



UZBEKISTAN IN THE HISTORICAL RETROSPECTIVE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNION STATE

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Abstract: Using the example of Uzbekistan, the article examines the participation of former Soviet republics of the USSR in international relations. At the same time, it is proved that despite the Constitutional rights under which great powers were granted to sovereign republics in pursuing an independent foreign policy, in practice these provisions were grossly violated. But, despite the harsh conditions of the command-administrative control system and ideological obstacles, the article proves that Uzbekistan tried to somehow declare its place in the system of international relations. At the same time, on the basis of archival documents, the feasible participation of Uzbekistan and its contribution to trade, economic, cultural and spiritual interaction with the outside world within the framework of the foreign policy activities of the Soviet Union is visible. This proves that, based on the potential capabilities of the republic, Uzbekistan, although within the framework of the Union State, was nevertheless able to declare its place in the international arena. However, such limited activities of Uzbekistan could not replace its full participation in international relations as an independent subject of the world community.

Key words: administrative, democracy, ideology, command, communist, culture, international, science, politics, council, cooperation, socialism, Uzbekistan, centralized, economy.

INTRODUCTION

The most important function of any sovereign state is to pursue a multidimensional foreign policy that meets national interests. In the recent past, Uzbekistan, like other republics of the former USSR, was outwardly considered a sovereign republic, with the rights to independently enter into relations with foreign states, conclude treaties with them and exchange diplomatic representations, and participate in international organizations. These rights were enshrined in the relevant articles of the Constitution of the USSR and the Uzbek SSR [9, p. 13, 21, 22, 23, 38; 10, p. 11, 20, 21].

However, the constitutional proclamation of the international rights of sovereign republics had a declarative and propaganda character. In real life, Uzbekistan, being within the strict framework of the totalitarian Soviet state, was deprived of the opportunity to directly enter the international arena, did not have its own foreign policy state institutions, and did not have the right to independently establish external relations. International contacts were carried out exclusively with the permission and under the brutal control of Moscow. As a result, the republic's external relations, if they appeared, were in limited zones and were distinguished by their class-ideological orientation and initial deformation. In fact, in the general civilized perception, based on the criteria of sovereignty and equality, they cannot be qualified as a fact of real international cooperation.

At the same time, the Uzbek people, even in the difficult conditions of the imperial-totalitarian regime, sought to declare themselves in the international arena and raise the authority of the republic. Even the Soviet totalitarian state machine could not exterminate the need to establish cooperation with the outside world. Being in a forced position, the people of Uzbekistan found, albeit mediocre, nevertheless, new forms of scientific and cultural exchange and the establishment of international contacts.

And yet the nature of totalitarian times left its painful imprint. Uzbekistan, due to the prerogative of the center, experienced significant isolation from the

outside world and could not adequately realize its potential in the system of international relations.

From a distance of time, it is clearly visible that the dynamics and nature of the very truncated and deformed international relations of Uzbekistan in the Soviet era were directly and directly determined by turns in the domestic and foreign policy of the unitary Soviet state, and depended on the state of Soviet society at various stages totalitarian past.

It is known that the priority link connecting peoples and states is trade. Therefore, foreign trade, the right to it, occupies an important place in state policy. In the first years of Soviet power, Uzbekistan, like other republics, was granted certain rights to carry out foreign trade operations. For example, in 1919, by the resolution of the Turkic Commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR, a foreign trade department was organized in the Turkestan Republic (1918-1924), the work of which was aimed at creating a commodity fund necessary for export operations . However, the desire to concentrate the management of this important area in the hands of the Center led to the fact that already in 1920 this department was replaced by the Office of the Commissioner of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade (NKVT), which was then transformed into the representative office of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade of the RSFSR in Central Asia [3, p. 37-38]. And after the national-state demarcation of Central Asia, all work on managing foreign trade was transferred to the authorized NKVT of the USSR in the union republics, including Uzbekistan, and, moreover, in order to exercise full control over local activities, The NKVT decided to leave its representative office in the region as an inspecting body.

The evolution (mainly formal, not substantive) of this institution led over time to the organization in July 1944 in Uzbekistan of the Office of the Commissioner of the Ministry of Foreign Trade (MFT) of the USSR under the Council of Ministers of the Republic [25].

Carrying out its activities under the direct leadership of the Center, this body united the efforts of foreign trade organizations - customers of export products, suppliers of goods for export, as well as other organizations and departments. For these purposes, over time (Order of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR dated May 18, 1979), new tasks were assigned to the Office of the Commissioner of the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the USSR under the Council of Ministers of Uzbekistan. Among them, the most important were the need to ensure unconditional implementation of the plan for the supply of goods for export and timely commissioning of imported machinery and equipment, as well as the identification of additional reserves for expanding exports and improving its structure [26]. However, it was not possible to improve in any way the activity of this part of the imperfect mechanism of external economic relations.

The reasons for this were the limited capabilities of the Commissioner's Office itself. It was due to the fact that this structure actually did not have any power in relation to enterprises engaged in the manufacture of export products and directly subordinate to “their” ministries and departments. On the other hand, the fact that many enterprises operating in the system of socialist planned economy could not ensure the production of high-quality, competitive products. All this led to the failure to fulfill government orders for the production of export goods. In addition, the lack of clear legal advice and a well-thought-out system for organizing and managing foreign economic activity exacerbated the ineffectiveness of the mechanism of foreign economic relations as a whole.

But even in such conditions, set by the existing socio-economic and political system, the union republics took every possible part in resolving issues of foreign economic cooperation of the former USSR with foreign countries. And since Uzbekistan’s capabilities were quite large, its forced participation in this process was very significant.

The first external contacts of Uzbekistan as part of the USSR began in the era of Stalinism, when the Union leadership took a course to fence off the country from the outside world, and the nature of the USSR’s ties with the then

international community was determined by the course to strengthen the military power of the state. Under these conditions, the republic's external contacts, passing entirely through all-Union channels, were episodic in nature. All international activities of Uzbekistan were mainly reduced to participation in individual trade and economic exhibitions and fairs, the purpose of which was largely to demonstrate the achievements of the "Beacon of Socialism in the East". But at the same time, the exploitation of the republic's resources and natural wealth sharply increased in order to increase the export potential of the Union. Cotton, silk, astrakhan fur, gold, handicrafts and other products were exported from Uzbekistan. Moreover, already in the early 30s, 80% of its exports were cotton fiber. All this cost tens of millions of rubles in hard currency, however, the republic could not use income from exports to improve the well-being of the people, strengthen the national economy, and develop it in accordance with its own interests.

According to one of the Western analysts, G. Schroeder (University of Virginia, USA), the policy of eliminating inequality in the level of development of the republics, which declared a priority throughout the existence of the USSR, was in fact subordinate to the interests of the entire Union. Continuing his thought, G. Schroeder notes that the union leadership ignored the long-term consequences of the location of industry or the identification of other priority tasks for the development of the republics [24, p. 145].

The Second World War slowed down the development of foreign economic relations. But the fight against fascism within the USSR became a form of participation of Uzbekistan in the world political life of that time, and its contribution to the victory with human and economic resources was considerable.

The result of the Second World War was the split of a significant part of the world into two hostile systems, due to which Uzbekistan's international relations, including foreign economic relations, which were under the strict control of the Center, were carried out mainly with the countries of the socialist camp. Especially in the first post-war years, when the countries of Eastern Europe began to rebuild their national economies destroyed by the war. Uzbekistan, being the raw material

base of the communist metropolis, began to supply them mainly with raw materials for the textile industry - cotton fiber. Thus, with the help of Uzbek cotton, the Hungarian textile industry was restored, most of whose enterprises worked on fiber supplied from Uzbekistan [11, p. 35]. The same applies to other countries of Eastern Europe.

A kind of economic result of the military-political unification of these countries was the creation in 1949 in Moscow of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), which included the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and later Albania and the GDR . And although this collective organization, which at the time of its creation was opposed to the forms of international cooperation that arose in the West within the framework of the Marshall Plan, remained passive for a number of years. However, despite this, starting from 1949, Uzbekistan, in addition to cotton, also began to supply industrial products to Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Czechoslovakia and other countries of Eastern Europe [1, p. 43-45].

The post-war period, until Stalin's death in 1953, was not favorable for the development of international relations of Uzbekistan. While in the West, with the active participation and assistance of the United States, the economies of countries that also suffered from the war were rapidly restored, modern market structures were formed, and the foundation was created for the subsequent breakthrough in economic development, in the Soviet Union, in turn, Once again, a “witch hunt” began, scientific and cultural ties with foreign countries were blocked, suspicion of all foreigners was inflamed, even from “socialist states,” and channels of external ideological influence were blocked. Only after 1953 was the new Soviet leadership forced to approach the complex problems of the international situation, relying on the concept of détente and the expansion of international relations. This led to the expansion of the space of economic cooperation of the former USSR with foreign countries, which led to an increase in export supplies, to which Uzbekistan was increasingly involved.

The material basis for the development of international economic relations of Uzbekistan, carried out under the strict control of allied bodies, was the growth of its production potential. As before, the republic was assigned the role of a raw material base, and the Center exported, first of all, agricultural products. But at the same time, in the structure determined by Moscow of Uzbekistan's exports, a tendency towards an increase in industrial production was increasingly evident.

This reflects the dynamics of foreign economic cooperation of the former Union. If in 1958 Uzbekistan supplied goods of its own production to 32 countries of the world, then in 1963 - to 46, in 1966 - to 70, in 1970 - to 76 countries of the world. At the same time, the majority (over 70%) of Uzbek exports went to the countries of the socialist camp [1, p. 144]. During these decades, the export nomenclature of Uzbekistan for foreign countries represented various types of goods. In the mid-80s, the number of products provided for export exceeded 200 items, including 180 types of industrial goods. The export range included sets of machines for the cotton ginning and textile industries, large hydraulic structures, cranes, refrigeration units, film projection equipment, diesel, pumps, excavators, cotton and silk fabrics, medicines and other products [5, p. 36-37].

In the post-war years of the Soviet period, the main place in the foreign economic relations of Uzbekistan was occupied by socialist countries. More than 100 types of various products were exported there, produced by such enterprises as Uzbekhim mash, Tashtekstil mash, Tashkentkabel, Tashkent Tractor Plant, Podemnik Plant, Excavation Plant, Kokand Mechanical Plant "Bolshevik" , Andijan hydrolysis plant and others [28].

However, at the same time, cotton fiber continued to remain the main item of Uzbek export to Eastern European countries. About 90% of the spinning and weaving enterprises of the GDR, almost all textile enterprises of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania and other CMEA member countries worked on raw materials supplied from Uzbekistan [12]. It should be added that the list of exported traditional raw materials of Uzbekistan also included licorice root, astrakhan fur, silkworm cocoons, kenaf crops and others.

In general, Uzbekistan, with its diversified economic potential and qualified personnel, occupied one of the prestigious places in the system of industrial relations between the USSR and the CMEA countries. In terms of export volumes, Uzbekistan ranked third among the union republics after the Russian Federation and Ukraine.

As international tensions eased and the political map of the world changed associated with the liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, in addition to the priority of economic integration with the countries of the socialist camp, the Soviet foreign policy doctrine began to provide for the establishment of economic cooperation with so-called “developing” countries. This allowed a significant expansion of the geography of products exported from Uzbekistan. At the same time, the majority of exports to these countries were of various types of equipment. Agricultural machinery, equipment for the chemical and textile industries, and diesel engines were exported to Algeria, Afghanistan, Guinea, Egypt, India, Jordan, Iran, Kampuchea, Morocco, Syria, Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, as well as other countries in Asia and Africa. , compressors, electric overhead cranes, pumps and many other industrial products. In general, developing countries accounted for two-thirds of the republic’s exports to non-socialist countries [13, p. 107].

It is also necessary to point out a kind of export of services, which consisted in the assistance that Uzbekistan provided to developing countries in the creation and equipment of various facilities, sending specialists of relevant profiles for this purpose [2, p. 96].

The development of the process of detente in international relations in the second half of the twentieth century created conditions for the expansion of trade and economic ties between the USSR and the industrialized countries of the Western world. At the same time, the leadership of the Union sought to achieve a solution to a number of problems and, not least of all, to use the solution of long-term economic relations with the Western world “for the successful implementation of the tasks of a planned economy” [3, p. 256], unable to

successfully compete with the developed market economies of “capitalist” countries.

Naturally, not all Soviet-made products could be competitive, not inferior in quality to world standards, but, nevertheless, Uzbekistan also took part in the supply of certain types of goods through allied channels, sending them to economically developed countries, products of interest to their national economy. For example, cotton fiber, astrakhan fur skins, machines for cold butt welding of non-ferrous metals, and centrifugal pumps were exported to Austria; to England - cotton fiber, astrakhan fur, various raw and semi-raw materials, some types of electrical equipment; to Italy - cotton fiber, silk waste and some other goods; in the USA - astrakhan fur and muskrat skins, licorice root, spinning machines; In addition to cotton fiber, the Federal Republic of Germany exported furfural, definilin, crystalline xelite, tomato paste and some other industrial, raw materials and food products. Electrical equipment and cotton fiber were sent to Finland; to France - textile machines, universal excavators, hydraulic presses, garage cranes and other equipment, as well as porcelain and ceramic products, silk fabrics, astrakhan fur and muskrat skins, medicines and other consumer goods. Japan was also a consumer of a number of types of goods produced in Uzbekistan [13, p. 113-114].

Speaking about exports, it is important to emphasize at the same time that the national economy of the USSR experienced a permanent “hunger” for foreign products - various technologies, consumer goods. Therefore, in the Soviet period, an impressive flow of imports also went towards the export flow. Uzbekistan, among other ally republics, was a consumer of imported products. However, the centralized system, based primarily on the imperial interests of the center, when regulating the flow of imports, was guided by the distributive and subjective attitudes of the union political elite. As a result, the needs of Uzbekistan, despite the fact that it was one of the leading suppliers of export products of the Soviet state, were ignored, and the republic's import requests were satisfied at a minimum level. Mainly, imported equipment was sent to those industries that contributed to

increasing the export capabilities of the former USSR. And when it came to national interests and the well-being of the Uzbek people, import supply channels were blocked or reduced to humiliating handouts. The Union leadership was not even concerned about the health of the nation, which was being undermined by the merciless exploitation of the natural, raw materials and human resources of Uzbekistan. The situation that has developed in the cotton production system is typical in this regard.

Issues of the socio-economic state of the republics of the former union state have always been the object of special study by political scientists in foreign countries. By criticizing the monopolistic, command-and-administrative methods of the communist leadership in managing the country's economy, they thereby warned of their harmful consequences on the general well-being of the population. In particular, one of the analysts of the US Institute of World Economy Sh. Islam, drawing attention to Central Asia as a victim of cotton monoculture, notes that in terms of development and welfare, Uzbekistan is the country with the largest population and rich cultural heritage - ended up in second to last place in the region in terms of poverty. And as a result of the one-sided development of the national economy - cotton production, a critical situation has developed in the republic in environmental terms [14, p. 156-157].

It is known that during the long Soviet decades, in order to sharply increase the volume of raw cotton, the Union leadership strictly insisted on the intensive use of highly toxic chemicals in agricultural work. As a result, the “chemical attacks” on the natural habitat of the population of the republic have become extremely intensified, and an alarming ecological situation has developed. The concerned government of Uzbekistan has more than once sent reports to the Center, which raised the question of replacing methyl mercaptophos, butifos and other extremely dangerous poisons with less toxic drugs. For example, in a letter to the Council of Ministers of the USSR dated December 30, 1969, signed by the leaders of Uzbekistan, it was painfully stated that “due to the long-term use of highly toxic chemicals in the fight against cotton pests (DDT, hexachlorane,

methylmeroptophos and etc.) many toxic chemicals accumulate in water, soil and atmosphere, which negatively affect the human body and warm-blooded animals. The content of highly toxic drugs in these environmental objects is many times higher than the maximum permissible standards” [27]. The letter once again pointed out the need to remove particularly dangerous toxic chemicals and replace them with slightly toxic ones, which are used in developed foreign countries. However, the Union leadership refused, citing the lack of foreign currency to purchase these drugs abroad, although, as already noted, a significant share of the foreign currency came from the Center’s export of Uzbek cotton abroad.

Assessing the overall process of Uzbekistan’s participation in foreign economic relations of the USSR, it should be emphasized that it took place on the basis of extensive economic development, in line with imperial ideology. The export structure, consisting primarily of raw materials, did not stimulate the development of industry, which determines scientific and technological progress, and imported products could not adequately satisfy industrial and agricultural production in modern equipment and high technologies.

The experience of the past and present indicates that in Soviet times Uzbekistan had productive forces sufficient both for independent economic existence and for pursuing an equally independent, independent foreign economic policy. However, the centralized nature of the organization of the USSR economy, combined with planning and distribution practices, deformed the national economy of Uzbekistan, turning it into a raw materials appendage of the all-Union national economy.

As a result, especially in connection with the aggravation of crisis phenomena in the Soviet economy in the 70-80s, Uzbekistan noticeably lagged behind the average Union indicators, respectively, in industrial production, in terms of per capita twice, and in the social sphere he ended up in one of the last places. The economy and, consequently, the well-being of the people was also very negatively affected by the termination of subventions from the Union budget. As

for foreign economic relations, Uzbekistan's capabilities in this regard were increasingly limited by the Center.

Thus, it is obvious that Uzbekistan, having made a huge contribution to the export capabilities of the former Union, at the same time itself received imported goods and currency that were inadequate for its supplies to the foreign market. During the years of the totalitarian regime, Uzbekistan constantly felt the harsh pressure of the Center's monopoly in foreign trade. All currency payments were carried out only through the Union authorities. The republic was in the dark about where the natural resources, raw materials and the product it produced went, and to whom the proceeds from its exports went. Only independence put an end to this abnormal situation. The radical change in the international status of Uzbekistan led to a radical restructuring of the republic's foreign economic relations, their orientation towards national interests.

Scientific, technical and cultural ties play an important role in the development of civilizational, equal cooperation between different countries in the political, economic, and humanitarian spheres. In the process of exchange in these areas, peoples turn to the achievements of world science, literature, art, health care, and education. A single scientific, technical and cultural space contributes to the strengthening of peace, mutual understanding between peoples, and progressive integration of the community.

In the conditions of Soviet reality, the peoples of the former USSR, including Uzbekistan, largely fenced off from the outside world, experienced enormous difficulties in realizing the need to become familiar with universal cultural values, familiarize themselves with advanced technologies and the achievements of world scientific thought. For decades, there were ideological filters and administrative barriers to establishing international channels, and Uzbekistan, as in the sphere of economic relations, did not have the right to independently establish international scientific, technical and cultural contacts.

And yet, the Uzbek people, although shackled by the shackles of the totalitarian-imperial regime, persistently sought to overcome the artificially piled

up rubble and use every opportunity to build streams of scientific, technical and cultural cooperation. An important factor in this regard was public diplomacy, which was far from the ideological aspirations of the ruling allied circles. In addition, in Uzbekistan, the national leader of the late 50s and early 80s played a significant initiating role in expanding the space of international relations in the field of science, culture, and education. Sh.R. Rashidov. Being a highly intelligent, spiritually rich man, he, as a major government figure, thinking about the interests of Uzbekistan, used all available means to, in the difficult conditions determined by the totalitarian system, promote the republic's entry into the world scientific, technical and cultural space.

It was under Sharaf Rashidov that the processes of establishing international contacts, although experiencing the deforming influence of class-ideologized approaches, found their most vivid expression. For example, if in 1953 Uzbekistan, within the framework of the relevant practice of the Soviet past, collaborated with 5 countries, then already at the turn of the 60-70s. the republic maintained relations with 53 countries of the world, including 33 countries in Africa and Asia [7, p. 30-32].

It is also important to note that the concept of "spirit of Tashkent", which has become widely known in international relations, is directly associated with the name of Sharaf Rashidov. It is due to the fact that it was thanks to the active foreign policy activities of the national leader of Uzbekistan in Tashkent (1966) that a peace agreement was signed between India and Pakistan, international symposiums and conferences were held, creative meetings of scientific and cultural workers from Asian and African countries and Latin America.

It should also be noted that the efforts of Uzbekistan in international relations, which, to the best of their capabilities in that era, were aimed at ensuring peace on the planet. This, in particular, was served by the activities of the Uzbek Republican Committee for the Defense of Peace, created in 1952. This committee coordinated the activities of peace supporters in the republic and strengthened friendly ties with organizations that took part in the struggle to preserve peace.

Guided by the principles of the World Peace Council, the committee supported initiatives aimed at disarmament and international cooperation, for the cessation of the production of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy exclusively for peaceful purposes [6, p. 12].

The Uzbek Solidarity Committee of Asian and African Countries also made its contribution to the cause of ensuring peace and friendship between peoples. On his initiative, various public events were held, in particular, international and all-Union conferences, as well as rallies dedicated to issues of peace and security, held in the cities of Uzbekistan, became regular.

It should be especially noted that, on the initiative of the Republican Solidarity Committee, Tashkent became the venue for an international film festival of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Held for the first time in 1968, this film forum acquired a traditional character and began to be held every two years. Its main goals were to promote the creative development of the national cinematography of the participating countries, strengthening friendship between peoples, and giving cinematography even greater significance in the struggle for peace, social progress and freedom of peoples.

As is known, sister cities make a significant contribution to strengthening peace and friendship between peoples, since direct economic, cultural and scientific ties significantly contribute to the development of mutual understanding. Uzbekistan also took part in international cooperation between cities. Tashkent was one of the first in Central Asia to join the World Federation of Twin Cities (WFTG) in 1959, created in 1953. Close friendly relations were established between Tashkent and the capitals of Arab and African countries - Marrakesh (Morocco), Tunisia (Tunisia), Tripoli (Libya), Bamako (Mali) and others. Other cities of the republic also took part in the movement of twin cities [16, p. 16].

The history of the development of international relations of the USSR testifies to the involvement of Uzbekistan, in some cases, in a number of political events. However, at the same time, Uzbekistan, like other republics, was not given the authority to determine the strategic line in the international arena. They were

given places only as participants in some events as representatives of the union state, conductors of communist ideas. For example, in 1957, Chairman of the Supreme Council of Uzbekistan Sh.R. Rashidov headed the Soviet delegation at the Cairo Conference, dedicated to issues of peaceful coexistence. In 1966, he took part in the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, held in Havana [23, p. 14].

It is noteworthy that the capital of Uzbekistan, even in the Soviet era, gained wide popularity in the international arena as a city of peace and friendship, becoming the venue for various forums, which indirectly testifies to the considerable potential of Uzbekistan as a future subject of international relations.

The forms of international relations also include a system of industrial and technical cooperation, in which the exchange of specialists occupies a prominent place. In the 50-60s, it was carried out by the Soviet political leadership, mainly with countries of socialist orientation, and from the turn of the 60-70s, in the context of the global political interests of the totalitarian regime, increasing attention began to be paid to the countries of the "third world" " In the 80s, specialists from Uzbekistan worked in 46 countries [4, p. 129]. In turn, Uzbekistan received specialists, mainly from the CMEA countries, sent to assist in the installation of equipment supplied to the republic, technical advice in the construction and operation of enterprises, or to learn from the experience accumulated by Uzbekistan specialists in some industrial sectors. ness [8, p. 90].

An important place in Uzbekistan's relations with foreign countries, primarily from the socialist camp and the "third world," was occupied by the training of specialists through the education system in universities and secondary specialized educational institutions of the republic. The presence of a sufficiently trained scientific and teaching corps made it possible to train specialists at the proper level. For example, in the 80s, about 3 thousand students from 84 countries of the world, including 21 countries in the Asian region, studied annually in 25 educational institutions of Uzbekistan [22].

Uzbekistan also conducted training for mass professions - metallurgists, builders, textile workers, electromechanics and others. By the end of the Soviet era, on average, the republic trained specialists for 74 countries in 24 educational institutions and enterprises in 10 specialties every year. These were mainly envoys from “third world” countries - India, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Syria and others [29].

With the assistance of Uzbekistan, the foundations of higher and secondary specialized education were laid in a number of developing countries, which was effective assistance to developing countries, especially young states that had recently freed themselves from colonial oppression.

However, along with successes in this area of international cooperation, serious negative manifestations are also obvious. First of all, due to the lack of real sovereignty of Uzbekistan itself, personnel training was predominantly one-sided. The republic's student youth did not have the opportunity to study in foreign institutions, especially in developed countries of the Western world. No less important was the fact that the training of future specialists in Uzbekistan, as a rule, was carried out not on a mutually beneficial basis, but on a free basis, since the imperial center, pursuing the policy of Soviet hegemony, sought to use this aspect of international cooperation in order to maximally expand the ranks of political allies in opposition to “world capital.” It is worth adding that the mandatory inclusion of communist ideology in the educational process, without increasing the professional level of foreign citizens, took up about 50% of study time.

The sphere of scientific relations was also subjected to significant deformation. Despite the fact that many achievements of the republic's scientists have gained not only republican or all-Union, but also world recognition, the significant scientific potential of Uzbekistan was not used effectively under the conditions of a totalitarian system. As in the former USSR as a whole, the republic's science was divorced from world science. And this was largely due to the artificial restraint of scientific ties, especially with the highly developed countries of the Western world. Most visibly such a depressing picture was

observed during the era of Stalin's repressive rule, when the Soviet state was fenced off from the outside world by the "Iron Curtain".

The situation began to change relatively only from the late 50s, when the Union political elite finally realized the importance of international scientific cooperation. But at the same time, priority was given to establishing scientific contacts with the countries of the socialist bloc. Only at the turn of the 60-70s did some relaxations in the development of partnerships with "capitalist" countries appear. And although ideological and administrative barriers remained, hindering the development of international scientific cooperation, artificially narrowing its scope, nevertheless, the process of establishing connections with the world scientific community gradually gained momentum. For example, if for 1959-1972. 153 scientists of Uzbekistan went abroad on scientific trips, then in the next decade - more than 300 [18].

Traveling abroad, the envoys of Uzbekistan got acquainted with the organization of research work, achievements in science, and made original reports at international conferences, congresses, and symposiums. In turn, the flow of foreign scientific delegations to Uzbekistan expanded.

As international relations developed, the forms of scientific cooperation were enriched. By the mid-80s, in addition to conferences and exchanges of delegations, they included presentations by Uzbek scientists with lectures and reports abroad, internships for foreign graduate students at institutes of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, and the organization of joint scientific expeditions. The scientific research of Uzbek scientists aroused growing interest abroad. For example, until 1980, 320 works of Uzbek scientists were published in foreign publications. The joint development of topical scientific problems also expanded. Only in the 70-80s, 17 academic research institutes collaborated with scientific institutions in Asian countries. They developed 27 fundamental topics of mutual interest [19]. However, the lack of independence of Uzbekistan seriously limited the ability of domestic science and scientists of the republic to take full part in international scientific cooperation.

Just like scientific connections, cultural and spiritual exchange acquired a contradictory character during the years of Soviet totalitarianism.

It should be said that Uzbekistan, having a thousand-year history, a unique spiritual heritage of the great past, beautiful architectural monuments of antiquity that are world famous, has invariably attracted and continues to attract the attention of foreign scientists, tourists, literary and artistic figures. However, in the conditions of Soviet reality, the enormous cultural potential of the Uzbek people was actually closed to the world community for many years. The spiritual life of the republic was subjected to serious deformation. The ideologization of culture, the oblivion of centuries-old historical and spiritual heritage, the separation from primordial national and universal values, negatively affected the possibility of healthy cultural growth, and blocked the processes of integration of the Uzbek people into the world cultural space.

In the turning point of the 50s. Some positive changes have been identified in establishing cultural relations between Uzbekistan and foreign countries. Nevertheless, being under the strict control of the imperial center, they were carried out, as a rule, in line with “socialist integration” and “proletarian internationalism”. And only thanks to the creative genius of the people, cultural exchange, along with deep deformation principles, was filled with objectively significant humanitarian content.

The development of international cultural ties of “Soviet” Uzbekistan was greatly facilitated by the creation at the end of 1958 in Tashkent of the Uzbek Society of Friendship and Cultural Relations (Uz ODKS) with foreign countries [20]. This society, being a collective member of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (SSOD). In accordance with Soviet imperial practice, Uz ODKS was obliged to coordinate all its actions with the SSOD. In addition, international cultural contacts, by order “from above,” were established primarily with socialist-oriented countries. This was yet another evidence of Uzbekistan’s dependence on freedom of action and the blocking of opportunities for equal cooperation.

Nevertheless, the creative work of UzODKS was aimed at promoting good neighborliness and harmony of peoples, developing multifaceted cooperation between them, increasing mutual trust and expanding cultural exchange through practical actions. At the same time, the Uzbek Friendship Society relied on the activities of republican, regional and city branches. Their mass base consisted of teams of almost a thousand industrial enterprises, state farms, collective farms, scientific and cultural institutions, higher educational institutions and schools.

UzODKS devoted a special place in organizing cultural events to holding days and decades of people's culture. For example, in 1961, the "Days of Culture of the Soviet Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan" were held in Poland. This was the first major event abroad where Uzbekistan participated. Subsequently, "Days of Culture and Art of Uzbekistan" were held in Bulgaria (1966), Hungary (1967), Mongolia (1969) and other countries [15, p. 2].

Similar events were also held in Uzbekistan. For example, in September 1966 the "Days of Bulgarian Culture" were held, in May 1968 - the "Decade of Hungarian Culture", in the fall of 1968 - the "Decade of the German Democratic Republic" and others [21]. Taking on a traditional character, they were accompanied by friendship evenings, concerts, film screenings, exhibitions of photographs, books, graphics, etc.

Literary ties occupied a prominent place in the cultural exchange of Uzbekistan with foreign countries. The impetus for this was a conference of writers from Asian and African countries with the participation of representatives from more than 50 countries. At the conference, the "spirit of Tashkent" was formed, the spirit of friendship, progress, mutual understanding and peace. It had an unprecedentedly wide resonance, since here the desire of peoples for peace, freedom and democracy was manifested with renewed vigor.

Writers of Uzbekistan visited a number of countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America, where they got acquainted with local creative organizations and met with colleagues from the pen.

The work of many Uzbek literary figures enjoyed wide recognition among foreign readers. Some of them were awarded high awards. In particular, for her active work to strengthen cultural ties with India, the poetess Zulfiya was awarded the title of laureate. J. Nehru. She was also awarded the Bulgarian Order of Cyril and Methodius.

In the cultural exchange relations of Uzbekistan, great importance was attached to cooperation in the field of art. It manifested itself in the form of new productions of plays by foreign playwrights in the republic and Uzbek writers abroad, demonstrations of foreign films in Uzbekistan and domestic films in foreign countries, the organization of international exhibitions, and mutual tours of stage masters. For example, in 1965-1970. More than 200 masters of musical and circus arts visited the countries of Europe and Asia with an extensive concert and circus program [17, p. 304-308]. Their performances received rave reviews everywhere and continued popularity.

The folk dance ensemble “Bakhor” was especially popular abroad. He performed triumphantly in the countries of five continents of the world. In 1978 alone, the ensemble gave concerts in 15 cities in Italy and 14 cities in France. In 1979, this group's tour in the USA was a great success [30].

But again, all forms of spiritual and cultural exchange carried out through union structures strictly fit into the Procrustean bed of communist ideology and the imperial interests of the center of power. Permission to travel abroad could only be obtained after passing a tough ideological sieve. External contacts were under the watchful eye of party functionaries and KGB agencies. For one reason or another, many literary and artistic figures were included in the category of “not allowed to travel abroad.” On the other hand, the allied political elite sought to use the cultural heritage of Uzbekistan, its spiritual and exchange ties to ennoble the external image of the totalitarian regime, demonstrate the “outstanding achievements” of Soviet national policy, and artificially elevate the communist doctrine, providing supposedly unprecedented the flourishing of the culture of the peoples of the “national outskirts”.

Thus, a retrospective review of Uzbekistan's participation in international relations in the Soviet era allows us to come to the conclusion that, despite the republic's great desire to fully participate in the system of international relations, in fact, contrary to the proclaimed constitutional guarantees, she was deprived of such an opportunity. The Soviet model of international cooperation, in accordance with the colonial-totalitarian nature of the former "Red Empire," was initially based on the fact that all functions of foreign policy and foreign economic activity were exclusively vested in the Center. The republics were given only the role of unquestioning executors of the strategic course imposed "from above."

It follows from this that, deprived of the right to openly enter the international arena, Uzbekistan could not independently pursue its foreign policy, develop its own ways of entering the world community, or determine the directions and priorities of interstate relations. The indirect international contacts allowed by the center of power were of a dosed, clearly ideological nature and were designed to serve the interests of the totalitarian-imperial regime. In order to radically change the existing totalitarian system of the Soviet version of "international cooperation", to ensure the possibility of pursuing an active multilateral foreign policy that meets the national interests of Uzbekistan, the priority condition was the need to gain state independence.

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