in the world by 2040. However, detailed tools and methods for achieving the set goals are not proposed in the Program.

To improve the quality of education and verify compliance with the state standard, state and private accreditations are carried out. By Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Kyrgyz Republic "On approval of state educational standards of higher professional education" of the Kyrgyz Republic Nº 1578/1, September 21, 2021, state educational standards of higher professional education were approved, confirmed by awarding the graduate the qualifications "Bachelor", "Master", "Specialist".

As part of the country's digital transformation strategy, the Concept for the development of the educational system of Kyrgyzstan with elements of media and information literacy was adopted. It is important for Kyrgyzstan to increase the media, information and digital literacy of the population and, above all, youth, and this requires improving educational standards. In order to implement the Concept of digital transformation "Digital Kyrgyzstan 2019–2023", approved by the decision of the Security Council of the Kyrgyz Republic dated December 14, 2018 № 2, the Order of the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic dated February 15, 2019 № 20-r approved the "Road Map" for the implementation of the Digital Concept transformation "Digital Kyrgyzstan 2019-2023". In paragraph 79 of this document, the Ministry of Education and Science of the Kyrgyz Republic is given the task − "Improving educational standards in the system of school and higher education of the Kyrgyz Republic". During the analysis of documents and their implementation, it was revealed that programs developed for universities are not enough to comprehensively improve higher education. They are much better designed for school and preschool education.

Now Kyrgyzstan lags behind in the strategic, program and project development of higher education. For example, effective programs have not been developed to achieve the

⁶ Methodological guidance on the implementation of digital education in the educational system of the Kyrgyz Republic / Under the general editorship of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Kyrgyz Republic, the Kyrgyz Academy of Education, the Media Support Center. Bishkek. 2020.

goals and objectives set. If Russia has such state programs as "Priority 2030" to support universities, "Export of Education to the Russian Federation", such programs have not yet been developed in Kyrgyzstan. There are a number of institutional reasons for the underdevelopment of the country's education system; corruption in the educational system; managerial instability (frequent changes of education ministers); ineffective educational standards; economic reasons (insufficient funding for the development of education); lack of finances; outdated teaching methods and frequent plagiarism of both scientific research and educational products; slow adoption of new technologies and lagging behind trends. However, a number of measures have been taken to improve the quality of education. In 2022, the international scholarship of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic "El Umutu" was established, which will allow citizens of Kyrgyzstan to study at foreign universities in the top 100 world rankings. The first scholarship recipients entered master's programs at Columbia and Stanford universities, Johns Hopkins University, as well as universities in London, Copenhagen, Pennsylvania, and Texas. Universities in Kyrgyzstan continue to develop academic mobility programs with the European Union (Erasmus+ Program and bilateral interuniversity programs), Japan (Japan International Cooperation Agency – JICA), Germany (German Society for International Cooperation - GIZ and German Academic Exchange Service -DAAD), China (program of the Confucius Institute). Joint educational programs are being implemented within the framework of intergovernmental and interdepartmental agreements with universities in Russia, Kazakhstan, etc. International cooperation is implemented in network formats with universities in the CIS and SCO countries. Taking into account the growing influence of the BRICS countries, it is advisable to consider deepening the educational scientific cooperation of Kyrgyzstan in this association. The prospects of their educational systems of the BRICS countries have been repeatedly noted by both Russian and Western researchers [6, 15]

Amounts of funding and structure of universities

Since 2001, there has been an annual increase in funding for higher education⁸. In 2022, government funding amounted to 9,635.3 million soms. For comparison: in 2019 – 5,695.8 million soms, in 2020 – 5,745.1 million soms, in 2021 – 7,354.7 million soms.

At the same time, the number of universities is growing. A comparison of the number of universities, the number of students and the amount of funding helps to understand that there is no improvement in the material and economic support of state universities.

If in 1991 there were 6 universities, in 2001 – 48 universities, then in 2022 there are 61 universities in Kyrgyzstan (227,582 students)⁹ of these, 33 universities are private. They

educate 14% of the total number of students in Kyrgyzstan. An analysis of the distribution of students on a budgetary basis shows that education in Kyrgyzstan is practically paid -89% (201,858 people) of the total number of students study on a paid basis. We especially emphasize these data, since the information field often conveys information about the number of students studying in state universities, and not about the system of payment for this education. As an example, let us cite information from the website of a government agency that "the majority of students from neighboring countries study in state universities, and students from far abroad study in non-state universities" 10.

The distribution of private universities is uneven: 10 of them are located in Bishkek, 5 in the Chui region, 3 in the Jalal-Abad region. 34 public universities out of 43 are located in Bishkek, 4 in Osh, and one university in all other regions of Kyrgyzstan. There are no state universities in the Chui region. This imbalance is explained by the concentration of the most qualified teaching staff in Bishkek¹¹.

In order to improve the quality of education, in 2022, the Decree of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic "On Measures to Increase the Potential and Competitiveness of Educational Organizations of Higher Professional Education of the Kyrgyz Republic"12 and the resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers "On Some Issues of Reorganization of Higher Educational Institutions of the Kyrgyz Republic" were adopted¹³. According to the resolutions, the Kyrgyz State University of Construction, Transport and Architecture named after N.Isanov (KGUSTA) and the Kyrgyz State University of Geology, Mining and Natural Resources Development named after U.Asanaliev (KSGU) were reorganized by joining the Kyrgyz State Technical University named after. I.Razzakova (KSTU). Also, according to the decree of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic, the Kyrgyz Economic University named after. M.Ryskulbekov received the status of a research university. It was joined through reorganization by the Academy of Business and Social Development and the Bishkek Financial and Economic College named after. A.Toktonalieva. By Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Kyrgyz Republic dated November 21, 2022 №654 "On Amendments to Certain Decisions of the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic to Give Special Status to State Higher Educational Institutions," a number of universities in Kyrgyzstan were granted a special status - organizational, financial and academic autonomy. This status has the Kyrgyz National University named after. Zh.Balasagyn, Kyrgyz State Technical University named after. Razzakova, Kyrgyz National Agrarian University named after. K. I. Scriabin, Kyrgyz State Medical Academy named after, I.K.Akhunbaeva, Osh State University. It is planned that these universities will create a university ecosystem of a new format with research and creative projects, will develop according to the university 4.0 model and will have to enter the top 500 QS Asia.

⁷ Priority 2030. Available from: https://priority2030.ru/

⁸ National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic. Available from: https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.stat.kg%2Fru%2Fstatistics%2Fdownload%2Fdynamic%2F1279%2F6wdOrigin=BROWSELINK

⁹ The number of educational organizations by type. Available from: https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.stat.kg%2Fru%2Fstatistics%2Fdownload%2Fdynamic%2F703%2F&wdOrigin=BROWSELINK

¹⁰ In Kyrgyzstan, 84% of students study at public universities. Available from: ttps://edu.gov.kg/organizations/5/posts/411/

Education and Science in the Kyrgyz Republic, 2018-2022: Stat. collecting. Bishkek: 2023:126.

Decree of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic No. 243 dated July 18, 2022 "On measures to increase the potential and competitiveness of educational institutions of higher professional education of the Kyrgyz Republic". Available from: https://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=35978545

¹³ Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Kyrgyz Republic No. 414 dated July 29, 2022 "On some issues of reorganization of higher educational institutions of the Kyrgyz Republic". Available from: https://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=30306285

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Thus, the institutional base of the higher education system in Kyrgyzstan is developing towards the internationalization of the education system of Kyrgyzstan, participation in international rankings and consortia.

Staffing of Kyrgyz universities

In state educational organizations of higher professional education, there are 19 students per teacher, and in private ones – 17 students. In 2022, out of the total number of teaching staff (12,039 people), only 28% of teachers had the academic degree of Candidate of Sciences, Doctor of Sciences – 7%, the academic title of Associate Professor – 18% and Professor – $5\%^{14}$.

In the near future, a significant increase in the scientific potential of universities in Kyrgyzstan is not expected. The number of graduate students over five years decreased by 10% and in 2022 amounted to 2.2 thousand people. Of the 614 graduate students graduating in 2022, only 16 (2.6%) defended their dissertations.

Over the past five years, the number of doctoral students has increased 1.6 times and in 2022 amounted to 236 people. Of the 12 doctoral students graduated in 2022, 3 defended their dissertations. In general, the involvement of universities in scientific research is low. Of the 69 organizations carrying out research and development, 23 are in the higher education sector (21 in the business sector, 25 in the public sector). The number of scientific and pedagogical workers who carried out scientific research and development along with teaching activities is 1924 people. In the total volume of scientific research and development carried out in 2022, the largest share (about 69%) came not from the university, but from the public sector of activity. State budget expenditures on scientific research and development in 2022 amounted to 790.8 soms – this is 0.1% of GDP and 0.3% of total state budget expenditures¹⁵.

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Language in which teaching is conducted

High potential remains for the formation of a common educational space with Russia. This is facilitated by the training of Russian-language school graduates and the number of joint educational projects between Russia and Kyrgyzstan (Table 1).

Table 1. Distribution of full-time general education organizations by language of instruction (number in units)

•		•									
Indicators	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Education organizations with one language of instruction	1718	1714	1 698	1 692	1 685	1 689	1 663	1 672	1 653	1 677	1 666
including:											
Kyrgyz	1 437	1 443	1 434	1 439	1 423	1 427	1 395	1389	1 376	1399	1369
Russian	202	203	203	198	216	226	234	251	248	247	264
Uzbek.	76	65	58	52	43	33	31	29	26	28	25
Tajik	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
English											5
Educational organizations with two or more languages of instruction	483	493	507	526	551	573	602	611	643	656	684
including:											
Kyrgyz-Russian	348	346	360	369	397	409	445	453	484	499	520
Kyrgyz-Uzbek	56	60	54	54	49	52	49	45	48	49	43
Kyrgyz-Tajik	1	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	2
Russian-English											4
Uzbek-Russian	45	46	49	52	48	54	52	50	56	49	51
Uzbek-Tajik		-	-	1	1	1	_	1	_	_	_
Russian-Tajik	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kyrgyz-Uzbek-Russian	29	35	38	43	50	51	50	56	50	53	59
Russian-Uzbek-Tajik	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2
Kyrgyz-Russian-English											2
Kyrgyz-Russian-Uzbek- Tajik	-	_	_	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Source: National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic 16

An analysis of the number of students in educational institutions of higher professional education by language of instruction (at the beginning of the 2022/2023 academic year) shows that the number of students studying in Russian is quite large (118,864 students are studying in Russian, 79,385 students are studying in Kyrgyz, 26,430 are studying in English, 2846 in Turkish). However, data given as a percentage of the total number of students shows a decrease in the proportion of students studying in Russian (Table 2).

¹⁴ Education and Science in the Kyrgyz Republic, 2018-2022: Stat. collecting. Bishkek: 2023:123.

¹⁵ Ibid:142.

The National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic. Available from: https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.stat.kg%2Fru%2Fstatistics%2Fdownload%2Fdynamic%2F1221%2F&wdOrigin=BROWSELINK

Table 2. Percentage of students studying in different languages (in % of the total number of students)

	2018/2019	2019/2020	2020/2021	2021/2022	2022/2023
	2016/2019	2019/2020	2020/2021	2021/2022	2022/2023
Kyrgyz	24,7	27,6	31,8	31,7	34,9
Russian	65,7	60,8	57,1	56,1	52,2
English	7,8	9,4	9,6	10,9	11,6
Turkish	1,4	1,6	1,4	1,3	1,3

Source: National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic 17

An analysis of the practice of implementing educational programs shows that the majority of foreign students (not from CIS countries) study in English at international universities that work according to foreign standards.

Number of foreign students studying in the country

Analysis of statistical data allows us to conclude that the number of foreign students in Kyrgyzstan is growing (Tables 3, 4).

Table 3. Number of students from non-CIS countries (at the beginning of the academic year, people)

Indicators	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Total	3 286	3 467	4 257	5 627	6 520	8 881	10 862	15 547	19 529	23 598	25 321
including:											
Afghanistan	54	66	107	123	148	169	161	141	49	274	347
China	385	255	267	187	269	273	220	204	99	216	399
India	1 137	1709	2 377	3 917	4 745	6 828	8 662	10 749	12 272	14 377	15 306
Iran	25	2	7	7	2	1	3	9	7	3	10
Mongolia	2	1	8	8	6	9	13	19	26	26	20
Nepal	21	45	23	17	15	24	11	7	3	1	4
Syria	43	7	15	16	14	16	20	24	21	10	23
Pakistan	778	628	559	413	390	579	830	3 533	6 003	7 498	8 407
Turkey	772	679	696	695	655	624	510	532	509	499	467
Georgia	3	1	2	1	_	_	1	2	1	1	-
Other countries	66	74	196	243	276	358	431	327	539	693	338

Source: National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic 18

The largest number of foreign students come to Kyrgyzstan from India and Pakistan. But most of the students study from the CIS countries (Table 4).

Table 4. Number of students from CIS countries (at the beginning of the academic year, people)

	Indicators	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
	Total	7 977	8 195	8 466	8 908	8 194	7 653	8 764	21 049	43 889	57 103	46 353
	including:											
_	Azerbaijan	41	132	57	56	153	33	132	21	11	21	15
	Armenia	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-
	Belarus	8	-	_	-	-	_	-	_	42	1	4
_	Kazakhstan	4 357	4 338	4 828	5 184	4 655	3 294	2 479	2 083	2 178	1 985	3 179
_	Moldova	152	3	23	3	_	_	-	_	-	_	-
	Russia	927	1 225	1 377	1 186	910	1 535	1 622	1844	2 005	1 672	1 916
	Tajikistan	885	1 130	1 423	1840	1864	1 856	2 365	2 439	1 932	1 595	876
_	Turkmenistan	369	240	129	111	60	51	100	121	146	219	64
	Ukraine	18	33	9	9	12	2	1	3	4	4	17
	Uzbekistan	1 219	1 094	620	519	540	882	2 063	14 538	37 571	51 605	40 282

Source: National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic 19

The dynamics of the number of foreign students over 10 years shows a stable number or an increase in the number of students from Asian countries (mainly not rich countries) and a decrease in the share of students from other regions. Statistics show that from 2029 the share of students from Pakistan is increasing and the share of students from India is decreasing²⁰.

The dynamics of the number and geography of foreign students in Kyrgyzstan suggests a trend towards regionalization of the higher education system of Kyrgyzstan, strengthening the integration of the country's universities into the system of regional connections.

Conclusion

Strengthening the status of universities as subjects of international relations implies strengthening their role in international relations, that is, in the implementation of foreign policy, foreign economic and humanitarian strategies of countries. An analysis of the experience of introducing mechanisms to increase the international subjectivity of universities shows the inconsistency and ambivalent influence of these mechanisms

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¹⁷ Education and Science in the Kyrgyz Republic, 2018-2022: Stat. collecting. Bishkek: 2023:119.

¹⁸ The National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic. Available from: https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.stat.kg%2Fru%2Fstatistics%2Fdownload%2Fdynamic%2F1226%2F8wdOrigin=BROWSELINK

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Education and Science in the Kyrgyz Republic, 2018-2022: Stat. collecting. Bishkek: 2023:120.

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on national educational systems. It should be remembered that universities are built into state ideological constructs; they form not only a certain type of professional, but also a certain type of personality, determined by the goals and values of the socio-political system. Therefore, it is critically important who and how influences national education systems, in what ideological, sociocultural systems the professional training and socialization of youth takes place.

The undoubted benefits of international cooperation include the exchange of knowledge and technologies, the development of comparative models and approaches, the development of mutual understanding as a consequence of intercultural communication, improved knowledge of foreign languages and the ability to obtain information from foreign language databases and communication channels, familiarity with the culture and characteristics of other countries, the opportunity disseminate your ideas in other countries and other benefits that come from increased international cooperation.

At the same time, one should be extremely attentive to the requirements that foreign partners put forward to national education systems when offering cooperation formats. Along with the benefits gained from internationalization, national educational systems are forced to unify their approaches, goals and educational values. The consequences of distributing university funding depending on the success of internationalization and compliance with international standards should not be ignored. It is logical that some universities cannot achieve these indicators and, subject to a decrease in funding, will only strengthen their peripheral position. As a result, this will reduce the quality of education and, as a result, the availability of quality education for people with low incomes who do not have the opportunity to live and study in other cities where rating universities are located.

The specificity of modern Kyrgyz universities is that, by transferring education and communication into the national language, universities narrow the circle of foreign partners and interests. Therefore, strengthening the international subjectivity of Kyrgyz universities is closely related to the development of programs not only in Kyrgyz, but in the languages of international communication (Russian, English, etc.).

Taking into account the language of instruction, the composition of foreign students in national public universities (not international, private universities, but national public universities), Kyrgyz universities are able to maintain international subjectivity and become full-fledged subjects of international relations while maintaining educational cooperation in the CIS, while maintaining the Russian language as language of educational and scientific activities. Students from the CIS countries (the majority of them) prefer studying in Russian, and the CIS member states continue to develop cooperation in the field of education. Kyrgyzstan in this coordinate system has significant advantages and prospects in contrast to its peripheral position in the global educational space. In particular, Kyrgyzstan currently cooperates with dozens of universities from Central Asian countries and more than one hundred universities in Russia. Rejection of this direction will lead to a loss of international subjectivity and dependence of the higher education system of Kyrgyzstan on external interests.).

In the near future, universities in Kyrgyzstan will not be able to become independent global players due to the insufficient supply of highly professional personnel, the lack of demand for educational products and scientific developments of Kyrgyz universities, and the tiny proportion of students from other regions of the world (Europe, America, Latin America, Africa, etc.). Since foreign students from India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, etc. study mainly in international, private universities in English, we note the advisability of introducing training programs in English in public universities. Otherwise, foreign investments will go into the private sector and will contribute little to the development of the national, state system of higher education.

Against the backdrop of international events in recent years, starting with the pandemic, there has been a tendency towards regionalization of educational cooperation, and a tendency towards strengthening cross-border formats of interaction based on economic and cultural ties. To improve the status of Kyrgyz universities as subjects of international relations, it is advisable to focus on regional leadership. Develop national educational products in areas with the largest share of postgraduate and doctoral students, expand educational programs in Russian for students from Russian-speaking countries, and begin the formation of educational programs in English for English-speaking countries in the region. It is advisable to take the initiative and develop educational programs for advanced training and training of personnel to work in CIS, SCO, and BRICS projects.

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Contribution of the authors

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Original article https://doi.org/10.53658/RW2023-3-4(10)-118-133 **Political Sciences**

"Water Wars" as a Source and Instrument of International Conflicts

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Abstract. Water resource shortage is one of the global problems of our time. The article presents the results of studies of international conflicts due to the lack of fresh water, and analyzes the possible consequences of the growing crisis that may affect the world political system. The prerequisites for the emergence of water conflicts on the political map of the world and the most informative indicators that make it possible to judge the conflict potential between countries (the share of transit river flow, the level of use of water resources and the degree of climate aridity) are considered. The existing and predicted geo-ecological consequences caused by the degradation of water bodies and the deterioration of the water resource situation in the context of weakening research cooperation between neighboring states are analyzed. Successful examples of solving problems in the field of water use based on the basin approach, both between entities of the same state and between individual countries, are considered.

Keywords: water resource shortage, international conflicts, global modern problems, climate change, fresh water shortage, overpopulation of the earth, transboundary territories, international rivers, water use problems, water conflicts, water policy, Central and Central Asia, Foreign Asia

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Introduction (E.A.Kuzmenko)

The struggle for fresh water supplies has determined many international conflicts over the last hundred years. Competition for water resources has even become more intense than competition for energy resources. To one degree or another, the contradictions between Jordan, Israel and Syria are "water-based"; Turkey and Syria; Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. The problem of water scarcity has been studied for several decades by organizations such as the London International Institute for Strategic Studies and the Pacific Institute for Environmental Development and Security Studies.

Despite Russia's comparative abundance of water resources, its partners in the CIS and other integration associations are acutely aware of the problem of water shortage, which affects international relations. Limited water resources in countries provoke not only external, but also internal political conflicts among elites maneuvering between national interests, foreign policy conditions and the needs of different sectors of the national economy. Therefore, the shortage of water resources in Central Asia is directly related to Russia's position in this region and ensuring its security.

However, in the Russian academic community the topic of water wars is studied fragmentarily; there is practically no systematic interdisciplinary research on this topical topic. The round table, held by the National Research Institute for the Communications Development in partnership with the Russian Military Historical Society in September 2023, was aimed at updating the discussion of issues such as:

- natural and geographical preconditions for water conflicts in Central Asia and the South Caucasus:
- problems of transboundary water basin management; technology in the service of water conservation;
- unilateral policies of countries regarding water resources; effectiveness of international organizations in preventing water wars.

Selected reports from this round table are presented in the article.

Materials and methods (E.A.Kuzmenko)

The multifaceted nature of the problem required the involvement of different types of sources and led to the choice of several methodological approaches for their interpretation. From the standpoint of political realism, the focus of which is the balance of power and the struggle for power and resources on the part of major actors (states or blocs of states), V. V. Kochetkov examines major interstate clashes over water resources. It uses as sources reports from international research institutions on the dynamics of water conflicts, scientific works on individual regional water conflicts, and methodological articles. In the

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report, V. V. Kochetkova analyzes the influence of the theory of balance of threats, in which the threat to security (in this case, water security) is understood as aggressive intentions to defend one's own interests in combination with military, economic and geographical dominance [6:79]

Systemic and geosystemic analysis [2:72] underlies the political-geographical research of A. A. Medvedkov, who considers the natural-geographical factor to be a key component of international relations. To analyze environmental conflicts, the author draws on material from both the natural sciences and social and humanitarian fields of geographical knowledge; a probabilistic method is used to analyze the potential for water cooperation between regions.

O. M. Nessar presented an analysis of Afghanistan's water policy from a case-study perspective with elements of modern political regional studies. The report has practical significance not only for the countries of Central Asia, but also for large regional integrations. O. M. Nessar proposes to include the "water issue" on the agenda of the SCO and CIS meetings, since using the medium-term forecasting method, the report speaks of the inevitability of an international conflict between Afghanistan and other countries in the region, and the water issue in this conflict will be key.

Results

Water resource shortage as a global modern problem (V.V.Kochetkov)

Water, not oil, is the most valuable liquid in our lives. Life itself on Earth originated from water and it continues to depend on water. If we run out of oil or other fossil fuels, we can use alternative energy sources. If we don't have clean drinking water, our days are numbered. Without oil, our usual way of life will only change, and without water we will die in a few days [11: 40].

The main problem of humanity is the worldwide shortage of fresh water. Water occupies ¾ of the Earth's surface. Despite this, usable water cannot always be found in places where it is needed, especially in the required quantities. Most of the water resources – 97.5% – are found in the oceans. Such water is undrinkable and too salty for irrigation. Another 2% of fresh water is ice and snow in Greenland and Antarctica, groundwater deposits. And 0.01% of all water on Earth is considered suitable for human use [10:35].

In the first quarter of the 21st century, about a billion people on the planet do not have access to safe drinking water. About 2.4 billion people – 40% of the world's population – do not have enough water for proper hygiene, and 3.4 million people die every year from water-related diseases.

A constant feeling of thirst is characteristic not only of the inhabitants of the Sahara and the Middle East, but also of the inhabitants of Korea and Botswana. Today, Australia's population is experiencing water shortages like never before. Residents of the northern

states of the United States are watching with alarm as green lawns become dehydrated at the end of a dry summer, and water levels in reservoirs drop lower and lower.

There are three main factors that threaten international water basins: 1) "internationalization" of water basins in connection with the emergence of new independent states; 2) development plans adopted unilaterally (primarily dam construction projects without prior bilateral legal agreements); 3) general tension in relations between countries, not related to "water" problems.

The first factor speaks of the emergence of new independent states, poorly supplied with water, such as Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan. Conflicts arose in connection with the use and consumption of water from the Amu-Darya, Syr-Darya, Jordan, Nile rivers, as well as the Aral Sea basin, etc.

The second factor is that at some point one of the states sharing a transboundary water basin, usually a regional power, decides to implement a project that seriously prejudices the interests of at least one of the other bordering states. A regional power may take such a step expecting to meet its water needs in order to avoid declining availability of water resources. Examples include Egypt's plans to build a high dam on the Nile River and the diversion of the Ganges River by Indian authorities to protect the port of Calcutta.

The third factor is the conflict, which is heating up the political situation. There is great tension in relations between Palestinians and Israelis, including for religious reasons. But the struggle for water resources plays a big role in this conflict.

The problem of fresh water shortage has long roots. The first international conflicts over water occurred before our era. But they became widespread in the twentieth century, transferring the causes of armed conflicts from the struggle for land to the struggle for water. As humanity develops, the struggle for water resources takes on increasingly threatening forms and leads to interstate conflicts. The real reasons for the war are sometimes disguised as religious components, but it is easy to see the true basis of the conflict from the actions taken by the parties. For example, in the case of conflicts between Arabs and Israelis, one can see that the occupation of Palestinian territories was caused by Israel's desire to control groundwater.

The situation will only get worse. Competition for increasingly scarce resources will give rise to conflicts within countries and "water wars" between countries. Conflicts over water will also arise in the future due to global warming, climate change turning the earth into desert, melting ice and poisoning water resources. Climate change will lead to floods, desertification, thawing of permafrost, followed by the destruction of economic infrastructure, loss of agricultural land, and poisoning of water supplies.

The problem of water shortage will not be solved even if humanity finds new reserves of water resources, and they will help ease the pressure on rivers and lakes. The human community will begin to live as usual again; this discovery will only delay the day of "sentence" for people and all other living beings. Humanity has long been mistaken about the fact that the lack of water reflects only temporary problems in its distribution. Both developed and developing countries must finally realize that the world's supply of clean water is a finite and vulnerable resource.

Transboundary river basins – areas of existing and potential conflicts over water resources (A.A.Medvedkov)

Prerequisites for conflicts over water resources: the scale of the problem. Transboundary river basins are separated by the borders of two or more states. According to the United Nations Environment Program (2016), 60% of the world's river flows and more than 40% of the world's population are concentrated in transboundary areas. These are areas of both existing and potential conflicts over water resources, which become challenges to the security of countries and territories. A significant part of the countries in the world (more than 150) have transboundary river basins (286 rivers) and aquifers, there are about 600 of them (IGRAC/UNESCO IHP, 2015). And only 24 states (out of 153 countries) use cross-border cooperation practices.

The transboundary rivers in whose basins water use conflicts are recorded include such well-known rivers as the Colorado, Rio Grande, Nile, Jordan, Tigris and Euphrates, Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya, Irtysh, Indus, Ganges-Brahmaputra, Mekong, etc. Amazon basin is also transboundary, but so far there are no water use conflicts here; in the future they may arise due to hydraulic engineering construction on the tributaries of the Amazon and the consequences of large-scale destruction of tropical rainforests, which play a large role in regulating water flow.

Indicators of water conflicts. In accordance with the classification of water conflicts [9], the main contradictions, the most problematic and widespread, are related to water use and water consumption. Quantitative indicators make it possible to assess the severity of the water resource situation in countries with transboundary river basins. The share of transit flow is one of the key indicators of the indicator type, showing the share of river flow generated outside the territory of the desired country. The highest values of this indicator are in the following countries (among the largest by area): Bangladesh - 91%, Brazil - 34%, Venezuela - 41%, DRC (Congo) - 30%, Egypt - 97%, India - 34%, Pakistan - 76%, Uzbekistan - 77%, etc.[7]. The higher this indicator, the more dependent the country is on the water management activities of states located upstream. States with a high share of transit flows are particularly sensitive to the activities of their upstream neighbors if these activities involve hydraulic engineering, which allows the upstream country/countries to control river flows. This situation creates conflicts between countries. Thus, the Turkish project "Southeastern Anatolia" caused discontent in Syria and Iraq due to a decrease in the volume of water flow in their parts of the river basin. It is understandable that talk about the development of hydropower in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan causes concern in the countries of Central Asia. For Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, this means a deterioration in the situation in their agro-industrial sector due to the drying up of agricultural lands and irrigation systems in their territories.

The level of water resource use is an informative indicator that reveals the relationship between the river flow resources available on the territory of the country (it is by this component that the water resource situation is assessed, taking into account the relatively rapid nature of the resumption of river flow) and the level of their economic consumption.

Of the countries with a significant share of transit flow, the most difficult situation is in Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Egypt, Uzbekistan, etc. [7].

The aridity (aridity) of the climate is a factor that influences not only the appearance of landscapes, but also the volume of water consumption. The degree of aridity can be assessed using an indicator such as the humidification coefficient, determined by the ratio between the amount of all atmospheric precipitation that fell in a given territory and the amount of evaporation within its boundaries. In countries with arid climates, there will be greater attention to controlling river flows, which are controlled by upstream states.

Problems of water use in the Russian border region. Let's consider the problems associated with Russia. In Transcaucasia, this is a conflict situation with the Samur River; in the Lake Baikal basin, a potentially acute problem is caused by the planning of the construction of hydraulic structures on the Selenga River, and a very difficult situation with the Irtysh River, the upper reaches of which are located in the arid territory of China [13]. The Samur and Ob-Irtysh problems are discussed further in more detail.

Azerbaijan, on whose border the Samur River flows, intensively uses the river's resources, threatening the existence of the unique Samur forest, which worries the population of Russian Dagestan [13]. This river basin also covers part of the groundwater in the zone of active water exchange [3]. Therefore, groundwater reserves are also depleted, which is also facilitated by their extraction; as a result, the water level in the river decreases, sea water enters its bed and underground aquifers, which ultimately affects the state of vegetation [13]. Dagestan generally experiences problems with groundwater due to its quality, which is due to the natural specifics of the geological environment of the Eastern Caucasus [1]. The given examples help to consider the problems of transboundary water use broadly, not to be limited to analyzing the situation only with surface water bodies within the boundaries of their catchment areas, but also to take into account the state of the underground aquifers that feed them. Let us recall the presence in international law of such concepts as "transboundary aquifer" and/or "system of transboundary aquifers", parts of which are located in different states. This makes the problem of regulating groundwater flow in transboundary conditions even more complex.

The Ob-Irtysh basin is also potentially conflicting, because The Xinjiang Uyghur region, followed by Kazakhstan, is increasing water intake for irrigation. As a consequence of this, for a number of Russian regions, especially for the Omsk region, there are potential threats associated with water supply in the coming years. In the case of the Omsk region, this situation is due to the fact that its territory is very poorly provided with local river flow resources (16%), the bulk of it comes from outside. In the Omsk region there is a deficit not only in surface water reserves, but also in its groundwater resources [1]. A decrease in the flow of the Irtysh River in the forest-swamp zone of Western Siberia can cause drainage of wetlands and, as a result, mineralization of peatlands, which will lead to an increase in the growth of fires in the Western Siberian taiga and will require significant resources to combat them [13].

Water-ecological problems in the Aral Sea basin. The Aral Sea basin covers almost the entire Central Asia, which indicates its special role in the region. Since the mid-1970s. The

Aral Sea is a source of dusty salt storms that arise on the dried seabed, where pesticides and mineral fertilizers washed away from fields accumulate. The drainage that continued after 1990, during which the eastern part of the Greater Aral practically ceased to exist as a body of water, increased the area of the new desert, which is called Aralkum. Aralkum is a source of light and dangerous dust, which is carried by the wind over considerable distances, up to 700-800 km, reaching the territory of Russia (Orenburg and Chelyabinsk regions), but the most difficult situation has developed in the Aral Sea region itself. Dust storms cause an increase in illness among the local population, the death of orchards, and also delay the development of vegetation, incl. and agricultural crops [12].

Model calculations performed for different altitudes [20, 14], actual data collected during the expedition [14], indicate the influence of Aralkum on a much larger territory; a significant part of Western and Central Siberia falls into this zone. Under the conditions of modern climate change, there is an increase in meridional transport, which contributes to the strengthening of the influence of Aralkum on the territory of Russia [14]. The most significant impact on the territory of Russia is manifested in winter, for the population of the southern Urals - in summer.

This state of the Aral Sea is the result of irrational water use (construction of primitive irrigation systems, without the necessary lining and consolidation of the soil; significant losses of water due to evaporation from the surface of numerous reservoirs built in the Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya basins and as a result of its seepage into the ground; salinization of lands due to the formed high groundwater level near irrigation canals and in areas of excess irrigation, which subsequently required leaching of saline lands, etc.), and not simply a consequence of the assignment of water-intensive specialization to this region. Irrational water use contributed to an increase in the irrevocable withdrawal of river waters from the Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya, which disrupted the water balance of the Aral Sea. Its degradation occurred against the background of an increase in the area of irrigated land in the second half of the twentieth century. And today, the development of agricultural lands in the Aral Sea region is characterized by an extensive nature, an increase in cotton yields is achieved due to the ever-increasing expansion of the irrigation network with the overall low quality of their design and construction. This continues the irrational use of water. Using the same scheme, the Taliban government is building the Kush-Tepa irrigation canal in northern Afghanistan, the banks and bed of which are not concreted or even compacted. If construction is completed, water will be drawn from the Amu-Darya River basin, which is already causing concern in the countries of Central Asia; this is a serious challenge for the water-scarce region.

Thus, the Aral Sea and its basin are an area of environmental interests of different states (and Russia). The atmospheric ecological influence of the newly formed desert is very strong; the implementation of scientifically based forest reclamation measures is required. The effect of these measures can only be achieved with a significant increase in the area of forest plantations, taking into account geological and geographical conditions; current hydrogeological, soil and landscape maps are required, which do not exist today. All this requires the participation of Russia, its scientific schools on arid territories and its active research involvement in processes in the region.

Potential for cooperation. Transboundary river basins can provide a basis for international cooperation, which can be used to mitigate the potential for conflict in transboundary areas. Despite the difference in the management of environmental conflicts between Western countries and the states of Asia and Africa [4], the European one is useful (Convention on the Regime of Navigation on the Danube, 1948; Bucharest Declaration for the Protection of the Danube, 1985; International Commission for the Protection of the Rhine, 1950; Program of Action according to the Rhine, 1987; the Rhine Convention, based on integrated management of water resources and water management, 1999, etc.) and the Canadian-American (Treaty between the USA and Canada on Boundary Waters, 1909) experience in managing river and lake basins. There is also known relatively successful experience in the post-Soviet space, for example, in the development of Russian-Ukrainian cooperation in the Seversky Donets basin [8]. Successful examples of collaboration occur more easily within countries, such as between states in the Tennessee River Basin. The basis for constructive interaction was the creation of basin commissions for integrated and coordinated management of water resources in catchment areas. The basin experience in regulating water conflicts in river basins later became widespread in Western Europe, but only 30-40 years after its introduction in the USA [15]. The implementation of climate change adaptation plans in such transboundary water use areas can be effective with mutual understanding between stakeholders and a systematic approach to river basin management. This will help save resources involved in the implementation of water management activities. Awareness of climate risks and increased preparedness for their manifestation requires the creation of an institutional framework for cooperation between the riparian countries.

Afghanistan and the water problem (O.M.Nessar)

From the point of view of the formation of water resources, Central Asia can be divided into two groups: countries located upstream of rivers - upstream countries (Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan), and countries located downstream of rivers - downstream countries (Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Iran and Pakistan). Afghanistan is upstream to Iran and Pakistan.

Afghanistan is a country with complex natural and geographical features, most of whose territory is occupied by highlands and foothills. Only a small part of Afghanistan's territory is located below 300 meters above sea level.

Table 1. Share of high-altitude areas of Afghanistan

Territory share (%) Altitude (m)
300 – 600
600 - 1800
1800 - 3000
> 3000

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of the studied materials (Yezhov, 1990; Okimbekov, 2016).

Afghanistan's water resources are formed mainly in five water basins: Amu Darya, Harirud-Murghab, Helmand, Kabul and the Northern River Basin.

- 4 of the water basins listed above are connected via 5 transboundary rivers with neighboring countries:
- the source of the Amu-Darya River is located in the mountainous regions of Afghanistan and Tajikistan (in the Pamir Mountains), and is the largest river in Central Asia. In total, about 43 million people in six countries use the water resources of the Amu-Darya basin. More than 80% of the basin's waters are shared by Afghanistan and Tajikistan, and a small part by two other republics (Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan).
- the source of the Murghab River is in the Afghan province of Ghor, flowing from Afghanistan to Turkmenistan.
- the source of the Gherirud River is located in the province of Ghor. The Harirud flows into the border areas, first between Afghanistan and Iran, and then along the border between Iran and Turkmenistan.
- the source of the Helmand River is located in the central part of Afghanistan, flows 40 km west of Kabul and passes through the southern provinces of the country, and then enters the Iranian province of Sistan.
- the Kabul River is considered the largest transboundary river between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Modern situation. After the election of A. Ghani as President of Afghanistan in 2014, the water issue became a priority area of his policy, including in relations with neighbors¹. Under Ghani, construction of the Kamal Khan hydraulic dam on the transboundary Helmand River was accelerated, and at the commissioning ceremony of this dam, he announced that Afghanistan would no longer give water to anyone for free².

5 months after this loud statement, Ghani's government collapsed and the Taliban came to power; Ghani's "water policy" can be considered the main reason for the regime change. However, under the Taliban, the situation has worsened and now Kabul's "water policy" is causing concern not only in Iran. One of the first major economic projects of the new authorities of Afghanistan was the construction of the Kush-Tepa canal in the north of the country, which is actually a "back-up" of the Amu-Darya. It begins in the Kaldar district of Balkh province, bordering Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, and passes through the provinces of Jawzjan and Faryab bordering Turkmenistan. The canal's water intake capacity is estimated at 9 billion m3 of water per year. Since Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan take most of the water from the Amu Darya, it can be predicted that tensions will increase between the Afghan authorities and these states.

Conclusions (E.A.Kuzmenko)

While instability, insecurity, external control and other factors prevented Afghanistan from using water resources, neighboring countries developed their economies. A situation has arisen where the withdrawal of even that part of the water that rightfully belongs to Afghanistan can lead to environmental and economic consequences in neighboring countries.

The systematic deterioration of the socio-economic situation in the Sistan-Baluchistan province of Iran, which is supplied by the transboundary Helmand River, gives reason to consider the water issue as a factor in destabilizing the internal political situation. This increases the interest in water resources of external actors, who may view the situation as an instrument of political destabilization.

We can predict an aggravation of the situation around water in the region. For the countries of Central Asia and the Middle East, the water problem is especially acute, which is caused by a number of factors: rapid growth in population size and density; natural-geographical features of the region; irrational water use; political contradictions. The issue of sharing the waters of transboundary rivers is relevant and its solution requires special attention. The time has already come to include the solution of this issue on the agenda of regional organizations (for example, the SCO, the CIS).

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² https://pajhwok.com/2021/03/24/afghanistan-no-longer-relinquish-free-water-ghani/

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Contribution of the authors

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Both official resources and the media of the Republic of Uzbekistan definitely broadcast friendly, positive communication towards Russia, Russians, the Russian language and Russian identity, even in the conditions of political turbulence in recent years. Uzbekistan has been and remains a reliable partner and ally of our country and it is important not to miss this positive beginning of our relations and build them on mutual respect, partnership and the common historical memory of the two peoples.

Vasilenko A.V.

Russian Federation and Uzbekistan: Russian Identity and Attitude to Russians

Analysis of the totality of the data obtained led to the conclusion that the resettlement policy and migration of different ethnosocial groups of the population influenced intercultural communications. They were accompanied by a complication of interaction and mechanisms of intercultural adaptation of representatives of different ethnic communities and groups, a comprehensive study of which seems to be a further urgent task.

Zhumalieva S.Ch.

On the Issue of Ethnodemographic Changes in Kyrgyzstan in the 1920s-1930s

The career opportunities of graduates of such programs in everyday work (both scientific and non-scientific) are determined by the interests of business and the objectives of German foreign policy; both business and foreign policy have specific projects, strategies or targeted programs. Thus, the autonomy and independence of the educational process and further scientific and practical activities of graduates and young scientists turn out to be ephemeral.

Kuzmenko E.A.

Central Asia as a Macro-Region in the Germany Educational Programs: Regional Study Dominants

Analysis of information and ideological security in Uzbekistan shows that there is no comprehensive system of spiritual and educational processes, insufficient organizational, practical and scientific research work is being carried out to protect the national interests and basic values of the population (and primarily youth) from information, ideological and political threats, there is no coordination of government organizations, civil society institutions and the public, social cooperation between the media and the private sector is not established at the proper level.

Umarov H.P.

Issues of Information and Mental Security: Experience for Uzbekistan

Social Structure, Social Institutions and Processes. Political sociology

Original article Sociological Sciences https://doi.org/10.53658/RW2023-3-4(10)-136-147

Russian Federation and Uzbekistan: Russian Identity and Attitude to Russians

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Abstract. The article presents the results of a study of the communication regime of the Republic of Uzbekistan in relation to the Russian Federation, in the context of modern changes in the world order. Despite the global challenges, the Republic of Uzbekistan is strengthening its close and friendly relations with the Russian Federation. The Comprehensive Strategic Partnership Treaty underlines the importance of strengthening cooperation between the two countries. The analysis of the communication regime covers both official resources and the media, while revealing a positive trend in communications with Russia. Russian identity and the degree of positivity of communication in relation to the Russian language and Russian identity in Uzbekistan are considered in the article. The Russian language is preserved, and the Russian identity is encouraged and supported. The Republic supports friendly and positive communication with respect to Russia, Russians, Russian language and Russian identity, even in the face of global changes. Uzbekistan continues to strengthen relations with Russia on the basis of mutual respect, partnership and common historical memory, which remains important in the modern geopolitical reality.

 ${\it Keywords:} communications, political communications, communication regime, Uzbekistan, friendliness, content analysis$

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Introduction

For more than a year now, we have been observing a transformation of the world order, past international conflicts are escalating and new ones are flaring up. Undoubtedly, these transformations for our country and our foreign policy partners are connected with

political events in Ukraine, which upended the structure of the world. The international community can hardly say what awaits us in the future. In these conditions, Russia's foreign policy ties with its closest partners also undergo a "strength test": the world community demands that countries take sides and express their position through political manipulation and with the aim of imposing sanctions or other "punitive" measures from the West or "unfriendly countries." But we should not forget about friendly ones, because many of our partners, despite such turbulence, remain reliable allies and even strengthen existing ties. Global political upheavals will someday end, and building respectful, trusting relationships anew will take more than one generation.

The concept of friendliness includes many aspects of relations between states, ranging from official diplomatic gestures to the attitude of the population towards the residents of another country. An important issue in political science and international relations was the study of this topic. Alfred Wolfers, author of "Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics" [9] discussed the concepts of cooperation and conflict in the context of world politics, Joseph Nye studied "soft power" [8], Robert Keohane explored the theory of cooperation and conflict [7]. They have made significant contributions to our understanding of friendly relations between states. Undoubtedly, communication is the basis for building any connections at all levels, and this article proposes to consider friendliness through the prism of communications.

Full-fledged studies of this issue began to appear only a few years ago. In the article "Communication regimes as a factor in cross-country interactions: problem statement" by V.I.Gasumyanov, V.V.Komleva [1], the concept of a communication regime appeared, the concept of a communication regime is given as a controlled (with varying degrees of controllability) system of formal and informal norms, rules, traditions, actors and tools that ensure communication in a certain space. Communication regimes are typologized, including by the degree of their friendliness, and the communication regimes of Central Asia are studied [2]. The authors of the concept, on the basis of the National Research Institute for the Communication Development, conduct annual monitoring of the friendliness of countries in the post-Soviet space, including the Republic of Uzbekistan [3].

The Republic of Uzbekistan has historically been one of the key partners of the Russian Federation in Central Asia; now, as in the past, it is building close, warm and mutually beneficial relations with our country. New forms of interaction are being created, new agreements are being signed and meetings are being held at all levels. Not long ago, a Comprehensive Cooperation Agreement was signed between our countries and a large-scale SCO summit was held in Samarkand, as a result of which a large number of documents were signed. These events laid a solid foundation for further interaction in the fields of economics, culture, and social cooperation and in the military sphere.

The purpose of the study is to analyze the level of friendliness of the communication regime of the Republic of Uzbekistan: the attitude towards Russia, Russians, the Russian language and Russian identity, the position of government bodies and the tone of materials

in the popular media of Uzbekistan are examined. This study will help to better understand the position towards Russia and will allow you to build competent communication strategies for interaction with one of the key partners in the post-Soviet space – the Republic of Uzbekistan, and will contribute to the development of the scientific field of communication regimes.

Materials and methods

Content analysis is a research method designed to analyze text, graphic and audiovisual data in order to identify patterns and trends in information. In this area, the works of Bernard Berelson, who specializes in the analysis of mass communication and the impact of the media on public opinion, are important [5]; Harold Lasswell, a pioneer in political communication who studied the speeches of political leaders [4]; and Herbert Bloomer, one of the founders of symbolic interaction, who studied symbols in society [6].

In this work, content analysis is used to analyze materials from government websites of the Republic of Uzbekistan – the official websites of the President¹, the Government² and Oliy Mazhilis³. Publications in electronic news of the Republic of Uzbekistan from January 2022 to the present day were considered.

More than 1,500 materials from government websites were analyzed, of which 200 materials were selected that directly mentioned Russia, Russians, ethnic Russians, the Russian language and identity, as well as indirectly – interstate associations with the participation of Russia: the CIS, SCO, BRICS. With the help of the coding developed by the author, a content analysis of these materials was carried out regarding friendliness towards Russia.

The Uzbek media were analyzed using keywords: Russia, Russian Federation, Russians, Russian language, Russians. For a more objective picture, the pro-state media uzdaily.uz and gazeta.uz, and uzmetronom.agency и Fergana.media which are clearly oppositional⁴, their content analysis was carried out using similar coding.

Results

To conduct a content analysis of materials from official government websites and electronic publications of the Republic of Uzbekistan, a coding system was developed, which involves analysis in three groups: attitude towards Russia, attitude towards Russians and

attitude towards the Russian language and Russian identity. Within each group, materials of a negative and positive nature were identified, as well as neutral comments that contain references to Russia, Russians and the Russian language, but are not positively or negatively colored.

Table 1. Developed by the author the coding system for the evaluation of materials

	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Attitude towards Russia	Positive materials mentioning cooperation, partnership, development, friendship and joint agreements.	Materials without a clear positive or negative position toward the Russian Federation, just mentions.	Negatively colored statements questioning partnership, friendship and cooperation with the Russian Federation.
Attitude towards Russians	Positive assessments of Russians and ethnic Russians living in Uzbekistan, friendship, partnership, etc.	Neutral references to Russians and Russians, without specific attitude.	Bad attitude towards Russians, ethnic Russians, criticism, condemnation.
Attitudes towards Russian identity and language	Support and promotion of Russian language and identity, honoring ethnic Russians, positive evaluations.	Mentions and other neutral materials.	Bans, sanctions and other repressive actions against Russian language and identity.

Source: Developed by the author Coding of materials

Analysis of official government resources

Based on the developed methodology, the official resources of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the government and the Oliy Majilis were analyzed. The nature of the broadcast communication is clearly positive – more than 90% of references to Russia, Russians, the Russian language and identity have a positive connotation. In the context of attitudes towards the Russian Federation and Russians, the words and phrases friendship, cooperation, development, partnership, joint projects are more often mentioned. Applicable to the Russian language and identity, words of gratitude are heard, awards are given to ethnic Russians and specialists promoting the Russian language, including teachers.

Only one negative material was noticed – the website of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan posted the President's speech "Shavkat Mirziyoyev: achieving independence was not easy"⁵, dedicated to the 31st anniversary of the independence of Uzbekistan, which contains a quote from the speech of Shavkat Miziyoyev, delivered on the "Shahidlar Khotirasi" alley:

¹ The President of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Website of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan: website. Available from:

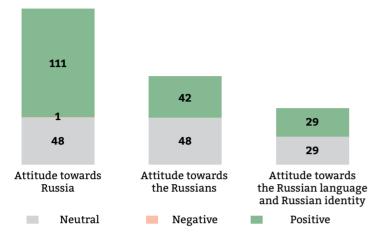
² The Government portal of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Available from: https://www.gov.uz/.

³ The Legislative Chamber of the Oliy Majilis of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Available from: https://parliament.gov.uz/

⁴ Opposition websites have been unblocked in Uzbekistan. RIA Novosti: website. Available from: https://ria.ru/20131027/972929347.html

⁵ Shavkat Mirziyoyev: It was not easy to achieve independence. Website of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Available from: https://president.uz/ru/lists/view/5478

Figure 1. Content analysis of official resources of the Republic of Uzbekistan



Source: Compiled by the author, based on the collected data

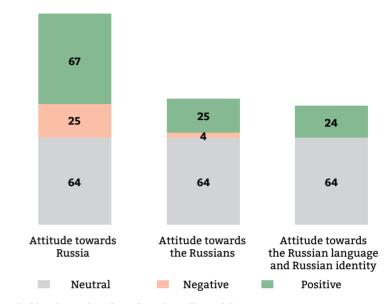
It's not for nothing that we come here every time and honor their memory. Achieving independence was not easy. Although independence was achieved 31 years ago, our grandfathers tried to do it more than 100 years ago. 100 thousand of our compatriots were repressed, 13 thousand were mercilessly shot. Why? Because they were our greatest heroes, treasures of the nation. They knew 2–3 languages. The regime had an understanding that they were capable of liberating our Motherland and leading it to prosperity. In this place, it seems as if their voices can be heard.

This speech caused a resonance in the Russian media ⁶ and the State Duma of the Russian Federation⁷ and was interpreted as an indictment of the Soviet regime for the repression of ethnic Uzbeks. However, immediately there were clarifications and comments from officials of the Republic of Uzbekistan that the president's words were interpreted incorrectly by the Russian side. There are no negative materials addressed to Russians, the Russian language and Russian identity at all.

Media analysis

The study was conducted on the basis of four popular electronic resources of the Republic of Uzbekistan: uzdaily.uz, gazeta.uz, uzmetronom.agency, Fergana.media. 204 materials were selected using the keywords: Russia, Russian Federation, Russians, Russian

Figure 2. Content analysis of electronic media of the Republic of Uzbekistan



Source: Compiled by the author, based on the collected data.

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language. As can be seen in Diagram 2, negatively colored materials make up a small part – 14%, while more than half (57%) give a positive assessment of Russia, Russians, the Russian language and Russian identity. Negatively colored materials often refer to Russia rather than to Russians and are generally not found in relation to the Russian language and identity. Most of the negative assessments are broadcast by state-oriented media, while opposition resources more often evaluate Russia, Russians, the Russian language and identity positively.

Gazeta.uz gave the most negative ratings, at the beginning of the Special military operation in Ukraine published many negative publications, such as "Russia has launched an invasion of Ukraine", "Results of the first day of the war between Russia and Ukraine. The Main News", "I always said that I don't want to go anywhere. Citizens of Russia - about relocation to Uzbekistan" 10. It is noteworthy that now the website has changed its position: now the first two publications have been removed from the site, and interviews

Uzbekistan. Gazeta.uz: website. Available from: https://www.gazeta.uz/ru/2022/03/12/relocation/

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⁶ The President of Uzbekistan accused the USSR of destroying the "heritage of the nation". RBC: website. Available from: https://www.rbc.ru/politics/31/08/2022/630f598f9a79475dbf57d55d

⁷ Russia responded to Mirziyoyev's words about the destruction of the color of the Uzbek nation in the USSR. Lenta.ru: сайт. Available from: https://lenta.ru/news/2022/08/31/zatulin/

⁸ Russia has launched an invasion of Ukraine. Gazeta.uz : website. Available from: https://www.gazeta.uz/ru/2022/02/24/war-ukraine/

⁹ The results of the first day of the war between Russia and Ukraine. The Main News. Gazeta.uz: website.Gazeta.uz: сайт. Available from: https://www.gazeta.uz/ru/2022/02/25/war-first-day/
10 I've always said that I don't want to go anywhere. Russian citizens about relocation to

with relocants are positive in nature and a separate news block is dedicated to them¹¹. Opposition publications uzmetronom.agency and Fergana.media are more critical of the Republic of Uzbekistan and more often support the Russian Federation, including on issues of conducting a Special Military Operation in Ukraine.

Conclusion

Only some of the materials reflecting the attitude of the Republic of Uzbekistan to Russia, Russians, Russian language and identity were analyzed; publications in Uzbek and other languages other than Russian were not considered. However, these data also allow us to draw a conclusion about the nature of the communication regime: positive materials predominate both in the media and on the official resources of the Republic of Uzbekistan. There are negative assessments of Russia, and less often of Russians; completely negative assessments of the Russian language and Russian identity have not been found.

Publications on the websites of the government, president and parliament, compared to media materials, are more restrained, which is typical of official resources; they often talk about cooperation, partnership, friendship and joint projects, and the Declaration on a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Uzbekistan signed in 2022¹² only confirms the friendly character of relations and communications of Uzbekistan. A positive attitude is also conveyed towards the interstate integration associations of the SCO, BRICS, CIS and EAEU, and words about friendship, cooperation and partnership are heard. Russia has been and remains one of the key partners of the Republic of Uzbekistan, and the potential of this mutually beneficial friendship has yet to be realized. On official resources, Russians are mentioned in the context of friendship and partnership, implemented projects in the field of private business and culture are noted, and new platforms for intercultural exchange and communications are created. All such events are accompanied by positive comments about friendship and common historical memory.

The Russian language as the language of intercultural communication is developing in every possible way: new textbooks are published, awards are given to Russian language teachers, competitions are held and joint projects are being implemented to develop the Russian language with educational institutions of the Russian Federation. Ethnic Russians are not subject to any oppression, the communication of officials is imbued with the spirit of friendship between peoples and a common past. Russian identity is not prohibited, but encouraged. Thus, a decree was issued on the creation of the School of Sports Excellence by Oksana Chusovitina, an ethnic Russian athlete competing for Uzbekistan, and the achievements of Uzbek ethnic

Russian athletes are celebrated¹³. The Republic of Uzbekistan actively supports the dialogue between two cultures and promotes friendship between peoples in Uzbekistan.

Uzbek media, especially pro-state ones, more often publish publications critical of Russia. They are related to criticism of the Special military operation in Ukraine and cooperation in integration associations, such as the recently announced triple gas alliance project¹⁴. Pro-state media see in this Russia's imperial ambitions and an encroachment on the independence of Uzbekistan. However, the share of such critical publications is not large; they mainly cover joint agreements and successful projects. Media considered to be oppositional do not print negative materials at all; they invite Russian experts for interviews and publish comments from Russian scientists.

Critical materials are related to the consequences of the Special military operation for the global economy; Uzbekistan has to accept the new reality without the ability to influence global processes. In general, materials devoted to Russians and Russians are mostly positive; articles are published about the friendship of peoples, relocants and their adaptation in a new country, cultural projects of the two countries to maintain friendship and common historical memory.

Both official resources and the media of the Republic of Uzbekistan broadcast a friendly, positive attitude towards Russia, Russians, the Russian language and Russian identity, even in the conditions of political turbulence in recent years. Uzbekistan has been and remains a reliable partner and ally, and it is important to continue to build relationships on mutual respect, partnership and the common historical memory of the two peoples.

The conducted research can form the basis for more detailed studies of the communication regime of both the Republic of Uzbekistan and other countries in the post-Soviet space. Often, the communication processes taking place there have similar specifics due to historical features. This research can help develop and implement effective communication strategies for interaction between the Russian Federation and neighboring countries in general and the Republic of Uzbekistan in particular. Such scientific works reflect the position of Russian researchers, the transmission of which to our partners is also part of the communication emanating from the Russian Federation.

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On the Issue of Ethnodemographic Changes in Kyrgyzstan in the 1920s-1930s

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> Abstract. The article analyzes a number of problems caused by complex ethnodemographic processes in the situation of autonomous and union statehood of Kyrgyzstan. Special attention is paid to the ambiguous influence of migration processes on changes in the number, national and social composition of the population. It is shown that large-scale socio-economic transformations have caused new phenomena in the demographic and migration situation. New sources are put into circulation, a comparative analysis of statistical data on ethnodemographic processes is carried out, including on the example of some of the most representative regions of the republic. It is concluded that the interaction and assimilation of different ethnic groups led to the cultural enrichment of the region and the complication of interethnic interaction.

> Keywords: Kyrgyzstan, ethnodemography, ethnic composition of the population, migration, Soviet national policy

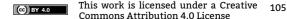
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Introduction

Kyrgyzstan is a multicultural and multinational state, and researches of the dynamics of ethnodemographic changes help to understand the way different ethnic groups formed and interacted on its territory, which is important for ensuring cultural diversity and sociocultural integration in modern society.

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The study of the dynamics of ethnodemographic changes in Kyrgyzstan in the 1920s and the 1930s is especially relevant, when the state structure was being established and the territorial organization as well as the ethnic composition of the population were transforming. Before the revolution, Kyrgyzstan was divided into different administrative and territorial units which hardly had a shape of a unified political entity. The formation of the Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Region and the change in its status by the end of the 1930s contributed to strengthening the republic's capabilities in socio-economic and cultural development. In the context of large-scale transformations, various demographic changes took place, including migration processes, which affected the population and national composition, making it more complex and diverse.

Historical and demographic studies of Central Asia, including the periods before and after the 1917 revolution, include the work of such scientists as G.K.Krongardt [14] and N.E.Bekmakhanova [4], each of whom considered demographic aspects and the history of the population in different periods of time. In Soviet times, the study of the ethnodemographic development of Kyrgyzstan, including the 1920s-1950s, adhered to the concept of a class approach. In the works of N.E.Bekmakhanova, G.K.Krongardt, V.S.Zhelokhovtsev, the changes in the social structure of the population in the demographic context and the dynamics of the number of social groups were considered in detail. Thus, V.S.Zhelokhovtsev [8] attracted a wide range of sources to analyse the population base by social groups. V.M.Ploskikh [21] presented a historical and demographic analysis of the population change in the republic until the middle of the XX century. These studies demonstrate various aspects of the demographic development in Kyrgyzstan, including socio-cultural and professional and educational changes characteristic of the 1920s and 1930s. However, the uneven study of ethnodemographic processes in Kyrgyzstan persisted due to a particular incompleteness of sources, and in recent times it has become possible to conduct a more comprehensive analysis in the population size and ethnic composition of the peoples in Kyrgyzstan, taking into account modern methodological tools and newly identified sources.

Russian historians focus on the socio-cultural and demographic transformations of the Kyrgyz population. Sh.D.Batrybayeva is most actively engaged in studying these issues [3]. She provides a general description of such changes in the first half of the 20th century, summarizes data on the social, educational and professional structure of Kyrgyzstan related to its demographic development. Her works cover issues of socio-territorial dynamics, changes in social classes and professional structure, as well as the level of education and culture of the population as the reflection of socialist system success; and she conducts her studies taking into account the ethnic diversity of the population. A.T.Kushubekov [16] focuses on the study of changes in the ethnic composition of Kyrgyzstan in the twentieth century. The author analyses ethnic groups considering migration and assimilation processes, as well as formation of new ethnic groups and other factors affecting the structure of region's population.

The works of Russian scientists such as K.Kulmatov [15], V.B.Zhiromskaya [9], F.L.Lisitsyn [17], as well as methodological generalizing studies [1:9] show important theoretical approaches and contain valuable data on the number, composition of the

population and socio-political changes on the territory of modern Kyrgyzstan. The relevance of this article lies in considering a number of specific issues, identifying new facts and deepening our understanding of ethnodemographic processes, with an emphasis on their importance for the dynamics of the social structure and features of interethnic communications during the most intense political, socio-economic and cultural transformations.

The purpose of the article is to analyse the key factors that influenced the ethnodemographic dynamics of the country in order to establish qualitative changes in the national composition and social structure of Kyrgyzstan in the 1920s and 1930s.

Materials and methods

To achieve the goal, various data sources were used, including published documents, archival materials, statistical reports and historical documents, as well as data from the population censuses of 1926, 1937 and 1939. Various methods, including classification, problem-chronological, statistical, synchronistic methods, etc., were used to analyse ethnodemographic processes in Kyrgyzstan during the specified period, the principles of objectivity, historicism, consistency and comparativism were taken as the basis for the research.

In particular, the problem-chronological method made it possible to identify key problems and events chronologically related to ethnodemographic changes in the selected period, as well as to analyse their impact on the socio-economic development of the region, including the dynamics of the economic development, the composition of the population and migration processes in the region.

Comparative and synchronistic methods were used to compare the data on demographic processes in Kyrgyzstan with the data from other republics and regions, and the ratio between ethnic groups in the republic.

The statistical method is extremely important for the quantitative analysis of changes in population size, age structure, gender and ethnicity distribution, as well as for studying the dynamics of migration processes.

Results

An important stage in the history of Kyrgyzstan was the formation of the Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Region (AR) as part of the Russian SFSR in 1924. It became the first state entity in Kyrgyzstan. The creation of the autonomous region provided the Kyrgyz people with a unique opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination and contributed to the preservation and development of their culture, traditions and language. The Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Region became the centre to bring the Kyrgyz people from different regions together, contributing to their rapprochement and ethnic consolidation.

The development of Kyrgyzstan's statehood in the period under study was quite rapid, and its political status was increasing at each stage. In 1925, during the national-territorial demarcation in Central Asia, the Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Region received great political, socio-economic and cultural opportunities for further development, but the leadership of the autonomy sought further status enhancement. As a result, in April 1927 it got the status of the Kyrgyz Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic (ASSR) within the RSFSR, which was the largest union republic in the USSR. Finally, in 1936, the Republic became a union republic (the Kyrgyz SSR), strengthening its status and organizational, institutional, personnel, financial, logistical, and social opportunities for further development.

The Kirgiz region underwent significant changes in the organization of the territory where various ethnic groups settled. By 1917, the complexity of the situation was determined by the fragmentation of Kyrgyzstan in administrative and territorial sphere: the northern part was part of the Semirechensk and Syr-Darya regions, and the southern part was part of the Ferghana and Samarkand regions on the Turkestan Territory. In these areas, the Kyrgyz people were a national minority, which hindered their consolidation, socio-economic and cultural development.

The creation of the Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Region led to unification of these territories into an integral administrative unit. It united areas that previously belonged to different regions of the Turkestan ASSR, including Karakol and Naryn counties, part of the Zhetysui (Semirechensk) region, 10 parishes of Andijan County, 10 parishes of Namangan County, 5 parishes of Ferghana County, 2 parishes of Kokand County and Osh County, as well as Ferghana Region and 14 parishes (Talas section) Aulie-Ata district of Syr-Darya region [12:174]. These regions, counties and parishes remained unchanged until 1930, when yet another administrative redistribution was carried out, during which, as well as throughout the entire country, the republic switched to a district system. Instead of former counties and parishes, 24 districts were created in the republic. While zoning the counties and parishes got unified but it did not seriously affect the settlement of the Kyrgyz people and representatives of other peoples, but the new division increased the number of inhabitants in administrative units.

In addition, the number of enterprises and farms in each administrative unit, i.e. the economic capacity changed, and the conditions for economic relations between the regions of the republic were reconsidered. In the case of mixed ethnic composition, this also affected the nature of inter-ethnic relations.

As a result of transformations in the Kyrgyz economy in the second half of the 20th century, the population structure changed. New socio-professional groups emerged, including workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. The agriculture of the republic underwent a number of reforms, starting with the implementation of the land-and-water reform, in which the excess of land from farms exceeding the established norms was subject to seizure, and the entire land fund was distributed among the working population regardless of gender and nationality, among private (dehkan) farms which were in need of land. In total, land management was carried out for 18 587 farms [5: 137]. The land-and-water reform contributed to changes in the socio-cultural area of Kyrgyzstan, creating

more equitable conditions for various national and socio-cultural groups, contributing to greater diversity and economic interaction between them.

The Soviet power actively pursued the policy of resettlement within the framework of agricultural collectivization in Kyrgyzstan, which significantly influenced the ethnodemographic processes. The process of settling, especially of the nomadic Kyrgyz, and changes in their cultural and ecological environment brought to an introduction of new housing forms, and the collectivization also led to reorganization of agriculture and labour relations. The effect it had on the lifestyle of all nationalities was quite contradictory, and it seriously influenced socio-cultural aspects, religious beliefs, behavioural norms, economic activity and education of the Kyrgyz people and other peoples living in the autonomy. They were experiencing a complicated adaptation of their ancestral traditions and customs to new living conditions.

Industrial development also became an important factor of ethnodemographic changes in Kyrgyzstan: with the serious objective lack of national personnel, the development was largely carried out at the expense of visiting specialists and workers from other regions of the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that the republic was initially considered as a supplier of raw materials, many plants and factories were built there, food, coal, light and heavy industries developed, infrastructure was built, including railways, highways and power plants. The process of industrialization increased the influx of migrants from other regions of the USSR, mainly engineering and technical specialists and skilled workers. Normally, in new multinational work collectives experienced personnel helped local residents to acquire necessary professional skills. However, the involvement of Kyrgyz people in industrial production was limited by a number of factors, such as the socio-economic and cultural underdevelopment of the region, low population density, low level of urbanization among the indigenous population and the influence of patriarchal traditions, which made it difficult for local people to adopt to an urban lifestyle and work at industrial enterprises [6]. In general, during this period in Kyrgyzstan, significant changes took place in both the numerical and qualitative composition of the working class, and the sectoral composition of industrial workers became more diverse. The reforms contributed to the process of inter-ethnic integration and the growth of social mobility of the indigenous population. As a result, the region became more culturally diverse and industrialized, which had a significant impact on strengthening the Kyrgyz statehood.

Cultural innovations also played a big role for the development of the republic. The literacy campaign created foundations for the introduction of nationwide education. If at first it caused a negative reaction from the population, then by the 1930s, literacy became a key factor for the social adaptation, and the campaign became more massive, which provided a qualitatively new image of the Kyrgyz nation.

Demographic processes experienced inertial development: during the 1920s and 1930s, the country's birth rate remained quite on the same level. The general analysis of ethnodemographic processes in Kyrgyzstan, including its population, its ethnic composition, educational level and many other characteristics, is based on the data of the population censuses from 1926, 1937 and 1939.

Thus, in 1927, the total population of Kyrgyzstan counted 993 004 people. By 1939 it reached 1,458 213 people. The average mechanical population increase in 1937 and 1938 was 23 579 people. From 1927 to 1939, the mechanical population increase amounted to 329 534 people. Consequently, from 1927 to 1939, due to the natural movement of the population arriving from outside, the national indicator increased, which eventually amounted to 38.4% [13:331-335].

This indicates that mechanical factors were the first reason for the population growth in Kyrgyzstan during this period. They included migration, deportations and evictions due to mass repression. For example, deportation of peoples from the border areas, resettlement of Korean, Chinese and other ethno-social groups led to an overall increase in the population of the republic [13:331-335]. In addition, these changes formed a new demographic image of Kyrgyzstan and significantly influenced the structure and composition of its ethnocultural space (see Table 1).

Table 1. Demographic dynamics of the population of Kyrgyzstan (1927-1939) [3].

Years	Population increase only by 1/1	per Natural	the growth year Mechanical population growth	Issyk- Kul	Tien- Shan	Osh, Jalal- Abad	Frunze	Total
Dy	namics of the p	oopulation gr	owth	Dynami	ics of the F	[[yrgyz popul district	ation gro	wth per
1927	993004	1012864	15440	97,9	336,6	144,6	661,2	97,9
1928	1028304	1033121	28690	99,3	341,3	146,6	670,3	99,3
1929	1061811	1051718	44660	100,7	346,1	148,7	679,8	100,7
1930	1096378	1067493	94320	102,1	350,9	150,8	689,4	102,1
1931	1161813	1081371	173320	103,6	356,2	153,1	699,8	103,6
1932	1254691	1092293	200160	105,2	361,2	155,4	710	105,2
1933	1292453	1051878	220468	106,9	366,9	157,7	721	106,9
1934	1272344	1061345	240776	108,5	372,4	160,1	731,8	108,5
1935	1302117	1074081	260845	110,2	377,6	162,5	742,6	110,2
1936	1335159	1089118	281393	112,2	383,6	165,1	754,7	112,2
1937	1370503	1108722	305463	113,8	389,7	167,7	766,5	113,8
1938	1414181	1128679	329534	115,6	395,9	170,4	778,7	115,6
1939	1458213			117,4	402,3	173,1	791,1	117,4
Census of 1939				117,0	403,5	141,9	754,6	117,0
Dis- crepancie	es			0,4	1,2	-31,2	36, 7	0,4

Source: Calculated according to: Batyrbayeva Sh.D. The population of Kyrgyzstan in the 20-50s of the XX century: Historical and demographic analysis. Bishkek, 2003.

The population growth of the Kyrgyz SSR from 1927 to 1939 was due to several factors: the influx of labour force from outside to fulfil the first five-year plan; spontaneous migration caused by economic difficulties in the central regions of the USSR; resettlement of Kazakhs who survived the famine in 1932 to Kyrgyzstan; placement of dispossessed peasants as part of the collectivization process.

At the second stage, from 1933 to 1936, the total population of the Kyrgyz SSR increased by 81 234 people as a result of migration processes. However, the mechanical population growth was significantly lower compared to the first stage, and the exact identification of its annual rate is hard due to circumstances. It is known that mistakes and excesses in socialist transformations, especially in agriculture, as well as the attraction of human resources for industrialization caused demographic crises and catastrophes in certain regions. These factors influenced spontaneous migration of peasants during the time of famine, as well as the temporary suspension of mass resettlement to remote areas, including Kyrgyzstan [3:119]. It should be noted that at that time there occurred the placing of ethnosocial groups deported to the territory of the republic from the western regions of the USSR, which brought to the increase in mechanical growth which was greatly influenced by this process.

People subjected to "Kulak transportation" were called "special settlers" before 1934, then they were called "labour settlers" from 1934 to 1944, and they began to be called "special settlers" again from March 1944. Since 1949, they received the name of "deportees". At different times, the number of labour settlers, special settlers or deportees in the Soviet Union reached tremendous proportions. For example, 1,317 022 people were recorded on January 1, 1932, 1,142 084 – in 1933, 1,072 546 – in 1934, 973 693 – in 1935,1,017 133 people – in 1936, 916 787 – in 1937, 877 651 – in 1938, and 938 552 – in 1939 [11:150–151]. However, these figures probably underestimate the real number of settlers, since there was a high mortality rate among the dispossessed peasants, and there were many cases of escapes. In addition, some of the dispossessed peasants were resettled in other regions, including Kyrgyzstan. Since the early 1930s, a new wave of forced relocations began. Officially, it was justified since it had a goal to ensure security and stability in various regions of the country, and to reduce criminal activity, in interethnic relations inclusive.

During three years since 1935, the Baltic peoples were also deported; as a result, 27 thousand citizens of Finnish nationality were resettled to the republic. By the decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR (CNC USSR) Nº776–120 dated April 28, 1936, 45 000 Poles and Germans were evicted from the border areas with Poland, Ukraine and Belarus. Subsequently, over 35 820 Poles were also deported. In total, 172 000 Korean and 11 000 Chinese people and several hundred Poles from the Far East were resettled in the USSR; 1 325 citizens of Kurdish nationality were deported from Transcaucasia, 812 of them to the Kyrgyz SSR [13:331–335].

Meanwhile, in 1932 and 1933, famine took place in some regions of Kyrgyzstan, which became the main cause of the demographic crisis. The most vulnerable in those years were residents of grain districts of the Talas and Chui valleys, partly of the Issyk-Kul basin, since

they bore the main burden of implementing bread-harvesting plans, but did not have any benefits, that is, no special government assignments for the bread supply, which concerned only livestock and cotton-growing regions in the republic. Famine in the Chui and Talas valleys, partly in the Issyk-Kul basin, was of the same threatening nature as in Kazakhstan. In addition, these were some areas where the residents of Siberia and Kazakhstan who migrated due to hunger were mainly housed, thereby not only exacerbating hard situation of providing bread to the local population, but also spreading epidemic diseases, which, as is known, intensified in those troubled years. And finally, it was from the territory of these regions that bread was exported due to the region's proximity to the central highways. Therefore, the previously established value of the calculated average annual growth rate of the Kyrgyz population of the Frunze and Issyk-Kul regions was much lower than in other regions.

1926–1929. In the course of the ongoing socio-economic policy, medical care and the financial situation of the population were improving; care was being taken for women and children, etc. Although there was an outbreak of plague in 1928, thanks to medical workers it was stopped in a very short time¹1. In general, the annual population growth rate over these years in the regions remained the same as throughout the republic in general, 1.4%;

1930–1931. The initial phase of a negative trend in demographic development manifested itself in those years as the result of unreasonably overestimated plans for harvesting agricultural products during the collectivization period and the settling process. The positive changes that had begun in the natural movement stalled. But the consequences of the socio-economic deterioration manifested themselves later, and in the years under review, on the contrary, we can see that the positive trend of purposeful work carried out among indigenous people since the mid-1920s, to reduce mortality, especially among children, continued. Until the clear moment of hunger and the effects of jute in 1931, there was a progressive increase in the population, therefore, the national growth rate remained unchanged for residents of two regions, namely 1.5%;

3) 1932-1933. These years were the most difficult stage in the demographic state of the population; since, despite the decrease in state plans for agricultural procurement, mandatory supplies of agricultural products turned out to be unbearable, exacerbating the already complicated position of rural residents, which was the result of not only erroneous policies towards the peasantry in the region, but also due to natural disasters (jute, crop failure). The further spread of mass infectious diseases and mobilization of all resources, including human ones, to complete the first five-year plan led to an increase in mortality. As a result, hidden hunger was observed throughout the republic, with its strongest manifestations noticed in the valley areas of Talas, Chui, and partly in the Issyk-Kul basin, which resulted in large human losses.

All major human losses in these areas occurred in 1933, since the effect the improvement or deterioration of socio-economic living conditions of the population in

the region had on the demography was quite gradual, while famine and an epidemic of highly contagious infectious diseases covering large territories occurred without delay, increasing mortality among both children and adults, thereby sharply reducing natural growth. These crises are described in the memories of older generation, and are also indirectly evidenced by the data on the spread of contagious infectious diseases in the republic, with over 80% of infections registered in the Frunze region in February and March 1933.

The results of the 1926 and 1939 censuses revealed significant changes in the number of not only Kyrgyz, but also other ethnic groups of the republic's population. It can be concluded that a sharp increase in the number of Tatars, Tajiks, Mordvins and Kazakhs could cause changes in the geographic distribution of the population, which in turn could affect the ethnic composition of the population in different regions. The increase in the number of Russians and representatives of other nationalities may also be associated with planned relocations. Forced migration could also contribute to the change in the number of ethnic groups (see Table 2).

Table 2. The relative growth rate of the population of Kyrgyzstan by individual nationalities from 1926-1939. (in %).

	Nationality	Kyrgyz	Russians	Uzbeks	Ukrainians	Uigurs	Dungans	Tatars	Germans	Azerbaijanians	Tajiks	Kazakhs	Mordovs	Arabs
	Men	111,5	256,7	136,1	211,2	124,4	98,9	395,6	264	221,4	407,7	1531,7	736,4	64,8
	Women	116,8	263,6	140,3	217,0	108,5	91,6	422,8	283,3	162,2	390,8	1209,5	862,9	76,6
-	Total	114,1	260,1	138,1	214,1	177,8	98,6	408.3	273,6	193,8	400,1	1357,0	793,8	69,9

Source: Calculated according to: The All-Union Population Census of 1926, vol. VIII:216–217; The Russian State Archive of the Economy of the Russian Federation. F. 1562, inv. 336, case 265, sh. 9.

In general, in the first third of the 20th century, significant changes took place in the ethnocultural space of Kyrgyzstan, caused, among other reasons, by the population migrational processes. These changes in the ethnic structure became key factors which shaped further demographic and cultural development in the republic. Different ethnic groups of migrants brought their traditions, customs and knowledge into the public life of Kyrgyzstan, which in a certain way influenced culture and demographic structure of the indigenous population. It is important to note that immigrants of different nationalities, as a rule, had a higher level of cultural, educational and professional development compared to the local population, which facilitated the exchange of knowledge and skills, as well as an increase in the general cultural level of the population, especially in economically and culturally significant spheres of life.

^{1 &}lt;sup>1</sup>Abdrakhmanov Yu. 1916. The diaries. Letters to Stalin / Auth. introduction by J. Dzhunushaliev, I.E.Semenov; A.I.Eroshenko. Frunze: Kyrgyzstan, 1991:106.

The redistribution of the population between rural and urban areas played an important role in changing the social structure and level of education of the population in the 1920s-1930s. These processes took place due to the industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture and the creation of new educational and cultural institutions in the republic, which contributed to the transformation of the entire society. The share of the urban population increased from 12.2% to 18.5% of the total population, which means an increase of 220.8%. The development of cities, including Naryn, Frunze, and Kyzyl-Kiya, where the urban population grew more than twice, meant not only accelerated urbanization, but it also influenced the resettling of the Kyrgyz people and people of other ethnic communities. Considering the urban population growth rate, Jalal-Abad district stood out amid other regions, and Tien Shan's rates were only a bit lower. According to the absolute increase in the urban population, Frunze district was in the first place, and Osh district was in the second. In 1939, the share of the urban population in the total population of Kyrgyzstan was about 40.9%. (See Table 3)

Table 3. Urban population growth from 1926 to 1939 and its share in the total population [1].

Regions and Districts	% in 1	939 compared to	% of urban population			
	Urban population	Rural population	Total	By 17.12.1926	By 17.01.1939	
Kyrgyz SSR	220,8	135,1	145,6	12,2	18,5	
Districts						
Jalal-Abad	287,2	133,3	141,4	5,3	10,7	
Issyk-Kul	199,2	121,7	129,4	9,9	15,3	
Osh	175,6	135,6	141,8	15,5	19,2	
Tien-Shan	278,9	118,5	121,0	1,6	3,6	
Frunze3	251,5	150,3	168,9	18,3	27,3	

Source: Calculated according to: Batyrbayeva Sh.D. The population of Kyrgyzstan in the 20-50s of the XX century: Historical and demographic analysis. Bishkek, 2003.

In general, in the 1920s and 1930s, Kyrgyzstan experienced a significant urban growth associated with the development of industry. This included the construction of new industrial facilities and the creation of conditions for the development of urban life. About 30% of the urban populations were locals, but the majorities were Russians and representatives of other nationalities with a higher level of education and professional training. Cities became industrial, administrative and educational centres. Mechanization at enterprises and the opening of educational institutions required citizens to have a high level of education and professional skills. This process made Kyrgyzstan more socially diverse, educated and modern, affecting the dynamics of identity and lifestyle of the population. Thus, literacy provided an opportunity to assimilate modern cultural norms and patterns of behaviour, as well as active social mobility in the professional field and the

civil sphere. A comparative analysis of the gender, age and ethnic structure of urban and rural populations also revealed significant differences in literacy rates, especially between men and women. These differences played an important role in shaping the demographic landscape during this period.

The main directions of the Cultural Revolution in Kyrgyzstan in the early years of the Soviet government were the creation of a public education system, primarily a school network, and the elimination of illiteracy among the adult population of the republic. It should be emphasized that language policy was one of the key problems of cultural transformations in the early years of Soviet power. The main component of this problem was undoubtedly ideological. We can confidently say that the impetus for the development of Kyrgyz linguistics as a science was given due to a large-scale campaign to eliminate illiteracy in the region. It was within the framework of cultural revolution that it became possible to resolve one of the most crucial issues of the Kyrgyz statehood - the issue of language, its written design and, as a result, its acquisition of the status of a national language. The creation of a public education system in Kyrgyzstan was fraught with a number of significant problems characteristic of that time: the formation of a new statehood, civil war, famine and devastation, and, as a result, a shortage of funds allocated by the RSFSR for the needs of social programs.

Between the censuses of 1926 and 1939, Kyrgyzstan as a whole saw a significant improvement in the literacy rate of the population. In 1926, only 42.2% of young people (9–19 years old) in urban areas were literate, while in rural areas there were about 16.1% of them. However, by 1939, the literacy rate increased in all age groups and in both places of residence. 95.9% of young people in urban areas became literate, and 91.3% – in rural areas. The total literacy rate of the population was 93.4% [3:187]. These changes testify to the successful efforts of the State to spread education and improve literacy, which seriously contributed to social progress in those forms that proved to be in demand during the accelerated course of modernization.

As a result of demographic and migration processes, the ethnocultural space of the republic became more complex, the mobility of the population increased and its social structure changed. The ethnic composition of the population also underwent significant changes, having a profound impact on the socio-economic development of Kyrgyzstan during this period. New forms and ways of interaction and mutual adaptation of various ethnic groups appeared. New settlers introduced their cultural peculiarities and traditions into daily life of the republic, they also learned skills to organise life and work from the indigenous people, which led to mutual cultural and inter-ethnic enrichment, which, nevertheless, did not exclude their contradictions occurring between the indigenous peoples and the newcomers who happened to live together on the same territory.

In the second half of the twentieth century, changes in the demographic behaviour of the urban population began to manifest themselves. Until the late 1930s, ethnicity played a leading role in demographic processes, but later socio-economic and political factors began to exert their influence. Interaction between people of different cultures working together in collective farms, industrial and cultural institutions caused changes in the ratio of urban

and rural populations, socio-professional structure and educational level. These changes influenced the demographic consciousness and gave rise to a new demographic behaviour of the urban population in the second half of the twentieth century.

Conclusion

The analysis of ethnodemographic transformations in the republic in the 1920s and 1930s showed multi-factorial nature of their causes and consequences. It is revealed that the demographic and migration processes that took place in the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s, including in Kyrgyzstan, were influenced by large-scale socio-economic and cultural transformations. This had a significant impact on the ethnosocial structure, demographic processes and socio-cultural dynamics of Kyrgyzstan. In the period under study, significant changes in the social structure of Kyrgyzstan took place. New social classes - workers and intellectuals - became an integral part of society, and an increase in the level of literacy of the population provided a qualitative improvement in the rise of the Kyrgyz ethnosocial community, as well as other peoples of the USSR. An increase in the variety of ethnic groups living in the republic was observed as a consequence of socio-economic and migration components of the state policy of socialist modernization, nation-building and civic consolidation, which had contradictory character and results. The emergence of new social classes and improving literacy rates became an integral part of these demographic changes. It is important to note the role of the policy for national selfdetermination and strengthening the status of Kyrgyzstan within the USSR in the process of transition of traditional Kyrgyz society to modernity. The analysis of the data obtained during our research allowed us to conclude that the policy of resettlement, forced migration of different ethnosocial groups of the population influenced inter-cultural communication. They were accompanied by a complication of interaction and mechanisms of inter-cultural adaptation of different ethnic communities and groups, the comprehensive study of which seems to be our further urgent task.

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Central Asia as a Macro-Region in the Germany Educational Programs: Regional Study Dominants.

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Abstract. The article is devoted to identifying the political and geographical interpretation of the boundaries of the Central Asia macro-region through an analysis of higher education programs at German universities. Over the past two decades, Germany has been actively increasing its economic presence in this region. Since the end of the twentieth century, the German government has made systematic efforts to attract foreign students and strengthen the reputation of German universities as leading research and education centers. Analyzing humanitarian educational programs for the study of Central Asia, the priority scale is built as follows: Tibet and Mongolia; China as a part of the Central Asian macro-region; Iran and Afghanistan; Central Asia CIS; countries of the South Caucasus. In philological programs Turkey dominates, with the fragmentary appearance of Central Asian CIS countries. In technical educational programs, the configuration of the macroregion changed the parameters: they include, first of all, post-Soviet countries, as well as Iran, the countries of Central Asia. These programs are developed from the point of view of potential investments in technology industries - therefore, both projects and programs are country-specific. The focus on economic diplomacy in relation to the post-Soviet countries of Central Asia reflects the transition from the diplomacy of democratic progress to the diplomacy of economic sovereignty of the countries of the macro-region.

Keywords: higher education, master's degree, universities in Germany, Central Asia, CIS

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Introduction

In modern social sciences and humanities, political and geographic zoning often do not coincide; strictly geographical concepts for defining regions are rarely used in interdisciplinary research [3]. An obvious example of such a discrepancy is the term Western Europe, the political and geographical content of which differ significantly. This article is devoted to identifying the political-geographical understanding of the boundaries of the macro-region of Central Asia through the analysis of higher education programs at German universities. Over the past two decades, Germany has been actively increasing its economic presence in Central Asia, using both economic, educational, cultural, and environmental levers: investment and educational programs of the German Energy Agency (DENA), German projects of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), projects of the German academic exchange services (DAAD), initiatives of the German Society for International Cooperation (GIZ) are becoming a platform for expanding Germany's influence in Central Asia, popularizing large German companies, ensuring Germany's reputation as a patron of socially responsible business, as well as creating serious competition for Russia and China in political and economic spheres.

Already since the late 1990s the German federal government was concerned about the low level of interest of foreign applicants in German higher education programs. In a joint statement in 1996, the German Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel and the Minister of Education, Science, Research and Technology Jürgen Rüttgers formulated the following German position: "The Federal Republic of Germany has a direct interest in the training of highly qualified personnel among foreign students in higher education institutions in Germany. The education of foreign students is an investment in the future economic and scientific cooperation of Germany in various parts of the world" [6:15]. The set task of attracting foreign applicants and competing in the higher education market with large universities in the USA and Great Britain, in fact, gave rise to the Bologna process in Germany, the subtasks of which included reducing the duration of study and narrowing specializations in accordance with the needs of the economy [7:97–98]. Already in the early 2000s German researchers noted the increasing competition of higher schools in Germany not only with foreign universities, but also with each other [5:275], leading to partial duplication of educational programs.

Interest in higher education programs in Germany (primarily master's programs), as a view of the region from the outside, is due to the fact that educational programs are the bearer of professional standards, the core that shapes ideas about a particular area (in this case, about Central Asia as a macro-region). It is these standards that set the future research vector, and also reflect the requests of potential employers regarding the competencies acquired by students and, accordingly, determine the career aspirations of graduates. Educational programs form a basic understanding of young specialists about the geographical and cultural framework of the macro-region and determine the subsequent professional activities of those graduates who did not continue the academic scientific path, and this understanding is transmitted by them in the future in their work and personal circles.

The purpose of this article is to identify the boundaries of the political-geographical understanding of Central Asia in German higher education programs. The research hypothesis is the thesis that the self-identification of countries such as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan with Central Asia does not mean their automatic identification with this region from an external German and, probably, European perspective. The objectives of the article were not to trace the influence of branches of German universities or partner higher schools in Central Asian countries (for example, the Kazakh-German University in Almaty, through which the German Foreign Ministry supports the development of German-Kazakh relations through DAAD).

Materials and methods

The empirical basis of the study is based on master's programs aimed at studying Central Asia, namely the programs of several German universities and Berne, Switzerland. During the analysis of fifteen programs, special attention was paid to reflecting ideas about Central Asia in their names, content and entry requirements. The analysis was based on the principles of comparing the geographical, cultural, linguistic and political determinants of the region.

For convenience and representativeness, programs can be divided into two types:

1) conditionally humanitarian (cultural, ethnological, linguistic, historical, economic, multidisciplinary – these represent the majority of programs); 2) technical (engineering, geographical, energy, and climate). Using the examples of these programs, we will consider how ideas about the Central Asian region fluctuate depending on belonging to these areas TV series and methods.

Results

It would be logical to start with large interdisciplinary programs with the general name "Central Asian Studies" – for example, the "Zentralasien Studien" program at the Humboldt University of Berlin¹, focused on ethnology, history, politics and culture of Central Asia. Within the framework of this program, the following zoning of the macroregion and, therefore, priority areas of specialization are proposed: Tibet, Mongolia, Xinjiang Uygur region, Central Asia CIS, Afghanistan, Caucasus. It follows from this that

from the perspective of the Humboldtian curriculum, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan are not actually considered as separate actors. Despite the complex intra-regional context and the intense competitive relations existing between these countries, within the framework of the Central Asia program they continue to be perceived as a single space and the unifying element is belonging to the CIS and thus entering the sphere of interests and influence of Russia. Continuing to develop the idea of zones of interests, I note that in the same program, the countries of Central Asia and the CIS are positioned as a zone of competitive interaction between the PRC and the Russian Federation, and therefore the German position in the region faces a situation of rivalry between these political players.

One of the main focuses of this program is cultural identities, which I tend to interpret as large narratives about the content of national characteristics, traditions expressed in language, rituals of behavior, cultural and social preferences. The topic of building identities is relevant for the countries of Central Asia, but precisely in the aspect of de-Sovietization, which is reflected in regionalization only indirectly.

The program "Culturology of Central Asia", established by the Faculty of Philosophy and History of the University of Bern, is culturally oriented². In the context of determining regional dominants, it would be appropriate to quote from the announcement of the educational program: "the study of Central Asia will focus on the Buddhist cultures of the region. As part of the program, students acquire knowledge of the social, cultural and religious history of Tibet and Mongolia." Linguistic training of students goes in the direction of mastering the Tibetan or Uyghur-Mongolian languages. Chinese, Persian, and Uzbek are offered as a second language. We especially note that, as a necessary language of science, students are required to speak Russian at the level of reading and translating scientific literature, since the merits of domestic science in the study of the region are recognized as indisputable. Separately, such countries as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan do not appear at all in the "Cultural Studies of Central Asia" program.

As an additional argument to the intermediate conclusion that from the point of view of German universities the configuration of Central Asia looks somewhat different than from the usual point of view in Russia, let us cite the example of the largest university in Bavaria – the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich. There is no independent program on Central Asia at all, but this does not mean that those who wish do not have any access to basic knowledge in this area. Research on Central Asia is considered the third semantic point in the content of the Sinology/Sinology program, with attention paid primarily to the archeology and art of the Central Asian region. The main emphasis of the program, naturally, is on studying the history, politics and society of China.

The countries of Central Asia are also poorly studied in Turkological programs, despite the fact that the Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, and Uzbek languages belong to

 $^{1 \}qquad \text{M.A.Zentralasien-Studien. Available from:} \quad \text{https://www.iaaw.hu-berlin.de/de/studium/ma/institut/za}$

² Master Zentralasiatische Kulturwissenschaft. Available from: https://www.philhist.unibe.ch/studium/studienprogramme/master_zentralasiatische_kulturwissenschaft/index_ger.html

this language family. The vast majority of Turkology programs take as their object of study the language, literature and culture of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey. Of course, in Germany, where about 1.34 million Turkish citizens live (the number of German citizens of Turkish origin is an order of magnitude larger), the Turkish issue has particular specificity and relevance. Let us note the program "Turkology and Central Asian Studies" of the Georg August University of Göttingen³: it is focused primarily on modern Turkish, the languages of Central Asia are listed only as Grundkenntnisse (German "basic knowledge").

The Free University of Berlin has the following structure of the master's program "Ottoman and Turkic Studies"⁴: historical and social scientific theory and methodology for Turkologists; main themes in the history of the Ottoman Empire from its beginning to the beginning of the 19th century; languages and culture of the Ottoman Empire; Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic. The content of the Turkology program at the University of Bamberg is not significantly different⁵ – covering only the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic.

Less common are programs in Turkic studies that fit within a broader cultural and geographical framework. For example, the Justus Liebig University of Giessen within the framework of the program "Turkology" proposes, as a field of study, modern Turkish language and culture (including the usage of the Turkish language in Germany), as well as directions of work in the field of Turkic languages and Turkic-speaking cultures of the Soviet Union and its successor states. The Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz is based on the same realities, which, firstly, established a program in Turkology at the Institute of Slavic, Turkic and Circubaltic Studies, and secondly, indicates in the content of the course "Turkology" the languages, literature, culture and history of various Turkic peoples in the past and present. In addition to the Turkish language and its predecessor, Ottoman, the program also covers the languages and cultures of other Turkic peoples: from Central Europe through the Middle East, Central Asia and Russia to China and Mongolia. In addition, Turkology also deals with Turkish migrants outside these regions. We emphasize that in this program; Turkish culture and language in modern Germany are disciplinary highlighted.

Consequently, for humanitarian programs for the study of Central Asia, the priority scale is built as follows: Tibet and Mongolia – 1; China as part of the macro-region of Central Asia (remember that there are independent programs in Chinese studies) – 2; Iran and Afghanistan – 3; Central Asia CIS – 4; South Caucasus – 5. In the philological programs of the "Turkology" direction, Turkey is the absolute dominant study, and the

Turkic-speaking countries of Central Asia again appear either in conjunction with the CIS space, or even more broadly – like all the Turkic peoples of Russia and the post-Soviet space.

Let's move on to the second type of higher education programs – technical. In technical programs, the emphasis is different; in them, the countries of Central Asia are understood, first of all, to be post-Soviet countries – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan; Iran also appears. In addition, the states in these programs are more personalized (unlike humanitarian programs, where they are mainly designated as "CIS countries"), and each acts as an object of investment and modern technological solutions in the smart sector. This interest also has a political basis. For example, in May 2023, the Federal Ministry of Science and Education of Germany signed a joint declaration of intent with the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Innovation of the Republic of Uzbekistan on cooperation in the field of science, research and innovation, which is based on the declaration of intent of the German-Uzbek partnership in innovation area signed in 2019. The fundamental framework for cooperation is formed by the EU strategy in Central Asia "New opportunities for a stronger partnership", Germany played a key role in its development and revision in 2019. The Federal Ministry of Science and Education also identified the core points of the partnership:

- land management and agriculture;
- climate/ecological research and adaptation to climate change;
- water:
- natural risks and civil safety;
- sustainable urban development;
- biodiversity research;
- bioeconomic research;
- safe, clean and efficient energy:
- health and medicine.

It is within the framework of this agenda that the Technical University of Berlin is forming its programs, which is also implementing a special project "Research on Sustainable Mobility in Central Asia", where Central Asia refers to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Iran. The university organizes and supervises summer schools, thematic and administrative seminars, research visits and publications on three main topics: 1) land use/transport, integrated transport planning; 2) green mobility; 3) transport policy and economic issues. Moreover, the potential audience for such seminars and events is the highest officials of these republics. The same paradigm of perception is observed in the educational areas of the University of Passau, which calls Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan a

³ Seminar für Turkologie und Zentralasienkunde. Available from: https://www.uni-goettingen.de/de/60858.html

⁴ Osmonistik und Turkologie. Available from: https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/turkologie/index.html

⁵ Lehrstuhl für Turkologie (Türkische Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur). Available from: https://www.uni-bamberg.de/turkologie/

⁶ Turkologie. Available from: https://www.uni-giessen.de/de/fbz/fb04/institute/turkologie/turk

⁷ Turkologie. Available from: https://www.turkologie.uni-mainz.de/

The EU and Central Asia: New Opportunities for a Stronger Partnership. Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council. Available from: https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/joint_communication_-_the_eu_and_central_asia_-_new_opportunities_for_a_stronger_partnership.

⁹ SUMRICA – Sustainable Urban Mobility Research in Central Asia. Available from: https://www.tu.berlin/ztg/forschung/projekte/laufende-projekte/sumrica

new promising direction for German companies¹⁰, especially in the field of raw materials extraction, automotive industry, pharmaceuticals.

The Free University of Berlin, in turn, implemented an interdisciplinary master's program "Integrated Water Resources Management for Central Asia" (the program is suspended at the moment), the stated goal of which is to prevent environmental, socioeconomic and legal conflicts in the exploitation of water resources. Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan appear as objects of study. Of course, this is also a politically oriented program, which is also interesting because it highlights the interests and capabilities of the Central Asian countries in terms of controlling fresh water supplies individually, and not as a monolithic macro-region. The topic of water wars is especially relevant for post-Soviet countries, whose water infrastructure is of Soviet origin and whose operation was conceived in the realities of a single state.

Discussion

Thus, higher education programs in Germany are focused on the interests of German politics and its business: they form the regional dominants and interests of applicants to master's programs. From the point of view of cultural and political regionalization, the countries of Central Asia continue to be perceived either in the CIS paradigm (also in Turkic programs), or as subjects of interstate, interreligious, interethnic relations in the context of greater Central Asia. Moreover, the countries of Central Asia are also included in the research field of the German Society for the Study of Eastern Europe (Osteuropakunde), the boundaries of which are understood as follows: from west to east - this is Central Europe – Eastern Europe – Russia, from north to south - this is the European Arctic, Baltic countries, Caucasus countries, Central Asia.

Technical higher education programs are more focused in their attention to Central Asia itself in the Russian sense, the self-identification of the countries of the region and its regional contexts. These programs are developed from the point of view of potential investments in technology industries – therefore, both projects and programs can be more targeted. However, business interests are more often realized through individual projects within scientific fields, rather than through the creation of highly specialized educational programs. The focus on promoting economic partnerships in specific areas and the focus on economic diplomacy reflect a shift from the diplomacy of democratic progress [1:198–201], in which the dominant role was played by the narratives of backwardness and authoritarianism of the post-Soviet countries of Central Asia, to the diplomacy of the sovereignty of these countries, emphasizing independence as the most important value (achieving economic and energy independence from other major players in the region – Russia and China). The

focus of the programs on attracting applicants, including from the countries of Central Asia and the CIS, speaks of Germany's political interest in the formation of potentially friendly scientific and technological communications with these countries, since graduates upon return will have a positive impact on the controllability of communications in the field of promoting German technological and other scientific projects in these countries [2].

Conclusion

The study of German master's programs in Central Asia partially confirms the hypothesis of the article that Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan are identified with the macro-region of Central Asia mainly from an economic and technological point of view. From a cultural and political perspective, these countries are united on the basis of belonging to the post-Soviet space and are not differentiated. The study shows the leading role of the historical and political aspect in building identifications with the region and the secondary importance of natural and geographical landmarks. Determining the research contours in the curricula forms the spatial and ideological paradigm of students' thinking in relation to the region under study – Central Asia. The career opportunities of graduates of such programs in everyday work (both scientific and non-scientific) are determined by the interests of business and the objectives of German foreign policy; both business and foreign policy have specific projects, strategies or targeted programs. Thus, the autonomy and independence of the educational process and further scientific and practical activities of graduates and young scientists turn out to be ephemeral.

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¹⁰ Ost-Ausschuss der Deutschen Wirtschaft: Zentralasien - neue Destination für deutsche Unternehmen? Available from: https://www.uni-passau.de/veranstaltungskalender/detail/event/ost-ausschuss-der-deutschen-wirtschaft-zentralasien-neue-destination-fuer-deutsche-unternehmen-osteuropa-lounge-1

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CHANGING SOCIETY Social Structure. Social Institutions and Processes

Original article https://doi.org/10.53658/RW2023-3-4(10)-175-187 Sociological sciences

Issues of Information and Ideological Security: Experience for Uzbekistan

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Abstract. The article discusses issues of theoretical and practical provision of information and ideological security. The experience of foreign countries has been studied, regulatory documents that ensure the information and ideological security of various states have been analyzed. In modern international relations, information wars, i.e. the principle of "defeating the enemy without fighting" is playing an increasingly important role. Leading countries of the world paid attention to information wars in the early 1960s. With the development of information technology and social networks, methods of waging information wars have expanded. Nowadays, information resources are more important than military ones. Thus, studying the experience and methods of foreign countries makes it possible to create effective countermeasures. It is very important to study the experience of foreign countries and identify the main directions of information attacks in relation to Uzbekistan.

Keywords: information and ideological warfare, information security, information security system

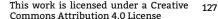
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Introduction

The socio-economic reforms being carried out in Uzbekistan are the fundamental basis for development. The formation of a new world system in the international arena and changes in the balance of power in the Eurasian space will not fail to affect our domestic and foreign policy.

In order to achieve their geopolitical and geo-economic interests, states competing for leadership in the international arena are trying to pull Uzbekistan into their orbits. To achieve these goals, an "information attack" is carried out not only in the foreign media themselves, social networks, but also in radio and television programs in our country, in commercials.

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Today, issues of ensuring national security are moving to the political and information sphere. In this regard, there is a need to resolve issues of shaping the consciousness and thinking of the people, enhancing their worldview. At the same time, it is necessary to improve the spiritual, educational and propaganda system, and coordinate the activities of government bodies.

It must be stated that any National Ideology is a shell of national interests, and its task is to ensure the cohesion of the individual, society and state. National ideology covers a set of different names and views in each country. For example, in the USA you can see the "American Dream", embodying the ideas of liberalism, in Japan the "Japanese spirit", expressing the unified idea of the emperor and the people, and in the PRC, you can see Confucian ideas based on the slogan "It doesn't matter whether the cat is white or black, the main thing is so that she catches mice (不管黑猫白猫,能捉老鼠的就是好猫)." Ideological defeat, in the case of the former Union, leads to the collapse of the country.

The information-ideological war is a struggle between national ideologies. Therefore, along with ensuring national, economic and social security, it is necessary to systematically conduct monitoring; carefully analyze the political reality that arose during the implementation of the assigned tasks; pay special attention to issues of information and ideological security.

The intensification of globalization processes makes the issue of ensuring information and ideological security increasingly relevant. Information and ideological warfare is a product of the globalization process, and in current conditions we can say that it has become an extremely sharp instrument of ideological influence, serving the interests of various political forces and centers.

Great people who left a deep mark on the history of mankind also effectively used "information weapons," which at all times were far superior to military weapons.

In particular, Sun Tzu, in military confrontation, put the informational and psychological impact on the enemy in the first place: war is a path of deception, the constant organization of false attacks, the spread of misinformation, the use of tricks and tricks.

Purpose of the study: identifying and presenting the main directions of information attacks in relation to Uzbekistan.

Materials and methods

The general scientific analytical research method and systematization method made it possible to show the main directions of the information war in relation to Uzbekistan and give proposals for countering information challenges and threats. The method of specific historical analysis was also used to present the situation in the Republic of Uzbekistan. With its help, materials from the National Security Agency, discussion of the draft budget of the US Agency for Global Media, and legal acts: National Security Act, United States Informational and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, United States Informational and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy and others were analyzed.

Results

The importance of information security in the conduct of domestic and foreign policies of states

The foundations of modern information and ideological warfare have been put into practice since the 1960s. Information warfare is considered a cheaper and more effective practice for undermining social stability and negatively affects the national interests of rival countries or in countries where the geopolitical interests of leading states come into contact.

Issues of information and propaganda confrontation have been studied and applied at all times. As E.Ya.Yakovlev notes:

The scope, scale and possibilities of ideological struggle have expanded enormously in recent decades. All countries became its arena, and all humanity became its object. The scientific and technological revolution has unprecedentedly expanded the arsenal of its methods [15:48].

It is also worth noting the collection of articles "Truth against demagoguery and lies," which analyzes the goals and methods of large-scale ideological sabotage carried out by propaganda centers [10].

Let us note the works of E.B.Chernyak. In his book "Five Centuries of Secret War", based on a wide range of sources, he reveals the role of information and propaganda in major political events of modern history, shows how dangerous a weapon the information war is in the clash between "the forces of reaction and progress" [14].

The work of Chinese researchers also deserves attention. In particular, in the collections of Chinese scientists "Counterbalance to Threats. The activities of the alliance of major powers in making strategic decisions" [18] and "Details of democracy: studies of modern American politics" [16] analyze the activities of the United States and Western countries in the information sphere, the policy of double standards, the implementation of color revolutions and the overthrow of persons they dislike.

Information-psychological warfare appeared as a form of confrontation at a certain stage of development of methods of information-psychological influence and represents the most socially dangerous form of this confrontation, carried out by violent means of influencing the information-psychological sphere of the enemy in order to solve strategic problems [11].

Research in the field of information and ideological warfare began in the 1960s in think tanks in Western countries.

In particular, in the United States, the conduct of information and ideological warfare is entrusted to the National Security Agency (NSA)¹ and the US Agency for Global Media ²

National Security Agency/Central Security Service. Available from: https://www.nsa.gov

² The proposed budget of the US Agency for Global Media has been published. Available from:www.svoboda.org/a/29830353.html

(USAGM, which began operations in 1999, from 1953 to 1999 – Information Agency, USIA)³, and in the PRC to the Information Department of the State Council (国务院新闻办公室)⁴, Cybersecurity Administration of the People's Republic of China (国家互联网信息办公室)⁵ and Central Cybersecurity Commission (中央网络安全和信息化委员办公室).

The US Military Charter defines it as follows: "Information warfare is the act of influencing the citizens of a foreign state/adversary country by taking "truth" out of context and leading them to a false conclusion through false evidence".

Teachers of the Academy of Military Sciences of the People's Republic of China Wang Baotsun and Li Fei note that:

Information security is understood both in a narrow and in a broad sense. The so-called "information warfare on the battlefield" is the essence of "command and control warfare" in a narrow sense... In a broad sense, the creation of an "information warfare" system is of great importance. Along with the military/security level, it is necessary to pay attention to: 1) causing damage to the information system of a potential enemy; 2) striking at the enemy's information flow; 3) limiting the capabilities of the society management system and adequate response to negative impacts.

An analysis of the experience of foreign countries shows that to increase the effectiveness of propaganda it is important to pay attention to:

- 1. to the field of publishing and media.
- 2. activity on social networks.
- 3. public propaganda and agitation.
- 4. the field of secondary education and higher educational institutions.
- 5. research work.
- 6. to the sphere of cultural and educational work.

These areas cover all central and regional levels of government and ensure a unified state policy in the field of information and ideological security.

Experience of foreign countries in carrying out information wars

The United States has extensive experience in conducting information and ideological warfare. The US government has been working in this direction since the 1960s. Since then, the United States has created radio stations Voice of America and Freedom, through which it promotes its ideological views. The United States works closely with other Anglo-Saxon countries – the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

In 1947, the National Security Act was passed in the United States⁸, on the basis of which a unified system for ensuring National Security was created. The conduct of information and ideological warfare, according to the Law, is entrusted to the US Security Council.

In the United States, the implementation of information and propaganda activities is entrusted to the Information Agency (USIA), which was created by decision of the US Congress on the basis of the US State Department. The main goal of USIA is to take action against any type of information directed against the United States both abroad and within the country.

Smitha-Mundta law⁹, adopted in 1948, laid the legal framework for US outreach activities. Under the Act, the US Secretary of State

responsible for the preparation of information about the United States, its people and its policies, and for its dissemination through the media, publications, radio, films, and other media, as well as information centers and instructors abroad¹⁰.

At the same time, the Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (ACPD) was also introduced in the United States under the Smith-Mundt Act. This structure is tasked with disseminating information about the United States and shaping public opinion in various international circles.

This commission is also entrusted with the task of assessing the process of support, information, and influence on the country's activities among the foreign public. The ACPD reports to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and Congress. The Under Secretary of State for Social Diplomacy and Public Affairs leads the work of the Organizational Affairs Commission.

Currently, all government departments and agencies in the United States are tasked with disseminating information about the policies, activities, and fundamental values of the United States¹¹.

According to the Smith-Mundt Law¹², as advocacy bodies, two commissions were initially created – the US Information Advisory Commission and the US Advisory Commission on Information and Educational Exchange. In accordance with the Mutual educational and cultural exchange program – Fulbright-Hays Act of 1961¹³ the US Advisory Commission on Educational

³ US Agency for Global Media: USAGM. Available from:https://www.usagm.gov

⁴ 国务院新闻办公室http://www.scio.gov.cn

⁵ 国家互联网信息办公室. Available from:http://www.cac.gov.cn

⁶ Information Operations. Joint Publication 3-13. November 27, 2012. Incorporating Change 1, November 20, 2014. Available from: https://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Doctrine/pubs/jp3 13.pdf

Wang Baocun, Li Fei. Information Warfare. Liberation Army Daily, June 13, 1995. Available from: https://irp.fas.org/world/china/docs/iw_wang.htm

⁸ National Security Act. Available from: https://global.oup.com/us/companion.websites/9780195385168/resources/chapter10/nsa/nsa.pdf

⁹ United States Informational and Educational Exchange Act of 1948. Electronic Library of Congress: Public Law 80-402, 62 Stat. 6. Passed Congress/Enrolled Bill: Jan 27, 1948. Available from: https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/177574.pdf

¹⁰ United States Informational and Educational Exchange Act of 1948. Electronic Library of Congress: Public Law 80-402, 62 Stat. 6. Passed Congress/Enrolled Bill: Jan 27, 1948. Available from: https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/177574.pdf

¹¹ US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. Available from: https://www.state.gov/about-us-u-s-advisory-commission-on-public-diplomacy/

¹² United States Informational and Educational Exchange Act of 1948. Electronic Library of Congress: Public Law 80-402, 62 Stat. 6. Passed Congress/Enrolled Bill: Jan 27, 1948. Available from: https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/177574.pdf

Fulbright-Hays Act (see Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961). Available

Exchange was renamed the US Educational and Cultural Advisory Commission. And in 1977. both commissions were merged into the US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy.

The ACPD consists of 7 members who are appointed by the President of the United States for a term of 3 years and confirmed by the Senate. Participants should not be more than 3 people from the same political party. The Commission's Executive Director oversees day-to-day operations and actively works to develop constructive solutions to improve public diplomacy around the world with legislative and executive bodies, as well as NGOs, business and academia¹⁴.

Despite the fact that the People's Republic of China was founded on the basis of a communist worldview, the national ideology is based on Chinese culture. Control over the implementation of the national idea is carried out by the Information and Propaganda Department of the Central Council of the Communist Party of China. This department develops basic instructions and gives appropriate instructions to all regional departments¹⁵.

In China, all kinds of propaganda tools are actively used to promote national ideology. Particular attention is paid to outdoor advertising, which reflects Chinese culture and the ideas of Confucianism, television and radio.

Ideological propaganda in the PRC is aimed at children in preschool educational institutions. Serious attention is paid to propaganda work in schools and higher educational institutions.

Speaking to party activists, Chinese President Xi Jinping noted:

Various hostile forces at home and abroad are always trying to force our party to change its banner and name... However, some of us and even some party comrades do not clearly see the secret hidden in this: they think that Western "universal values" have existed for hundreds of years, so why can't they agree with them? Why can't we borrow political discourse from the West? If we accept this, we won't have much loss, so why should we spoil it? Some people consider Western theories and Western discourse to be the golden rules and unknowingly become supporters of Western capitalist ideology. If you are in doubt about right or wrong, you can judge things from afar and test things up close...Typical examples are countries like Iraq, Syria and Libya!16

Substitution of ideological views?!

The information and ideological war waged by the United States and Western European countries is based on the ideas of liberalism. On the one hand, being free is the inalienable right of any person, but, on the other hand, the opposite happens. Using the cover of protecting human rights, aggression and interference in the internal affairs of other states are carried out.

Assessing the current state of international relations, American political scientist Francis Fukuyama notes:

> What we are probably witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War or another period of post-war history, but the end of history as such, the completion of the ideological evolution of humanity and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of government. This does not mean that in the future no events will occur and the pages of the annual Foreign Affairs reviews on international relations will be empty - after all, liberalism has so far won only in the sphere of ideas and consciousness; in the real, material world, victory is still far away. However, there are serious reasons to believe that it is this ideal world that will ultimately determine the material world <...> From the Hegelian point of view, it is important that political liberalism follows economic liberalism - more slowly than many had hoped, however, -apparently inevitable¹⁷.

The US National Security Strategy, adopted in 2006, states:

The United States must defend freedom and justice because these principles are true and right for all people everywhere... The United States Government will work to promote human dignity in word and deed, advocating for freedom and against human rights violations, and devoting appropriate resources to promoting these ideals¹⁸.

This document is a program of the US government, which requires the adaptation of other liberal ideas in the world to this system.

Shukurjon Islamov in his article entitled "(For)What is spirituality needed?" notes:

Interestingly, it is becoming increasingly clear that our society perceives spiritual promoters as a category of stupid people in white shirts and ties. Both pro-Westerners and pious people frown when it comes to representatives of spirituality<...> I have not heard that the Center for Spirituality and Enlightenment or the Youth Union, which are considered a center for promoting spirituality, have taken initiatives against any form of forced labor or lawlessness. <...> ...ordinary people express their problems to journalists who write on current social issues, and leaders, seeing journalists, become cautious19.

At the moment, ideas of liberalism are increasingly being promoted in Uzbekistan, which do not always correspond to national traditions. Often in feature films, advertising, on banners, in clips, ideas of enrichment and immorality are promoted, and scenes that do not correspond to the national mentality are shown.

You can give examples of the article by Eldar Asanov (the word "freedom" was used

from: https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?path=/prelim@title22/chapter33&edition=prelim

US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. Available from: https://www.state.gov/ about-us-u-s-advisory-commission-on-public-diplomacy/ 15 国务院新闻. 人力资源和社会保障部宣传中心. Available from: http://www.mohrss.gov.cn/

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习近平: 在全国党校工作会议上的讲话(2015年12月11日). Available from: http://cpc.people. com.cn/n1/2016/0501/c64094-28317481.html

Fukuyama F. The End of History and the Last Man; Per. from English M.B. Levina. Moscow: ACT: JSC NPP Ermak, 2004: 9 and 14.

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Islamov Sh. Why do you need spirituality? May 20, 2018. Available from: https://blog.xabar. uz/post/nima-ga-kerak-ma-naviyat

13 times)²⁰, by Sanjar Saida²¹, Said-Abdulaziz Yusupov²², by Mirakmal Niyozmatov (the article was published on the website turon24.uz, which no longer exists, the article talked about the transition to Western values and the word "freedom" was used 26 times.

Conclusion

At the present stage, the use of smart power in information warfare is intensifying. An analysis of information and ideological security in Uzbekistan shows that there is no comprehensive system for organizing spiritual education, organizational, practical and scientific research work to protect national interests and basic values, especially youth, from information, ideological and political threats is insufficient; there is no coordination of government organizations, civil society institutions and the public; cooperation between public and private media is not established.

Based on scientific analysis, it is clear that the main directions of the information war aimed at Uzbekistan are being conducted in the following areas:

- 1. attacks on the dignity and activities of heads of state, deputies and members of the government;
- 2. an attempt to undermine the essence of political, economic and social reforms, the desire to nullify people's trust in these processes;
- 3. defragmentation of society by dividing it into different social and national groups and creating conflict situations;
- 4. destruction of national spiritual values, propagation of inhumane values, dissemination of LGBT ideas;
- 5. creating a negative image of law enforcement officers internal affairs officers, national guards, military personnel, representatives of security services;
- 6. popularization of people with Western liberal views, preparing the ground for their further advancement, turning them into "national heroes."

To counter information challenges and threats, it is necessary to:

- 1. Develop a unified state policy; legal, structural and ideological foundations for ensuring information security.
- 2. Create a system for identifying, assessing and forecasting sources of both internal and external threats.
- 3. Develop a comprehensive/systemic coordination of the activities of government bodies and information and media services, taking into account ensuring the country's national interests in the information sphere.

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Contribution of the author

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²⁰ Asanov E. Be careful, "manaviyat"! August 26, 2018. Available from: https://www.gazeta.uz/ru/2018/08/26/manaviyat/

²¹ Said S. We need new values. August 27, 2018. Available from: https://www.gazeta.uz/uz/2018/08/27/munosabat/

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HISTORICAL RETROSPECTIVE AND MODERNITY

History of International Relations and Foreign Policy

RUSSIA & WORLD: SCIENTIFIC DIALOGUE



The countries of Central Asia do not always consider the CSTO the main instrument for ensuring regional security, which is reflected in the current concepts of their foreign policy. The Organization suffered particularly severe image losses in 2010, after refusing to help Kyrgyzstan in the context of the interethnic Kyrgyz-Uzbek conflict in the south of the country. Nevertheless, peacekeeping has become an important element of the Organization's activities. Having practiced the conduct of peacekeeping operations in numerous exercises, in 2022 in Kazakhstan the CSTO, for the first time in twenty years of existence, was able to clearly demonstrate its feasibility, efficiency and effectiveness.

Beloglazov A.V.

Activities of the Collective Security Treaty Organization in Central Asia (2002-2022)

The warm climate at the mouth of the Yangtze and on the coast of the East China Sea led to the habitat of a large number of alligators in the kingdom of Yue, which was the reason for both this geographical name and the ethnonym as a totem "crocodile".

Larin V.P.

On the Origin of The Symbol "Dragon" From The Zoonym "Crocodile" In the Cultures of Ancient Southern China and Vietnam

The problem of personnel of the intelligentsia in the republic with the outbreak of the war and the conscription of numerous of its representatives into the Red Army became extremely acute. There was a great shortage of specialists in all sectors of the national economy and culture. In order to accelerate the replenishment of the intelligentsia, the party and Soviet bodies used the method of promotion, especially the promotion of women to leadership and organizational work.

Torogeldieva E.E.

The Intelligentsia of Kyrgyzstan during the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945

HISTORICAL RETROSPECTIVE AND MODERNITY History of International Relations and Foreign Policy

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Activities of the Collective Security Treaty Organization in Central Asia (2002-2022)

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Abstract. The article identifies the contribution of the Collective Security Treaty Organization in Central Asia (CSTO) to the process of ensuring security in Central Asia. Conceptual approaches to the CSTO in the foreign policy of the Russian Federation and its allies in the region are analyzed. The documents of the CSTO are examined, as well as its practical activities to ensure regional security, prevent military threats, combat extremism, and terrorism and drug trafficking. The peacekeeping activities of the CSTO are examined. At the same time, an answer is given to the question why the CSTO did not deploy a peacekeeping mission at the request of Kyrgyzstan during the unrest in 2010, but responded to a similar request from Kazakhstan during the January events of 2022.

Keywords: international relations, Collective Security Treaty Organizations, Russian Federation, Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, regional security

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Introduction

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In mid-May 2022, the Collective Security Treaty turned 30 years old and the Organization created on its basis turned twenty years old. During this time, she, as noted by the participants of the anniversary summit of the CSTO on May 16, 2022,

It has raised the cooperation of the member states to a qualitatively new level of allied relations, accumulated significant potential to counter a wide range of modern challenges and threats, and has become an important factor of peace and stability in the Euro-Asian space¹.

All these years, the CSTO has been most active in Central Asia. Half of the organization's members are subjects of this region: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. There are many security threats in the region, both military and new - terrorism, illegal migration, drug trafficking. In addition, at the beginning of the 21st century, the "Second Great Game" unfolded here - the geopolitical rivalry of significant political actors. Over the years, regional security has been strongly influenced by the Afghan factor.

The activities of the CSTO have been discussed in various scientific works. Its former General Secretary N.N.Bordyuzha in the article "Security will be reliably ensured by coordination and cooperation" [2] describes the formation of the organization and sums up the results of the first five years of its existence. K.E.Meshcheryakov in his work "Integration processes in the post-Soviet space and Russia's participation in them" [5] examines the emergence and development of the CSTO until 2012 in the context of Eurasian integration. A.Ya.Babadzhanov in the monograph "Military-Political Cooperation of Post-Soviet States: The Problem of Compatibility of National Approaches" [1] explores, among other issues, the functioning of the CSTO until 2014. E.F.Troitsky and V.P.Zinoviev in the article "Organization of the Treaty on collective security: formation, evolution and crisis of the military-political alliance" [6] analyze the complexities of the development of the CSTO until 2018. A.V.Kornilenko in his work "The Peacekeeping Potential of the Collective Security Treaty Organization" [3] reveals the potential capabilities of peacekeeping operations that have not yet been implemented in 2020.

However, none of the above-mentioned works specifically examines the activities of the CSTO in Central Asia or analyzes the different attitudes towards the organization among various subjects of the region. The studies do not extend to 2022 and do not compare decisions on the CSTO peacekeeping operation in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan in 2010 and 2022. This article is devoted to these issues.



Statement by the Collective Security Council of the Collective Security Treaty Organization on the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the Collective Security Treaty and the 20th Anniversary of the Collective Security Treaty Organization. Available from: http://kremlin.ru/supplement/5800

Materials and methods

Documents of the CSTO and its structural divisions, as well as the Foreign Policy Concept of the Organization's member countries were used as research sources.

The methodological basis was a geopolitical analysis that allows us to identify the significance of Central Asia for the CSTO in general and for Russia in particular. Firstly, this region is a junction of three civilizations, the Russian, Chinese and Islamic worlds [7:226]. Secondly, there are significant reserves of natural resources, primarily hydrocarbons. Thirdly, Central Asia has an important transit significance, which is increasing as the Chinese "One Belt, One Road" project is implemented. And fourthly, by taking control of this region or creating chaos in it, countries unfriendly to Russia can create problems for its security, given that Russia and Central Asia have the longest land border in the world.

According to the official position of the Russian Foreign Ministry,

for Russia, Central Asia is a zone of historically determined interests, an important partner in cooperation in the military-political, trade-economic, cultural and humanitarian spheres, as well as in ensuring the general security of the Eurasian states from the south².

The CSTO is the main instrument for maintaining security in this region and establishing relations between Russia and its allies in Central Asia. The importance of the organization increases as threats to regional security increase due to the strengthening of the Afghan factor in regional life after the US withdrawal from Afghanistan.

The study used a historical research method, which allows us to consider the activities of the CSTO in Central Asia in development, to identify changes at different stages. The institutional method was also used to analyze the structure of the organization. Comparative analysis made it possible to compare the approaches of various member countries to the organization, the role of the CSTO in events in Central Asia in 2010 and 2022, and to identify the reasons for its changes.

Results

The role and place of the CSTO in the Foreign Policy Concepts of Russia and Central Asian countries

The CSTO occupies an important place in Russian foreign policy in general and regional policy in Central Asia in particular. Article 52 of the penultimate Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation dated November 30, 2016 emphasized that

Russia considers the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) as one of the most important elements of the modern security system in the post-Soviet space. Russia stands for the qualitative development of the CSTO, its transformation into an authoritative multifunctional international organization capable of confronting modern challenges and threats under the increasing influence of diverse global and regional factors in the CSTO area of responsibility and adjacent areas³.

And in the new, sixth Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation dated March 31, 2023, the CSTO is mentioned four times, which underlines the even greater importance of the Organization at the present stage. In particular, article 49 states that

To transform the near abroad into a zone of peace, good neighborliness, sustainable development and prosperity, the Russian Federation intends to give priority attention to: ... ensuring guaranteed protection of Russia, its allies and partners in any development of the military-political situation in the world, strengthening the regional security system based on the principle of indivisibility security and the key role of Russia in maintaining and strengthening regional security, the complementarity of the Union State, the CSTO and other formats of interaction between Russia and its allies and partners in the field of defense and security⁴.

Tajikistan also highly appreciates the role of the CSTO. In his current Foreign Policy Concept dated January 27, 2015, in the section "Multilateral Diplomacy" it is noted that

The Republic of Tajikistan considers expanding interaction with its partners in strengthening national and state security as one of the priorities of its foreign policy and considers its membership in the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) to meet national interests. The activities of the Republic of Tajikistan within the framework of this Organization are aimed at creating effective mechanisms to counter the threats of the modern world. In this context, the country's membership in the Organization is considered as one of the important factors in ensuring the country's security and maintaining stability in the region⁵.

If we turn to the Foreign Policy Concepts of other CSTO allies in Central Asia, we see a different picture. The CSTO is mentioned in passing among other organizations. The Concept of Foreign Policy of Kyrgyzstan dated March 11, 2019 considers the CSTO with

² Russia and Central Asia. Official website of the Russian Foreign Ministry. Available from: https://www.mid.ru/web/guest/rossia-i-problemy-central-noj-azii

³ The concept of the Foreign policy of the Russian Federation (approved by the President of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin on November 30, 2016). Available from: https://www.mid.ru/foreign_policy/official_documents/-/asset_publisher/CptICkB6BZ29/content/id/2542248

⁴ The concept of the Foreign policy of the Russian Federation (approved by the President of the Russian Federation V.V.Putin on March 31, 2023) Available from: https://www.mid.ru/ru/detail-material-page/1860586/

⁵ Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Tajikistan. Available from: https://www.mfa.tj/en/main/view/988/concept-of-the-foreign-policy-of-the-republic-of-tajikistan

restraint when speaking about the development of relations with various international organizations. The section "Foreign Policy Priorities" states that

in order to promote national interests, assist in ensuring national and regional security and solving socio-economic problems, the Kyrgyz Republic actively interacts with others countries within the framework of the United Nations, the Eurasian Economic Union, the Collective Security Treaty Organization, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Commonwealth of Independent States, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Cooperation Council of Turkic Speaking States, Economic Cooperation Organization and other international organizations⁶.

But if Kyrgyzstan views the CSTO on a par with other Eurasian integration structures - the EAEU and the SCO, then Kazakhstan puts the CSTO and NATO on the same level. His Foreign Policy Concept for 2020-2030, adopted on March 6, 2020, lists priorities in regional and multilateral diplomacy as

continuing the course to expand cooperation with multilateral organizations in the field of politics and security in Europe and Eurasia - the Collective Security Treaty Organization, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Council of Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other institutions⁷.

Russia's approach is quite logical, because as the initiator of the creation of the CSTO and the driver of Eurasian integration processes, it relies on the organization in its regional policy. As the center of the regional subsystem of international relations, Russia is responsible for the security of not only its territory, but also the territories of its allied states.

The high assessment of the Organization in the Tajik Foreign Policy Concept is largely explained by the Afghan factor and the increased security threats in connection with this. Shortly before its adoption, the ISAF coalition group was withdrawn from Afghanistan⁸, what caused the Taliban movement to intensify*9, and the influx of so-called militants "Islamic State"*into the country¹0. At the same time, in the year the Concept was adopted,

the state banned the only legal Islamist party in the region - the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan*11, which aggravated the difficult security situation in the country. It was during the 2015 Dushanbe CSTO summit that members of this party attempted an armed rebellion, but Tajikistan received full support from the Organization.

The cold attitude of Kyrgyzstan towards the CSTO in official documents is apparently a consequence of the Organization's refusal to respond to the acting request. Interim President Roza Otunbayeva deployed a peacekeeping mission in the south of Kyrgyzstan during the unrest and ethnic clashes in 2010. On the eve of the adoption of the Kyrgyz Foreign Policy Concept of 2019, the CSTO experienced its first serious crisis caused by the destructive actions of the Prime Minister of Armenia Nikol Pashinyan. He initiated criminal proceedings against CSTO Secretary General Yuri Khachaturov for his participation in the crackdown on the Armenian opposition ten years earlier. As a result, in November 2018, Yu.G.Khachaturov terminated his powers ahead of schedule, after which there was no Secretary General in the CSTO for more than a year.

Kazakhstan, unlike Kyrgyzstan, received CSTO peacekeeping assistance in 2022, but its Foreign Policy Concept was adopted earlier, in 2020. At that time, the Republic pointedly emphasized its multi-vector nature. This was facilitated by the adoption in 2019 of new Strategies for Central Asia by both the United States of America¹² and the European Union¹³. Both actors traditionally began implementing the strategy from Kazakhstan. A month before the adoption of the Foreign Policy Concept, US Secretary of State M. Pompeo paid a visit to the Republic. It is obvious that if the Concept had been adopted after January 2022, the description of the Organization and its mention would have been different. This is evidenced by the speeches of President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev after the completion of the CSTO peacekeeping operation.

Institutionalization of the CSTO and expansion of its activities in Central Asia

On May 15, 1992, a Collective Security Treaty was signed between the former Soviet republics, and on May 14, 2002, on its basis, the CSTO international organization was created, which, along with Russia, Belarus and Armenia, also included three Central Asian republics - Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

Article 3 of the CSTO Charter, adopted at the Moscow summit on October 7, 2002, stated that

⁶ The concept of the foreign policy of the Kyrgyz Republic. Website of the Ministry of Justice of the Kyrgyz Republic. Available from: http://cbd.minjust.gov.kg/act/view/ru-ru/430045

⁷ Concept of the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2020-2030. Available from: https://www.akorda.kz/en/legal_acts/decrees/on-the-concept-of-the-foreign-policy-of-the-republic-of-kazakhstan-for-2020-2030

⁸ The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) is a NATO-led international military contingent operating in the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan from 2001 to 2014.

^{*}The organization has been recognized as a terrorist organization by the Supreme Court of Russia. The unified federal list of organizations, including foreign and international organizations, recognized as terrorist in accordance with the legislation of the Russian Federation (as of April 25, 2023). Available from: http://www.fsb.ru/fsb/npd/terror.htm, 18+

^{10 *} The organization was declared a terrorist organization by the Supreme Court of Russia. The unified federal list of organizations, including foreign and international ones, recognized as terrorist in accordance with the legislation of the Russian Federation (as of April 25, 2023). Available from: http://www.fsb.ru/fsb/npd/terror.htm, 18+

^{*} The organization was declared a terrorist organization by the Supreme Court of Russia. The unified federal list of organizations, including foreign and international ones, recognized as terrorist in accordance with the legislation of the Russian Federation (as of April 25, 2023). Available from: http://www.fsb.ru/fsb/npd/terror.htm, 18+

¹² United States Strategy for Central Asia 2019-2025: Advancing Sovereignty and Economic Prosperity. Available from: https://www.state.gov/united-states-strategy-for-central-asia-2019-2025-advancing-sovereignty-and-economic-prosperity/

¹³ Council conclusions on the New EU Strategy on Central Asia. Available from: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/39778/st10221-en19.pdf

the goals of the Organization are to strengthen peace, international and regional security and stability, protect on a collective basis the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of member states, in achieving which the member states give priority to political means¹⁴.

As K.E.Meshcheryakov emphasized,

Russia and its allies created a new military-political bloc - the first such association with the participation of Moscow that arose after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact Organization [5:68].

Soon, to strengthen the position of the CSTO in the region, at the suggestion of Russia, the Collective Rapid Deployment Forces of the Central Asian Region were reformed. It is interesting that these forces were created even before the creation of the organization itself, in August 2001, "to participate in repelling external military aggression and conducting joint counter-terrorism operations" Since 2003, the new Russian air base in the Kyrgyz city of Kant has become their most important component. In the same year, Russia initiated the signing, within the framework of the Eurasian Economic Community, of a multilateral Treaty "On cooperation in protecting the external borders of the EurAsEC member states," since all member countries of this organization were simultaneously members of the CSTO.

According to the fair opinion of Murad Laumulin, an analyst at the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies,

at the initial stage, the CSTO was perceived as a structure based on the Russian military platform (training of officers, provision of Russian weapons and military equipment, joint exercises), like a military organization. However, the goal was soon set to turn it into a universal security institution [4:70–71].

In Central Asia, the CSTO soon began to fight new threats: drug trafficking, organized crime, terrorism, illegal migration. At the same time, according to E.F.Troitsky and V.P.Zinoviev,

Russia has made considerable efforts to develop the regulatory framework and institutional superstructure of the organization. In 2004, the CSTO Joint Headquarters began work. In 2005, within the framework of the CSTO, an agreement was signed on the training of military personnel, providing for the training of military personnel free of charge for the sending party in a number of military educational institutions of the remaining participating countries [6: 339–340].

In 2006, the Organization expanded: Uzbekistan joined it after the Andijan events. After this, the CSTO initiated rapprochement and coordination with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. At the Dushanbe SCO summit on October 5, 2007, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the secretariats of the SCO and the CSTO. The document defined ways of equal and constructive interaction

in matters of ensuring regional and international security and stability; counter terrorism; combating drug trafficking; suppression of illegal arms trafficking; combating organized transnational crime; other areas of mutual interest¹⁶.

Unfortunately, in 2012, Uzbekistan suspended its membership in the Organization, as it wanted to gain room for maneuver in cooperation with the West, mainly with the United States, due to the intensification of the Afghan problem [9: 10627]. However, even before this, a major change took place in the structure of the CSTO. On June 14, 2009, the Agreement on the Collective Rapid Reaction Forces was signed, which were designed to intensify military-tactical integration¹⁷. Soon after this, the CSTO states began to conduct regular joint anti-terrorism exercises and anti-drug operations in Central Asia.

Peacekeeping activities of the CSTO in Central Asia

Military cooperation within the Organization, being a priority for the participants, was carried out in several areas, including in the field of CSTO peacekeeping forces, as noted by the former Secretary General of the organization N.N.Bordyuzha [8] At the same time, according to A.V.Kornilenko, The Organization's lack of practice in conducting real peacekeeping operations was compensated by practicing operational and combat skills in annual exercises. To practice the tasks, training grounds were used in Chebarkul (Chelyabinsk region of the Russian Federation), Mulino (Nizhny Novgorod region of the Russian Federation), Kharb-Maidon (Tajikistan), Balykchy (Issyk-Kul region of Kyrgyzstan), as well as the training ground of the Sverdlovsk training center of the Central Military District of the Russian Federation [3:710–711].

In 2010, there was a real chance to test the peacekeeping potential of the CSTO in action. In April, the second coup in the history of Kyrgyzstan took place, during which President Kurmanbek Bakiev was overthrown and fled the country. The winners formed a provisional government headed by Interim President Roza Otunbayeva. Soon, in the south of the Republic, in Osh, Osh and Jalal-Abad regions, violent interethnic clashes occurred that lasted five days, in which, according to official data, more than four hundred people were killed. More than 400 thousand Uzbeks fled to the territory of Uzbekistan. Roza Otunbaeva appealed to the CSTO with a request to launch a peacekeeping operation in the south of

¹⁴ The Charter of the Collective Security Treaty Organization / Ivanov I. S. Russia in the modern world. Answers to the challenges of the 21st century. Moscow: Olma-Press. 2004. Applications:553.

¹⁵ Collective rapid deployment forces of the Central Asian Region of Collective Security. The website of the CSTO Joint Staff. Available from: https://www.jscsto.org/security/crdf-car/

¹⁶ Cooperation with international organizations. The official website of the CSTO. Available from: https://odkb-csto.org/international_org/sco/

¹⁷ Agreement on the Collective Rapid Reaction Forces of the Collective Security Treaty Organization dated June 14, 2009. Available from: http://www.conventions.ru/view_base.php?id=1376

Kyrgyzstan, but was refused. This allowed critics both inside and outside the organization to question its viability.

However, 12 years later, during the unrest in Kazakhstan, the CSTO acted differently in a similar situation. On the evening of January 5, 2022, the President of Kazakhstan Kassym-Jomart Tokayev turned to the Organization with a request for help, and immediately received consent. The CSTO Collective Security Council adopted a decision "on the dispatch of Collective Peacekeeping Forces to the Republic of Kazakhstan for a limited period in order to stabilize and normalize the situation in the country"¹⁸.

By January 9, 2022, the deployment of peacekeeping forces was completed. Russian troops, who formed the backbone of the peacekeeping contingent, took control of the Almaty airport, the Russian Consulate General and a number of social infrastructure facilities (television centers, water supply companies, etc.). The Belarusian contingent guarded the Zhetygen military airfield and the military arsenal in the city of Kapshagai. Kyrgyz military personnel took custody of thermal power plant-2 in Almaty, and Tajik military personnel took custody of thermal power plant-1. The Armenian contingent provided security for the Aksai bakery plant. The CSTO peacekeeping forces stabilized the situation in Kazakhstan and allowed law enforcement officers of the Republic to stop the unrest. January 13, 2022 at the request of K-Zh. Tokayev began the withdrawal of peacekeepers, which lasted until January 19 of this year.

When comparing these two situations, five reasons were identified why the CSTO decided to launch a peacekeeping operation in Kazakhstan in 2022, although it did not do so in Kyrgyzstan in 2010.

1. The CSTO Charter, in force in mid-2010, strictly limited the deployment of collective peacekeeping forces, allowing it only under the threat of an external military invasion. This legally prevented the CSTO from intervening in the situation in southern Kyrgyzstan. That same year, on December 10, the Charter was adjusted. At the beginning of 2022, it contained clauses that allowed a peacekeeping operation to be carried out legally, even if foreign troops did not attack. In particular, it was stated that

To achieve the goals of the Organization, member states take joint measures to form within its framework an effective collective security system that ensures collective protection in the event of a threat to security, stability, territorial integrity and sovereignty¹⁹.

2. Interim President Roza Otunbaeva addressed the CSTO from Kyrgyzstan. She represented the self-proclaimed government that came to power through a coup d'état. The legitimate President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, elected in 2019, addressed the CSTO from Kazakhstan.

- 3. Clashes and pogroms in the south of Kyrgyzstan occurred spontaneously, while government buildings and social infrastructure were not purposefully destroyed, as in Kazakhstan, and airports were not captured. There was serious preparation and organization of unrest in Kazakhstan, and, consequently, there was a greater threat to the security and stability of the state.
- 4. The deployment of troops to Kyrgyzstan in 2010 could have further aggravated interethnic strife, since Uzbekistan was also a member of the CSTO at that time. There was no confrontation on national grounds in Kazakhstan.
- 5. The international background in 2010 was not conducive to the movements of Russian and CSTO troops. This was the height of the "reset" policy with the United States shortly after the signing of the START III treaty. In 2022, on the contrary, it was necessary to show the United States and NATO after the December 2021 ultimatum that Russia and its allies act quickly and decisively in their area of their responsibility.

Conclusion

Thus, despite the versatility of the CSTO's activities in various regions of the post-Soviet space, the focus of the organization was security issues in Central Asia. This was reflected in the documents of the summits, in specific activities to combat military threats, terrorism, extremism, and drug trafficking. This was especially evident in the conduct of joint military exercises and the activities of the Rapid Reaction Forces. The approaches to the Organization of Russia and the Central Asian countries belonging to the CSTO differ, judging by their conceptual documents.

Russia has made every effort to institutionalize the CSTO, adopt fundamental documents and create an internal structure. Subsequently, Russia's activity was aimed at ensuring the work of these structures and at developing regional security activities.

The countries of Central Asia do not always consider the CSTO the main instrument for ensuring regional security, which is reflected in their current Foreign Policy Concepts. The organization suffered severe image losses in 2010, after refusing to help Kyrgyzstan in the context of the interethnic Kyrgyz-Uzbek conflict in the south of the country.

Nevertheless, peacekeeping was an important area of the Organization's activities. Having practiced conducting peacekeeping operations in numerous exercises, in 2022 in Kazakhstan the CSTO was able to demonstrate its efficiency and effectiveness for the first time in 20 years of existence.

¹⁸ Commentary from the CSTO Secretariat on the situation in Kazakhstan CSTO website. Available from: https://odkb-csto.org/news/news_odkb/kommentariy-sekretariata-odkb-o-situatsii-v-kazakhstane/#loaded

¹⁹ Charter of the Collective Security Treaty Organization of October 7, 2002 (with amendments by the Protocol on Amendments to the Charter of the Collective Security Treaty Organization of October 7, 2002, signed on December 10, 2010). Available from: https://odkb-csto.org/documents/documents/ustav_organizatsii_dogovora_o_kollektivnoy_bezopasnosti_/#loaded

^{*}The organization was declared a terrorist organization by the Supreme Court of Russia. The unified federal list of organizations, including foreign and international ones, recognized as terrorist in accordance with the legislation of the Russian Federation (as of April 25, 2023). URL: http://www.fsb.ru/fsb/npd/terror.htm, 18+

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Contribution of the author

The author declares no conflicts of interests.

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On the Origin of the Symbol "Dragon" from the Zoonym "Crocodile" in the Cultures of Ancient Southern China and Vietnam

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Abstract. The author explores the origin of the symbol "dragon" in the cultures of ancient Southern China and Vietnam from the "crocodile", puts forward the hypothesis that the ancient ethnonym and toponym "Yue" 越, (modern Vietnam) come from the Chinese zoonym 'crocodile' 鳄鱼 èyú. Other sources are the words "yue" 岳 'mountain', "yue" 钺 'great battle axe' and "yue" 月 'moon'. The Vietnamese word âu 'seagull', isomorphic to the Chinese word ៉ 'ōu', is also involved in the semiotic analysis. Correlation of the Chinese letter from "jiaguwen" to "kaishu" (with the mention of the Vietnamese "tynom" and the letter of the state "Dian") with historical and modern reality contributes to the objectification of the Chinese-Vietnamese world, the possibility of studying it using philological knowledge. The article also provides a comparison of the Chinese classification of nature by Zhou Qu-fei with the system of Carl Linnaeus and the earlier classification of Conrad Gesner, and develops the idea of the economy of nature.

Keywords: tsaghveri, crocodile 鳄鱼 èyú (vietn. – ngạc ngư – 鱷魚, cá sấu), Yue 岳 'mountain', Yue 钺 'large battle axe' Huang Yue, Yue 月 'Moon', 'the Seagull' 鸥 ōu (vietn. – âu), Yue (viets), classification of nature, the economy of nature

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Introduction

The relevance of the topic and the purpose of the study are determined by the possibility of including the toponym "Vietnam" ("Yue") in the context of similar toponyms of the ancient world.

The author carried out an analysis of the transformation of the cult zoonym "crocodile" into the public and state symbol "dragon", a comparison of the European and Chinese systems of nature, for the latter the basis of classification is the utilitarian usefulness of various fauna objects.

Materials and methods

The theoretical basis of the study was the works of Zhou Qu-fei, Xu Hui, Yu.N.Mikhailova, I.Zhao, V.V.Stupnikova, A.B.Solomonik The author addresses issues of Eastern cultural studies, symbolism and cultural semantics.

The author has chosen interdisciplinary and comparative methods in toponymy, zoology, history and semiotics. In relation to Chinese sources, the method of selecting the relevant "crocodile fish" sign of the Jiaguwen letter was used, as well as quotations on the history of the large battle ax "Huang Yue" as a symbol of power.

Results

Natural and socio-historical conditions for the formation of the toponym "Vietnam"

Derived from the word "crocodile" The symbol "dragon" historically combines a variety of meanings; it came to the Viet and Han along the path of Tao, that is a divine, but not a social metaphor. From a philosophical point of view, both natural science and theological approaches are legitimate. Religiously, it is inseparable from Taoism, Buddhism, Confucianism and exists in the minds of Christians, carrying within itself a theocratic and human beginning.

For thousands of years, the dragon has been and remains in the public consciousness in Vietnam, as in China, as an imperial symbol; as the main cultural archetype of these countries, it lives on for centuries, overshadowing with its presence all the hopes, aspirations and successes of the two great peoples. The origins of this phenomenon lie in ancient times, in the cohabitation of the Han and Yue peoples, when this name arose due to man's mastery and comprehension of nature in the struggle and identification of himself with its gigantic

and other inhabitants, endowed with reason and magical qualities by man. Evidence of this is the vast pantheons of mythical and real animals, as well as sacred concepts – the dragon, mountains and rivers, which were originally recorded thanks to such a technical invention as writing and writing of the Shang-Yin era.

"According to legend, Lak-laung kuan (ruler Dragon Lak) was a water dragon – the son of Kinh-duong vuong and the daughter of the sovereign of Lake Dongting. Thus, both the name Giaoti and the names of the first two Vietnamese legendary sovereigns, according to Dao Huy An, reflect the totemistic and animalistic ideas of the proto-Vietians who lived in the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze" [7:27–30].

That is why today we can carry out some reconstruction of the origin of the modern geographical name "Vietnam". This material is a continuation of the study "Symbolism in Vietnam: hypotheses of formation"².

In addition to "crocodile," the concept of "Yue" could later also include the geological term "yue" 岳 "mountain" and the technical term "yue" 钺 the large battle ax "Huang Yue" (a symbol of power in ancient China)³, from him, according to Xu Hui, came the scientific term denoted by the hieroglyph jinwen "scientist, official" [10:3–6]. And then, thanks to the "lunar poet" Li Bo (701–762/763), also the word 月 Moon ⁴ (key 74):

In a spoken way from the Heavenly Mother Would like to wade, trusting in sleep, The Mirror Lake Moon And get to Yue and Wu.⁵

With this we complement the research of Vietnamese scientists in explaining the origin of the name of the Vietnamese nation, when the Yues could have participated in the creation of Han hieroglyphs⁶.

We see how Li Bo's poetry reaches the lands of Yue, pacifying the thought when they, perhaps, are seen as his likeness or the Moon itself. Therefore, this particular meaning can

¹ How do you say "crocodile" in Chinese? Available from: https://www.toboapp.com/word/chinese/russian/eyu-2222/

The invention of writing in the Shang-Yin era was a cardinal milestone in the knowledge of the world, making it possible to establish the isomorphism "signified – sign", when the name "Yue" from the phenomenon "crocodile" had to submit to the development of civilization in the spirit of Fan Cheng-da: "Beyond the ridges there is also hares, but very few," thereby speaking about brushes made of hare hair and Zhu Yu, speaking about rooster feathers for writing. Zhou Qu-fei. Behind the ridges instead of answers. Introduction by M. Yu. Ulyanov:51. The image of a rooster is known to be present on the bronze tablet of the state of Dian. Larin V.P. Symbolism in Vietnam. Vietnam Studies. Vol.6. Moscow: IFES RAS. 2016:244–261.

³ Novakova O.V. "The Cross and the Dragon". Moscow: Klyuch-S, 2012:304. Since then 133. "Huang Yue" 钺 "big battle axe". Internet. Xu Hui. "Scientist, official." Etymology of Chinese characters. Moscow: Chance, 2022:3–6.

⁴ Hieroglyphic Key 74 (trad. and sire.) is a Kangxi key with the meaning "moon". Available from: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ключ_74

⁵ Li Bo (701-762) 李白, 李太白 Tang Dynasty. I sing about parting with the Mother of Heaven Mountain, along which I walked in a dream. Available from: https://chinese-poetry.ru/poems.php?action=show&poem_id=5720 (дата обращения: 31.08.2023)

⁶ Explanation of the source of origin of the Vietnamese nation. (Giải thích nguồn gốc dân tộc Việt) Available from: https://hoc247.net/hoi-dap/ngu-van-6/giai-thich-nguon-goc-dan-toc-viet-faq353623.html (Date of access: 10.08.2023)

be recognized as the main one when the meanings "crocodile" and others lose their role in the meaning formation of the name of the Yue people and the understanding of their life. However, let us repeat, it is with the "crocodile" that, in an objective sense, the phenomena we are considering here are initially associated.

This weapon is used exclusively by emperors, and others will die if they touch it in private. King Wu used it to slash Zhou, and Qianlong used it to slash tigers. <...>Yellow Yue [because it is decorated with gold] is a weapon used by the emperor to indicate military order during conquest, it has the power to kill and conquer.

We can here quote Professor Pham Dinh Phong about the weapon scenes depicted on Dong Son drums:

There is also an image of a man cutting off the head of a buffalo with an oblique bronze Ax at the festival of slaughtering a buffalo, brave men compete, demonstrate wrestling, a scene of fighters in ambush, clutching combat daggers in their hands, preparing to attack the enemy...

and also about the struggle of the Viet with wild animals in relatively recent times:

By the era of the Ly Dynasty [家李 1009–1225], tigers, panthers, lions were still circling around Zam Dam (today West Lake), people are still talking about this, in Thai Bin and in many other places in the country in the land as well many bones of tigers, water snakes, crocodiles, rhinoceroses were discovered [11:45, 49.].

In support of our hypothesis, it should be said that the "dragon" symbol, in particular, in the Ming era [大明朝 1368–1644] crowned the entire civil and military bureaucratic hierarchy of both countries [10: 331–334.]. The "crocodile" symbol is not among them, however, in our opinion, precisely because it turned into a "dragon".

It was only during the Ming Dynasty that classical texts with evidence of miraculous animals began to be collected in order to finally establish the names of the nine sons of the dragon and their abilities, -

Xu Hui reports and further gives the names and properties of all 9 dragons. This number, as is known, corresponds to the number of branches of the "Nine Dragon River" delta located in southern Vietnam (Vietnamese "Sông Cửu Long", chữ Nôm: 九龍河), that is Mekong. It was at the end of the Ming era that the migration of the southern Chinese population began simultaneously with the Vietnamese Qilin people to the south

of Vietnam, which meant the development of new lands by the "dragon". As a symbolic creature, he cannot feed except symbolically, unlike the crocodile. Xu Hui places the story of nine dragons in an article about the hieroglyph tào "gluttonous" [10:419–422], which is another confirmation of the origin of the symbolic creature "dragon" from the zoonym "crocodile".

To compare the origin of ethnonyms and toponyms from zoonyms, we can refer to the discussion about the name Italy, which apparently comes from the Greek $\tau \pi \lambda \delta \zeta - \text{"bull"}^8$, whereas the name Rus' could originally come from the Latin ursus – "bear".

The letter "Jiaguwen" and the name "Yue"

Presumably, the ethnonym and toponym "Yue" come from the Chinese word for "crocodile" 鳄鱼 èyú – Alligator sinensis, Yangtze basin 10 , or saltwater Crocodylus porosus, Vietnam 11 , when the systems of nature did not yet exist. Ancient Vietnamese word for "crocodile" – ngạc ngư (鱷魚) 12 , modern – cá sấu.

Whereas the Vietnamese word "âu - seagull" is from the Chinese word 🖄 ōu. Initially, the three real ideograms belong to the "Jiaguwen" – a fortune-telling writing on turtle shells (from the Yin inscriptions of the Zhou Bronze Age to the Kaishu style).

Since every new written sign "does not appear out of nowhere," but as a reflection of a new concept, the pictophonic fortune-telling signs "crocodile" and "egg" were naturally included in the process of development of writing and writing within the chronological framework of the civilizations of this region that we are considering¹³.

The Vietnamese live in river valleys, so in addition to birds, since ancient times they have worshiped crocodiles as a sacred animal, personifying wealth and strength. They deified the crocodile, turning it into Giao Long (Water Dragon), which the Chinese later called 蛟龍-

⁷ 这兵器帝王专用,别人私自摸都得死,武王用它劈纣,乾隆用它劈虎 14.10.2018. Available from: https://www.sohu.com/a/259371462_455939

⁸ Italy – comes from the name of the Italic tribe, in turn, possibly arising from the abundance of cattle in the region (Greek $\tau \pi a \lambda \delta c_s$, "bull", from Latin vitulus, "calf"). What is the officially accepted etymology of the names of countries in the world?30.04.2016. Available from: https://ss69100. livejournal.com/2771496.html

⁹ A.N.Afanasyev, in the course of his research, came to the conclusion that the name of the bear among many peoples is associated with the attitude towards it not only as a wild animal with a terrible roar, but also with destructive tendencies. In Sanskrit this understanding corresponds to ksha –literally "tormentor", and in Latin - ursus. Hence in French – ours, in Italian – orso, in the Russian parent language – urs, rus. 08.03.2019. Available from: https://vk.com/@remeslo_rodimich-kak-v-starinu-nazyvali-medvedya

¹⁰ Permyakov E. Crocodiles of the Yangtze. Available from: https://litresp.ru/chitat/ru/%D0%9F/permyakov-e/krokodili-yanczi

¹¹ RepFocus – A Śurvey of the Reptiles of the World. © Rune Midtgaard. Available from: https://repfocus.dk/

¹² Crocodile. "In Han Tuyen's crocodile sacrifice there is a phrase: "Another fish, you are good." Dictionary of Nguyen Quoc Hung (Từ điển Nguyễn Quốc Hùng). Available from: https://hvdic.thivien.net/hv/ngac%20ngu

Let us note the existence of signs that are random, i.e. arising for natural reasons (by divine will), such as cracks in a stone from heat and cold, lightning strikes, etc. And also for such reasons as natural fire and artificial fire, which form numerous cracks in the wood. At the same time, the figures of people themselves, petroglyphs, forms of wooden and stone tools, stars, clouds, animals, birds and their traces, fish, plants, snowflakes, rain circles have external isomorphism. Probably, such observations prompted man to create the "Jiaguwen" writing system. – V.L.

jiaolong) to decorate the appearance of the crocodile with creative and meaningful details14.

Chinese medicine highly values the crocodile, calling it with a special term: "guito." Medicine from guyto saves from mosquito and wasp bites, heals bones, stomach, and brings longevity. There are many legends about crocodiles. They say that crocodiles are a cross between a dragon and a turtle, that they breathe with their ears, fly through the water, leaving behind steam and fire...

Crocodiles are considered not only close relatives of dinosaurs that inhabited our planet several million years ago, but also close relatives of all birds¹⁵.

In our evidence, we proceed from the ideographic nature of Chinese writing, taking into account the need to establish the scientific etymology of these characters¹⁶.

According to an article in CASE PRESS, the table contains the ideogram "crocodile fish", which corresponds to the hieroglyph 鱷魚 (trad.), Vietnamese. – ngạc ngư, cá sấu)¹⁷.

To confirm this, we also refer to Han Yu's work "Prayer and Sacrificial Appeal to the Crocodile" [3:191–193], dating back to the Tang era (618–907). We also mention that "The first work in Vietnamese was created in 1282, when the Minister of Justice Nguyen Thuyen composed a spell in verse, which was thrown into the Red River to drive away crocodiles [14. J. de Francis].

Obviously, the sign for "snake" – \dot{m} [shé] – could also participate in the formation of the collective image of "dragon". Thus, it cannot be ruled out that the transformation of a crocodile into a dragon occurred as described in the Vietnamese myth "Rectification of Animals"¹⁸.

Classifications of nature and philology

Existing Chinese ancient sources (we do not have Vietnamese ones) demonstrate different principles for constructing fauna classifications compared to Linnaeus' "System of Nature," although they have some similarities with Conrad Gessner's "History of Animals" classification¹⁹. In particular, a similar system is presented by Zhou Qu-fei in his work "Beyond the Ridges Instead of Answers," chapter 10 of which is called "Insects and Fish," which includes the "tan" crocodile. This chapter can also be compared with European bestiaries.

This illustration of the classification of fauna into three forms of degeneration "animals" (tai-sheng-lei), "birds" (luan-sheng-lei) and "insects, amphibians, reptiles, fish" (hua-sheng-lei) is given by I.G.Baranov in his book "The Afterlife Court in the View of the Chinese People" [1:17]. There is also a dragon here. So, based on the context, most likely in the third detachment we see a mythologized crocodile.

There is a lengthy article dedicated to Jiaolong, which allows our post to add some additional information to this topic. We should note that "a number of scholars point to a non-Chinese southern origin for the legendary creature, and ancient texts say that the Yue people once tattooed their bodies to protect themselves from these monsters"²⁰.

Our hypothesis manifests itself very clearly in terms of "the signified is a sign, both sound and written" (pictophonic symbols), which, to a certain extent, is confirmed by the historical context of the settlement of ancient Han and Vietnamese tribes in the adjacent regions of modern southern China and northern Vietnam²¹.

The mixing of ethnic groups that took place here in the process of economic management, migration, and wars objectively entailed the convergence of various local civilizations and cultures. We find some confirmation of this in the book by Chou Qu-fei "Behind the Ridges Instead of Answers" (in the Introduction by M.Yu.Ulyanov):

Extremely important, although very few in number, are references to Vietnamese hieroglyphs that are different from Han. The author considers it as a matter of course, and it was apparently used at that time much more widely than we are accustomed to think [12; 13].

Naturally, all objects, incl. representatives of the fauna were subjected to human study, to the extent possible at that time, for safe coexistence, hunting, nutrition and other natural uses, as well as totemism, which is reflected in their pictorial and hieroglyphic images, which have retained external and internal isomorphism to this day. Therefore, the original meanings of jiaguwen have survived to this day, which also applies to "kuok ngyi". In our opinion [5], the modern Latin letter Y as a glyph can have the conventional meaning of "crocodile", since it corresponds to the right glyph of the hieroglyph "crocodile".

This corresponds to the information provided by V.V.Stupnikova:

Another common version at the beginning of the 20th century. became a hypothesis according to which the dragon was the totem of a certain primitive tribe. In 1934, archaeologist Wei Juxian suggested that the dragon could be a crocodile totem²². Historian and anthropologist Wang Dayu believed that the prototypes of the dragon are, in particular, the Chinese alligator and the saltwater crocodile. In 1986–1989 researcher He Xin considered the theory that the dragon is

¹⁴ Vietnamese dragon. (Rồng Việt Nam). Available from: https://translated.turbopages.org/proxy_u/en-ru.ru.8935fe5d-64db4155-9ae8624f-74722d776562/https/vi.wikipedia.org/wiki/R%E1%BB%93ng_Vi%E1%BB%87t_Nam

¹⁵ Available from: https://faunistics.com/krokodily/

¹⁶ How to recognize incorrect etymology of a Chinese character? An introduction to the science of (ancient) Chinese writing. 24.06.2022 Available from: https://vk.com/@randomkjetymol?anchor=kakoy-dolzhna-byt-etimologia

¹⁷ Deciphering the inscriptions on the oracle bones: detection, properties and characteristic features. May 23, 2022 CASE PRESS. Six Books, Shang Dynasty, Structural Elements, Oracle Bone Inscriptions, Symbol Variations (解密甲骨文: 發現、性質與文字特點 2022 年 05 月 23 日 CASE PRESS 六書, 商代, 構形元素, 甲骨文, 異體字) Available from: https://case.ntu.edu.tw/blog/?p=39924

Correction of animals. Available from: http://www.nhat-nam.ru/mif.html

¹⁹ In contrast to European-Byzantine anthropocentrism, the idea of the unity of man and nature prevailed in China. Chinese sailors traveled not only to the countries of Southeast Asia and India, but at the beginning of the 15th century (before Vasco de Gama) sailed to the shores of Africa. Vorontsov N. N. Development of evolutionary ideas in biology. Available from: https://bio.wikireading.ru/h7UqfdblGR

Jiaolong. Available from: https://translated.turbopages.org/proxy_u/en-ru.ru.69c5612b-6452843d-569b6042-74722d776562/https/en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jiaolong

²¹ Laquiettes. Available from:

²² Totemism. Available from: https://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/dic_new_philosophy/1236/TO-ТЕМИЗМ

a type of saltwater crocodile, huge in size and called jiao. He Xin provided many arguments to support this theory, drawing on both archaeological discoveries and written sources. He also suggested that dragon could be a unified name for all reptiles: crocodiles, pythons, salamanders, lizards [9].

The fact that the ancient figurine of a crocodile is present among other zoomorphic mythological Han creatures is demonstrated in one of the showcases of the exhibition "Terracotta Army of Qin Shi Huang" (VDNH, pavilion 21) in the form of a small wooden figurine "Rain Dragon" from the funds of the State Museum of Oriental Art (that is Jiaolong) at Nº4.

Thus, the cultural exchange, first between the various Han and non-Han peoples of Yue, and then the Han and the Vietnamese as such, led to the birth of the worldwide phenomenon of the Chinese and Vietnamese dragons, which today have some different pictorial features from each other, maintaining the life-giving, victorious and eternal essence this grandiose creature.

The following message from E.Permyakov helps confirm our hypothesis:

Archaeologists once found a petrified skeleton twenty meters long in India. It was a fossil crocodile that appeared on Earth two and a half million years ago. At that time, crocodiles settled throughout the Earth. Now they live in tropical and subtropical countries – in rivers, lakes, and sea coasts. There are especially many of them in the waters of the Indus, Amazon, Ganges, Mississippi, in the rivers of Burma, off the coast of Australia²³.

Thus, the crocodile, regardless of species, was a well-known animal from the ancient world (Egyptian Sebek)²⁴.

In ancient times, crocodiles, due to their numbers, could be dangerous for the Yues; in the process of urbanization, agricultural development and hunting, they were forced into wild areas and continue to exist there today or on crocodile farms.

The Han and Vietnamese, who coexisted for a long time, sought to attract various natural forces, for example, an elephant, to their aid, which further suggests the presence of some real prototype of the Chinese dragon in the Pleistocene. Paleontologists' answer to this question may be the well-known data that fortune-telling writings were found on the bones of stegodonts and other primitive lizards and that these bones themselves were used as medicines.

At the same time, another interpretation of the ethnonym Yue (toponym Baiyue) is also possible, namely fi "mountain", since southern China and northern Vietnam abound in mountains, where various small peoples live – Yao, Lao, Muong, Nung, Miao and others, collectively with the Vietnamese – "Yue".

Xu Hui gives a brief dossier of the character yuè "mountain", speaking about the five sacred peaks of China [10:180–183]. The pronunciation of the hieroglyph "Moon" is also correlated with the toponym and ethnonym "Yue"²⁵.

Economy of Nature

The initial comparison of Chinese and European natural systems undertaken here makes it possible to speak both about their general economic significance and about the significance of individual representatives of the fauna and flora.

As examples, we can cite the bee (Chinese trad. – $\underline{\underline{x}}\underline{\underline{w}}$ mifeng) – a spring of health and the silkworm (Chinese trad. – $\underline{\underline{x}}\underline{\underline{w}}$ jiǎn'é) – a weaver of beauty, bringing great income and endorphins since prehistoric times. But not only they, but also other species of animals and plants, wild, domesticated and cultivated, successfully fulfill this role in constant social and natural circulation. True, between the first two and, in fact, most of the others, there is a huge difference, which lies in a person's attitude to their biological life and death, relatively speaking, a person does not destroy, but cherishes the first for the sake of obtaining a marketable product.

In addition, thanks to writing, they constitute a great international lexicon based on ancient Chinese characters and signs of other writing systems. When a cloud-dragon irrigates the earth for the sake of harvest, the hieroglyph becomes a metaphor... The dragon is generally the personification of natural resources – mountain, sea and all others; it was he who endowed the emperors with the mandate of Heaven. And now we see how this ubiquitous phenomenon manifests itself over the centuries in the spirit of Eastern philosophy of mathematics, cybernetics and alchemy, contributing to the extraction of value in terms of classical political economy.

The Chinese and, presumably, Vietnamese definition of the usefulness of fauna remains a key idea that can be considered in the context of European natural classifications²⁶. Speaking about the evolution of nature, we always deal with physical and chemical processes, so here it is appropriate to recall the isomorphism that is inherent in both chemical elements²⁷, and sign systems.

²³ Permyakov E. Crocodiles of the Yangtze. Essay. Available from: https://litresp.ru/chitat/ru/%D0%9F/permyakov-e/krokodili-yanczi

²⁴ Dragons – from formidable predators to gods. 21.03.2020. Available from: https://spletnik.ru/user/nadezhdavorontcova170898

²⁵ Moon. Available from: https://ru.wiktionary.org/wiki/月

Among living systems, that is, among systems that have the property of self-reproduction, such as intracellular structures - chromosomes, mitochondria, etc., cells themselves, individuals and species, there is only one isomorphic system - the species. Isomorphism of animal groups. Available from: http://www.zoofirma.ru/knigi/genetika-i-evoljutsija/5606-izomorfizm-grupp-zhivotnyh. html

Some elements, despite all their differences, behaved in crystals in a similar way. They were given a name, usually composed of two Greek words: "isos", which means "different", and "morphe" – "type", "form", and the phenomenon itself received the name "isomorphism". Pisarzhevsky O. Mendeleev deals with isomorphism. Available from: https://biography.wikireading.ru/113109

Discussion

The warm climate at the mouth of the Yangtze and on the coast of the East China Sea led to the habitat of a large number of alligators in the kingdom of Yue, which was the reason for both this geographical name and the ethnonym as a totem "crocodile".

Even earlier than the Han state, there was the state of Xích Quỷ, Ti-nom 赤鬼, "red demon"), founded by Kinh Duong Vuong (Vietnamese Kinh Duong Vuong, Ti-nom 涇陽王) – the mythical ruler of the Vietnamese, the first of Hung Vuong, founder of the Hong Bang dynasty. Considered to be the first ruler in Vietnamese history. According to the Complete Historical Records of Dai Viet, Kinh Duong Vuong is the father of Lac Long Quan. The color red, according to Chinese views, was associated with the "south"²⁸.

It is worth pointing out the orthographic and phonetic difference between the Vietnamese name Sit Kui and the Chinese, most likely chìxiàn "red county" [10: 107–110]. This phenomenon is characteristic of many Vietnamese words derived from Chinese.

We find the presence of the hieroglyph jiaguwen "dragon" in the name of the Hong Bang dynasty [t'u-nom 鴻龐], accordingly it became possible to correlate this toponym with the toponym Xih Quy (Vietnamese Xích Quỷ, t'u-nom 赤鬼, "red demon"), except meaning "demon", the hieroglyph guǐ has, for example, the meanings: 1) soul of the deceased, 2) soul of an ancestor, local deity, 5) genius, etc., although "red" here is the hieroglyph chì.

Xu Hui discusses in detail the meaning and context of this ideogram, which means a person being burned in a fire, as well as a bright red newborn baby (赤子-chìdì) [10:107–110.]. Thus, we can assume a semantic transition from the jiaguwen "snake" glyph [shé] to the xiaozhuan "red baby" and "crocodile" glyphs. It cannot be excluded that the ideogram chì also demonstrates the meaning "cremation", which is related to Laotian jars, respectively, to the myth of the birth of the Viet, as well as to similar Indian and Indonesian artifacts²9.

Red can represent the color of clay, either raw or baked.

The approximate correlation of the name "Sitkui" (赤鬼 "Red Devil") suggests ancestor cult as its source. The geography of this state corresponds to the territory of the Han Empire, and now the province of Guangdong, where the Yue language exists.

It should be noted that the events described do not correspond to the chronology of the Han Empire or even the Qin that preceded it, but to the "Period before Qin (2100 BC – 221 BC), covering more than 1800 years. <...> In the history of China, these are 3 historical stages, namely: Xia Dynasty (2070 BC – 1600 BC), Shang Dynasty (1600 BC – 1046 BC), Zhou Dynasty (1046 BC – 221 BC), during which the great ancient Chinese created a great civilization with their intelligence and hard work, including inscriptions on oracle bones Xia-Shan and bronzes of the Shang-Zhou dynasty, and these cultural relics became historical symbols of ancient Chinese civilization."³⁰.

We point out this in comparison with the chronology of the Dong Son bronze culture, which developed at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC. The Dong Son culture was destroyed in the 2nd century. BC. at the first northern conquest (111 BC), which corresponds to the beginning of the Han Dynasty (206 BC Pre-Qin period in Chinese history 220 AD).

So, a vast territory, let's call it conventionally the "Land of Crocodiles," was developed in the process of wars and resettlement by a conglomerate of tribes of South Chinese and other origins, among which we can assume, in particular, representatives of the state of Dian (Yunnan, 滇國diān), also belonging to bronze culture.

In the process of confrontation with the Han Empire, the southern kingdoms of Minyue, Nanyue, Wanglang and Aulak were successively formed here, the general chronology of whose existence, which is important now, can be estimated from the 7th century. 2 in. BC, as corresponding to the Zhou Bronze period (XI–III centuries BC).

According to legend, Lak Laung Kuan (ruler Dragon Lak) was a "water dragon" Pre-Qin period in Chinese history the son of Kinh Duong Vuong and the daughter of the sovereign of Lake Dongting. Thus, both the name Giaoti and the names of the first two Vietnamese legendary sovereigns, according to Dao Huy Anh, reflect the totemistic and animalistic ideas of the proto-Vietians who lived in the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze [8:27 Pre-Qin period in Chinese history 30].

Over the course of 4 thousand years, the collective image of a crocodile in China and Vietnam acquired new features, because even a carp that has overcome a river rapids "can turn" into a dragon. Yu.N.Mikhailova and Zhao Yi note,

The motivating feature for the formation of the meaning of phraseological units with the "dragon" component in the Chinese language is the ability to fly attributed to the referent of the name, which is metaphorically projected onto a various range of natural and artifactual objects: from the movement of clouds to the movements of a pen in Chinese calligraphy. The strength, power, and majesty that the dragon is endowed with in Chinese mythology become the basis for attributing these valuable properties to a person [7].

The myth of the birth of the Viets is actually built on the totems of the crocodile and the seagull, a collective dragon image-symbol due to the proximity to the sea from the lower reaches of the "Red River". The revival of this symbol is reported in the article "Fighting Stigma – The Unique History of Vietnamese Tattoo Culture"³¹.

Some classification series are reflected in the Jiaguwen drawings we referred to above³². In this context, we can assume that the birds depicted on the Dong Son drums are

²⁸ Sitkui. Available from: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ситькуи

²⁹ AccheDin. Mysterious "jars of the dead" have been discovered in Laos. May 19, 2019. Available from: https://fishki.net/2982884-v-laose-obnaruzheny-zagadochnye-kuvshiny-mertvecov.html

³⁰ Pre-Qin period in Chinese history. Available from: https://chinese.hbh.ru/2022/08/04/dotsinskij-period-v-istorii-kitaya/

³¹ Fighting stigma. 25.02.2020. Available from: https://vietnews.ru/culture/borba-so-stigmatizaciej-unikalnaja-istorija-vetnamskoj-kultury-tatuirovok

³² Deciphering the inscriptions. 22.05.2023. Available from: https://case.ntu.edu.tw/blog/?p=39924

magpie herons (Bái jǐ ng hēi lù 白頸斑鷺)³³ or other crested herons that live on Lake Dongting, but not gulls that do not have crests on their heads.

So, over time, the Vietnamese worldview has changed dramatically in geographical, linguistic, religious, political, historical, and biological terms. The context for understanding this process is the information presented in the "Complete Academic History of Vietnam" (vol.1) and in the work of Chou Qu-fei "Beyond the Ridges Instead of Answers." The Chinese classifications of fauna we mentioned obviously correlate with the semantic groups of keys in the Chinese language³⁴.

It is symbolic that the surname Linnaeus comes from the name of the linden tree³⁵, although, according to the data we found, he studied the crocodile caiman (Caiman crocodilus), living in America³⁶.

So, the ancient region of southern China and northern Vietnam we are considering does not correspond to the modern range of this representative of the fauna³⁷.

At that time, on the cover of Le Nguyen's book "The Land of Saigon and the Life of the Ancient Saigon People", it should be assumed that a giant sea serpent is depicted³⁸, namely "Giao Long".

As you know, alligators can live in salt water for some time. South Vietnam is still included in the area when the Viet, Cham, and Khmer were and remain known to the giant inhabitants of the ocean.

The Latin designation for dragon in scientific systems of nature is present in the cases of ray-finned fish (Trachinidae), as well as the genus of agamid lizards (Draco), which has the name "flying dragons" in Russian-language literature³⁹.

The Latin word for dragon, draco, also means snake, emphasizing the common ancient European association of dragons with snakes rather than lizards or dinosaurs as is commonly accepted today. The medieval biblical interpretation of the Devil, who appeared in the form of a serpent who seduced Adam and Eve, served as a reason for identifying the dragon with evil⁴⁰.

While the divine origin of the dragon in East Asia is not questioned, Paul Henri Holbach's 1770 materialist system of nature a priori disproves the existence of such creatures. Holbach writes: "Therefore, there are neither miracles nor disorder in nature. The concept of disorder, chance, as well as of reason acting purposefully, we draw solely from ourselves. We call actions random, the connection of which we do not see with causes" But already in the 20th century the neo-Kantian E. Cassirer generalized the concept of symbol and classified as "symbolic forms" a wide class of cultural phenomena, such as language, myth, religion, art and science, through which a person organizes the chaos around him⁴².

Correlation with the reality of Chinese writing systems – from "jiaguwen" to "kaishu" (with the mention of the Vietnamese "ty-nom" and the "dian" script) made it possible to discover the previously implicit (eidos), thereby contributing to the historical objectification of the Sino-Vietnamese world, the possibility of studying it using philological knowledge, in particular the research of A. Solomonik "Semiotics and Linguistics" [8].

Conclusion

Our conclusions include:

- reconstruction of the transformation of the zoonym "crocodile" into the traditional Chinese and Vietnamese social and state symbol "dragon"; identifying signs of this evolution:
- confirmation of the high probability of origin from the zoonym "crocodile" of the ethnonym and toponym "Yue" ("Vietnam") with the subsequent development of this concept thanks to natural and social phenomena recorded in Vietnamese and Han hieroglyphs: "Yue" "mountain", "Moon", large the battle ax "Huang Yue" as a symbol of power, including the effect of natural and artificial isomorphism in this process;
- an indication, in comparison with Western systems of nature, of such a characteristic of traditional Chinese systems of nature as the utilitarian usefulness of fauna representatives;
- correlation of the Vietnamese toponym "Sit Quy" (赤鬼 "Red Devil") according to such a form of polytheism as the cult of ancestors.

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³³ Magpie Heron / Egretta picata. Available from: https://dibird.com/ru/species/sorochja-tsaplja/

³⁴ Shurovan Czeczi.Available from: https://translated.turbopages.org/proxy_u/en-ru.ru.55f4c23f-64e344e7-1b6e8b95-74722d776562/https/en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shuowen_Jiezi

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³⁶ Crocodile caiman. 18.05.2014. Available from: https://zooclub.org.ua/krokodily/1854-krokodilovyy-kayman.html

³⁷ Modern range Crocodylus porosus [RepFocus]. Available from: https://www.repfocus.dk/maps1/TAX/Crocodylia/Crocodylidae/Crocodylus_porosus_map.html

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⁴¹ Holbach. System of nature. Summary. Available from: http://rushist.com/index.php/philosophical-articles/2641-filosofiya-golbakha-kratko (Date of access: 06.06.2023)

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The Intelligentsia of Kyrgyzstan during the Great Patriotic War 1941–1945

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Abstract. The article examines the formation and development of the Kyrgyz intelligentsia during the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1946. With the outbreak of the war and the conscription of numerous of its representatives into the Red Army, the problem of intelligentsia personnel in the republic became extremely acute. There was a great shortage of specialists in all sectors of the national economy and culture. In order to accelerate the replenishment of many groups of the intelligentsia, the party and Soviet authorities used the method of promotion, especially the promotion the women to leadership and organizational work.

Keywords: intelligentsia, statehood, educational program, culture, mobilization, national personnel, social structure

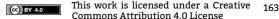
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Introduction

The problems of the intelligentsia, its essence and place in society have long been the subject of debate. In order to analyze the different existing views on the understanding of the term "intelligentsia", ambiguous interpretations of its place in the structure of society, numerous definitions and characteristics in the scientific literature – all this diversity of concepts can be reduced to three main approaches. The first is defined as ethical. Intelligentsia is a category of people distinguished by cultural and personal qualities: depth of intelligence, broad erudition, adherence to higher moral norms, active citizenship. The term "intelligentsia" was introduced

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in the XIX century by an honorary academician of the Petersburg Academy of Sciences, writer P.D.Boborykin (1836–1921) and from Russian it soon found its way to other languages; from Latin the word «intelligentsia» means understanding, cognitive power, knowledge; from the word «intelligent» it means understanding, knowing, and thinking. The intelligentsia is also called the spiritually leading segment of society. The intelligentsia includes people who have a spiritual and rational ability, mental curiosity, ability to think quickly and to make conclusions. They are the "experts", who have a critical view of all aspects of life. The concept of "intelligentsia" is practically never used abroad; instead they use such words as «elite» (the most prominent representatives of any part of society) and «intellectual» (a person with high intelligence, reason, mental abilities, i.e. a person with advanced intelligence), "professional".

An important aspect of the study is the participation of the intelligentsia of Kyrgyzstan in the Great Patriotic War. The intelligentsia of Kyrgyzstan during the Great Patriotic War was also defined by the choice of the most significant conditions, factors, problems and ways of their solution. This experience can be used in the future to develop society and build relations based on common interests in the post-war period. It is also important to emphasize the relevance of relations between the intelligentsia and the authorities in general. The study of this relationship makes it possible to identify the most relevant conditions and factors, as well as to find ways of their solution, contributing to a new format of development of society in the post-war period. The war also had an impact on the country's industry and agriculture, which became an important factor in the study of the topic.

The topic of the intelligentsia of Kyrgyzstan during the Great Patriotic War includes the works of such researchers as S.Daniyarov [3], A.Kanimetov [6], I.A.Soktoyev [13], E.J.Maanaev [9] and others, each of whom addressed the issue of the intelligentsia during the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945. During the Soviet era, the study of formation of the intelligentsia of Kyrgyzstan and its development were inextricably linked to the development of secondary and higher education in the Republic. Changes in the social structure of the population of Kyrgyzstan were considered in the works of J.D.Samieva [12], E.Z.Maanaev, J.S.Baktygulov [1], and V.A.Voropaeva [2]. During the Soviet era, a number of works addressing the history of the formation of the intelligentsia of Kyrgyzstan was published. The above-mentioned authors studied the actual problems of the history of the intelligentsia of Kyrgyzstan during the stated period.

The relevance of the study lies in the consideration of a number of specific issues, the identification of new facts and the deepening of understanding of the development of the intelligentsia, new sources and materials were considered.

The article aims to study the participation of the intelligentsia of Kyrgyzstan in the Great Patriotic War (1941–1945) and to identify important conditions and factors of the development of the society in the post-war period.

Material and methods

To achieve this aim, various data sources were used, including published documents, archival materials, historical documents and monographs. Theoretical and methodological

foundations of the study are the principles of historicism and objectivism, the principle of unity and interrelation of the general and special past and present, as well as such research methods as historical and cultural, systemic, contrastive and comparative, biographical and others accepted in humanitarian studies.

Various research methods were used to study the intelligentsia of Kyrgyzstan during the period of the Great Patriotic War. The historical and cultural method is reflected in the analysis of cultural, social and historical aspects of this period, the consideration of the role and contribution of the intelligentsia to military events, its interaction with other segments of the population, its reaction to the war and its consequences, as well as their cultural manifestations.

The system method involves examining intelligence in the context of the system in which it operates. The system method allowed an analysis of the structure of the intelligentsia, its relations with other social groups, organizations and institutions that influence its activities and behavior during this period.

The comparative method allowed analysis and identification of similarities and differences with other social groups and actors from other regions or countries. It also allowed to analyze the role and status of the intelligentsia in Kyrgyzstan and compare it with similar groups in other regions and countries during the war.

The biographical method is based on the study of the life descriptions of individual intellectuals. It allowed the analysis of their biographies, their contribution to military events and their interaction with other personalities of the time. This allowed a more detailed understanding of the role and importance of the intelligentsia in this period.

Results

The problem of the intelligentsia in the republic became extremely acute with the outbreak of war and the conscription of numerous intelligentsia representatives into the Red Army. There was a great lack of specialists in all branches of the economy and culture.

One of the most difficult problems in the conditions of the Great Patriotic War was providing the national economy with workforce, the systematic replenishment by people, personnel [5:218].

In order to accelerate the replenishment of the intelligentsia members, party and Soviet bodies applied the method of promotion, especially the nomination of women for leadership and organizational positions.

On May 7, 1942 the Central Committee of the Communist Party (B) of Kyrgyzstan discussed the issue of "The nomination of women for leading Party, Soviet and economic work" and adopted a detailed resolution on the accelerated training and preparation of senior women cadres, especially of Kyrgyz women, aimed at the radical improvement of the Republic's Party organizations [13:16].

The special departments for the work with women created during the war under the district committees, city committees, regional committees and central committees of the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan played a role in increasing the activity of women and promoting

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them to leadership work. Women's councils were established in large enterprises, under village councils and military recruitment offices, the positions for female organizers were introduced in the collective farms and institutions.

As a result, within three years (from July 1941 to July 1944) only according to the nomenclature of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan (b) 3,135 new personnel were nominated for leadership positions, and according to the nomenclature of the Frunze Regional Committee there were about 2 thousand people. There were many women among those nominated. They worked as heads of departments of regional committees, secretaries of city committees, and district committees of the Party, heads of industrial enterprises, chairmen of district executive committees, village councils, collective and state farms [13:109].

Accelerated training of the cadres of the intelligentsia in the years of the war was carried out through the system of courses as well. Five-month training courses for primary and seven-year school teachers with a total enrolment of up to 1,300 students were organized in all regional centres. People with education not less than 7 and 8-9 classes were enrolled [13:111].

In 1942–1944, 4,120 teachers, including 405 Kyrgyz people were trained at the pedagogical courses. Training and retraining of personnel and some other groups of the intelligentsia, in particular, industrial and technical intelligentsia was carried out at various courses and at school [13:123].

The issue of technical personnel in the republic was particularly acute in connection with the evacuation of more than 30 large industrial enterprises from the front line, as well as in connection with the mobilization of a significant number of agricultural specialists together with collective farmers to work deep behind enemy lines at industrial enterprises in the central regions of the country, which was essential for the defence. It should be noted that with the evacuation to Kyrgyzstan of a big amount of large industrial enterprises, workers arrived as well, but there was a small number of them. So, only 19% of workers arrived with the agricultural machinery plant, relocated from Ukraine, and only 3 people came with the shoe factory, evacuated from Rostov [4:167]

The Soviet Government took special legislative measures to address the problem of workforce in key industries, particularly the military. The decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of June, 26 1941 "On working hours of workers and employees in wartime" abolished working holidays, the heads of enterprises were given the right to increase the workday by 1–3 hours [8:94].

The introduction of compulsory overtime work and the cancellation of working holidays dictated by the military situation made it possible to increase the factories' capacity by one third without increasing the number of workers. The Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR was adopted on July 23, 1941 "On granting the Councils of People's Commissars of the republics and regions the right to transfer workers and employees to another job". According to this resolution, the Council of People's Commissars of Kyrgyz Republic and the executive committees of the regional Councils of the Deputies of the Workers' – workers in the light, textile, local and food industries, and the administrative apparatus were sent to enterprises implementing the state defense order [8:96].

With the aim of eliminating staff turnover, the workers and specialists in the crucial industries were declared mobilized during the war and fixed for permanent work in these

enterprises by the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR of December 26, 1941, «On the responsibility of workers and employees of military industry enterprises for willfully abandoning the workplace» [8:98].

From June 1942, this Decree covered workers and employees of the coal industry. Unauthorized abandonment of the workplace was regarded as desertion and criminal offence.

On February 13, 1942 the Decree "On mobilization of the working age urban population for work in manufacture and construction for the period of wartime" was issued. Men between 16 and 55 years of age and women between 16 and 45 years of age who were not employed in enterprises and institution were the subject to mobilization, except for boys and girls between 16 and 18 years of age enrolled in State labour reserve schools and women with children under 8.

The resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of May 21, 1942 "On the organization of individual and team apprenticeship at enterprises" became an important part of the training of young workers. Heads of enterprises were allowed to recruit people who had reached the age of 14 for individual and team training. A six-hour working day was set for the students, as well as salary, and tuition was paid to experienced masters to increase their material interest.

In connection with the urgent need for trained workers and with the aim of systematic training of specialists for industry, transport and communication, by the order of the Main Department of Labour Reserves of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of July 16, 1942, the Department of Labour Reserves was established under the Council of People's Commissars of the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic. In the same year, a network of factory training schools, 3 vocational schools and 1 railway school were established [2:45].

A lot of work on training scientific intelligentsia began in Kyrgyzstan during the war. This was facilitated by the evacuation of the Biological Department of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, other research institutions to the republic and the arrival of many scientists and qualified specialists with them. The creation of the Kyrgyz branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in August 1943 was of a particular importance in this regard.

Postgraduate schools were established at the institutes of the Kyrgyz branch of the Academy of Sciences, training of qualified scientific personnel in chemistry, biology, geology and humanities began. In 1945, 57 people studied at the graduate schools of the Kyrgyz branch of the Academy of Sciences and universities of the republic [14:4].

The addition to the ranks of the artistic intelligentsia of Kyrgyzstan was due to the arrival of the graduates of the Kyrgyz Studio of the Moscow Institute of Theatre Art named after A.V.Lunacharsky in Frunze in July 1941. The students of the Kyrgyz Department of the Moscow Conservatory and of the Leningrad Choreographic School, as well as art and literature workers arrived in Frunze together with the cultural institutions evacuated to the republic [10:69].

The Kyrgyz State Drama Theatre was established in the Republic in July 1941, in the August of 1942, the Musical and Dramatic Theatre was reorganized into the Kyrgyz State Opera and Ballet Theatre [7:54].

A significant part of the country's rural intelligentsia was involved in the study at the district Sunday party schools created during the war. They included classes on Party History, Political Economy, current issues, and international situation. In 1944, about 2 thousand leading

employees, industrial specialists, agricultural workers, teachers and other intellectuals studied at those schools. The most prepared part of the intelligentsia studied at the evening universities of Marxism-Leninism, created in all regional centers of the republic.

The ever-increasing tasks in the development of the economy, science and culture required numerous qualified intelligentsia cadres in all branches and knowledge. The foundation of the Kyrgyz State University in 1951 was of great importance in the training of highly qualified intelligentsia cadres. The University was opened on the basis of the Kyrgyz Pedagogical Institute, consisting of five faculties: Historical, Philological, Physical and Mathematical, Geological and Geographical and Biological, with a plan for the admission of 500 students to the first courses. The Kyrgyz State University grew and developed rapidly. In 1953, two new faculties were opened – legal and technical – with four departments: mining, energy, chemical and technological and building [6].

Two more faculties were organized on the basis of the Kyrgyz State University: the Economics Faculty with the Departments of Industrial and Agriculture Economics and the Foreign Language Faculty for training secondary school teachers, university lecturers and other specialists in English, French and German. Within the first ten years of its work, the Kyrgyz University became one of the largest universities in the country and a leading university of the republic. In 1951–1960 the university trained about 6.3 thousand specialists in 25 specialties, including 2,670 Kyrgyz people. Graduates of the university were sent to work in general education schools, vocational schools and technical colleges, universities and scientific institutions, various branches of the national economy, Party and Soviet bodies [5:67].

On October 24, 1950 Frunze Women's Pedagogical School was transformed into the Kyrgyz Teachers' Institute with a five-year training period. On August 5, 1952, The Kyrgyz Women's Pedagogical Institute named after V.V.Mayakovsky was organized on its basis, with a plan for the admission of 100 people to the first course. Kyrgyz women and women of other nationalities with 10 years of education went to the university. They studied there for four years as at any other ordinary Soviet pedagogical higher education institution.

In 1951, the Osh Teachers' Institute with a two-year training period was reorganized into a pedagogical institute with a four-year training period. It consisted of five faculties: Faculty of History and Philology, Natural Geography, Physics and Mathematics, Foreign Languages and Physical Education, with a general plan for the admission of 200 people to the new course. In 1959, the Faculty of Education was additionally opened.

Back in the 50s of the XX century due to the great goals in the field of capital construction, the rapid development of industry and transport on the one hand, an acute shortage of engineering personnel on the other hand, the question of the opening of a higher technical educational institution in the republic became urgent. By the decision of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan of April 12, 1954, it was decided to open a polytechnic institute in the academic year of 1954–55 in Frunze. It included the mining, energy, technology and construction faculties.

Frunze Polytechnic Institute began to train engineering personnel in six specialties essential for the republic's industry: mining, industrial and civil construction, electrification of industrial enterprises and plants, electrical stations, networks and systems, meat and dairy technology, canning technology.

In the post-war period, one of the oldest higher education institutions of the republic, the Kyrgyz Agricultural Institute named after K.I.Skryabin strengthened considerably and expanded the training of qualified specialists.

From 1949 to 1950, in addition to the three existing faculties, two new faculties were opened. The Hydromeliorative Faculty to train hydraulic engineers for the design, construction and operation of irrigation systems and hydraulic structures, and the Faculty of Agricultural Mechanization for the training of mechanical engineers.

Big and complicated tasks arose in the field of national education and culture in 1950s. Conditions had to be prepared for the full implementation of universal secondary education in the remaining cities and rural areas in the next five-year plan. The implementation of those tasks required numerous teachers with specialized higher education. The system of teacher training was reorganized in the direction of expanding higher teacher training [7:146].

From 1951 to 1953, on the basis of two-year teacher training institutes, four new pedagogical institutes were established - Osh, Przevalsk, Frunze (distance learning) and Kyrgyz Women's Institute named after V.V.Mayakovsky.

From 1951 to 1960 Pedagogical and Teachers' institutes of the republic trained more than 10 thousand teachers with higher and incomplete higher education, which allowed a significant increase in the number of teachers.

In mid-1953, the Ministry of Education of the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic supervised 7 pedagogical schools, including 3 higher pedagogical institutes: Kyrgyz Women's Institute, Kyrgyz Correspondence Institute and Osh Institute; 4 two-year teachers' institutes – Frunze, Przevalsk, Jalal-Abad and Naryn. 287 teachers, including 1 Doctor of Sciences, 34 Candidates of Sciences taught there, and The Doctor of Sciences and 16 Candidates of Sciences arrived within a year 1952. There were 2,230 students, including 1,603 Kyrgyz students, or 70 %, studying at stationary pedagogical and teaching institutes. Kyrgyz groups have been established in almost all faculties of teacher training institutes to teach Kyrgyz female students in their mother tongue. However, the teaching of basic subjects in the mother tongue was hampered by the lack of qualified Kyrgyz teachers or Kyrgyz speaking teachers, as well as relevant textbooks and teaching aids in the mother tongue [5:156].

In 1955, the two remaining teachers' institutes in Kyrgyzstan (Jalal-Abad and Naryn) were closed down with the transfer of students (second year students) to Osh and Przevalsk Pedagogical Institutes for the completion of studies under the teacher's institute [12:57].

In the post-war period, the country's health authorities suffered from an acute shortage of doctors. Three new faculties were established at the Kyrgyz Medical Institute: Sanitary and Technical (1953), Paediatric (1956) and Dental 1960).

The Soviet Government attached great importance to the physical education of the younger generation and all workers. In 1955, the Kyrgyz State Institute of Physical Culture was opened – a higher education institution for the training of qualified specialists in physical culture and sports. The Kyrgyz Institute of Physical Education was founded in Kyrgyzstan. The Institute received a well-organized and well-equipped educational and production base, which was of great importance in improving all educational, and scientific research work, the quality of training specialists.

Not only did The Kyrgyz Institute of Physical Culture train qualified specialists, but it also became a center of scientific and scientific-methodical work on physical culture and sports in the republic.

So in 1950s a solid educational and scientific base for training specialists with higher education in many fields was established in Kyrgyzstan by opening new universities and expanding existing ones.

In the course of the profound agrarian reforms in Kyrgyzstan, agricultural personnel were created, training, distribution and further training were improved, and various specific tasks and personnel policies in rural areas were given priority.

The working practice of many agricultural holdings in Kyrgyzstan showed that one of the decisive factors for the successful implementation of the plans of the Government and its agricultural bodies for continuous recovery was the strengthening of production cooperatives and State-owned agriculture holdings with highly qualified personnel. In addition, scientific and technical progress in collective farm production (with all the costs of the Soviet agricultural system) was inextricably linked to the issues of improving the training, placement and education of modern agricultural personnel, which could successfully apply the achievements of science and best practices in practice. In this connection, the role of rural industrial intelligentsia in the production of agricultural goods and in the rise of rural culture constantly increased.

The rural industrial intelligentsia is one of the groups of national intelligentsia, a social group that is professionally engaged in skilled work in agricultural production, which required special secondary or higher education.

From 1951 to 1960 the higher educational institutions of the republic gave 20,2 thousand engineers, agronomists, zoo engineers, doctors, teachers, lawyers and other specialists of higher qualification to the national economy [1:7].

Conclusion

In the post-war period, the training of specialists with higher and secondary on-job education through the system of correspondence and evening education increased significantly. Two evening technical colleges - machine-building (1951) and light industry (1954), a pedagogical institute of distance learning in Frunze (1951), and a faculty of distance education with four branches (1952) were established in the Kyrgyz Agricultural Institute named after K.I. Skryabin, evening department – at the Frunze Polytechnic Institute, educational advisory centers of the All-Union Correspondence Institute of Soviet Trade were established, and student admissions to existing correspondence and evening departments of universities and technical colleges were significantly expanded.

Significant positive changes took place in the development of the intelligentsia of Kyrgyzstan in the post-war period. First of all, a rapid increase in its number was achieved -from 84,700 in 1939 to 152,100 in 1959.

The educational level of the intelligentsia increased significantly during the Great Patriotic War. The number of people with higher, secondary and lower secondary education

in intellectual work rose from 33.8 %t in 1939 to 82.7 % in 1959, compared with the national increase from 49.8 % to 88.4 % over the same period.

The number of teachers of general education day schools increased from 12.700 in the school year 1939–40 to 21.600 in the school year 1959–60. 82% of the total number of teachers in the schools of the republic had higher and secondary pedagogical education.

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Contribution of the author

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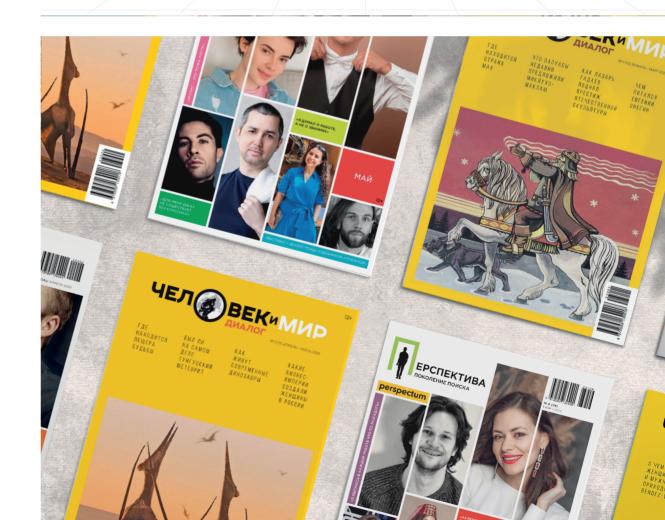




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