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I. ГЛОБАЛ ЧАКИРИКЛАР
Глобальные вызовы
Global Challenges

EDITORIAL: BUILDING A NEW UZBEKISTAN

We are now building a new Uzbekistan. The last five years have been a turning point in the history of our country. Uzbekistan is opening up to the world and is now pursuing open and pragmatic foreign relations with the international community. Indeed, a new political atmosphere has emerged in Central Asia.

There is now openness and transparency in the life of the state and society. A robust system of communication has been established between the government and society. We have re-established the value of human rights, human dignity and freedom of speech. Persecution of people for religious and other reasons has been eliminated: the so-called “black lists” have disappeared and the Jasliq prison has been closed down. Forced labor, including child labor, was abolished. A serious fight against corruption has started.

We have increased and intensified our dialogue with the countries of Central Asia, our relations have reached a new level in terms of quality. A new political environment has been created; mutual trust and respect are significantly enhanced; economic ties have grown at an unprecedented rate; barriers to cooperation have been removed; the region has become an area of peace, sustainable development and good neighborliness.

Systemic reforms are being carried out in the life of society and the state. This is primarily reflected in the principle that “the people are not in the service of government, but the government is in the service of the people.” Laws have also been passed to ensure the independence of judges and to improve the legal framework for citizenship. Two new committees were established in the Senate: (1) the Committee on Women and Gender Equality, and (2) the Committee for the Development of the Aral Sea Region. As part of domestic social policy, Uzbekistan is taking serious steps towards ensuring the well-being of its people. That there is poverty in Uzbekistan has been recognized for the first time as a matter of government policy. There is now in place a single register of people needing social protection. Consequently,

around 1.7 million people, or 400 thousand families, are now receiving government support.

Such changes are being recognized worldwide and are bearing fruit. For example, Uzbekistan is now a member of the UN Human Rights Council, one of the most influential UN bodies. This is, on the one hand, confidence in the ongoing reforms in our country, on the other hand, the hope that these reforms will continue. At the same time, it is our new responsibility.

I. Constitutional reform

Several important democratic principles of state administration have been reflected in the newly amended Constitution and the country is already living in new constitutional conditions.

Because the main purpose of the Parliament is territorial representation of the population, which is of utmost importance to the development of representative democracy in Uzbekistan, the powers of the Parliament have been expanded from 19 to 30.

Now the Senate:

- elects the Supreme Judicial Council, the heads of the republic's anti-corruption and anti-monopoly bodies, thereby increasing parliamentary oversight in areas crucial to political and economic justice.

- approves candidates for the positions of chief prosecutor and chairman of the accounts chamber. Also, the chief prosecutor and the chairman of the Central Bank now must report to the Senate. These norms have helped empower the Parliament's role in both law enforcement and financial accountability.

The Senate has also been empowered in the area of national security, having been given the authority to conduct consultations regarding the candidate for the position of chairman of the State Security Service.

Also, the amended Constitution forbids the mayor to become the chairman of the Council of People's Deputies. This, in turn, has strengthened the independence of the councils and increased the responsibility of the mayors before the council.

According to the Constitution, now citizens and legal entities can appeal to the Constitutional Court, which has granted everyone access to the highest judicial authority.

The Constitution guarantees that a group of no less than 100 thousand citizens can apply to the Parliament with a legislative proposal. This has been

another confident step toward greater citizen participation in government affairs, exhibiting the increasing level of trust between people and the state.

II. Civil Society Organizations

In recent years, we have been implementing continuous reforms for fostering a vibrant and free civil society. We have created a number of favourable opportunities for the development of civil society organizations.

We have implemented 7 packages of legal reforms addressing some of the issues concerning the free operation of NGOs. Consequently, several bureaucratic hurdles have been removed:

- the time frame for considering applications for state registration of NGOs has been halved (from two to one month);
- liquidation or restriction of the activities of NGOs is carried out only based on a court decision;
- we abolished the fee for state registration of symbols of public associations of persons with disabilities, veterans, aged people, women, and children;
- NGOs switched to a notification procedure for conducting their events/programs, which is why NGOs can without any obstacle hold their events and activities.

As a result, between 2017 and 2023 3,517 new NGOs were registered, including 659 trade unions, 271 women's rights organisations, and 653 youth organisations. *As of January 2024, 9,361 NGOs were registered by the justice authorities.*

III. Religious Freedom

Uzbekistan has been carrying out large-scale reforms to protect human rights and freedoms, strengthening constitutional, legal, legislative, institutional, and practical guarantees in this area.

We have made progress in the area of ensuring freedom of conscience, strengthening interfaith harmony and religious tolerance:

- the new Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan affirms the secular nature of the state, which is the guarantor of ensuring freedom of conscience for everyone without exception;
- the overarching goal of building a secular state is to create conditions necessary for freedom of conscience, harmonious and peaceful coexistence of

supporters of different faiths and beliefs, as well as the progressive and sustainable development of society;

- state policy in different areas is not based on the beliefs of a particular religion, but is based on the necessity to ensure the rights and freedoms of all citizens fully;

- when carrying out their duties, civil servants, regardless of their attitude to religion, are impartial, neutral, and independent of the activities of religious organizations and the teachings of a particular religion;

- to ensure religious freedoms, we have adopted a new law "On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations";

- we have simplified the registration process for religious organizations. As a result, over the past 7 years, 117 religious organizations have been registered, including 3 educational institutions, 91 mosques and 23 churches (*the participation of the mahalla institution in the registration process has been eliminated; the procedure for notarization of documents has been cancelled; the number of initiators of the creation of a religious organization has been reduced from 100 to 50 people; an exhaustive list of grounds on which registration may be refused has been determined; the amount of the state fee for registration has been reduced five times*);

- the power of the registration body to suspend the activities and liquidate a religious organization has been removed;

- the reporting frequency of religious organizations has been reduced from quarterly to annual;

- the Council for Religious Affairs, which includes leaders of all religious denominations, continues to function effectively. It is an effective tool in protecting the rights of believers and religious organizations;

- access of citizens to religious education has been expanded. Today, 15 religious educational institutions operate in Uzbekistan;

(*Tashkent Islamic Institute, "Mir Arab" Higher Madrasah, School of Hadith, 10 madrasahs, including 2 women's, as well as Tashkent Orthodox Seminary and Tashkent Protestant Seminary*)

- we have implemented comprehensive programs for social rehabilitation, treatment, employment, and other measures related to the social reintegration of persons returned within the framework of Operation Mehr;

(*in 2019-2021, as part of Operation Mehr, 531 people, mostly women and children, were returned to Uzbekistan from conflict zones in the Middle East*)

- acts of pardon are annually adopted concerning persons serving a sentence of imprisonment for crimes of a terrorist and extremist nature, who have sincerely repented of their deeds and have firmly taken the path of correction.

IV. Human Rights

The Human Rights Ombudsman is actively involved in detecting and preventing cases of torture. In the 10 months of 2023 alone, the Ombudsman conducted 452 monitoring visits to the places of detention.

Complaints from penal institutions are directly sent to the Ombudsman without being subjected to review by penal authorities.

The Children's Ombudsman, NCHR, and Business Ombudsman are also vested with the authority to monitor penitentiary institutions.

Measures to ensure the personal safety of convicts have been expanded; employees of the penitentiary system are now equipped with body cameras.

We have organized courses for more than 500 law enforcement personnel and employees of penal institutions in 2023 alone.

The Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan dated March 29, 2022, introduced amendments to the Civil Code aimed at improving the procedure for compensation for harm caused to victims of torture.

V. Children's Rights

Ensuring the best interests of children is one of the key directions of state policy of Uzbekistan.

There has been a significant effort to form a completely new way of thinking and new social norms about guarantees of children's rights.

Over the past few years:

- the coverage of preschool education has increased from 27% to 76%;
- child mortality rate has dropped by 12% and perinatal mortality has decreased by 1.3 times;
- child and forced labor practices have been completely eradicated (which has received wide international recognition).

Uzbekistan is also doing a lot of work to combat violence against children:

- penalties for all forms of sexualized crimes against minors have been tightened;

- in 2023, a register of persons who committed sexualized crimes against children began to operate;
- a public discussion was held and a draft law “On the protection of children from all forms of violence” has been submitted to the parliament.

VI. Gender Equality

Our ongoing policy of ensuring gender equality is reflected in the “Uzbekistan – 2030” development strategy, adopted in 2023. The strategy has set the goal of increasing the share of women in government positions to 30.2% and raising the share of women among students enrolled in higher education to 50.1%. To meet these goals, the government has allocated about 25 billion sums from the state budget (about 2 million USD) for the next 3 years.

Also, starting in 2022, based on the Presidential Decree of 2022, the government will allocate 200 billion sums (about 16 million USD) from the state budget to cover the tuition fees of all women enrolled in master’s degree programs at state higher educational institutions on a non-refundable basis.

As part of programs for women entrepreneurs, in 2023 alone, about 4.4 trillion sums (3.5 billion USD) of loans were allocated to more than 225 thousand projects, and a total of 179.1 billion sums (14.3 million USD) of subsidies were allocated to about 40 thousand women.

More than 5.1 trillion sums (408 million USD) have been allocated to provide socio-economic, medical, legal and psychological support to more than 2.5 million women through the “Women’s Register” system, launched in 2020.

More than 11 thousand women victims of abuse received medical, psychological, financial and rehabilitation assistance.

Criminal penalties for domestic and sexual violence against women and children have been established and strengthened in relevant codes. In 2023, 9.8 thousand people were prosecuted under these articles.

For the first time, we have established liability for verbal violence and sexual harassment. Now we have the most advanced legislation in Central Asia to protect women from various types of violence.

VII. Mass Media

A lot of work has been done in strengthening the freedom of speech and access to information:

– a Code of Professional Ethics for Journalists has been developed with the support of UNESCO.

– the process of registration of media outlets has been simplified. As of January 1, 2023, the number of registered media outlets was 2110, of which 733 are Internet media. More than 1.5 thousand users identify themselves as bloggers and are actively involved in media activities.

– the process of accreditation of foreign media has been accelerated. As of 2023, 65 journalists from foreign media have been accredited, including from the Voice of America, the Eurasianet, the BBC, the Reuters Agency, The Economist, SkyNews, and the France Press news agency.

– more than 200 foreign TV channels are broadcast in the country, including Euronews, BBC News, France 24, DW, CNN, Fox News, SkyNews, Al Jazeera, and others.

According to the World Press Freedom Index by Reporters Without Borders, which rates the level of press freedom in 180 countries, Uzbekistan has risen 36 positions since 2017.

Between 2020 and 2022, Uzbekistan increased its global rank in The Open Data Inventory (ODIN) from 45 to 30.

VIII. Parliamentary Elections

1. Regarding parliamentary elections, we have adopted a new law on the election of deputies to the Legislative Chamber of the Oliy Majlis based on a mixed election system. According to the new law, one-half of 150 deputies will be elected based on the majoritarian election system, and the other half based on the proportional election system.

2. We have also centralized the governance of the election bodies by the Central Election Committee following the newly revised Constitution. This change will help further strengthen the role and independence of the CEC and regional election bodies in their activities.

According to the new regulation, all members of the Central Election Commission (9 members) are now employed permanently, while the activities of members based on the public have been terminated. It was also determined that all election commissions at the regional and district levels should be established directly by the Central Election Commission, being subordinate to and financed by the Central Election Commission.

IX. Local Councils

We have made significant progress concerning the development and decentralization of representative democracy at the local level.

To bring state institutions and people closer together, the new Constitution has separated the powers of mayors and local councils. Moreover, the powers of the local councils have been significantly expanded.

Given the importance of solving local problems at the local level, as the voice of the people, local councils have been given wider powers, and are now presided over by a chairperson elected among the local deputies, and not the mayor.

Moreover, to take account of the needs and interests of the local people in solving important issues in their area of residence, 33 new powers aimed at the development of education, environmental protection, urban planning, transport and the infrastructure of the area have been transferred to the local councils.

X. Judicial System

Ensuring the independence of the judiciary and increasing access to justice are our priorities in the field of reforming the judicial system.

1. Many new norms aimed at ensuring the rights and freedoms of citizens have been reflected in the Constitution.

- the right to privacy of communication (telephone, mail, electronic messages and others) has been affirmed, with restrictions of such rights being allowed only by the law and based on court decision;

- when arresting a person for the first time, their rights and grounds for detention should be explained to them in an understandable language;

- “Miranda Rule” has been included in the revised Constitution, incorporating modern methods of protecting the rights of citizens;

- it has been determined that no one is obliged to testify against themselves or their close relatives (right to silence).

- a person cannot be found guilty if the only evidence against him or her is the person’s confession.

2. The powers of lawyers have been expanded.

- it has been determined that statements from the suspect, the accused or the defendant should only be obtained based on the written permission of the investigator or judge conducting the criminal case and only in the presence of the defense attorney;

- once the decision that a person has been arrested or recognized as a suspect is notified, that person can still meet with a lawyer before procedural actions begin;

- the rights of detained persons to appeal in court against the preventive measure adopted in absentia, as well as the rights of lawyers to collect and present evidence have been expanded.

3. In recent years, as a result of increased competition in trials, the courts have issued almost 6000 acquittals. In 2023 alone, this figure was 1244, which is 5 times more than in 2017.

4. In total, since 2016, Uzbekistan has improved its position in the Rule of Law index by WJP by 13 points (In 2023 78th-place, total countries 142), taking into account the new countries included in the index. Over the last five years, the top improvers are Moldova (7.7%), Uzbekistan (7.7%), Malaysia (6.1%).

In the Corruption Perceptions Index by Transparency International, Uzbekistan has risen by 35 positions since 2016 and ranks 121st in 2023. Thus, Uzbekistan has shown the fastest mover of any country in the index in recent years.

XI. Labour Relations

Today, there are more than 33 thousand primary organizations in the trade union system of Uzbekistan, employing over 6,500 workers and about 300 thousand activists. Trade unions in the country unite more than 5.5 million members.

The first independent and democratic trade union organization was established in Uzbekistan. On March 19, 2021, 280 workers from the Indorama cotton plantations founded the Xalq Birligi (People's Unity) organization.

In Uzbekistan, legal documents have been adapted to international standards. The Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan prohibits forced labour and establishes criminal liability for it. According to the findings of independent monitoring of the 2022 cotton harvest, not a single case of forced or child labour was identified, while the reforms aimed at preventing child labour continue to this day.

In the annual Report on Country Efforts to Eliminate Child Labor, published by the US Department of Labor on September 26, 2023, Uzbekistan

was one of 4 countries receiving a high ranking among 131 different countries and regions.

The US Secretary of Labor noted that Uzbekistan has made great strides in eliminating child labour in a short period and is becoming an example not only in the Central Asian region but throughout the world.

According to the US Deputy Secretary of Commerce, in 2022, only 4 countries out of 131, namely Uzbekistan, Argentina, Colombia and Cote d'Ivoire, made significant progress.

XII. Cooperation with the EU

Within the framework of financial and technical assistance programs for 2021-2024, the European Union allocated 83 million euros to Uzbekistan for the implementation of bilateral projects, including 7 million euros to support the development of civil society and human rights.

Additionally, within the framework of financial and technical assistance from the EU, a project worth 5.2 million euros is being implemented – “EU Contribution to the Multi-Partner Trust Fund for Human Security for the Aral Sea Region”.

Over 25 years, together with the EU, more than 80 projects of the Tempus educational program have been implemented of 32.2 million euros with the participation of 55 higher educational institutions of Uzbekistan and 71 universities of EU member countries.

Since 2014, within the framework of the Erasmus+ educational program, 43 projects with a budget of more than 36.6 million euros have been implemented to increase the potential of higher education, involving 65 universities, more than 20 sectoral departments and organizations of Uzbekistan, as well as 117 EU universities.

In April 2020, the EU allocated an additional 3.2 million euros to Uzbekistan to combat the spread of the COVID-19 virus. The European Commission also decided to redirect 6.8 million euros from grant assistance funds allocated to the republic for individual national projects for the period 2014-2020.

Also, the EU has accelerated the allocation of funds under the project “Budget Support for Agriculture and Additional Assistance for Uzbekistan” (worth 40 million euros) by more than a year.

Concerning cooperation with the EU, we have achieved significant results as part of a joint project (2019-2024; worth 10 million USD) aimed at improving the provision of public services in rural areas of Uzbekistan.

The archives of the Civil Registry Office were equipped with modern scanners and more than 60 million documents were digitized. This helped shorten the time for providing public services, in some cases from 30 days to 30 minutes. On average, it helped eliminate unnecessary hassle for at least 5 million of our citizens per year.

Another example is the implementation of a digital system for issuing licenses in an electronic form. This system has been a significant step in public service provision, raising efficiency, removing bureaucratic obstacles, and fighting corruption.

Yet another joint project with the EU on “The Rule of Law in Central Asia” (2020-2023; worth 9 million EUR). The program aimed to support the creation of a common law space between Europe and Central Asia, strengthen the protection of human rights, enhance transparency, and support the effective operation of state institutions.

* * *

To sum up, Uzbekistan is firmly moving on the path of socio-economic and political reforms. Liberalising the economy, strengthening accountability, enhancing gender equality and expanding social assistance to socially vulnerable groups have been at the forefront of these reforms. Uzbekistan has increased investments in social sectors, including health, education, water resource management, and social protection. All of these efforts demonstrate Uzbekistan’s commitment to progress and openness as it strives to improve citizens’ lives and foster sustainable development.

ФАКТОР ВЛИЯНИЯ ГЕОПОЛИТИКИ ЮЖНОЙ АЗИИ НА ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЮ ШОС

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Аннотация: Фактор Южной Азии в рамках эволюции ШОС приобретает большую значимость со временем. Если раньше ключевым географическим компонентом в рамках функционирования ШОС, выступала Центральная Азия, где и Россия, и Китай, обеспечивали существование рационального баланса сил, который создал соответствующую среду, для развития регионального сотрудничества. На данный момент, с конца 2000-х и с середины 2010-х гг., в рамках функционирования ШОС, идет усиление фактора Южной Азии, как одно из стержневых элементов, в контексте деятельности ШОС. Усиление китайско-индийского стратегического соперничества, дало новый импульс для организации, и открывает новые перспективы для ШОС, как важной региональной дипломатической платформы. ШОС, уже нельзя считать организацией, отвечающей за региональную безопасность, ее деятельность распространяется уже на два региона, создавая макрорегиональную архитектуру безопасности.

Ключевые слова: Южная Азия, Китай, безопасность, geopolitika, секьюритизация

Введение

ШОС является одной из ведущих организаций в Центральной Азии, и в общем в Евразии, которая поддерживает сохранение рационального баланса сил, а также поддерживает существование системы региональной безопасности. Первоначально ШОС задумывалась сторонами как механизм для решения территориальных проблем, которые остались в постсоветский период между Китаем и бывшими постсоветскими азиатскими республиками. В целом, эволюцию ШОС, можно рассматривать в четырех основных исторических периодах, при которых сформировалась данная организация:

Первый, это период легитимизации китайского присутствия в регионе. За период существования Советского Союза, Китай, как

геополитический актор был изолирован от участия в делах региона. Для Пекина возникла логическая и естественная необходимость легитимизировать свое участие в региональных делах. Учитывая то, что регион для Китая стал «чужим», то в данном отношении, для китайской дипломатии возникла необходимость в легитимизации своего геополитического присутствия, что выразилось в оформлении институционального подхода в лице Шанхайской Организации Сотрудничества. ШОС, первоначально, существовал в виде режима, для разрешения трансграничных проблем. Но, затем в конце 1990-х, Шанхайская пятерка, была преобразована в полноценную организацию, 15 июня 2001 г., а в 2002 г. была оформлена полноценная институциональная платформа организации.

Второй период существования ШОС, можно свести к первой половине 2000-х гг. На данном этапе, важную роль стали играть такие макрорегиональные нарративы как борьба с терроризмом и geopolитическое доминирование США. В данном случае, в конце 1990-х гг., региональные аспекты безопасности, стали формироваться тенденцией укрепления террористических группировок. Помимо местных террористических организаций, в лице ИДУ (Исламское движение Узбекистана), сыграл и фоновый фактор нестабильности на Кавказе, приход к власти в Афганистане движения Талибан и активность ИДВТ (Исламское Движение Восточного Туркестана) в СУАР КНР. В данном случае, это привело к тому, что, в рамках ШОС, сформировалась концепция «трех зол», борьбы с терроризмом, экстремизмом и сепаратизмом. Другой фактор, это региональная политика США. Администрация Клинтона в своей региональной политике, в большей степени опиралась на Россию, и была заинтересована в сохранности нормальных российско-американских отношений. Но, политика Республиканской администрации Буша-мл., обладало несколько иными стратегическими императивами. Помимо, глобальной цели, в виде борьбы с международным терроризмом, Вашингтон поставил целью обеспечение дальнейшей американской гегемонии, что выражалось в видении проекта «Американский век». Неоконсервативная администрация, поставила себе такие цели и задачи, как реализация таких геополитических проектов, как Большой Ближний Восток и Большая Центральная Азия.

Естественно, учитывая географическое расположение региона Центральной Азии, это не могло не затрагивать интересов России и Китая, при этом, учитывая параллельно фактор «цветных революций», которые также были активно поддерживаемыми США в тот период¹. Поэтому, на фоне данных геостратегических изменений, можно отметить, то, что второй период в истории ШОС, стал периодом баланса сил, где целью России и Китая было сдерживание локальных и глобальных деструктивных тенденций, в виде распространения терроризма и усиления американского влияния. Кульминацией, данной тенденции стало принятие декларации 5 июля 2005 г. с призывом к США, определить сроки вывода американских баз из Центральной Азии². Далее, региональная система в Центральной Азии, характеризуется относительной стабилизацией.

Третий период в истории ШОС, можно обозначить как период со второй половины 2000-х гг., и до предковидный период, т.е. это конец 2010-х гг. Хотя, рядом исследователей и принято определять данный период, как «темные века» ШОС, но тем не менее, в организации имели место быть ряд реальных изменений. Первое, это стремление Пекина к экономической реорганизации ШОС. В данном случае, китайская сторона предложила создать общий банк ШОС, откуда Китай смог бы кредитовать экономику стран-членов ШОС. Идея не нашла должной поддержки у Казахстана и России³. Но в целом, данный шаг Пекина нельзя считать исключительно провальным, потому что в дальнейшем это позволило Китаю, уже разработать соответствующий подход в региональных и глобальных делах⁴.

Второй и значимый период, хотя, даже можно утверждать, что в некоторой степени, данный период не находит должного понимания среди ученых-аналитиков. Это расширение ШОС. В 2015 г., две южноазиатские страны, Пакистан и Индия приобрели статус

¹ Стент, Анджела. Почему Америка и Россия не слышат друг друга? Взгляд Вашингтона на новейшую историю российско-американских отношений / Анджела Стент; пер. с англ. Елены Лалаян. — М.: Манн, Иванов и Фербер, 2015., с. 136

² Лаумулин М.Т. Центральная Азия в зарубежной политологии и мировой geopolитике. Том V: Центральная Азия в XXI столетии – Алматы: КИСИ при Президенте РК, 2009. с.180

³ Габуев, Александр. Больше, да хуже. Как Россия превратила ШОС в клуб без интересов, 13.06.2017 // <https://carnegiemoscow.org/commentary/71212>

⁴ Сыроежкин, Константин. Сопряжение ЕАЭС и ИПП / https://www.imemo.ru/files/File/magazines/rossia_i_novay/2016_02/9Syroezhkin_Sopyazheniye.pdf

наблюдателей в рамках ШОС, а в 2017 г., они уже стали полноправными государствами-членами данной организации. Тем не менее, нужно учитывать, что эти процессы не произошли за короткий срок, и за ними стоит сложный геополитический процесс.

Во второй половине 2000-х гг., происходит усиление процесса секьюритизации между Китаем и Индией. Хотя, как отмечают Бузан и Вэйвэр, Южноазиатский кластер безопасности характеризуется центральным соперничеством в виде индо-пакистанского противостояния, то на данный момент уже китайско-индийское соперничество занимает центральное положение⁵. Усиление данных процессов началось в конце 2000-х гг., где ряд индийских экспертов указывают на развитие военной инфраструктуры в Тибете. Также немаловажную роль играет и процесс институционализации китайского влияния в регионе Индийского океана. В данном случае, Китай за период 1990-х и 2000-х гг., значительным образом нарастил свой политический, экономический и военный потенциал, что естественно не может не затрагивать индийские интересы.

Таким образом, в данном случае, мы можем видеть две позиций, в рамках эволюции ШОС. Первое, это ШОС в условиях режима, т.е. это период второй половины 1990-х и первой половины 2000-х гг. В данном случае, ШОС выполнял роль в качестве региональной платформы, которая обеспечивала «поддержку» существования рационального баланса сил и учет интересов Москвы и Пекина. Вторая модель ШОС, это период второй половины 2010-х гг., когда в организацию были приняты Индия и Пакистан. Принятие Индии и Пакистана (2017 г.), и далее Ирана (2023 г.), и Беларуси (2024 г.), отражают тенденций формирования многополярной системы международных отношений.

Стратегические предпосылки на современном этапе эволюции ШОС

В своем развитии, ШОС отходит от классической формулы, сохранности российско-китайского стратегического баланса в регионе. Нет, это совсем не означает, что данный механизм прекратит свое существование, но, он в большей степени уже дополняется новыми

⁵ Sahgal A (2012), China's Military Modernization: Responses from India, Strategic Asia 2012-13. China's Military Challenge, NBR, Washington D.C. p. 279

функциями и особенностями в рамках формируемого регионального порядка. Фактор влияния Южной Азии, в рамках ШОС, можно назвать макрорегиональным институтом, отвечающим за региональную безопасность.

В целом, необходимо отметить, что функционирование ШОС, или его географическое разделение в плане деятельности организации, можно разделить на два основных этапа:

Первый период функционирования ШОС, можно отнести к периоду, начала 2000-х и до второй половины 2010-х гг. В данном случае, основная geopolитическая функция ШОС, сводилась к обеспечению российско-китайского стратегического баланса в Центральной Азии. Исторический, данный период характеризуется существованием относительно спокойной системы однополярного миропорядка, т.е. существование «однополярного момента», в 2000-х гг., и начала формирования многополярных тенденций, где ШОС сохраняло свою функциональность в виде обеспечения механизма региональной безопасности. Особенностью geopolитики Центральной Азии, является то, что влияние сверхдержав представлено или находит свое продолжение в виде институциональной платформы. Российское и китайское влияние в регионе, продвигается посредством различных институтов, ЕАЭС и ОДКБ, и ИПП, и ШОС, соответственно.

Разумеется, функционирование организации, отображает тот geopolитический и исторический подход, который сформировался в период ее деятельности. Это, можно наблюдать, по примеру функционирования и деятельности, таких организаций как НАТО и ОБСЕ. Пример данных организаций, необходим для того, чтобы понимать функционирование ШОС на современном этапе, и каким образом, данные изменения оказывают воздействие на функциональность и формат организации.

НАТО, в период холодной войны, в большей степени выполняло роль инструмента внешней политики США. В своей книге «План игры: Геостратегическая структура ведения борьбы между США и СССР», Бжезинский указывает на то, что Западная Европа, выступает в качестве главного фронта советско-американского противостояния и соответственно роль НАТО в данном плане, сводится к военному

сдерживанию Советского Союза⁶. НАТО, за время своего существования, претерпела ряд важных стратегических изменений, и во время периода холодной войны, НАТО функционировало в рамках инструмента. Т.е. Альянс обладал рядом военно-стратегических доктрин, которые определяли политику организации, как и в плане конвенциональных вооружений, так и в плане ядерной стратегии. Но, с момента исчезновения основной угрозы, и трансформации глобальных паттернов безопасности, принимая во внимание смещения основного центра безопасности из Европы в Азию, то НАТО, перестала играть роль основного внешнеполитического и стратегического инструмента США.

В новых геополитических реалиях, НАТО преобразовалось из инструмента в институт. В данном случае, можно ссыльаться к теории гегемонистской стабильности Гилпина. Смысл теории гегемонистской стабильности заключается в том, что государство-гегемон создает вокруг себя режимы, и эти режимы способствуют сохранению должного миропорядка. Если в период холодной войны, существование НАТО выполняло роль баланса сил, для сдерживания Советского Союза, то сейчас, роль НАТО в большей степени сводится для поддержания внутри европейского порядка. Пик существования данного формата НАТО, пришелся на Лиссабонский саммит 2010 г., когда Барак Обама, на тот момент президент США, сделал ряд важных заявлений, в которых можно отметить то, что НАТО в определении основного спектра безопасности сделало приоритет на нетрадиционные аспекты безопасности⁷.

Другой, наиболее очевидный пример – это ОБСЕ. Организация первоначально создавалась в качестве режима, т.е. конференции для решения региональных проблем безопасности. Пик деятельности ОБСЕ пришелся на два исторических периода, первый, это начало функционирования организации, и второй, это окончание холодной войны. В данном случае, в середине 1970-х гг., это привело к стабилизации региональных отношений, между странами НАТО и ОВД, когда были взаимно признаны границы. Второй период, это окончание холодной войны, когда в рамках функционирования организации

⁶ Brezinski, Zbigniew. Game Plan: A Geostrategic Framework for the Conduct of the U.S.-Soviet Contest. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1986., p. 43

⁷ Hugo Meijer, Stephen G. Brooks. Illusions of Autonomy: Why Europe Cannot Provide for Its Security If the United States Pulls Back, International Security (2021) 45 (4): 7–43.

возобладало человеческое измерение, а именно вопросы демократии и прав человека. Деятельность ОБСЕ, впоследствии, положило начало дальнейшему расширению НАТО и ЕС на восток.

Таким образом, мы видим, что функционирование организации, является естественной реакцией на те изменения, которые происходят в рамках тех или иных геополитических и исторических изменений.

В плане своей функциональности, основной географический спектр деятельности ШОС охватывает Центральную и Южную Азию. Основная деятельность ШОС, была преимущественно сосредоточена на Центральной Азии. Во-первых, в 1990-х гг., возникла нормальная кооперационная потребность, между будущими странами-членами для разрешения региональных проблем. Во-вторых, терроризм, стал новым паттерном безопасности, в рамках его регионального измерения. Это потребовало внести ряд изменений, в рамках деятельности ШОС, а именно в формулировке «трех зол». Далее, мы видим, что ШОС активно себя проявило в рамках функционирования баланса сил, для сдерживания США. И в целом, третий фактор, стратегическая ситуация во внутренней Евразии, со временем после распада СССР, существенным образом изменилась. Россия и Китай, более не воспринимали друг друга в качестве перманентных противников, и ШОС, помимо кооперационной базы, выполняет роль регионального механизма, который обеспечивает существование рационального баланса между сторонами, с учетом интересов Москвы и Пекина.

Но, тем не менее, как отмечалось выше, во второй половине 2000-х гг., в рамках внутренней безопасности континента, формируются новые паттерны безопасности. Мы наблюдаем усиление китайско-индийского стратегического соперничества. Если рассуждать в рамках концепций Хальфорда Маккинdera, географической оси истории, то основной географический спектр безопасности ШОС, приходится на Heartland, т.е. это Центральная Азия, а также Север Индии и Пакистан.

Для понимания нового этапа, в рамках секьюритизации ШОС, нам необходимо обратить внимание, на определение термина «внутренней континентальной безопасности». В географических рамках, «внутренний континент», можно отнести к территории Heartland`а. В политическом отношении, здесь, можно ссыльаться на три основных евразийских

континентальных государств и регион: Китай, Индия, Россия и ЦА. Тем не менее, хотелось бы сделать пару замечаний, которые определили бы природу и структуру данных стратегических изменений. Китайско-российский спектр безопасности, в большей степени характеризуется в рамках безопасности таких регионов, как Центральная Азия, Дальний Восток и частично Восточная Азия. В Центральной Азии, российско-китайский спектр безопасности, определяется формированием рационального баланса сил. На Дальнем Востоке, российско-китайский спектр безопасности, в большей степени определяется динамикой экономического сотрудничества. Также, в некоторой степени, играет немаловажную роль и проблема синофобии, которая создает определенное искаженное восприятие в двухсторонних отношениях. И третье, это Восточная Азия, где силы и средства России и Китая, направлены против усиления американского влияния. Хотя, конечно, нельзя сравнивать спектр влияния России и США в восточноазиатских странах, тем не менее, Китай и Россия балансируют против США.

Другой спектр безопасности, в рамках индийско-китайского стратегического взаимодействия, в основном связан с регионом Тибета. Спектр безопасности, в рамках отношений между Китаем и Индией, ориентируется преимущественно на три основных географических региона:

Первый включает в себя традиционный треугольник Пакистан-Индия-Китай. Данный треугольник нельзя оценивать в качестве постоянной геополитической константы, и необходимо отметить, что в зависимости от политических изменений, данный формат отношений также меняется. К примеру, после конфликта в Каргили, 1999 г., Китай не оказывал Пакистану полноценной поддержки. Но, как отмечает ряд экспертов, после запуска СРЕС, и усиления китайско-пакистанских экономических связей, происходит сближение между Исламабадом и Пекином⁸.

Второе, это спор вокруг Тибета, который стал одним из центральных элементов в дипломатии между двумя странами.

⁸ Andrew Small, *The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 49

Третье, это усиление китайского влияния в регионе Индийского океана. В данном случае, можно говорить о том, что Китай занят институционализацией своего влияния в регионе. Проблема для индийской политики, заключается не только в том, что Китай ведет активную экономическую политику в данном регионе, но и в том, что формат институционализации влияния ограничивается не только экономическими аспектами. В данном случае, как показывает практика, институционализация отношений подразумевает с собой внедрение норм и правил, которые становятся определенным стандартом, т.е. институтов. Внешнеполитической особенностью правления Си, стало то, что экономическая политика КНР, стала определяться форматом институционального характера. Другой аспект, институционализации китайского влияния в регионе, выражается в усилении военных аспектов.

Китай, несмотря на интенсивный процесс модернизации НОАК, все еще не обладает полноценным потенциалом, для реализации стратегии sea control, способным только для реализации таких военно-стратегических концепций, как sea denial и MOOTW (Military Operations Other Than War)⁹. Тем не менее, потенциал военных аспектов в регионе Южной Азии или более широкого Индийского океана, также играет немаловажную роль в развитии и в эволюции ШОС, на ее современном этапе.

В рамках анализа эволюции ШОС, можно применить теорию секьюритизации или теорию комплекса региональной безопасности (ТКРБ), и через механизмы секьюритизации объяснить развитие основных геополитических процессов. С периода 1990-х гг. и до середины 2010-х гг., центральным элементом в рамках функционирования ШОС выступал центральноазиатский регион. Немаловажное влияние на функционирование организации, также оказала и смена полярностей. В данном случае, с точки зрения политического реализма, период 1990-х и 2000-х гг., можно описать как «однополярный момент». «Однополярный момент» характеризовался относительно спокойным периодом и отсутствием перманентного великодержавного противостояния. В данном случае, принимая во

⁹ Brewster, David. A Contest of Status and Legitimacy in the Indian Ocean. India and China at Sea. Competition for Naval Dominance in the Indian Ocean. Oxford University Press (March 25, 2018), p. 14

внимание центральную роль США, то российско-американские и китайско-американские отношения носили стабильный характер.

Россия и Китай, не обладали необходимыми ресурсами и средствами для передела глобального миропорядка. Но, начиная с периода 2010-х гг., начинает формироваться многополярная система, т.е. с точки зрения политического реализма, Китай, Россия, Индия и ряд других государств среднего уровня, приобретают такой уровень материального потенциала, при котором они способны влиять на международную систему. И в этом контексте, происходит усиление влияния фактора Южной Азии на ШОС.

Хотя и период второй половины 2000-х гг., в рамках эволюции ШОС и принято обозначать как некие «темные века», но именно на данном историческом отрезке обозначились базовые аспекты секьюритизации, которые обозначили нынешний формат деятельности ШОС. В данном случае, можно различить два стратегических момента:

Первый, был обозначен еще Збигневом Бжезинским в его книге «Стратегический взгляд: Америка и глобальный кризис». Как известно, международная система, с периода конца 2010-х гг., характеризуется нарастанием конфронтационных тенденций, великодержавного противостояния. Усиление тенденций китайско-американского стратегического соперничества, привело к усилению конфронтационных механизмов, а также моментов в современной международной системе. К примеру, можно привести пример того, что еще в период 2000-х гг., ни Россия, ни Китай не были готовы принять Иран, в состав ШОС, в качестве полноправного члена организации. Сейчас же, ситуация для Ирана сложилась вполне удачная, которая продвигает нарративы институционализации иранско-российских и иранско-китайских отношений.

Збигнев Бжезинский, в известном исследовании «Стратегический взгляд: Америка и глобальный кризис» следующим образом описывает формирование нового типа баланса сил: «Тем не менее появление на мировой арене Китая как экономического соперника Америки, Индии как регионального центра тяжести и богатой Японии как тихоокеанской союзницы Америки не только кардинальным образом изменило расстановку мировых сил, но и подчеркнуло их рассредоточение. Это

чревато серьезными последствиями. У азиатских держав в отличие от атлантических государств времен холодной войны нет (и не было) регионального союза. Они соперники, поэтому в некотором отношении напоминают европейские приатлантические страны эпохи колониального, а затем континентального соперничества за геополитическое превосходство, которое в конце концов вылилось в две кровопролитные мировые войны. Азиатское соперничество может создать угрозу региональной стабильности, особенно если принять во внимание огромное население азиатских стран и наличие у некоторых из них ядерного оружия¹⁰. Также, Бжезинский неоднократно указывал на то, что роль США в азиатской геополитике в 21-ом столетии, будет в некоторой степени напоминать роль Великобритании в системе европейского концерта эпохи 19-го столетия, когда Великобритания не вмешивалась напрямую в дела Европы, но выступала в качестве балансира.

Бжезинский, также приписал данную роль США, в системе образующегося расклада баланса сил в Азии в 21-ом столетии¹¹. В данном случае, можно отметить, то, что ведущий американский советолог и бывший Советник по национальной безопасности, предвидел формирование нового баланса сил, который сформировал современный ландшафт системы безопасности в Азии. Очевидно, что перед формированием Индо-Тихоокеанского кластера безопасности, в Азии сложилась новая система баланса сил. К примеру, на самом деле идея о Индо-Тихоокеанском регионе имеет японские корни¹², а индийско-японское сближение началось раньше, чем активизация политики США по сдерживанию Китая, во время Трампа.

Второй это - эволюция ШОС, что стало логическим отражением данных процессов. И здесь, можно наблюдать усиление китайско-индийского стратегического соперничества, в качестве базового

¹⁰ Бжезинский, Збигнев. Выбор; Стратегический взгляд / Збигнев Бжезинский; [перевод с английского О. Колесникова, М. Десятовой]. – Москва: Издательство АСТ, 2023, с. 294

¹¹ Brezinski, Zbigniew. Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power // https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hZp7NSkHIDE&t=1s&ab_channel=CenterforStrategic%26InternationalStudies

¹² Истомин И.А. Политика США в Индо-Тихоокеанском регионе: последствия для России: рабочая тетрадь РСМД № 49 /2019/ [И. А. Истомин, гл. ред. И. С. Иванов]; Российский совет по международным делам (РСМД). – М.: НП РСМД, 2019. – с. 14

механизма эволюции ШОС. В данном случае, необходимо подчеркнуть следующие изменения:

- Первоначальное функционирование ШОС, было ориентировано на обеспечение российско-китайского стратегического баланса;
- Военно-политический пик деятельности ШОС пришелся на середину 2000-х гг., направленный против американского гегемонизма;
- Российско-китайский тандем все еще остается стержневым механизмом ШОС, но с периода 2010-х гг., китайско-индийское стратегическое взаимодействие оказывает существенное воздействие на трансформацию организации;
- Геополитический центр смещается в Южную Азию, где традиционное индийско-пакистанское противостояние, смещается китайско-индийским соперничеством.

Китайско-индийское стратегическое противостояние ограничивается не только исключительно мерами военного плана, а именно территориальными спорами, но и вопросами в рамках глобального управления. К примеру, Индия намерена восстановить свой статус ведущей азиатской державы, что также выражается в желании стать постоянным членом Совета Безопасности ООН и заявлении о вступлении в Группу ядерных поставщиков. Обращение Индии к региональным организациям всегда было направлено на предотвращение попадания региона под влияние какой-либо одной крупной державы. Ассоциация государств Юго-Восточной Азии (АСЕАН) была институтом, выбранным Индией для ее политики «Смотри на Восток» и «Действуй на Востоке» с начала 1990-х годов, поскольку процесс принятия решений, основанный на консенсусе, в АСЕАН препятствовал гегемонистским устремлениям¹³.

Соперничество между США и Китаем ослабляет некоторые основы внешней политики Индии и усложняет ее отношения с обеими странами. Автономия АСЕАН разрушается из-за глубокого и эффективного проникновения как в институты АСЕАН, так и в их государства-члены со стороны Китая, который вложил в эту организацию значительные

¹³ Frédéric Grare. Managing U.S.-China Rivalry: India's Non-escalatory Reinforcement. Strategic Asia 2020. u.s.-china Competition for Global Influence, National Bureau of Asian Research, Washington D.C. p. 109

финансовые ресурсы. Объем торговли Китай-АСЕАН, составлял в 2017 г. \$514,8 млрд; важность прямых инвестиций Китая в государства-члены¹⁴.

Другой важный и стратегический аспект, усиления китайско-индийского стратегического противостояния — это усиление Китая в регионе Индийского океана. Как отмечает исследователь Фредерик Грап: «индийские политики также пытаются ограничить влияние Китая в соседних с Индией странах, где Пекин все больше готов играть роль внешнего балансира против Нью-Дели. Отношения между Индией и ее меньшими соседями всегда были трудными. Поэтому Китаю легко сыграть на недовольстве небольших государств Южной Азии, которые боятся тени своего старшего индийского брата»¹⁵.

Основной особенностью региона Южной Азии, и более в широком понимании региона Индийского океана, стало то, что Китай сумел провести институционализацию своего влияния в регионе. Небольшие страны Южной Азии и Индийского океана все чаще балансируют между Индией и Китаем. Почти все соседние страны, включая Бангладеш, Мальдивы, Непал и Шри-Ланку, использовали свои расширенные отношения с Китаем, чтобы уменьшить влияние Индии. Эта тенденция вызвала чувство беспокойства в Нью-Дели. Региональной особенностью китайской политики, стало то, что Пекин с периода 1990-х и 2000-х гг., сумел провести институционализацию своего влияния. Малые государства региона являются основными получателями китайской военной техники. Здесь, видение модернизации, вооруженных сил, можно разделить на две составные части, которые образуют военную политику Пекина в регионе:

- Первый военный компонент, связан с классическим противостоянием в рамках треугольника Китай-Индия-Пакистан. Пакистан стал основным получателем технологий для создания ядерного оружия¹⁶. Это вписывается в логику регионального баланса сил. Но, тем не менее, китайская политика, также испытывала ряд эволюционных изменений в рамках китайско-пакистанских отношений, особенно в период Цзяня, что

¹⁴ Там же

¹⁵ Там же

¹⁶ Andrew Small, *The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 1.

привело к нормализации китайско-индийских отношений¹⁷, но, как отмечают в период Си-Моди, в середине 2010-х гг., произошло возвращение к конфронтационным отношениям. В любом случае, ядерное оружие остается существенным и важным компонентом, в рамках регионального баланса сил;

- Второй военный компонент, в большей степени связан с обеспечением безопасности Морских линий коммуникаций* (англ. *Sea Lines of Communications*), который теоретически, может осуществляться в рамках операции ВМФ НОАК MOOTW (Military Operations Other Than War). В данном случае, является примечательным утверждения о том, что Китай намерен модернизировать транспортно-логистические узлы в военное предназначение и это в будущем составит сеть военных баз КНР, утверждение, доминирующее среди западных экспертов¹⁸.

Поэтому, в данном случае, военную силу, можно оценивать как один из процессов институционализации китайского влияния. И в таком видении, военно-техническая поддержка со стороны Пекина будет оставаться существенным элементом, в рамках региональных отношений. Китай, например, сейчас является крупнейшим двусторонним торговым партнером Бангладеш. Он также укрепил военный потенциал Бангладеш и является основным поставщиком военной техники в страну, включая поставку двух подводных лодок класса «Минг» в 2014 г. и помочь в строительстве ракетной стартовой площадки возле Читтагонга в 2008 г.¹⁹.

Также, немаловажную роль в усилении китайско-индийского противостояния сыграл и фактор геоэкономики, а именно введение Пояса и Пути. Многие проекты, которые осуществляются в рамках Пояса и Пути, были еще запущены в период 2000-х гг., однако их « ребрендинг », в рамках ИПП, вызвал недоверие в Индии. Большую подозрительность Индии вызывает не сам факт экономического сотрудничества, а скорее

¹⁷ Andrew Small, *The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 49

¹⁸ Brewster, David. *A Contest of Status and Legitimacy in the Indian Ocean. India and China at Sea. Competition for Naval Dominance in the Indian Ocean.* Oxford University Press (March 25, 2018), p. 14

¹⁹ Asma Masood, "India-Bangladesh-China Relations: A Complex Triangle," Chennai Centre for China, March 2, 2015, <https://www.c3sindia.org/archives/india-bangladesh-china-relations-a-complex-triangle-by-asma-masood>.

институциональное оформление проекта, что воспринимается в Нью-Дели как «великая китайская стратегия»²⁰.

Здесь, можно рассмотреть особенности китайской внешней политики и проследить динамику развития китайско-индийских отношений. Система безопасности в Азии, характеризуется тем, что в ней отсутствует выработанный институциональный подход. К примеру, Европа пережила холодную войну, и в период советско-американского биполярного противостояния, выработались соответствующие паттерны безопасности, такие как ядерное оружие, ВГУ (взаимное гарантированное уничтожение), институты и нормы.

В Азии, холодная война не имела такого центрального значения, и поэтому в своей политике наций-государства, не были ограничены какими-либо жесткими институциональными ограничениями* (хотя геополитический кризис вокруг Украины, показал то, что в случае кризисных ситуаций, институты не играют столь существенной роли в разрешениях международных конфликтов). Поэтому, экономика в данном случае подчинялась логике политике. В данном случае, китайские проекты в период Цзяня-Ху, воспринимались на уровне, прежде всего экономических интересов, и более гибкая позиция Пекина по индо-пакистанскому конфликту способствовала сохранению поля для дипломатических маневров, но с запуска СРЕС, а также усиления ВСИМ, индийское видение китайских проектов, в большей степени стало склоняться к теме китайского институционального строительства.

С точки зрения геополитики, СРЕС охватывает регион Индийского океана, который призван укрепить транспортировку ресурсов из Африки и стран Ближнего Востока. Значительные китайские инвестиций в развитие сети транспортно-логистических сетей (через сеть железных дорог, автомагистралей, трубопроводов, портов и парков информационных технологий вдоль маршрута) в Пакистан, который призван соединить пакистанский порт Гвадар с СУАР. С позиции Индии, де-юре проект подвергается критике из-за спорных территорий в Гилгит-Балтистане, но опасения Индии выходят за рамки этого юридического спора. Несмотря на реальную напряженность между

²⁰ Frédéric Grare. Managing U.S.-China Rivalry: India's Non-escalatory Reinforcement. Strategic Asia 2020. u.s.-china Competition for Global Influence, National Bureau of Asian Research, Washington D.C. p. 110

Китаем и Пакистаном по многим связанным вопросам, СПЕС олицетворяет углубляющиеся отношения между двумя странами. Для Индии, развитие СПЕС, как одного из элементов институционализации китайского влияния, также создает дилемму безопасности. Обеспечение сохранности транспортно-логистических путей в районе Индийского океана, создает проблему дилеммы безопасности в китайско-индийских отношениях²¹.

Таким образом, институционализация китайского влияния в обширном регионе Индийского океана, формирует дилемму безопасности для Индии. Как отмечает французский эксперт Фредерик Грап: «индийские политики также глубоко обеспокоены тем, что Китай может установить свое присутствие в Индийском океане, с помощью которого он сможет бросить вызов позициям Индии в регионе. Мало того, что китайские подводные лодки пришвартованы в Пакистане и Шри-Ланке, Китай также открыл свою первую зарубежную базу в Джибути в 2017 г. Этот аспект постепенно привлекает внимание Индии, поскольку Китай расширяет свое влияние во всем регионе Индийского океана, в частности в Восточной Африке, побережья, используя коридоры ИПП Север-Юг, такие как СПЕС и коридор Бангладеш-Китай-Индия-Мьянма»²².

В случае Индии, эксперты отмечают два перспективных варианта, в рамках которых Дели формирует свой внешнеполитический курс. Первый вариант, как отмечает Грап, существует в рамках стратегической не-эскалации. Китайско-индийское соперничество, это факт, но, тем не менее, стороны не ведут политику полноценной и тотальной эскалации. В данном случае, можно привести пример, когда Индия не согласилась с участием Австралии в участии в военно-морских учениях «Малабар». Но, с другой стороны, мы видим то, что Индия является активным участником QUAD, хотя и альянс, официально не позиционирует себя как антикитайскую организацию, но смысл его существования носит геополитический характер. В данном случае, возникает второй вариант, и Индия будет вынуждена отказаться от своей традиционной политики

²¹ Там же

²² Frédéric Grare. Managing U.S.-China Rivalry: India's Non-escalatory Reinforcement. Strategic Asia 2020. u.s.-china Competition for Global Influence, National Bureau of Asian Research, Washington D.C. p. 111

неприсоединения, и поэтому это увеличит вероятность участия Индии в союзных отношениях с США, в рамках военно-политических союзов.

В целом, если оценивать в контексте идей эксперта Грара, в рамках китайско-индийского стратегического взаимодействия, то, можно отметить то, что Индия: а) стратегически, китайско-индийское соперничество, это факт, т.е. любые большие действия, в любом случае, будут происходить в рамках долгосрочных стратегических инициатив; б) тактически, нельзя исключать формирования нормального диспута или рационального баланса между сторонами²³. Также, другой особенностью Индии, стало то, что Дели умело балансирует между Москвой и Западом, что позволяет ей активно участвовать в Индо-Тихоокеанской стратегии США.

Воздействие биполярной системы на эволюцию ШОС

Саммит в Бали, прошедший в конце ноября 2022 г., укрепляет тенденций формирования биполярной модели международных отношений. Китайская стратегия будет формироваться в рамках данной доктрины, точнее биполярного видения мира. Политическое руководство КНР осознает, что идти на прямое лобовое столкновение с США весьма рискованно, и в целом применение средств военного характера, однозначно, не отвечает интересам Китая на долгосрочный период. В данном случае, ряд моментов, способствуют формированию биполярной системы:

Первое, это то, что основной спектр вопросов безопасности в Восточной Азии, вокруг Тайваня, Корейского полуострова, Южно-Китайского и Восточно-Китайского морей, характеризуется доминированием аспектов военного плана. Пример, российско-украинской войны, показал то, что применение военных средств Пекином по отношению к Тайваню, пока что в меньшей степени вероятны. И поэтому в данном случае, стоит отметить то, что китайская политика, а точнее процесс институционализации китайского влияния во внутренней Евразии весьма силен и успешен. Поэтому, евразийский и континентальный путь, это на данный момент, необходимое направление для усиления Китая. Что самое интересное, так это то, что ситуация с

²³ Frédéric Grare. Managing U.S.-China Rivalry: India's Non-escalatory Reinforcement. Strategic Asia 2020. u.s.-china Competition for Global Influence, National Bureau of Asian Research, Washington D.C. p. 112-113

Тайванем и потенциалом дестабилизации, напоминает кардинальные сдвиги во внешней политике КНР, после распада СССР, когда спектр безопасности Китая, значительным образом поменялся. Для китайской стратегии, возникает необходимость укрепления стратегического тыла во внутренней Евразии.

Второе, китайская стратегия базируется преимущественно на средствах геоэкономического характера. Для Китая, как новой сверхдержавы, перспектива биполярного порядка, предоставит широкие возможности для усиления институционализации своего влияния в Евразии. Если США согласятся на формирование биполярного мира, то тогда это будет означать своеобразную легитимизацию существования нового биполярного порядка. Принятие США формулы биполярного мира* (разумеется, биполярность в условиях глобализации, будет значительным образом отличаться от классической биполярности эпохи холодной войны), приведет к легитимизации китайского влияния, в рамках Пояса и Пути, т.е. в Евразии. Поэтому, современная эволюция ШОС, происходит на фоне формируемого биполярного мира, что также оказывает влияние на трансформацию организации.

Третье, если рассуждать в контексте формируемой биполярности, то развитие биполярной системы, может привести к трансформации ШОС. Для Китая, возникает вопрос и актуальность институционализации отношении с Россией. После крымского кризиса, ряд российских экспертов, стали обозначать стратегический сдвиг на Восток. Хотя, поворот на Восток, этот термин стал весьма востребован и получил свое применение администрацией Обамы, в 2012 г., «Pivot to Asia», как реакция США на естественную геополитическую эволюцию Азиатско-Тихоокеанского региона, но, тем не менее, в российской стратегической литературе, он также получил определенное распространение. Во-первых, главой РФ, Путиным, еще в 2015 г., была выдвинута идея «Большой Евразии». «Большая Евразия» подразумевает стратегическое партнерство России с азиатскими странами, и прежде всего с такими гигантами как Китай и Индия.

Но, тем не менее, ряд экспертов из постсоветских стран, придерживаются скептического мнения касательно китайско-российского стратегического партнерства, но, в тоже время, стоит отметить, что

данное видение относится к пред-ковидному периоду. Так, российский эксперт Александр Габуев, обозначил российскую политику поворота на Восток, как «разочарование»: «Ощущения российской элиты от поворота можно описать одним словом – разочарование. За исключением немногих людей реальных энтузиастов в отношении Китая как альтернативы Западу заметно поубавилось. Российские чиновники и бизнесмены обнаружили, что вести дела с китайцами сложно, быстрых результатов ждать не приходится, а менять сложившиеся деловые привычки ради дружбы с новым партнером не очень-то и хочется»²⁴.

Далее, автор подчеркивает то, что за 15 лет российско-китайских стратегических отношений, Китай и Азия, занимали промежуточное и нецентральное положение в российской внешней политике²⁵. В данном случае, стоит отметить, что несмотря на то, что российско-западные отношения испытывали временные спады и подъемы, а апелляция России к Китаю и азиатским структурам, в большей степени продиктованы конъюнктурными событиями, нежели чем обладают стратегической значимостью.

К примеру, в период 1990-х и в 2000-х гг., Россия и Запад проводили процесс институционализации своих отношений, через укрепление сотрудничества по линии России-НАТО, которое переживало процесс институционального оформления, особенно в 1997 г., подписание Основополагающего акта отношений России-НАТО, и создание Совета Россия-НАТО в Риме в 2002 г. Затем, стоит отметить, что в период правления Буша-мл., начала формироваться стратегическая автономия Европы. Несмотря на то, что в период 1990-х гг., приходится усиление евроатлантических структур и расширение НАТО и ЕС на Восток, тем не менее, Европа, в лице франко-германского ядра, расширяет свою автономию от американской гегемонии. Американская гегемония в данном случае, выступает как наднациональный конструкт, но она способствует сохранению принятия важных решений на национальном уровне. Институционализация отношении России с Западом, выступало по следующим параметрам:

²⁴ Габуев, Александр. Младший брат или старшая сестра? Китаист Александр Габуев о том, что Россия слишком зациклена на своем статусе в переговорах с Китаем //

<https://www.vedomosti.ru/opinion/articles/2016/06/28/647005-mladshii-brat>

²⁵ Там же

- В 1990-х гг., происходил процесс институционализации в области военных и военно-политических отношений;
- В 2000-х гг., фактор энергетической безопасности стал одним из превалирующим элементов в российско-европейских отношениях;

Даже, крымский кризис и кризис на Донбассе 2014 г., не пошатнул фундаментальных основ, российско-западных отношений. Поэтому, российская апелляция к Азии, в виде таких доктрин как «Большая Евразия» и т.д. не обладают под собой явной стратегической основой, т.к. не смотря на антизападную риторику современного евразийства, российско-западные отношения, носили более институционализированный характер. Но, ситуация значительным образом изменилась после 2022 г., и теперь идеи вышеприведенной «Большой Евразии», и уже реальной геополитической ориентации на Восток, смогут стать действительно реализуемыми. Как и на геополитическом уровне, открывает дорогу и для Китая, и для Индии, а также открывает перспективы для большей институционализации ШОС.

В данном случае, исходя из вышеотмеченной концепции «биполярности», то, можно предположить, что Китай намерен перенаправить свой фокус внимания с Индо-Тихоокеанского региона, на Евразию и большая война в Индо-Тихоокеанском регионе, не отвечает реальным интересам Пекина. Поэтому, во-первых, для Китая важно доктринально оформить концепцию биполярности; во-вторых, Евразия становится приоритетным объектом китайского институционального строительства.

Формат ШОС в новых геополитических реалиях

Естественно, ШОС, отвечает тем политическим процессам, которые происходят на евразийском геополитическом пространстве. В данном случае, особенность ШОС заключается в том, что организация выступает в качестве дипломатической платформы, которая отвечает на данные геополитические изменения. В этом плане, эволюцию ШОС можно проследить в следующих отношениях:

- первое, ШОС как дипломатическая платформа;
- второе, ШОС как платформа для подхода решения многих проблем;

- третье, ШОС как институциональный механизм для продвижения китайских проектов в рамках ИПП, или без него.

Особенность второй перспективы ШОС, заключается в том, что решение многих проблем, создает чрезмерную бюрократизацию в рамках ШОС. К примеру, в одно время ШОС выступала как платформа для решения многих задач, связанных с торгово-экономическими вопросами, между странами-членами организации, особенно в 2000-х гг.²⁶. Затем, стороны в рамках ШОС пытались решить вопросы таможенного сотрудничества. Очевидно, можно предположить, что ШОС может стать вполне удобной платформой для реализации проектов геоэкономического плана, но принимая во внимание членство Индии в ШОС, и усиление китайско-индийского соперничества, то это навряд ли сможет привести к тому, что ШОС сумеет стать китайским аналогом ЕАЭС. Поэтому, остается вариант дипломатической платформы. Проблему ШОС, можно выразить в следующем выражении: «обо всем и ни о чем одновременно».

В дипломатическом отношении, интересно видение иранской стороны, так советник верховного лидера Исламской Республики Иран генерал-майор Раҳим Сафави призвал государства Шанхайской организации сотрудничества (ШОС) заключить пакт о ненападении: «Я предлагаю, чтобы общая безопасность и устойчивый мир были реализованы в первую очередь среди стран-членов Шанхайского соглашения. Образцом для этого может стать организация сотрудничества и заключение пакта о ненападении»²⁷. Также по сообщению агентства «Мехр», генерал-майор Яхъя Раҳим Сафави, помощник и старший советник Верховного главнокомандующего, во время своей поездки в Китай и в ходе консультаций с официальными лицами этой страны заявил следующее: «Китай и Иран должны прийти к общему пониманию относительно угроз и общих интересов». На встрече с заместителем начальника штаба китайской армии генералом Цзин

²⁶ Liu Junmei and Zheng Min, “Financial Cooperation among SCO Member States: Review and Prospects from China’s Perspective,” in *The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Eurasian Geopolitics: New Directions, Perspectives, and Challenges*, ed. Michael Fredholm (United Kingdom: NIAS Press, 2013), 266, 273.

²⁷ МИР В Иране предложили странам ШОС заключить пакт о ненападении. Советник верховного лидера Ирана Сафави: ШОС нужно заключить пакт о ненападении // <https://iz.ru/1599433/2023-11-02/v-irane-predlozhili-stranam-shos-zakliuchit-pakt-o-nenapadenii>

Цзяньшэнем он заявил: «Вооруженные силы Китая и Ирана должны достичь общего понимания всех видов угроз и общих интересов»²⁸.

В условиях новой геополитической турбулентности, возникают перспективы формирования институтов, или тех механизмов, которые способны их разрешить. В данном случае, можно отметить, о том, что предложение Ирана может привнести новые тенденций в формирование современной модели ШОС, хотя в меньшей степени вероятности. Пакт о ненападении в рамках ШОС представляется интересной, но маловероятной затеей для реализации. Для этого существуют ряд важных предпосылок. ШОС выступает в качестве дипломатической платформы.

В большей степени ШОС, как диалоговая площадка, отображает те тенденций, которые имеют место быть в рамках геополитики внутренней Евразии. В данном случае, можно проследить некоторую эволюцию ШОС. Первоначально, ШОС действовала в качестве регионального режима, затем организация отобразила тенденций, в рамках реакции на терроризм и баланс сил. С периода второй половины 2000-х гг. и по сей день, в рамках ШОС доминируют тенденций, касательно усиления китайско-индийского стратегического соперничества. Это только способствует усилению потенциала ШОС, как диалоговой площадки.

С другой стороны, ШОС вполне обладает перспективами экономической, а если быть точнее, то геоэкономической институционализации. ЕАЭС выполняет геоэкономические функций, где функционирование экономики, в некоторой степени осуществляется в рамках российского гегемонистского порядка. Китай, также может продвинуть данный формат отношений, но, возможно в Пекине осознают, что это сможет привести к опасению в странах-членах ШОС, особенно в Центральной Азии, в Индии с таким предложением, также не будут согласны.

Заключение пакта о ненападении, также маловероятно и в контексте традиционного индо-пакистанского противостояния, а также в рамках треугольника Индия-Пакистан-Китай. Пакт о ненападении, в большей степени является продуктом эпохи классического баланса сил, когда военная сила, как международный механизм, определяла

²⁸ Заключить пакт о ненападении предложил Иран странам ШОС // <https://www.zakon.kz/mir/6412604-zaklyuchit-pakt-o-nenapadenii-predlozhil-iran-stranam-shos.html>

глобальный миропорядок. Сейчас же ситуация значительным образом изменилась в силу воздействия глобализации. Принятие пакта и его юридическое исполнение, также означало бы и формирование жесткого режима статуса-кво в Южной Азии, в контексте треугольника Исламабад-Дели-Пекин. Это, можно представить в виде формирования континентального альянса, где Дели и Пекин были бы союзниками, что вполне отвечает логике геополитики, но в тоже время противоречит логике баланса сил политического реализма.

Поэтому, идея принятия пакта о ненападении интересна, но она не может отобразить реальные тенденции внутри ШОС. В ШОС входят преимущественно страны с прокитайской ориентацией (Россия, Казахстан, Таджикистан, Иран, Пакистан). Китайское влияние среди них, в той или иной степени институционализировано. В России и в Казахстане, это формат стратегического партнерства, с Россией также действует баланс сил, направленный против США. В случае, Таджикистана – это фактор торгово-экономических отношений, в случае Пакистана – это высокий уровень институционализации, баланс против Индии, и участие в геоэкономических проектах. Единственная страна-участник ШОС с антикитайской направленностью – это Индия, из-за территориальных споров и динамики соперничества между двумя азиатскими гигантами. Членство Индии в ШОС тормозит потенциал формирования общего военного союза, в частности образования некоего военного альянса, а также в плане формирования ШОС, как геоэкономического китайского аналога ЕАЭС. Индия и так не принимает участие в работе Пояса и Пути из-за вопроса Кашмира, и тем более в формировании общего рынка с Китаем.

Таким образом, ШОС все еще остается диалоговой площадкой стратегического значения. Значимость ШОС в том, что она отображает те стратегические перемены, которые имеют место быть в Евразии. В плане формирования как института безопасности, если у ШОС и существуют перспективы, то, скорее всего они больше будут похожи на формат СБСЕ/ОБСЕ, где фактор нации-государств, в любом случае носит превалирующий характер. Поэтому, ШОС будет сохранять формат диалоговой площадки. На это еще указывает и то, что стороны выдвигают множество инициатив, но при этом значительная часть из них не находит своей реализации. Проблема коллективных институтов

безопасности заключается в том, что они конъектурны, к примеру, есть ли проблема для Китая в том, что, если Иран окажется под ударом, у США такие механизмы выработаны в отношении с союзниками, у Китая нет. Поэтому, слова главы военного ведомства Ирана, в большей степени отображают желание, но не саму реальность.

Выход

Можно отметить, то, что влияние Южной Азии на эволюцию ШОС усилилось с периода второй половины 2000-х гг. С 2015 г., с момента получения статуса наблюдателя и полноправного членства Индии и Пакистана в ШОС, фактор Южной Азии в рамках функционирования ШОС, становится ключевым элементом. Особенностью периода 2000-х гг., стало усиление процесса секьюритизации в рамках китайско-индийских отношениях, учитывая фактор влияния китайских SLOC в обширном регионе Индийского океана. Второй этап в усилении секьюритизации в рамках китайско-индийского соперничества, происходит уже с момента запуска СРЕС, и усиления институционализации китайского влияния в регионе Южной Азии, во всех значимых аспектах, военном, экономическом, дипломатическом и т.д. Функций механизма российско-китайского стратегического баланса в Центральной Азии, все еще сохраняются, но, общий и актуальный центр тяжести в большей степени смещается в сторону Южной Азии, где два основных паттерна безопасности: традиционное индо-пакистанское противостояние дополняется китайско-индийским стратегическим соперничеством, в рамках Индо-Тихоокеанского региона. Поэтому, фактор влияния Южной Азии, стал значимым в рамках функционирования ШОС.

Немаловажную роль сыграло усиление российско-западного стратегического конфликта, вокруг Украины в 2022 г., и усиление тенденций формирования биполярной модели международных отношений. После начала войны в 2022 г., происходит быстрая деградация системы европейской безопасности, которая в отличие от ситуации 2014 г., носила реальный и стратегический характер. Это, в свою очередь, привнесло тенденций «азиатизации» в российскую внешнюю политику. Для Китая и Индии, это открыло окно

стратегических возможностей, что также может иметь отражение в рамках функционирования ШОС. Для Китая, в данном случае, перспективы выражаются в рамках укрепления российско-китайского баланса сил, против Соединенных Штатов, и в рамках усиления своего институционального влияния в Евразии. Перспективы для Индии, в большей степени, заключаются в организации баланса против Китая, что как отмечают эксперты, происходит вполне удачно, а именно индийская политика балансирования.

Поэтому, Южная Азия как геополитический кластер безопасности, становится одним из значимых элементов в современных международных отношениях. И возможно именно такое обстоятельство будет указывать на существенный потенциал ШОС в процессах институционализации системы безопасности в Азии.

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II. ЗАМОНАВИЙ МЕТОДОЛОГИК ЁНДАШУВЛАР
Современные методологические подходы
Modern Methodologic Approaches

**SECURITY STUDIES IN PRISM OF
NATIONAL INTEREST CONCEPT**
(*Historic Traditions*)

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Abstract: *The context of security studies has long been prevalent in international politics. The history of contemporary international relations started with the emergence of independent states in Europe, which were motivated by security issues. Historically, American foreign policy practice has drawn two separate lines in terms of knowledge and attitude toward security interests, as well as two different approaches to basic international policy challenges. The bulk of serious studies on foreign policy by American professionals begin with an examination of these two approaches.*

Keywords: *Security Studies, International Relations History, Cold War, World Politics, National Interest, US Foreign Policy, National Security. Regional and Global Peace, Balance of Power.*

Introduction

The concept of international security has existed in international politics for a long time. The beginning of the history of modern international relations can be considered the formation of national states in Europe, the driving force of which was security interest. Around the same period, the term “national security” itself appeared.

Starting from this period, the concepts of “strength,” “might,” and “interest” became common in the vocabulary of foreign policymakers, and the traditional policy of the balance of power in Europe in the XVII-th --XVIII-th centuries was also based on nothing more than the national interests of states.

The end of the XX-th and early XXI century brought with it a sharp increase in attention to the problem of interest in foreign policy, which was directly related to the ongoing regrouping of forces in the world, and one of

the first to talk about the concept of “national security” in international relations were American thinkers Reynold Niebuhr and Charles Beard.

After the Second World War, the problem of national security became a kind of focus of foreign policy issues among leading US political scientists. The classic of American political thought, Hans Morgenthau, called the debate around this concept “the new great debate,”¹ where leading American scholars such as G. Kennan, W. Lippman, K. Waltz, E. Furniss, R. Snyder, K. Thompson, J. Rosenau, and others actively participated.

Scholarly Debates

Historically, long before the start of the discussion on this issue in scientific circles, American foreign policy practice had already clearly drawn two lines in understanding and attitude towards national security, two lines in understanding and attitude towards national interests, and two different approaches to foreign policy problems in general. The majority of serious studies by American specialists devoted to foreign policy begin with an analysis of these two approaches. It is appropriate to present it here, at least briefly.

The first “realist” in the field of foreign policy, using the modern classification, was, according to many researchers, Alexander Hamilton. According to Morgenthau², the name Hamilton is associated with the classical period in the history of US foreign policy, when all foreign policy activities were built on national security and were fully consistent with it. The foreign policy concept of the Federalists was based on three main principles:

- the foreign policy of the United States, as a new state entity, should be fundamentally different from the old European policy;
- the basis of US foreign policy should be isolationism, which, however, is ensured by the active behavior of the state in the international arena;

¹ Hans Morgenthau. Another Great Debate: The National Interest of the United States. // American Political Science Review. N 46, December 1952, (republished 2023) p. 18.

<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Another-%E2%80%9CGreat-Debate%E2%80%9D-The-National-Interest-of-Morgenthau/507e24b37497117daee197ad323f8718aca7ffa1>

² Morgenthau H. What is the National Interest of the United States // The National Interest - Alone or with the Others? The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science Philadelphia, 1952, pp.6-7 (reprinted in 2021)

<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/What-Is-the-National-Interest-of-the-United-States-Morgenthau/7ecd530f33b4713d408bec72a2b1969a813a20f2>

- US foreign policy should be based on a balance of power

Accordingly, the Federalist definition of US national security follows from the third point above. In the Western Hemisphere, the country's security is its unconditional leadership, which requires constant development and strengthening of foreign policy means. Based on this, the intervention of European countries in the affairs of any state in the Western Hemisphere is considered a threat to the national interests of the United States defined as a security basis (this idea will later find expression in the Monroe Doctrine).³

The national security of the United States in Europe requires maintaining a balance of power between European states, to bind their foreign policy activities within the borders of Europe, without giving access to the outside. To maintain such a balance of power, the United States must pursue an active foreign policy.

By the end of the 20th century, these two 'regional' definitions of national security would add to the need to maintain a balance of power in Asia. A striking example of the implementation by federalists of their concept of foreign policy was the debate on the issue of US neutrality during the wars of European monarchs against revolutionary France at the end of the 18th century. and deciding to declare neutrality.

The American and French revolutions were linked by common ideas of liberalism and the desire to free themselves from the shackles of old social systems. The broad masses of Americans enthusiastically welcomed the revolution in France as the advent of a new era in Europe. Evidence of support for the revolution was the emergence of so-called 'democratic-republican societies', modeled on the French Jacobin Club. It is not surprising, therefore, that it began in 1792-1793. The wars of the European powers against revolutionary France gave impetus to a powerful movement in support of the latter. Besides, the United States was bound to France by a Treaty of Alliance in 1778, obliging the USA to come to aid France in any war threat or attack⁴.

³ Ibidem

⁴ Morgenthau H. The Primacy of the National Interest // The American Scholar, v. 18, n.2, 1949, p. 208.
(republished in 2022)

<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/The-Primacy-of-the-National-Interest-Morgenthau/bed7c9b39f6948027af0c5e85333edb457412b39>

Support was dictated by moral principles stemming from the idea of the American Revolution. However, if the United States came out in support of France, there was a direct threat of the opening of hostilities in the Western Hemisphere. In this regard, the American government was faced with a difficult choice: either to deepen cooperation with France, opposing itself to England, or to settle relations with the “Mistress of the Seas” at the expense of the franchise.

According to Morgenthau, "...against moral principles, Hamilton advanced the national interest of the United States."⁵ The Secretary of the Treasury pointed out that if neutrality were declared, the United States would have the opportunity to trade with both conflicting parties at once. On the other hand, Hamilton noted, it is unlikely that “the assistance that we could provide by taking part in the conflict would compensate for the benefits it brought to the cause (of the revolution - *author*) for the negative consequences that most likely await our country as a result our intervention”? Having weighed the possible consequences of both options (intervention and neutrality), Hamilton concluded that the imbalance between them could serve as a serious basis for the non-fulfillment of US guarantees under the treaty of 1778.⁶ The declaration of neutrality on April 22, 1783, was the first and, one might say, a classic example of acceptance of foreign policy decisions in conditions when the national security of the United States came into sharp conflict with its moral principles and obligations. Washington acted in this case based solely on US national interests.

In opposition to the course of the Federalists was the Secretary of State of the Washington administration, Thomas Jefferson, who resigned in 1793. He showed himself to be a supporter of a “pro-French” orientation. The Secretary of State's pro-French sympathies were explained by many reasons, in particular, his concern about the state of US trade and diplomatic relations with Great Britain. Jefferson proceeded from the belief that England still treated the United States as a dependent country, evidence of which he saw in the failure of the British cabinet to comply with several articles of the Treaty of Paris of 1783, in the refusal to conclude a trade agreement with the United

⁵ Cornelia Navari Hans Morgenthau and the National Interest Ethics & International Affairs 30(01):47-54 March 2016 DOI:10.1017/S089267941500060X

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/297753634_Hans_Morgenthau_and_the_National_Interest

⁶ Morgenthau H. In Defense of National Interest. NY, 1952, p. 17. (republished in 2021)
<https://archive.org/details/indefenseofnatio0000hans>

States, etc. France was an ally of the United States during the difficult years of their struggle with the metropolis and, most importantly, provided the young republic with the most favored nation treatment in trade. It was by maintaining a friendship with France, Jefferson concluded, that the United States would be able to overcome its centuries-long dependence on England.⁷ The position of the Secretary of State was dictated not only by considerations of diplomacy or economic gain but also by a corresponding assessment of the significance of the French Revolution, on the victory or defeat of which, according to him, the cause of freedom throughout the world depended.

The justification for a pro-French orientation was built primarily based on broader moral values rather than US national security. Morgenthau later called this approach to problems of foreign policy. It is characterized by the fact that when making decisions, politicians proceed not from political, but from moral principles.⁸ In any case, however, according to realists, national interest cannot be completely ignored. Even the moral values of a moralist politician in one way or another coincide with the national interest: latently it influences the decision made here too. In the event of a sharp contradiction between national security and moral principles, the politician is forced to compromise. Here is how Morgenthau characterizes Jefferson's line from this particular point of view: "Yet even Jefferson, whose devotion to abstract morality was very strong, and, conversely, whose realistic grip in foreign affairs was weak, moral claims were quite often conceded, especially in private conversations, the influence of national interest on common sense."⁹ Jefferson himself during the Napoleonic wars, not wanting the excessive strengthening of France, leaned towards England, and in 1815 he came to the conclusion about the need for a balance of power in Europe: "For my part, I wish that all nations could restore their economies and to preserve independence; so that those who have become excessively strong cannot overstep the safe boundaries of power so that a beneficial balance can be

⁷ Bowers C. G. Jefferson and Hamilton. The Struggle for Democracy in America. Boston - New York, 1925 (reprinted in 2023) , p. 210. https://archive.org/details/jeffersonhamilton00bowe_2

⁸ Morgenthau H. In Defense of the National Interest, NY, 1952, p. 19. (reprinted in 2021) <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/In-Defense-of-the-National-Interest-Morgenthau-Nasasue/545a1273711b52af6243677a6c3476d371a5fa59>

⁹ Ibidem

constantly maintained between nations, and so that everyone desires peace with us, seeks our friendship and trade."¹⁰

Binary Approach

As noted by the famous American researcher Charles Beard in his work "The Idea of National Interest: An Analytical Study of American Foreign Policy" (New York, 1934), "two concepts of national interests inherited (from the Founding Fathers - author) have been found ever since in a constant process of convergence and divergence."¹¹

Indeed, the influence of these two approaches to the problem of ensuring national security can be traced throughout two centuries of US history. Supporters of the realistic (Hamiltonian) concept were John Adams, John Quincy Adams, J. Monroe, and A. Mahan. Realists consider the overwhelming majority of political figures of the 19th and 20th centuries to be supporters of the Jeffersonian concept." Among them, they especially highlight Woodrow Wilson. With this, however, division of politicians into supporters of one and another concept, it is necessary to strictly distinguish between their theoretical views, ideas, beliefs, and the actual policies pursued by them.

History shows that politicians who are outwardly committed to a moral approach to international relations, albeit gradually, still act in strict accordance with national security issues, continuing to justify their decisions exclusively from the point of view of universal moral principles. Morgenthau called this situation "...a seemingly happy coincidence of national interest and moral principles."¹² By acting in this way, politicians prefer not to talk about national security defined as vital interests, as if completely replacing them with ideological guidelines.

¹⁰Ibidem

¹¹Beard, Charles Austin. The idea of national interest: an analytical study in American foreign policy.

<https://archive.org/details/ideaofnationalin0000bear>

See also: Robert J. McMahon. Diplomatic History and Policy History: Finding Common Ground / Cambridge Core / Published online by Cambridge University Press: 27 April 2009

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-policy-history/article/abs/diplomatic-history-and-policy-history-finding-common-ground/C1202648C257165564190E34BC368E31>

¹² Morgenthau H. What is the National Interest of the United States // The National Interest - Alone or with the Others? The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science Philadelphia, 1952, pp.15-17 (reprinted in 2023)

<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/What-Is-the-National-Interest-of-the-United-States-Morgenthau/7ecd530f33b4713d408bec72a2b1969a813a20f2>

In its purest form, moralism in foreign policy was embodied in the activities of President Woodrow Wilson. In a speech in Mobile on October 27, 1913, Wilson for the first time openly contrasted policies based on national interest with policies based on moral principles. In his opinion, "...it is a very dangerous thing to define a nation's foreign policy in terms of material interest."¹³ Wilson recognized the objective existence of national security but considered it immoral to act on its basis. After World War I, he believed in a "...brave new world, where the national interests of the United States, as well as all other nations, would dissolve in the common interests of a united humanity."¹⁴ But, as you know, Wilson also did not avoid compromises, shocking his supporters. Morgenthau notes on this matter: "Be that as it may, in his political activities, especially in the conditions of World War I, Wilson could not completely ignore the national interests of the United States, just like Jefferson before him."¹⁵

America entered the 20th century with two different approaches to the problem of national interest. While these were approaches only in the sphere of direct foreign policy practice, theoretical debates on this issue were still to come. Analyzing two different approaches to the problem of foreign policy interest in the monograph "The Idea of National Interest," Ch. Beard¹⁶ concludes that a new strong politician is needed, capable of putting forward a new concept of national interest that would synthesize the two "inherited ones." Although, Beard notes, "...it is possible that even Hamilton and Jefferson would have difficulty formulating a 'new concept' of the national interest in these difficult times."¹⁷

Niebuhr's Legacy

An attempt to create such a new concept was made in the 30s of the 20th century. one of the most prominent American theorists of Protestantism and political thought, Reinhold Niebuhr, whom J. Kennan called "...the father

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶ Beard, Charles Austin. The idea of national interest: an analytical study in American foreign policy.

<https://archive.org/details/ideaofnationalin0000bear>

See also: Robert J. McMahon. Diplomatic History and Policy History: Finding Common Ground / Cambridge Core / Published online by Cambridge University Press: 27 April 2009

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-policy-history/article/abs/diplomatic-history-and-policy-history-finding-common-ground/C1202648C257165564190E34BC368E31>

¹⁷Ibid.

of political realism.”¹⁸ Niebuhr's political philosophy is based on his understanding of the essence of man. In man himself, according to Niebuhr, there is an inevitable contradiction between good and evil, nature and spirit: “The paradox of human existence comes from the fact that he is doomed to oscillate between freedom and necessity, between spirit and nature.”¹⁹ From this follows the inevitability of conflicts, struggles, and contradictions both within the individual and in society. The main problem of man, according to Niebuhr, is the problem of “*security of power*.” A person simultaneously strives not to fall under the power of another and to dominate another. Thus, the instinct of self-preservation is realized in the thirst for power: “Every social group, like every individual, has expansionist claims rooted in the instinct of self-preservation and often going beyond the requirements of the latter.”²⁰ With this contradiction, Niebuhr explained the existence of national interest: “The very concept of national interest follows, on the one hand, from the essence of the political situation and, on the other hand, from the essence of man”.²¹

Niebuhr recognized the objective existence of national interest and viewed it as a problem of political ethics. He believed that an individual who implements the high moral principles of philanthropy and selflessness can sacrifice his interests, but the nation, the state, being a supra-individual community, must act based on its national interests. At the same time, Niebuhr warns against underestimating the importance of the national interest: “In both cases, concern for oneself (or, in the case of a nation, concern exclusively for the national interest) is much stronger than the individual or the nation is inclined to admit. Even universal love and Christian ideals will not be refuted by interests, Niebuhr believed. Based on this, he considered the national interest as the core and key to understanding all international politics, and as a problem of political ethics. Since politics, according to Niebuhr, is

¹⁸Kenneth W. Thompson Beyond National Interest: A Critical Evaluation of Reinhold Niebuhr's Theory of International Politics / The Review of Politics / Published online by Cambridge University Press: 05 August 2009

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¹⁹ Reinhold Niebuhr. Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics.

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²⁰Ibid.

²¹R. Good The National Interest and Political Realism: Niebuhr's "Debate" with Morgenthau and Kennan / Published in Journal of Politics 1 November 1960 DOI:10.2307/2126924 Corpus ID: 153687032

<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/The-National-Interest-and-Political-Realism%3A-with-Good/c511aaaaed86535350a76c508ed238c22ee0d3ad>

immanently immoral, since its core is the national interest, then a counterbalance is needed that does not allow relations between states to turn into a “*war of all against all*” This counterbalance is universal moral principles, a supranational value system, and religion: “People and states cannot protect their interests without constantly declaring that they do this by submitting to some common value system”²². So, there is an obvious contradiction between Niebuhr's two normative judgments: 1) the behavior of states should be based on the national interest and 2) foreign policy should take into account universal moral principles. But such a sharp dialectic between interest and moral norm is present in all of Niebuhr's works. Noting that “...all successful statesmen of modern times have made the national interest the highest and final criterion of their policies,”²³ Niebuhr believed that “...people, turning to values that go beyond the boundaries of the nation, thereby prevent the expression of national interest in too narrow a sense.”²⁴ The same dialectic formed the basis of his idea of what kind of theory is necessary for international relations: “...it is required ... an idealism that takes us beyond the limits of national interest, and a realism that reveals the hypocrisy of every attempt to rise above the national interest.”²⁵

The question of national interest, identified by R. Niebuhr in the interwar period, became a problem of paramount importance for researchers belonging to the school of political realism after the Second World War. The Second World War destroyed faith in the international organization and system that existed before the war. Realists tended to look for the reasons for the outbreak of war in the fact that European states did not follow their national interests. Under such conditions, national interest began to be seen almost as a panacea for all mistakes in foreign policy.

National Interests as Universal Phenomena

The holistic concept of national interest was developed by Hans Morgenthau in his monograph “In Defense of the National Interest” (New York, 1952). Morgenthau takes national interest as the basis for periodizing

²²Reinhold Niebuhr. The structure of nations and empires: a study of the recurring patterns and problems of the political order in relation to the unique problems of the nuclear age.

<https://archive.org/details/structureofnatio0000nieb>

²³Ibidem

²⁴Ibidem

²⁵Ibidem

the history of US foreign policy. He identifies three periods of American foreign policy: realistic (the first decade of the existence of the United States), ideological / 1800-1898), and utopian (1898 - present).

Morgenthau considers the period when the Federalists were in power to be the “*golden age*” of American foreign policy. During this period, political thought and political action were subordinated to the universal standard of national interest.

The second period is characterized, according to Morgenthau, by the fact that “...the paths of political thought and political activity diverged, but remained parallel.”²⁶ In political rhetoric, the concept of “*moral law*” dominated, but political activity, thanks to the “...seemingly happy coincidence of the requirements of the moral law with the requirements of national interest,”²⁷ continued to develop in line with the national interest. In other words, the politicians of the ideological period were moralists in thought and words and realists indeed. A classic example of such a politician is, according to Morgenthau, John Quincy Adams.

Morgenthau considers the beginning of the third period to be the Spanish-American War, when, in his words, “McKinley led the United States as a great world power beyond the Western Hemisphere, without thinking about how this Step relates to American interests, and guided by moral principles completely divorced from national interest.”²⁸ This period was characterized by the opposition of moral principles and national interest. Identifying three forms of utopianism: Wilsonianism, isolationism, and internationalism, Morgenthau characterizes this period as follows: “...radical isolationism, on the one hand, and radical interventionism, on the other, as two different manifestations ... of a foreign policy philosophy that replaces the US national interest with a certain concept of human well-being and abstract principles of universal morality.”²⁹

²⁶Morgenthau H. In Defense of the National Interest, NY, 1952, p. 25.

<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/In-Defense-of-the-National-Interest-Morgenthau-Nasasue/545a1273711b52af6243677a6c3476d371a5fa59>

²⁷Ibidem

²⁸Morgenthau H. What is the National Interest of the United States // The National Interest - Alone or with the Others? The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science Philadelphia, 1952, pp.23-25 (republished in 2021)

<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/What-Is-the-National-Interest-of-the-United-States-Morgenthau/7ecd530f33b4713d408bec72a2b1969a813a20f2>

²⁹Ibidem

Morgenthau names Woodrow Wilson and Secretary of State in the F.D. Roosevelt Administration Cordell Hull as exponents of the political philosophy of the utopian period. Sharply criticizing modern US foreign policy as based on utopian moral principles, Morgenthau comes to the following conclusion: "It can be said with confidence that a foreign policy guided by universal moral principles and throwing the national interest into the background is, in the conditions of modern politics and military affairs, the policy of national suicide - actual or potential."³⁰ This policy constantly fluctuates, according to Morgenthau, between the Scylla of national suicide and the Charybdis of the crusades for the implantation of new ideals by fire and sword.

Morgenthau believes that the only alternative to such a policy is strict adherence to national interests at all stages of developing a foreign policy decision. Only this is a guarantee of a "*high quality*" policy. From this follows the conclusion that there is a need for serious study and determination of US interests. Morgenthau himself uses the principle of the balance of power as the basis for constructing the structure of American interests. In contrast to the traditional geopolitical alignment of interests (predominance in the Western Hemisphere, balance of power in Europe, balance of power in Asia), he builds a new "*balance*" based on the existence of a nuclear confrontation: "The power of the USA and their main rival compared with the power of their current or future allies has become so overwhelming that they, with the help of their weight, determine the balance of power among themselves".³¹ This balance in former system was unable to have a decisive influence on changes in the allegiances of one or another of their allies. The balance of power has been transformed from multipolar to bipolar balance and was seen by realists as a means of preserving peace.

Morgenthau proposed a two-step approach to making foreign policy decisions based on the national interest. The first "*step*" is to establish a "*hierarchical order, the order of priorities among all possible goals of the nation's foreign policy,*" the second is "*an analysis of the available resources*

³⁰Morgenthau H. In Defense of the National Interest, NY, 1952, p. 25. (Republished in 2020)
<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/In-Defense-of-the-National-Interest-Morgenthau-Nasasue/545a1273711b52af6243677a6c3476d371a5fa59>

³¹Ibid.

to achieve each of the designated goals in the light of their importance to the national interest of the United States.”³²

In the hierarchy of national interests, Morgenthau identified the “core” or “vital” interests of the United States, which must be achieved at any cost. This “solid core” includes “...preservation of the physical, political and cultural integrity of the United States.”³³

Morgenthau compares politicians who do not share a commitment to the principle of national interest in foreign policy to “...natural scientists who do not believe in the law of gravity.”³⁴

Morgenthau responded to critics' accusations that the concept of national interest is immoral by asserting that "...the national interest itself has a moral content because the national community is the only source of order and the only defender of minimal moral values in a world suffering from a lack of order and moral consensus beyond the borders of the nation-state.”³⁵ It naturally follows from this that only policies that strictly follow the requirements of national interest are moral.

Morgenthau's views were most characteristic of representatives of the school of “political realism,” who view politics from the point of view of power relations. Recognition of national interest as the basis of foreign policy is the fundamental line that separates “realists” from supporters of the so-called legalistic-moralistic approach or “idealists.” On this occasion, the American researcher Robert Good notes: “It is interesting that the analysis of the national interest unites those who call themselves realists in a united front against the “illusions” of idealists, and at the same time divides them among themselves.”³⁶ What separates supporters of “Realpolitik” is their attitude to

³²Ibid.

³³Morgenthau H. What is the National Interest of the United States // The National Interest - Alone or with the Others? The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science Philadelphia, 1952, pp.23-25 (reprinted in 2021)

<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/What-Is-the-National-Interest-of-the-United-States-Morgenthau/7ecd530f33b4713d408bec72a2b1969a813a20f2>

³⁴Hans Joachim Morgenthau Scientific Man vs. Power Politics.

<https://archive.org/details/scientificmanvsp00morgich>

³⁵Morgenthau H. In Defense of the National Interest, NY, 1952, p. 25. (reprinted in 2022)
<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/In-Defense-of-the-National-Interest-Morgenthau-Nasasue/545a1273711b52af6243677a6c3476d371a5fa59>

³⁶R. Good The National Interest and Political Realism: Niebuhr's "Debate" with Morgenthau and Kennan / Published in Journal of Politics 1 November 1960 DOI:10.2307/2126924 Corpus ID: 153687032
<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/The-National-Interest-and-Political-Realism%3A-with-Good/c511aaaaed86535350a76c508ed238c22ee0d3ad>

the specific definition of what they understand “by national interest” and some nuances in assessing its role in foreign policy.

So, let us turn out that if Morgenthau considered universal moral principles as if hovering in the clouds above earthly realpolitik, then Kennan generally denied the existence of any general moral principles, and therefore the possibility of mutual understanding between states based on morality. According to Kennan, the moral principles of different regimes could be opposite, and therefore unacceptable to each other. Based on the complete relativity of the moral criterion, Kennan concluded that the only criterion based on which the existence of the international system and relations of states was national interest.

The well-known researcher of international relations N. Spykman linked national interest with the geographical factor: “Distinguished by the greatest constancy, geography is the most fundamental factor in the foreign policy of states”³⁷. A. George paid great attention to the concept of national interest and its use in the process of making foreign policy decisions by the US President. He concludes that the adoption of a “*high-quality*”, “*true*” decision is directly dependent on taking into account national interests. A. George also proposed to consider national interests in a strict hierarchy according to their relative importance for the country. When concluding the acceptability of a particular foreign policy action, it was necessary, according to George, not only to take into account the national interest affected but also the “cost,” sometimes also called the “internal price,”³⁸ of this action, including the forces and means necessary for its implementation, as well as the reaction to it of the world community and public opinion within the country.

Defending National Interest over Cold War Game

The concept of “vital national interests,” according to George, included the following fundamental values: “1) physical survival, 2) freedom, 3) economic sufficiency.” Vital interests must be protected and achieved at any

³⁷Helen R. Nicholl, N. Spykman The Geography of Peace / Published in American Journal of International Law / October 1944 (preprinted in 2023) / DOI:10.2307/2192825 Corpus ID: 146975171
<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/The-Geography-of-Peace.-Nicholl-Spykman/a6975043d344cdc4e40f7c38c9534fd5760a3257>

³⁸A. George Presidential Decision-making In Foreign Policy: The Effective Use Of Information And Advice Political Science Published 1980 DOI:10.2307/2149374 Corpus ID: 154289543
<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Presidential-Decisionmaking-In-Foreign-Policy%3A-The-George/69c016d6eb66433c67ee5c8433b44f67af72f0df>

cost. Currently, A. George indicated two threats to the vital interests of the United States: the spread of global critical situations, the threat of which he proposed to fight by all means³⁹. Opponents of the school of political realism on the issue of national interest were supporters of the legalistic-moralistic approach to the problems of international relations.

They recognized the existence of objective national interests among states but considered it completely unacceptable to base foreign policy on what was, from their point of view, an immoral national interest. Representatives of this trend believe that foreign policy should be much broader than simply protecting national interests and that when making a decision, a politician should be guided primarily by internationally recognized moral norms and norms of international law.

They do not accept the view of the world community as an arena of power struggle. Idealists propose their scheme of the international community as a kind of legal supranational state, where there would be collective bodies with broad powers in the image and likeness of the UN. This vision of the world is typical of a very large circle of American international relations scholars and political figures of the post-war period.

One of the leading researchers of the idealistic trend, Abraham Feller, in a speech at a conference of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, specially dedicated to the problems of national interest in foreign policy, subjected. criticism of Morgenthau's concept as not corresponding to the realities of the modern world: "A foreign policy devoted to the diligent regulation of power interests by professional diplomats may justify itself for a limited time in a limited area, but it will never receive the support of the popular masses striving for a better world."⁴⁰ Hopes for "improvement peace" Feller places the primary responsibility on the United Nations and similar collective bodies, as well as on policies based on legal and moral principles: "I must state my deep conviction that in the long run, this "legalistic-moralistic approach" However clumsy this phrase may seem, applied disinterestedly and with a realistic regard for its short-term limitations, whether we like it or not,

³⁹Ibidem

⁴⁰Cornelia Navari Hans Morgenthau and the National Interest Ethics & International Affairs 30(01):47-54 March 2016 DOI:10.1017/S089267941500060X

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/297753634_Hans_Morgenthau_and_the_National_Interest

will remain the only acceptable direction of an honest and effective foreign policy."⁴¹

Idealists also tend to view policies based on national interests as policies that do not take into account the public opinion of the country's population. P. Corbett believes that by participating in public opinion polls, a person expresses his moral attitudes, general values, in particular, and his views on certain foreign policy problems. And since moral values, according to realists, should not influence foreign policy, Corbett concludes that politics based on national interest is isolated from the sentiments and opinions of the citizens of the state. In his opinion, politics based on national interest is outdated, as The classical principle of the balance of power is also outdated. Strong supranational structures are what is required to strengthen the international situation, Corbett believes. "The public's demand for strong international organizations stems in large part from the fact that traditional diplomacy, with its reliance on non-institutional balances of power, has been unable to prevent war"⁴². Hence the conclusion about the need to create a strong international organization on the principle of a national government.

In addition to the idealistic direction of the concept of national interest, one can also distinguish the so-called "subjectivists," as James Rosenau calls them. Unlike idealists, they deny the existence of any objective interest in the state. Subjectivists view society as an infinite number of individual and group interests, none of which can objectively prevail over the other.⁴³ Therefore, the definition of national interest is always purely subjective and expresses the interests of the social group to which this or that political figure belongs. According to subjectivists, the concept of national interest is needed only to explain and policy analysis.

This position is most clearly expressed in the monograph by E. Furniss and R. Snyder, "Introduction to American Foreign Policy." The authors, in particular, write: "... it is clear that national interests are subjective in nature. Thus, there is no such thing as a "real national" interest that can be identified

⁴¹Ibidem

⁴²P. E. Corbett National Interest, International Organization, and American Foreign Policy / Published online by Cambridge University Press / World Politics Journal / 18 July 2011
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/world-politics/article/abs/national-interest-international-organization-and-american-foreign-policy/37B25A1876A658EAFE8C78BAB66C2753>

⁴³James N. Rosenau The scientific study of foreign policy. <https://archive.org/details/scientificstudyo0000rose>

by an objective observer. National interest is what the nation, that is, the politician making the decision, decides to call it such.”⁴⁴

Despite, however, the perception of national interest as purely subjective, representatives of this trend, as Rosenau notes, still recognize the need to analyze foreign policy and international relations in terms of national interest. Debates on this issue relate mainly to the post-war period. But, as J. Rosenau rightly noted, “...national interest has a much longer history as an instrument of action than as a means of analysis.”⁴⁵

The entire history of the United States before the Second World War shows that, although not yet a means of analysis, national interest was present in the formation of foreign policy and specific actions. Let us very briefly consider from this point of view the use of the concept of “national interest” in the post-war history of the United States.

This is how G. Morgenthau assesses the participation of the United States in the First and Second World Wars: “Our entry into World Wars I and II, whatever its moral and idealistic justifications, had its solid basis in national interest, in the need to maintain the balance of power in Europe, and in case of its violation, the need to restore it.”⁴⁶

Realists had a negative attitude towards the idea of unconditional surrender of Germany and Japan, because they considered war to the bitter end, until the enemy was destroyed, to be a purely idealistic approach. In addition, the excessive weakening of Germany and Japan and the strengthening of the main rival by that time upset the balance of power in Europe. W. Churchill, whom realists value very highly, warned against such a course of events. It is known that soon after the end of the war, the United States and its NATO partners began to pursue a course for the speedy restoration of West Germany and its revival as a world power. In this light, J. Harsh’s report at a conference in Philadelphia on US national interests entitled

⁴⁴E. S. Furniss, R. Snyder An introduction to American foreign policy Published in Political Science (1955, reprinted in 2023) Corpus ID: 152993985 <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/An-introduction-to-American-foreign-policy-Furniss-Snyder/2eb16eee1faed2d8a4fe824c561b551cb4f7a719>

⁴⁵James N. Rosenau The scientific study of foreign policy. <https://archive.org/details/scientificstudy0000rose>

⁴⁶Morgenthau H. What is the National Interest of the United States // The National Interest - Alone or with the Others? The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science Philadelphia, 1952, pp.26-27 (reprinted in 2020)

<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/What-Is-the-National-Interest-of-the-United-States-Morgenthau/7ecd530f33b4713d408bec72a2b1969a813a20f2>

“Can Germany Reliably Contain Russia?”⁴⁷ sounds very characteristic, where Germany is assigned the role of a deterrent.

Most of the US foreign policy actions in Europe after the war were aimed at preventing the strengthening of the bipolar rival. The most striking example of such a policy is the Marshall Plan. Post-war history also shows that despite the very high degree of ideologization of foreign policy rhetoric and international relations themselves, the United States sought, where possible, to adhere to the “golden rule” of the balance of power policy and to achieve its goals through the hands of other states.

From the point of view of the concept of national interest, US policy in China deserves special attention. China has traditionally been considered the key to the strategic balance of power in Asia. After WWII, the US government devoted all its efforts to supporting Chiang Kai-shek to maintain China's pro-American orientation. But, faced with the inevitability of the collapse of the Chiang Kai-shek regime, the United States began negotiations with the Soviets, for which it was subjected to serious criticism from the right in the country. The US's ambivalent position did not bring success in the negotiations, and China was "lost" to the US. G. Truman's remark on this matter is typical: “Only a 2-million-strong American army could have saved Chiang Kai-shek, and this would have meant the beginning of the Third World War.”⁴⁸ However, in attempts to restore favor

for themselves, the balance of power in Asia was not terminated. Shortly after the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, on December 30, 1949, Presidential Directive NSC 48-2 was signed, which set the following goal: “The United States must use all appropriate political, psychological and economic measures to exploit any discrepancy between the Chinese Government and their allies.”⁴⁹ All post-war US administrations adhered to this policy towards China, one or another shade. The conclusion reached by the participants in a conference on US national interests, held by the Wilson Center for International Studies in 1980-1981, after discussing the problems of

⁴⁷S.Burchill The National Interest in International Relations Theory Political Science Published 2005
<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/The-National-Interest-in-International-Relations-Burchill/b6849a827cbf4e3bf54baddcff3e01d70cb6dfbd>

⁴⁸The National Interests of the United States in foreign policy / Seven Discussions at the Wilson Center / National Interests of the United States in Foreign Policy / December 1980 - February 1981 (reprinted in 2017)
https://openlibrary.org/books/OL3864171M/The_National_interests_of_the_United_States_in_foreign_policy

⁴⁹Ibid.

the East Asian region, is typical. In the conference materials we read: "The speakers insistently called attention to the fundamental US interest in preventing any one power from dominating Asia; they proposed a policy of "anti-hegemony" against any coalition of forces. which could push the US out of the Asian sphere.⁵⁰

With the emergence of new political thinking in the international arena, the idea of a certain revision of the foundations of international politics appeared, replacing the "*balance of power*" with a "*balance of interests*," which is very reminiscent of Wilson's already mentioned idea of "the dissolution of the interests of individual states in the general interest of a uniting humanity" in post-war conditions. But here are the conclusions that H. Kissinger made in May 1989 in the article "In Search of a New Balance of Power in Asia": "In this new world, the United States and China had a mutual interest in preventing the dominance of the main rival or any other country over the Eurasian mainland," and further, "... regardless of the development of the internal situation, the geopolitical aspect of Chinese-American relations remains unshakable."⁵¹

Another striking example of the use of the concept of national interest in foreign policy is the US policy in Vietnam. Realists have traditionally classified Vietnam as a secondary and even secondary US interest. Therefore, from the beginning of American aggression in Vietnam, representatives of the school of political realism sharply criticized government policies as inconsistent with the national interests of the United States.

National Interest vs. Balance of Power

According to Morgenthau, the war against the spread of communism in Vietnam is not a vital US interest but leads to a huge depletion of the country's resources. Morgenthau considered this war a classic example of a "crusade" against world communism." 58 To the policy of intervention in regional conflicts, the "realists" put forward an alternative to reducing US involvement in other regions of the world. Kissinger expressed this glue this way: "Regional groupings supported by the United States must assume primary

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Kissinger, Henry. On China / N.Y. 2012 Penguin Publishers /
https://archive.org/details/onchina0000kiss_m8r0

See also: Martin Indyk. Order Before Peace / Kissinger's Middle East Diplomacy and Its Lessons for Today / November/December 2021 Published on October 13, 2021 / <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2021-10-13/henry-kissinger-middle-east-peace>

responsibility for their immediate areas, while the United States focuses on the overall objectives of preserving world order rather than on regional activities."⁵²

It was this approach that formed the basis of the Nixon Doctrine. Its essence, he told Congress on February 18, 1970, "...is that the United States will participate in the defense and development of our allies and friends, but America cannot and will not develop all the plans, all the programs, carry out all the decisions and assume full responsibility for the defense of the free countries of the world. We will assist in cases where there is a real need for it and when it is in our interests... Our interests should determine our obligations, and not vice versa."⁵³

The Nixon administration generally attached great importance to the principle of the balance of power in interstate relations. The "realists" position about the limited importance of force in the nuclear age was used as the basis for the formation of its foreign policy course. There was an important conclusion that "...the existing balance of nuclear power dictates the need to place the main emphasis on negotiations, and not on confrontation."⁵⁴ Nixon's reliance on politicians such as G. Kissinger, W. Rogers, and other representatives of the school of political realism made it possible to pursue a policy of détente and revise many of the provisions of the general foreign policy strategy pursued by previous administrations.

The Ford administration also declared its commitment to the course of detente, relying on the balance of power in the international arena. Ford's "Pacific Doctrine" stated that "the balance of power in the Pacific is essential to the United States and other countries in the region" and that "American power is fundamental to any stable balance of power in the Pacific."⁵⁵

The policy of the Carter administration is characterized by the fact that, although the rhetoric constantly contained calls for the protection of national interests, the foreign policy course was formed rather on a moralistic-idealistic basis. The thesis of protecting Human Rights was placed at the forefront of

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³ US Foreign Policy for the 1970's. A New Strategy for Peace. A Report of President Nixon to the Congress. February 18, 1970, p. 99. (reprinted in 2020)

<https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/nixon/e5/54804.htm>

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵ President Ford Pacific Doctrine. The Department of State News Release. December 7, 1975 (reprinted in 2021), p. 2. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v38p1/d65>

foreign policy, and the situation with human rights in a particular country often served as a criterion for pursuing friendly or unfriendly policies. This policy was happily accepted and brought certain results in Latin America and other third-world countries. But in the United States itself, the Carter administration was subject to fierce criticism from conservative groups in Congress. N. Podhoretz, a political scientist known for his right-wing convictions, calls Carter's foreign policy "capitulation."⁵⁶

He accuses Carter of failing to maintain US military superiority over the former rival, of "losing" Iran, Nicaragua, Panama, and other regions important to the US, and of reducing US influence in the area of developing countries.

Ronald Reagan's first presidency was very ideological, foreign policy was charged with the spirit of a crusade against world communism. But thanks to the serious changes that took place in Eurasia and the ability of the Republican administration to revise its ideological positions, the foreign policy of the second Reagan administration was more in line with the realities of the world situation in the second half of the 1980s.

In recent years, some politicians have put forward the concept of a "balance of interests" instead of a "balance of power." It has not yet received a thorough scientific substantiation, but it seems that maintaining a balance of interests that is not based on a balance of power is not very realistic. Recognizing and highly appreciating the achievements of new political thinking in changing the situation in the world in a favorable direction, leading American political scientists and politicians do not, however, abandon the traditional understanding of the essence of international relations in the spirit of political realism. Such recognized authorities as Z. Brzezinski, H. Kissinger, R. McNamara, and others constantly pay attention to this. R. McNamara 1990-th published his work "Blundering into Disaster: Surviving the First Century of the Nuclear Age,"⁵⁷ where he tried to give an analysis of the entire post-war US policy towards its former rival and concludes the goals of American foreign policy: "We need a policy that would protect our vital interests, would advocate consistency in action and provide an opportunity to positively influence policy."⁵⁸ The basis of international relations, according to

⁵⁶Podhoretz N. The Present Danger. Do We Have the Will to Reverse the Decline of American Power NY, 1980 (reprinted in 2020), pp. 89-91 <https://archive.org/details/presentdangerdo00podh/page/n5/mode/2up>

⁵⁷ Robert S. McNamara Blundering into Disaster: Surviving the First Century of the Nuclear Age / N.Y. 1986 (reprinted in 2017) / <https://archive.org/details/blunderingintodi0000mcna>

⁵⁸Ibid.

McNamara, "...should be a stable balance of power at the lowest possible level."⁵⁹

In fact, in the policies of all post-war US administrations, both Republican and Democratic, the theme of national interest is heard. Politics does not move away from its traditional basis. But at the same time, in US political science circles there is a constant discussion about the advisability of using the concept of national interest in foreign policy.

Main Aspects of the Concept's Criticism

In the article "National Interest", written for the "Encyclopedia of Social Sciences", American scholar James Rosenau argued that "...despite statements made in defense of the concept and its certain usefulness, the concept of national interest has not lived up to the high hopes placed on it as a means of analysis."⁶⁰ The main difficulty in applying the concept to the analysis of international relations and foreign policy, according to Rosenau, is that the national interest is "rooted in values." Recognizing the objective nature of national interest, Rosenau and many other researchers note a large amount of subjectivity in determining the direct national interest of the United States by one or another political figure in a given situation. Rosenau writes in this regard: "The definition of national interest can never be anything other than a system of inferences emanating from the analytical and value base of the politician."⁶¹ Moreover, the author concludes that the concept of national interest as a tool of analysis has already ceased to exist, because "...existing global trends (toward interdependence of states - author) are increasingly reducing the fruitfulness of attempts to explain international behavior in terms of national interest."⁶²

The criticism of the concept of national interest, especially from quantitative behavioral scientists, is that national interest is not measurable and that it is impossible to compare two policy options in terms of their relevance to the national interest. The concept of national interest, as representing a simplified picture of international relations, is also criticized by adherents of a multifactor approach to political problems. F. Pearson and J,

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰James N. Rosenau The scientific study of foreign policy / National Interest / <https://archive.org/details/scientificstudyo0000rose>

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid.

Rochester highlight the following shortcomings of the concept: 1) a simplified understanding of the essence of international relations, reducing all their diversity and complexity to the narrowly understood interests of states; 2) the uncertainty of the term itself; 3) the lack of identical criteria for defense sufficiency in different states; 4) the possibility of the existence of a situation where the main and secondary interests of the state may turn out to be incompatible; 5) "the national interest, as defined by the government, may benefit the nation as a whole, but may benefit only privileged segments of the nation"; 6) some states may include such concepts as "power" and "prestige" in their national interest. The authors conclude that, given these problems, "...the concept of national interest raises as many new questions as it solves."⁶³

Another foreign policy researcher, Cornelia Navari, does not see anything other than certain values in the concept of national interest. "It should now be clear that when we talk about national interest, we are talking about values; values shared by several, many, perhaps even all members of a given society."⁶⁴ Therefore, Navari believes, there may be completely different definitions of national interest. Thus, she gives the example of Osgood's definition of national interest through the concepts of "self-sufficiency, prestige, increase."⁶⁵

Some critics suggest that shared moral values must be included in the formulation or development of a decision so that the national interest is not defined too narrowly. Criticism of the concept of national interest was born along with the concept itself. Throughout the post-war period, certain provisions of the concept were questioned and criticized. However, it should be noted that all critics of the national interest do not deny the advisability of using this concept when making foreign policy decisions.

Thus, there has been a renewed emphasis in academic circles on the conceptual perception of national interest. New articles and studies appear, and scientific conferences are held by the Wilson Center for International

⁶³ Pearson F., Rochester J. International Relations. The Global Condition in the Late 20th Century. NY, 1988 (reprinted in 2015), pp. 149-151.

https://openlibrary.org/books/OL7456568M/International_Relations_Global_Condition_in_the_Late_20th_CE

⁶⁴ Cornelia Navari Hans Morgenthau and the National Interest Ethics & International Affairs 30(01):47-54 March 2016 DOI:10.1017/S089267941500060X

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/297753634_Hans_Morgenthau_and_the_National_Interest

⁶⁵Ibid.

Studies on the practical application of the concept of national interest. Prominent experts from six major regions of the world were invited: Central Asia, East Asia, Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Europe. The purpose of the discussion was to determine the immediate interests of the United States in each region. The course of discussions showed that the concepts of national interest and balance of power remain decisive for the analysis of international relations.

In recent years, the Miller Center for Public Affairs at the University of Virginia held a series of workshops and conferences on the theory and practice of national interest policy, where most of the speakers considered the national interest in the spirit of the traditional realist approach as the basis of foreign policy. The participants concluded that a continuous study of US national interests is necessary, taking into account the new international situation, and further development of the application of the criterion of national interest c. the process of forming a foreign policy course.

In a contemporary and yet extremely discrepant situation in international relations, the US has been trying to defend its vital national interests and influence in the Middle East. However, establishing strategic partnerships with Saudi Arabian and Gulf rivals may be challenging. Last year, during the Gulf Cooperation Council meeting in the kingdom, President Joe Biden insisted that the United States would not create a gap that might be filled by China, Russia, or Iran. The US administration has downplayed the importance of the recent Saudi-Iranian deal to reestablish diplomatic ties via Chinese mediation.⁶⁶ It seems to be worried about China's increasing influence in the oil-rich Persian Gulf area and across the Middle East. The United States remains committed to developing a strong presence in the area to prevent its main global rival China from obtaining access to vital energy resources during war and to protect its allies.

Such approaches in the national security measures once again confirm the special role of national interests in understanding the importance of key principles of United States policy in the modern world.

⁶⁶ Abdullah Baabood The Future of the Gulf Cooperation Council Amid Saudi-Emirati Rivalry / October 30, 2023 / <https://carnegie-mec.org/2023/10/30/future-of-gulf-cooperation-council-amid-saudi-emirati-rivalry-pub-90867>

Conclusion

An analysis of American scientific literature devoted to foreign policy issues, works, and speeches of prominent political figures shows that the concept of 'national interest' has firmly entered the political lexicon. Even though it is sometimes used to justify 'this or that foreign policy action, its main function is considered by researchers and politicians see it as "leading" a politician to a "high-quality" foreign policy decision, in the possible use of the criterion of national interest in a situation of choosing from several possible policy options, in the broader sense of using national interest as a foreign policy concept that makes it possible to make the international system more stable, and international relations are more predictable."⁶⁷

In a situation where international relations are losing their former ideologization, more opportunities to explore and analysis for the objective national interests of states as the basis for a realistic and balanced foreign policy of all members of the world community.

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ТРАНСФОРМАЦИИ ИДЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИХ КОНЦЕПТОВ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ПАРТИЙ США

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Абстракт: в статье рассматриваются идеологические аспекты формирования и эволюции политических партий США и их отражение в политике президентов. Партийные идеологии рассматриваются как три основных компонента: логически связанные идеи и принципы, их особенности, а также их устойчивость и преемственность, природа которых рассматривается в рамках конкретно-исторических событий и интересов социальных групп и социально-экономической ситуации внутри страны. Вопросы деятельности политических партий как элемента американской политики анализируются сквозь призму эволюции их идеологических концептов и адаптации партий к изменениям в политической системе.

Ключевые слова: Политические партии США, Республикаанская партия, Демократическая партия, Конгресс США, президент, социальная повестка, либерализм, консерватизм, поляризация, конфликтность, независимые, избиратели.

Текущее противостояние Республиканской и Демократической партий в Конгрессе 118-го созыва в вопросах принятия законов о финансировании правительства, утверждения пакета зарубежной помощи и мер по преодолению миграционного кризиса вызвало серьёзное обострение партийной поляризации в США, фактически парализовавшего политический процесс в стране. Для понимания глубинных причин этого явления необходимо обратиться к истокам американской истории.

Политические партии США имеют более чем двухсотлетнюю историю, на протяжении которой значительно менялась расстановка политических сил, происходили кардинальные трансформации партийной системы. За время существования Соединенных Штатов там сменилось пять партийно-политических систем (1790 - 1810-е; 1820 - 1840-е; 1850 - 1890-е; 1890 - 1930-е годы; с 1930-х годов до наших дней). При этом третья, четвертая и пятая системы включали в себя одних и тех же участников - Демократическую и Республиканскую партии.

Взаимодействие этих партий, а также отношения между ними, политической системой и обществом в целом в наибольшей мере воплотили модель, характерную для американской двухпартийной системы. На всех исторических этапах данная модель занимала одно из главных, а нередко - и центральное место в политической жизни США. Однако проблема стабильности партийной системы остается одной из наиболее актуальных, о чем свидетельствует текущая турбулентность в отношениях двух основных партий страны.

Начальный период партийного строительства

Обращаясь к истокам формирования политической системы США, следует отметить, что политические партии стали неожиданным явлением, поскольку в ранней американской политической мысли доминировал мощный идеологический антипартийный настрой. Считалось, что они ослабляли политическую независимость граждан, требуя подчинения диктату партий, которые порождали конфликты, в то время как общество нуждалось в консенсусе и конструктивных способах решения стоящих перед ним проблем. Так, один из «отцов-основателей»¹ США Джеймс Мэдисон в «Федералисте №10»² утверждал, что новая Конституция создана для того, чтобы «сокрушать и умерять разгул фракций, которые объединены и охвачены общим увлечением или интересом, противным правам других граждан или постоянным и совокупным интересам всего общества».

Настороженное отношение к фракционности было характерно и для первого президента США Джорджа Вашингтона, который особо отмечал, что «любые союзы и ассоциации, созданные под любым уважительным предлогом с действительным намерением осуществлять руководство или контроль над конституционными властями способствуют возникновению фракционной борьбы и превращению государственных органов власти в зеркало, отражающее непродуманные и нелепые прожекты фракций, а не в орган реализации разумных планов,

¹ Отцы–основатели (The Founding Fathers) – группа американских государственных деятелей, сыгравших ключевую роль в основании и становлении американской государственности, в том числе в завоевании независимости и создании принципов новой политической системы.

² Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, James Madison, The Federalist, 2nd edition, Liberty Fund, August 2001.

поддерживаемых всеобщим мнением и отвечающих взаимным интересам»³.

Результатом таких взглядов «отцов-основателей» стало то, что партии вообще не предусмотрены Конституцией США и, соответственно, не были вписаны в формирующийся политический строй страны. В то же время, верные принципам свободы личности, «отцы-основатели» не наложили запрет на формирование партий, поскольку были уверены, что при том разделении властных полномочий, которое прописано в Конституции, партии не смогут оказывать значительного влияния на функционирование политической системы.

По иронии судьбы Вашингтон, убежденный противник фракционных размежеваний, назначил на два ключевых поста в правительстве - министра финансов и государственного секретаря - создателей двух будущих национальных партий-соперниц - Александра Гамильтонса и Томаса Джефферсона, отстаивавших разные пути развития США: Гамильтон ориентировался на английскую модель промышленно-финансового развития страны, а Джефферсон - на французскую плантационно-аграрную. Партию Гамильтонса и его сторонников стали именовать Федералистской, а их оппонентов во главе с Джефферсоном называли то республиканцами, то демократами, но в конечном итоге за ними закрепилось имя Республиканско-демократической партии. Так зародилась двухпартийная модель, остающаяся и поныне основой американской политической конкуренции.

До 1796 г. формирование обеих партий шло через Конгресс США. Большинство делегатов, прибывавших в национальный Конгресс, не имели четких партийных привязанностей. Лидеры республиканцев и федералистов активно склоняли их на свою сторону. В 1796 г. Республиканская фракция в Конгрессе США впервые выдвинула национального кандидата на президентских выборах. С этого времени президентские выборы, как и выборы в Конгресс, стали вестись на основе партийного соперничества.

Взаимоотношениям партий были присущи как консенсус в вопросах фундаментальных основ общества и государства, так и альтернативность в выборе целей и способов упрочения американской цивилизации. Консенсус, означающий согласие между партиями в

³ Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the United States. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform. 2012.

отношении основ американского общества, обеспечивал его эволюционное развитие и преемственность институтов. Альтернативность заключалась в предложении двумя партиями отличающихся способов экономического роста, социальной и политической стабильности и утверждала конкуренцию на политическом рынке, ослабляя конкурентоспособность мелких политических «продавцов». Эти два основания остались краеугольным камнем американской двухпартийной системы.

Разногласия первых национальных партий не были антагонистическими. Смена федералистов республиканцами-демократами у руля власти в 1800 г. носила мирный конституционный характер и сопровождалась как обновлением, так и преемственностью общественно-политического курса. Элитарные взгляды федералистов постепенно теряли массовую поддержку, и партия растворилась, хотя многие институты и структуры, созданные ею, выжили в дальнейшем, а экономическая политика Гамильтона повлияла на многие поколения американских политических лидеров. Джефферсон и Республиканско-демократическая партия на долгие годы взяла под контроль Конгресс. Семейные кланы, руководившие политическими фракциями колониального периода, уступили лидерство в обеих партиям национальной идеально-политической элите. *Олигархическая демократия* колониального образца сменилась *элитарной демократией*⁴. Этот период получил название «эра доброго согласия» (*The Era of Good Feelings*).

Вторая партийная система

В 1824 г. прославившийся в войнах с индейцами и мексиканцами генерал Эндрю Джексон и его сторонники создали в Конгрессе фракцию, которая называла себя *демократическими республиканцами* (в противовес республиканским демократам), ставшей позже Демократической партией. В 1828 г. после избрания Джексона президентом США страна вступила в эпоху «джексоновской демократии». Она продолжалась около 20 лет и ознаменовала начало эры массовой политики. Резко возросла активность рядовых избирателей, избирательный избиратель увеличился в четыре раза. От предшествующих систем эта отличалась, во-первых, более полной организацией партий, когда комитеты по организации и проведению

⁴ Ibid.

выборов создавались на всех уровнях - от общенационального до округов, городов и районов. С 1832 г. все они собирались вместе на национальном съезде (конвенте), который проходил раз в четыре года, где делегаты согласовывали предвыборную программу, разрабатывали партийную платформу, выдвигали кандидатов и организовывали предвыборную деятельность партии, необходимую для привлечения избирателей на избирательные участки⁵. Конвенты демократизировали избирательный процесс.

«Джексоновская эпоха» закрепила основу функционирования партий - консенсус в отношении американских устоев, которая укоренилась в эпоху первой двухпартийной системы. Демократы и Виги⁶ согласовали запрет на обсуждение главной взрывоопасной проблемы - рабства. Но во взаимоотношениях партий присутствовала и альтернативность в выборе общественно-политического курса. Ядро требований Демократической партии составляли *равенство возможностей и антимонополизм*. Партийные платформы демократов постоянно подчеркивали приверженность либеральным и демократическим идеалам, в то время как платформа вигов брала под защиту консервативные принципы.

Третья партийная система

В ходе и после войны США с Мексикой (1845-1848 гг.) политики-северяне противились распространению рабства на завоеванные территории, а южане его одобряли. Двухпартийная система «демократы-виги» не смогла найти выход из тупика и стала разрушаться. В середине 1854 г. часть вигов и демократов из свободных штатов объявили о создании Республиканской партии, потребовавшей недопущения рабства на новых территориях. Образование этой партии нанесло чувствительный удар по прежним партиям. Утвердилась Третья двухпартийная система: антирабовладельческая Республианская партия против Демократической, склонившейся к защите рабовладения.

⁵ McCormick, Richard L. *The Second American Party System: Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1967.

⁶ Виги - политическая партия, существовавшая в США 1832-1856 годах. Партия возникла как оппозиция президенту Джексону и Демократической партии на основе коалиции Национальной республиканской партии, Антимасонской партии и других более мелких партий антиджексонистов. В частности, Виги поддерживали главенство Конгресса над исполнительной властью и продвигали программу модернизации и экономического протекционизма. Партии Вигов принадлежали два президента США: Уильям Гаррисон (избран в 1840 г.) и Закари Тейлор (избран в 1848 г.).

После завершения Гражданской войны между Севером и Югом и началом Реконструкции, характерной бурным промышленным развитием и появлением первых крупных корпораций, наиболее притягательным властным местом для финансово-промышленной элиты стал американский Сенат: к концу XIX в. в Сенате заседало 25 миллионеров - почти треть его состава⁷.

Стремительно возрастало финансирование корпорациями обеих главных партий. Деньги стали важнейшим фактором избирательных кампаний⁸. Произошло перерождение республиканцев из коалиции различных социальных сил, в том числе нижних и средних слоев, каковой она была в эпоху Гражданской войны и Реконструкции, в выразительницу по преимуществу интересов финансово-промышленных кругов. Одновременно, Демократическая партия, вернувшая себе господство в расистских южных штатах, в национальном масштабе во все большей степени превращалась в выразителя воли аграрной элиты.

Четвертая партийная система

В руководстве и практической деятельности обеих партий возобладал авторитарно-вождистский стиль, ставший известным как *боссизм*. Опорами обеих партий стали разветвленные и дисциплинированные партийные организации, созданные в каждом из штатов, во всех крупных и многих небольших городах. Боссы и их приближенные составляли неофициальные объединения партийной верхушки, направлявшие всю деятельность партии, и смогли подчинить своему влиянию национальные партийные конвенты. Важную задачу нового президента боссы видели в дележе политической «добычи» (*system of spoils*), как со времен Джексона называли распределение государственных должностей победившей партией. Подобно лидерам бизнеса, партийные боссы выделяли в качестве национального политического олимпа Сенат США.

Удельный вес в политической власти демократических и плюралистических начал резко сократился. Государство подчинялось интересам верхних слоев, которые активно приватизировали власть, придавая ей олигархический характер. В ответ в конце XIX в.

⁷ Noel, Hans. Political Ideologies and Political Parties in America. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2014.

⁸ McCormick, Richard L., Ibid.

американское фермерство организовало различные протестные движения - грейнджееры, гринбекеры, популисты - требовавшие демократизации политики. Наибольшего успеха добилась в 1890-е гг. Популистская партия, возродившая традицию сильной «третьей» партии и выдвинувшая программу прямой демократии: прямые выборы сенаторов, вице-президента и президента, тайное выдвижение рядовыми избирателями кандидатов, право на отзыв конгрессменов и судей. Недоверие избирателей к двум ведущим партиям выразилось также и в набиравшем силу рабочем движении: Социалистическая партия, возникшая в 1901 г. и сменившая популистов в качестве ведущей «третьей» партии, добилась ощутимого влияния на политическую жизнь страны.

В обеих ведущих партиях появились лидеры, осознавшие, что сохранение их позиций на политическом рынке требует обновления предлагавшегося американским массам политического «товара». Первым в качестве национального лидера-реформатора выступил президент Т. Рузвельт (1901 - 1909 гг.). После прихода к власти Т.Рузвельт начал следовать модели *авторитарного президенства*. В ее основе лежало представление о президенте как о главном лидере нации, возвышающемся над всеми ветвями власти, уравновешивающим и цементирующим разные общественные интересы и твердо воплощающим свою линию в жизнь. Натолкнувшись на сопротивление законодательной и судебной ветвей реформаторским начинаниям, Т.Рузвельт стал практиковать частые встречи с массовыми аудиториями рядовых американцев, поддержка которых позволяла ему представлять свои предложения в качестве «гласа народа». На президентских выборах 1912 г. он баллотировался от созданной им Прогрессистской партии⁹, но, хотя и набрал 27% голосов, потерпел поражение.

После победы демократов на выборах 1912 г. судьба политических реформ была связана с деятельностью президента В. Вильсона (1913–1921 гг.). К важнейшим реформам этого периода относится 16-я и 17-я поправки к Конституции США. Большое количество демократических реформ было принято на уровне штатов: 22 штата внесли в свои

⁹ Прогрессисты - политическое движение, которое ставит перед собой цель прогресса и реформ в обществе и правительстве. Прогрессисты выступают за социальную справедливость, расширение прав граждан, защиту окружающей среды, регулирование экономики и более активную роль правительства в решении социальных проблем. Поддерживают социальные программы, права меньшинств, равноправие полов и более прогрессивные налоговые политики.

конституции поправки, наделявшие избирателей правом законодательной инициативы и референдума в собственных штатах. К 1917 г. законы о прямых первичных выборах кандидатов в президенты США («праймериз») были одобрены в половине штатов.

Радикализация общества, характерная после Первой мировой войны для многих стран мира, включая западные страны, в США оказалась наименьшей. Американское общество, за небольшими исключениями, отнеслось к левой альтернативе отрицательно. На президентских выборах 1920 г. американцы высказали поддержку традиционно индивидуалистической платформе Республиканской партии и её кандидату Уильяму Гардингу, провозгласившему лозунг возвращения к «нормальности» (*«return to normalcy»*), под которой понимался капитализм в социал-дарвинистском варианте, а не либерально-прогрессистский порядок, вышедший на авансцену в период перед Первой мировой войной. Предвыборные платформы Республиканской партии, находившейся у власти в 1920-е гг., лаконично раскрывали справедливость традиционалистских индивидуалистических постулатов. Демократическая партия не смогла предложить альтернативы политике республиканцев. Ряд лидеров демократов находились в поиске новой идеологической доктрины, но в результате приходили к эклектической позиции, которая перекликалась с консервативно-индивидуалистическими принципами Республиканской партии¹⁰.

Пятая партийная система

Триумфальное шествие консерватизма¹¹ и Республиканской партии было прервано только беспрецедентным по глубине экономическим кризисом (*The Great Depression*), разразившимся осенью 1929 г. Осенью 1932 г. в ходе президентских выборов кандидат от Демократической партии Франклин Рузвельт победил, предложив нации либерально-прогрессистскую альтернативу курсу Республиканской партии. Кандидат-республиканец Герберт Гувер дал такую оценку платформе

¹⁰ Noel, Hans, Ibid.

¹¹ Консерватизм - политическая и социальная идеология, которая придерживается традиционных ценностей, институтов и обычаев. Консерватизм подчеркивает роль правительства в поддержании порядка и стабильности, защиту частной собственности, поддержку традиционных семейных ценностей и ограничение государственного вмешательства в экономику.

оппонента: «Данная кампания представляет нечто большее, нежели соперничество двух партий, это соперничество двух философий правления»¹².

Ф.Рузвельт признавал реальным для своей страны выбор между двумя школами мысли - либеральной и консервативной¹³. В отличие от консерватизма, отдававшего развитие США в распоряжение «естественных сил», либерализм¹⁴ в рузвельтовской трактовке защищал целенаправленные усилия государства по преобразованию общества и объединению вокруг него разных классов и слоев. Эта трактовка, тождественная социальному либерализму, оформилась еще в «Прогрессивную эру», но при Ф. Рузвельте она окончательно стала отождествляться с либерализмом в целом, в то время как классический либерализм приобрел черты консерватизма. Его поддержала даже значительная часть оппозиционной Республиканской партии, исходившая из того, что страна столкнулась с угрозой национальной катастрофы, и Ф.Рузвельту должен быть предоставлен шанс на смелые эксперименты по спасению американской цивилизации.

На ведущей позиции среди оппонентов Ф.Рузвельта обосновались «левые» и «правые» радикалы, вернувшие к жизни «третью» политические партии¹⁵. Ф.Рузвельт осознал силу и опасность радикализма, как в правых, так и в левых формах. С весны 1935 г. он запустил рискованные социальные реформы Нового курса, провел законы о пособиях по безработице, пенсиях по старости, широком признании прав профсоюзов, предложил резко повысить налоги на корпорации и мультилионеров. К президентским выборам 1936 г. он

¹² Freidel, Frank. Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Rendezvous with Destiny. Boston, 1990.

¹³ Nothing to Fear: The Selected Addresses of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 1932–1945. Cambridge, 1946.

¹⁴ Либерализм - философское и общественно-политическое течение, которое подчеркивает важность индивидуальных свобод, прав человека, ограниченного правительственного вмешательства и свободного рынка. Важнейшими составляющими в либерализме признаются свобода слова, свобода совести, право на легальное участие в политической борьбе.

¹⁵ Доминирование двух основных партий не исключало существование третьих партий. Напротив, их в США всегда было много и спектр достаточно широк – от немалого числа независимых партий, Партии зеленых до христианской, социалистической, либеральной, коммунистической и даже нацистской партии. В большинстве своём они появлялись в период резкого обострения какой-либо отдельной проблемы или в результате активной деятельности сильного политика, недовольного своим положением в рамках одной из основных партий. Третья партии – это результат противоречий между республиканцами и демократами. Они возникают по случаю и также исчезают, сменяя друг друга на политической арене, но за недолгий период своего существования они могут оказать значительное влияние на две основные партии. Однако, за редкими историческими аберрациями, вопреки участию множества второстепенных партий в каждой президентских выборах, свыше 98% голосов собирают две главные партии.

сумел нейтрализовать как левые, так и правые «трети» партий¹⁶. Важнейшим изменением в соотношении сил двух главных партий стал переход на сторону демократов большинства иммигрантов, городских избирателей и главных профсоюзных объединений. Влияние демократов возросло также среди чернокожих избирателей¹⁷.

С середины XX в. в США зарождается и развивается постиндустриальное общество. Появился тезис об утверждении «общества двух третей» (*The Two-Thirds Society*), под которыми подразумевался средний класс. Способность поглощать и нейтрализовать как «левый», так и «правый» радикализм способствовала закату «третьих» партий и упрочению двухпартийности как механизма поддержки американской цивилизации. Как следствие, в США стало практически невозможно подняться на вершину политической власти, минуя одну из двух главных партий.

Наряду с этим, партии передали часть влияния другим институтам. Важную роль в политическом процессе и выборах заняли комитеты политического действия (КПД)¹⁸, возникшие в 1940-е гг. при активном участии корпоративных, профессиональных и общественных объединений американских граждан, которые с помощью объединения своих индивидуальных усилий преследовали цель более эффективного достижения общих для той или иной социальной группы целей. Развитие КПД отразило общую тенденцию возрастания в политике роли групп интересов (*лобби*).

В качестве силы, оппонирующей ведущим партиям в избирательном процессе, стали выступать независимые кандидаты, подчас отколовшиеся по той или иной причине от одной из главных партий. К 1992 г. относится участие в президентских выборах самого удачливого независимого кандидата, техасского мультимиллионера Р.Перо. При помощи популистских лозунгов борьбы с чрезмерными государственными расходами, бюрократией, «отчуждением» американцев от политического управления Перо попытался собрать под своей «крышей» как «правых» демократов, так и «левых»

¹⁶ Freidel, Frank., *Ibid*.

¹⁷ Argersinger, Peter. *Structure, Process and Party: Essays in American Political History*. Armonk, NY. 1992.

¹⁸ Комитет политических действий (political action committee – PAC) – неправительственная организация, которая собирает донорские взносы на избирательную кампанию и использует их в интересах кандидатов на политические должности.

республиканцев. Перо сумел получить 18,9% голосов избирателей, и, хотя он и повлиял на исход выборов, но подорвать устои двухпартийной системы ему не удалось.

Идеологические модификации

С последней трети XX в. расширилась идеино-политическая проблематика дискуссий между партиями. Все большее место занимали социокультурные вопросы. В идеологическом плане страна раскололась надвое, усилилась поляризация общества¹⁹: одна часть придерживалась традиционных идеалов, ангlosаксонской гражданской религии, решительно протестовала против морально-нравственной вседозволенности, «занышенных» ожиданий чернокожих и нижнего класса, против мультикультурализма. Другая часть мыслила с точностью дооборот.

На рубеже 1970-х - 1980-х гг. новая платформа Демократической партии получила название *неолиберальной*²⁰. Она подразумевала пересмотр приоритетов государственной социальной политики, развитие прагматического подхода, который бы преследовал цель оптимального воспроизведения «человеческого капитала». В 1990-е гг. при президенте Уильяме Клинтоне (1993-2001 гг.) партия упрочила приверженность постмодернистским социокультурным ценностям, пустившим корни в последней трети XX в. Она поддерживала укрепление позиций женщин, меньшинств, иммиграцию и мультикультурализм. В период президентства Барака Обамы (2009-2017 гг.) продолжались культурные войны вокруг этих явлений. Обама и демократы расширяли поддержку постмодернистских ценностей на законодательном уровне²¹.

Параллельно, но в обратном направлении, в Республиканской партии шли процессы, которые привели к становлению идеологии *неоконсерватизма*²², одним из центральных требований которого стало

¹⁹ Поляризация - наличие широкого спектра этнических, религиозных и конфессиональных, родоплеменных, социальных, экономических, политических, культурных, языковых, межрегиональных и иных линий размежевания, пронизывающих общество и обладающих конфликтогенным потенциалом.

²⁰ Неолиберализм - экономическая идеология, которая акцентирует роль свободного рынка, личной и предпринимательской свободы, ограниченного государственного регулирования и приватизации. Неолиберализм утверждает, что международные политические институты могут позволить государствам успешно кооперировать в международных отношениях.

²¹ Mayhew, David. Parties and Policies: How the American Government works. Yale University Press. New Haven. 2008.

²²Неоконсерватизм - политическая идеология, которая сочетает элементы консерватизма и интервенционизма во внешней политике, выступающая за использование экономической и военной

возрождение религиозного влияния в Америке. Библия должна была быть признана не в меньшей степени, чем Конституция, источником «的独特性 Американской Республики». Первым проводником неоконсерватизма в практической политике выступил президент Рональд Рейган. В период избирательной кампании 1980 года, а затем во время своего президентства (1981-1989 гг.) он претендовал на то, чтобы быть президентом всей нации. Будучи сторонником расширения прав штатов и противником «большого правительства», отождествляемого с либеральным «государством всеобщего благоденствия», он стремился объединить на этих принципах богатых, зажиточных и бедных американцев²³.

Дальнейшее развитие неоконсерватизма получил в идеологии и политике президента-республиканца Джорджа Буша-мл. (2001-2009 гг.). Он, как и Рейган, защищал традиционные социокультурные ценности и указывал на особую роль в этом религии, настаивал на сокращении налогов, в первую очередь на бизнес, уменьшении программ социального вспомоществования. Однако свободное предпринимательство, будучи максимально освобожденным от государственных пут, способствовало снижению этических норм бизнеса, как и контроля за его поведением со стороны гражданского общества и власти. С помощью финансово-спекулятивных «пузырей» корпорациям удалось сколотить баснословные состояния, что привело к потрясениям на рынках ценных бумаг.

На этом фоне получил свое второе рождение *пaleоконсерватизм*²⁴. Его симбиоз с неоконсерватизмом стал идеально-стратегическим стержнем президентства Дональда Трампа (2017-2021 гг.). Он осудил сложившийся глобализм, как лишивший США миллионов рабочих мест, выведенных

моши США для победы над враждебными им режимами и установление в этих государствах демократии.

²³ Mayhew, David, Ibid.

²⁴ Палеоконсерватизм - традиционное течение в американской консервативной мысли, оппозиционное неоконсерватизму, которое акцентирует на сохранении традиционных ценностей, культуры и институтов, отвергает либерализм и изменения в обществе. Палеоконсерваторы критически относятся к современной форме конституционной демократии и являются противниками централизации власти. В области внешней политики являются сторонниками изоляционизма и противниками интервенционизма.

транснациональными корпорациями в развивающиеся и малоразвитые страны. В его программе прозвучала критика в адрес НАТО, финансирование которого Америкой объявлялось чрезмерным. Трамп требовал отказаться от Трансатлантического торгового партнерства и НАФТА, как несправедливых для США, радикально пересмотреть экономические отношения с Китаем, обуздить последний, поскольку он утвердил режим «нечестной» конкуренции с Соединенными Штатами. Таковы были основные положения его программы «Сделаем Америку вновь великой» (*Make America Great Again – MAGA*). Программа вызвала бурные протесты либеральной прессы США, Демократической партии, европейских союзников и Китая. Но её не одобряло и большинство руководства Республиканской партии США. Поэтому после победы в праймериз, уже на съезде Республиканской партии летом 2016 г., Трамп пошел на уступки её неоконсервативному большинству: его предвыборная программа претерпела ряд изменений. Она подтвердила присутствовавший в платформах республиканцев 1992-2012 гг. неоконсервативный вариант американского мирового лидерства, нейтрализовав критику тех, кто обвинял Трампа в изоляционизме. Но внутриполитические пункты Трампа практически не претерпели изменений. Трамп не завоевал большинства ни в Республиканской партии, ни в стране в целом, но его популизм оказался достаточным для победы на президентских выборах 2016 г.

Политика Трампа как президента вызвала обострение межпартийной борьбы, выразившимся в мобилизации демократического избирателя под лозунгом защиты американской демократии, что помогло демократам вернуть контроль над Конгрессом на промежуточных выборах в 2018 г. Главной мобилизующей силой стало леволиберальное крыло Демократической партии, которое за четыре года президентства правоконсервативного лидера расширило свою численность в партии и Палате представителей. Леволиберальный крен Демократической партии, который развивался постепенно с начала 2000-х годов, получил мощное ускорение и вылился в формирование второго по численности в нижней палате Конгресса кокуса Прогрессистов, продвигающего идеи социализма.

Однако логика электоральной борьбы за президентское кресло в поляризованном обществе, подразумевающая необходимость привлечения колеблющихся избирателей, заставила демократический

истеблишмент, вопреки отчетливому вектору идейного развития партии, предложить электорату Джозефа Байдена как более умеренного кандидата на президентских выборах 2020 г. Среди своих основных конкурентов на «праймериз», многие из которых выступали с социал-либеральными программами, Байден выделялся более центристскими взглядами по основным вопросам социальной повестки, призывая не к революции, а к постепенному изменению социальной системы страны. Колеблющиеся избиратели, встревоженные радикализмом Трампа, предпочли проголосовать за Байдена с его умеренными взглядами. Такое сочетание оказалось серьезным вызовом как для самой партии, вернув в повестку спор между левыми и центристами относительно будущего развития партии, так и для президента, которому надо было провести свои предвыборные обещания через Конгресс, практически разделенный между левыми демократами и правыми республиканцами. Тем не менее, центристу Байдену с началом своей деятельности удалось провести ряд законов, способствующих ускорению реформирования социальной системы страны по нескольким направлениям, приоритетным для Демократической партии – “зеленая” энергетика, здравоохранение, общественная безопасность.

Феномен «разделенного правления»

Внутри- и межпартийная борьба, а также отношения между законодательной и исполнительной ветвями власти отчетливо прослеживаются в работе Конгресса США. В этом плане, следует обратить внимание на такой феномен как «разделенное правление», под которым подразумевается установление контроля разных партий над исполнительной и законодательной ветвями власти. Более трети американской политической истории протекало в данных условиях. До середины XX в. «разделенное правление» было скорее исключением из общего правила политического процесса США. Однако начиная со второй половины XX в. «разделенное правление» превратилось в постоянный феномен американской политики²⁵.

В 1945-2020 гг. одиннадцати президентам из четырнадцати пришлось столкнуться с этим феноменом в своей политической практике. Важность межпартийного консенсуса между ветвями власти

²⁵ Daniel J. Hopkins and John Sides, Political Polarization in American Politics Bloomsbury Academic. 2015.

определяется тем, что ежегодно американские конгрессмены рассматривают большое количество ключевых законодательных инициатив, имеющих важные, социально значимые последствия для значительных категорий граждан, вызывающих наибольшую общественно-политическую полемику и законодательную борьбу между партиями. Ситуация «разделенного правления» затрудняет проведение целенаправленной единой государственной политики и способствует развитию т.н. «имперского президентства», подразумевающего стремление президента использовать положения Конституции для принятия решений без учета позиции и в ущерб правам Конгресса.

На возникновение ситуации «разделенного правления» в США влияет комбинация социо-экономических и политических факторов, тесно связанных с периодами радикальной трансформации и модернизации. С одной стороны, крупные социокультурные и демографические сдвиги вызывают усиление консервативных настроений, проявлявшихся в поддержке Республиканской партии при избрании главы исполнительной власти. С другой, значительная часть американцев сохраняет приверженность традициям либеральной политики в решении социально-экономических проблем общества, которые исповедует Демократическая партия. В конечном счете, раздвоенное голосование электората выступает механизмом согласования противоречивых ценностных устремлений различных групп населения, составляющих сложную плюралистическую структуру американского социума²⁶.

Важным фактором возникновения ситуации «раздельного правления» является ослабление влияния партий на электорат ввиду роста активности групп интересов, комитетов политического действия, средств массовой информации, процесс индивидуализации политики, рост влияния «третьих» политических сил и неспособность партийной системы эффективно решать острые вопросы политической повестки дня, что ведет к частичной утрате ими базовых функций, а также то обстоятельство, что американцы в целом традиционно привержены идее разделения властей. Многие избиратели меняют свою партийную приверженность от выборов к выборам или поддерживают кандидатов разных партий на выборах различного уровня. Все большую роль играют

²⁶ Daniel J. Hopkins and John Sides, Ibid.

независимые (беспартийные) избиратели, которые воспринимают партийные предпочтения скорее как удобную систему политических координат, считают партийную принадлежность попыткой подавить индивидуальность и принимают решение по кандидату в последний момент, настаивая на том, что избиратели голосуют за личность, а не за партию. В результате партийные коалиции республиканцев и демократов подвержены весьма серьезным флюктуациям.

Политические партии в Конгрессе

Партийные фракции в Конгрессе не представляют собой единого целого. Линия внутри- и межпартийного водораздела проходит между теми законодателями, которые во главу угла ставят узкопартийные или фракционные интересы, и теми, кто в своей деятельности руководствуется необходимостью бесперебойного функционирования высшего законодательного органа страны и придерживается курса на достижение компромиссов с правящей партией. Процесс усложняется тем, что в практике партийно-политической жизни США отсутствуют такие элементы, как персональное членство в партии, партийный устав и программа. Для организационной структуры обеих партий характерна высокая степень децентрализации, автономности партийных организаций штатов, которые фактически не подчинены вышестоящим общенациональным органам - съезду (конвенту) и национальному комитету партии. Деятельность партий на общенациональном уровне, полномочия центральных партийных органов регулируются нормами партийного права, которые зачастую не совпадают с законоположениями штатов. Во внутрипартийной жизни отсутствует жесткая регламентация, партийная структура на всех уровнях подчинена конкретным задачам избирательной борьбы²⁷.

В организационном плане, национальные комитеты обеих партий не являются иерархическими организациями, возвышающимися над фракциями демократов и республиканцев в Палате представителей и Сенате Конгресса США, которые управляют собой через отдельные партийные конференции в обеих палатах. Каждая партия в Палате представителей и Сенате формирует отдельные комитеты по проведению избирательных кампаний для избрания демократов и республиканцев в

²⁷ Smith, Steven. Party Influence in Congress. Cambridge University Press. 2007.

избирательных комитетах для избрания в свои палаты. С другой стороны, национальные комитеты не имеют прямой власти над партиями штатов, хотя часто предоставляют средства для помощи партийным организациям штатов. Тем не менее, важное место национальных комитетов обеих партий в политическом процессе определяется тем, что они служат хранилищами жизненно важной информации об электоральном поведении штатов, округов конгресса, графств, городов и избирателей в целом. Выдвигаемый партией кандидат в президенты получает доступ к этой информации, к статистическим аналитикам, которые могут интерпретировать данные, и к профессиональным консультантам, которые могут выстроить стратегию проведения избирательной кампании.

Резюме

Партии являются неизменным элементом американского политического ландшафта с 1790-х годов. Они возникли в Америке в первые годы существования страны и необходимости институализировать противоречия: поколение «отцов-основателей» резко расходилось во взглядах на то, какая модель развития была бы желательна после принятия Конституции. Разногласия касались взглядов на фундаментальные вопросы распределения власти между федеральным правительством и отдельными штатами; торговли, налогов и степени регулирования экономики; внешней и оборонной политики. Стал необходим поиск путей упорядочения и институционализации разногласий в рамках, которые привели бы к завоеванию контроля над правительством²⁸. Эта необходимость сохранялась и впоследствии, поскольку в целом американской политике характерна диалектика. Постоянная дихотомия общественного мнения в условиях демократии естественным образом привела к созданию организационной основы и формулирования системы координат, которая бы объясняла, за что люди борются и что они делают и почему они должны идти под знаменами той или иной группы лидеров²⁹. Политические партии стали играть роль посредника между, конкурирующими и конфликтующими участниками процесса - исполнительной и законодательной ветвями власти.

²⁸ Elkins, Stanley and McKittrick, Eric. *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic, 1790–1800*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993.

²⁹ Hofstadter, Richard. *The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780–1840*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1969.

Наряду с постоянными элементами, в деятельности партий происходили радикальные изменения (*party realignments*)³⁰, определяемые эпохальными событиями истории страны, например, территориальной экспансией и колонизацией западных территорий, Гражданской войной, Реконструкцией, бурным промышленным развитием, мировыми и локальными войнами, движением за гражданские права и др. Каждая новая партийная система добавляла ряд новых компонентов в национальную политику и обеспечивала преимущество одной из партий в среднесрочной перспективе: так, после партийной перегруппировки 1896 года республиканцы выиграли семь из девяти президентских выборов, а после партийной реорганизации в рамках реформ "Нового курса" в 1932 году уже демократы выиграли семь из девяти последующих выборов. Характерно, что нынешний миграционный кризис на южных границах США в значительной степени связан с тем, что демократы через либерализацию миграции пытаются увеличить численность своего избирателей и, таким образом, сохранить и укрепить власть на несколько последующих избирательных циклов, что вызывает ответную реакцию республиканцев, требующих укрепления границ и депортации нелегальных мигрантов. Такая поляризация является основной причиной текущего жесткого партийного противостояния в Конгрессе США, вызвавшего фактический паралич федеральной власти.

С изменениями в ценностях и потребностях общества менялись, порой диаметрально, принципы работы партий, содержание аргументов, которые они предлагали избирателям в стремлении добиться их электоральной поддержки, например, в размере, сложности и возможностях их организаций, в характере их руководства, в количестве людей, вовлеченных в их орбиту, в интенсивности приверженности им вовлеченных лиц, а также в стиле и содержании их предвыборных аргументов. Отношение избирателей к партиям можно охарактеризовать как «любовь-ненависть»³¹: они полагают, что партии необходимы для демократического правления, но в то же время считают партии в каком-то смысле «обструкционистскими» и уверены, что доверять им нельзя. Периодическая вспышка активности альтернативных «третьих партий»

³⁰ Clubb J.M., Flanigan W.H., Zingale N.H. Partisan Realignment: Voters, Parties, and Government in American History. Beverly Hills, Calif. Sage. 1980.

³¹ Clubb J.M., Flanigan W.H., Zingale N.H., Ibid.

порой серьезно влияла на исход президентских выборов, но не оказывала решающего значения на двухпартийную систему³².

Логика электоральной борьбы, определяющая политический процесс в США в последние десятилетия, меняет функции политических партий и закрепляет новый баланс политической системы, который строится на конкуренции радикальных популистских повесток. В результате партии фактически отказываются от функции создания и поддержания единой политической культуры в стране, той, которая традиционно опиралась на компромисс и преемственность. В расколотой стране побеждает то одна, то другая сторона. Имеет место «игра с нулевой суммой» (*zero-sum game*): победа одной стороны всегда означает полное поражение другой.

В новейший период по мере роста поляризации власти партийный контроль над палатами Конгресса менялся каждые два года. Та или иная форма «разделенного правления» настолько стала нормой политической жизни, что эксперты могут почти безошибочно предсказывать смену партийного контроля после промежуточных выборов в качестве одного из аргументов, шаблонно ссылаясь на «традицию», которая в действительности ограничивается последними десятилетиями³³. В условиях существующего идейного раскола смена партийного контроля над Конгрессом каждые два года фактически сокращает для исполнительной власти срок выполнения предвыборных обещаний президента – получается, что из четырех лет пребывания в Белом доме президент в лучшем случае может рассчитывать на два года более или менее компромиссной совместной работы с Конгрессом, необходимой для законодательного оформления его повестки. Это в свою очередь приводит к изменению жизненного цикла реформаторских идей.

Традиционно в результате специфики двухпартийного конкурентного процесса в США все идеологические концепты проходили своеобразный путь шлифовки обеими партиями: родиввшись в рядах одной партии, идея после нескольких неудач могла быть подхвачена и доработана другой. Так она становилась компромиссным проектом и получала шанс на законодательную реализацию. Однако сегодня реформаторская идея, не реализованная президентом от одной партии, имеет шанс вернуться в повестку только с президентом от этой

³² Argersinger, Peter, Ibid.

³³ Daniel J. Hopkins and John Sides, Ibid.

же партии, и обязательным условием ее реализации становится контроль над Конгрессом той же партии. Получается, что для того, чтобы реформа прошла весь путь от идеи до законодательного акта, партии нужно гораздо больше времени на изначальную подготовку, больше попыток, больше сфокусированных усилий главы Белого дома в момент редкого однопартийного контроля над федеральными институтами власти. Фактически идеальная поляризация партий изменила одну из ключевых характеристик американского политического процесса – преемственность идей. По законам общей системной теории это неизбежно меняет всю целостность: американский политический процесс из конкурентного, но кооперативного и компромиссного, превращается в конфликтный. Американское общество получает от федерального правительства вместо плавной реализации общих больших идей, направленных на улучшение их жизни, идеальные качели, которые раскачивают США в разные стороны с увеличивающейся амплитудой. Такие качели предполагают, что в момент взлета одной стороны другая переживает максимальное падение. Момент равновесия на такой скорости фактически проскачивается.

Логичная переориентация партий на растущее число независимых избирателей и вызванное этим смещение повестки к центру идейного спектра осложняются нестабильностью настроений этой части общества. Партии становятся заложниками своих наиболее радикальных и идеологизированных фракций³⁴ и, оказавшись у власти, продвигают их повестку, зачастую вопреки мнению большинства населения страны. Как следствие, партия «левых» (Демократическая) все больше представляет интересы высокообразованного состоятельного белого избиратората, а партия «правых» (Республиканская) интересы неопределенных цветных и белых необразованных избирателей из глубинки³⁵.

В условиях превалирования логики электоральной борьбы, меняющей традиционные социальные функции политических партий, такая переориентация нарушает текущий базовый принцип идейной организации американских партий: критерием успешности повестки

³⁴ В текущем Конгрессе 118-го созыва республиканская фракция в Палате представителей (222 чел.) разделена на 5 мини-фракций, из которых наиболее радикальной является программовая Freedom Caucus во главе со Скоттом Перри (около 20 чел.). Демократическая фракция (212 чел.) разделена на 4 мини-фракции, из которых наиболее радикальной является Progressive Insurgents во главе с Александрой Окасио-Кортез (около 15 чел.).

³⁵ Nate Moore. Who is Driving Trump's Rising Favorables? <http://liberalpatriot.com>, 14 March 2024.

становится победа на выборах, как «вещь в себе». При сохранении такой тенденции кризис американских политической и партийной систем в ближайшем будущем продолжится; при этом следующие президентские выборы будут проходить в конфронтационном стиле и способствовать углублению раскола в американском обществе. Альтернативой этой перспективе будут реформы американской политической системы, направленные на эволюционное и консенсусное изменение ее институтов во избежание более глубокого и масштабного кризиса, который может из политического перерasti в социальный и экономический и, выйдя за пределы США, приобрести глобальное измерение. Выбор конкретного пути трансформации политической системы и ее институтов зависит исключительно от здравого смысла и воли политических элит США.

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INTERNATIONAL TOURISM IN SCOPE OF GENDER EQUALITY ISSUES: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

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Abstract: This article is dedicated to identifying the role of women in the field of tourism. In the 1997 Tourism Policy Project, tourism emerged as a significant means for the sustainable development of humanity, contributing greatly to the creation of women's associations, the eradication of poverty, and the overall improvement of the environment. In recent years, women's participation in the business and managerial sphere has increased, despite their lower involvement in leadership roles. Women working in the tourism industry occupy high positions, but their responsibilities often involve skills that are inadequately compensated. The tourism sector, indeed, offers various opportunities for women to be employed in different areas and engage in activities generating moderate incomes.

Key Words: Tourism, Competence, Sector, Gender Equality, (UNWTO), Women and Girls, Hospitality, Women's Role.

Introduction

Each country has its factors, expectations, and demands for development. These demands and expectations are often shaped by historical events that guide the country's development and formation. Currently, there is significant attention being paid to the empowerment of women and girls, and various conditions are being created for their active participation in various fields of society. Decree No. PF-5325 of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan dated February 2, 2018, titled "On Measures to Further Strengthen the Activities in the Field of Supporting and Empowering Women and Girls and Strengthening the Family Institution" vividly illustrates this¹.

In his speech to the Senate of the Oliy Majlis in June 2019, President Sh.M. Mirziyoyev stated, "At this juncture, one deeply rooted conviction constantly preoccupies my mind. We always glorify women as the hearth, the

¹ Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Further Improvement of Activities in the Field of Supporting and Strengthening the Institution of Marriage and Family" dated February 2, 2018, No. PF-5325.

cornerstone of our families. This is correct, undoubtedly. But nowadays, every woman is not just an observer of democratic processes but rather a proactive and enterprising participant." These thoughts of the President establish the essence of research².

In this regard, during the 63rd session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, held from March 11-17, 2019, the head of the UN, Antonio Guterres, expressed the following idea: "Wherever women and girls are actively involved in political and social life, there is economic growth, stability is strengthened, and the well-being of citizens improves". From these ideas, it can be concluded that we have confidence in the correctness of the state policy aimed at protecting the rights and interests of women, ensuring the full participation of women in the socio-political life of the country, and ensuring gender equality.

In many developing countries, gender equality is a major challenge. Achieving development goals requires addressing disparities between men and women in opportunities, resources, and capabilities, reducing differences in access to opportunities and resources, and addressing weaknesses relative to strengths. Gender issues play a significant role in many aspects, one of which is the development of tourism. When we consider the implications of numerous tourism studies that indicate a correlation between peripheral development and the expansion of opportunities for women, it becomes apparent that creating a conducive policy framework for investigating and addressing these issues is essential.

In many countries experiencing significant development, addressing gender inequality is crucial. Achieving this requires focusing on disparities in opportunities, resources, and capabilities between men and women, and working to reduce the gap in terms of advantages and disadvantages. One of the most important aspects is promoting gender equality in the development goals. Gender issues can play a significant role in various areas, and one such area is the development of tourism. The interrelation between tourism research, peripheral development, and expanding opportunities for women highlights the need for a comprehensive policy framework to investigate and address these issues effectively.

² Speech of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Shavkat Mirziyoyev at the twentieth plenary session of the Oliy Majlis Senate. June 21, 2019.

Tourism is a field that creates extensive job opportunities for both men and women, positioning itself as one of the largest sectors globally. Empowering women in tourism is considered a crucial component. In the Presidential Decree PF-60, issued by the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Sh. Mirziyoyev, in the "Strategy for the Further Development of Uzbekistan for 2022-2026," specific measures were outlined to support and strengthen women and girls. The decree emphasizes empowering and supporting women and girls, ensuring their active participation in societal life, facilitating their access to education and professional skills, providing comprehensive assistance in finding suitable employment, supporting entrepreneurship, identifying and directing talented young women, and aligning their abilities in the right direction³.

Literary analysis and methods

As a fundamental basis for the action plan, within this report, we will present positive examples of expanding women's opportunities through tourism. This is because gender issues in tourism have been extensively studied and discussed in scholarly literature over the past decade.

As A. Saidov noted, the universality of human rights is one of the important principles in the field of human rights. Complete equality between women and men in all aspects of societal life is considered the fundamental requirement of this principle⁴.

Gender equality envisages a society where both women and men have equal opportunities, outcomes, rights, and responsibilities in all areas of life. Gender equality allows for the possibility of both sexes having equal power and influence in distributing resources; having equal opportunities for financial independence through employment or entrepreneurship; and benefiting equally from education and the opportunity to develop personal ambitions. It can be easily stated that tourism serves as a means to provide women with opportunities in various aspects. This is because tourism can enhance women's economic opportunities by increasing control and empowerment over natural resources; it can assist in expanding educational opportunities and political participation.

³ Presidential Decree No. PF-60 dated January 28, 2022, on the "Strategy for the Development of Uzbekistan for 2022-2026."

⁴ Uzbekistan representatives participated in a regional forum dedicated to gender equality issues. "Xalq Sozi" newspaper // March 17, 2021.

The President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Sh. Mirziyoyev approved Decree No. PF-9, regarding the significant development of foreign tourism and further enhancement of domestic tourism. The proposal to develop large-scale trading complexes (Luxury tourism village) consisting of duty-free shops and major international brands in the "Zomin" tourist-recreational zone, the "Chimyon" international general resort, and the "Amirsay" mountain resort area, has been considered positively. This undoubtedly contributes to the role and activity of women in the socio-political life of the country.

It is known that a significant portion of the workforce in the tourism industry, according to some studies, consists of women, estimated to be around 80% of employees in tourism agencies. What motivates women to choose this challenging, sensitive, and often demanding profession when selecting a profession that is not particularly high-paying?

A crucial aspect of promoting gender equality is expanding women's opportunities, identifying and eliminating power imbalances, and empowering women to have greater autonomy in managing their lives. Enhancing women's opportunities is vital for sustainable development and for realizing human rights for all.

Tourism serves as a genuine means for promoting gender equality and can be instrumental in expanding opportunities for women. The newly proposed measures, as outlined in the PF-60 decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Sh. Mirziyoyev focuses on empowering women and girls in various aspects, including supporting their education, and career development, and fostering entrepreneurial activities.

Saida Mirziyoeva, the aide to the President of Uzbekistan, emphasized the importance of ensuring women's full rights and active participation in society, envisioning a society where women live confidently, and independently, and achieve their goals without constraints⁵.

It is known that the majority of workers in the tourism industry, a vital sector of the economy, are associated with the beautiful half of humanity. According to some studies, approximately 80% of employees in travel agencies are women. What motivates women to choose this challenging and often high-stress profession?

⁵ Saida Mirziyoyeva: "Let our women and girls not be objects of violence and oppression." Gazeta.uz // <https://www.gazeta.uz/uz/2023/03/08/saida-mirziyoyeva/>

Psychologists have proposed several significant ideas in this regard. Working in the field of tourism, which is associated with the emotional trade, appeals to certain sensitive qualities and intuitions, and it is estimated that women are more suitable for this profession. Additionally, the travel agency's work involves offering tourist products, attracting luck and positive emotions, according to specialists, and aligning with what women naturally excel at. Beyond that, women's inclination to nurture, akin to caring for children, might be a motivator for some women to choose professions in the tourism industry.

Zurab Pololikashvili, the Secretary-General of the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), emphasizes the importance of the involvement of women and girls in the development of tourism. He underlines that both the state and the private sector should leverage tourism opportunities to achieve financial independence for women, break stereotypes, and empower them to start their businesses⁶.

It is interesting to note that the cultural level of any given society is often reflected in its attitude towards women. Therefore, in Uzbekistan, creating appropriate working conditions, providing legal rights and benefits, and fostering the capabilities and skills of women have become priorities in the state policy, aiming to elevate the status and potential of women⁷.

Research methodology

Certainly, women have the right and competence to participate in tourist activities as a part of societal life. Women are expected to demonstrate significant competence in meeting the demands of the tourism sector in the future because their average life expectancy is generally higher, and they are distinct from men in various aspects. Women continually adapt to new trends in the tourism business, and, therefore, they need to be well-prepared. Hence, proposals that respond to women's needs are being increasingly diversified, such as wellness tourism, resort tourism, fitness tours, business tours, visits to high-fashion centers, purchasing the latest clothing, perfumes, and jewelry, and engaging in elite tourism⁸.

⁶ UN News. Women are conquering the tourism industry - a new study by the World Tourism Organization. November 8, 2019.

⁷ Mirziyoyev Sh. "We are preparing to serve women with sincerity for them to live happily." Gazeta.uz // <https://www.gazeta.uz/uz/2017/03/07/8-mart/>

⁸ S. A. Shcherbakova. Tourism and Recreation // The Role of Women in the Development of International Tourism. 2006. P.181-184.

Therefore, to maximize development in tourism, it is essential to take action to enhance the capacity and participation of existing resources. Both men and women have equal opportunities to contribute to the development of society as resources. As mentioned above, women play a similar role to men in the tourism sector, in line with current policies.

Analysis and results

In most studies, women's involvement in employment is associated with inequality and discrimination, unequal distribution of privileges, struggle for power, exploitation, and criticism. We aim to combine positive examples of women's tourism experiences to highlight the added value they bring.

In the developing world, there is no region where women enjoy equal legal, social, and economic rights as men. This gender disparity affects access to and management of resources, political voice, economic opportunities, and power dynamics. Consequently, the costs of such inequalities are widespread throughout society and ultimately detrimental to everyone. So, how can tourism help? Tourism serves as one of the many tools that contribute to achieving gender equality. The power of tourism lies in its ability to reduce poverty, increase job opportunities, enhance ecological sustainability, and promote gender equality and women's empowerment, thus contributing to improving lifestyles. In today's world, women and girls are actively pursuing economic independence through tourism opportunities, challenging stereotypes, and utilizing tourism as a means to start their businesses. Their involvement in guesthouse businesses, the promotion of travel products and services, and the encouragement of cultural heritage play a crucial role in ensuring gender equality in our country.

However, the research in this field reveals various nuances regarding the roles of women in tourism. The results indicate that women in tourism often play subordinate roles in organizational structures. They are more commonly involved in regional rivalries, rural agriculture, home-based work, and the production of food, beverages, and souvenirs. In particular, the roles of women and men in tourism show significant differences.

Despite the existence of policies addressing gender equality in tourism, women still often find themselves in precarious positions compared to men. Therefore, this research delves into the analysis of the role of women in tourism.

Beyond that, integrating a gender perspective into tourism discussions is crucial, as the tourism industry is a significant contributor to economic activities and offers various opportunities for independent income generation. Gender and tourism research is vital for several reasons. First, gender relations in tourism are shaped by societal gender norms. Second, gender relations help maintain the dynamism of gender identity in tourism. Third, a gender perspective serves as a means to understand the relationship between tourism and social processes. Ensuring gender equality is paramount for the sustainable development of tourism.

In various studies, women's roles are often confined to domestic and maternal functions, emphasizing their natural and biological responsibilities as homemakers and caretakers. These functions result in women dedicating a significant amount of time and energy, usually being perceived only in terms of necessity, and are not considered economically important.

For instance, women may not hold high-status jobs but are more likely to engage in roles such as cooking, cleaning, and hospitality positions. The nature of work assigned to women often implies lower economic value compared to the tasks traditionally assigned to men. However, research indicates that women's role in tourism politics suggests a greater potential for success in challenging circumstances.

For example, the "Sambhali Trust" organization in Jodhpur, India, recognized by the United Nations, has been creating economic opportunities and educational programs for over ten years for rural Indian women and girls. Over 10,000 individuals have received education in areas such as embroidery, clothing production, entrepreneurship, and general education.

"Ock Pop Tok" is a fair trade social enterprise located in the city of Luang Prabang in Laos, employing more than 150 women in six villages. Founded in the year 2000 by two entrepreneurial women, Veo Liu, a local weaver, and Jo, a photographer, "Ock Pop Tok" is dedicated to ensuring fair employment and creating economic opportunities for ethnic minority women⁹. In many instances, women have close ties with the physical environment of their societies. For example, Maasai women possess specialized knowledge about walking routes, craftsmanship, and beneficial plants, all of which can be related to the development of tourism products and services. In such contexts, it is logical for these women to participate in managing tourism projects.

⁹ Women who strengthen tourism. Electronic resource. <https://www.worldfootprints.com/>

A significant percentage of women with relatively high incomes contribute to improving their relative economic prosperity. In other cases, from the perspective of formal employment, local women are often overlooked when tourism job opportunities are created. Consequently, women often bypass official opportunities in tourism because societal norms continue to limit the types of economic activities in which women can engage.

Their potential for political activism compared to men may be lower, and they may face more obstacles to family well-being. Therefore, expanding women's opportunities can significantly contribute to achieving gender equality.

The potential contributions and roles of women in the tourism sector highlight several advantages, including:

1) The presence of opportunities for women in tourism to contribute to its development and the revitalization of high-income businesses.

2) The potential for women to expand their knowledge about their roles by interacting with other communities, especially women from different countries. Additionally, there are opportunities for women to enhance their participation in various work and income-generating activities, providing them with a broader perspective on different situations.

The results indicate that women play a key role in the quality of sustainable tourism, particularly in their knowledge of cultural values. However, women face challenges due to limited financial resources for education and business operations. These constraints limit their ability to start their businesses and hinder their acquisition of quality education and business management skills. This, in turn, poses additional difficulties for women in male-dominated environments.

It is clear that women's roles in enhancing family income are constrained, and their contributions to society are not fully recognized. While women participate in various sectors, including agriculture, craft making, tourism, and textile work, these contributions are not highly valued by society as a whole.

The study emphasizes the importance of women's involvement in shaping and leading tourism activities, contributing to the sector's success and ensuring a more equitable distribution of benefits. However, challenges, particularly related to the gender-based division of labor, still need to be addressed.

The second aspect is a supervisory function, which ensures justice and equality in making decisions or implementing the results of the revolution. It emphasizes justice and equality for both men and women.

The fourth aspect is the promotion of justice and equality in utilizing the results of development for men and women. This involves highlighting the fair and equitable aspects for both men and women in benefiting from the outcomes of development.

These aspects contribute to the overall progress of our country on a broad scale, including:

- Elevating our country's ranking in the global rankings of gender equality;
- Reducing the unemployment rate between men and women;
- Advancing women's entrepreneurship;
- Minimizing gender disparities;
- Enhancing the role of women and men in tourism, including participation, supervision, and benefits, to ensure gender justice.

By addressing the four aspects and incorporating the elements of admission, participation, supervision, and equitable benefits, the opportunities for women can be expanded. If the aspects of admission, participation, supervision, and fair benefit are integrated, it will promote gender justice.

Summary

The analysis of articles related to the role of women in tourism literature indicates that women occupy a distinct place in tourism.

In conclusion, implementing necessary changes is demanded in all fields, and engaging in proactive actions is essential. The tourism industry stands out as an excellent avenue for women's empowerment due to its rapid growth, flexibility, and dynamic nature. The industry can play a significant role in advancing women's development by creating opportunities and utilizing strategies from other sectors.

Women globally, as tourists, hosts, or employees, contribute extensively to the tourism sector. Women influence travel decisions and actively participate in resolving household expenses related to travel, making 80% of global travel purchase decisions. Their involvement extends beyond leisure, impacting the global economy. Women possess high competency for environmental and sustainable development.

Improving women's conditions through expanding their opportunities in tourism involves enhancing their economic capabilities and ensuring their financial independence. It is crucial to consider and improve women's circumstances, providing them with economic opportunities and evaluating their contributions with fairness and appreciation.

The cultural wisdom states that "The foundation of everything in the world is through women. Just as there is no blooming of flowers without the sun and no happiness without love, there is no existence without women. Neither poets nor heroes are born without them" emphasizes the invaluable role of women, and their importance should not be overlooked¹⁰. Analyzing literary works related to women's roles in tourism indicates that women hold a distinctive place in the industry.

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NEW ASPECTS OF THE NATIONAL BRAND SHAPING IN UZBEKISTAN

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***Abstract:** Today, one of the main international tags is "soft power". That is why the formation of a national brand as part of the policy of "soft power" today is one of the priorities of any country on the world stage, and this trend has only strengthened in recent years. We can well argue that the "soft power" of any country has a direct connection with its national brand, and many aspects of the so-called "national brand" or the image of the country on the world stage are also important aspects of the soft power of this country. In this regard, the question arises whether Uzbekistan should develop it, and finally, what steps need to be taken to develop its national brand in such important areas as foreign trade and tourism. This article discusses these issues and also the author suggests some steps that will help in the development of such key brands in their industries as "Welcome to Uzbekistan", in the field of tourism and "Made in Uzbekistan" in the field of foreign trade, and how to make these brands more popular in the world and attract attention to our country.*

Keywords: *Uzbekistan, Globalization, Security, Soft Power "National Brand", Brand Development, "Travel Around Uzbekistan", "Made In Uzbekistan", Tourism, National Products on The World Stage, Ecotourism, Gastro Tourism.*

Evolution of the Concept «Soft Power»

Today, in the era of globalization, we cannot ignore the fact that the so-called "hard" has long been losing its position on the world stage. Power" that is, military power, today "soft or smart" rules the roost power " the biggest component of which is the country's presence of its national brand, one or another aspect that makes the country unique and recognizable on the world stage.¹ The concept of "soft power" in international relations theory is usually associated with political scientist and international politics scholar Joseph Nye. He first introduced the concept in his book *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* in 2004.

Nye suggested distinguishing between "soft power" and "hard power", economic sanctions, military intervention and diplomatic pressure. Soft power

¹ «Made in Uzbekistan»: как продвигать национальный бренд («Made in Uzbekistan»: Kak prodvigat natsionalnyj brend) / <https://xs.uz/ru/post/made-in-uzbekistan-kak-prodvigat-natsionalnyj-brend>

is defined as the ability to influence others through attraction and persuasion rather than through physical or economic violence.²

The idea of "soft power" has become widespread in modern politics and diplomacy, where countries increasingly focus on their cultural and educational programs to strengthen their influence in the world. This concept has also become an important foreign policy tool for countries seeking to establish dialogue and cooperation on the world stage.³

Over the past twenty years, the term "soft power" has changed formulation. The main variations are as follows:

- 1990 - "Soft power" is the ability to "make another want what you want"⁴.
- 2004 - "Soft power" is "the ability to change the behavior of others to get what you want. There are three main ways for this: coercion (stick), payment (carrot) and attraction (soft power)"
- 2012 - "Soft power" is "the ability to achieve results through persuasion and attraction, and not through coercion or payment"⁵

But several major components doesn't change Nye identifies three key components of soft power: culture, politics and ideas. He argues that a country's influence and attractiveness depend on its cultural values, political ideas and ethical standards. These components form the image of the country in the world community and can be used to achieve foreign policy goals.

Comparing the characteristics of "soft" and "hard" forces, the author of the concept J. Nye focuses on the difficulties that arise when classifying a particular type of activity as a "soft" or "hard" pole, as well as on the difficulties of measuring

A little later in 1996. Thanks to S. Anholt, an expert in the field of developing a national image and defining identity, the concept of "national branding" appears. This is a comprehensive marketing activity that allows you to identify the values of a state's brand, as well as measure, build and manage the image component of the country. [9] The main function of a national brand is to help increase the profitability of the territory as a whole. In this vein, the

² Nye J.S., Jr. Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics. N.Y.: Public Affairs, 2004.
https://lettertw.moy.su/news/dzhozef_naj_mjagkaja_sila_pdf/2019-10-21-83

³ Nye J.S., Jr. Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics. N.Y.: Public Affairs, 2004.
https://lettertw.moy.su/news/dzhozef_naj_mjagkaja_sila_pdf/2019-10-21-83

⁴ Nye J., Jr. Soft power // Foreign Policy, №. 80, Autumn 1990, p.167

⁵ Nye J., Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics, 2004, p.19

close connection of a territory's brand with its image is manifested. Around the same time, the concept of "national (country) marketing", introduced by the marketing classic F. Kotler in 1986, became widespread, which is interpreted as "a systematic approach aimed at helping ambitious nations become visible and achieve your image goals in a cost-effective way"⁶

Today using soft power can have no less, if not greater, influence on the international situation than with the help of military force. That is why the formation of a national brand as part of the policy of "soft power"⁷ today is one of the priorities of any country on the world stage, and this trend has only strengthened in recent years. We can well argue that the "soft power" of any country has a direct connection with its national brand, and many aspects of the so-called "national brand" or the country's image on the world stage are also important aspects of the soft power of this country.⁸

Many developed countries, when forming a national brand, pursue the goal of increasing the economic, political, and social attractiveness of the country in the international arena, which suggests that some kind of international brand assigned to a country can have an impact on all aspects of life in this country and in particular, on its safety, because a strong and well-known international brand assigned to the country will guarantee the stable development of the country

Creating successful Uzbekistan national brand in economic

Creating a successful national brand requires the comprehensive development of various areas such as tourism, the country's export potential, the development of foreign and domestic policies, attracting foreign investment, promoting the country's culture, as well as its stability and security in the first place.⁹

⁶ Anholt S. Place Branding: Is it marketing or isn't it? // Place branding and public diplomacy, / https://www.academia.edu/57102960/Place_branding_Is_it_marketing_or_isn_t_it

⁷ Таджиев, Ш. (2023). «Мягкая сила» во внешней политике Республики Узбекистан на современном этапе . in Library, 3(3), 3–237.

⁸ Махаматов Таир Махаматович Глобальная цивилизация и эффективность культурной политики как «мягкой силы» Век глобализации. Выпуск №4(40)/2021 (Mahamatov Tair Mahamatovich Globalnaya civilizaciya i effektivnost kulturnoj politiki kak «myagkoj sily» Vek globalizacii. Vypusk №4(40)/2021) https://www.socionauki.ru/journal/vg/archive/2021_4/

⁹Karimov, A. (2023). Formation of the national brand of Uzbekistan in the field of tourism. Uzbekistan - Strategy 2030 from the point of view of young scientists: economics, politics and law, Karimov, A. (2023). Formirovaniye nacionalnogo brenda Uzbekistana v oblasti turizma. Uzbekistan – strategy 2030 s tochki zreniya molodyh uchenyh: ekonomika, politika i pravo, <https://inlibrary.uz/index.php/strategy-2030-young-scientists/article/view/28708>

Based on all of the above, the question may arise: how can we distinguish Uzbekistan from many other countries and develop ours, or at least create our national brand?

The formation of a national brand in the context of globalization is a very important task for the country, since the brand of Uzbekistan is able to strengthen its image in the international arena, attract investment, tourists and provide new opportunities for the further economic development of the country. What can we do to promote the image of Uzbekistan on the world stage? To begin with, it is worth focusing on the tools that are most accessible to Uzbekistan; to achieve its goals, this is the promotion of its own products on the world trade arena, as well as the development of the country's tourism potential as the two most important aspects of soft power, and therefore the brand of Uzbekistan

If we consider the development of the brand of Uzbekistan, today our country is taking big steps to develop the national brand and integrate goods produced in Uzbekistan into the global economic flow, as an example we can highlight the Resolution of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan dated 10/12/2022 "On measures to provide the population with quality international products brands and creating additional conditions for the entry of domestic enterprises into global value chains." In which the head of state not only approves the procedure for introducing international standards for Uzbekistan's products, attracting world leaders in trade and attracting tourists to Uzbekistan, but also approves some steps to protect local manufacturers and steps to facilitate the introduction of Uzbekistan's goods into global trade.¹⁰

In the formation of the national brand of Uzbekistan, the promotion of products and services that can be associated with Uzbekistan also plays an important role. As an example, these could be traditional Uzbek goods: textiles, ceramics, natural cosmetics, spices, fruits and vegetables, as well as other goods that represent the country on the international market.

However, not everything is as simple as it might seem at first glance. Competition in the global market is very tough. The best manufacturers from all over the world negotiate directly and compete to present their products on

¹⁰ Постановление президента Республики Узбекистан от 12.10.2022 «О мерах по обеспечению населения качественной продукцией международных брендов и созданию дополнительных условий для вхождения отечественных предприятий в глобальные цепочки добавленной стоимости». (Postanovlenie prezidenta Respublikii Uzbekistan ot 12.10.2022 «O merah po obespecheniyu naseleniya kachestvennoj produkciyey mezhdunarodnyh brendov i sozdaniyu dopolnitelnyh uslovij dlya vhozhdeniya otechestvennyh predpriyatiy v globalnye cepochki dobavlennoj stoimosti») / <https://lex.uz/docs/6235548>

the world market and attract buyers. Today, in all areas of international trade, there is very fierce competition between manufacturers. So how should Uzbekistan promote its goods on the world stage in such conditions? First of all, it is worth saying that the movement of goods on the world market requires an integrated approach. In the context of Uzbekistan, it is important to develop export opportunities using a variety of methods and tools. The most important in this aspect can be called

1. Improving the quality and standardization of products. One of the important aspects of promoting goods on the world market is improving the means of production and the technical base of production to improve the quality of the goods provided.

Improving the technical base of production can also help improve the quality of goods without losing profits since production costs on old faulty equipment are much higher than on new ones. In addition, the latest equipment has another advantage - it is environmentally friendly. Today, various types of production equipment undergo many tests before entering the market, where they could be purchased by manufacturers who will use them in the future, and it cannot be denied that today a very important point of these tests is also the environmental friendliness of the equipment, the absence of harmful emissions and non-recyclable production waste.¹¹ However, updating the material and technical base of production requires significant cash injections, and for this, there are two ways:

A) Encouragement and support: State support and encouragement of companies focused on improving product quality and compliance with international standards. Finally, government support and export promotion also play an important role. This may include various forms of financial support, encouraging the exchange of experience and information, and participation in international trade agreements.

C) Attracting foreign investment. In turn, active participation in international industry organizations, standardization committees, and other forums also helps to maintain compliance of Uzbek products with international quality standards. This allows you to participate in the development and approval of international standards and requirements, which helps improve product quality, as well as attract attention to Uzbekistan's products and their recognition in the world market, which in turn will attract

¹¹ Modern Buyers Behavior: What Influences a Shopper's Mind?
<https://mabruqq.com/blog/modern-buyers-behavior-what-influences-a-shoppers-mind>

foreign investors or even possibly large foreign companies. For example, the Russian company Wildberries¹², specializing in online marketing, after the performance of construction companies from Uzbekistan in Russia at the exhibition, entered into contracts with several construction companies to build large distribution centers in Tashkent and Fergana, as well as provide a fully functioning infrastructure.

It is also important to invest in research and innovation to develop new technologies and production techniques that meet global quality standards. Today, global scientific progress does not stand still, and the development of the scientific base and the introduction of advanced technologies will help Uzbek companies to be competitive on the world stage.

2. Participation in certification and standardization programs. Certification and standardization: Another important aspect of promoting products on the world stage is their labeling and certification. We cannot deny that it is important to pay attention to the packaging and labeling of goods under international standards, which will help increase the attractiveness of products in the global market and simplify the export process. Ensuring product compliance with international standards through certification, labeling, and obtaining the necessary quality certificates, these include certificates such as ISO, Halal , KOSHER, ECO. Obtaining a certificate applied to the product label is an important marketing move; it confirms the high quality and compliance of products with international standards, and product safety, which increases confidence on the part of foreign partners and buyers.¹³

3. Another important aspect is the development of a product quality control system. The introduction of quality management systems will help ensure continuous compliance of products with international quality standards. This will allow Uzbek enterprises to exercise more effective control over production processes and the quality of finished products. In addition, such systems contribute to the continuous improvement of processes and higher levels of product quality. For the proper functioning of this system, Training

¹² Wildberries построит самый большой склад в Узбекистане (Wildberries postroit samyj bolshoj sklad v Uzbekistane) <https://uz.kursiv.media/2023-10-04/wildberries-postroit-samyj-bolshoj-sklad-v-uzbekistane/>

¹³ Преимущества сертификации по стандарту «Халиль» для пищевых производителей(Preimushhestva sertifikacii po standartu «Halyal» dlya pishevih proizvoditelej) <https://certgroup.org/journal/cert-articles-journal/preimushhestva-sertifikacii-po-standartu-halyal-dlya-pishhevyh-proizvoditelej/>

and Development plays an important role: Conducting training programs for manufacturers and entrepreneurs on issues of quality, standardization, production management and technical standards.

4. Finally, it is important to pay attention to information support and promotion among entrepreneurs and manufacturers. Regular holding of seminars, conferences and trainings on standardization, certification and quality management will help increase the awareness and interest of entrepreneurs in issues of product quality. developing marketing strategies, participating in international exhibitions and fairs, as well as establishing partnerships with foreign companies. We should also not forget that today, in the era of globalization, information, its rapid exchange and the development of the Internet for these purposes play a very important role on the world stage. The importance of Internet marketing can hardly be overestimated, so I believe that it is advisable to actively use modern online platforms for selling and advertising goods, not only in specialized online stores whose purpose is commerce, for example, the above-mentioned Wildberries, Ozone , Amazon, etc. but also through for example, social networks Instagram, Tik Tok and others. Creating attractive websites, participating in international online markets, and promoting through online advertising, including on international platforms, can significantly increase the visibility of Uzbek products on the world market.¹⁴

5. Finally, it is important to invest in market research to better understand the needs and preferences of potential buyers abroad. Times are changing very quickly and along with them, people's needs are changing, and the fastest and most timely response to these changes, providing exactly the right and high-quality goods to customers can be a huge advantage over competitors. For example, according to modern psychological and social research, today's young people, who are the bulk of buyers, are very concerned about the naturalness of products, which includes their environmental friendliness, the absence of chemicals, etc., therefore, today the ECO label is one of the most popular and demanded in the world, and for the most part, buyers prefer products with such markings, considering them the safest and most environmentally friendly. ¹⁵Another aspect of consumer

¹⁴ The Role of Internet Marketing in the Modern World/ Rol Internet-Marketinga v Sovremennom Mire
<https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/rol-internet-marketinga-v-sovremennom-mire>

¹⁵ Consumers have become more demanding about the environmental friendliness of products/ Potrebiteli stali trebovatelnee otnositysya k ekologichnosti tovarov / <https://rg.ru/2017/06/05/potrebiteli-stali-trebovatelnee-otnositysya-k-ekologichnosti-tovarov.html>

concern is environmental damage. For the most part, buyers are concerned about harmful gases and garbage that remain not only as a result of production, but also after consuming any product, for example, plastic packaging, as well as the use of limited resources, for example, wood in production, so the Recycle sticker, which indicates that That a product can be recycled, or that the packaging or even the product itself, such as clothing, is made from recycled products attracts a lot of attention and popularity among environmentally conscious shoppers. Although the obvious disadvantage of such goods is their rather high price, the demand for such goods does not decrease but even grows against the backdrop of environmental disasters occurring in the world.¹⁶

Adapting products to the requirements of international markets, taking into account local cultural characteristics and consumer preferences can significantly increase the efficiency of sales of Uzbekistan goods in the world, as well as the fact that they are made from environmentally friendly products and following the latest trends in environmental protection will increase interest in goods from Uzbekistan several times.

In general, promoting Uzbek goods on the world market requires an integrated and systematic approach, which includes improving product quality, obtaining certificates, developing marketing strategies, using modern technologies and online platforms, as well as government support.

Taking into account all these factors, Uzbekistan can successfully promote its goods on the world market, developing its advantages and using modern international trade tools, and today we can see this in the example of the developing national brand “Made in Uzbekistan”

The creation of a favorable brand for Uzbekistan is in full swing today. Today, the program to create the “Made in Uzbekistan” brand is actively being implemented, which will become the basis for promoting domestic brands and goods abroad.

The clothing brand “Made in Uzbekistan” relates to the textile industry, but in the future, it is intended to help unite producers of various sectors of the economy: fruits and vegetables, horticultural products, viticulture, leather and footwear, clothing, electrical engineering, manufacturers of building materials,

¹⁶87 Percent of American Shoppers Concerned About Plastics, Packaging Waste: Poll / <https://www.newsweek.com/87-percent-american-shoppers-concerned-about-plastics-packaging-waste-poll-1617272>

etc., uniting Uzbek manufacturers to promote goods produced in Uzbekistan that have promising export potential on the global economic arena.¹⁷

Today, as part of brand promotion, various marketing campaigns are being carried out both within Uzbekistan and abroad, which will lead in the future to the emergence of promising markets for the sale of domestic goods outside our country. Thus, the presented designer clothes created according to Eastern motifs at the last UK fashion exhibition can be called very successful. Famous British designer Omar Mansour presented his new collection “Spring-Summer 2024” at London Fashion Week using Uzbek motifs. The collection is made from fabric produced in Uzbekistan.¹⁸

Another branded product of Uzbekistan is high-quality fruits and vegetables. In 2022, their exports approached a billion dollars and amounted to \$903 million. The USA. This is about 6% of the country's total exports on the world stage.¹⁹ As the head of our country, Shavkat Mirziyoyev, especially emphasized, “By carefully cultivating the land, growing crops and caring for it wisely, you can achieve high results. It is necessary to think in advance: about where to sell products, and how to get more income than the labor and money invested. To do this, first of all, a scientific approach is necessary. Who will study the demand in the market, introduce modern knowledge, and ensure productivity and quality of products?”²⁰

Another important aspect of the country's development of its international brand and soft power can be called the country's tourism potential. As the head of state has repeatedly said, first of all, it should be noted that the positive point that contributes to the recognition of the country is its rich history and deep cultural heritage, which underlie the development of cultural and historical tourism.

¹⁷ Made in Uzbekistan: почему Gloria Jeans, O'stin, Oodji и не только выбирают узбекское производство/ Made in Uzbekistan: pochemu Gloria Jeans, O'stin, Oodji i ne tolko vybirayut uzbekskoe proizvodstvo/ <https://vc.ru/u/1217365-asiatex/443092-made-in-uzbekistan-pochemu-gloria-jeans-o-stin-oodji-i-ne-tolko-vybirayut-uzbekskoe-proizvodstvo>

¹⁸ Uzbek motives on week fashion V London Uzbekske motivy na Nedele mody v Londone / <https://nuz.uz/2023/09/27/uzbekskie-motivy-na-nedele-mody-v-londone/>

¹⁹ Узбекистан экспортировал фрукты и овощи на \$903 млн в этом году (Uzbekistan eksportiroval frukty i ovoshi na \$903 mln v etom godu) / <https://uz.sputniknews.ru/20221122/uzbekistan-eksportiroval-frukty-i-ovoschi-na-903-mln-v-etom-godu--infografika-30169862.html>

²⁰ Шавкат Мирзиёев: для получения большего дохода необходим научный подход (Shavkat Mirziyoyev: dlya polucheniya bolshego dohoda neobhodim nauchnyj podhod) <https://president.uz/ru/1781>

Creating a successful Uzbekistan national brand in tourism

The key point in creating a recognizable brand is the development of international tourism. And this can be actively contributed by the tourism branding program "Welcome to Uzbekistan" which actively began to develop from the very moment of its foundation.

Uzbekistan has a rich cultural heritage, which is represented by cities such as Bukhara, Khiva, Samarkand - which have their own unique ancient architecture, one of a kind, which are not found anywhere in the world and this is what can become the foundation for the development of historical and religious tourism in our country.

In addition to architecture, to form an image and brand, it is necessary to indicate the presence of unique national crafts and art, favorable nature, unique cuisine, and most importantly, friendly and hospitable people - all this can be used to create a recognizable image of Uzbekistan on the world stage and make our country even more attractive to tourism.

In the Development Strategy of the New Uzbekistan, the tourism industry, within the framework of the "Travel Uzbekistan" program, sets the task of attracting 2.7 million tourists to the country this year and bringing this figure to 9 million tourists by 2026.²¹

The second step is to determine the target audience. Globalization makes the world more accessible and more compressed, and this opens up new opportunities for attracting tourists, and most importantly, investors from different countries. At its core, the national brand of Uzbekistan will have to not only attract the attention of individual tourists, but also large international companies that see the potential of our country and will be ready to invest their financial assets in its development. Such news reports are becoming the norm when large global brands such as Yandex, Ozone, O'STIN, etc. open their production facilities in Uzbekistan and become tax recipients of our country, which has an extremely positive effect on the development of the country's economy as a whole.²²

²¹Узбекистан планирует довести количество иностранных туристов до 9 млн к 2026 году
(Uzbekistan planiruet dovesti kolichestvo inostrannyh turistov do 9 mln k 2026 godu)
<https://kun.uz/ru/news/2019/01/05/uzbekistan-planiruyet-dovesti-kolichestvo-inostrannix-turistov-do-9-mln-k-2026-godu>

²² Made in Uzbekistan: why Gloria Jeans, O'stin, Oodji and Not only choose Uzbek production /
<https://vc.ru/u/1217365-asiatex/443092-made-in-uzbekistan-pochemu-gloria-jeans-o-stin-oodji-i-ne-tolko-vybirayut-uzbekskoe-proizvodstvo>

The third step to promote a brand is to create an effective strategy for promoting the brand. As a result of the fourth industrial revolution in the international arena, systems have changed in many sectors of the economy and not only, because today we cannot ignore the digitalization and expansion of the Internet space and its impact on the politics and economy of countries. We cannot ignore the development of world technologies, their impact on globalization, as well as the impact on facilitating the exchange of information between people. Adapting to this ever-changing global flow of information can be said to be one of the demands of our times.

Online forums, social networks, electronic and printed information resources - they all provide great opportunities for effective communication with the global community, and social networks, in turn, as the most actively used communication sites by people, provide a unique opportunity for promoting a national brand.

To successfully create a brand, it is important to actively use various social networks, Internet forums, and other Internet platforms for exchanging information. This will make it possible to disseminate information about the achievements and potential of Uzbekistan and create a positive image of the country at the international level, which will be facilitated not only by active participation in international exhibitions, festivals and other events.

Published information on the most popular Internet sources Instagram and Facebook helps to popularize the rich historical culture of Uzbekistan, and positions the country as a friendly and hospitable society for ideal family holidays and tourist trips, which is what it really is.

However, I believe that the development of historical tourism is only the first step in developing the tourism potential of Uzbekistan. In fact, although Uzbekistan has every opportunity to develop historical tourism on its territory, however, this is only the first step, and can only become the basis for the development of other tourist destinations, for example, ecotourism and gastrotourism.

Developing ecotourism in Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan has all the prospects for the development of ecotourism. According to the UN World Tourism Organization, ecotourism is recognized as one of the promising sectors of the economy. Based on this, Uzbekistan must take important steps in the development of this area. Discussions regarding the development of eco-tourism are taking place everywhere; a

striking example of this is the round table held at the University of World Economy and Diplomacy.²³

The development of ecotourism in Uzbekistan is an important area that can contribute to nature conservation, the development of local communities and increase the country's tourism income. Uzbekistan has diverse natural beauty, including mountain ranges, deserts, lakes, rivers, unique plant and animal species, and historical and cultural sites.

To develop ecotourism in Uzbekistan, it is worth taking several steps

Firstly, for the development of ecotourism in Uzbekistan, it is necessary to assess natural resources, develop ecological routes, and create infrastructure for tourists, such as ecological hotels, campsites and tourist centers. It is also important to provide opportunities for environmentally oriented excursions, hikes, organize walking and cycling routes, as well as recreational areas.

Secondly, the promotion of ecotourism in Uzbekistan also involves the development of training programs and exchange of experience, so that travel agencies in Uzbekistan can not only invite guests, but also know exactly which part of the country may be of interest to a particular tourist, be it high mountains, dense forests or desert territories of the Aral Sea, for all this, representatives of travel agencies must have extensive knowledge regarding the nature and environmental objects of Uzbekistan. Knowledge of the country's historical and environmental sites is very important so that tourists can be provided with ecotourism services at the highest level when organizing various types of ecotours.

Thirdly, as in any business, in the field of ecotourism it is also important to conduct marketing and information campaigns in order to attract the attention of foreign tourists to the unique natural attractions of Uzbekistan , which can be greatly helped by the presence of advertising and participation in international tourism exhibitions and forums, which will help attract attention to environmental potential of the country and attracting new groups of tourists.

Environmental compliance and project sustainability should also be a focus when developing ecotourism. Ensuring sustainability of ecotourism routes, reducing environmental impact, preserving natural resources and cultural heritage should be a key goal.

²³ Каково будущее экотуризма в Узбекистане?/ (Kakovo budushee ekoturizma v Uzbekistane?)
<https://sreda.uz/rubriki/bio/ekoturizm/>

In addition, it is important to pay attention to the development of infrastructure and services for ecotourists, such as eco-hotels, campsites, hiking and cycling routes, networks of tourist information centers, etc. Ensuring comfortable accommodation and safety of tourists will help attract more people to eco-tourism in Uzbekistan .

One of the important points in the development of eco-tourism is also education and information campaigns aimed at increasing environmental awareness among tourists and local residents. This can encourage more responsible behavior by tourists, reduce negative impacts on the environment and conserve natural resources. Based on this, we can say that the development of ecotourism, in turn, can contribute to the protection of natural areas and biodiversity of Uzbekistan.

Ecotourism can also help raise awareness of the importance of nature and the environment among tourists and local residents, which in turn can promote the sustainable use of natural resources and biodiversity conservation. Taking measures to preserve vulnerable ecosystems, creating nature reserves, protected natural areas and sustainable use of natural resources play an important role in the development of eco-tourism.

Developing gastronomic tourism in Uzbekistan

Another important type of tourism that can be developed in Uzbekistan is gastronomic tourism. Although at first glance it may seem that this direction is not particularly popular, this is not so.²⁴ According to the report of the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), a survey was conducted among member states, which are 156 countries of the world. According to the survey, more than 88.2% of respondents visiting countries as tourists and those who provide them with various types of services consider gastronomy to be one of, if not the most important strategic element in defining a country's brand and attracting tourists to it. 67% believe that their country has formed a unique gastronomic brand, which attracts tourists to visit the country. Gastro tourism is most developed in countries such as Italy, France, Germany, England and Switzerland.

France can be considered the most famous example of the development of gastrotourism. According to the latest data, Paris is not only the center of

²⁴ Гастрономический туризм как популярное направление в туристической индустрии/ (Gastronomiceskij urizm kak populyarnoe napravlenie v turisticheskoy industrii)
https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/gastronomiceskiy-turizm-kak-populyarnoe-napravlenie-v-turisticheskoy-industrii/viewer

fashion, but also the center of the unique gourmet French cuisine and the most famous tour is called the “discovery of French cuisine”, created in conjunction with a 5 star restaurant, where tourists are invited to try unique dishes and diversify their gastronomic experience. And this tour is almost as popular as fashion shows in the capital of France²⁵

The development of gastronomic tourism can become an important direction for Uzbekistan, given the rich cultural heritage and authentic cuisine of the country. Uzbekistan offers unique dishes such as pilaf, shish kebab, flatbreads, fruits, manti and many other traditional Uzbek dishes that attract the attention of tourists, and the preparation of some dishes, for example sumalak, can even be a real show.

To develop gastronomic tourism in Uzbekistan, it is necessary to take a number of measures, including the creation of gastronomic routes, support for restaurants and cafes specializing in Uzbek cuisine, holding culinary master classes and festivals dedicated to Uzbek cuisine, as well as the development of infrastructure for gastronomic tourists, including thematic excursions, tasting of local products and traditional dishes.

It is also important to actively promote Uzbek cuisine in the international arena by participating in international gastronomic tourism festivals, establishing partnerships with foreign chefs, and restaurateurs, and promoting Uzbek cuisine through cookbooks, television and Internet programs, and social networks.

In addition, an important aspect of gastronomic tourism is the products used in preparation. As written above, today there is a wave of popularity of eco-friendly, chemical-free products and the use of such products in cooking can greatly increase the popularity of gastronomic tourism in Uzbekistan. To do this, I think it is necessary to actively attract local producers and farmers to participate in the development of gastronomic tourism. Supporting local products, using natural and organic ingredients, and organizing farmers' markets and festivals can be key elements to expanding food tourism.

Cooperation between local restaurants, hotels and travel agencies will also contribute to the development of gastronomic tourism. Creating tourism packages that include culinary tours, tastings such as the above “discovery of

²⁵ Гастрономический туризм как популярное направление в туристической индустрии/ (Gastronomicheskij urizm kak populyarnoe napravlenie v turisticheskoj industrii) <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/gastronomiceskiy-turizm-kak-populyarnoe-napravlenie-v-turisticheskoy-industrii/viewer>

French cuisine” and culinary master classes on preparing national dishes can be of great interest to tourists, which will increase the attractiveness of Uzbekistan for gastronomic tourists.

The development of gastronomic tourism in Uzbekistan can become an additional source of income for local communities, create new jobs and contribute to the expansion of the tourism industry as a whole.

Of course, another important aspect of the development of gastronomic tourism in Uzbekistan is active international marketing activities. Participation in international exhibitions and festivals, promotion of Uzbek cuisine through travel agencies, and creation of travel brochures and online platforms help to attract the attention of international tourists to the gastronomic possibilities of Uzbekistan. A striking example of such activities is the international exhibition UzFood

In 2022, 6,457 visitors were registered at the exhibition, of which 4,783 were professional visitors from 19 countries: Austria, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Great Britain, Germany, Georgia, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, UAE, Poland, the Republic of Belarus, Russia, USA, Tajikistan, Turkey, Uzbekistan and Switzerland.²⁶

It is also important to develop cooperation with other countries and institutions in the field of gastronomic tourism, exchange experiences and best practices, organize culinary festivals, gastronomic competitions and cooking shows with the participation of international chefs and experts. What Uzbekistan is actively doing today, including the preparation of huge dishes, record-breaking pizza, pilaf, sumalak, information about which is widely disseminated through social networks, attracts enormous attention and influences the development of gastrotourism in Uzbekistan

Conclusion

To summarize, we can conclude that the formation of a national brand of Uzbekistan today can help strengthen the country's image and its position in the world community and strengthen its position in the field of “soft power”, which in turn will have a positive impact on the security and economic security of the country as a whole.

²⁶UzFood 2023 – main exhibition Uzbekistan By food industry / UzFood 2023 – glavnaya vystavka Uzbekistana po pishevoj industrii <https://foodbay.com/wiki/exhibitions/2023/01/13/uzfood-2023-glavnaya-vystavka-uzbekistana-po-pishhevoj-industrii/>

Uzbekistan will be able to attract more tourists and investors, expand economic opportunities, and preserve and spread its rich culture and heritage. In addition, the formation of a national brand of Uzbekistan in the context of globalization must also take into account the changing needs and preferences of consumers and adapt to the most well-known trends in this area, or even launch its own trends on the world stage.

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III. ХАЛКАРО ХУКУК ТАДКИКОТЛАРИ
Международно-правовые Исследования
International Legal Studies

**LEGAL ANALYSIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL
TRANSPORT CORRIDORS DEVELOPMENT IN
CENTRAL AND SOUTH ASIA REGIONS**

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Abstract: Nowadays, the countries of Central and South Asia are making great efforts to create international transport corridors connecting these regions. One of the main goals of creating these corridors is to ensure mutual access to markets for the countries of the two regions. The purpose of this article is to identify whether the regional legal framework is capable of ensuring the free movement of goods between the countries of the region. For these purposes, the legal framework at the regional level was studied, as well as the participation of countries in international treaties regarding transport and transit issues. The author concluded that the circumstances of the cases do not prevent the free movement of goods between the countries of Central Asia, and also, due to the weak legal framework, the free movement of goods between the countries of South Asia is not possible.

Keywords: international transport corridors, Central Asia, South Asia, international agreements in the field of transport and transit, regional international agreements, free movement of goods.

Introduction

Today, the creation of international transport corridors (ITC) connecting the two regions is relevant for many countries in Central and South Asia. Countries are making considerable efforts to provide direct routes to establish intensive trade between regions. Speaking about the construction of the trans-Afghan railway connecting Uzbekistan and Pakistan, President Shavkat Mirziyoyev noted: “The Termez–Mazar-i-Sharif–Kabul–Peshawar railway is our common future. When the construction of this route is completed, we will

create the closest, cheapest and safest corridor connecting Pakistan with Central Asia, and Uzbekistan with the ports of Karachi, Gwadar and Qasim”¹.

One of the main goals of creating these corridors is to ensure mutual access to markets for the countries of the two regions. Having gained access to the market of one state in the region, it is therefore possible to deliver goods to other states in the region. In this case, the regional transport system will play a key role, including the legal mechanisms existing between the countries of the region regulating the transport system. In this regard, it seems appropriate to consider the international legal aspects of intraregional regulation of transport routes in Central and South Asia.

International legal aspects of intraregional regulation of transport routes in Central Asia.

The modern transport system of Central Asia is actually part of the once unified transport system of the former USSR. All major highways and railways were built during the Soviet Union. It is worth noting that the first railway tracks in Central Asia were laid at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries by the Russian Empire². The transport system of the USSR provided and still provides road and rail connections between all countries of Central Asia.

The first thing that the former republics of the USSR faced with the acquisition of independence was a sharp decline in production, and an acute shortage of supplies of products traditionally supplied by other republics, which forced them to establish new, this time international, economic relations among themselves, trying to overcome the negative economic consequences of the collapse. The CIS was founded in December 1991 as the institutional framework for managing and developing these relations. One of the declared goals of the new organization was to preserve the previously existing economic unity, while respect for sovereignty and mutual benefit became the basis of interstate relations³.

¹ What did the President of Uzbekistan and the Prime Minister of Pakistan agree on? // <https://uznews.uz/posts/53950> - 2022. - March 4.

² Akhmedzhanova Z.K. On the history of railway construction in Central Asia (1880-1917). -T.: “Nauka”, 1965, P.22-25.

³ Rilka Dragneva and Joop de Kort. The Legal Regime for Free Trade in the Commonwealth of Independent States // The International and Comparative Law Quarterly. Vol. 56, No. 2 (Apr., 2007), pp. 233-266.

The once unified, well-developed transport network built during the Soviet period, after the collapse, became international transport corridors connecting the former republics of the USSR, and allowing them to have foreign economic relations while already being independent. The position of the Central Asian countries was critical, since they are all landlocked and were completely dependent on the routes of the unified transport network of the former Soviet Union running through Russia.

Transport corridor agreements

Under the current conditions, within the CIS, in different periods, several attempts were made to recreate a free trade zone, which would, among other things, ensure the effective functioning of transport corridors through free transit. In 1994, a Free Trade Agreement was signed between Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine.

However, this Agreement was mainly of a framework nature. It lacked the most essential thing: a specific list of exemptions from free trade, the application and phasing out of exemptions during the transition period, as well as the timing of this period⁴. It was understood that duty-free trade would be carried out in this zone, and tariff and non-tariff restrictions would be abolished. Article 10 of the Agreement established the free transit regime.

However, in practice, not everything went as planned; the views of the CIS members differed significantly regarding their foreign economic activities⁵. This is further confirmed by the fact that a total of 44 bilateral international free trade agreements were concluded between the CIS members⁶.

Only in 2011, the CIS members managed to sign a new effective Free Trade Agreement, on the basis of which it became possible to eliminate a considerable number of barriers to mutual trade. This agreement replaced all bilateral international free trade agreements between the parties to the Agreement⁷. The main point was the abolition of Article 2 of the Treaty on the

⁴ Velyaminov G.M. International economic law and process: (Academic course): Textbook. - M., 2004.

⁵ Mulyukova V.A. International legal aspects of the development of economic cooperation of member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States // Bulletin of the Russian Peoples' Friendship University. Series: Legal sciences. No. 2, 2011. pp. 96-106.

⁶ Tiunov O.I. On the peculiarities of the development of integration processes in the post-Soviet space // Journal of Russian Law. No. 8 (188), 2012. pp. 92-98.

⁷ Vityuk V.V. Tariff-preferential regime: concept and legal basis for regulation // Customs policy of Russia in the Far East. No. 3 (88), 2019. pp. 68-81.

Application of Customs Duties⁸. Also, an important decision was reached regarding the abolition of quantitative restrictions in mutual trade. The agreement unifies the approach regarding the rules for determining the country of origin of goods, and defines the granting of national treatment by the parties to each other in accordance with Article III of GATT 1994.

Undoubtedly, the Free Trade Agreement of 2011 gave a significant impetus to international trade between CIS members⁹, which in turn had a positive impact on the functioning of the ITC in the CIS space. However, it should be noted that the Treaty does not pay much attention to issues related to the ITC. Article 7 of the Treaty covers certain aspects of transit. In particular, it can be noted that the customs authorities of the parties mutually recognize national means of identification, other means of customs support, as well as documents necessary for the control of goods and vehicles carrying them. Also, the parties shall mutually accord to goods in transit through the territory of any other party treatment no less favorable than the treatment that would be accorded to such goods if they were transported without passing through the territory of such other party.

In order to develop the ITC within the CIS, an Agreement on the coordinated development of international transport corridors passing through the territory of the CIS member states was adopted in 2009¹⁰. The agreement does not contain certain mandatory rules regarding the regulation of the ITC, and also does not provide for the implementation of any specific measures, and only defines the main directions for the development of the ITC in general terms.

At the same time, it should be noted that the countries of Central Asia, along with other countries of the former USSR, within the CIS have a considerable number of agreements ensuring the functioning of land transport routes, i.e. road and railway, both in the Central Asian region and in the CIS. These include the following agreements:

⁸ CIS Free Trade Agreement // available at: <https://cis.minsk.by/reestrv2/doc/3183#text>

⁹ Tretyakova A.A. CIS free trade zone: problems and prospects // International scientific research journal. No. 6-3 (108), 2021. pp. 136-139.

¹⁰ Agreement on the coordinated development of international transport corridors passing through the territory of the CIS member states // available at <https://lex.uz/docs/2756518?ONDATE2=11.06.2021&action=compare>

Intergovernmental agreement on coordinating bodies of railway transport in the CIS (1992)¹¹;

Convention on the International Carriage of Passengers and Luggage by Road (1997);

Agreement on interaction between CIS member states in the field of international road transport (2003);

Agreement on the masses and dimensions of vehicles carrying out international transportation on the roads of the CIS member states (1999);

Agreement on the introduction of an international certificate for weighing cargo vehicles on the territory of the CIS member states (2004).

Thus, the countries of Central Asia did not achieve great results in the development of new regional transport routes during the years of independence, however, within the CIS they managed to preserve the transport system of the former USSR, which ensures regular and stable cargo flows between the countries.

At the same time, the transportation of goods between the countries of Central Asia is ensured by a number of international agreements in the field of transport and transit.

Road transport is mainly provided by the Convention on the International Transport of Goods under Carnet (TIR) 1975. All countries of Central Asia are parties to this Convention, which greatly facilitates the legal regulation of transport by this type of transport. As is known, the Convention forms a customs transit system and contains provisions aimed at facilitating border crossing and customs formalities in the framework of international transport of goods. This helps reduce the time and costs associated with the border and simplifies the transportation process¹².

Rail transportation is provided by the Agreement on International Freight Transport by Rail (SMGS). The purpose of SMGS is to ensure safe and efficient transportation of goods, establish common standards and rules, and promote the development of international cooperation in the field of rail freight transport¹³. All countries of Central Asia are parties to this Convention,

¹¹ Merkushova O.V. Cooperation of the CIS countries to ensure the safety of transport infrastructure facilities, transportation of passengers and cargo by different modes of transport // International cooperation of Eurasian states: politics, economics, law. No. 3 (16), 2018. pp. 90-98.

¹² Kholopov K.V. International private transport law. Analysis of the norms of international and Russian transport law: Textbook. - M.: Statute, 2010. p. 528 – 533.

¹³ Andreev V.K. Prospects and stages of the formation of a single transport space in the EAEU and the CIS // International cooperation of Eurasian states: politics, economics, law. No. 2(11), 2017. pp. 50-59.

which indicates the application of a single legal regime in regulating international rail transport.

At the same time, all Central Asian countries are parties to the following international agreements:

Convention on the Contract for the International Carriage of Goods by Road (CMR) (1956);

International Convention on the Simplification and Harmonization of Customs Procedures (1973);

International Convention on the Harmonization of Frontier Controls of Goods (1982);

Convention on Road Traffic (1968);

Convention on Road Signs and Signals (1968).

These conventions clearly contribute to the development of transport communications in the region, ensuring freer and faster movement of goods between states. For example, Article 7 of the International Convention on the Harmonization of Frontier Controls of Goods (1982) obliges Central Asian countries to make every effort to organize joint control of goods and documents through the installation of shared equipment. This implies ensuring similarity in the operating hours of border posts, control services operating at the corresponding posts, as well as categories of cargo, means of transport and international customs transit systems that are used or may be accepted for use in the countries of the region¹⁴.

In addition, there are international agreements to which individual Central Asian states are parties:

International agreements	States	Uzbekista n	Kazakhsta n	Kyrgyzsta n	Turkmeni stan	Tajikistan
Convention on the Customs Treatment	✓					

¹⁴ Sarsembayev M.A. How to identify and solve organizational and legal problems of cargo control at the borders of Kazakhstan and Central Asia // Bulletin of the Institute of Legislation and Legal Information of the Republic of Kazakhstan. No. 4 (20), 2010. pp. 110-118.

of Containers Pooled and Used in International Transport (Container Pool Convention) (1994)			-		-
Convention on Temporary Admission (Istanbul Convention, 1990)			-	-	
Customs Convention concerning Containers (1972)					-

These international agreements play a major role in the organization of international transport and, accordingly, in the functioning of international transport corridors. Particular attention should be paid to agreements regulating issues related to containers during international transportation, because In most cases, containers are imported in connection with a commercial transaction, but their importation does not itself constitute a commercial transaction^{15 16}.

As can be seen, the countries of Central Asia are members of most international agreements in the field of transport and transit, which indicates a unified legal framework and a unified approach to the organization of international land communications. There are seven international agreements and seven regional multilateral agreements governing issues related to transport and transit in the Central Asian region. This circumstance allows the countries of the region to carry out regular and stable transportation among themselves along transport routes. Thus, it can be assumed that cargo delivered to one of the states of Central Asia can be delivered to another state in this region without any special obstacles.

International legal aspects of intraregional regulation of transport routes in South Asia.

South Asia is often described as one of the least integrated regions in the world. Despite geographical proximity, the share of intraregional trade in total trade of South Asian countries remains small at about 5%. Trade potential remains largely untapped due to poor cross-border transport infrastructure and facilitation. Given the advantages of geographic proximity,

¹⁵ Khalipov S.V. Customs features of importing containers into the Eurasian Economic Union // Russian Foreign Economic Bulletin. No. 4, 2020. pp. 48-57.

¹⁶ Arefkina M.Yu. The role of chambers of commerce and industry in the international ATA system // Law and State: Theory and Practice. No. 1 (133), 2016. pp. 138-141.

land transport corridors should ideally be the most important factor for strengthening transport links and facilitating cross-border transport¹⁷.

Rail and road transport are the most suitable and cheapest mode of trade related transport in South Asian countries. Ineffective trade and transport facilitation in South Asian countries has also significantly reduced the benefits of trade liberalization under the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA). The relevance of the agreement is likely to become even weaker over time as bilateral free trade agreements in the region, which are already more liberal, are implemented earlier¹⁸. In addition, the agreement does not provide for specific rules regarding transit provision¹⁹.

Transport facilitation has been identified as a key issue for improving transport connectivity and economic integration in South Asia²⁰. Suboptimal transport connections are one of the main obstacles to the smooth and efficient cross-border movement of goods and vehicles, which negatively affects the growth of intraregional trade and investment potential in the region²¹.

Freedom of transit in the South Asian region faces numerous challenges. Political misunderstanding and lack of institutional and regulatory reforms have affected the development of regional transit. Although bilateral transit agreements exist between the countries (India, Nepal and Bhutan), they have made limited progress in addressing issues related to facilitation of bilateral transit procedures. Lack of political will and institutional capacity also leads to delays. Goods transported by road in South Asian countries are subject to transshipment at borders, leading to unnecessary delays²².

For example, India and Bangladesh do not have a transit agreement and goods are loaded and unloaded at border points. Similarly, India and Pakistan

¹⁷ Nagesh Kumar, Joseph George. Corridors of Knowledge for Peace and Development. Chapter 13 Connecting for Trade and Development: Issues and Prospects of Land Transport Corridors in South Asia // Sustainable Development Policy Institute (Pakistan). 2020. pp. 165-182.

¹⁸ Dushni Weerakoon, Jayanthi Thennakoon. SAFTA: Myth of Free Trade // Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 41, No. 37 (Sep. 16-22, 2006), pp. 3920-3923.

¹⁹ Agreement on South Asian Free Trade Area // Available at: <https://commerce.gov.in/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/safta.pdf>

²⁰ Bipul Chatterjee, Surendar Singh. Corridors of Knowledge for Peace and Development. Chapter 14 Regional Connectivity in South Asia: Role of the International Road Transports (TIR) Convention // Sustainable Development Policy Institute (Pakistan). 2020. pp. 183-199.

²¹ Trade Consignment Mapping in South Asia: A Study of Three SAARC Corridors // Consumer Unity and Trust Society International, Jaipur, 2015. Available at: www.cuts-citee.org/TCMSA/pdf/Report-Trade_Consignment_Mapping_in_South_Asia-A_Study_of_Three_SAARC_Corridors.pdf

²² Bipul Chatterjee, Surendar Singh. Corridors of Knowledge for Peace and Development. Chapter 14 Regional Connectivity in South Asia: Role of the International Road Transports (TIR) Convention // Sustainable Development Policy Institute (Pakistan). 2020. pp. 183-199.

allow movement of goods only through the Attari-Wagah land border and only 137 goods can be traded through this land port. The main factor hindering connectivity in the region is the lack of effective regional transit agreements. Consequently, the cost of transporting goods for landlocked countries such as Bhutan and Nepal is high and directly affects their trade competitiveness in global markets²³. In other words, the lack of effective transit mechanisms in the subregion hinders intraregional trade, economic exchange and the integration of regional markets.

Pakistan and Afghanistan have a Transit Trade Agreement concluded in Kabul in 2010. Four border points have been identified for the transportation of goods: Peshawar - Torkam, Chaman - Spin Boldak, Ghulam Khan, Sost - Tashkurgan. The agreement provides the right to transport goods to/from Afghanistan through the Pakistani border post with India “Wagah”, as well as through the Pakistani seaports of Gwadar, Karachi and Qasim²⁴.

As stated above, the Convention concerning the International Transport of Goods under TIR Carnets (TIR Convention 1975) is one of the most successful conventions in improving the efficiency of trade supply chains by reducing trade costs at various points in the supply chain. Today, it is the only global customs transit system that ensures the easy and unhindered movement of goods across borders. As noted, all Central Asian countries are parties to this convention.

However, despite the obvious benefits and benefits of the convention in South Asia, only India, Pakistan and Afghanistan are contracting parties. China has also acceded to the TIR Convention under the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The convention will help China realize its connectivity ambitions in South Asia as it will facilitate the smooth movement of cargo vehicles across borders. China's accession to the BRI provides a strong case for other countries to join the TIR Convention. Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh are members of the BRI but are yet to accede to the Convention. On the other hand, India has joined, but it is not part of the BRI. This could have implications for existing regional connectivity initiatives in South Asia and beyond.

²³ Review of Developments in Transport in Asia and the Pacific: Transport for Sustainable Development and Regional Connectivity // United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, no. ST/ESCAP/2815, Bangkok, Thailand, 2017.

²⁴ Afghanistan - Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement, 2010 (APTTA) // Available at: https://tadb.unescap.org/AFG/bilat_AFG_PAK_2010_eng.pdf

South Asian countries recognize the importance of regional connectivity, especially for landlocked countries, to enhance their competitiveness and stimulate economic growth. This was due to improved political relations due to closer regional cooperation. Countries have undertaken a number of regional connectivity initiatives to expand their trade and investment ties, thereby shaping a broader regional economic integration agenda²⁵.

Attempts were made by SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) member countries in 2014 to adopt the SAARC Regional Railway Agreement and the SAARC Vehicle Agreement aimed at enhancing cross-border and regional connectivity, but this was delayed due to lack of response from Pakistan side.

Next, we will consider the participation of South Asian countries in international agreements related in one way or another to transport and transit issues.

States	Afghanistan	Bangladesh	Bhutan	India	Nepal	Pakistan	Sri Lanka
International agreements							
Convention on the International Transport of Goods under Cover of Carnets (TIR) 1975	-						-
Convention on the Contract for the International Carriage of Goods by Road (CMR) (1956)	-						-
International Convention on the Simplification and Harmonization of Customs Procedures (1973)	+						+
International Convention on							-

²⁵ Nagesh Kumar, Joseph George. Corridors of Knowledge for Peace and Development. Chapter 13 Connecting for Trade and Development: Issues and Prospects of Land Transport Corridors in South Asia // Sustainable Development Policy Institute (Pakistan). 2020. pp. 165-182

the Harmonization of Frontier Controls of Goods (1982)	-						
Convention on Road Traffic (1968)	-						-
Convention on Road Signs and Signals (1968)	-						-
Convention on the Customs Treatment of Containers Pooled and Used in International Transport (Container Pool Convention) (1994)	-						-
Convention on Temporary Admission (Istanbul Convention, 1990)	-						-
Customs Convention concerning Containers (1972)	-						+

Thus, it becomes apparent that South Asian countries are very poorly integrated into the global legal system in the field of transport. The countries have practically no common legal framework to ensure regular and stable transportation; there is not a single international agreement in the field of transit and transport, to which all countries of South Asia are parties; there is also not a single regional multilateral agreement in the field of transit and transport. All indications are that South Asian countries are facing various challenges with regard to transit and transport facilitation.

Conclusion

The countries of Central Asia did not achieve great results in the development of new regional transport routes during the years of independence, however, within the CIS they managed to preserve the transport system of the former USSR, which ensures regular and stable cargo flows between the countries.

The Central Asian states are parties to most international agreements in the field of transport and transit, which indicates a unified legal framework and a unified approach to the organization of international land transport communications. There are seven international agreements and seven regional multilateral agreements governing issues related to transport and transit in the Central Asian region. This circumstance allows the countries of the region to

carry out regular and stable transportation among themselves along transport routes. Thus, it can be assumed that cargo delivered to one of the Central Asian states can be delivered to another state in the region without any special obstacles.

The situation is completely different in South Asia, where countries in the region face a variety of problems with regard to transit and transport facilitation. The countries of South Asia practically do not have a common legal framework among themselves to ensure regular and stable transportation, there is not a single international agreement in the field of transit and transport, to which all countries of South Asia are parties, and there is not a single regional multilateral agreement in the field of transit and transport. This circumstance indicates the absence of a unified legal framework and a unified approach to the organization of international land transport communications.

The region's two largest economies, India and Pakistan, deny each other transit rights, having a large land border with the potential to connect the region by both road and rail. Afghanistan, having agreements in the field of transport and transit with Pakistan, can provide Central Asian countries with access only to Pakistan.

The legal situation in the field of transport and transit within the South Asian region indicates that when creating international transport corridors with the countries of the region, having gained access to the market of one state, from the point of view of transit, it will not be possible to gain access to the rest of the states in the region. Thus, access will be limited; the transport corridor will provide transport connections not with the entire region, but only with the country with which the corridor will be built.

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IV. ХАЛКАРО ИКТИСОДИЙ ТРЕНДЛАР
Международные Экономические Тренды
International Economic Trends

**NEW CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES IN UNDERSTANDING
THE "GREEN" STATE MODEL: CENTRAL ASIAN CASE**

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Abstract. This research analyzes the state of the 'green' economy in Uzbekistan in comparison with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan, focusing on the descriptive analysis of the situation within the last 20-30 years. The core element of the research is the analysis of the Random Effects model (Panel Data analysis). There are various types of models to analyze panel data. For this research, the choice was made between Fixed Effects and Random Effects models using the Haussmann test. One area of the green economy is to minimize greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. The researcher attempts to connect GHG emission (total) with various ESG (Environment, social and government) factors across Central Asian (CA) countries within the last 30 years. As the CA countries are post-soviet countries, they have about 30 years of independent economic activity, thus for comparison purposes Denmark is also added partly to the research. During the research, the Environmental Kuznets Curve (EKC) will be used to model the equation, thus will be proved by graphics and the REM model. The research used data from various sources, such as the Eurostat, the OECD (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development), the United Nations, and the Uzbekistan National Statistics Committee.

Keywords – Environmental Kuznet's Curve, GHG emissions, CA countries, GDP, primary energy supply, renewable energy consumption, urbanization, green economy, transition, green growth.

Introduction.

The world is facing unprecedented challenges in the 21st century, such as climate change, biodiversity loss, resource depletion, social inequality, and global pandemics. These challenges pose serious threats to the well-being of humanity and the planet, and require urgent and coordinated actions from all stakeholders. However, the current economic system, based on the capitalist model of production and consumption, is not capable of addressing these challenges effectively. On the contrary, capitalism is one of the main causes of these problems, as it relies on the exploitation of natural and human resources, the accumulation of wealth and power by a few, and the generation of externalities and waste that harm the environment and society. According to the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP), today the richest 80 people own the same wealth as the 3.5 billion poorest people¹.

According to the World Bank, Uzbekistan is one of the most energy- and carbon-intensive economies in the world, with a high dependence on fossil fuels, especially natural gas². This makes Uzbekistan vulnerable to external shocks, such as fluctuations in energy prices and trade policies, as well as to the impacts of climate change, such as water scarcity, desertification, and extreme weather events. Moreover, Uzbekistan faces significant challenges in terms of social development, such as poverty, unemployment, gender inequality, and low human capital³.

Therefore, there is a need for Uzbekistan to transition to a green economy and green growth, which are defined by the United Nations as “a system that results in improved human well-being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities”⁴. A green economy and green growth can offer Uzbekistan multiple benefits, such as enhancing its economic competitiveness, diversifying its energy sources, increasing its resource efficiency, improving its environmental quality, and, last but not the least, achieving its balanced and inclusive development.

¹ UNEP (2015) Uncovering pathways towards an inclusive green economy: a summary for leaders. Available at: <https://www.unep.org/resources/report/uncovering-pathways-towards-inclusive-green-economy-summary-leaders>

² World Bank (2022) Towards a greener economy in Uzbekistan. Available at: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/entities/publication/7046a76c-f533-5846-83e4-7dde22f2ad03>

³ UNDP. (2023). Uzbekistan | United Nations Development Programme. [online] Available at: <https://www.undp.org/uzbekistan>.

⁴ Environment, U.N. (2017). Why does green economy matter? [online] UNEP - UN Environment Programme. Available at: <https://www.unep.org/explore-topics/green-economy/why-does-green-economy-matter>.

Central Asian countries and environmental issues.

Kazakhstan, since gaining independence in 1991, has faced significant environmental challenges inherited from the Soviet era's industrial practices. However, the country has progressively shifted its policies towards a green economy. While fossil fuels continue to dominate the energy mix, Kazakhstan's renewable energy share has shown modest but consistent growth, rising from 0.1% in 2000 to 1.8% in 2023 (forecast), alongside increased investment in green technologies. To address environmental legacies and promote greener development, Kazakhstan established the Ministry of Ecology, Geology and Natural Resources and enacted the Environmental Code (2007). Additionally, Kazakhstan's international commitments, such as ratifying the Kyoto Protocol, along with national programs such as Green Kazakhstan (2013) and its Emissions Trading Scheme (2016), signal a growing emphasis on reducing emissions and enhancing sustainability (Ministry Of Ecology, Geology And Natural Resources Of The Republic Of Kazakhstan, 2020)⁵.

Kyrgyzstan with its significant portion of its economy reliant on agriculture, challenges such as deforestation, water scarcity, and climate change pose a considerable threat. Despite possessing abundant renewable energy potential, particularly in hydropower, solar, and wind, Kyrgyzstan's green transition faces hurdles. While the National Sustainable Development Strategy (2018-2040) acknowledges the significance of a green economy and sets an ambitious target of achieving "negative CO₂ emissions"⁶, a substantial green investment gap persists. Previous economic practices caused severe consequences, for example, in air quality. World Bank reports that particulate matter (PM_{2.5}) concentration in capital of Kyrgyzstan, Bishkek, significantly exceeded international air standards, exceedingly over 10 times the guideline of the World Health Organization (WHO) of 5 µg/m³ (World Bank, 2023)⁷. Limited financial resources and vulnerability to climate change pose significant obstacles.

⁵ PAGE (2020), Kazakhstan's transition to a Green Economy: A stocktaking report. Available at: https://rise.esmap.org/data/files/library/kazakhstan/Renewable%20Energy/Kazakhstan_Transition%20to%20Green%20Economy_2016.pdf

⁶ Partnership for Action on Green Economy (PAGE) (n.d.) Kyrgyz Republic. Available at: <https://www.unpage.org/countries/kyrgyz-republic/>

⁷ The World Bank (2023), Air Quality Analysis for Bishkek. PM2.5 Source Apportionment and Emission Reduction Measures. Available at:

Tajikistan, a mountainous country with abundant hydroelectric potential, faces environmental challenges such as water management, land degradation, and heightened vulnerability to climate change (UNFCCC, 2020)⁸. While Tajikistan has made notable efforts in the field of green economy and environmental economy, the government increasingly recognizes the imperative of transitioning towards a greener economy, but financial and technological limitations persist. Tajikistan has significant potential for hydropower generation, and the country has been increasingly investing in renewable energy sources. Hydroelectric power accounts for the majority of Tajikistan's electricity production, reducing reliance on fossil fuels and contributing to lower carbon emissions (Asian Development Bank, 2019)⁹.

Turkmenistan, an arid nation with significant natural gas resources, faces environmental challenges including water scarcity, land degradation, and air pollution exacerbated by its hydrocarbon-dependent economy. Despite possessing abundant solar potential, renewable energy penetration remains negligible, with less than 1% of electricity generation derived from these sources¹⁰. Turkmenistan's high per capita carbon emissions reflect its reliance on fossil fuels and energy-intensive industries¹¹. The government has initiated tentative steps towards a greener policy framework in recent years. This includes the National Strategy on Climate Change (2012) and a focus on reforestation, but concrete progress remains limited¹². While Turkmenistan participates in international environmental agreements, robust environmental legislation and its effective enforcement are still developing.

The analysis of the GHG emissions

The increasing trend of annual CO₂ emissions in Uzbekistan, as recorded by both Uzhydromet and OECD, shows slight fluctuations above 95 million

<https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/099110123211021470/pdf/P17087000827dd04e09d6a0d01dc0ab3c41.pdf>

⁸ UNFCCC. (2020). Tajikistan's NDC Partnership Plan. Available at: <https://www.ndcs.undp.org/content/ndc-support-programme/en/home/ndc-pairs/tajikistan.html>

⁹ Asian Development Bank. (2019). Tajikistan: Sector Assessment (Summary): Energy. Available at: <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/linked-documents/cps-taj-2016-2020-ssa-02.pdf>

¹⁰ International Energy Agency (IEA) (2023) Turkmenistan Energy Profile. Available at: <https://www.iea.org/countries/turkmenistan/renewables>

¹¹ World Bank (2023) Climate Change Knowledge Portal - Turkmenistan Country Data. Available at: <https://climateknowledgeportal.worldbank.org/country/turkmenistan/vulnerability>

¹² UNDP (2012), National Climate Change Strategy of Turkmenistan. Available at: https://info.undp.org/docs/pdc/Documents/TKM/110712_Strategy_en.pdf

tonnes but remains below 125 million tonnes from 1990 to 2020. This trend experienced a surge in the early 2000s, followed by a decline between 2012 and 2016, and then resumed an upward trajectory post-2016, with a notable decrease in 2020. Notably, in 2021, the CO₂ emissions per capita in Uzbekistan, indicating the average citizen's contribution to total emissions, was recorded at 3.6 tonnes, significantly lower than the Central Asia average of 6.7 tonnes per person (OWD, 2023)¹³. Despite the rise in emissions, Uzbekistan's contribution to global carbon emissions remains minor. In 2020, its emissions were 20 times less than the Eastern Europe, Caucasus, and Central Asia (EECCA) average, accounting for 5% of the region's emissions. Over the last three decades, Uzbekistan's share of global emissions has consistently been 0.33% (OWD, 2023), with the energy sector being the major contributor, responsible for 79% of emissions due to natural gas combustion for electricity and heat generation.

The variation in carbon emissions in Uzbekistan correlates with economic activity changes. Post-independence economic expansion in the late 1990s led to increased emissions, which decreased with reduced fossil fuel usage. Mirkasimov et al. (2023) analyzed emission drivers using Fixed Effects model (Panel Data analysis) over 30 years (1990-2020), finding that emissions rose with increases in the economy (real GDP), energy use, exports, urbanization, and population¹⁴. Specifically, a 1% rise in population growth, energy use, and urbanization increased CO₂ emissions by 1.1 units, 0.0003 units, and 0.071 units, respectively. Conversely, a 1% increase in renewable energy use and forest cover would decrease CO₂ emissions by -0.063 and -0.516 units, respectively. The study also highlighted that while exports of goods raise CO₂ emissions, imports are negatively associated. Furthermore, it was found that emissions decrease with sustained GDP growth, as further economic development lowers CO₂ emissions through investments in sustainable environmental projects, including renewable energy sources.

Within the REM (Random Effects Model) used in this research, the EKC (Environmental Kuznets Curve) concept is used. The EKC hypothesis suggests an inverted U-shaped relationship between environmental degradation (here

¹³ OWD (2023), "CO₂ emissions", Our World in Data (database), <https://ourworldindata.org/co2-emissions>

¹⁴ Mirkasimov, B. et al. (2023), "Determinants of carbon emission and the potential economic impact of 'green' economy strategies" in Central Asia: Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, CAREC Institute, Chapter-5.pdf. Available at: <https://www.carecinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Chapter-5.pdf>

represented by GHG emissions) and economic growth (indicated by GDP) (Lan Xu, 2011)¹⁵. According to this hypothesis:

- **Initial Economic Growth:** In the early stages of economic growth, environmental degradation increases as economies prioritize growth over environmental concerns.
- **Turning Point:** As an economy matures, a turning point is reached where the rate of environmental degradation starts to decrease.
- **Further Economic Growth:** With further economic development, investment in cleaner technologies and higher environmental regulations leads to a reduction in environmental degradation.

Within the framework of green economics, it is also necessary to elucidate the following categories: “Greenhouse Gases,” “1.5°C Pathway,” “COP (Conference of the Parties),” and “Net Zero”.

➤ **Greenhouse Gases (GHG):** These gases, primarily carbon dioxide (CO_2), methane (CH_4), nitrous oxide (N_2O), and fluorinated gases, possess the molecular capacity to absorb infrared radiation, thereby trapping heat in the Earth's atmosphere. This phenomenon, known as the greenhouse effect, is pivotal in maintaining the Earth's climate. However, anthropogenic (human-induced) augmentations in GHG concentrations, chiefly due to fossil fuel combustion, deforestation, and industrial processes, have perturbed this natural balance, leading to global warming and climate change

➤ **1.5°C Pathway:** The “1.5°C Pathway” is intrinsically linked to the concept of limiting global temperature rise. Stemming from scientific consensus, notably the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) reports¹⁶, this pathway delineates the urgent need to limit average global temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels. This target is crucial, as surpassing it significantly escalates risks of severe climatic disruptions, including extreme weather events, irreversible loss of biodiversity, and critical impacts on human health and livelihoods.

➤ **Kyoto Protocol and Paris Agreement:** Both the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement are milestones in international climate policy, rooted in

¹⁵ Lan Xu, (2011). Theory of Environmental Kuznets Curve. China. East China University of Science and Technology. DOI:10.4028/www.scientific.net/AMR.361-363.1697. Available at:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/272058242_Theory_of_Environmental_Kuznets_Curve

¹⁶ IPCC, 2023: Sections. In: Climate Change 2023: Synthesis Report. Contribution of Working Groups I, II and III to the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [Core Writing Team, H. Lee and J. Romero (eds.)]. IPCC, Geneva, Switzerland, pp. 35-115, doi: 10.59327/IPCC/AR6-9789291691647. Available at: https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/syr/downloads/report/IPCC_AR6_SYR_LongerReport.pdf

the principles set forth by the UNFCCC. The Kyoto Protocol¹⁷ (1997) was the first agreement to set legally binding emissions reduction targets for developed countries. However, its impact was limited due to non-participation by key emitters and its exclusive focus on developed nations. The Paris Agreement¹⁸ (2015) expanded this scope, including all countries, and introduced Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), enabling each country to set its own emissions reduction targets. This shift signified a more inclusive and flexible approach, aligning global efforts with the 1.5 Degrees Celsius Pathway.

Econometric model based on panel data analysis.

Panel data, a unique blend of cross-sectional and time-series data, captures the essence of multiple observations across various entities over successive time periods. This dual dimensionality not only enriches the dataset with diversity but also imbues it with the dynamism of temporal variations, making it an invaluable asset in econometric analysis. At its core, panel data is distinguished by its multidimensional structure. Each data point within a panel dataset is defined by two distinct dimensions: the cross-sectional dimension, which refers to the different entities under observation (such as individuals, firms, or countries), and the time dimension, which spans multiple time periods, providing a temporal snapshot of each entity's evolution. This intricate structure of panel data sets it apart, enabling researchers to explore a wide array of questions that neither pure cross-sectional nor time-series data could adequately address on their own.

The modeling framework for panel data is designed to exploit its unique structure, addressing both the cross-sectional and time-series dimensions. Key models in this framework include the Fixed Effects Model and Random Effects Model approach, each catering to specific scenarios and assumptions about the data.

The Fixed Effects Model (FEM) accounts for unobserved heterogeneity by allowing each entity to have its own intercept term, effectively controlling for all time-invariant characteristics, whether observed or unobserved. This model is particularly useful when the unobserved variables are correlated with the explanatory variables, thus eliminating the omitted variable bias. The FEM is estimated using the Within-Group Estimator, which removes the entity-

¹⁷ Kyoto Afreement: https://www.un.org/ru/documents/decl_conv/conventions/kyoto.shtml

¹⁸ Paris Agreement: <https://www.un.org/en/climatechange/paris-agreement>

specific effects by demeaning the data with respect to each entity's mean¹⁹ (Baltagi, 2005).

The Random Effects Model (REM) assumes that the unobserved individual effects are uncorrelated with the explanatory variables. Unlike FEM, REM considers the entity-specific effects as part of the error term, leading to a composite error structure. This model is more efficient than FEM if its assumption holds, as it utilizes both within and between entity variations. The estimation of REM is typically done via Generalized Least Squares (GLS), optimizing the use of available data (Baltagi, 2005).

The Random Effects Model assumes that the individual effects are uncorrelated with the explanatory variables, allowing for a more efficient use of the data by considering both within and between entity variations. The REM is represented as:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \beta \cdot X_{it} + u_i + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

where Y_{it} is the dependent variable for individual i at time t , α is the overall intercept, X_{it} is the vector of explanatory variables, β is the vector of coefficients, u_i is the random individual-specific effect. The composite error term $u_i + \varepsilon_{it}$ combines the individual effect and the idiosyncratic error, with REM typically estimated via Generalized Least Squares (GLS) to account for the structure of the composite error.

In our model, where there are 6 countries (i) and 32 years (t), the following representation of the REM model equation will be used:

$$GHG^{it} = \alpha + \beta_1 \cdot GDP_{it} + \beta_2 \cdot GDP_{it}^2 + \beta_3 \cdot PES_{it} + \beta_4 \cdot X_{it} + u_i + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (2)$$

Where CO_2 (numeric dependent variable) is carbon dioxide emission (mln metric tons), GDP (numeric variable) – Gross Domestic Product (constant at 2015, 100 mln USD rate), GDP^2 relates to the model of EKC (Environments Kuznets Curve), PES (numeric variable) – primary energy supply (tonne of oil equivalent, toe is defined as 107 kilocalories (41.868 gigajoules))²⁰, X – is a vector of other variables in country i at time t (there might be multiple of them). Other complementary variables include: forest area (percentage of total land area), population (total), Renewable energy consumption (percentage of total final energy consumption), Urban population (percentage of total population).

¹⁹ Baltagi, B.H., (2005). Econometric Analysis of Panel Data, 3rd ed. Wiley.

²⁰ More about Primary Energy Supply here: <https://data.OECD.org/energy/primary-energy-supply.htm>

Testing in Panel Data Analysis. The Haussmann test is a critical tool for deciding between fixed effects and random effects models. It tests the null hypothesis that the preferred model is random effects against the alternative of fixed effects. The test compares the estimates from the fixed and random effects models; a significant difference indicates that the random effects estimates are inconsistent due to correlation between the individual effects and the regressors, favoring the fixed effects model.

Assumptions testing. Serial correlation and heteroskedasticity tests are vital for diagnosing the error term structure in panel data models. Serial correlation, or autocorrelation, refers to the correlation of error terms across time within the same entity. Heteroskedasticity involves the variance of the error terms being unequal across observations. Tests for cross-sectional dependence examine whether the residuals are correlated across entities, which may occur due to omitted common factors or spillover effects.

Analysis of the REM model. From the correlation analysis between ALL numerical variables, we omitted several of them which were highly correlated (high correlation coefficient between independent variables might have caused problems of multicollinearity further). The final correlation analysis brings us to this graph:

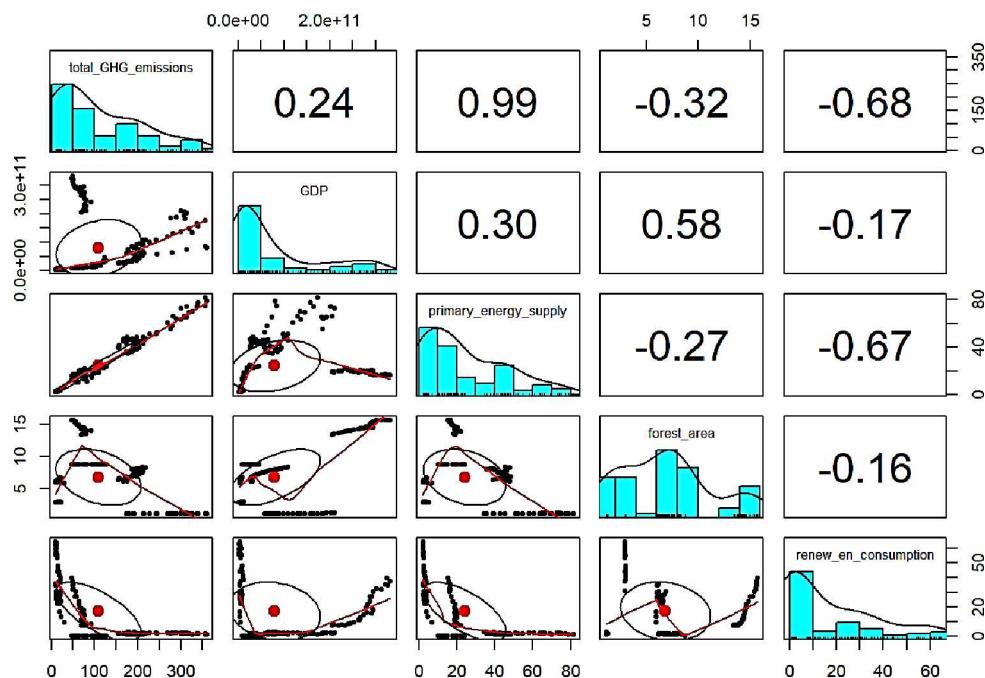


Figure 1. Correlation matrix

The correlation of GHG emissions with:

GDP: - 0.24. A correlation coefficient of 0.24 between GHG emissions and GDP suggests a weak positive relationship. This implies that, in this data set, as GDP increases, GHG emissions tend to increase slightly. Economic growth often leads to increased energy consumption and industrial activity, which can result in higher emissions. However, the weak correlation here might also suggest that the economies could be transitioning towards less emission-intensive activities or becoming more energy-efficient. A low correlation between GDP and GHG emissions might imply a decoupling of economic growth from emissions, which is a desirable outcome for sustainable development.

Primary Energy Supply: (0.99). A very strong positive correlation of 0.99 indicates an almost one-to-one relationship between primary energy supply and GHG emissions. This is expected since primary energy supply generally includes fossil fuels, which are major sources of GHG emissions. It implies that changes in the level of energy supply are almost directly mirrored by changes in emissions. This could reflect an economy heavily reliant on fossil fuels for energy production, as was stated in introduction part of this research article.

Forest area: (-0.32). The negative correlation coefficient indicates an inverse relationship between forest area and GHG emissions. A larger forest area, which serves as a carbon sink, is associated with lower emissions. The moderate strength of the correlation suggests other factors may also play a significant role in determining GHG emissions, but increased forest coverage does contribute to reducing the overall emissions.

Renewable energy consumption: (-0.68). This moderate negative correlation indicates that higher renewable energy consumption is associated with lower GHG emissions. This suggests that renewables are effectively replacing more carbon-intensive energy sources, leading to a reduction in overall emissions. It may also reflect a broader commitment to sustainable practices and technologies that both increase renewable energy consumption and decrease emissions.

Analyzing Heterogeneity Across countries and years we begin by exploring the variability in pollution levels, or heterogeneity, across different countries and over time.

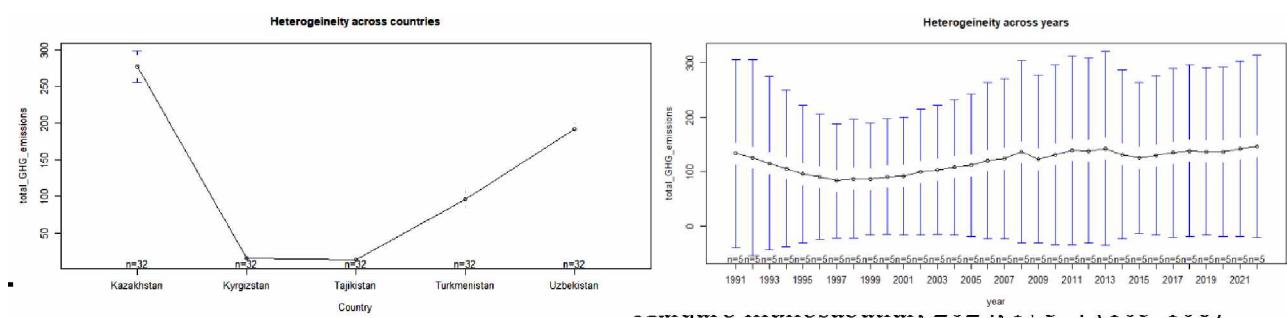


Figure 2. Analyzing Heterogeneity

The first graph in figure 2 shows GHG emissions for various countries. The stark variability in emissions across these countries is immediately apparent. The error bars, representing 95% confidence intervals, are notably long for Kazakhstan, suggesting a high variance in its GHG emissions data. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan shows smaller error bars, implying more consistency in their emissions data.

The second graph illustrates the fluctuation of GHG emissions over time, from 1991 to around 2022. We observe a wave-like pattern with no clear upward or downward trend, indicating that average GHG emissions have varied year by year without a consistent direction of change. The confidence intervals are quite wide for most years, which denotes substantial yearly variability in emissions across the countries. The trend line does not show a definitive long-term increase or decrease in GHG emissions but rather suggests periods of higher and lower emissions that may correlate with economic cycles and policy changes, as it is seen in the year of 2008, the period of global financial crisis, when the GHG emissions dropped, and 2016, after the Paris Agreement was initiated.

The Random Effects model with the final set of variables represents the following:

```
## Balanced Panel: n = 6, T = 30, N = 180
##
## Effects:
##           var   std.dev share
## idiosyncratic 0.010771 0.103783 0.523
## individual    0.009833 0.099163 0.477
## theta: 0.8123
##
## Residuals:
##      Min. 1st Qu. Median 3rd Qu. Max.
## -0.275927 -0.078927  0.019394  0.076614  0.275385

## Coefficients:
##                               Estimate Std. Error z-value Pr(>|z|)
## (Intercept)            2.4219e+00 1.4440e-01 16.7727 < 2.2e-16 ***
## log(GDP)              2.9268e-01 2.4413e-02 11.9887 < 2.2e-16 ***
## GDP_squared          -4.7733e-08 1.1654e-08 -4.0959 4.206e-05 ***
## primary_energy_supply 1.7334e-02 1.3717e-03 12.6370 < 2.2e-16 ***
## renew_en_consumption -1.6385e-02 1.6164e-03 -10.1367 < 2.2e-16 ***
```

```

## ---
## Signif. codes: 0 '****' 0.001 '***' 0.01 '**' 0.05 '*' 0.1 '.' 1
##
## Total Sum of Squares: 18.054
## Residual Sum of Squares: 2.4469
## R-Squared: 0.86447
## Adj. R-Squared: 0.86137
## Chisq: 1116.23 on 4 DF, p-value: < 2.22e-16

```

Figure 3. The Random Effects model

Model analyzed here is within the range of 31 years. Compared to huge databases of developed countries, the newly independent countries of the Central Asia have a data time range at maximum 34-35 years. At the same time, the main question of the research (to find the main factors and drivers that influence Uzbekistan's transition to a green economy and green growth) indicates to finding only the main variables and their influence towards the green growth in Uzbekistan (and other Central Asian countries), thus the condition of heteroscedasticity and stationarity is not observed.

Table 1

Test name	Test statistics	p-value
Cross-sectional Dependence		
<i>Breusch-Pagan LM test</i>	82.126	$2.85 * 10^{-11}$
<i>Pearson CD tests</i>	-2.543	0.01099
Serial-correlation	128.03	$4.48 * 10^{-14}$
Stationarity (Augmented Dickey-Fuller test, k=1)		
<i>GHG (Greenhouse Gases)</i>	-2.1608	0.509
<i>GDP</i>	-1.877	0.6276
<i>GDP²</i>	-2.607	0.3225
<i>Primary energy supply</i>	-2.4083	0.4056
<i>Renewable energy consumption</i>	-1.7516	0.68

The REM model has the following attributes (looking at the Figure 3):

High adjusted R²=0.86; each coefficient of RE model-2 is significant; only drawback - assumptions. There is a cross-sectional and serial correlation. For this reason, as a suggestion for further analysis, it is better to build models which deal with those. Even though, it is still possible to draw some conclusions on the basis of this model.

Equation of the model:

$$GHG^{it} = 2.4219 + 0.29268 \cdot GDP_{it} - 4.7733 \cdot 10^{-8} \cdot GDP_{it}^2 + 0.0173 \cdot PES_{it} - 0.0163 \cdot REC_{it} + u_i + \varepsilon_{it}$$

Note: The GHG and GDP are in natural log forms

Where RES (new variable in the general REM equation (2)) – is the renewable energy consumption, u_i - is the unobserved country-specific random effect and ε_{it} - is the idiosyncratic error term. Unobserved country-specific random effect:

##	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Tajikistan	Turkmenistan	Uzbekistan
##	0.1961505	-0.4283945	-0.1158202	0.2525338	0.2828653

The scatter plots (Figure 4) depict the relationship between GDP (constant at 2015 USD rate) and total GHG emissions (in million metric tons). From the visualizations, one can see a non-linear relationship between the two variables, indicative of the Environmental Kuznets Curve (EKC) hypothesis.

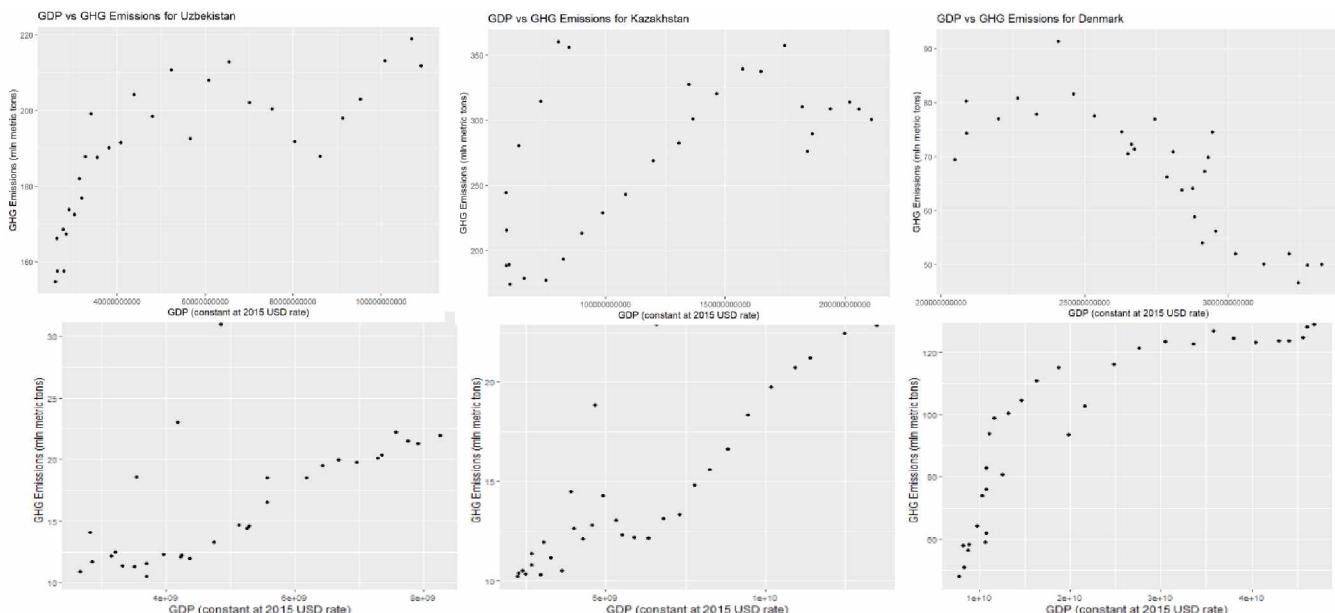


Figure 4. EKC curves

It is visible that Uzbekistan has already gone through the turning point and on the right side of the curve, which means further GDP growth might potentially decrease the GHG emissions and environmental degradation. As for the Denmark (we decided to add the country for comparison purpose), this

country is the icon country in green economy in the world, thus within the last 31 years, the plot depicted basically the declining curve, which means each year the economy of Denmark increases, the GHG emissions will decrease further.

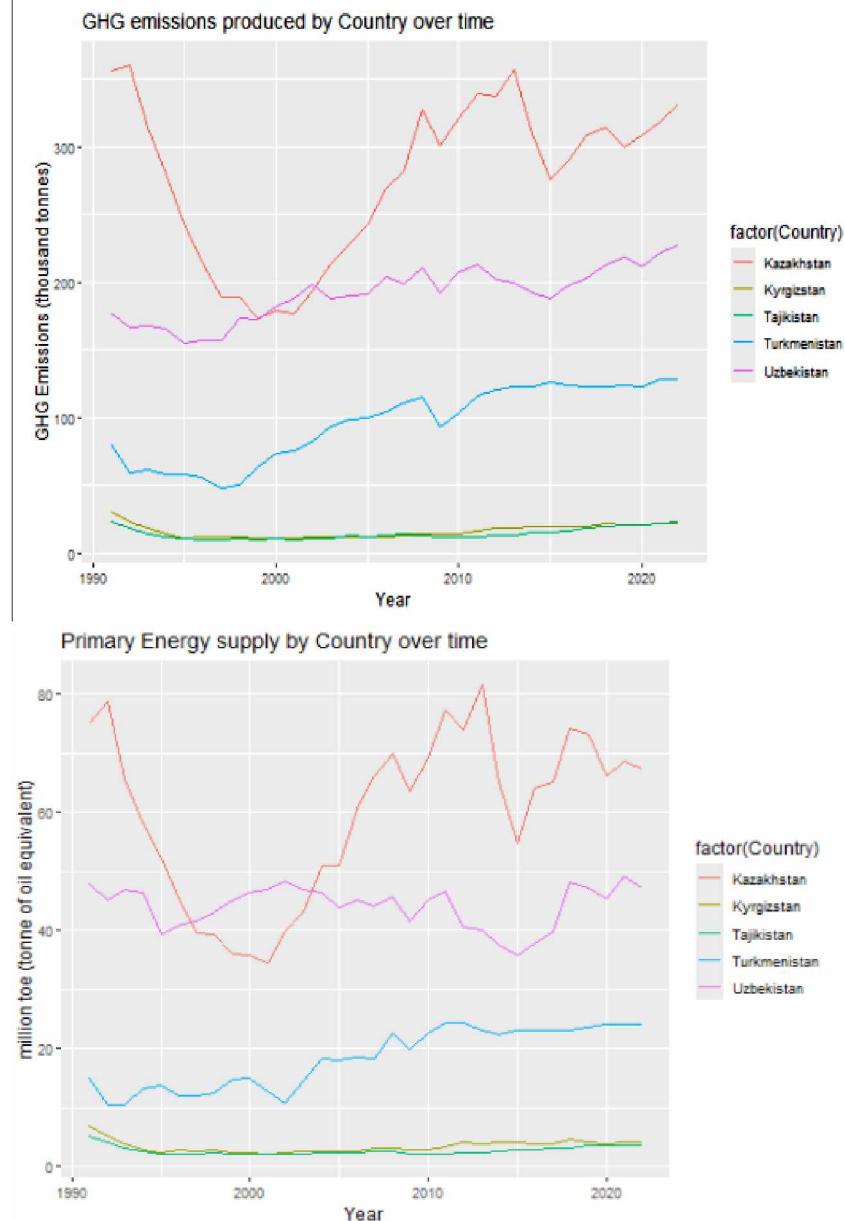


Figure 5. The greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions produced

The line charts depict the greenhouse gas (GHG (Greenhouse Gases)) emissions produced and the primary energy supplied for each of the six countries over time, measured in thousand tonnes from 1991 to approximately 2020.

- **Uzbekistan's Increase:** Uzbekistan's emissions are rising steadily over the years, which might be associated with its economic development and increased energy consumption. The Primary Energy supply in Uzbekistan fluctuates along the 45 mln toe within the last 31 years. However, this indicator started to increase since 2015.
- **Kazakhstan's Emissions:** Kazakhstan displays the highest levels of emissions among the represented countries, with notable fluctuations. There's an increasing trend until the early 2000s, a sharp decline, and then a rising trend again, which could reflect economic changes, energy policy shifts, or industrial growth patterns (might be the subject of the further research). Kazakhstan stands out with the highest primary energy supply, showing significant fluctuations that parallel its GHG emissions trends seen in the previous chart.
- **Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan:** These countries exhibit relatively low and stable emissions throughout the years, indicating smaller industrial sectors or lower energy consumption needs. Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan demonstrate relatively stable and low primary energy supplies, aligning with their low and stable GHG emissions patterns.

Conclusion

The empirical analysis of GHG emissions across countries underscores the intricate relationship between economic activity, energy consumption, and environmental impact. The positive coefficient on $\log(\text{GDP})$ confirms the hypothesis that economic expansion, as measured by GDP, exerts upward pressure on GHG emissions, corroborating the conventional narrative linking economic growth with environmental degradation. *This coefficient indicates that a 1% increase in GDP is associated with an approximately 0.293% increase in total GHG emissions.* The positive sign signifies that GHG emissions tend to increase with rising GDP.

However, the emergence of a negative coefficient on the squared GDP term introduces a non-linear dynamic, suggestive of the Environmental Kuznets Curve (EKC) hypothesis, which posits that emissions initially increase with economic growth up to a turning point, beyond which they decline. This inflection point is critical, reflecting a threshold at which a country's development reaches a stage where increased income allows for and supports

cleaner technologies and stricter environmental regulation, thereby reducing emissions despite continued economic growth.

Furthermore, the model reveals that a unit increase in primary energy supply, dominantly from non-renewable sources, significantly raises GHG emissions, reinforcing the energy-emissions nexus. This suggests that ***for each additional unit (million toe) of primary energy supply, GHG emissions increase by 1.7334%.*** This reflects the direct relationship between energy supply and emissions.

Contrastingly, renewable energy consumption emerges as a pivotal factor in mitigating emissions. The negative sign of the coefficient for renewable energy consumption indicates that transitioning to green energy plays a substantial role in curtailing emissions, aligning with sustainable development goals. ***The negative coefficient means that increasing renewable energy consumption is associated with a decrease in GHG emissions by 1.6385%.*** This highlights the beneficial impact of renewable energy on reducing emissions.

Country-specific effects, encapsulated in the random effects model, attest to the critical role of nation-specific policies, resource endowments, and technological advancements in determining the GHG emissions profile. These effects, coupled with a robust R-squared, signify that a considerable share of the variance in emissions is explained by the model's variables, cementing the relationship between the examined predictors and emissions. The statistical significance of all coefficients further reinforces the reliability of the model, thereby providing a credible framework for policymakers to scrutinize the energy-growth-emissions triad while strategizing for economic advancement in an environmentally sustainable manner.

Policy Implications. The significant coefficients for GDP, primary energy supply, and renewable energy consumption imply that policies promoting economic growth and energy supply must be balanced with environmental considerations. Specifically, investment in renewable energy sources is validated as an effective measure to combat rising GHG emissions.

In economic terms, this non-linear REM model highlights the complexity of the relationship between economic activity, energy consumption, and environmental impact. It provides evidence that while economic growth and energy supply are vital for development, there needs to be a simultaneous focus

on sustainable practices, particularly the adoption of renewable energy and increasing the forest area to mitigate the environmental costs of development.

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V. EXPERT FIKRI
Мнение эксперта
The View of Expert

**THE CONJUNCTION THE CHINA'S BRI WITH
THE EU GLOBAL GATEWAY PROJECT¹**

Vladimir Norov
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uzbekistan

The world is currently facing increasing geopolitical tensions, which have exacerbated the fragmentation of the global economy and disruption of supply chains, and have led to shortages and rising prices, calling into question the reliability of global trade.

In these conditions, the need to deepen regional interconnection as a basis for further strengthening international economic cooperation and sustainable development in the world increases many times over.

At the same time, transport interconnection is the basis of the modern world economy, allowing the exchange of goods, capital and services between countries.

In this regard, the 13,000-kilometer Transcontinental Transport Line connecting China and Europe and China's BRI have played an important role in stabilizing the global supply chain, especially during the pandemic and beyond.

More than 150 countries and more than 30 international organizations have become participants in the Chinese "Belt and Road" Initiative (BRI).

The BRI, as one of the ambitious and effective platforms for international economic cooperation, has given additional impetus to the development of the world economy and formed a global network of interconnectedness, consisting of transport and information corridors based on railways, roads, air and sea ports, and pipelines.

Since the launch of the Belt and Road Initiative, the China-Europe Express Railway has completed more than 78,000 trips over the past 11 years,

¹Text of the speech by Vladimir Norov at the 27th Eurasian Economic Summit (21-22 of February 2024, Istanbul

reaching more than 200 cities in 25 countries and regions in Europe and creating tens of thousands of local jobs.

Over the past 10 years, trade in goods between China and members BRI has doubled, from US\$1.04 trillion to more than US\$2.07 trillion.

It is important to note that Central Asia is where the Belt and Road Initiative was first launched.

At the crossroads between East and West, South and North, and located in the heart of the Eurasian continent, Central Asia plays a key role in transporting the lion's share of goods from China to Europe and vice versa, and is uniquely positioned to ensure the interconnectedness of the world's two largest economies.

In recent years, interest in Central Asia on the part of global geopolitical players has increased significantly.

One of the reasons is that the region has the largest reserves of hydrocarbons, uranium, precious and rare earth metals on the planet.

Currently, China-Europe trains passing through Central Asia account for almost 80% of the total number of trains in this direction.

From 2016 to 2022, the number of China-Europe freight trains thru CA increased over nine times from 1,702 to 16,000 per year.

At the same time, the annual value of transported goods increased ninefold from \$8 billion to \$75 billion.

Moreover, the share of rail transport in total trade between China and Europe has increased from 1.5 percent in previous years to 8 percent in 2021.

In this regard, in the Xi'an Declaration of the China-Central Asia summit, the Parties especially emphasized the need to increase the status of Central Asia as one of the most important trans-Eurasian transport hubs.

In modern conditions, the integration of the mega project "Belt and Road" and the Trans-Caspian International Transport corridor (TITR), also called the Middle Corridor, which passes through the countries of Central Asia and the South Caucasus, creates great opportunities for unlocking the potential of the East-West corridor.

In November 2023 Speaking at the third BRI Forum, Chinese President Xi Jinping emphasized that in order to form an interconnected transport network, China will intensify the high-quality development of container trains along the China-Europe route, join the construction of the

Trans-Caspian International Transport Corridor (TITR), and hold at a high level Forum of the International cooperation in the field of China-Europe freight trains, with joint efforts to create new logistics corridors on the Eurasian continent, relying on direct rail and road transport.

At the same time, it is of particular strategic important the development of safe and shortest transport corridors connecting China and Europe with Central Asia with access to the Middle East and South Asia.

In this regard, the China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan railways and roads, as well as Termez-Mazar-i-Sharif-Kabul-Peshawar, should become important components of this corridor.

The idea of developing trade and transport within the Trans-Caspian corridor is not new.

The legendary Silk Road connecting Europe and Asia was innovative for its time and served not only as a platform for international trade and exchange of goods, but also for the interaction of cultures, the dissemination of knowledge, accumulated information and ideas.

On March 31, 2022, Kazakhstan, Turkey, Azerbaijan and Georgia signed a quadrilateral declaration “On the East-West Trans-Caspian Corridor”.

This document notes the importance of integrating it into the international transport system and strengthening economic cooperation between the parties, thanks to which the economic potential can increase and the sustainable development of the countries of Central Asia and countries involved in cross-border international trade can be strengthened.

Since 2022, cargo transportation along the Middle Corridor through the countries of the region, including through Azerbaijan, has increased significantly.

The Azerbaijan Railways company announced in 2023 the transportation of more than 18 million tons of cargo, including about 7 million tons of transit cargo.

Currently, due to the military escalation in the Red Sea and the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, the trans-Caspian corridor has every chance of becoming the largest global transport route.

At the end of 2021, the European Union (EU) approved a new international initiative called the Global Gateway.

According to European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen, it should become a new global “alternative” to Chinese investment.

At the Global Gateway Transport Investor Forum of the European Union and Central Asia launched on January 29 in Brussels, European and international financial institutions announced their intention to invest €10 billion (US\$10.2 billion) to transform the TITR into a state-of-the-art multimodal and efficient route, connecting Europe and Central Asia.

During the two-day event, the European Investment Bank (EIB) also signed memorandums of understanding on co-financing projects with Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, Uzbekistan and the Development Bank of Kazakhstan (DBK) worth €1.47 billion. (\$1.6 billion).

Transport and infrastructure initiatives on the part of China and the EU can be seen as an attempt to strengthen their positions in the region and compete for influence and control over transport flows in the Eurasian space.

However, it is worth noting that within competition there are also areas of cooperation and interaction between parties to develop transport infrastructure and improve access to markets.

In this regard, the conjunction of the Chinese project “Belt and Road” with the European project “Global Gateway” will create the necessary conditions for economic growth and sustainable development of the entire Eurasian space, and primarily Central Asia and the South Caucasus.

The current situation in the international economy requires great efforts to build bridges between the competing poles of the global economy.

Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi, for example, said at a press conference following the “Belt and Road” Forum for International Cooperation in October that the BRI and the Global Gateway strategy could be aligned to leverage their respective strengths and create synergies to help developing countries to accelerate infrastructure development.

There are a number of important prerequisites for the conjunction of the “Belt and Road” and the Global Gateway initiative.

Despite the EU's declared interest in expanding transport corridors for the integration of Central Asia, there is an insufficient level of investment in infrastructure projects in the region.

Thus, within the framework of the Global Gateway Investor Forum in Brussels, the EBRD signed a memorandum of understanding with Kazakhstan to allocate 1.5 billion euros to projects already under preparation for the comprehensive development of transport communications in the Central Asian region.

Whereas, the Minister of Transport of Kazakhstan, Marat Karabaev, emphasized that “the implementation of large infrastructure projects will require at least 40 billion euros (\$43.2 billion).”

The European “Global Gateway” strategy was launched only in 2021 and will mobilize up to 300 billion Euros by 2027.

Of this amount, only 10 billion Euros are allocated for Central Asian countries.

Over the past 10 years, EU member states have invested more than \$121.3 billion, in Central Asia, more than 40% of total foreign direct investment(FDI) in the region.

The bulk of FDI from EU countries went to Kazakhstan.

At the same time, more than 50% of this FDI were directed to the mining industry, in particular oil and gas production.

At the same time, transport and warehousing accounted for only 5%.

The Chinese Belt and Road Initiative has been implemented since 2013 and has allocated one trillion dollars by 2022.

By 2019, China had implemented 261 projects in Central Asia with a total value of \$136 billion.

The majority of these investments in Central Asia under the BRI were aimed at creating or improving infrastructure for transporting goods and cargo (44%) and developing natural resources (41%).

China remains the main investor in transport and logistics infrastructure in Central Asia.

In order to avoid duplication and rational use of allocated financial resources for the development of the infrastructure of the Trans-Caspian International Transport Route (TITR), it is necessary to ensure appropriate coordination and cooperation in the implementation of projects within the BRI and Global Gateway in Central Asia.

For example, there is already the first implemented joint project between the EBRD and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) - the construction in 2016 of a highway connecting Dushanbe (Tajikistan) with the Uzbek border, which became part of the East-West highway in Central Asia.

Both banks have committed a total of US\$55 million (part of co-financing of US\$27.5 million each).

On 6 April 2021, the EBRD and AIIB signed a co-financing framework agreement (CFA), which laid the foundation for future joint activities.

As cooperation platforms, China's Belt and Road Initiative and the EU's Global Gateway should complement each other and achieve joint success.

It seems that Central Asia can act as a pilot platform for combining Chinese and European initiatives throughout the Eurasian space.

The increased activity of China and the EU in Central Asia with joint projects can reduce tensions in relations between the parties and lay down mechanisms for bringing the parties together to jointly solve global problems.

As UN Secretary-General António Guterres said, "The era of global warming is over; the era of global boiling has begun."

All countries therefore have a responsibility to take immediate action to combat climate change to help create the conditions for sustainable and peaceful development.

China and the EU as world leaders in the low-carbon and green development can build an open and cooperative green technology cooperation chain along TITR to reduce the cost of renewable energy for developing countries, including Central Asian and South Caucasus countries to achieve greater sustainable and appropriate transition to a green economy in these regions.

China and the EU countries remain the main trading partners of Central Asia and the South Caucasus, which mainly supply fossil fuels to these countries, and their exports are less diversified.

To promote the diversification of the economies of Central Asia and the South Caucasus, China and the EU have enormous potential for mutually beneficial cooperation in implementing joint projects in these regions in such developing industries as the digital economy, electric vehicles, energy and water saving technologies, construction, light and chemical industries, and the construction of smart cities " and "smart agriculture", as well as strengthen cooperation in the implementation of digital trade documents and simplification of freight transport procedures.

China and the EU have more common interests than differences, but the tone of recent statements indicates the need for constructive dialogue.

China and the EU need to hold in-depth discussions and strive for consensus on conjunction the “Belt and Road” and Global Gateway initiatives in order to achieve stability and sustainable development in the Eurasian space and in particular in Central Asia and the South Caucasus.

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YAPONIYANING MARKAZIY OSIYODAGI

“YUMSHOQ KUCH” SYOSATINING XUSUSIYATLARI

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Osiyo-Tinch okeani markazi ilmiy xodimi

Abstract: Yaponiya “yumshoq kuch” siyosatini yuritish bo'yicha yetkachi davlat hisoblanib, xalqaro nizolarni harbiy yoki majburlov yo'li orqali emas, balki “yumshoq kuch”ga tayangan holda hal qilishga intiladi. U o'zining an'anaviy va zamonaviy madaniyati, biznes modeli va innovatsion texnologiyalari yordamida “yumshoq kuch” siyosatini amalga oshiradi. Maqolada J. Nay tomonidan ishlab chiqilgan “yumshoq kuch” siyosatini amalga oshirish uchun eng katta resursga ega mamlakat sifatida Yaponiya har tomonlama tahlil qilingan. Shu bilan birga Yaponiyaning Markaziy Osiyo davlatlariga nisbatan “yumshoq kuch” siyosatining o'ziga xos xususiyatlari, boshqa mamlakatlarga nisbatan farqlari, amalga oshirish mexanizmi hamda kuch markazlari ko'rib chiqilgan.

Kalit so'zlar: Markaziy Osiyo, O'zbekiston, Yaponiya, tashqi siyosat, “yumshoq kuch”, Yaponiya xalqaro hamkorlik agentligi (JICA), Rivojlanishga Rasmiy Yordam (ODA), yapon diplomatiyasi.

Kirish

“Yumshoq kuch” Yaponiya diplomatiyasining zamonaviy konsepsiyasiga aylanib ulgurgan. Birinchi marta bu g'oyani Harvard universiteti professori Jozef Nay “Tashqi siyosat” jurnalining 1990 yil kuzida chop etgan maqolasida taqdim etgan. «Yumshoq kuch: Jahon siyosatida muvaffaqiyatga erishish vositalari» (New York: Public Affairs, 2004) kitobi orqali Nay juda katta auditoriyani egalladi. “Yumshoq kuch” tushunchasi ko'pincha madaniy diplomatiya konsepsiyasining sinonimi sifatida ishlatalishiga qaramay, ikkinchisi birinchisini to'ldiradi, lekin o'mini bosmaydi.¹

¹ Nye, Joseph S., Jr. (2004). Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics. Public Affairs. P.11. Available at: file:///C:/Users/User/Downloads/Soft_Power_the_Means_to_Success_in_World.pdf

Oddiy qilib aytganda, “yumshoq kuch” bu madaniyat, qadriyatlar va mafkura kabi nomoddiy yoki bilvosita ta’sirlarga asoslangan kuchdir. Nay yozganidek, *“Yumshoq kuch - bu majburlash yoki qo‘rqtish orqali emas, balki jalg qilish orqali maqsadga erishish qobiliyatidir. Bu mamlakat madaniyati, siyosiy ideallari va siyosatining jozibadorligidan kelib chiqadi.* Yapon olimlarining fikricha, “mamlakatimiz siyosati boshqalar nazarida qonuniy deb hisoblansa, bizning yumshoq kuchimiz ahamiyati ortib boraveradi.”²

“Yumshoq kuch”ga e’tibor 2001-yil 11-sentabrda AQSHda sodir bo‘lgan terrorchilik xurujlaridan so‘ng yanada ortdi. Bu qisman Bush ma’muriyati ham mamlakat ichida, ham xorijda terrorizmga qarshi kurashish uchun “qattiq kuch”ga, ya’ni shafqatsiz harbiy kuchdan foydalanishga haddan tashqari tayanganligi sabab bo‘lgan degan xulosaga olib keldi.

Ushbu konsepsiya Yaponiyaning harbiy harakat bilan bog‘liq har qanday xalqaro majburiyatlarni o‘z zimmasiga olishga qodir bo‘lmagan, ammo boshqa, noharbiy xalqaro hamkorlikka intiladigan mamlakat sifatidagi maqomiga to‘la mos keladi. Shu sababli ham so‘nggi yillarda “Yaponiya siyosatining yumshoq kuchi” mavzusida ko‘plab nashrlar, konferentsiyalar va simpoziumlarning tashkil qilinmoqda. Ushbu konsepsiya Yaponiyada *ikki guruh tadqiqotchilarini* shakllanishiga olib keldi:

Birinchi guruh Yaponiyada “yumshoq kuch” deyarli yo‘q, lekin uni rivojlantirish kerak, deb ta’kidlaydi. Yaponiya iqtisodiy qudratining 1970-1980-yillardagi o‘sishga nisbatan ancha sekinlashdi, Xitoy va Hindiston kabi davlatlar iqtisodollarining tez yuksalishi hamda Yaponianing Tinchlik Konstitutsiyasiga sodiqligi - qattiq kuchini o‘z ichiga qamrab olgan oddiy qurol yani “yumshoq kuch” siyosatini kuchaytirish kerak deb hisoblaydigan guruh. (Ushbu nuqtai nazarga ko‘ra, Yaponiya iqtisodiy yetuk mamlakat bo‘lishiga qaramsdan, intellektual liderlik, bahs-munozaralar va ishontirish kuchi haqida gap ketganda Singapur, Gonkong, Hindiston kabi davlatlarga qiyoslaganda kuchsiz hisoblanadi.)

Ikkinchi guruh Yaponiya o‘zining an'anaviy madaniyati - maqsadli yoki maqsadsizligidan qat’i nazar, sezilarli “yumshoq kuch”ga ega va undan foydalanadi, deb ta’kidlaydi. Ko‘pincha manga, anime, karaoke, sumo, kompyuter o‘yinlari, oziq-ovqat, xususan, sushi va J-pop kabi musiqalar misol

² Nye J (2004). Nihon-no sofuto pawa. Sono Genkai to Kanousei. Japan's soft power: its limits and possibilities. Gaiko Foramu. (日本のソフト・パワー--その限界と可能性。 (特集 クール・ジャパン--国力の根源に迫る) № 6. P.12.

sifatida keltiriladi. Bu qarashning ba’zi tarafdarlari Yaponiya ko‘p jihatdan “yumshoq kuch”ni qo‘llashda namuna ekanligini ta’kidlaydilar.³

KAZUO OGOURA (Japan Foundation sobiq raisi) ning fikricha: “Yumshoq kuch”ni haqiqiy siyosiy nazariya sifatida qaralsa, qarama-qarshilik va ikkiyuzlamachilik bilan to‘ldirilgan mafkura sifatida ko‘rish mumkin. Masalan, din va mafkura “yumshoq kuch” ning kuchli namunasi sifatida ko‘riladi. Tarixga nazar tashlaydigan bo‘lsak, din va mafkura dunyo bo‘ylab tarqalsa, har doim harbiy qudrat bilan birga kelganini payqamay bo’lmaydi. Uning fikricha, “yumshoq kuch”ni qattiq kuch qo‘llashni oqlovchi vositasi sifatida ko‘rish mumkin.⁴

Boshqacha qilib aytganda, “yumshoq kuch” yaxshilik va yomonlik tushunchasini o‘yinga kiritish orqali xalqaro qonuniylikka ega bo‘lmagan harbiy harakatlarni oqlashning nozik usuli bo‘lishi mumkinligini bilishimiz kerak. Shu nuqtai nazaridan, “yumshoq kuch” tushunchasi ikkiyuzlamachilikning bir turi degan xulosaga ham kelish mumkin.

Yuqorida aytigarlarni inobatga olgan holda, agar Yaponiya “yumshoq kuch” vositasidan xalqaro hamjamiyatda o‘z milliy qudratini namoyon etish vositasi sifatida foydalanmoqchi bo‘lsa, juda ehtiyotkorlik bilan yondashuvni talab qiladi.

Zamonaviy xalqaro munosabatlarda “yumshoq kuch” tashqi siyosatning ajralmas qismidir. Mamlakat imijini shakllantirish va axborot bilan ta‘minlash qobiliyati uning diplomatik sa’y-harakatlari samaradorligini oshiradi. Xalqaro munosabatlar tizimida kechayotgan jarayonlar shundan dalolat beradiki, insonlar ongi va qalbiga ta’sir o‘tkazish, jamoatchilik bilan ishslash davlatning global maydonga ta’sirini belgilashda muhim elementga aylanadi.

“Yumshoq kuch” ta’sirini o‘rganish nuqtai nazaridan madaniy diplomatiya ham, madaniy aloqalar ham katta ahamiyatga ega, chunki ular bir davlatning jozibador bo‘lishining asosi bo‘lgan o‘zaro idrok va ijobjiy

³ Glen S. Fukushima President & CEO Airbus Japan K.K. 日本のソフトパワー. 2006年7・8月合併号No.639. P.21. Available at:<https://www.jftc.jp/monthly/archives/001/201802/9480ee77341ac62987618120e86cd807.pdf> (accesed 05.05.2023)

⁴ Sofuto pawa ron no shikaku” (2006, June/July). Wochi Kochi (a quarterly journal by the Japan Foundation), P. 60-61. Available at: <https://universityofleeds.github.io/philtaylorpapers/vp015863.html> (accesed 05.05.2023)

munosabatni shakllantirishga yordam beradi. “Yumshoq kuch”ni urushdan keyingi yapon diplomatiyasining an'anaviy vositasi deb atash mumkin. Xalqaro nizolarni hal qilish vositasi sifatida harbiy kuch ishlatishdan voz kechish, tinchliksevar konstitutsiyada muhrlangan poydevor, shuningdek, Birlashgan Millatlar Tashkiloti (BMT) faoliyatini qo'llab-quvvatlashga qaratilgan yo'naliш edi.⁵ *Yoshida doktrinasiga* muvofiq, Yaponiya iqtisodiy rivojlanishga e'tibor qaratgan holda xalqaro munosabatlarda passiv o'rin tutishni afzal ko'rdi. Bu uning dunyodagi yangi imidjini shakllanishiga ta'sir qildi. Bugungi kunda u texnologiya va innovatsiyalar sohasida tan olingan yetakchi mamlakat hisoblanadi. Bundan tashqari, butun dunyo e'tiborini yapon biznes modeli muvaffaqiyatiga qaratdi. Boshqa tomonidan, Yaponiya o'zining iqtisodiy diplomatiyasi doirasida Rivojlanishga Rasmiy Yordam (ODA) dasturini amalga oshirishda jiddiy bel bog'ladi. Bu Yaponiya tashqi siyosatining asosiy vositalaridan biriga hisoblanadi. Tsuneo Akaxanining so'zlariga ko'ra, ODA Yaponianing “yumshoq kuchi”dan foydalanishning eng muvaffaqiyatli va yorqin misollaridan biridir.⁶

Yaponianing siyosiy yondashuvi dastlab o'zining an'anaviy madaniy qadriyatlarini eksport qilishga asoslangan edi. Ya'ni uning tashqi dunyodagi targ'iboti tarixiy ahamiyatini va uning ko'p asrlik madaniyatini global meros uchun ko'rsatishdan iborat edi. Ammo bugungi zamонавиy madаният qatlами Yaponiyani butun dunyoda mashhur qilish, yapon tarixi va madaniyati ildizlariga katta qiziqish uyg'otishning eng qisqa yo'li bo'lib ko'rindi.

Zamonaviy madaniyat salohiyatidan diplomatik manba sifatida foydalanish muhimligini Yaponiya sobiq tashqi ishlar vaziri Taro Aso quyidagicha ta'kidlagan: "*Hozirda biz oddiy fuqaroda shakllanadigan fikr muhiti milliy darajadagi diplomatiyaga keskin ta'sir ko'rsatadigan davrda yashayapmiz. Aynan shuning uchun biz pop madaniyatining butun dunyoga kirib borishini xohlaymiz. Toki, ular kelajakda diplomatiyadagi ittifoqdoshimiz bo'lsin.*"⁷

⁵ Nye J. Nihon-no sofuto pawa (2004). Sono Genkai to Kanousei. (Japan's soft power: its limits and possibilities). Gaiko Foramu. № 6. P.12.

⁶ Akaha (2010). T. Japan's soft power-hard power balancing act. The US-Japan alliance. Balancing soft and hard power in East Asia. Routledge. P. 60. Available at: file:///C:/Users/User/Downloads/the-us-japan-alliance-balancing-soft-and-hard-power-in-east-asia-1nbsped-0415487137-9780415487139_compress.pdf

⁷ A New Look at Cultural Diplomacy: A Call to Japan's Cultural Practitioners Speech by Minister for Foreign Affairs Taro Aso at Digital Hollywood University. 28.04.2006. Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Japan. Available at: <http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/fm/aso/speech0604-2.html> (accessed 03.11.2023).

Iqtisodiy o'sishning sekinlashishi va ko'pikli iqtisodiyotning qulashi Yaponianing rivojlangan iqtisodiy davlat sifatidagi imidjiga ta'sir qilsada, chet eldag'i mavqeiga putur yetkaza olmadi. Amerikalik jurnalist *Duglas MakGray* bu mashhurlik hodisasini "yalpi milliy peshqadamlik" ("gross national cool") deb atadi. Uning mohiyati zamonaviy yapon pop madaniyatining tobora ommalashib borishi edi.

Sobiq Bosh vazir Sindzo Abe olib borgan tashqi siyosatda madaniy va xalq diplomatiyasi muhim o'r'in tutgan. Buning isboti sifatida 2015-yilda Yaponiya hukumati tomonidan xalq diplomatiyasiga xarajatlarni sezilarli darajada oshirish (20 dan 70 milliard iyenagacha), shuningdek, xorijdagi universitetlar va tahliliy markazlarda yapon tilini o'rganishni moliyalashtirish bo'yicha qabul qilingan qarorlarni keltirish mumkin.

“Yumshoq kuch”ni jamoatchilikka ko'rsatishning asosiy vositalari *madaniy va xalq diplomatiyasidir*. Yaponiyada bu ikki tushuncha bir-biriga chambarchas bog'liq; Tashqi ishlar vazirligi ma'lumotlarida ular xalq va madaniy diplomatiya (*koho bunka gayko*) deb yuritiladi. Yaponlar o'zlarining xarakteriga ko'ra o'z qadriyatlar tizimini to'g'ridan-to'g'ri so'zlar va g'oyalalar shaklida emas, balki “yumshoq kuch” manbai bo'lgan holda badiiy tarzda o'zni namoyon qilish yoki ijodkorlik orqali taqdim etishga moyildirlar.

Darhaqiqat 1944 yilda amerikalik antropolog olim Rud Bendikt Yaponiya xalqini o'rganar ekan, uni *Xrizantema va qilich* timsoliga o'xshatdi va kitobini ham shunday nomladi. Ya'ni u yapon xalqini xrizantema kabi juda chuqur estetik tajribaga ega bo'lgan, shu bilan birga qilich kabi nafaqat tajovuzkor, balki o'ziga xos qat'iy tartibi va qadr-qimmati, jangchi tartibini o'zida mujassam qilgan xalq sifatida tasvirlaydi.⁸ Shu sababli ham madaniy diplomatiya Yaponianing “yumshoq kuch” siyosatini tushunish uchun juda muhim ahamiyat kasb etadi.

Mamlakatning “yumshoq kuchi” uning milliy o'ziga xosligi bilan bog'liq, chunki uning timsolini tashqi dunyoga yo'naltirish uning mamlakat ichidagi idrokini aks ettiradi. Ikkinci jahon urushidan keyin Yaponiya o'z qiyofasini qaytadan ham ichki, ham tashqi tomonidan qurishga majbur bo'ldi.

⁸Govrunov A.B. Kniga Rut Benedikt “Khrizantema i mech”. Izdatelstvo “Nauka”. P.41. (Говорунов А.В. Книга Рут Бенедикт «Хризантема и меч». Издательство «Наука», 2007. Стр. 41.) Available at: <http://anthropology.ru/ru/text/govrunov-av/kniga-rut-benedikt-hrizantema-i-mech> (accessed 03.11.2023)

Bu Yaponianing “yumshoq kuchi”ni shakllantirish uchun uning o‘zgacha xususiyatini ochishga zamin yaratdi.

Madaniy va xalq diplomatiyasiga mas’ul bo‘lgan asosiy muassasa Tashqi ishlar vazirligi hisoblanadi. 1972 yilda Yaponiya Tashqi ishlar vazirligi huzurida madaniy almashinuvlarni amalga oshirishga qaratilgan tadbirlarni muvofiqlashtirish uchun Yaponiya jamg‘armasi (Japan Foundation) tashkil etilgan. 2003 yilda unga mustaqil ma’muriy yuridik maqomi berilgan. Bugungi kunda jamg‘armaning 21 ta xorijiy davlatda 22 ta vakolatxonasi mavjud.⁹ Uning vakolatiga madaniy almashinuv dasturlari, treninglar, yapon madaniyati bilan tanishtiruvchi va yapon tilini targ‘ib qiluvchi tadbirlarni tashkil etish kiradi.

2004 yilda Tashqi ishlar vazirligi (MOFA) tizimida vazir kotibiysi tarkibida Xalq diplomatiyasi boshqarmasi tashkil etildi. An’anaga ko‘ra, Yaponiya “yumshoq kuchi”ning asosiy resurslari Janubiy va Sharqiy Osiyo hamda rivojlanayotgan mamlakatlarga qaratilgan. Bunga misol sifatida pandemiya davrida Janubiy va sharqiy osiyo, Afrika mamlakatlarida amalga oshirilgan “*Vaksina diplomatiyasi*”ni ko‘rsatish mumkin. Shu jumladan, Yaponiya Tashqi ishlar vazirligi, Yaponiya xalqaro hamkorlik agentligi (JICA) O‘zbekiston uchun ham koronavirusga qarshi kurashish uchun ilg‘or tibbiy asbob-uskunalar va jihozlar, jumladan, shaxsiy himoya vositalari, ventilyatorlar, raqamli rentgen apparatlari va 201 600 doza AstraZeneca vaktsinasini bepul yetkazib berdi.¹⁰

Bir tomonidan, Yaponiya Xitoy va Janubiy Koreya kabi mamlakatlarda ijobjiy imidj shakllantirish uchun katta sa'y-harakatlarni amalga oshirib kelayotgan bo‘lsa. Boshqa tomondan esa, ushu davlatlar bilan dunyo aholisining qalbida ijobjiy tuyg‘u shakllantirish uchun ular bilan raqobatlashmoqda.

Tokioning Markaziy Osiyoning beshta respublikasiga qaratilgan tashqi siyosat strategiyasida “yumshoq kuch” juda katta o‘rin tutadi. Bu mintaqa Yaponiya milliy manfaatlari nuqtai nazaridan ustuvor ahamiyatga ega bo‘lmasa-da, Tokioning diqqat markazida bo‘lib, Yaponiya unga katta moliyaviy resurslar ajratadi. Yaponiya o‘zining madaniy mavjudligini

⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Available at: <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/culture/index.html> (accessed 03.11.2015).

¹⁰ “Dunyo axborot agentligi”. (17.03.2022) Available at: <https://daryo.uz/2022/03/17/ozbekistonga-yaponiyadan-201-600-doza-astrazeneca-vaksinasi-olib-kelindi/> (accessed 04.04.2023)

kengaytirishga, mintaqada qulay tashqi siyosat va biznes uchun sharoit yaratishga intiladi.

Markaziy Osiyoga nisbatan “yumshoq kuch”

SSSR parchalanganidan keyin, ya’ni 90 yillarning boshida Yaponiya o‘z e’tiborini tezda sobiq sovet ittifoqidan ajralib chiqqan yangi Markaziy Osiyo mamlakatlariga qaratdi. 1992 yil oktyabr oyida Tokio konferentsiyasida so‘zga chiqqan Yaponiya vakili "*Osiyo davlati sifatida biz Osiyorining sobiq Sovet mamlakatlariga katta yordam berishni xohlaymiz*", deb ta’kidladi.¹¹ Bu Yaponiya hukumatining Markaziy Osiyo mamlakatlariga nisbatan siyosiy qiziqishining debochasi bo’ldi. Shunday qilib, Yaponiya boshidanoq Markaziy Osiyo xalqlari bilan umumiy “o‘ziga xos osiyolik” konsepsiyasini ta’kidlay boshladi, bu uning mintaqqa respublikalariga nisbatan yuritilayotgan siyosatning asosiga aylandi. Markaziy Osiyodagi yosh mamlakatlar bilan aloqalar o‘rnatish zarurati ularning geosiyosiy ahamiyati hamda Rossiya, Xitoy va Yaqin Sharq bilan yaqinligi bilan izohlash mumkin.

O‘z navbatida Markaziy Osiyodagi tabiiy resurslar ham Yaponiyani o‘ziga jalb qildi, ammo masofa uzoqligi va yetqazib berish bilan bog‘liq transport-logistik muammolar yapon siyosati uchun dolzarb ahamiyat kasb etmas edi. Iqtisodiy manfaat ko‘proq uzoq muddatli istiqbollarda ko‘rib chiqilgan. Yangi mustaqil davlatlar va Rossiya departamentining birinchi direktori Tetsuya Xirosening so‘zlariga ko‘ra, energiya resurslaridan foydalanish Yaponianing Markaziy Osiyodagi hozirgi e’tiborining asosiy sababi emas, ayni paytda u ko‘proq o‘zaro ishonchga asoslangan uzoq muddatli do‘stona munosabatlarni o‘rnatishga qaratilgan.¹²

Shu o‘rinda aytish joizki, Yaponianing mintaqaga kirib borishida uning iqtisodiy salohiyatini hisobga olish kerak. Bugungi kunda mintaqada Yaponiyaga nisbatan ijobjiy muhitni shakllantirishda u muhim rol o‘ynaydi. Tokio uran va noyob yer osti metallarini import qilishdan manfaatdor.

¹¹ Miyazawa, K. (1992, October 29). Opening Remarks by Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa at the Tokyo Conference on Assistance to the New Independent States. Retrieved from the web-site of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Available at: <https://worldjpn.net/documents/texts/exdpm/19921029.S1E.html> (accessed 11.07.2023).

¹² Hirose T (2008). Japan’s diplomacy in Central Asia: the perspective of a working- level policymaker. Japan’s silk road diplomacy: paving the road ahead. P. 183. Available at: 2008_12_BOOK_Len-Tomohiko-Tetsuya_Japan-Silk-Road-Diplomacy.pdf

Jumladan Yaponiya korxonalarini neft, gaz va uran konlarini o‘zlashtirishda faol ishtirok ishtirok etib kelmoqda. Neft va gazni qayta ishlash, kimyo, qurilish, mashinasozlik va yengil sanoat kabi tarmoqlarda o‘z ulushiga ega.

Bazi olimlarning fikricha, Yaponiya xalqaro izolyatsiya, ya’ni yakkalanishdan qochish uchun Markaziy Osiyo bilan aloqalarni o’rnatishga intiladi. Yaponiya Markaziy Osiyoni o‘rganish jamiyati prezidenti Tomohiko Uyama rasmiylarning bayonotlarini tahlil qilib, “*Mintaqa mamlakatlari bilan do’stlik Yaponianing militaristik va mustamlakachilik o’tmishini qoralaydigan sharqiy osiyodagi noqulay ahvolining o’rnini to’ldiradi*”, - degan fikr bildirgan.¹³

Tokio BMT Xavfsizlik Kengashining doimiy a’zolariga nomzodini qo’llab-quvvatlash, iqlim o’zgarishiga qarshi kurash, inson xavfsizligi va hokazolar sohasidagi Yaponianing tashabbuslarini qo’llab-quvvatlashi uchun mintaqa davlatlaridan global miqyosda siyosiy qo’llab-quvvatlashdan manfaatdor. Masalan O’zbekiston BMTning 40dan ortiq turli xil tuzilmalarida Yaponiya nomzodini qo’llab-quvvatlab kelmoqda. *Shu jumladan so’ngi yillarda BMTning irqiy kamsitishlarga barham berish bo‘yicha qo‘mitasi (2018-21), Xalqaro sud (2018-20), xalqaro meteorologik ijroiya kengashi (2019), inson huquqlari kengashi (2020-22), bolalar huquqi qo‘mitasi (2021-25), xalqaro pochta ittifoqi raisligi (2021) uchun, qiyonoqlarga qarshi qo‘mita (2022-25) hamda BMT xalqaro xavfsizligining doimiy bo‘lmagan a’zoligi (2023-24) ni yo‘qlab o‘z ovozini berib kelmoqda.*

Yaponianing Markaziy Osiyodagi tashqi siyosatini rivojlantirishda “yagona Osiyolik” g‘oyasi shubhasiz, katta rol o‘ynadi. Markaziy Osiyo xalqlari oldida ijobiy obro‘ga ega bo‘lish uchun Yaponiya o‘z jozibadorligini ko‘rsatishi va mintaqa bilan uzoq muddatli ijobiy munosabatlarni shakllantirishga qaratilgan "yumshoq kuch resurslari" orqali erishish mumkin deb topilgan.

Yaponiya «yumshoq siyosati»ning mintaqadagi o‘ziga xos ahamiyati va buni quyidagilarda ko‘rish mumkin:

¹³Uyama. T. Politika Yaponii v otnoshenii Kazakhstana. Est li strategiya? (Japanese Policies in Relation to Kazakhstan: Is there a "Strategy"? // Strategicheskiye perspektivy: veduschie derzhavy, Kazakhstan i centralnoaziatskiy uzel. / Ed. by Robert Legvold. Cambridge, 2003. P. 197-198. (УЯМА ТОМОХИКО (2003). ПОЛИТИКА ЯПОНИИ В ОТНОШЕНИИ КАЗАХСТАНА: ЕСТЬ ЛИ «СТРАТЕГИЯ»? Центр славянских исследований Университета Хоккайдо. Стратегические перспективы: ведущие державы, Казахстан и центральноазиатский узел). Available at: <file:///C:/Users/User/Downloads/32411233.pdf>

Birinchidan, diplomatik aloqa o‘rnatilganiga juda qisqa fursat o‘tdi. 90 yillarda Yaponiya mintaqasi davlatlari bilan aloqalar o‘rnatganidan buyon mintaqadagi xalqning ko‘nglini olish orqali mintaqada siyosiy mavqe’ga ega bo‘lishga intildi. Bu o‘z navbatida ancha jiddiy sa’y-harakatlarni talab qildi.

Ikkinchidan, Yaponiya boshidanoq bu mamlakatlar bilan “*o‘ziga xos umumiyy osiyolik*” terminini ta’kidlab keldi. Madaniy va irqiy umumiylilik, undan kelib chiqadigan hissiy yaqinlik Yaponiya rasmiy ritorikasining ajralmas qismiga aylandi.

Uchinchidan, Sharqiy Osiyodan farqli o‘laroq, Yaponianing bu mintaqadagi obro‘sni tarixning salbiy yuki bilan yomonlashmagan. Aksincha ikkinchi jahon urushi davrida Markaziy Osiyo mamlakatlariga surgun qilingan yapon askarlari barpo etgan ko’plab sifatli va jozibador binolar uchun mahalliy xalq juda minnatdor. 1966 yildagi kuchli zilzilaga ham bardosh bergen Toshkent shahrida barpo etilgan Navoiy opera va balet teatri bunga yorqin misoldir. Yapon hukumati hozirgi kunga qadar uning restovratsiyasi uchun beg’araz yordam berib kelmoqda. Bularning barchasi mintaqada Yaponianing tashqi siyosiy tashabbuslarini amalga oshirish uchun dastlab qulay sharoitlar mavjud edi, deyishga imkon beradi.

Jamoatchilik va madaniy diplomatiya nafaqat Yaponianing Markaziy Osiyoda ijobiy imidjini yaratish vositasi sifatida asosiy rol o‘ynaydi, balki yaponlar nazarida Markaziy Osiyo tashqi siyosati mohiyatini anglashda hal qiluvchi ahamiyatga ega. Yaponiya geografik jihatdan mintaqadan uzoqda joylashgan bo‘lib, uning mintaqadagi iqtisodiy manfaatlari u qadar ahamiyat kasb etmaydi. Shunga qaramay, Tokio mintaqaga yordam berish uchun katta mablag’ ajratib keladi hamda bu erda o‘zining iqtisodiy va siyosiy ishtirokini asta-sekin kuchaytirib borishdan manfaatdor. 2014-yil holatiga ko‘ra, Yaponiya Markaziy Osiyoning besh respublikasiga 3,6 milliard dollar ajratgan. 2015 yilda Yaponiya hukumati rahbari Sindzo Abe mintaqaning barcha besh mamlakatida qilgan tashrifi davomida yaqin *5 yil ichida* mintaqaga 25 mlrd dollar yo‘naltirishi e’lon qildi.¹⁴

Sobiq elchi Akio Kavatoga ko‘ra, Yaponianing iqtisodiy yordami Qirg‘iziston, Tojikiston va O‘zbekistonda muhim rol o‘ynaydi, biroq afsuski uning Markaziy Osiyodagi ishtiroki hali ham o‘z fuqarolari tomonidan etarli

¹⁴Yaponiya Markaziy Osiyon rivojlantirishga 25 mlrd dollar tikadi. (30.12.2015). Kun.uz. Available at: <https://kun.uz/uz/119528?q=%2Fuz%2F119528> (accessed 20.10.2023)

qo‘llab-quvvatlashga ega emas. Bunga sabab Yaponiyada mintaqqa haqida etarli ma’lumotlar yo‘qligi deb o‘ylayman. Bu esa o‘zaro tushunmovchiliklarni keltirib chiqaradi va ikki tomonlama munosabatlarning rivojlanishiga ham, Yaponiyaning mintaqadagi ko‘p tomonlama hamkorlik tashabbuslariga ham salbiy ta’sir qiladi.

Ikki jahon urushi davrida 600 000 yapon askarlari Sibir va Markaziy Osiyo mintaqasiga og‘ir mehnatga (1945-1958) surgun qilingan va ulardan 60 000 kishi halok bo‘lgan. Shu sababli ham yaponlar naznida "Sibir" (shu jumladan O’rta Osiyo) "dahshatli joy" so‘zining sinonimi sifatida ishlatalgan.

Biroq Markaziy Osiyo xalqlari mustaqillikka erishgach, o‘z tarixi haqida butun dunyoga gapira boshladi, ayniqsa “Ipak Yo‘li”ga bo‘lgan qiziqish boshqa millatlar singari yaponlarning ham etiborini tortdi. Mashhur antropolog hamda SSR davrida Sibirda surgunda bo‘lgan Professor Kyuzo Kato (1922-2016) 1998 yildan to umrining so‘ngiga qadar 18 yil davomida Termiz shahridagi buddizm ibodatxonalarini o‘rganib (“qoratepa” ibodatxonasi), ikki davlat o‘rtasidagi diniy, madaniy va ma’rifiy munosabatlarni tarixiy jihatdan ochib berishga intildi. Kyuzo Kato mintaqqa va Yaponiya o‘rtasidagi ikki tomonlama akademik rivojlanishga buyuk hissa qo‘sib, Yaponiyaliklar orasida Ipak yo‘lidagi mamlakat (G‘arbiy mintaqqa) ya’ni O‘zbekistoniga bo‘lgan qiziqishni ortishiga turtki berdi. Hozirda ham uning tadqiqot faoliyatini yapon va o‘zbek shogirdlari davom ettirib kelmoqda.

Mintaqani yaponiyaliklar orasida *ommalashtirish*, shuningdek, *madaniy-tarixiy munosabatlarni o‘rganish* va *Markaziy Osiyoning turistik jozibadorligini oshirish* hamon dolzarbligicha qolmoqda.

Aslida Yaponlar Markaziy Osiyonini ancha oldin kashf etishgan. So‘g‘d va pahlaviy yozuvlari saqlanib qolgan Horyuji ibodatxonasida milodiy 761 yilga oid ikkita sandal daraxti bo‘lagi topildi¹⁵ Bu so‘g‘diylarning uzoq sharqda dengiz savdosida ishtirok etganliklaridan dalolat beradi va Yaponiya bilan O‘zbekiston o‘rtasidagi aloqalar qadim zamonlarda ham mavjud bo‘lganligini isbotlaydi. Yaponianing Nara shahri bilan O‘zbekistonning Termiz shahri (arxeologik topilmalarga ko‘ra, I-IV asrlarda (Kushon imperiyasi davrida O‘rta

¹⁵ Rtveladze E. Civilizacii, gosudarstva, kultury Centralnoy Asii. (Civilizations, States, Cultures of Central Asia) Tashkent, 2005. P. 243. (Ртвеладзе Э. Цивилизации, государства, культуры Центральной Азии). Available at: file:///C:/Users/User/Downloads/civilizations_states_cultures.pdf (accessed 04.11.2023.)

Osiyo buddizmning markazi bo‘lgan) o‘rtasida yaqin hamkorlik yo‘lga qo‘yilgan.¹⁶

Yaponiyaning mintaqadagi imidji

Sobiq tashqi ishlar vaziri Yoriko Kavaguchining so‘zlariga ko‘ra, Yaponiya Markaziy Osiyo uchun ishonchli hamkor, chunki u kuch ishlatmaydigan, mintaqqa davlatlari bilan siyosiy, hududiy va boshqa potentsial mojaro manbalariga ega bo‘lmagan davlatdir.¹⁷ Ya’ni Yaponiya hech qanday g’arazli maqsadlarga, siyosiy ambitionsiyalarga ega bo‘lmagan do’st davlat qiyofasi shaklida aks etadi. Shuningdek, Yaponiya mintaqqa ichidagi o‘zaro hamkorlik orqali integratsiyaga erishish mumkin deb hisoblaydi, hamda bu yo‘lda unga ko‘maklashishga harakat qilib kelmoqda. Bu sa’y-harakatlar 2004-yilda tashkil etilgan “Markaziy Osiyo + Yaponiya” muloqoti doirasidagi tashabbuslarning asosini ham tashkil etadi.

1990-yillarda iqtisodiy rivojlanish yo‘lini tanlash zaruriyatiga duch kelgan, sotsialistik tipdagи rejali iqtisodiyot an’analariga ega bo‘lgan Markaziy Osiyo davlatlari uchun, albatta, iqtisodiyotda davlatning hukmron rolini nazarda tutuvchi Yaponiyadagi iqtisodiy siyosat jozibali edi. "Yaponiya-Sharqiy Osiyo modeli"ni "anglo-sakson" modeliga qarama-qarshi qo‘yib, o‘z tajribasini etkazish uchun o‘z mutaxassislarini yuborib, iqtisodiyot va biznesni boshqarish kurslarini tashkil qilib kelmoqda.¹⁸

Yaponiya taraqqiyot modelining jozibador jihatlaridan yana biri uning innovatsiyalardagi yetakchiligidir. Yaponiya ham, mintaqqa davlatlari ham yapon texnologiyalari va Markaziy Osiyoning tabiiy resurslari bir-birini to‘ldirishini bir necha bor ta’kidlashgan. Amaliy nuqtai nazardan, texnologik jihatdan rivojlangan qudratli davlat qiyofasi Yaponianing mintaqadagi raqobatbardoshligini oshiradi, sanoat sohasida hamkorlikni yo‘lga qo‘yadi

¹⁶ Novaya vekha v sotrudnichestve uzbekskix uchenix. (A new milestone in cooperation between Uzbek and Japanese scientists). (23/02/2010) UzDaily. Available at: <https://www.uzdaily.uz/ru/post/1498> (accessed 04.11.2023.)

¹⁷ Policy Speech by Ms. Yoriko Kawaguchi (26.07.2004). Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan at the University of World Economy and Diplomacy, Tashkent, Usbekistan. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Available at: URL:<http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/uzbekistan/speech0408.html> (accessed 04.11.2023.)

¹⁸ Hirose T (2008). Japan’s diplomacy in Central Asia: the perspective of a working- level policymaker // Japan’s silk road diplomacy: paving the road ahead. P. 183. Available at: 2008_12_BOOK_Len-Tomohiko-Tetsuya_Japan-Silk-Road-Diplomacy.pdf

(masalan, Qozog‘iston va O‘zbekistonda uran, neft va nodir yer osti metallarini ishlab chiqarish, Turkmanistonda gaz va kimyo sanoati).

Xususan, Yaponiya o‘zini atrof-muhit masalalariga alohida e’tibor qaratadigan davlat sifatida ko’rsatadi. Sobiq tashqi ishlar vaziri Yoriko Kawaguchi Jahon Iqtisodiyoti va Diplomatiya Universitetida so’zlagan nutqida Yaponi hukumatining orol dengizini qutqarish loyihalarida, shuningdek, Semipalatinsk yaqinidagi radioaktiv ifloslanishni bartaraf etishda ishtirok etishini ta’kidlagan. Orol dengizini Yaponiyadagi Biva ko’liga, Semipalatinsk viloyatini esa Xirosimaga qiyoslab, mavjud ekologik muammolarni yapon xalqi yurakdan his qila olishini aytib o‘tdi.¹⁹

OISCA (The Organization for Industrial, Spiritual and Cultural Advancement) prezidenti Esuko Nakano 2022 yil noyabr oyida OISCA jurnalida bergen intervyusida tashkilot tomonidan 10 yil davomida Orol dengizining qurigan hududining 40 ming hektar maydonini ko‘kalamzorlashtirish loyihasiga start berilishi rejalashtirilganini ta’kidlab, mazkur loyiha Orolbo‘yidagi ekologik vaziyat va aholi farovonligini yaxshilashga ko‘maklashishiga umid bildirdi.²⁰

“Yumshoq kuch” tuvsifi

Yaponiya Markaziy Osiyoda o‘zining “yumshoq kuch” siyosatini Rivojlanishga Rasmiy Yordam (ODA) va xalq diplomatiyasi vositalari orqali amalga oshiradi. ODA Yaponianing mintaqaga kirishi uchun dastlabki asos bo‘ldi deya olamiz. 1990-yillar boshida “Osiyo davlati sifatida Yaponiya sobiq Sovet ittifoqi davlatlariga yordam beradi” lozungi ostida mintaqaga kirib keldi. Qolaversa, u uzoq vaqt dan beri mintaqaning yetakchi yordam donorlaridan biri bo‘lib, xech qanday manfaatlarsiz va mintaqaning tabiiy resurslaridan foydalanishga intilmasligini hamda uzoq muddatli yordam ko‘rsatishni maqsad qilganini ta’kidlab kelmoqda.

¹⁹ Policy Speech by Ms. Yoriko Kawaguchi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan at the University of World Economy and Diplomacy, Tashkent, Uzbekistan on August 26, 2004 "Adding a New Dimension: Central Asia plus Japan". Available at: <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/uzbekistan/speech0408.html>

²⁰ Yaponiya nodavlat xalqaro tashkiloti Orol dengizining qurigan hududini ko‘kalamzorlashtirishga ko‘mak beradi.(The Japanese non-governmental international organization supports the greening of the dry area of the Aral Sea) “Yangi O‘zbekiston” va “Pravda Vostoka” gazetalari tahririyati» DUK (4 Noyabr 2022). Available at: <https://yuz.uz/uz/news/yaponiya-nodavlat-xalqaro-tashkiloti-orol-dengizining-qurigan-hududini-kokalamzorlashtirishga-komak-beradi> (accessed 20.10.2023)

“Yumshoq kuch”ni amalga oshirish vositalari

Yaponiya ODA mablag‘larini zarur infratuzilmani yaratish bo‘yicha masalan loyihalarni kreditlash uchun, qishloq xo‘jaligi, tibbiyat va sog‘liqni saqlash va ta’limni tiklashga hissa qo‘sish shish kabi ijtimoiy sohadagi ko‘plab loyihalarni moliyalashtirib kelmoqda. ODA doirasida Yaponiya madaniy faoliyat va oliv ta’limni rivojlantirish hamda madaniy rivojlanishni saqlashga qaratilgan loyihalarga bepul yordam ko‘rsatadi. ODAda madaniy grantlar (davlat muassasalari uchun) va "o‘rta darajadagi" grant yordami (nodavlat tashkilotlari uchun) tizmi mavjud. Yaponiya boshidanoq madaniy yordamga katta mablag‘ ajratdi, muzeylar, universitetlar va hokazolarni jihozlar bilan ta‘minlash uchun grantlar ajratdi. Madaniy yordam, bir tomondan, mahalliy qadriyatlarni saqlashga qaratilgan bo‘lsa, ikkinchi tomondan, Yaponiyani targ‘ib qilish sa’y-harakatlarning bir qismidir. Yapon tili o‘rgatiladigan muassasalarni tekinga jihozlash kabilarni bunga misol qilish mumkin.

Moliyaviy yordamdan tashqari, Yaponiya muntazam ravishda turli madaniy tadbirlarga mezbonlik qiladi, bu esa, albatta, Yaponiya va Markaziy Osiyo davlatlarining yaqinlashishi, o‘zaro tushunish va hissiy yaqinlikni saqlashda muhim rol o‘ynaydi. Yaponiya mavzusidagi tadbirlar ko‘pincha Markaziy Osiyoda ham poytaxtlarda, ham kichik shahar va qishloqlarda o‘tkaziladi. Yapon taomlari bilan bog‘liq tadbirlar, yapon filmlari, choy marosimi, jang san’atlari ayniqsa mashhur. Maktab o‘quvchilari yapon madaniyatini o‘rganishlari mumkin (masalan, Turkmanistonda bunday amaliyot keng tarqalgan).

Yaponiya hukumati yoshlar va mutaxassislarga qaratilgan ta’lim tashabbuslariga alohida e’tibor qaratmoqda. Yaponiya hukumati va Yapon fondi dasturlari Markaziy Osiyoda juda mashhur. Talabalar, stajyorlar va tadqiqotchilar uchun til kurslari, o‘qituvchilar uchun treninglar, hukumat amaldorlari, sog‘liqni saqlash, sanoat va huquq sohalaridagi mutaxassislar uchun “yosh yetakchilar” dasturi kabilarni keltirish mumkin.²¹

Universitetlararo aloqalar ham yaxshi rivojlanmoqda. Yaponianing Xosei, Vaseda, Nagoya, Tsukuba, Ritsumeikan va boshqa universitetlari mintaqaning yetakchi ta’lim muassasalari bilan talabalar almashinuv dasturlarini amalga oshirib kelmoqda. Jumladan, 2006 yil sentyabr oyidan

²¹ Japan’s Embassy in Uzbekistan. Available at: https://www.uz.emb-japan.go.jp/itpr_ja/culture-education.html (accessed 04.11.2023)

boshlab Tsukuba universitetida Markaziy Osiyo mamlakatlari uchun maxsus dastur (SPCEA) mintaqaviy izlanishlar bo‘yicha qo‘shma tadqiqotlar olib bormoqda.²² Ta’lim dasturlari Yaponiya ta’lim muassasalarining jozibadorligini oshirish va shu bilan birga turli mamlakatlardan yoshlarini almashinuvga jalb etishga qaratilgan. Tokio Markaziy Osiyo mamlakatlari yoshlari bilan hamkorlikda ish olib boradi, bu esa quyosh chiqayotgan mamlakatni yaxshi biladigan va u bilan hamkorlik qilishga tayyor siyosiy hamda biznes elitaning yangi avlodini tarbiyalaydi deb o’ylayman.

Yapon tilini targ‘ib qilish ham aslida “yumshoq kuch”ning bir ko’rinishi deyish mumkin. Markaziy Osiyo universitetlarida yapon tilidan dars berish ancha qisqa tarixga ega. Yapon tilini ilk marta 1990-yilda Toshkent Davlat Sharqshunoslik Institutida, 1991-yilda Qirg‘izistonda, 1992-yildan Qozog‘istonda, 2002 yilda Tojikistonda va 2007 yildan boshlab esa Turkmanistonda o‘qitish boshlandi. 1997 yildan buyon bu mamlakatlarda yapon tili talabalari o‘rtasida har yili notiqlik sanati musobaqasi (*Benrontaikai*) muntazam ravishda o‘tkazib kelinadi.

Shu bilan birga, 2004 yilda “Markaziy Osiyo+Yaponiya” muloqotining boshlanishi mintaqaga mamlakatlari bilan hamkorlikka yagona yondashuvni ishlab chiqishga xizmat qildi. “Markaziy Osiyo +Yaponiya” tashabbusi doirasida intellektual muloqotning yo‘lga qo‘yilishi “yumshoq kuch” siyosatining ko‘rinishlaridan biri sifatida baholanish mumkin.

Inson resurslarini rivojlantirish markazlari ya’ni Yapon markazlarining ochilishi til kurslari bilan yapon madaniyatini tarqatishda muhim turtki bo’ldi. Markazlar o‘qituvchilar va ta’lim muassasalarini qo‘llab-quvvatlaydi - malaka oshirish kurslarini tashkil qiladi va materiallar bilan ta’minlaydi. Shuningdek, ular yapon xattotchiliigi, ikebana, origami, karaoke kabi madaniy elementlarni aholi orasida tarqatish orqali Yaponiyaga qiziqadigan jamiyat shakllantirishni maqsad qilgan deyish mumkin.

So‘rov natijalariga ko‘ra, yapon tili mintaqada bugungi kunga kelib ingliz, nemis, yoki koreys tili singari ommabop emas. Sababi mintaqada yapon biznesi Xitoynikiga nisbatan ancha kam. Bundan tashqari, kompaniyalar har doim ham yapon tilini biladigan mahalliy xodimlarni yo‘llashni xoxlamaydi. Shunday qilib, yapon tilida so‘zlashuvchi bitiruvchilar har doim ham yapon

²² University of Tsukuba. Available at: <https://www.chiiki.tsukuba.ac.jp/spca/news-events/news-events.html> (accessed 30.11.2023)

tilida ularning umidlari va sarflangan sa'y-harakatlariga mos keladigan ish topa olmaydi. Bu esa o'z navbatida tilni o'rganishga bo'lgan qiziqishga salbiy ta'sir ko'rsatadi.

“Yumshoq kuch”ning kuch markazlari

Yapon hukumati “yumshoq kuch” siyosatini odatda *xorijiy mamlakatlardagi diplomatik vakolatxonalar orqali*, shuningdek, Markaziy Osiyo davlatlari hukumatlari va Yaponiya xalqaro hamkorlik agentligi (JICA) o'rtaсидаги kelishuvlar asosida tashkil etilgan *Yapon markazlari* deb ataladigan inson resurslarini rivojlantirish markazlari orqali amalga oshiradi. JICA vakolatxonalari Markaziy Osiyoning deyarli barcha mamlakatlarida faoliyat yuritib, mamlakat rivoji hamda ekologik muhitni yaxshilashga yordam beradigan turli dasturlarni amalga oshirib kelmoqda.²³

ODA va madaniy-xalq diplomatiyasidan tashqari Yaponianing ijobiy imidjini yaratishda yana bir necha omillar ta'sir qiladi. Masalan, Buyuk ipak yo'li tasvirlangan bir qator asarlardan iborat O'zbekistondagi “Xalqaro madaniyat karvonsaroyi” ikki mamlakatning tarixiy yaqinligini tasvirlarda ifodalaydi. 1998-yil iyul oyida BMTning Tojikistondagi vakolatxonasida ishlagan va ekstremistlar tomonidan o'ldirilgan Tsukuba universiteti professori Yutako Akinoning merosini ham alohida ta'kidlab o'tish zarur.²⁴ 1999-yilda BMT universiteti Markaziy Osiyo tadqiqotchilari uchun Yutako Akino xotirasiga bag'ishlangan stipendiya grantini joriy qilgan.²⁵ Yana bir misol, 1994-1998 yillarda Farg'onada vodiysida faoliyat yuritgan Komatsu kompaniyasi muhandisi Osaka Sigekatsu kam ta'minlangan oilalar farzandlariga bepul yapon tili darslarini o'rgatishni tashkil qilib, hozirgacha faoliyat yuritayotgan yapon Noriko Gakkyu maktabiga asos soldi. “Yumshoq kuch”ni amalga oshirishda nodavlat sub'ektlar, jumladan, jismoniy shaxslar katta rol o'ynaydi deb o'ylayman. Chunki ular Markaziy Osiyo xalqlarida yaponlarga nisbatan ijobiy munosabatni shakllantirishga katta hissa qo'shib kelishmoqda.

²³ JICA Development Studies Program. JICA Chair. Available at: <https://www.jica.go.jp/english/activities/schemes/dsp-chair/index.html> (accessed 10.10.2023)

²⁴ Fumiaki Inagaki. Japan-Tajikistan is a country of mountains and rivers on the Silk Road, recovering from civil war. (Фумиаки Инагаки (17.11.2013). Япония-Таджикистан страна гор и рек на Шелковом пути, выздоравливающая после гражданской войны). Available at: <https://www.dialog.tj/news/news13212> (accessed 30.10.2023)

²⁵ UNU selects 2001 Akino Memorial research fellows. United Nations University. February-March 2001 Available at: http://archive.unu.edu/update/archive/issue7_2.htm (accessed 04.11.2023)

“Yumshoq kuch”ning o‘ziga xos xususiyati shundaki, uning ta’sirini o‘lchash qiyin. Ta’siri darhol namoyon bo‘ladigan qattiq kuchdan farqli o‘laroq, yumshoq kuchlarni ko‘rish uchun vaqt kerak bo’ladi. Ammo “yumshoq kuch”ni doimiy ravishda oziqlantirib turilsa, natijalar barqaror va uzoq muddatli bo‘lishi mumkin. Shunday qilib, Yaponiya imidjini shakllantirish tufayli u biznesni yanada rivojlantirish uchun qulay muhitni yaratishga muvaffaq bo‘ldi deb o‘ylayman. Bu esa o‘z navbatda, Yaponianing ushbu mintaqada, ayniqsa, Xitoy va Koreya bilan raqobat nuqtai nazaridan “yumshoq kuch” siyosatining muvaffaqiyati haqida xulosaga olib keladi.

Xulosa

Diplomatik munosabatlar o‘rnatalganidan buyon o‘tgan yillar davomida Yaponiya Markaziy Osiyoda o‘zining “yumshoq kuch” salohiyatini izchil amalga oshirib kelmoqda. Salbiy tarixiy o‘tmishsiz qulay zaminning dastlabki afzalliliklariga ega bo‘lgan Yaponiya o‘zini g‘arazli maqsadlarni ko‘zlamaydigan va mintaqada siyosiy ambitsiyalarga ega bo‘lmagan neytral o‘yinchisifatida ko‘rsatmoqda. U doim uzoq muddatli istiqbolga qaratilgan do‘stona munosabatlarga tayangan siyosatni ilgari suradi. Shu bilan birga, urushdan keyingi rivojlanish strategiyasini mintaqqa mamlakatlari uchun model sifatida taklif qilib kelmoqda.

Yaponiya Markaziy Osiyoga nisbatan “yumshoq kuch” siyosatining boshqa davlatlardan ajralib turadigan o‘ziga xosligi shundaki, ular umumiyo‘siyolik konsepsiyasidan foydalanishadi deb o‘ylayman. Shu asosda Yaponiya o‘z imidjining eng jozibador tomonlarini – iqtisodiy rivojlanish, sharqona demokratiya, ilg‘or texnologiyalar, atrof-muhitni muhofaza qilish kabi Markaziy Osiyo mamlakatlari intilishi va maqsadlariga hamohang sifatlarni ilgari suradi.

Yaponiya yetakchi donor davlatlardan biri sifatida mintaqqa ehtiyojlari uchun ta’sirchan iqtisodiy yordam ko‘rsatish bilan o‘zining ijobjiy imidjini qo‘llab-quvvatlaydi. Ushbu yordamning katta qismi Yaponiya global yetakchilardan biri bo‘lgan inson kapitali bo‘yicha loyihalarga yo‘naltiradi. Shuningdek, ODA madaniy grantlarga ham katta e’tibor qaratilmoqda, ular nafaqat mintaqaning madaniy merosini saqlashga, balki Yaponiya va Markaziy Osiyoda yapon tilini targ‘ib qilishga qaratilgan. Madaniy-gumanitar tadbirlar, shuningdek, iqtisodiy yordam loyihalarini yoritish nafaqat mintaqqa aholisining

e'tiborini jalb qilish, balki Yaponiyaning o'z fuqarolariga Markaziy Osiyoda yaponlarning mavjudligi sabablarini tushuntirish uchun ham zarurdir. Iqtisodiy hamkorlikni rivojlantirish va yangi global mintaqaviy tashabbuslarni ilgari surish jarayonida Yaponiyaning “yumshoq kuch” siyosati muhimligicha qoladi.

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CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF LOBBISM PHENOMENA IN US

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Abstract: This research article examines the role of federal lobbying expenditures and legislative mechanisms in shaping public policy and the decision-making process in the United States. It highlights the significant impact that professional lobbyists have on advocating for various federal organizations, including government agencies, congressional committees, and the White House. The article also delves into the ongoing debate surrounding the relationship between lobbying and corporate social responsibility (CSR). To ensure a more equitable and sustainable future, the article emphasizes the need for greater transparency, accountability, and recognition of the potential negative impact of corporate lobbying. It calls for ongoing scrutiny of the complex dynamics between lobbying, public policy, and democratic governance to strike a balance between the legitimate advocacy of interests and broader societal objectives. In conclusion, this article sheds light on the significant role of federal lobbying expenditures and legislative mechanisms in shaping public policy in the United States.

Keywords: *Lobbying, Interest Groups, Policy Making, Influence, Spending, CSR, United States of America.*

Federal lobbying expenditures and legislative mechanisms

Lobbying is a significant and influential practice in the United States political landscape, with federal lobbying expenditures playing a critical role in shaping public policy and decision-making processes. Striking a balance between the legitimate advocacy of interests and the pursuit of broader societal goals remains an ongoing challenge in the realm of lobbying and democratic governance.

Professional lobbyists are engaged via U.S. federal organizations to help them in interacting with the legislature and governmental choices making technique. This includes hiring lobbyists to negotiate with legislators, write and analyze bills, and other tasks related to the legislative process. For example, the U.S. House Financial Services Committee has hired contractors or lobbyists that allow the company to interact intently with different senators and congressmen as well as other departments or ministries in the authorities.

One such lobbyist, Capitol Tax Partners, assists the financial services committee with tax policy development and financial regulatory actions¹.

Furthermore, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency hires lobbyists to engage with legislators on topics related to environmental regulation. For example, lobbyists from the consulting firm The Vogel Group have assisted EPA in communicating with Congress on issues related to the regulation of greenhouse gas emissions. In addition, the White House and its agencies may also hire lobbyists to garner support for legislative initiatives and to engage with congressmen and senators. For example, in 2020, the White House hired lobbyists from the consulting firm Ballard Partners to help negotiate with Congress on issues related to the COVID-19 measure. According to a report by the Center for Adaptive Policy, in 2022, federal agencies spent approximately \$4.6 billion on hiring lobbyists. These expenditures encompassed costs associated with lobbying services and expenses related to participation in lobbying-related activities.

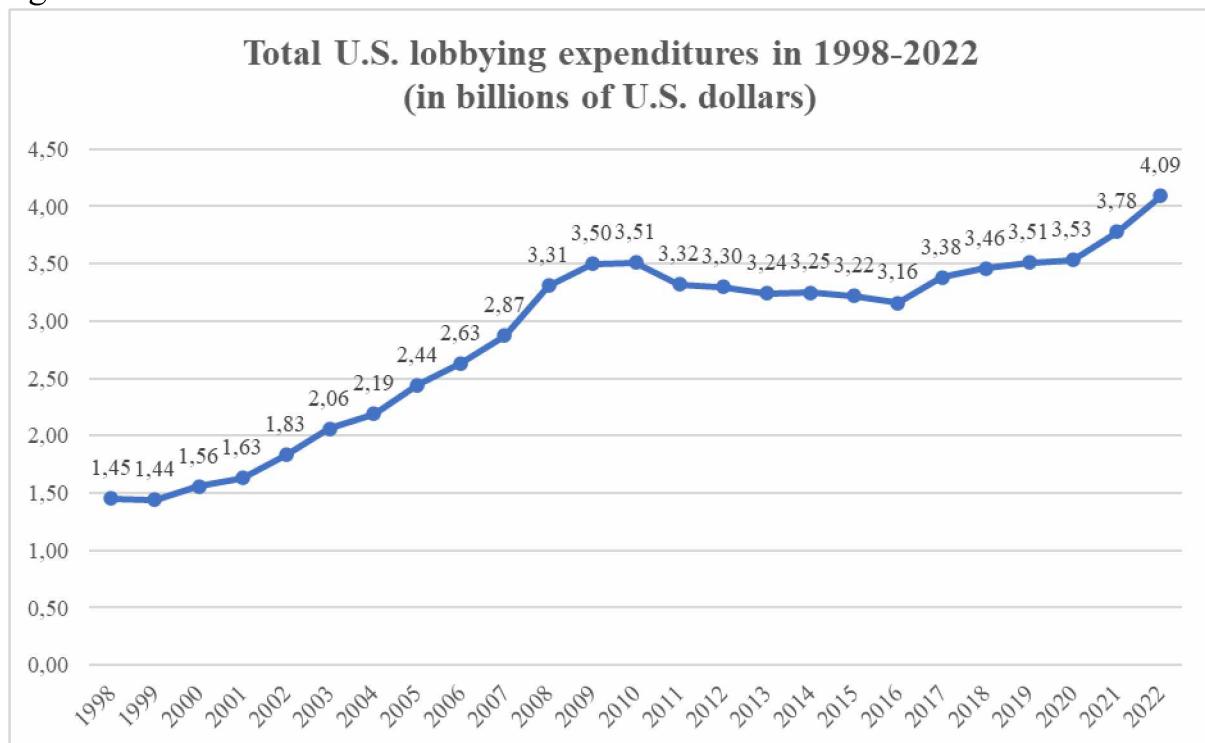


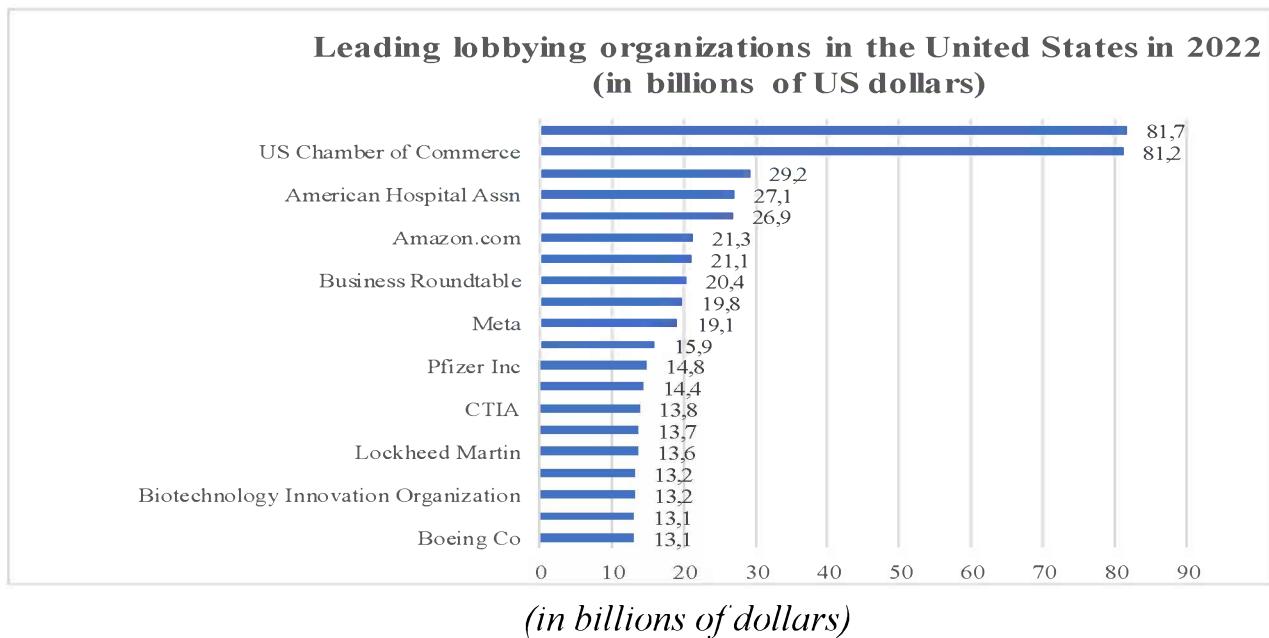
Table 1. U.S. Total Lobbying Spending 1998-2022

Organizations engaged in lobbying activities can vary from large corporations and trade associations to non-profit organizations and human

¹ National Institute for Lobbying & Ethics. (2019). Code of ethics. Available at: <https://www.lobbyinginstitute.com/code-of-ethics/>

rights groups. In 2022, the highest lobbying expenditures in the US federal government were made by the following organizations and companies²:

Table 2. *Leading lobbyists in the United States in 2022*



However, there are loopholes in legislation that allow businesses and other organizations to fund lobbying through certain indirect channels, such as properly organized non-profit organizations, and so on. These indirect channels can bypass restrictions established by the Federal Campaign Law and enable businesses to influence the legislative process through lobbying³.

Some of the loopholes in the law that allow businesses and other organizations to fund lobbying include:

1. **Funding through non-profit organizations:** This is where businesses can set up non-profit organizations that they can later use to fund lobbying in their interests. The company therefore, does not reveal the source of the funding in such type of organization and uses it for lobbying. Another instance is when Crossroads GPS, a nonprofit organization linked to Republican strategist Karl Rove, spent more than \$16 million on lobbying without disclosing the source of its income.

2. **Funding through Super PACs:** Super Political Action Committees (Super PACs) have no limitations on how much money they can receive and

² Center for Responsive Politics. (2022). Lobbyist Database. OpenSecrets. <https://www.opensecrets.org/federal-lobbying/lobbyist-database>

³ Bombardini, M., & Trebbi, F. (2012). Competition and political organization: Together or alone in lobbying for trade policy?. *Journal of International Economics*, 88(1), 113-123.

spend for the purpose of financing political campaigns. Funding Super PACs allows businesses to influence the legislature to their advantage. For instance, in 2012, Priorities USA Action, affiliated with Barack Obama's campaign, received significant funding from large businesses such as DreamWorks Animation, Qualcomm, and others. Political Action Committees (PACs) have significant influence in Congress and account for about 30% of the total amount of money flowing into campaign funds⁴.

3. Funding through contributions to charitable foundations: Major corporations like Boeing, Chevron, etc. provided enormous funds for the Clinton Foundation in 2016.

4. Funding through lobbying fees: Businesses can employ and compensate lobbyists on behalf of business interests in front of government agencies through the legislative frameworks. During 2017, Pfizer, a Pharmaceutical company, employed Invariant LLC as a lobbying firm through which Pfizer sought to protect its interests regarding a tax reform. The invariant LLC lobbied for the Congress and various governmental agencies in support of the interests of Pfizer as well as other drug making companies.

While these slots are not always illegal, they can circumvent some legal restrictions and allow businesses to influence the legislative process.

Lobbying and corporate social responsibility (CSR)

Lobbying and CSR have a significant impact on a company's reputation and public perception. While CSR refers to a company's voluntary actions to improve social and environmental performance, lobbying involves efforts to influence public policy and regulation in favor of a company's interests⁵.

There is debate about the extent to which lobbying activities are consistent with CSR principles. On the one hand, lobbying can be seen as a legitimate way for companies to advocate for policies that advance their economic interests while promoting economic growth and job creation. On the other hand, critics argue that lobbying can undermine democratic processes

⁴ Bonica, A. (2014). Money in politics: A study of the role of campaign contributions in US congressional elections. American Journal of Political Science, 58(2), 296-309.

⁵ Carroll, A. B. (2016). Corporate social responsibility: The centerpiece of competing and complementary frameworks. *Organizational Dynamics*, 45(2), 97-106.
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0090261615001068>

and lead to policies that favor narrow interests at the expense of broader societal goals.

Corporate Watch's 2006 CSR Report provides an important critique of the limitations of CSR as a tool for promoting social and environmental sustainability. It highlights the need for greater transparency and accountability in corporate practices and emphasizes the importance of recognizing how corporate lobbying can undermine progress towards a more equitable and sustainable future⁶.

In "Socially Responsible Lobbying," Saara Hääläinen and Yi Zheng argue that companies can use their lobbying power to advocate for policies and regulations that are consistent with their CSR goals, rather than simply using lobbying as a tool to protect their financial interests⁷. For example, in 2014, the authorities of the city of Flint, Michigan, switched the city's water supply to a cheaper source that was contaminated with lead. The crisis highlighted the failures of both lobbying and CSR, as the powerful water industry influenced the state government to cut spending and ignore warnings about health risks. Meanwhile, companies involved in the water system claimed to be committed to environmental sustainability and public health⁸.

An examination of the political and social consequences of lobbying disagreements.

The role that interest groups play in society is a debate that is periodically revived in the American political environment. Lobbying is a controversial topic in the United States, and there are differing views on its role and impact on the political system. Lobbying is the act of trying to influence decisions made by public officials, usually through paid representatives or interest groups. While lobbying may be a legitimate and necessary function in a democratic society, it is also often associated with controversy and ethical issues. Those who support lobbying argue that it is a legitimate and necessary means for individuals and groups to influence

⁶ Hahn, R., & Kühnen, M. (2013). When lobbying and corporate social responsibility (CSR) serve similar goals: The strategic use of CSR in lobbying. *Business & Society*, 52(2), 282-317. doi: 10.1177/0007650312467009.

⁷ Brammer, S., Jackson, G., & Matten, D. (2012). Corporate lobbying and corporate social responsibility: Aligning contradictory agendas. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 111(4), 413-429. doi: 10.1007/s10551-012-1202-2.

⁸ Hanna-Attisha, M., LaChance, J., Sadler, R. C., & Champney Schnepp, A. (2016). Elevated blood lead levels in children associated with the Flint drinking water crisis: A spatial analysis of risk and public health response. *American Journal of Public Health*, 106(2), 283-290.

government and promote their interests. They see lobbying as an integral part of the democratic process and a way to ensure that all voices are heard. Critics of lobbying argue that it can undermine the democratic process and lead to the concentration of power in the hands of a few rich and powerful individuals and organizations.

According to three Pew Center polls conducted between September 2018 and March 2019, 53% of respondents viewed the role of lobbyists and interest groups in Washington as a serious problem, compared to 38% for illegal immigration⁹. In addition, lobbyists consistently score low in terms of reliability, honesty and ethical standards. Gallup's annual survey of integrity and ethics in the professions found that between 2007 and 2017, 60% of respondents rated lobbyists as "very low" or "underpaid," with the lowest at 64% in 2008 and the highest at 56% in 2013. By comparison, bankers received a rating of 25%¹⁰.

Critics argue that lobbying gives wealthy individuals and organizations undue influence over government decision-making, allowing them to advance their own interests at the expense of the public interest. For example, the National Rifle Association (NRA) is a powerful lobbying group in the United States that has been accused of using its influence to shape gun policy in its favor. Critics say it has led to policies that prioritize the interests of the gun industry over public safety, such as opposition to background checks and other gun violence prevention measures¹¹.

Some researchers argue that lobbying can lead to corruption because lobbyists may use unethical means to influence public officials, such as offering bribes or other incentives¹². Corruption is a serious problem associated with lobbying in the United States. Critics argue that the lack of transparency and accountability in the lobbying process can create an environment in which unethical behavior thrives. In 2005, lobbyist Jack Abramoff was convicted of fraud, conspiracy and tax evasion related to his lobbying activities on behalf of Native American tribes and other clients. He was accused of offering bribes

⁹ Pew Research Center. (2019). Public trust in government: 1958-2019. Available at: <https://www.peoplepress.org/2019/04/11/public-trust-in-government-1958-2019/>

¹⁰ Gallup. (2018). Honesty and ethics in professions. Available at: <https://news.gallup.com/poll/1654/honesty-ethics-professions.aspx>

¹¹ The Guardian. (2021). The NRA's grip on American politics: what you need to know. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/jun/05/nra-grip-on-american-politics-what-you-need-to-know>

¹² Kollman, K. (2019). The Business of Lobbying in the United States. Routledge.

and gifts to legislators and their staffs in exchange for their support of legislation favorable to his clients¹³.

Lack of transparency in the lobbying process is a serious problem in the US and has led to calls for more disclosure and regulation so that the public can have confidence in the integrity of government decision-making processes. Lack of transparency in the lobbying process can also give the impression that lobbyists engage in influence peddling, using their connections and resources to gain access to decision makers and shape policy in the interests of their clients.

Critics argue that lobbying gives wealthy individuals and organizations greater access and influence over government decision-making, creating an uneven playing field and potentially undermining the democratic process. Wealthy individuals and organizations are able to donate large sums of money to political campaigns, which can give them greater access and influence over elected officials. This can create a system in which politicians put the interests of their wealthy donors ahead of the needs of their constituents. For example, Michael Bloomberg, former New York City mayor and billionaire founder of Bloomberg LP, has donated millions of dollars to Democratic candidates and community organizations. He spent more than \$1 billion on his own unsuccessful 2020 presidential campaign¹⁴.

Regulatory capture is a phenomenon in which regulators become too closely tied to the interests of the industries they are supposed to regulate. Critics argue that lobbying can contribute to regulatory capture because interest groups can influence regulators to serve their own interests rather than the public interest. One example of FDA oversight is the approval of the painkiller OxyContin. OxyContin, which contains the highly addictive opioid drug oxycodone, was approved by the FDA in 1995 for the treatment of moderate to severe pain. Since then, however, the drug has been linked to a nationwide epidemic of opioid addiction and overdose deaths. The opioid epidemic has highlighted the need for greater transparency and accountability

¹³ Levinthal, D. (2018, May 25). Jack Abramoff's return: The disgraced lobbyist is working on marijuana reform. Center for Public Integrity. Available at: <https://publicintegrity.org/politics/jack-abramoffs-return-the-disgraced-lobbyist-is-working-on-marijuana-reform/>

¹⁴ New York Times. (2020). Michael Bloomberg Spent More Than \$1 Billion on His Failed Presidential Campaign. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/06/us/politics/michael-bloomberg-spending.html>

in FDA decision-making to ensure that drugs are safe and effective for patients¹⁵.

Moreover, critics argue that the "revolving door" between government and lobbying firms can create conflicts of interest and the appearance of improper behavior because former government officials can use their connections and knowledge to benefit their new clients, such as Andrew Wheeler, who served as deputy administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) under the Trump administration before leaving to become a coal industry lobbyist. Wheeler's decision to become a lobbyist for an industry he previously regulated raised concerns about conflicts of interest and the integrity of EPA's decision-making process¹⁶.

Foreign influence can undermine national security and the democratic process. For example, the Russian government has been accused of using a range of tactics to interfere in the 2016 presidential election and influence its outcome. In particular, the Russian government was accused of hacking into the servers of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) and Hillary Clinton's campaign to steal emails and other sensitive information. This information was then made public through WikiLeaks and other media outlets in an attempt to damage the Clinton campaign and influence the election. The Russian government has also been accused of engaging in covert operations to influence elections, including the use of propaganda and disinformation campaigns, hacking into state election systems, and infiltrating U.S. political organizations and campaigns. The interference was widely condemned by U.S. officials and led to numerous investigations by Congress and the Department of Justice¹⁷.

Critics argue that the influence of lobbying can have a negative impact on the democratic process by giving wealthy individuals and organizations disproportionate influence over government decision-making. This can create a system in which the interests of the rich and powerful take precedence over the

¹⁵ NPR. (2019). How The FDA Came To Decide The Opioid Crisis Was A Public Health Emergency. Available at: <https://www.npr.org/2019/03/27/706636517/how-the-fda-came-to-decide-the-opioid-crisis-was-a-public-health-emergency>

¹⁶ The Washington Post. (2019). Andrew Wheeler, ex-coal lobbyist, confirmed as head of EPA. Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2019/02/28/andrew-wheeler-ex-coal-lobbyist-confirmed-as-head-of-epa/>

¹⁷ The New York Times. (2019). The Mueller Report: A Guide to the Findings. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/18/us/politics/mueller-report-explainer.html>

needs of ordinary citizens. In addition, the concentration of power in the hands of a few wealthy individuals and organizations can lead to the marginalization of certain groups, further undermining the democratic process. Lobbying can also contribute to regulatory capture, as interest groups can use their influence to shape regulations to their own advantage, potentially undermining public health and safety.

Zbigniew Brzezinski¹⁸ and Samuel Huntington¹⁹ argue that it can harm the national interest by allowing special interests to exert undue influence on government policy. Brzezinski, a former national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter, argued that lobbying can create policies that benefit a narrow set of interests at the expense of the broader public good. He suggested that lobbying can undermine the integrity of the democratic process by allowing special interests to have a disproportionate influence on government decision-making. Huntington, a political scientist and author, also expressed concern about the influence of special interests on government policy. He argued that lobbying can create a situation in which the interests of the few are placed above the interests of the many, leading to a disruption of the democratic process. Critics of lobbying also point to potential conflicts of interest, as lobbyists may represent several clients with competing interests. This could create a situation where lobbyists can shape policy in a way that benefits their clients, potentially to the detriment of the public interest.

On the other hand, proponents of lobbying argue that it can be effective in promoting policies that are in the national interest as long as its interests do not conflict with those of the United States²⁰. They argue that lobbying can bring different perspectives and interests into the policymaking process, leading to more informed and balanced decision-making. Proponents of lobbying also point to examples of successful lobbying efforts that have led to significant social and political change. For example, the civil rights movement in the United States relied heavily on lobbying efforts to push for the passage of key legislation such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Human rights groups and activists used lobbying to persuade legislators to support these landmark pieces of legislation that helped advance civil rights and equality for African Americans in the United States. Similarly,

¹⁸ Brzezinski, Z. K. (1985). *Power and principle: Memoirs of the national security adviser, 1977-1981*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux

¹⁹ Huntington, S. P. (1975). *Political power: USA/USSR*. Viking Press.

²⁰ Murphy, C. N., & Mahoney, C. J. (2004). The impact of lobbying on US foreign policy-making: The case of Syria. *Middle East Journal*, 58(3), 389-407.

advocates of lobbying argue that it can be effective in promoting policies that advance the national interest in areas such as health care, education, and the environment. They suggest that lobbying can provide a voice for unrepresented groups and help address systemic inequality and injustice to themselves.

Despite the fact that in polls about 2/3 of respondents consider lobbying as a threat to American democracy, in recent years there has been an unprecedented growth in the number of interest groups. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, at the end of 1978 there were 1.8 thousand registered lobbies in the U.S., and by the end of 2022 there will be more than 12.6 thousand registered U.S. lobbying firms²¹.

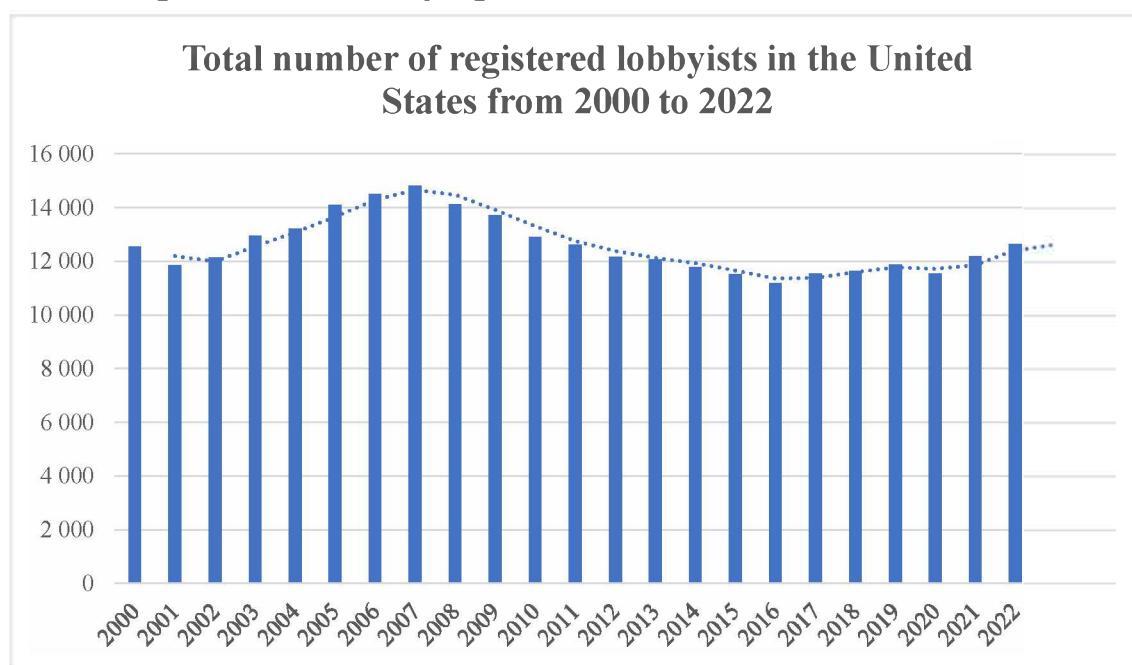


Table 3: Total number of lobbyists in the U.S. for 2000-2022²².

Overall, the debate over lobbying in the United States is complex and multifaceted, with different perspectives on its role and influence. While both sides have valid arguments, the challenge is to strike a balance between protecting the democratic process and ensuring that government serves the broader public interest.

²¹ Center for Responsive Politics. (n.d.). Official website. Opensecrets.org. Retrieved April 18, 2023, from <https://www.opensecrets.org/>.

²² Center for Responsive Politics. (2022). Lobbying Spending Database - OpenSecrets. Available at: <https://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/overview.php>.

Conclusion

In conclusion, federal lobbying expenditures and legislative mechanisms play a vital role in shaping public policy and the decision-making process in the United States. Professional lobbyists are hired by various federal organizations, including government agencies, congressional committees, and the White House, to advocate for their interests and navigate the complex legislative landscape. The amount of money spent on lobbying by federal agencies has reached billions of dollars, indicating the influence and importance of lobbying in the political system. However, there are loopholes in legislation that allow businesses and organizations to fund lobbying through indirect channels, such as nonprofit organizations and Super PACs. These loopholes can bypass restrictions and transparency requirements, enabling businesses to exert their influence on the legislative process without fully disclosing their involvement.

The relationship between lobbying and corporate social responsibility (CSR) is a subject of ongoing debate. While lobbying can be seen as a legitimate way for companies to advocate for policies that align with their economic interests, critics argue that it can undermine democratic processes and favor narrow interests over broader societal goals. The role of interest groups and lobbyists in society remains a contentious issue. While some view lobbying as a necessary component of the democratic process, others express concern about the concentration of power and the potential for corruption. Public perception of lobbyists is generally negative, with many perceiving them as having low reliability, honesty, and ethical standards.

Greater transparency, accountability, and recognition of the potential negative impact of corporate lobbying are necessary to ensure a more equitable and sustainable future. Ultimately, the complex dynamics between lobbying, public policy, and democratic governance require ongoing scrutiny and efforts to strike a balance between the legitimate advocacy of interests and the broader societal goals.

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VIII ДИПЛОМАТ ТАЖРИБАСИ
Diplomatic experience
Опыт дипломата

ОЛИМ ВА ДИПЛОМАТ

Илҳом Неъматов
МДҲ Бош котиби муовини,
Фавқулотда ва Мухтор элчи,
Иқтисод фанлари номзоди

Бу оддий сўзлар истеъдотли олим, тажрибали дипломат, оиласа ва дўстларига садоқатли, камтарин хазрати инсон Бахтиёр Анварович Исломов ҳақидалигидан ҳамда шундай инсон билан танишиш, узок йиллар бирга ишлаш ва сафдош бўлиш менга насиб этганидан бағоят мамнунман.

Мен, Бахтиёр Анварович билан 2002 йилнинг баҳор ойларида у киши Ташқи ишлар вазири маслаҳатчиси лавозимига тайинланганларида танишганман. У пайтлар мен вазир муовини сифатида Мустакил давлатлар ҳамдўстлигига ва Осиё тинч океани минтақасига кирувчи мамлакатлар билан икки ва кўп томонлама ҳамкорлик масалаларида масъул эдим. Бахтиёр Анварович ўша йилнинг 10 июлида Жаҳон иқтисоди ва дипломатия университети қошидаги Иқтисод бўйича илмий кенгашда номзодлик диссертацияи ҳимоя қилиш жараёнида сўзга чиқиб, мени илмий ишимга тажрибали иқтисодчи олим сифатида баҳо бериб, қўллаб қуватладилар.

Бахтиёр Анварович 2003 – 2008 йиллар давомида Ўзбекистоннинг Россиядаги Фавқулотда ва Мухтор Элчиси вазифасида ишлаб икки давлат сиёсий, иқтисодий ва маданий алоқаларининг ривожланишига муносиб хисса қўшдилар. 5 йил давомида Россия давлатига амалга оширилган 22 юқори даражадаги ташрифлар ҳеч қандай ками-кўстсиз, мазмуний жиҳатдан унумли якунланган. Ташрифлар чоғида жуда кўп ўта муҳим икки томонлама хужжатлар, жумладан стратегик ҳамкорлик ва

иттифоқчилик алоқалари ҳақида битимлар имзоланди. Ушбу битимлар лойихаларини тайёрлаш ва Россия томони билан келишиш жараёнларида

Бахтиёр Анваровичнинг чуқур билими ва юқори профессионал малакаси мамлакатимиз манфаатларини қатъий ҳимоя этишга хизмат қилди.

Бахтиёр Анваровичнинг дипломатия соҳасидаги бой тажрибаси 2008-2012 йиллари Ташқи ишлар вазирлигига юқори лавозимларда ишлаганда қўшни давлатлар билан музокаралар олиб боришда, айниқса нозик ва мураккаб масалалар бўйича келишувга эришишда яққол намоён бўлди. Бу ҳақда мен маҳсус топшириклар бўйича элчи лавозимида (2013-2018 йиллар) Қирғизистон билан давлат чегарасини расмийлаштириш бўйича олиб борган музокараларда Қирғизистон делегацияси раҳбари Курбонбой Алибоевич Искандаров баъзан - “давайте, как Бахтиёр Анварович сказал шаг за шагом будем двигаться вперед”, деб хурмат билан эслаб қўярди.

Бахтиёр Анваровични Япониянинг етакчи университетларидан бирида иқтисод фанидан кўп йиллар инглиз тилида дарс берганлари у кишини ҳақиқий иқтисодчи олимлигидан ва инглиз тилини юқори даражада эгаллаганидан дарак беради.

Бугунги кунда ҳам Бахтиёр Анварович Г.В.Плеханов номли Иқтисод университетининг Тошкент филиалида ёш авлодга иқтисод фанидан дарс беришда давом этмоқдалар. Бахтиёр Анваровични 1977 йил Москва давлат халқаро алоқалар институтини битиргандан то бугунгача иш фаолиятлари ҳақида жуда кўп гапириш ва ёзиш мумкин, чунки у кишини таржимаи ҳоллари жуда бой ва серкирра. Бундай кишилар фаолияти ёш авлод учун албатта ўrnak бўлишига ишончим комил.

Xalqaro munosabatlar: siyosat, iqtisodiyot, huquq» jurnali O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Tashqi ishlar vazirligi tasarrufidagi Jahon iqtisodiyoti va diplomatiya universitetining ilmiy-nazariy nashrlarining fanlararo turkumiga mansub.

«Xalqaro munosabatlar: siyosat, iqtisodiyot, huquq» ilmiy-nazariy jurnali O‘zbekiston axborot va matbuot agentligida 2007 yil 11 yanvarda (ruxsatnomalar №0127) rasmiy ro‘yxatdan o‘tgan. Jurnal O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Milliy nashr palatasi tomonidan ham rasmiylashtirilib, bosma nusxasi ISSN 2010-6203 indeksiga ega. O‘z navbatida bu indeks, xalqaro referativ nashrlar haqidagi ma'lumot bazasiga mutanosibligidan dalolat beradi.

Jurnal sahifalarida nashr etiladigan maqolalar o‘zbek, rus va ingliz tillarida bosib chiqariladi. Jurnal bosma ravishda nashr qilinib, yiliga to‘rt marotaba, ya’ni yiliga har uch oy choragining birida tarqatiladi.

Jurnal tahririyatiga kelib tushadigan maqolalarning aksariyati zamonaviy xalqaro munosabatlar va jahon siyosati masalalari bilan bog‘liq holatlarning analitik tahliliga oid bo‘lib, jamiyat va davlat boshqaruvining turli ko‘lami doirasidagi xalqaro-huquqiy masalalar mohiyatining tartiblashuvi, jahon xo‘jaligi rivojlanishi va xalqaro iqtisodiy munosabatlar, O‘zbekistonning ijtimoiy-gumanitar sohasi va xalqaro hamjamiyatdagi dolzarb muammolar yoritilishiga qaratilganligi bilan ajralib turadi. Tahririyat fanning boshqa yo‘nalishlariga aloqador maqolalar chop ettirish huquqiga ham ega. Jurnal nazariy, metodologik, mavzuga aloqador, sharhiy mavzuga doir analitik maqolalarni; nashrga oid ilmiy taqriz va boshqalarni nashr ettirishi mumkin.

Maqolani jurnalda chop etish uchun to‘lov badali undirilmaydi.

"International Affairs: Politics, Economics, Law" is the research journal focused in interdisciplinary scientific and theoretical papers, and published at the University of World Economy and Diplomacy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

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Журнал «Международные отношения: политика, экономика, право» является междисциплинарным научно-теоретическим изданием Университета мировой экономики и дипломатии при Министерстве иностранных дел Республики Узбекистан.

Научно-теоретический журнал «Международные отношения: политика, экономика, право» зарегистрирован в Агентстве печати и информации Узбекистана 11 января 2007 года (лицензия за № 0127). Журнал зарегистрирован в Национальной книжной палате Республики Узбекистан, имеет индекс печатной версии ISSN 2010-6203, что обеспечивает информацию о нём в соответствующих международных реферативных изданиях.

В журнале публикуются статьи на узбекском, русском и английском языках. Журнал издаётся в печатной форме с периодичностью четыре номера

Редакцией журнала принимаются материалы, отражающие фундаментальные проблемы истории и теории международных отношений, международного права, мировой экономики и международных экономических отношений, актуальные вопросы места и роли Узбекистана в современном мире, региональной и международной безопасности, теории, методологии и практики международных исследований, передового отечественного и зарубежного опыта в сфере подготовки высококвалифицированных специалистов-международников

и дипломатических кадров, а также другие темы, отвечающие профилю издания.

Свою основную миссию журнал видит в стимулировании и структурировании научных исследований и дискуссий в контексте задач, поставленных в Концепции внешнеполитической деятельности Республики Узбекистан и Стратегии Развития Нового Узбекистана на 2022 – 2026 годы.

Журнал «Международные отношения» нацелен на размещение наиболее интересных и глубоких материалов, привлекающих внимание национального и международного исследовательского сообщества на актуальные и малоизученные темы.

Журнал принимает к публикации теоретические, методологические, тематические обзоры аналитических статей, научных исследований; научные рецензии на публикации и т.д.

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