### CENTRAL ASIA IS A SINGLE IDENTITY, A COMMON HISTORY AND ONE

#### PURPOSE

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Abstract. The article discusses the reasons for the inability to unite the Bukhara Emirate, the khanates of Khiva and Kokand and the resulting demoralization of the people, the development of integration processes in the Central Asian states, the influence of international and regional organizations on the development of integration processes in the region, as well as dynamic changes in the political processes in the Central Asian region, the development of unity of states, affecting the unity of the Single Central Asia Shavkat Mirziyoyev's movement towards the Great Reunification, world and Central Asian relations are described.

*Keywords:* Central Asia, single integration, khanates of Kokand and Khiva and the Emirate of Bukhara, Shavkat Mirziyoyev, economic growth, Turkic-speaking countries, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan, world and Central Asia.

## ЦЕНТРАЛЬНАЯ АЗИЯ – ЕДИНАЯ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТЬ, ОБЩАЯ ИСТОРИЯ И ОДНА ЦЕЛЬ

Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются причины невозможности объединения Бухарского эмирата, Хивинского и Кокандского ханств и вызванная этим деморализация народа, развитие интеграционных процессов в государствах Центральной Азии, влияние международных и региональных организаций на ситуацию. развитие интеграционных процессов в регионе, а также динамичные изменения политических процессов в Центрально-Азиатском регионе, развитие единства государств, влияющие на единство Единой Центральной Азии, движение Шавката Мирзиёева к Великому воссоединению мира и Центральной Азии. описаны отношения.

Ключевые слова: Центральная Азия, единая интеграция, Кокандское и Хивинское ханства и Бухарский эмират, Шавкат Мирзиёев, экономический рост, тюркоязычные страны, Узбекистан и Казахстан, Кыргызстан, Таджикистан и Туркменистан, мир и Центральная Азия.



#### INTRODUCTION

Central Asia is a region with its own history of statehood, a single religion (one sect), a harmonious culture of cultures, a single people who speak the Turkic language. The region has enjoyed the eyes of the whole world with its rich history, fertile lands and huge natural reserves.

It's no secret that war is raging in different spaces of the globalized world. And this requires the Central Asian states to unite around a single idea. History has witnessed that unincorporated states have gone so far as to take swords at each other over time. In the name of non-unification, all of them, first of all, loses their identity, condemns their people to poverty, parodies the state.

First, the Bukhara Emirate, Khiva and Kokand khanates were far behind the Russian Empire in the field of military and economic development. Especially since their situation in the military sphere was below the level of world-class progress at that time. As a result of the khanates' failure to pursue a fair foreign policy, they themselves were cut off from the outside world. Second, there was no mutual friendly relations, cooperation and solidarity between the three countries. The political system in them, the state administration, was far from modern government and was based on the isolation and violence characteristic of the Middle Ages. As a result, internal conflicts multiplied and conflicts intensified. Internecine wars and struggles for the throne raged. Thirdly, during the hostilities, one of the khans showed no assistance to the other, and looked on indifferently at the thought of their own peace. This eased the separation of each khanate. All this came into the hands of the government of the Russian Empire and, taking advantage of the situation, turned the country into a colony. Historical examples prove that the invasion of tsarism occurred for many reasons, first of all, as a result of the political headship that existed at that time, the inability of the ruling forces to see far, moral weakness. [1]

About these times, Abdulla Kadiri's novel "Bygone Days" says: "I spent a lot of my life for the peace of this land and the peace of the citizen, and I could not give myself any satisfaction except torment. I couldn't understand how we would become people without the disappearance of the official, secularist and ambitious muttahams, who did not know what the union was, and ate each other in the name of self-interest. If we were to go in this way, to pour water on each other's touches, the Russian conquest would have defiled Turkestan with its dirty foot, and if we were, we would have put the Russian yoke around the necks of our future generations with our own hands.

Who handed over his offspring with his own hands in the hands of infidels – the curse of God surely falls upon us blind and foolish fathers, my son! Prepared to make our Fathers' holy grail, Madfun Turkestan, a pigeon, we dogs will surely face the wrath of the Creator! For the wise men like Temur Kuragan, philosophers like Mirzo Babur, scientists like Forabi (Alpharabius), Ulughbek and Ali Sina (Avicenna) to drag a land to the pit of destruction is surely worthy of the

wrath of God, my son! The tyrants who strangle the innocent poor, orphan the children, destroy their rooms—the worms and birds, the herbs that grow out of the ground, are the curses, my son..." [2]

We need to shake up our great society in a way that we have learned from history and so that we don't repeat the mistakes of the past. Because a great society creates a great state. It is also worth noting that the unification of Turkestan did not come about yesterday or today. These actions have been carried out since the beginning of the policy of partition by the Russian Empire (or USSR). Our Jadid fathers are a prime example. In particular, the Central Asian states that achieved independence were united but could not achieve integration for one reason or another (in fact, we must learn from the mistakes of history).

The Political and Economic Unification of the Five Post-Soviet Central Asian Republics, proposed by Kazakhstan's first President Nursultan Nazarbayev on 26 April 2006, is an unrealized and hypothetical project for the political and economic unification of the five post-Soviet Central Asian republics. The alliance was supposed to include Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The implementation of the project did not go beyond the plans for the signing of the "Treaty of Eternal Friendship" between Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, as well as the creation of a free trade zone. The project was shortened due to lack of support from the first President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov [3]

The total area of the five Central Asian republics is 4,003,451 km<sup>2</sup>, which is larger than the territory of India. The Central Asian Five Region is bordered by the Russian Federation to the north, the People's Republic of China to the east, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan to the south, and is washed by the waters of the Caspian Sea in the west.

As of the end of 2020, the total population of the five Central Asian republics was about 75 million people. This is more than France's population — the 20th most populous country in the world, and the Central Asian five are close to those of the United Kingdom, Thailand, Italy, Germany, Turkey, and Iran. About 90% of the population of the five Central Asian republics are Turkic-speaking and speak Uzbek, Kazakh, Turkmen, Kyrgyz, Karakalpak, and Tatar languages.

Another 10% are speakers of Tajik, Russian and other languages. More than 90% of the region's population is a Sunni form of Islam. GDP was \$891,894 billion.

[4] Supporters of the Union planned to resolve many issues if the tourism, security and visa regime were successfully formed, and to create an alternative to the CSTO and China-Russia Shanghai Cooperation Organization [4]. The President of Kazakhstan noted that the five Central Asian states could achieve the creation of a new single market and a single currency, and their

unification would be much closer than the unification of the EU states. [5] Supporters also rejected Kazakhstan's proposal to join the union.

Opponents of the alliance believe that the interests of the states are too different to allow the five states to unite, and no one is in a hurry to take the first step. [6] The countries generally do not occupy high ranks in international rankings of political stability and economic prosperity [6]. In Tajikistan, the project was criticized as a failed attempt to revitalize the Central Asian Economic Community.

The evolution of the international community and the growing role of territories in the life of many states have increased the importance of regional development processes. According to its national-ethnic, religious, geo-political, geo-economic, historical, cultural, spiritual and ideological characteristics, Central Asia is distinguished from the rest of the world in comparison with the rest of the world.

From the point of view of regionalism and national interests, further development of cooperation between the Central Asian states is the most urgent issue. "At the moment, the interests of the powerful powers in Central Asia intersect, this region, adjacent to hotbeds of instability and confrontation, is feeling the impact of all negative processes taking place near and far abroad."

Trends in the development of the geo-political situation in connection with the formation of a specific subregion in Central Asia impose a requirement for the states of the region to improve their major tasks, strategic goals, as well as activities related to the acceleration of political, economic, cultural and humanitarian integration processes, which are considered a vital necessity.

Indeed, given the geographically large area of the region and the abundance of natural resources, its opportunities for geoeconomic development are highly appreciated. The full and rational use of these opportunities depends on the strategy of the common vision of the states of the region in the framework of integration. The implementation of the regional integration strategy is explained by a combination of national interests.

The "imperial strategy" associated with the delimitation of national statehood carried out by the Shoro government in the 20s of the last century in Central Asia, which is associated with a common history spanning thousands of years, a single religion and a similar language, and similar culture, also contributes to the emergence of a change in relations between the five states today. In particular, the problems between them in the territorial, national-ethnic, hydro, natural resources, migration, smuggling, problems that still await solution affect relations between states in many different ways.

The events associated with the dissolution of the former Union and the various geo-political situation that lasted in the region for a quarter of a century set strategic tasks for each state, such

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as strengthening its statehood, determining the ideological, cultural, spiritual environment affecting it, forming and developing its Armed Forces and state bodies. The political situation adversely affected the implementation of integration and cooperation between states due to the great influence of external and internal factors on interstate relations, the outbreak of civil wars in some states. The idea of regional integration occupies a leading place in the formation of the common security system in Central Asia. As the First President of the Republic of Uzbekistan I. A. Karimov noted: "We consider integration in Central Asia to be an objective necessity of regional unity, communications, interplay of the main and leading sectors of the economy, joint use of water and energy facilities, provision of energy reserves. Not to mention the cultural, linguistic and spiritual unity of our peoples, who have common veins intertwined with each other."

While there are various initiatives, internal and external, when it comes to integration, not all of the countries had shown much sympathy for it during the first 25 years. In particular, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, two major economies in the region, followed the path of competition, while Kyrgyzstan paid great attention to the establishment and development of Western democracy in the country. Tajikistan, having just overcome the civil war, strengthened statehood structures and stabilized the country's fragile economy, Turkmenistan set as the main task the issue of ensuring the inviolability of borders and further strengthening the sole power of Saparmurat Niyazov, and later Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov, in order to prevent the volatile situation in Afghanistan from affecting the country. Central Asia will become a perfect force only when states and peoples realize their unity and bring about internal integration. An important theoretical issue of integration is the interaction of economic and political factors in the process of integration.

When the political environment for the development of economic relations is created, the integration processes accelerate. For the states of the region, many integration initiatives, various integration projects have been proposed, which are based on the superiority of certain states. These are the Council of Turkic-speaking States (now the Organization of Turkic States), aimed at uniting the Turkic-speaking countries under the wing of a distinct Turkic on the basis of the ideas of a single pan-Turkism. "Integration processes are increasingly determined not only by the internal goals of the regions, but also by the growing demands of the external environment, by the growing international competition. The ideology of international integration itself is changing, regional organizations that previously aimed to bring the economies of the member countries closer together are becoming participants in the global space, and integration is understood as the integration of regions into the world economy." At the same time, the main task facing international and interstate organizations should be the correct and beneficial organization of integration processes in the states.



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Today, President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Shavkat Mirziyoyev is taking an intensive step towards integration in Central Asia. "The peoples of our region are bound by thousand-yearold bonds of brotherhood and good neighborliness. We are united by history, religion, common culture and tradition. Located in the "heart" of Eurasia, our region is a bridge bridging Europe and the Middle East, South and East Asia, bordering major powers such as Russia and China. Our region is rich in natural resources, it has unique culture and development potential, which has significantly influenced the development of many countries and entire regions. At the moment, the interests of the powerful powers intersect in Central Asia, this region, adjacent to hotbeds of instability and confrontation, is feeling the influence of all the negative processes taking place in the near and far abroad. A natural question arises: how will the situation develop in the region?

Which force prevails here – conflict and contradictions, or cooperation and progress? The future of our region with a total population of over 70 million is now being laid out by every state of Central Asia. We are convinced that readiness and persistent striving for practical cooperation, as well as the sense of a common responsibility of all Central Asian countries for the common future, become the solid foundation and guarantee of sustainable development and prosperity of the region. Uzbekistan stands for speedy resolution of controversial issues and further strengthening of mutual trust. It is on the basis of the principles of good neighborliness and mutually beneficial cooperation that our states will be able to more effectively realize their potential in trade, economic, transport and communications, cultural and humanitarian spheres, security and stability.

I am sure that all of them – the Central Asian states and other countries – will benefit from it equally. Our main goal is to transform Central Asia into a stable, economically developed and highly developed region. To do this, we need to jointly eliminate the causes and factors that provoke and contribute to various conflicts, and ensure national development based on common priority interests. We are looking today for a reasonable compromise to address acute regional issues such as borders, water use, transport and trade, while realising common development priorities. Within the framework of the conference Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan signed an agreement on the area of the territory of the state border junction. This agreement is indefinable and will not be denied, it will further strengthen the bonds of friendship between the three neighboring states. Recently, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan reached an agreement on 85% of their borders. One of the problems that has been going on for a long time has almost been solved.

Cooperation in the transport sector has expanded. Direct flights with Tajikistan have been resumed. The volume of trade is increasing, contacts between the border regions are strengthening, relations in the cultural and humanitarian sphere are intensifying.

At the same time, we cannot give in to calmness from the preliminary results obtained, I believe that we are still at the beginning of the road. What specific tasks are important and necessary for us today to ensure a decent future?

First of all, it is the development of trade and economic ties and the increase of trade and the creation of favorable conditions for strengthening cooperation. The establishment of a regional economic forum could be a practical step in that direction. At this point, we are talking about direct dialogue between the business community and discussion of specific projects in the field of trade, economic, investment and innovative cooperation.

Our meetings with representatives of business circles and leading enterprises of the regions of the region allowed to significantly intensify economic relations and increase the volume of mutual trade. For example, since the beginning of the year, Uzbekistan's trade with the countries of the region has grown by an average of 20%, and with some countries - by almost 70%. Special attention should be paid to the issue of interregional cooperation. In this regard, I propose to establish an Association of Heads (Governors) of the Central Asian States of the Business Community." [7]

Central Asia is one of the "youngest" regions in terms of population: about 60% of the population are young people, which is much higher than the global average.

It is for this purpose that Uzbekistan took the initiative to develop an international convention on the rights of the youth and adopt a special resolution entitled "Enlightenment and religious tolerance" at the recent session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York.

The support of all countries of Central Asia for these initiatives is clear in action as a concrete demonstration of our commitment to prevent the spread of radical views among young people, to rehabilitate those who have deviated from the right path, and to restore them to a healthy lifestyle. Our experience shows that the most effective means of combating extremism is to educate young people about the humanistic essence of Islam and the true values of Islamic culture. In this regard, we have established the Imam Bukhari International Research Center in Samarkand and the Center for Islamic Civilization in Tashkent. It is necessary to strengthen cultural and humanitarian ties, friendship and good-neighborly relations between our countries and peoples.

This is one of the key conditions for intensifying regional cooperation in Central Asia. In this context, we are supporters of continuing active cultural and humanitarian dialogue, organizing the regular days of culture and various creative events in our countries, developing exchanges in the field of education and tourism as the most important tool of "people's diplomacy". Simple and open people-to-people communication is the surest way that strengthens the atmosphere of friendship, cohesion and stability in the region. [8]

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These countries once again aim to become the "middle corridor," or more popularly known as the "New Silk Road," which can bridge the gap between East and West through trade. For years, the region has been ignored by the international community, which has little interest in establishing contact with countries seen as Russia's sphere of influence. Indeed, among most countries in the region, Central Asia has been dubbed Russia's "backyard." However, for a number of reasons, this understanding is rapidly changing in the context of the war in Ukraine and the changing geopolitical landscape in Europe and Asia. The conflict in Ukraine has opened the eyes of many countries that look at Russia as a key political and economic ally and believe that official neutrality can help them avoid political consequences. But the direction of the region is changing, and it is becoming clear that association with Russia and its war actions could have potential consequences for the country's international standing and economy. World leaders rush to impress China's rise, along with rising Western influence, has given Central Asia new significance, as the region is a key transit point for China's "One Space, One Road" initiative. The European Union has also stepped up its efforts to draw attention to Central Asia, and senior European officials have never visited the region's capitals as often as they do now. In recent months, Chinese President Xi Jinping, US Secretary of State Antony Blinken, head of the European Commission Ursula von der Leven and many other world leaders have visited Kazakhstan one after another to discuss new opportunities for bilateral relations and cooperation. What could this mean for the future of Central Asia?

First, it means that the region will play an increasingly important role in global affairs, especially in trade and infrastructure connectivity between Europe and Asia. As the world is interconnected, Central Asia's location at the crossroads of the most important trade routes makes it a key player in the world economy. It will be a challenge for countries such as Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, which are leading the way in reforms, economic growth, and political stability, to continue to consolidate their achievements. The C+ format strengthens the culture of cooperation among the five countries and allows the international cooperation of these countries to synchronise. The format will be a signal of the need for external players to consolidate and establish relations with it as a single geopolitical space in order to strengthen the activity.

In terms of participation in integration structures, Central Asia is forced to reckon with the fact that today some countries of the region are engaged in deep economic and military-political integration. This, it should be noted, is additional evidence to focus on a communication platform rather than launching any new integration structure. This status quo – the current status quo – is unlikely to change in the near future. But that shouldn't be an obstacle to the development of the region's agenda.

A good example of this is the experience of the member countries of the Wishegard Group (V4). They continue to coordinate their efforts to have a solid negotiating position in multilateral formats even after NATO joins the EU.

The renaissance of regional cooperation can only occur after Central Asia returns to the geo-political map of the world as the territories of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. It depends on whether these countries can give up seeing each other as rivals in the fight for investment, projects and transport corridors. If the old approach is replaced by the understanding that it is more effective to work together on issues of regional development, and that national interests cannot be ensured without taking into account the interests of their neighbors, then the chances of Central Asia returning to the international agenda will increase significantly. [9]

On the one hand, Russia and China, which are among the main rivals of the West and among the geopolitical, geo-economic, nuclear powers of the world, and on the other hand, Central Asia, which is considered an important transit route, bordering on unstable Afghanistan, which after long wars is now again in the hands of the Taliban movement, with a large number of cheap labor, natural energy reserves, and various rare and valuable ores. It is a geostrategically important region of the world. Russia, China, and the U.S. are in geo-political competition, a region in which the trio is focused on increasing their influence and pursuing their interests. On the other hand, according to international analysts, control is tight, a region with a high potential for instability, Islamic militancy, religious radicalism, and social dissent. The region has recently been the scene of major protests, in the case of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, and in the case of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, one deadly cross-border armed clash. Even these days, official Moscow has been urging Dushanbe and Bishkek not to ignite a border conflict between them. He warned that sharp statements and hasty steps taken could hinder the resolution of the disputed border issue. That is, in the midst of the social, economic, political situation, intensifying geo-political tensions, the distribution of water and borders in Afghanistan, which until recently has been in long-term wars, in whose ranks various militant groups including Central Asians have fought, and is now again under the control of the Taliban, is seen as the main threat to the stability of the region. In addition to this, the fate of the Ukraine war, which has been going on for nearly two years, has also come to the fore as a factor that could determine the scale of the Russian threat to the region. None of the countries in the region has so far either openly supported or publicly condemned Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Nor has it yet to be seen that the West has publicly objected to international sanctions against Russia. Most countries in the region are officially firmly anchored in their position that they are in favor of a multipolar but national interest-based foreign policy.

In the eyes of most leading regional analysts, however, the same war also posed a new threat to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states of the region on a level not seen in the history of their independence. In the same scene, the number of statements of the West expressing firm support for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Central Asian states has increased sharply.

In February of this year, the U.S. side went so far as to officially warn the countries of the region against Russian aggression. The vigilance was echoed during US Secretary of State Antony Blinken's first visit to the region. The US Secretary of State explained the reason for this by the fear that "a powerful state that is trying to destroy the borders of its neighbors by force" could also freely take its next step. [10]

Regarding external forces that do not allow Central Asian integration, political scientist Kamoliddin Rabbimiv says, "I think the position of these two states on regional integration may be slightly different. Integration in any form is perceived negatively by Russia. That is, Russia is jealous of the fact that the countries of the region organize meetings of mutual advisory councils, summits of the "C5+" formats independent of itself, with concern that the region is getting out of its control. Russia has so far carried out all sorts of geo-political tricks to strengthen its control over the region. In particular, he threatened Afghanistan. To statements that an entire region must be within the framework of the Collective Security Treaty Organization, otherwise there would be a threat from Afghanistan, the Taliban always indirectly replied "No." That is, we don't pose any threats," he said. But at the same time, against the backdrop of the Ukraine war, Russia's influence in the region is fading. Now, as for China, China is extremely interested in the persistence and strengthening of authoritarian political systems in the region. Both Russia and China strongly fear the formation of democratic political systems based on direct political pluralism in the countries of the region, especially Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Why, because if there is going to be a democracy, when political parties will be strong and numerous in number, number, quality, national and religious factors will come to power, they will come to power. As a result, (China's) biggest concern, namely that the Uyghur strategy of not "seeing" and supporting the division in East Turkistan in Xinjiang, will begin to collapse. Because every time every 5-10 years, the changing power looks at the social mood, the mood of the population, it does not prioritize the geo-political mood of Russia and China, it cannot put it first. China's main task is for the region's governments to be authoritarian and remain in that authoritarian system. But in its integration, China pays special attention to how much and how little the proportion of the national and religious factor is through democracy, say.

Now, both these countries are seriously trying to keep the region under their control as much as possible, individually or collectively as a 'tandem', and this situation will only intensify from now on." [11]

Central Asia is a region with truly unique opportunities and huge potentials and opportunities that have not yet been exploited. Ensuring strong development, stability and prosperity in the region is a common task that all of us can fully achieve.

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