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Некоммерческое акционерное
общество
«Отандастар қоры»

«АЙМАҚТАНУДЫҢ ҚАЗІРГІ КЕЗЕҢДЕГІ МӘСЕЛЕЛЕРІ»
ХАЛЫҚАРАЛЫҚ ҒЫЛЫМИ-ПРАКТИКАЛЫҚ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ
МАТЕРИАЛДАРЫНЫҢ ЖИНАҒЫ

«СОВРЕМЕННЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ РЕГИОНОВЕДЕНИЯ»
СБОРНИК МАТЕРИАЛОВ МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЙ НАУЧНО-
ПРАКТИЧЕСКОЙ КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ



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Жинаққа ғалымдардың, докторанттардың, магистранттар мен студенттердің аймақтық даму мен аймақты зерттеуге әсер ететін проблемаларды түсінуге жәрдемдесуге бағытталған баяндамалар кірді. Бұл процестерді әр түрлі аспектілерде және әр түрлі жағынан қарастыру әсіресе қазіргі кезде өзекті болып табылады.

В сборник вошли доклады ученых, докторантов, магистрантов и студентов, направленные на содействие более глубокому пониманию проблем, влияющих на региональное развитие и изучение региона. Рассмотрение данных процессов в разных аспектах, и с разных сторон особенно актуально в наши дни.

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HOW RUSSIAN INTERVENTIONISM AFFECTS THE FOREIGN POLICY DISCOURSE OF UZBEKISTAN

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Abstract. *From the very beginning, 2022 shocked the world with political events, after which the world order that existed before will no longer be the same. First, the tragic domestic political events in Kazakhstan that occurred in January 2022 became the main reason for the actual use of the CSTO forces (where Russia is a clear leader), which, in turn, renewed disputes over the participation of Uzbekistan in this organization. Then, the military conflict between Russia and Ukraine, which began in February 2022, identified new challenges for the further development of the foreign policies of all Central Asian countries. Part of the region is in integration associations controlled by Moscow, such as the EAEU and the CSTO. However, membership in them does not lead to automatic approval of all Russian military-political actions. In particular, the Central Asian region countries avoid clear support for the war in Ukraine, limiting themselves to “neutrality” and vague wording. This article raises few questions: How to develop a foreign policy in the terms of the current and future consequences of Russian-Ukrainian war? How to maintain a balance between cooperation with the Russian Federation and the development of new regionalism, while ensuring the national security of the country? To answer the given research question, qualitative methods, such as statistical analysis and process tracing would be the most appropriate to use. Literature on the related topics suggests qualitative methods as more proper tools for the current study. Anti-Russian sanctions have already affected the economies of Moscow's partners in the EAEU. The dependence of agriculture on imported seeds and equipment has affected, supply chains have been disrupted, and the fall of the ruble reduces the income of exporters. In the context of the current crisis, very favorable conditions are emerging for expanding the regional policy of Uzbekistan.*

Keywords: *regionalism, integration, Central Asia, multi-vector policy, economic development, regional policy, foreign policy, CSTO, International cooperation, EAEU.*

This article is aimed to focus on the latest events in the former Soviet countries and their effects on the foreign policies and economics of Central Asian countries, in particular the Republic of Uzbekistan.

During the last visit of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Shavkat Mirziyoyev in February of this year to Karakalpakstan regarding growth of the territory of Aral Sea, he mentioned that Uzbekistan needs to intensify its efforts to develop the economy and defense of the country, most likely implying that Uzbekistan should have the ability to repel any aggression from outside [1], which, in turn, looks like an indirect reaction of the country's leadership to the war in Ukraine.

At the end of 2020, the government of the Republic of Uzbekistan announced a program for developing a new foreign policy concept, work on which was planned to be completed in 2021. At the end of 2020, some basic provisions of this concept were formulated on the priorities of the country's economic interests, since the course of the foreign policy precisely builds upon its economy, which in turn implies a commitment to the multi-vector foreign policy of the Republic. In fact, a multi-vector foreign policy course is already being quite successfully implemented in Uzbekistan, considering favorable relations with such countries as China, Russia, the USA, Turkey, the EU countries and with neighbors in the region.

However, at the same time, uncertainty remains regarding the above two principles, the position on the issue of the country's participation in military and military-political alliances and the disposition of offshore bases on its territory. Now, work on the development of a new concept of foreign policy of Uzbekistan has been suspended, which is most likely depends on need to proceed the consequences of the latest events in the post-Soviet countries, the 2022 January events in Kazakhstan and the current war in Ukraine, on future progress of all the Central Asian countries' foreign policies.

According to these narratives it is fair to point out the main question for all the countries of Central Asian region, including the Republic of Uzbekistan: How to develop a foreign policy in the terms of the current and future consequences of these events? How to maintain a balance between cooperation with the Russian Federation and the development of new regionalism, while ensuring the national security of the country?

This study will explore both the consequences of the January political events in Kazakhstan and ongoing war in Ukraine on the economics of Uzbekistan and transformation of its foreign policy to the Asian countries. In the result of process tracing analysis of this article it is identified how the aggression of Russian Federation influenced on the development of new regionalism in Central Asian region.

The article also uses a statistical analysis of Uzbekistan's foreign trade data both with the countries of the Central Asian region, and with China and Turkey. Based on statistical analysis, the author identified priority areas of economic cooperation and determined the impossibility of terminating cooperation with Russia.

In the first section, the author considers the consequences for the economy of Uzbekistan of the direct participation of the CSTO forces in resolving the internal political instability of Kazakhstan in January of this year and the military invasion of the army of the Russian Federation on the territory of Ukraine in February of this year. Since Russia is the main strategic and trading partner of all the countries of Central Asia, including Uzbekistan, the economic sanctions of the West against Russia hit the economic condition of these states very hard. The second section of the article examines the need for alternative paths for Uzbekistan's regionalism in Asia, where Turkey is a priority partner. Such steps are urgently needed for the states, which are economically dependent on Russia. In the final part, the author draws the main conclusions on the issues under study. Literature used as a source for this study (Gazeta.uz, 2022, Jurayev, 2022, ria.ru, 2022, Yuldasheva, 2020, Yuldasheva, 2022) focuses on one aim – to find the most appropriate way for the further development of the Central Asian countries' foreign policies in terms of critical changes of the new world order.

2022 January events in Kazakhstan and war in Ukraine

The calling in of the CSTO peacekeeping forces to stabilize the internal political situation in Kazakhstan in January 2022 gave impetus to the resumption of discussions on Uzbekistan's entry into the Collective Security Treaty Organization. At the operational meeting of the Organization the President of the Republic of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko declared that all the members of CSTO should learn a lesson from the tragic January events in Kazakhstan. In particular, he emphasized the need for special attention of the Republic of Uzbekistan to this situation, referring to the possession of operational information, based on which these conclusions were made [2].

According to expert Ergashev B., Uzbekistan continues to firmly adhere to its position of non-participation in military-political alliances and organizations, which is also the CSTO. The Government of the Republic soberly assesses the January events in Kazakhstan and the internal political situation in Uzbekistan itself, and, if necessary, will seek help not from the CSTO, but from Russia separately, with which in 2005 Uzbekistan signed the Treaty of Allied Relations. Such situation can be even worse for the Republic of Uzbekistan. Hence there is the need for the country in military-political integration with the states with similar foreign policy principles [2].

The region of Central Asia, despite some internal disagreements, pluralism of opinions - de facto is already developing towards regionalization. And the main locomotives in the development of this regionalism are Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, as the two largest states of the Central Asian region. The whole process of regionalism in Central Asia will be formed on how they will build the interactions between each other, on how they are going to successfully collaborate, considering the current conditions of the universal challenges in front of the region such as drug trafficking, illegal migration and the growth of various terrorist organizations in the neighboring Afghanistan - the states of Central Asia have no other alternative than to cooperate together in order to survive and endure in such a complex, turbulent

situations. This is evidenced by the partnership of Tajikistan with Afghanistan and Uzbekistan, despite the existence of certain disagreements between them. All Central Asian states cooperate on key security and economic issues. In addition, in recent years, Uzbekistan has quite successfully resolved and continues to resolve cross-border problems with neighboring states.

Among the obstacles to the regional process, one should note such long-term crises as Afghan instability, the protracted Iranian-American conflict, which excludes the settlement of the Iranian nuclear problem, and the current Russian-Ukrainian conflict. In addition to this there are problems of the transitional plan of the Central Asian states, discord, and pluralism of opinions in the region. Taken together, this slightly slows down the process of regionalism, but it cannot completely stop it. All states of Central Asia are members of identical international structures and regional organizations, all cooperate both at the bilateral and multilateral levels.

After the invasion of Russian army forces to Ukraine in February 2022 the Government of the Republic of Uzbekistan announced their formal standpoint as neutral - Uzbekistan does not consider the possibility of military participation in the conflict, calling on the parties to cease hostilities and to diplomatically resolve the conflict through peaceful negotiations. As mentioned earlier, the country's policy regarding participation in military and military-political blocs is unambiguous; moreover, the new concept of Uzbekistan's foreign policy provides for the right to disengage from any regional integration, to avoid transformations into a military alliance.

On one hand, Uzbekistan recognizes the independence of Ukraine, its sovereignty and territorial stability and does not admit the independence of the Lugansk and Donetsk People's Republics and sends humanitarian aid to Ukraine. The Government of Uzbekistan actively advocates the development of creative processes of globalization, for the establishment of mutually beneficial international cooperation based on dialogue, mutual trust, and respect for each other's interests.

On the other hand, Uzbekistan interacts with the Russian Federation in almost all spheres of the economy - Russia is the most important foreign economic partner of Uzbekistan, which accounts for about 20% of the Republic's foreign trade. Also, the largest amount of foreign investment in the country is provided by the Russian Federation. The two countries signed a few agreements on mutually beneficial cooperation and the provision of preferences, in the field of education and labor migration, which also has a favorable economic trend for Uzbekistan.

Western economic sanctions against Russia primarily affect the economies of all Central Asian countries, including Uzbekistan, and are going to do so soon. First, the financial sector of all dependent states is going to suffer. Nevertheless, it should be considered that the damage caused will be much less than on the economies of the EAEU member countries, which, in turn, negatively affects the decision of the Government of Uzbekistan on the joining the Union issue. Despite the status of an observer of Uzbekistan in the EAEU, this situation will postpone the issue of its

entry to the union for an indefinite period, given the negative position of several Uzbek experts on this issue.

Given the close economic cooperation between the two countries, Uzbekistan does not openly oppose the military operations of the Russian army on the territory of Ukraine. Thus, the Republic of Uzbekistan abstained from voting on the resolution condemning Russia's aggression in Ukraine, held on March 2 this year at a special session of the UN General Assembly. This position is now shared by all countries of the Central Asian region, including Kazakhstan.

Emil Juraev stated that “The reaction of the countries of the region to the conflict in Ukraine is expected and shows that the issue is very sensitive and controversial. All countries know that in fact they do not recognize the grounds for starting hostilities in Ukraine. Now, they are all very close and dependent on Russia, and they cannot speak negatively about the situation in Ukraine” [3].

Russia's war in Ukraine also affects the economics of Central Asian countries, including Uzbekistan. The authorities of the Republic of Uzbekistan artificially hold the course. Many people exchange large sums of Russian rubles for dollars.

Prices for food products are also rising: flour, vegetable oil and meat have risen in price by 15-20%. As the dollar rises in price, prices for sausage, cheese, and sweets also rise, especially for imported food. For Uzbekistan, sugar and flour are a strategic commodity, as they ensure the survival of low-income families. After the cessation of imports of Ukrainian and Russian sugar to Uzbekistan, a kilogram of sugar will cost 12,000 sums by the compote season. Flour also rose in price. And this means that prices for flour products will also rise. This will affect 65% of households. The volume of accumulated Russian investments in the Uzbek economy exceeds \$10 billion. Meanwhile, at the end of 2021, the volume of exports from Ukraine amounted to \$231.6 million, showing an increase of 87 percent [4].

A significant part of foreign exchange earnings in Uzbekistan is money sent by Uzbek labor migrants. According to the World Bank, labor migrants from Uzbekistan sent home more than \$7.5 billion last year, which is 26% more than in 2020. Now the volume of money transfers sent from Russia has decreased by 4-5 times, and the volume of money transfers from Kazakhstan - up to 40-50%. And sending money transfers from Ukraine is generally suspended [4].

Alternatives of cooperation

The issue of closed geography has always been an insurmountable barrier to the active foreign trade of the countries of Central Asia. With the war in Ukraine, this issue has become even more aggravated, but also gives Uzbekistan a rationale for urgently looking for alternative routes. The most attractive in this regard are the transport corridors from Central Asia to Iran, Afghanistan, India, and Pakistan.

In 2019, Uzbekistan joined the Organization of Turkic States as a full member and began to rapidly expand ties with Turkey. Uzbekistan's policy in Afghanistan has always been marked by pragmatism. And with Iran, India and Pakistan, Uzbekistan is implementing a number of important transport projects. The countries of Central Asia, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Azerbaijan and Pakistan are united by

the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), and Uzbek analysts talk about the prospects for the activation of this organization [5].

As the practice of international relations shows, the problem of security today is of a comprehensive nature. It affects all participants in the system of international relations. In this regard, such an organization as the Organization for Economic Cooperation, headed by Iran and Turkey, seems to the experts of Uzbekistan quite successful for the Central Asian region.

It is precisely because of the historical, cultural, religious and economic proximity of these countries that makes it easier for them to understand each other's needs. In addition, it should be taken into account that all the states that are members of this organization are going through a transitional stage in their development and are facing almost identical socio-economic problems, with similar regional challenges and security threats.

At this stage, of course, the ECO is not able to lead the entire regional process, given that Iran in its current state is not yet ready for this: the internal political and socio-economic situation in the country is too complicated. It should also be taken into account that the Iranian-American negotiations on the nuclear program are still far from settled. But on the other hand, it is also impossible to leave Iran and isolate it from the regional process. This may lead to the creation of another new hotbed of instability, coupled with today's hot spots - Ukraine, Syria, and Afghanistan. In this case, Iran, with a population of more than 80 million, will, of course, pose a significant threat and challenge to regional security.

It is known that the Islamic Republic of Iran openly supported Russia in its conflict with Ukraine and hopes that such an alliance will create some kind of counterbalance to the United States. Of course, Iran can be a strategic partner of Uzbekistan and very successfully help in resolving the situation in Afghanistan. As the thirty-year experience of independence of the Republic of Uzbekistan has shown, not a single problem in Afghanistan can be fully resolved without the participation of Iran, since about 15% of the Shiite diaspora lives in Afghanistan and Iran closely borders Afghanistan. Despite all the challenges and threats to Iran from Afghanistan, Iran is very interested in using the territory of Afghanistan as an outlet to Central Asia [5].

One of the very successful, promising tools for the implementation of such a profitable intention for the countries of Central Asia, would be the implementation of the transport project through the port of Chabahar, connecting the Central Asian region with the Persian Gulf and the Asia-Pacific regions, the Pacific region and with the European countries. But the development of the Chabahar project has a long-term perspective. All Central Asian states will be interested in gaining access to world markets through the territory of a stabilized Afghanistan.

The port of Chabahar can serve as a basis, a foundation for another North-South project, where Russia, India and other Eurasian states can be involved. This is one of the successful promising corridors, in the implementation of which virtually all states of the region are interested. Another corridor is currently being built towards the port of Gwadar together with Uzbekistan; the construction of the Termez-Mazar-

e-Sharif-Kabul-Peshawar railway is underway in this direction. There is a corridor through the territory of Azerbaijan. Uzbekistan is very interested in implementing, for example, the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway connection. The latter, in turn, can activate the issue of implementing the China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan-Turkmenistan transport corridor, which will connect both routes into a single transport network. Both Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan, including Russia and other Eurasian states, are very interested in such projects, as these corridors can connect the region to many of the world markets in Asia and Europe.

In terms of applying the policy of "soft power", Turkey is the most advantageous partner for Uzbekistan. At this stage, its economy is much more stable, politically it is more stable. And, as recent events show, it has already concluded new agreements and treaties with Uzbekistan and has reached a new level of comprehensive strategic partnership. Therefore, these two states - Iran and Turkey, complementing each other and strengthening this partnership with other ECO members, could become a very useful and effective tool for resolving current problems in the regional sphere.

Turkey is the third trading partner of Uzbekistan after China, Russia and Kazakhstan, which in itself speaks of the role and importance of this state. Its trade with Uzbekistan is 6% of the country's total trade. The historical, cultural, religious closeness, the geographical proximity of the two states have a certain influence on this process. In 2019, President Shavkhat Mirziyoyev took an important step by facilitating the entry of the Republic of Uzbekistan into the Organization of Turkic States as a full member. At this stage, Turkey occupies, perhaps, a more important place compared to Iran, and it is no coincidence that Turkey has been elevated to the rank of a comprehensive strategic partner of Uzbekistan. As a result of the recent visit of Recep Tayyip Erdogan to Tashkent, there were signed 10 documents, including agreements on preferential trade, defense cooperation and the transfer of convicts [4].

With the help of Turkey, Uzbekistan has launched a thermal power plant in the Tashkent region, and a similar thermal power plant has been launched in the Syrdarya. Contracts have also been signed in many areas, including trade, the economy, investment, transport, the textile industry, energy, agriculture, health-care, cultural and humanitarian facilities. No less important is the fact that Turkey is one of the military-political partners for Uzbekistan. Turkey undertakes to help Uzbekistan in the settlement of security problems, which is important in the current conditions.

Moreover, the Turkish President announced the creation of a new Turkish university in Tashkent. Also, it should be noted the growth of labor migration from Uzbekistan to Turkey. Today, especially in the context of sanctions against Russia, the direction of labor migration flows is changing, a huge number of labor migrants are sent to Turkey, where they can freely enjoy benefits and earn their living.

Conclusion

The Government of Uzbekistan, as well as its neighbors in the region, faces an extremely difficult task - to maintain a certain balance – trying not to destroy the

current jointly profitable relations with Russia and, at the same time, against the backdrop of economic sanctions against Russia, not to damage its relations with the West. In such a difficult situation, the countries of Central Asia are forced to make difficult decisions and act considering their own interests and ensuring both political and economic security.

Thus, it should be concluded that further delays in the adoption of a new concept of Uzbekistan's foreign policy are inevitable. Considering the ongoing war in Ukraine with Russia, the population of the countries of Central Asian region is starting to change towards the formation of regional integrations without the participation of the Russian Federation in them. Such situation, consecutively, will affect the economic presence in the region of other actors of international relations, such as China, the United States and Turkey.

Taking into account today's trends, the crisis between Russia and Ukraine will continue for a long time and the process of its settlement, obviously, will be delayed. First, it will affect the economy of Uzbekistan, the problems of regional security. On the other hand, China is also in a dual position today. Even though he has officially declared his support for Russia, China has its own interests in the region. In this regard, Turkey is an excellent alternative for Uzbekistan, since Turkey has stepped up its activities in Afghanistan and is involved in several projects in Afghanistan, including even improving the airport in Afghanistan. But the factor of Afghanistan and the problem of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict are of no small importance in this issue.

In conclusion, it is important to note that despite of the outcome of the war between Russia and Ukraine the Russian vector of Uzbekistan's foreign policy will continue to be in priority; Uzbekistan can cooperate with the Eurasian Economic Union and continue its economic partnership. However, the main focus will be on the Asian direction, more precisely, the Turkish direction, in the long term perspective - it may be ECO (Economic Cooperation Organization), although at this stage Turkey dominates. This is a more realistic option. Moreover, both Russia and other regional states do not oppose such a direction in principle and their interests do not contradict this trend.

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НАПИСАНИЕ ИСТОРИИ: ШКОЛЬНАЯ ПРОГРАММА ПО ИСТОРИИ КАЗАХСТАНА И УЗБЕКИСТАНА

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***Аннотация:** В статье проведен сравнительный анализ на изучение истории Казахстана и Узбекистана в нынешнее время. Целью статьи является выявление особенных факторов в изучении национальной истории в двух бывших советских республиках, у которых одна общая история и территориальная близость. Автор данной статьи попыталась выяснить общие задачи государств, для улучшения качества преподавания национальной истории для школьников. Сравнительный анализ предмета истории в школах показывает, какие недостатки и привилегии есть в каждом из стран. Эти факторы могут объяснить важность изучения собственной истории будущим поколением.*

***Ключевые слова:** изучение национальной истории, процесс нациестроительства, Казахстан, Узбекистан.*

Введение. Дискуссии вокруг школьного исторического образования в последнее время стали предметом как общественного, так и государственного интереса. Поиск путей повышения качества подготовки выпускников в условиях формирующегося рынка труда и соответствующего удовлетворения индивидуальных потребностей в образовательных услугах вынуждает образовательные учреждения разного типа (школы, гимназии, лицеи, колледжи) постоянно пересматривать как содержание образования, так и технологии учебного процесса.

Написание истории - это часть процесса государственного строительства. С распадом Советского Союза пять центральноазиатских государств стали независимыми, и власти стремятся сформировать новое национальное самосознание. Здесь образование играет решающую роль. С помощью утвержденной государством учебной программы по истории власти предлагают общее понимание прошлого, которое призвано укрепить сообщество в настоящем. Глубокий интерес к национализму и конструированию идентичности был напрямую связан с окончанием холодной