

Uzbekistan As A "Showcase Of The Soviet East" In Issues Of Foreign Policy And International Relations

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Resume: The article examines the issue of Uzbekistan's place in matters of foreign policy and diplomatic activity in the system of the totalitarian Soviet state. The fact is substantiated that, in spite of the constitutional foundations given to the sovereign republics the right to independently conduct foreign policy activities, in practice they were limited. The reason for this was that an ideologized, command-administrative system of government dominated in the Union State, concentrated in the hands of the central body of the Communist Party.

The situation has changed somewhat since the second half of the 40s of the 20th century. After the end of World War II, in connection with the change in the international situation in the world, some softening was made in relation to the representation of foreign policy on the part of the Union republics. On this basis, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was established in Uzbekistan. However, the activities of this ministry were limited in the rights to conduct an independent foreign policy and participate in international relations. This is what the article proves that Uzbekistan, like other republics of the Union State, was given only the role of unquestioning executors of foreign policy guidelines imposed "from above". And in front of the world community, Uzbekistan was presented by the Union Center as a "showcase of the Soviet East", allegedly involved in full participation in international activities.

But, in spite of all the harshness of the totalitarian regime, the Uzbek people, proceeding from the intellectual, economic, spiritual and moral potential of the republic, made every effort to represent Uzbekistan on the world stage, even on behalf of the USSR. In this regard, the article highlights the role of representatives of the Uzbek people who showed their talent in the diplomatic field on behalf of the Soviet state. Based on the agrarian-industrial, scientific and cultural-spiritual potential, the contribution of Uzbekistan to the development of the export potential of the Union State is revealed.

The history of the Uzbek people and its statehood is rich in dramatic events during the period of the domination of the Soviet Union. This was the period of the establishment of centralized management of all internal and external affairs of the state, which united 15 sovereign union republics.

The beginning of the formation of a centralized system of state structure with the further establishment of the command-administrative system of management was laid by the events that took place in October 1917. The arrival of the Bolsheviks as a result of a coup d'état, and then the establishment of Soviets, radically changed the hopes and aspirations of many peoples who had previously been part of the existing Russian Empire.

After the well-known events of 1917, a lot of propaganda work was carried out to establish equality of rights and freedoms for all ethnic peoples within the new state association. In particular, in the "Declaration of Working People and Exploited People", "Appeal to all working Muslims of Russia and the East", the basic principles of the national policy of the Soviet government were proclaimed. They provided for the following basic provisions:

1. Equality of all peoples of Russia;
2. The right of the national republics to self-determination;
3. Abolition of all national and national-religious benefits and restrictions;
4. Free development of small ethnic groups living on the territory of the Soviet state.

Against the background of such propagandistic ideology, on December 30, 1922, the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was proclaimed, with a centralized system of government. Then, as a triumph of "Lenin's nationality policy" was presented the national-state demarcation of the peoples of Central Asia, who have lived side by side since ancient times, close in language, religion, history, culture and traditions. Subsequently, on September 25, 1924, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), and then on October 9 and 11, the Central Committee of the RCP (b), having considered the issue of national-state demarcation, considered it expedient to formalize this process officially. This decision was approved on October 14 at the United National Executive Committee (ONIK) of the USSR. This was how the Soviet government, the Central Committee of the RCP (b) and their local bodies during 1920-1924 completed the conduct among the peoples of Central Asia. propaganda and practical work to implement the "Leninist nationality policy". However, behind this was the destruction of a territorially integral, historically formed state with its own national specifics. The last point in the work on the division of its territory was put on October 24, 1924 at the plenum of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). And finally, on October 27, 1924, at the II session of the USSR ONIK, measures were approved for carrying out the national-territorial demarcation of Central Asia.

Thus, the political map of Central Asia was artificially and violently changed. The centuries-old history of national statehood ended on this territory. The Bukhara and Khorezm states ceased to exist, in the place of which the Uzbek SSR was established.

Despite the fact that equality and brotherhood were proclaimed in all the main program documents, this union played the role of a trap for all the peoples of the union republics and was aimed at their complete subordination to the power of the central government. The Soviet government, having created, in particular in Uzbekistan, a political structure of state administration accountable to the central authorities, was able to gradually strengthen its political and economic power. This in turn made it possible to carry out the Bolshevik policy on a large scale. It was especially clearly manifested in the limitation of the powers of the Uzbek SSR, as a sovereign republic, to independently conduct foreign policy activities. This

position of Uzbekistan, like other republics of Central Asia, was reflected in the USSR Constitution of 1936.

Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR noted that: "The jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, represented by its highest authorities and government bodies, are subject to: a) representation of the Union in international relations, the conclusion and ratification of treaties with other states; ...". And in the same place, in article 15, it was said that "the sovereignty of the union republics is limited only within the limits specified in article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR." In other words, in the first decades of the formation of Soviet power, all the powers of foreign policy were concentrated in the hands of the central bodies of the state. In fact, this was a gross violation of the triumph of "Lenin's nationality policy" propagandized in those years, with the granting of all the powers due to the sovereign republics. This approach once again convinces us that this was the result of the desire of the central government of the country to keep the subjects of the federal union in complete obedience.

However, despite all the rigidity of the command-administrative system of management that developed at that time and the constant ideological pressure from the center, Uzbekistan occupied one of the key positions in political and socio-economic terms in the single family of the Soviet state. This was favored by his national economic and intellectual potential. This was especially evident after the introduction of a well-known amendment to the country's Basic Law of February 1, 1944. Then the USSR Law "On granting the Union republics powers in the field of foreign relations and on the transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from the all-Union into the Union-republican People's Commissariat" was adopted. The political and legal significance of this law consisted in the fact that with its adoption, each union republic had the opportunity to implement international legal personality not only through all-union bodies, but also in a direct form.

In connection with the adoption of the above-mentioned law, a number of significant changes and additions were made to the 1936 Constitution of the USSR and, in addition, two new articles were included. One of them, Article 18-a, says that: "Each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, conclude agreements with them and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives." In accordance with such changes, amendments were made to the republican constitutions. For example, the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan in September 1944 adopted a law "On the formation of the Union-Republican People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Uzbek SSR."

In this regard, the corresponding changes were included in the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR of 1937. In particular, Article 16 stated that: "The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, conclude agreements with them and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives." According to these amendments, the rights of the highest bodies of state power and state administration of the Uzbek SSR were expanded. The law provided great powers to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the republic. He was empowered to approve the procedure for relations between state institutions, their officials with institutions of foreign states, the right to ratify and denounce treaties and agreements, receive credentials of diplomatic representatives of foreign states, send greetings and arrange receptions. In addition, he received the right to appoint and recall his diplomatic representatives.

Also in this regard, the rights of the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek SSR were expanded. It, like the Government of a sovereign republic, had the right to conduct diplomatic negotiations with foreign states on various issues, to appoint representatives of delegations to international organizations, to direct the activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the republic.

The next milestone event confirming the sovereign rights of the Uzbek SSR, as well as other union republics of the former USSR, was the development and adoption in 1977 of a new Constitution of the USSR. It personified, as it were, the legislative consolidation of the triumph of developed socialism in the USSR, with all further actions emanating from this on the path of the country's development. However, this Constitution did not ignore the sovereign rights of the union republics and, in particular, their powers in foreign policy actions. Article 80 of this Constitution stated that: "The Union Republic has the right to enter into relations with foreign states, conclude treaties with them and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives, participate in the activities of international organizations."

As you can see, the fundamental rights of the union republics in the field of independent conduct of foreign policy, based on the democratic approaches of the state structure of the Union Association, and the triumph of "Lenin's national policy", are fully reflected in the Basic Law of the former USSR. Both the USSR Constitution of 1936 with the additions made to it, and the USSR Constitution adopted in 1977, at first glance, personified complete freedom of action for the union republics, allowing them to independently conduct all foreign policy activities based on internal interests. However, in reality, everything looked different. A tough ideological machine with a command-administrative system of government in the country limited the rights of the union republics in practical actions. If they were given the opportunity to express themselves in foreign policy and international affairs, this was done only with the permission of the central authorities of the Union State and under the strict control of the relevant authorities. All this once again testifies to the fact that all the union republics, including the Uzbek SSR, despite their constitutional rights, which in his theoretical vision provided broad powers in foreign policy, in reality the situation was different. They were truncated in nature, limiting their powers only with strict coordination with the central authorities.

But, despite this, in Uzbekistan in the second half of the 40s, according to constitutional rights, a foreign policy department of the republic was formed. Initially since 1944, represented by the People's Commissariat, and since 1946 already as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Uzbek SSR. Even in this case, this foreign ministry of the republic, up to gaining political independence, was limited in its direct powers and, in staff units. Its entire staff structure, from the post of minister to the service personnel, was represented by no more than 10 people. The main function of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Uzbek SSR was endowed with secondary tasks related to the reception and escort of representatives of foreign countries to familiarize themselves with the historical sights of the republic. This very fact testifies to the fact that Uzbekistan was limited in matters of foreign policy. And the constitutional rights that proclaimed the international activities of the sovereign republics were of a declarative and propagandistic nature.

However, in order to hide gross violations of constitutional rights, in front of the world community, Uzbekistan was presented by the Union Center as a "showcase of the Soviet East", allegedly as a sovereign republic that took full participation in all international affairs. For these purposes, the Consulate General of the Mongolian People's Republic was opened in Tashkent in 1977, the Consulate General of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan began its activities in 1982, and the Consulate General of the Republic of India also operated. Moreover, all of them were accredited with all-Union bodies, with the right to communicate with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Uzbek SSR. Moreover, Uzbekistan, having in fact the right to directly enter into diplomatic relations, in reality did not have its embassies in foreign states.

This once again testifies to the fact that Uzbekistan, being in the rigid framework of the totalitarian Soviet state, in real life was deprived of the opportunity to directly enter the international arena. And the nominally existing foreign policy department did not have the right to independently lead and establish external relations, form representatives of the diplomatic corps. International contacts were carried out exclusively with the permission and under the strict control of the Union Center. As a result, the external relations of the republic, if they were manifested, then within a limited framework, were distinguished by a class-ideological orientation and an initial deformation. In fact, in the general civilized perception, based on the criteria of sovereignty and equality, they cannot be qualified as a fact of real international activity of Uzbekistan.

But, despite all the rigidity of the totalitarian regime, the Uzbek people, based on the intellectual, economic, spiritual and moral potential of the republic, made every effort to represent Uzbekistan on the world stage on behalf of the USSR. In this regard, it is necessary to recall the names and activities of the representatives of the Uzbek people who have shown their talent in the diplomatic field, even if on behalf of the Soviet state. Kuchkarov Anvar Marasulovich, who worked as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USSR to Togo in 1961-1966, should be attributed to the number of prominent Uzbek diplomats of Union significance who made their own contribution to the foreign policy activities of the state. and in the Republic of Dahomey concurrently in 1963-1966, Mukhitdinov Nuritdin Akramovich - who worked in 1968-1977. Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Soviet Union to Syria, Azimov Sarvar Alimdzhanovich - who was the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the USSR to Lebanon in 1969-1974. and in Pakistan in 1974-1980, Nishanov Rafik Nishanovich - who served since 1970 as the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the USSR in Sri Lanka and concurrently in the Maldives, and since 1978 - as the Extraordinary and the Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the USSR to Jordan, Abdurazakov Bahadyr Abbasovich - from 1974 to 1980 he worked at the embassies of the USSR in Bangladesh and Afghanistan, and in 1986 he received the post of the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the USSR to Somalia. All of them in their time fulfilling the high duty of a diplomat were able to leave a bright mark as a representative of the Uzbek people in the foreign policy of the Union State.

Speaking about the representatives of the Uzbek people who made a worthy contribution to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, who showed high diplomatic qualities, one should especially mention the activities of the First Secretary of the Copart of Uzbekistan Rashidov

Sharaf Rashidovich. He, being a faithful son of his people, was able to gain high prestige not only in the republic and within the framework of the union state, but also on a global scale.

Despite the complexity of the ideologized system of public administration, Sh. Rashidov made every effort to ensure that Uzbekistan, although within the framework of the USSR, could declare its place in global processes, trying to exalt the good name of the Uzbek people, to show the whole world its wonderful features ... It was under Sharaf Rashidov that the processes of establishing international contacts, although experiencing the deformation impact of class-ideologized approaches, found the most vivid expression. So, if in 1953 Uzbekistan, within the framework of the relevant practice of the Soviet past, cooperated with 5 countries, then already at the turn of the 60-70s. the republic maintained contacts with 53 states of the world, including 33 countries of Africa and Asia.

The talent and ability of Sharaf Rashidov to be a leader in political life, not only within the framework of one republic, but also on a global scale, manifested itself in the context of the aggravation of the confrontation between the two bipolar systems of that period. It is known from history that the second half of the twentieth century from the standpoint of international relations is characterized as a period when, on the one hand, there is an unspoken ideological struggle between two opposite systems for dominance in world politics by attracting third world countries to their side, and on the other, an open military confrontation is being conducted based on the arms race policy.

In such a complex and contradictory environment of world politics, the highest diplomatic talent of the representative of the Uzbek people, Sharaf Rashidov, was manifested. His diplomatic abilities at the international level were manifested in the matter of gaining the authority of the USSR in the international arena and, in particular, in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Especially when in the 50s they were full of large international conferences, which were held not without the participation of representatives of the USSR. During these years, the Bandung Conference was organized in 1955, the Cairo Conference of Asian and African Countries, where representatives of 52 countries were present, including a delegation from the Central Asian republics headed by Sh.R. Rashidov. In 1958, under the leadership of Sh.R. Rashidov, the "Conference of Asian and African Writers" was organized in Tashkent, which was attended by representatives of 50 countries of the world.

Sh. Rashidov's special diplomatic talent manifested itself in the culmination period of the "cold war" policy associated with the so-called Cuban missile crisis. In the complicated political situation of that period, Sh.R. Rashidov was appointed chairman of the delegation and a responsible person in negotiations with Cuban leaders Fidel Castro.

Another quality as a sophisticated diplomat manifested itself in Sh. Rashidov in the issue of overcoming the Kashmir problem that arose between Pakistan and India, which essentially led to a war between the two new states and the aggravation of their relations for many years. An attempt to reconcile the two warring parties was decided by the Soviet leadership to organize in the city of Tashkent. To carry out such an important political event, under the leadership of Sh.R. Rashidov, a huge organizational and preparatory work was done to invite Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani leader General Mohamed Ayub Khan to negotiations. The meeting took place in January 1966. To participate in this meeting, the head of the USSR government A. Kosygin flew in from Moscow together with a small delegation. The negotiations were difficult, each howling country felt offended and put

forward unacceptable conditions. Despite this, the negotiations had a positive outcome. On January 10, 1966, the heads of the delegation of the two countries signed a historic document, which was called the Tashkent Declaration in the history of international relations, which put an end to the military conflict between India and Pakistan.

It should be noted that Sh.R. Rashidov, taking part in the work of the first Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, held in the capital of Cuba, Havana from January 3 to 15, 1966, put forward an important political initiative. In order to unite the peoples of different countries, the national leader of Uzbekistan proposed to hold an international film festival in Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the provision of a platform for this event in Tashkent. This proposal was received with great approval both from the leadership of the Union State, as well as from the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The International Film Festival of Asia, Africa and Latin America, first held in Tashkent in 1968, has become a traditional one. The capital of Uzbekistan became a place where the best representatives of cinema from the countries of three continents gathered to demonstrate their products. Such a meeting was held every two years, and as a result, during the period from 1968 to 1988, 10 International Film Festivals in Asia, Africa and Latin America were held in Tashkent.

In parallel with the manifestation of the political qualities of Uzbekistan in the foreign policy and diplomatic activities of the Soviet state, the republic made a huge contribution to other areas of international activity of the USSR.

It is known that the priority link connecting the peoples and the state is the trade and economic sphere. Therefore, foreign trade, the right to it, occupies an important place in public policy. In the first years of Soviet power, Uzbekistan, like other republics, was granted certain rights to carry out foreign trade operations. So, in 1919, by a decree of the Turkic Commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR, a foreign trade department was organized in the Turkestan Republic (1918-1924), whose work was aimed at creating a commodity fund necessary for export operations. However, the desire to concentrate the management of this important area in the hands of the Center led to the fact that already in 1920 this department was replaced by the Office of the Authorized People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade (NKVT), which was then transformed into a representative office of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade of the RSFSR in Central Asia. And after the national-state demarcation of Central Asia, all the work on the management of foreign trade was transferred to the authorized NKVT of the USSR in the union republics, including Uzbekistan. Moreover, in order to fully control the activities on the ground, the NKVT decided to leave its representation in the region as an inspection body.

The evolution, mainly formal rather than substantive, of this institution eventually led to the organization in July 1944 in Uzbekistan of the Office of the Commissioner of the Ministry of Foreign Trade (MVT) of the USSR under the Council of Ministers of the republic.

Carrying out its activities under the direct supervision of the Center, this body united the efforts of foreign trade organizations, customers of export products, suppliers of goods for export, as well as other organizations and departments. At the same time, the Office of the authorized MVT of the USSR under the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek SSR, in its

activities, could not act on the basis of the real situation, taking into account the potential of the republic to fulfill the supply of export orders. Moreover, on May 18, 1979, by a special order of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, new tasks were set for the republican departments. One of them was associated with the need to ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the plan for the supply of goods for export and the timely commissioning of imported machinery and equipment. Another task was associated with identifying additional reserves to expand exports and improve its structure. This approach of the Central Power tied the hands of local authorities in every possible way, not giving them the opportunity to determine the foreign economic activity of the republic themselves.

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

The first external contacts of Uzbekistan as part of the USSR began in the era of Stalinism, when the allied leadership took a course to isolate the country from the outside world, and the nature of relations between the USSR and the then international community was determined by the course of strengthening the military power of the state. External contacts of the republic in these conditions, passing entirely through the all-Union channels, were episodic in nature. All international activities of Uzbekistan were mainly reduced to participation in individual trade and economic exhibitions and fairs, the purpose of which was in many respects to demonstrate the achievements of the "Lighthouse of Socialism in the East". But at the same time, the exploitation of the republic's resources and natural resources sharply increased in order to increase the export potential of the Union. Cotton, silk, karakul, gold, handicrafts and other products were exported from Uzbekistan. Moreover, already at the beginning of the 30s, 80% of its exports fell on cotton fiber. All this cost tens of millions of rubles in hard currency, however, the republic could not use the income from exports to raise the well-being of the people, strengthen the national economy, and develop it in accordance with its own interests.

According to one of the Western analysts - G. Schroeder (University of Virginia, USA), the policy of eliminating inequality in the level of development of the republics, proclaimed as a priority throughout the existence of the USSR, was in fact subordinated to the all-Union interests. Continuing his thought, G. Schroeder notes that the Union leadership ignored the long-term consequences of the location of industry or the determination of other priority tasks for the development of the republics.

The post-war period, up to the death of Stalin in 1953, was not favorable for the development of international relations of Uzbekistan. Only after 1953, the new Soviet leadership was forced to approach the complex problems of the international situation, relying on the concept of detente and the expansion of international ties. This led to the expansion of the space of economic cooperation of the former USSR with foreign countries, which led to an increase in export supplies, to which Uzbekistan was also involved.

The material basis for the development of international economic relations of Uzbekistan, carried out under the strict control of union bodies, was the growth of its production potential. As before, the republic was assigned the role of a raw material base, and the Center sent for export, first of all, agricultural products. But at the same time, in the structure of Uzbekistan's

exports determined by Moscow, a tendency towards an increase in industrial production was increasingly indicated. This is reflected in the dynamics of foreign economic cooperation of the former Soviet Union. If in 1958 Uzbekistan supplied goods of its own production to 32 countries of the world, then in 1963. - at 46, in 1966. - at 70, in 1970. - to 76 countries of the world. At the same time, most (over 70%) of Uzbek exports went to the countries of the socialist camp. In these decades, the export nomenclature of Uzbekistan for foreign countries was represented by various types of goods. In the mid-1980s, the number of exported products exceeded 200 names, including 180 types of industrial goods. The export nomenclature included sets of machines for the cotton ginning and textile industries, large hydraulic structures, cranes, refrigeration units, projection equipment, diesel engines, pumps, excavators, cotton and silk fabrics, medicines and other products.

During the post-war years of the Soviet period, the socialist countries steadily occupied the main place in the foreign economic relations of Uzbekistan, where more than 100 types of various products were exported, which were produced by such enterprises as Uzbekkhimmash, Tashtekstil mash, Tashkentkabel, Tashkent Tractor Plant, Lift Plant, Excavator Plant, Kokand Mechanical Plant Bolshevik, Andijan Hydrolysis Plant and others.

Speaking about export, at the same time, it is important to emphasize that the national economy of the USSR experienced a permanent "hunger" for foreign products - various technologies, consumer goods. Therefore, in the Soviet period, there was an impressive flow of imports towards the export flow. Uzbekistan, among other union republics, was a consumer of imported products. However, the centralized system, proceeding primarily from the imperial interests of the center, when regulating the flow of imports was guided by the distributive and subjective installations of the Union political elite. As a result, the needs of Uzbekistan, despite the fact that it was one of the leading suppliers of export products of the Soviet state, were ignored, and the republic's import requests were satisfied at a minimum level. Mostly imported equipment was directed to those industries that contributed to the expansion of export opportunities of the former USSR. And when it came to national interests, the welfare of the Uzbek people, the channels of import supplies were blocked or reduced to humiliating handouts. The allied leadership did not even care about the health of the nation, undermined by the merciless exploitation of the natural raw materials and human resources of Uzbekistan.

Questions of the socio-economic state of the republics of the former union state have always been the object of special study of political and logos of foreign countries. Criticizing the monopoly, command-administrative methods of the communist leadership in managing the country's economy, they thereby warned of their detrimental consequences on the general welfare of the population. In particular, one of the analysts of the US Institute of World Economy Sh. Islam, drawing attention to Central Asia as a victim of the cotton monoculture, notes that in terms of the level of development and prosperity, Uzbekistan is the country with the largest population and rich cultural heritage. - was in the penultimate place in the region in terms of poverty. And as a result of the one-sided development of the national economy - cotton production, a critical situation has developed in the republic in terms of ecology.

Evaluating the overall process of Uzbekistan's participation in the foreign economic relations of the USSR, it should be emphasized that it took place on the basis of the extensive development of the economy, in line with the imperial ideology. The structure of export,

consisting primarily of raw materials, did not stimulate the development of industry, which determines scientific and technological progress, and imported products could not adequately satisfy industrial and agricultural production in modern equipment, high technologies.

The experience of the past and the present testifies to the fact that in Soviet times Uzbekistan possessed productive forces sufficient both for an independent economic existence and for pursuing an equally independent, independent foreign economic policy. However, the centralized nature of the organization of the economy of the USSR, combined with planning and distribution practice, deformed the national economy of Uzbekistan, turning it into a raw material appendage of the all-Union national economy. In addition, the central authorities of the Union State were not interested in providing Uzbekistan with freedom of action in pursuing an independent foreign economic policy.

In the foreign policy of any state, along with the development of civilized forms of mutual cooperation in the political and trade and economic spheres, the cultural and humanitarian area of interaction also plays an important role. As the practice of international relations testifies, the process of exchanging the achievements of science and culture embodies the development of so-called people's diplomacy, which occupies an important place in strengthening interstate relations. Moreover, the formation of a single scientific, technical and cultural space, contributes to the strengthening of peace, mutual understanding between peoples, progressive integration of the world community.

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

And yet, the Uzbek people, although shackled by the shackles of the totalitarian-imperial regime, persistently sought to overcome the artificially piled heaps of obstructions, to use every opportunity to lay brooks of scientific, technical and cultural cooperation with the outside world. An important factor in this matter was the people's diploma, which was far from the ideological aspirations of the ruling union circles.

Speaking about the scientific ties of Uzbekistan with the outside world, one can be convinced that this area has undergone significant deformation. Despite the fact that many achievements of the republic's scientists have gained not only republican or all-Union, but also world recognition, the significant scientific potential of Uzbekistan in the conditions of a totalitarian system was not used effectively. As in the whole of the former USSR, the science of the republic was torn away from world science, as a result of the limitations of its foreign policy activities.

The situation began to change relatively only in the late 1950s, when the allied political elite finally realized the importance of international scientific cooperation. But at the same time, priority was given to establishing scientific contacts with the countries of the socialist bloc. Only at the turn of the 60s and 70s did some relief in the development of partnerships with Western countries emerged. And although ideological and administrative barriers remained, hindering the development of international scientific cooperation, artificially narrowing its

scope, nevertheless, the process of establishing ties with the world scientific community was gradually gaining strength. So, if for 1959-1972. 153 scientists of the republic went abroad on scientific trips, then in the next decade - more than 300. Going abroad, the envoys of Uzbekistan got acquainted with the organization of scientific research, scientific achievements, delivered original reports at international conferences, congresses, symposia. In turn, the flow of foreign scientific delegations to Uzbekistan also expanded.

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

As in the scientific field, cultural and spiritual exchange also acquired a contradictory character during the years of Soviet totalitarianism.

It should be said that Uzbekistan, possessing a thousand-year history, a unique spiritual heritage of the great past, wonderful architectural monuments of antiquity, which are world famous, has invariably attracted and now attracts the attention of foreign scientists, tourists, literary and art workers. ... However, in the conditions of Soviet reality, the huge cultural potential of the Uzbek people was virtually closed to the world community for many years. The spiritual life of the republic underwent a serious deformation. The ideologization of culture, the consignment to oblivion of the age-old historical and spiritual heritage, the separation from the original national and universal values, significantly combined the possibilities of healthy cultural growth, blocked the integration of the spiritual heritage of the Uzbek people into the world cultural space.

The implementation of international cultural relations of the peoples of Uzbekistan during the period of Soviet reality was largely facilitated by the Uzbek Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations (Uz ODKS) with foreign countries, created in late 1958 in Tashkent. This society, being a collective member of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship (USSD) and cultural ties with foreign countries, in accordance with Soviet imperial practice, was obliged to coordinate all its actions with the USSOD. In addition, international cultural contacts on orders from "above" were established mainly with countries of socialist orientation. This was another evidence of Uzbekistan's enslavement in freedom of action, blocking the possibilities of equal cooperation, national humiliation of the Uzbek people.

Nevertheless, the creative work of UzODKS was aimed at promoting good-neighborliness and harmony among peoples, the development of diversified cooperation between them, the growth of mutual trust and the expansion of cultural exchange through practical deeds. At the same time, the Uzbek Friendship Society relied on the activities of republican, regional and city branches. Their mass base was made up of collectives of almost a thousand industrial

enterprises, state farms, collective farms, scientific and cultural institutions, higher educational institutions and schools.

A special place in the organization of cultural events, UzODKS allotted to spending days and decades of culture of peoples. For example, in 1961 Poland hosted the Days of Culture of Soviet Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan. This was the first major event abroad where Uzbekistan took part. Later, the Days of Culture and Art of Uzbekistan were held in Bulgaria (1966), Hungary (1967), Mongolia (1969) and other countries.

Similar events were also held in Uzbekistan under the strict ideological control of the Center. For example, in September 1966, the "Days of Bulgarian Culture" were held, in May 1968 - the "Decade of Hungarian Culture", in the fall of 1968 - "The Decade of the German Democratic Republic" and others. ... Having acquired a traditional character, they were accompanied by friendship evenings, concerts, film demonstrations, exhibitions of photographs, books, graphics, etc.

But again, all forms of spiritual and cultural exchange carried out through the union structures were under the strict ideological control of the sovereign center. Permission to travel abroad could only be obtained after passing through a rigid ideological sieve. External contacts were under the watchful eye of party functionaries and the organs of the State Security Committee (KGB). Many workers of literature and art for one reason or another were enrolled in the category of "restricted to travel abroad." On the other hand, the allied political elite sought to use the cultural heritage of Uzbekistan, its spiritual and exchange ties to ennoble the external image of the totalitarian regime, demonstrate the "outstanding achievements" of the Soviet national policy, artificially raise the communist doctrine, which allegedly provided an unprecedented the flourishing of the culture of the peoples of the "national borderlands".

Thus, the real state of affairs with the international activity of Uzbekistan in the Soviet era allows us to come to the conclusion that, despite the enormous possibilities of the republic to take full participation in the system of international relations, in fact, contrary to the proclaimed constitutional guarantees, it was deprived of such a burden. –Opportunities. The Soviet model of foreign policy and international activity, in accordance with the colonial-totalitarian nature of the former Union State, initially proceeded from the fact that the Center was exclusively endowed with all the functions of foreign – political and foreign economic activity. The republics were given only the role of unquestioning executors of the strategic course imposed "from above". And in front of the world community, Uzbekistan was presented by the Union Center as a "showcase of the Soviet East", allegedly involved in full participation in international activities.

In reality, the situation was different. Deprived of the right to openly enter the international arena, Uzbekistan could not independently pursue its foreign policy, develop its own ways of entering the world community, determine the directions and priorities of interstate relations, and have its own representatives of the diplomatic corps. The mediated international contacts allowed by the state center were of a metered, pronounced ideological character and were intended to serve the interests of the totalitarian-impersonal regime. In order to radically change the existing totalitarian system of the Soviet version of "international activity", to ensure the possibility of pursuing an active multilateral foreign policy that meets the national

interests of Uzbekistan, the priority condition was the objective necessity of gaining state independence.

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