

THE CONCEPTS OF THE “STATE OF NOMADIC UZBEKS” AND THE “CHAGATAI ULUS” IN THE POLICY OF NATIONAL CONSTRUCTION OF UZBEKISTAN

Myrzabek Tuyganov¹

Zhaslan Nurbayev^{2*}

Zhanylsyn Kiyubek³

¹ Academy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs named after Sh. Kabylybayev, e-mail: myrzabek.1980@mail.ru

² Advisors to the Director of KazISS, e-mail*: zhasulannurbayev@gmail.com

³ PhD student at the Department of Regional Studies of ENU named after L.N. Gumilyov, e-mail: kiyubek@gmail.com

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Abstract. Nation-building is considered as a way of opposing centrifugal forces, in order to preserve the civil identity of multinational states. In modern science, the process of nation-building is associated with «identity», «identification», mainly implying civil and political identity. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, all countries began an active search for their own identity as the basis of nation-building, and this search is largely connected with history. Historical memory plays the role not only of preserving and transmitting information, but also of an ideological component - the unifier of an ethnos, a civil nation with the state into a single whole. The state as a subject of nation-building introduces ideologically actualized historical concepts into the historical consciousness of the nation. These concepts are actively introduced into a wide public discourse, where a special role is assigned to the scientific community. Based on the analysis of scientific works and discursive data, an attempt is made to show the place and role of the concepts «Chagatai ulus» and «state of nomadic Uzbeks» in the nation-building process of modern Uzbekistan. The article shows the content and meaning of these concepts, the trends of their development both in the official scientific environment and in the broad public discourse.

Keywords: *nation-building, nation, national identity, Chagatai ulus, the state of nomadic Uzbeks.*

ЎЗБЕКСТАННИҢ ҰЛТТЫҚ ҚҰРЫЛЫС САЯСАТЫНДАҒЫ
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Мырзабек Тойғанов¹, Жаслан Нұрбаев^{2*}, Жанысыл Қиюбек³

¹ ҚР Ішкі істер министрлігі Ш. Қабылбаев ат. академиясы, Қостанай, Қазақстан, полиция подполковнигі, e-mail: myrzabek.1980@mail.ru

² ҚР Президенті жанындағы ҚСЗИ директорының кеңесшісі, e-mail*: zhasulannurbayev@gmail.com

³ Л.Н.Гумилев атындағы Еуразия ұлттық университетінің аймақтану кафедрасының докторанты, e-mail: kiyubek@gmail.com

Аңдатпа. Ұлт құрылысы көпұлтты мемлекеттердің азаматтық-құқықтық сәйкестігін сақтау мақсатында орталықтан тепкіш күштерге қарсы тұру тәсілі ретінде қарастырылады. Қазіргі ғылымда «сәйкестілік» (идентичность), «сәйкестендіру» (идентификация) негізінен азаматтық-саяси бірегейлікті білдіретін ұлт құру процесімен байланысты. Кеңес Одағы ыдырағаннан кейін барлық елдер ұлт құрылысының негізі ретінде өздерінің жеке басын белсенді түрде іздей бастады және бұл іздеу негізінен тарихпен байланысты. Тарихи жады ақпаратты сақтау және беру ғана емес, сонымен бірге идеологиялық компонент - этносты, азаматтық ұлтты мемлекетпен біртұтас тұтастыққа біріктіруші рөлін атқарады. Мемлекет ұлт құрылысының субъектісі ретінде ұлттың тарихи санасына идеологиялық тұрғыдан өзекті Тарихи тұжырымдамаларды енгізеді. Бұл тұжырымдамалар ғылыми қоғамдастыққа ерекше рөл берілген кең қоғамдық дискурста белсенді түрде енгізіледі. Ғылыми еңбектер мен дискурсивті деректерді талдау негізінде қазіргі Өзбекстанның ұлт құрылысы процесінде «Шағатай ұлысы» және «көшпелі өзбектер мемлекеті» тұжырымдамаларының орны мен рөлін көрсетуге әрекет жасалды. Мақалада осы тұжырымдамалардың мазмұны мен маңызы, олардың ресми ғылыми ортада да, кең қоғамдық дискурста да даму тенденциялары көрсетілген.

Түйін сөздер: ұлт құрылысы, ұлт, ұлттық бірегейлік, Шағатай ұлысы, Көшпелі өзбектер мемлекеті

КОНЦЕПТЫ «ГОСУДАРСТВО КОЧЕВЫХ УЗБЕКОВ» И «УЛУСА ЧАГАТАЯ» В ПОЛИТИКЕ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОГО СТРОИТЕЛЬСТВА УЗБЕКИСТАНА

Мырзабек Тойғанов¹, Жаслан Нұрбаев^{2*}, Жанысыл Қиюбек³

¹ Костанайская академия МВД РК имени Ш.Кабылбаева, подполковник полиции, e-mail: myrzabek.1980@mail.ru

² Советник директора КИСИ при Президенте РК, e-mail*: zhasulannurbayev@gmail.com

³ Докторант кафедры регионоведения ЕНУ имени Л.Н. Гумилева, e-mail: kiyubek@gmail.com

Аннотация. Национальное строительство рассматривается как способ сопротивления центробежным силам с целью сохранить гражданскую и правовую идентичность многонациональных государств. В современной науке термин «идентичность», «идентификация» главным образом связаны с процессом создания нации, под которой понимается гражданско-политическая идентичность. После распада Советского Союза все страны начали активно искать собственную идентичность как основу национального строительства, и этот поиск во многом связан с историей. Историческая память – это не только хранение и передача информации, но и идеологическая составляющая – этнос, гражданская нация, государство. Государство как субъект нациестроительства

вносит в историческое сознание нации идеологически значимые исторические понятия. Эти концепции активно включаются в широкий общественный дискурс, в котором научному сообществу отводится особая роль. На основе анализа научных трудов и дискурсивных данных предпринята попытка показать место и роль концепций «Шагатайский улус» и «Кочевое узбекское государство» в процессе государственного строительства современного Узбекистана. В статье показано содержание и значение этих понятий, тенденции их развития как в официальной научной среде, так и в широком общественном дискурсе.

Ключевые слова: национальное строительство, нация, национальная идентичность, чагатайское величие, кочевое узбекское государство

Introduction

According to V.A. Tishkov, "nation—building" is the process of forming a national identity, the essence of which is to create a sense of patriotism and general solidarity towards one's state. The object of this process becomes a community of people under its jurisdiction. The main question is the content of the basic conceptual concepts of nation-building, as well as what components should constitute a civil-political identity and what mechanisms and tools should be used to form this identity [1]. In our study, we will adhere to this definition.

The object of the study is the process of nation-building in the Republic of Uzbekistan. Subject: the place and role of the concepts "state of nomadic Uzbeks" and "Chagatai ulus" as elements of nation-building in Uzbekistan. The aim is to study the trends in the application of the concepts of "the state of nomadic Uzbeks" and "Chagatai ulus" by official and unofficial discourse in the process of nation-building.

Methods

The dialectical approach associated with the identification of opposite aspects within the framework of nation-building in Uzbekistan, ensuring its movement as a historical and socio-political phenomenon, has become the methodological basis.

Modern social processes are necessarily connected with information and communication technologies and their influence on the public consciousness of concrete historical communities. Such a complex phenomenon as nation-building is largely ensured and depends on the level of development of the Internet space, the involvement of ordinary citizens in it. In Uzbekistan, according to the data of 2022, 80.4% of the country's population was connected to the global web [2]. Based on the above, the discourse analysis of the Internet space allowed us to identify the most relevant approaches to the use of the concepts of the Chagatai ulus and the state of nomadic Uzbeks in the process of nation-building.

The synthesis of discourse analysis with political analysis allowed us to explore important aspects of the application of these concepts in the nation-building of Uzbekistan.

Discussion

The study of the nation-building process in Uzbekistan is a new direction in the social and humanitarian sphere. The interdisciplinary nature of the problems of nation-building determines the need to turn to theoretical and empirical sources that are heterogeneous in content and form. Nation-building incorporates political theory and practice, the process of forming systems of ideas and values directly related to historical science as a form of public consciousness. The term "political history" is also considered in two aspects – as the history of the political development of the country and as the policy of the state on the interpretation of history, as well as

determining its role and place in the development of society.

The main concepts used in the study of the nation-building process are "ethnos", "nation", "people" and, of course, "state". These concepts are closely interrelated, and a different approach to the definition of each of them forms specific interpretations of the processes of national and state construction. In ethnosociology, there are three main approaches to the definition of an ethnos: the primordialist, constructivist and instrumentalist [1].

The primordialist concept has been studied since the introduction of the concept of "primordialism" by the American sociologist E. Shills. In Russia, A.G. Dugin applied a dialectical approach to revealing the essence of primordialism. Later, the sociobiological (P. Van den Berge, L.N. Gumilyov) and evolutionary-historical (Y.V. Bromley, H. Isaacs, K. Blue, etc.) trends arise in primordialism. The concepts of ethnicity, nation and nationalism are particularly relevant in the study of nation-building issues. The nation is considered by some authors as a derivative of nationalism, that is, nationalism generates a nation. As long as certain communities do not realize unity and nationalism does not manifest itself, then the nation as a political phenomenon will not arise (B. Anderson, E. Smith). Supporters of the exclusivity of the state adhere to a similar position in form – it generates a nation and a people (I. Wallerstein).

V.A. Tishkov defines a nation as a community of people united within the framework of a sovereign state, while it is characterized by a certain degree of civic solidarity and it is distinguished by loyalty to the state and its legitimate authority. The State is a system of institutions created by the nation, to which this sovereign territorial community delegates power. Thus, in addition to the functions of management, organization and protection, the state receives "the right to compulsion and obligations to preserve and support ethnic and cultural diversity" [1].

Many works have been devoted to the research of nation-building in Uzbekistan, both locally and abroad. It is symptomatic that there are diametrically opposite positions regarding the issues of the origin of the Uzbek ethnic group. It should be noted that in Uzbekistan itself, the issues of nation-building from the point of view of the role of historical figures in history, as well as their implementation into a wide public discourse, are actively discussed. Moreover, this discussion goes beyond Uzbekistan, which creates a favorable environment for constructive, from a scientific point of view, objective research of the problem.

Research results

In the nation-building of modern Uzbekistan, the concepts of "the state of nomadic Uzbeks" and "Chagatai ulus" play an important role. The significance of these historical state formations has characteristic features that reflect the historical policy of Uzbekistan in the context of nation-building.

It should be noted that in the nation-building of post-Soviet countries, as a rule, fundamental works that have done by official scientific circles play a key role. This is due to two reasons: the first is related to the political features of state-building, the second is also related to politics, but in the field of science. In the first case, we are talking about politics in general, which is characterized by a certain control over the formation of an ideological space, where a special role is assigned to historical consciousness. In addition, social inertia, on the one hand, the geopolitical need to preserve national identity in the context of globalization and globalism, on the other, predetermined a particularly reverent and protective attitude towards the historical consciousness of the people by the state. The words of the first President I. Karimov: "History is the basis of the spirituality of the people" [3, p. 21], "Losing history for

a person is like losing life" [3, p. 10], "Self-awareness begins with knowledge of history" [3, p. 5] express not only the attitude of the state to history, but also represent the structure of the relationship between the state and historical science, reflecting the form of the nation-building policy of Uzbekistan.

Proceeding from V.A. Tishkov's definition, nation-building as a process of forming national identity includes the process of forming an important emotional component - a sense of patriotism. Patriotism is important only as a mass phenomenon formed in each individual as a representative of a particular society. The most open and receptive to ideas, slogans and propaganda of patriotism, as well as the main object of patriotic education, generally, is the youth. It determines the perspective of the development of society and the state as a unique subject and as a subject of international relations. Uzbekistan is quite actively pursuing youth policy, institutionalized in the Youth Union of Uzbekistan. Since 2001, the main youth structure has been the "Kamolot" movement, which in 2017 was transformed into the Youth Union of Uzbekistan.

It must be noted that in the tasks of the "Kamolot" Charter, special importance was given to patriotic education, but without reference to historical consciousness. Among such tasks, the following can be distinguished: "... - patriotic, spiritual and moral education of the younger generation, countering the spread of ideas of religious intolerance and extremism among young people; - achieving active participation of young people in the implementation of the principle "From a strong state to a strong society", relying on the energy, knowledge, talents and potential of younger generation; - definition and implementation of a long-term strategy of organizational, spiritual and educational activities aimed at educating the youths in the spirit of devotion to the idea of national independence" [4]. With the coming to power of Sh. Mirziyoyev, youth policy has become a priority area that has undergone changes. Along with the rebranding of the "Kamolot" movement, there was a shift in content through the formulation of new tasks. In the Charter of the Youth Union of Uzbekistan, the key task becomes "the education of young people, in particular, unorganized youth in spiritual and moral terms and in the spirit of military patriotism, the formation of their consciousness of historical memory, national pride and self-knowledge, involvement in events, a sense of respect for national and universal values" [5].

Thus, the tasks of youth policy are filled with an element of the historical military-patriotic plan, and "unorganized youth" is also singled out as a condition for universal coverage of the establishment of social justice. New tasks require new solutions and actions. We believe that the work of the new stage of youth policy, as one of the key elements of nation-building, is the collective work edited by A. Askarov "The History of the origin of the Uzbek people" [6], which was published in 2018. Of course, this is not the only work of this type (especially considering the development of Internet technologies), but from the point of view of historicism and political pragmatism, it can be considered as a fairway of the ideological field of Uzbekistan in nation-building.

The development of the structure of approaches to the ideological formation of state policy can also be considered a characteristic direction of nation-building in the Republic of Uzbekistan. It is based on the promotion of increasing the role of historical memory in the long-term social and state development, focused on the solidarity of society in the context of its relationship with the state.

The second is the policy in the field of science, in which the features of competitive freedom are weakly manifested. Therefore, based on the tasks assigned to us, we consider the appeal to the most authoritative and fundamental sources as the main theoretical and methodological vector.

The analysis of historical works shows that the state formations that existed on the territory of modern Kazakhstan and Central Asia consider the concepts of "Chagatai ulus" and "state of nomadic Uzbeks" in three main aspects: from the standpoint of political education, from the point of view of the emergence of the ethnonym "Uzbek", and in the context of the ethnogenesis of the Uzbek people.

A broader or regional form of identity of the peoples of Central Asia is the Turkic one, which is directly related to the origin of the Uzbek people and the ethnonym "Uzbek". It should be noted that Pan-Turkism cannot be unambiguously assessed as a positive or negative phenomenon. It all depends on the specific situation. In addition, for all Turkic peoples, Pan-Turkism is included in the context of nation-building in one or another of its interpretations and roles. The significance of the Pan-Turkist idea in nation-building is determined by many factors: the political interests of state power, quantitative and qualitative indicators of the impact on public consciousness, the expression of the ethnos' attitude regarding the question of its place and role in Turkic history.

One of the features of nation-building in the modern history of Uzbekistan is the idea of Pan-Turkism [7]. However, Pan-Turkism, as a theory and practice, is a unity of political and cultural trends. In Central Asia, pan-Turkism is mainly represented by a cultural component, including reflected in the nation-building of each state. At the same time, being in the cultural field, Pan-Turkism is associated to political practices, primarily in the field of ideology.

Therefore, trying to revive the idea of Turkestan and proclaiming Uzbekistan as its center, the state should ensure this project at the cultural and historical level. One of these lines passes through the prism of the attitude and interpretation of the historical concepts of "the state of nomadic Uzbeks" and "Chagatai ulus".

The modern history of Uzbekistan is based on the recognition of the Turkic tribes as the ethno-political basis of the Uzbek people, despite the close interaction with other ethnogroups of the Central Asian area. "The Turkic ethnic foundation, laid in the IX-X centuries, served as a solid foundation for the political unification of the people, which would later be called the "Uzbek people" [6, p. 433]. On the one hand, as already noted, this is an objective history and an objective approach based on scientific facts. On the other hand, it is an ideological tool in the context of political history, which has the resource to formulate Pan-Turkist rhetoric.

It is interesting to note that the official historiography of Uzbekistan criticizes the vulgar approach of Soviet science for "constructivism" and the absence of the principle of historicism, which denied the ethnogenesis and ethnic history of the peoples of the region and believed that all modern peoples of Central Asia (Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kazakhs, Kyrgyzs, Karakalpaks and others) have no historical roots and their present state is the political derivative, the political structure of the Soviet government [6, p. 482]. However, A. Askarov notes: "Such a position on the issue of ethnogenesis and ethnic history of the peoples of Central Asia contradicts historical reality. The name "Uzbek" should first of all be understood as the settled rural population engaged in irrigated agriculture, and the urban population engaged in handicrafts and trade, as well as the nomadic Uzbeks of Dashti-Kipchak who came to these lands at the beginning of the XVI century, who were at the head of political power" [6, p. 482]. The last thought is the recognition of the historical fact of the mixing of ethnic groups of nomadic and settled areas on the territory of modern Uzbekistan still carries a shade of elitist Pan-Turkist rhetoric in the ethnogenesis of the Uzbek people as opposed to other fraternal Turkic peoples.

Currently, extremely speculative approaches can be found in the public domain in attempts to deepen the Pan-Turkization of the history of Uzbekistan, in particular

the period of the Chagatai ulus and the state of nomadic Uzbeks. For example, R. Abdullayev's article "Uzbeks are nobles of the Turkic peoples, and Sarts are entrepreneurs of Central Asia" [8], to which H. Kamol gave his debatable answer, in the work "About Dashti Kipchak – the Homeland of the Uzbeks" [9]. The title of R. Abdullayev's article has a significant effect. At the same time, it should be noted that the concept of "the state of nomadic Uzbeks" and the ethnonym "Uzbek" are used by the authors of Pan-Turkist rhetoric in their works.

Such interpretations of the concepts of "The State of nomadic Uzbeks" and "Chagatai ulus" can lead to an increase in the emotional background in patriotic education as a process of nation-building. At the same time, Pan-Turkist rhetoric will not be able to provide equal and constructive dialogue between Turkic ethnic groups at the mental level, at the level of the collective unconscious in the future.

In contrast to the regional Pan-Turkist idea, since Uzbekistan gained independence, a special place in nation-building has been occupied by the concept of Amir Timur, as a person who laid the foundations of state-building, and indirectly referred to the personality of the first president of Uzbekistan I. Karimov as the founder of a new independent state [10]. At the same time, the analysis shows that the concepts of Amir Timur and the state of nomadic Uzbeks play a special role in the ideological and competitive struggle between Uzbek and Tajik ethnic groups, as well as states. Meanwhile, despite the active promotion of these concepts in the broad public discourse, both peoples consider local ancient autochthonous inhabitants to be the ultimate basis of their ethnogenesis.

If we compare President Sh. Mirziyoyev with his predecessor, it should be noted that he does not associate himself, at least until now, with any historical figure. Based on the definition we have adopted by V. A. Tishkov, one of the properties of nation-building is the connection of society with the state. In transition countries, including the period of I. Karimov in Uzbekistan, this connection referred to the connection of society with the first person of the state. Thus, the nation was solidified with the state, therefore, with I. Karimov, whose prototype was Amir Timur. The Uzbek national identity was connected with the personality of Amir Timur.

So, in 2016, the Embassy of Uzbekistan in Azerbaijan published an article "Amir Temur - the pride of the Uzbek people", which said: "Through many centuries, the star of Amir Temur, who left an indelible mark in world history, shines just as brightly for today's generations. His life path serves as an example for young citizens of Uzbekistan who strive to become his worthy heirs" [11]. Of course, President Sh. Mirziyoyev is pursuing a policy of visible continuity with I. Karimov, but at the same time he is gradually creating grounds for a qualitative transformation of the ideological space.

In modern Uzbek discourse, the concept of "Chagatai ulus" is considered as one of the most significant stages in the formation of the Uzbek ethnic group and the state. Moreover, in some situations, the role of the concept of "Chagatai ulus" rises before all others, including the concept of "the state of nomadic Uzbeks" [12].

Chagatai is presented here as the most successful representative of the Genghis Khan dynasty, because only his name was assigned to the entire dynasty, the military elite of Transoxiana of the XV century, not controlled by the Chagataids, and the whole state. The Chagatai ulus and the term "chagatai" became those collective entities that ensured the consolidation of nomads and settled peoples into one community. In addition, Chagatai is presented as a generous and loyal ruler to the indigenous population: "Chagatai granted the Dulats territory in the south of the Tien Shan. The Dulats called their territory Manglai-Sube or the Southern Side" [12]. For comparison, in Kazakh historiography, not Chagatai himself, but his descendants

left Zhetyysu to the local emirs of the Dulat tribe after its collapse due to a long confrontation with the descendants of Ogedei [13].

At the same time, this direction of discourse significantly lengthens the history of the final formalization of the Uzbek people and state.

"Later, during the struggle of the Timurids with Muhammad Sheibani, the population of Transoxiana, for some time, began to be called the "Chagatai people" (Chagatai eli), in contrast to the newcomers of the Uzbeks. According to ethnographic data, a part of the population of Transoxiana at the beginning of the 20th century quite steadfastly retained the self-designation "chagatai" [12]. Consequently, the bearers of the self-designation "Chagatai" were those who opposed the Uzbeks who came from the steppe as the indigenous population of the modern territories of Uzbekistan.

In a similar form of discourse, in the context of nation-building in Uzbekistan, the concept of "Chagatai ulus" and outgoing, "chagatai", "chagataids", leads to opposite conclusions, forcing us to rely on earlier stages of ethnogenesis as key and final, creating a precedent for the rise of the ethnonym "chagatai" over the ethnonym "Uzbek".

Approaches to the formation of awareness of the exalted role of the Uzbek people based on the concepts of "Chagatai ulus" and "state of nomadic Uzbeks" also take place according to some Uzbek researchers. As V. E. Abirov notes, today "various studies of the greatness of the history of the Uzbek people have appeared, the search for its origins began in the distant past, in the ethnos that lived in ancient times. However, attempts to define and describe the greatness of the people were sharply criticized by the first President Islam Karimov" [14].

Conclusion

Nation-building in Uzbekistan is characterized by various approaches, which are based on a dual idea, where on the one hand there is a revival of the ethno-national Uzbek identity as the titular ethnic group of this territory, on the other - the formation of a political Uzbek nation of a multi-ethnic entity, where each ethnic group is equal with everyone in rights, and of course, in the right to consider itself as part of the Uzbek people. It is important to note the careful and attentive attitude of the government to historical memory, its actualization in society, and especially among young people.

In the modern discourse of nation-building in Uzbekistan, there are trends in the formation of a new nationalism based on the historical concepts of "the state of nomadic Uzbeks" and "Chagatai ulus". At the same time, some authors absolutize the role of one concept and leave the role of another out of focus. Such approaches are not able to form an integral historical picture of ethnogenesis and the emergence of the state, which in the future is fraught with biased assessments, and in turn, distortions in social development.

The concept of "state of nomadic Uzbeks" differs from the "ulus of Chagatai", primarily by focusing on the personality of Abulkhair. In contrast, the concept of "Chagatai ulus" is focused on the population of the state. Hence the two opposing positions of the authors in relation to the concepts:

1 - recognizing the exceptional role of the personality of Abulkhair, only a part of the population of the state of nomadic Uzbeks (in some – only the "military elite") participated in the ethnogenesis of the Uzbek people and political processes on the territory of Uzbekistan;

2 – recognizing the historical role of Chagatai, exceptional importance is attached to the population of the Chagatai ulus, which has become the basis of the Uzbek ethnic group.

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